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Prime Minister Nehru and President Eisenhower meet after a period of three years. Sri Nehru visited the United States in December, 1956, when this picture was taken.

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## NOTES

### Legacies of the Past Year

The principal event in the year that is coming to a close at the time of writing was that which was styled by our erstwhile friend, Mr. Chou En-lai, as an "Episode in an age-long friendship between China and India." It was the culmination to a chain of events, marked by futile communications, between our Premier and the self-same Mr. Chou En-lai, carried on in secret where the people of India were concerned. Indeed we believe that those incidents would have gone on, while Red China was biting off chunks of our Himalayan territory and our Premier and his advisors were floating about in the clouds of neutralistic and non-violent speculation. It is plain for all to see how ineffective, androgynous and unrealistic was the attitude of our Ministry of External affairs and that of our Defence. No wonder that Red China took the truculent and contemptuous attitude that is plainly apparent in all the replies, prior to the stiffening of Mr. Nehru's attitude.

It took this last murderous attack on our police patrol in Ladakh to bring home to Mr. Nehru the bleak realities of the situation. Even then he reacted with "spates of words" and but for public clamour—and perhaps a belated sense of his duties as the Chief Executive of the Union of India—perhaps he would have continued on the same course, until a major belligerent move brought him to halt.

But even now there does not seem to be any clear indication as to which way he and his colleagues are leading us. There does not seem to be any doubt that

short of a major armed move, Red China will not retrace her steps. Chinese agents are busy on our borders and inside India her fifth column is active.

The *Statesman* gave on December 27, the details of a Press Conference at Lucknow, where one "Dr. K. I. Singh, a former Prime Minister of Nepal, frankly admitted that he was conducting a campaign against India in his country." There does not seem to be any reason assigned by him as to why he has favoured this country with a visit, or who called the Press Conference.

We do not know if he is the same communist worthy who fled from Nepal into Tibet in an attempt to induce Chinese forces to help him "liberate" Nepal. In any case the brazen statements alleged to have been made by him show that he has come on a mission that bodes nothing good either to Nepal or to us. Who else has come with him and what exactly is he? An agent provocateur or a plain indoctrinated and dehumanised Communist come here to bolster up our own dehumanised specimens?

To go back to the "Episode" we have to consider the effect of the last letter of Mr. Chou En-lai, in reply to Mr. Nehru's letter of November 16. The position is as tangled as it has been since the Ladakh incident, and Mr. Nehru has rightly summed it up as "complete disagreement on facts" in expressing his inability to meet Mr. Chou En-lai on Dec. 26, at Rangoon. We have given a summary of the 3000-word letter elsewhere in these notes.



WHEN THE CLOUDS CAME  
By Patrick Kinnear B. Sc. (Hons.)

Mr. Nehru's announcement in the Lok Sabha caused an exchange between Acharya Kripalani, who wanted a debate, and Mr. Nehru, who has reverted back to his single track thinking, without any idea as to where it was likely to lead us. We are inclined to agree with Acharya Kripalani regarding Chinese intentions for prolonging the talks, and we think this Dr. K. I. Singh Press Conference is a clear pointer. We are sure the Chinese are going on with their plans for systematic encroachment while on our side there is an endless and profitless stream of unplanned "negotiations." "Muddle along" seems to be the order of the day at New Delhi.

In contrast to the Indo-Chinese tangle has been the visit of a real friend namely that of President Eisenhower. Elsewhere in these notes we have given the full text of the address, given by him before the two Houses of our Parliament, as a matter of record. This visit was part of a plan, formulated by the Chief Executive of the U.S.A. for the clarification of issues before the "Summit" talks.

The address was on general lines, as was only to be expected, but it had some heartening aspects which opened before us a vista of lessening tensions and hatred over the major part of the World. Coming as it did while our country was seething with a sense of being treacherously assailed and injured by those whom we not only regarded as our friends of long standing but whose cause we had actively advocated before the United Nations, it was particularly welcome.

So this is how we enter the New Year, with grave forebodings where our neighbours are concerned, while in the West they are trying to plan for Peace on Earth. The arena for the play of new hatreds and for the destruction of amity and peace between neighbours has been laid on our borders. And let us confess that we have called upon ourselves this curse by insisting on wrong priorities, by letting loose, without any attempt at restraint, corruption, lust for illicit gain, parochialism and provincialism, as the inevitable corollaries of Party politics.

There is no place in a free World for a nation of inefficients, we should remember, excepting as a matter of grace and charity from the Efficient. We have to make up our mind as to which way we shall proceed, now that there are challenges to our freedom and the integrity of the Union, from across the North as well as from our Western and Eastern marches.

The *Time* news magazine has remarked that the reason why President Eisenhower's address was not cheered more vociferously by our Parliamentarians, was because they expected him to declare that Americans would rush in their millions in India to defend us against our foes. That was undoubtedly a characteristic crack from the *Time* news-hounds, but we cannot deny that those who judge us merely from the utterances of our mouthpieces, may jump to such conclusions.

#### Amendment to the Constitution

The Constitution Eight Amendment Bill which seeks to extend the Constitutional provision for reservation of seats in legislatures for Scheduled Castes and Tribes for another ten years from January 1960 was passed by both Houses of Parliament in December. There was a unique incident in the Lok Sabha during the voting on the Bill which failed to secure the necessary majority at the first counting of votes. Amidst confusion the Speaker had to postpone the voting to the following day when the Bill was again put to the vote and passed. But through the opposition of the Communist Group in the Lok Sabha the provision to limit the number and manner of nomination of Anglo-Indian members to State Legislatures failed to receive the qualifying vote and was rejected. The Communists had however generally endorsed the Bill. The Bill will now go before the State Legislatures and will be presented to the President for his signature when at last it has received the approval of seven State Legislatures.

There was strong criticism of the Bill from a section of the legislators. The weight of the arguments of the critics could

not be dismissed lightly. They pointed out the psychological implications of a prolongation of the period of this vested interest which tended to create a vested interest in backwardness. The dominant feeling was that while the Bill was being approved this should be the last extension of the privileges. Prof. A. R. Wadia (nominated member in the Rajya Sabha), for example, said that he supported the measure as a matter of duty. It did not give him pleasure to do it as it was not flattering to believe that vast number of people like the Scheduled Castes still existed with all their disabilities. It was distressing to find that in some places they had threatened with violence when they had claimed enforcement of the rights given them by law. Dr. Raj Bahadur Gaur (Communist) described the measure as "painful phenomena breeding a sense of dependence and opportunism at the cost of merit and standards."

As a matter of fact, however, this extension was unavoidable in view of the deplorably slow progress in the improvement of the lot of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Untouchability was still a fact in several parts of the country and it was natural that there should be a demand for extension of the period of reservation contemplated by the Constitution. Dwelling upon the Government's responsibility Dr. H. N. Kunzru stressed the fact that the purpose behind the Bill would not be achieved unless the State Governments took more interest in executing schemes for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He said that Ministers themselves did not recognize the national importance of the problem of uplifting these people and, therefore, officials who took their cue from ministers could not be blamed for deficiencies in the execution of schemes. In order to bring about a speedier implementation of these schemes, he suggested that the Union Home Minister should call a Conference of State Ministers every year so that the latter realized their responsibility better than they did now.

In his reply to the debate on the Bill in the Rajya Sabha, the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, refuted a suggestion that it

had been brought forward because no progress had been made in the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He said that if there was no progress there would be no justification for the Bill. It was expected to give momentum to the advancement already registered.

Explaining the need for the extension of this privilege beyond January, 1960 (when under the Constitution as at present it expires) the Home Minister, Pandit Pant, said that the reasons which had weighed with the Constituent Assembly in making the provision did not cease to exist. Of course, since the advent of freedom, there had been an appreciable improvement in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But still the task was of enormous magnitude and whatever had been done was but a fraction of what still remained to be done. There was still a wide gap separating them from the rest of the community. Some progress made by them was largely due to their special representation in the legislature. If this were to cease, there would be a setback. If the nation's solidarity was to be invulnerable, all elements in society should coalesce.

Pandit Pant then stressed the importance of fostering a sense of emotional integration among the Scheduled Tribes. He said that since they were isolated in far-off places, their bonds with others should be strengthened. They must be made to feel that they were a respected section of the Indian people.

Prof. N. R. Malkani (Nom.), supporting the Bill, said that the tendency of looking at the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes from merely a political standpoint was to be regretted. Treating the matter in this way might help a few but the difficulties remained. It was only if the whole question was looked at from the social and religious point of view that it would be easy of solution.

Mr. Pant said that a number of suggestions had been made in the course of the discussion and it would be his endeavour to examine them and benefit by them. As suggested by Dr. Kunzru, he proposed to

convene a conference of Ministers dealing with this problem in the various States. He would also request them to be vigilant so that before the expiry of this period of ten years they would be able to say that they discharged their duties by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and that they were now able to stand on their own legs, shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the community.

The Home Minister said that he had himself been giving some thought to the question of re-organization of the department. So far, at the Centre they had only a Secretariat and no executive machinery. The Scheduled Castes Commissioner had on the whole to deal with the question of evaluation. Some time ago a number of Assistant Commissioners had been appointed. "But I feel that still the staff is not adequate and perhaps it may be desirable to have an executive section which will keep in close touch with the States and also with the Centre and see that the schemes for development and for removal of disabilities are pushed through as speedily and vigorously as possible. I am giving thought to it but I cannot say more about it," he stated.

The Home Minister said that some time ago they had appointed a special team to see the progress made in this field and the difficulties that had to be faced in the execution of the plans. The report of the team had been received. He had also appointed a committee under Dr. Verrier Elwin for examining the working of multi-purpose blocks in the tribal areas. They had to be treated in a different way. The common pattern would not suit them. Another committee had also been set up to go into the question of nomadic tribes, and its report was expected within this week.

As regards the question of sweepers and scavengers, Mr. Pant continued, he would endorse every word of what Dr. Kunzru had said. Ultimately, the measure of their success in this field would be determined by the progress that was made by sweepers and scavengers. They had been subject to ignominious treatment and the way this state of affairs had been tolerated

was not conducive to their good name or the reputation of the country for a humane outlook. The problem was not merely political and social but humanitarian too.

To fulfil the Constitutional requirement the Rajya Sabha divided during all the three stages of the Bill and adopted it unanimously with all the 169 members present voting in favour, with none against or abstaining. It had already received the endorsement of the Lok Sabha.

What we have failed to find in all the reports regarding the passage of this Amendment Bill, in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, is a categorical answer to the main question regarding the doubtful benefits of this measure in the past. Is this measure conducive to progress or does it merely help political adventure?

S. S.

#### Problems of Calcutta Port

The general feeling in the country is that the question of the development of ports in India has not received proper attention in the hands of the authorities concerned. The economic importance of the ports has hitherto been looked upon as mere subsidiary to the importance of the other sectors of the economy, namely, agriculture and industry. The point is much overlooked that unless the ports are well developed, the developments in other sectors of the economy are bound to be impeded. The fast deterioration in the conditions of navigability of the river Hooghly has affected the Calcutta port so much so that vessels of deeper draughts which even fifteen years ago could easily touch at the port of Calcutta, cannot today come up to Calcutta. At the last National Harbour Board's meeting held in Calcutta in October last the problems of the Calcutta port were discussed. Haldia has been developed as a subsidiary port of anchorage to Calcutta on account of the extreme congestion in the Calcutta port and its inability to receive deeper-draughted ships. Subsequently, at the National Shipping Board's meeting held in New Delhi in the last week of November, 1959, the need for immediate steps to save the Calcutta port

was emphasised. It was pointed out at the meeting that unless further deterioration of the navigable depths of the Hooghly was stopped immediately, it would endanger the economy of the eastern region. It is needless to say that the eastern region may be regarded as the "industrial heart" of the country.

At the last annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the problems of port developments in India were fully discussed. In the opinion of the Chambers, the improvement of port facilities has not kept pace with the overall expansion of the national economy. The inadequate facilities at most ports imposed increasingly severe limitations on the present efficiency and the progress of trade and industry in the future. Under the Second Plan a sum of Rs. 78 crore was allotted for the development of the major ports in the country. Out of this only Rs. 24 crore have been spent so far. This shows that there is a great difference between making decisions and their execution. The allotment of financial resources is not enough unless it is pushed through execution. For the development of the Calcutta port, a sum of Rs. 31 crore was allotted and out of this only Rs. 6 crore have so far been spent on development projects. These projects do not come under the purview of the Second Plan, but are those which have been carried over from the First Plan.

While moving the resolution on the Calcutta port, Mr. M. R. Das warned about the progressive deterioration of the Hooghly and the alarming situation of the Balari and the Rangafalla Channels. He said that the minimum depth of water at the Balari Bar was now seven feet only as compared to about 17 feet in 1944. The Balari Bar at present is the only approach channel to Calcutta, the Rangafalla Channel being no longer navigable. Several vessels had recently touched bottom at the Balari Bar. This is no doubt an alarming condition and this requires immediate steps for deeper dredging.

In the Hooghly, there has been fast deterioration of drafts as well sailing

opportunities. In January 1957, the maximum drafts were 27 feet and in January 1959, the maximum drafts fell to 24 feet. The number of sailing opportunities has also been seriously affected. For instance, in November 1957, there are 15 days when deep laden vessels of 12 knots or over could sail. But during November 1959, there were only two such days. Bore tides of increased frequency and intensity have further worsened the situation.

As a result, Mr. Das said that the use of riverside berths was restricted and vessels could not load freely in the river. Rapid siltation is taking place within the Kidderpore Docks owing to the absence of an adequate water supply from Tolly's Nullah. It is the responsibility of the West Bengal Government to dredge Tolly's Nullah properly but adequate measures have not been taken by the West Bengal Government for keeping the Tolly's Nullah silt-free. Siltation in docks is restricting accommodation for deep-laden vessels. Many Committees were appointed in the past, like, the Lakur Committee, the Vasist Committee, the Chaudhuri Committee, the Jeejeebhoy Committee and the Customs Reorganisation Committee. Many local and foreign experts were appointed in these committees, but their recommendations were not given effect to.

The main drawback of our administrative machinery is that with a view to evading any issue and its solution, the Government appoints a committee, but takes no action in most of the cases. The reports are shelved into the cold storage. This mentality is most deplorable, especially now that we are independent and can feel the urgent necessity of nation-building projects. The anchorage at Haldia should not be taken to substitute the Calcutta port. The anchorage at Haldia can be operated only during the fair season from November to February.

Mr. Das made the following remarks: "The tendency of administrations in Indian ports today is towards a rigid monolithic structure, with increasing control being exercised by the Government. Ever since 1951, when the Port Trust Acts were

amended with the object of ensuring a greater degree of uniformity and more control by the Government, this tendency has been predominant. While a certain degree of uniformity and centralization is undoubtedly necessary in the interests of planning, this must not unnecessarily be carried to a length which negates all flexibility and efficiency. Individual ports have their local peculiarities and planning tends to become ineffective and wasteful without some degree of decentralization."

The delay in execution of policies may be attributed to the condition of over-centralization in port administration. As for example, the financial powers of the Chairman of the Calcutta port are limited to Rs. 5,000 only and the Calcutta Port Authorities cannot incur any capital expenditure without the prior approval of the Union Transport Ministry. These regulations now appear to have become obsolete in view of the changing needs of the country. While the authorities talk much of decentralization in administration, it is the least achieved where it is needed most. All foreign experts that recently examined the working conditions of the Calcutta port have advised better and deeper dredging of the Hooghly. In order to prevent the port of Calcutta from being dead, three effective steps are needed, namely, intensified dredging operations, river training works and restoration of adequate headwater supply. The last measure may be regarded as a step towards permanent prevention of siltation. But that depends on the proposed Farakka barrage the execution of which lies shelved in official red-tapism and indifference.

Without the early building of the Farakka barrage, all other steps will be in the nature of stop-gap arrangements having temporary effectiveness. The indifference of the Union Government to the rapid deterioration of the Calcutta port has affected the entire economy of the eastern region. A new dredger is expected to come early and then adequate dredging operations can be undertaken. But may we ask why this step was not taken much earlier? Had resort to deeper dredging operations been

taken some years back, then Calcutta would not have faced the problem of siltation which she is now facing. Moreover, while so many river projects could be undertaken, it is a mystery why the Farakka barrage scheme could not have been executed much earlier to maintain the adequate supply of headwater to the Hooghly.

The Second Five-Year Plan laid down the target of increasing the port facility to 40 million tons. But in view of the slow progress towards modernization and improvement, this target will not be achieved. Therefore the Third Plan will have a substantial carry-over from the Second Plan. The Calcutta Port Commissioners have at present four dredgers, of which two are extremely old, having been built 38 years and 46 years ago. They are frequently laid up for repair for long periods and in consequence the dredging operations have become inadequate.

N. R.

#### Developments in Co-operative Credit

During the first week of December, 1959, the all-India conference of State Central Co-operative banks were held at Bangalore. Different problems connected with co-operative credit were discussed at the conference and some conclusions were arrived at. The State Co-operative Banks have come to the conclusion that both the Central Government and the State Governments should bear risks for a more liberalised credit programme which is soon going to be put into operation for augmenting the supply of rural credit. The conference has made the recommendation that 15 per cent of the total loan advanced to farmers should be treated as bad debt and a provision needs be made as a "bad debt reserve fund." The conference suggests that for the apex co-operative banks, the present credit limits should be raised to thirty times of the owned funds from the fifteen times as at present. For the district co-operative banks, the limits should be raised to twenty times from the present limit of twelve times. And as regards the

primary societies, the conference has suggested that they should get credit up to fifteen times of their owned funds. At present they get credit up to eight times of their owned funds from the States.

The conclusions of the conference would now be examined by the V. L. Mehta Committee on Co-operative Credit. The conference has recommended liberalisation of credit terms for the farmers as well as for the co-operative banks. In its view, the period of repayment of medium-term loans should be extended to five years from the three years as at present. This extension of time will particularly benefit the agriculturists who want to improve their land. The conference also favours the Government participation in the share capital of primary societies and service co-operatives. But the Government participation in the management has been sought to be limited to one-sixth of the total strength of the managing committee of a co-operative society, or three nominees, whichever is higher. The conference is in favour of advancing loans for agricultural production on a family basis. This was recently suggested by the Central Government. It is proper that the needs of every family should be assessed on an individual basis, although the loans will be made on a family basis.

The conference has suggested a new step in the field of co-operative credit and it is that exchange of business among the State Co-operative Banks should be promoted on the inter-State basis. This measure, if put into operation, will bring the State co-operative banks into a chain system and this will remove a long-felt want. The inter-State exchange of business will have further advantage in so far as it will help revolving the rural credit all over the country. The surplus funds will move to deficit areas and the scope of co-operative credit will thus receive an extension. India needs a Central Co-operative Bank on the lines of Farm Credit Organization in the USA. Not only the USA, but most other countries have set up a central rural credit bank to facilitate the expansion of rural credit.

But the conference did not discuss this issue. Notwithstanding all pious wishes on the part of the authorities, the scope of co-operative credit in the field of agriculture is very limited. Unless there is an apex co-operative bank over all the State co-operative banks, the co-operative credit shall continue to play a limited role as at present. Unless there is a lender in the last resort in the field of rural credit, both in respect of short-term and long-term accommodations, the prospects of rural credit will not improve much. The farmers shall be compelled to borrow on a large scale either from the village money-lenders or in the alternative shall have to go without the much-needed credit for production purposes.

The working of the co-operative societies are still subject to several criticisms. As for instance, there is undue delay in granting loans, unnecessary red-tapism, political leanings of the members of the managing committees, and the like. Recently, there has been a crop of criticisms against the co-operative societies in Madras, Andhra, Kerala and Mysore. The recent rise in the prices of foodgrains was attributed to the liberal grant of credit to the farmers in these States and this resulted in speculative hoardings.

In granting short-term and long-term loans to the State Co-operative Banks and long-term loans to State Governments, the Reserve Bank of India takes into account their actual needs. In the case of the Apex Co-operative Banks, the Reserve Bank takes into consideration their financial position and extent of the unutilised credit limits. Since April 1, 1959, loans specifically for participation in the share capital of large-sized co-operative societies have not been sanctioned by the Reserve Bank. The short-term loans granted by the Reserve Bank are repayable within a period of fifteen months or twelve months as the case might be, depending on whether the loans were sanctioned for agricultural purposes or for the development of cottage or small-scale industries. Medium-term loans are repayable to the Reserve Bank in instalments after the expiry of fifteen months



from the drawal of each loan but before the end of five years from that date. The long-term loans granted by the Reserve Bank are repayable within a maximum period of twenty years.

N. R.

### Karnal Verdict Aftermath

The verdict on the Karnal murder case to which a reference was made in these columns last month has created a furore in press, Parliament and the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Indeed the judge's remarks upon the officials could not be ignored by any Government. The interest of the members of Parliament was called for by the further fact that the conduct of several members of the All-India Services was also involved in the affair and the maintenance of administrative integrity in a border State was at stake.

The Special Judge's reference to the conduct of the Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, was for obvious reasons not relished by many Congressmen who also saw the dangers inherent in any unnecessary delay in clearing even the least possible iota of doubt about the conduct of the Chief Executive of a State Government belonging to the party. There were many other reasons for anxiety. A few months ago, the former Union Finance Minister had levelled serious charges against people in authority whom he offered to name before an independent Commission of Enquiry. The accusation by Shri V. P. Menon, the Swatantra leader, that certain cases of corruption involving Congress Ministers had also not been refuted. Under such circumstances it might have been thought highly desirable for the Congress High Command to take serious notice: but it did not take up the matter, leaving it to be dealt with at the State level, as the Union Home Minister told his questioners in the Lok Sabha on December 5—which increased their misgivings. That explains why the Congress members took a leading part in confronting Shri Pant with a number of very uncomfortable questions.

An idea of the feelings of some of the Congress Parliamentarians and of the

nature of the replies the Union Home Minister could offer can be formed from the questions and answers in the Lok Sabha on December 4. The questioner was Shri Feroze Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not want to go into the question of the judgment and the strictures that have been passed. Pending this case the officer concerned was under suspension and he is still under suspension. I would like to know whether after the sessions court has passed these strictures it is proper for the Chief Minister to continue in office or not and whether the Government have considered the question of suspending him from Chief Ministership pending appeal.

The Home Minister: The Chief Minister is elected by the party. If because of any particular action or development the party loses confidence in him it is open to the party to pass a vote of no-confidence. The Union Government have no authority to appoint a Chief Minister or to dismiss him.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not agree with the Home Minister because I think the President has the powers. If a court of law passes strictures of this kind on the Chief Minister and the party continues to hold confidence in him will the Government of India tolerate such a situation?

Pandit Pant: The question is a constitutional one. First, as to the character of the strictures there may be a difference of opinion. I have not seen the judgment in full but I remember having seen in one of the reports the remarks of the court that the Chief Minister was not directly or indirectly responsible for the false evidence that has been led in the case.

The Union Home Minister's roundabout replies to very simple questions, read with the Prime Minister's comment on the Punjab police the day before in his monthly press conference, do not suggest that the Union Government or even Shri Pant is quite sure of the adequacy of the reply given. If this reserve is the outcome of the operation of any process of review of the matter, it should be welcome. Nothing can be more unfortunate—even from the limited party point of view, as the evident

uneasiness among a fairly good number of Congressmen shows—however, if the matter is sought to be allowed to rest there without further action being taken.

For the issues involved go far beyond the interest of a Chief Minister or a police officer. Even the question of justice being done to the contenders becomes a little irrelevant. It is certainly not a question pertaining to the relationship between a minister and a police officer—the latter should undoubtedly be subordinate to the former in all cases and talks of greater independence for officers should stop—but it is one of integrity of the administrative process which permits such gross violations of liberty under the cloak of law and order as the murder of the three citizens by the accused (which was alleged by the prosecution) or the formulation of trumped-up charges against dutiful police officials (as the verdict implied). One or the other of these must have been the case, there being no third way of interpreting the charges and counter-charges. Either way it is the administrative process that stands self-condemned and that primarily is the question upon which attention has to be concentrated; it need not, and cannot, brook the delay attendant upon waiting for the appeal to be heard.

The Government's attitude to this matter was made quite clear in Shri Datar's refusal to consider Shri D. C. Sharma's proposal for the appointment of a high-power commission to suggest ways for reorganising the administration which also came up before the Lok Sabha on the same day (December 4). The nation can hardly afford to let the matter rest there. Even the President of India is understood to have felt impelled to endorse, with particular reference to the Karnal case, the popular demand for a high-level commission of enquiry to inquire into and, if necessary, to initiate investigations into charges against people in high positions, including Ministers.

The Punjab Government has since reinstated all the accused in the Karnal murder case with the exception of Shri D. S. Grewal, former Superintendent of the Karnal

district against whom certain other charges are reported to be pending. There has been heated discussion in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha over this matter and at the time of writing a motion for breach of privileges by the Government is pending in both Houses of the State Legislature against the Government.

S. S.

### Trial By Jury to Stay

The Union Home Minister, Sri Govind Ballabh Pant, said in a written reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on December 9, that the Government did not propose to abolish trial by jury. He added that the system existed at present in Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and West Bengal.

The Government of India's decision was in direct opposition to the Law Commission which reported that "opinions expressed in the answers to our questionnaire and by the witnesses examined by us were preponderantly in favour of the abolition of trial by jury even to the extent to which it exists in certain parts of the country" and recommended for its actual abolition having been "convinced that the jury system in India which has had such a long trial has been a failure" (pp. 864, 873 of the *Fourteenth Report of the Law Commission of India, Vol. II, Chapter 42*).

The jury trial is not universal in India and is restricted to certain specified parts. Unlike under the Constitution of the United States of America, there is no fundamental right of the citizens in India to demand trial by a jury and it depends entirely on the Government of each State to decide in what areas and in respect of what offences trial by jury should be introduced. Trial by jury in India to the extent it exists today is but a transplantation of a practice prevalent in England which has failed to grow and take root in the country. In a recent case in Bombay where Commander K. M. Nanavati of the Indian Navy was facing trial for the alleged murder of one Shri Prem Ahju who had committed adultery with Mrs. Nanavati, the trial judge had to reject the findings of the jury, who had declared

Nanavati as not guilty, as perverse. It was perhaps that incident which had prompted the member to raise the question in Parliament.

Trial by jury is on the decline even in England where jury trials now take place only in two to three per cent of the volume of litigation. The expert Law Commission of India has also recommended for its abolition. The Government therefore owed an explanation for its decision to stick to jury trial in places where it is in vogue.

S. S.

### Developments in Ceylon

Developments in Ceylon took an unexpected turn with the dissolution of Parliament on December 5, by the Prime Minister Mr. Wijayananda Dahanayake. The coalition Government had been shaky even during the life-time of the late Premier Mr. Bandaranaike and that instability grew much more acute under his successor-in-office, Mr. Dahanayake. The Bandaranaike murder investigation provided a focal point for the internal pushes and pulls to come to the fore. The ministry could survive two motions on no-confidence only with the help of the six nominated members. Its moral defeat was, however, beyond question. The dissolution of the House of Representatives would not have been in itself extraordinary but for other developments. The Prime Minister advised the Governor-General to dissolve the House without consulting his Cabinet colleagues—an extraordinary Act on the part of a head of a Democratic Government. He then resigned from the ruling party though his resignation was not accepted and he was "expelled" from the party. On December 8, the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, removed five ministers of the ruling "Sri Lanka Freedom" party from the Cabinet and took back Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, who had to resign as Finance Minister some time ago because of strong public criticism of his association with people suspected of participation in the Bandaranaike murder plot. This was done on the advice of Mr. Dahanayake. The five ministers—Mr. T. B. Illangaratne (Home Affairs), Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya (Health), Mr. Maitripala Senanayake (Transport and Power), Mr. M. P. de Zoysa

(Labour) and Mr. P.B.G. Kalugalle (Cultural Affairs), and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport and Power, Mr. Hugh Fernando—who were dismissed from office—represented the hard core of the rebel group in the Cabinet which had challenged the decisions and the leadership of Mr. Dahanayake particularly over the method of investigation of the Bandaranaike murder. The dramatic expulsion of these Ministers who held half of the key Cabinet portfolios and reinstatement of Mr. Stanley de Zoysa to the caretaker Cabinet with wider powers were interpreted in Ceylonese political quarters as part of a "master plan" of the Premier, Mr. Dahanayake, to establish a dictatorship of the extreme Right in Ceylon.

No doubt Mr. Dahanayake also announced the date of next elections which is March 19, 1960 but there was general fear that the elections might not be held. Reporting the reaction to the dissolution of Parliament and the dismissal of ministers the *Statesman's* Colombo correspondent wrote on December 9:

The Ministers who were sacked from the Cabinet last night, leaders of Marxist parties and newspapers today expressed alarm that shocking events of the past one week may be a planned attempt to disrupt democracy. There is hardly one politician in Ceylon today who is prepared to allay fears in public minds that the general elections scheduled for March next year may not be held. Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, who resigned from the Cabinet recently following the arrest of his brother, Mr. Dickie de Zoysa, was last night brought back to the Cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs and Health. As Home Minister, Mr. de Zoysa will be in charge of preparation for the general elections and prison affairs.

S. S.

### Penicillin Enquiry

The Government of India have announced the appointment of a Four-man Committee to report on the procedure of quality control in the Pimpri Penicillin Factory and the general working of the Hindustan Anti-Biotics Limited which is a State undertaking. The Committee will be headed by the well-known scientist, Dr.

H. J. Bhaba and will include Dr. P. N. Chopra, Director of the Drug Research Laboratory, Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. J. C. Ray of the Calcutta Laboratory, and Dr. G. C. Pandit, Director of the Indian Medical Council. This announcement was made in the Rajya Sabha on December 22, by the Union Minister for Industries, Shri Manubhai Shah. It followed widespread speculation about the quality of penicillin being manufactured in India which had its origin in the sudden death of Shri V. D. Tripathi, a Member of Parliament from Uttar Pradesh in New Delhi on November 29 immediately after the administration of an injection of Penicillin.

The matter first came up before the Rajya Sabha on December 2, when Dewan Chamanlal raised a question. He suggested that Shri Tripathi's death had been caused by the sub-standard quality of the drug and hinted that the fall in the standard had been due to the removal of a senior official in charge of quality control by the administrative officer who held the position of the factory's managing director. The Union Health Minister, Shri D. P. Karmarkar, denied the validity of those accusations but Shri Chamanlal countered the denial by further alleging that the factory was keeping back information from the Government. He further said that he had come to know that of the four tests of the vials in question the first three had shown "positive" toxic results. The factory had suppressed this information and furnished the results of the fourth test. Shri Karmarkar could not deny that allegation and assured that an enquiry would be made into the matter. The Union Minister for Industries disclosed that some vials of procaine penicillin, manufactured by the Government factory at Pimpri had been sent to Washington, London, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi for scientific analysis.

Shri V. K. Dhage (Democratic) raised the matter again in the Rajya Sabha on December 22, repeating the allegation of Shri Chamanlal that the factory had passed the batch of penicillin (one of which had been used for the late Shri Tripathi M.P.) after a fourth test in contravention of the

Drug Rules which required the rejection of the batch as the first three tests had been unfavourable. Even the junior scientist employees of the factory, Shri Dhage alleged, had protested against the unusual procedure for testing of quality. He testified this charge by producing a photostat copy of the observations made by the junior scientists.

The Ministers of Health and Industries persisted in their denial of the charges though the denials were not very satisfactorily supported by objective data. The results of laboratory tests of the penicillin vials are yet to be received from abroad. It is good that the Government has ultimately seen the wisdom of having a thorough probe into the matter. A Subcommittee of five experts most of whom were attached to research institutes had been appointed by the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Anti-Biotics Ltd., to make a report on the working of the factory. The Committee appointed by the Government will begin work after the Sub-Committee's report is received.

S. S.

### Producing Enough Food

Producing enough food for the people is by common consent the key to the future prosperity of the nation. Unless we are able to produce food sufficient to meet the needs of our growing population all our plans for economic development are bound to suffer serious setback, as the lesson of the first two Five-Year Plans has so clearly demonstrated. Food again holds the key to price stabilization in the absence of which run-away inflation is eating into the vitals of the national economy. That there are possibilities for a great increase in our food production is not seriously disputed by any. The differences arise only over the method to be adopted for achieving this end. Some hold that the system of land tenure has got nothing to do with it while others hold that it certainly has much to do with it. The Congress Party has agreed upon the imposition of a ceiling on land holding by an individual. The programme is yet to be



implemented in a great majority of States notwithstanding in fact that the Congress Party is in power there. If the opposition within the Congress Party has tended to hinder progress in the implementation of a policy of imposing a ceiling, the disagreement over the disposal of the surplus land that would be available after the placing of a ceiling on land holdings is still more likely to act as an inhibiting factor.

Speaking before a symposium on problems of food production in an underdeveloped economy in New Delhi on December 20 Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, said that while he was sympathetic to the suggestion for giving land to the landless he did not think that such a policy could augment agricultural production. He endorsed a suggestion made in course of discussions in the symposium that the surplus land obtained after the enforcement of ceilings should be handed over not to the landless but to the owners of uneconomic holdings. He voiced his disappointment at the fact that the Government of India and the Planning Commission had not accepted this policy. There is evidently much that can be said in favour of Dr. Deshmukh's proposal, but it is nevertheless difficult to see how the distribution of surplus lands to landless labourers could retard food production. Apart from the physical difficulty of integrating the surplus land with that of the uneconomic holdings which is likely to occur in many places no realistic policy for agriculture can disregard the psychological factors in the countryside. The national movement has for such a long time been led with slogan of "land to the tillers" that a going back on this policy now is simply inconceivable. On the other hand there is the hope that once they are given a plot of their own land hungry tiller would put the best of their effort in getting the maximum product out of it.

S. S.

### Food Situation

The food situation in the country has remained a constant source of worry not

only to the authorities, but also to the people. The earlier hope that India would be self-supporting in food production before the end of the Second Plan seems now to have receded into a situation of uncertainty. It is now certain that there is little prospect of attaining self-sufficiency in food production in the near future. With 1949 as base, the index of agricultural production was at 117 in 1959. This indicates that the average annual increase in food production has been less than two per cent. While the rate of population growth is now placed at 2.1 per cent per year, the production of food crops is lagging behind. The target of food production for the Third Plan has been placed at 110 million tons. But it is doubtful whether India will be able to achieve this target unless India adopts mechanised farming. Both the USA and the USSR have discarded small-scale farming and have adopted large-scale farming on mechanized basis. In the USA, 55 million acres have produced nearly 1,182 million bushels of wheat in 1959 and this quantity not only meets the domestic need of the country, it also creates a huge surplus for exports abroad.

Inadequate attention to agriculture will mean retardation to balanced economic development of a country, particularly a backward country. The Food and Agricultural Organisation in its latest annual report makes the following observation: "Balanced development does not preclude selecting some key sectors, e.g., steel, chemicals, for special attention in the expectation that if these develop, progress in other sectors will follow. Agriculture, itself, however, appears to be a key sector. It is especially important in less developed countries, where food is the largest item (more than half and up to three-fourths) of expenditure in family budgets and the cost of food is a prime factor in the production cost of all industries. If agriculture has not always been accorded such high priority it is perhaps because it has always been there, and tends to be regarded as a reserve of finance and manpower rather than a key sector in its own right." Thus agriculture is a key sector in its own right

and should form the basis of any balanced economic development, particularly under planned economy.

On account of higher expenditures in the public sector of the economy, the consumption of food has been progressively rising at an accelerated rate and as a result India cannot get herself rid of the persistent food shortage. The authorities are trying to import more foodgrains and also to raise the internal production. The bottlenecks in internal distribution also cause regional scarcity. With a view to removing the barriers in internal distribution, the Government of India decided that there would be State trading in foodgrains through the State Trading Corporation. But this scheme proved a failure owing to the difficulties in procurement through private agents. During the recent discussion on food in the Indian Parliament, the Government admitted that in deficit States there was no proper procurement, particularly in the States of West Bengal and Bihar. Procurement in these States resulted in the closure of rice mills and this made it difficult for the authorities to control the prices of foodgrains. Further, procurement prices were floor prices and the market prices were much higher.

With the help of cheap bank credit, the cultivators hoarded their stocks in expectation that during the off season the prices would go up. That shows that the cultivators expect a higher price than the procurement price. The ban on inter-zonal movements of foodgrains also kept down the price at a lower level in the surplus States. The new food policy of the Government of India envisages that ultimately zonal divisions must cease to exist and the country would be regarded as one unit for the purposes of movements of foodgrains. Pending that ultimate realisation, there will be different zones for the present consisting of a deficit and a surplus State. As for example, Orissa and West Bengal have been formed into a zone within which there will be free movement of foodgrains. Orissa is a surplus State, while West Bengal is a deficit State. Similarly, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay will make another

zone for the purpose of distribution of wheat. It is now admitted by the authorities that the Reserve Bank's directives to commercial banks to restrict their advances against foodgrains went unheeded and as a result speculative hoardings increased. This situation was greatly responsible for creating the shortfall in supply. It is, however, uncertain whether Orissa will have so much surplus production as to meet the deficit of West Bengal.

The decision of the Union Government to create a food reserve of about 5 million tons follows the recommendation of the Food Grains Enquiry Committee. This step was long overdue. This is essential to maintain normal conditions in the supply position and also to prevent conditions of artificial scarcity created by the hoarders. The estimates of crop production in this country is far from accurate and the wide publicity that the country had a bumper crop made the cultivators panicky as regards the price and consequently they withheld stocks from the markets in fear that larger supply would bring down the prices. This much is certain that in the near future India cannot hope to be self-supporting in domestic production of foodgrains. Therefore, the authorities should be cautious not to make any over-estimates of crop production so as to discourage large productions during the next crop year.

The Union Food Minister announced in the Lok Sabha on November 23 that a statutory price fixation board would be set up in a month or two. The main function of the board would be to fix from time to time prices of foodgrains, sugar, sugarcane and all other crops on the basis of a comparative study of prices, soil conditions and production costs. The representation of the farmers will constitute a majority on the board. The formation of the board is designed to prevent attempts by producers of any single commodity from earning unnatural profits by arbitrarily fixing the prices of their produce. It is expected to stop profiteering, because any rise or fall in prices would be common to all commodities. In the opinion of the Union Food

Minister, traders in future would not be able to raise the price of any commodity which was temporarily or locally scarce. As agricultural products rule the price structure of the entire economy, the formation of the board will also act as an effective brake against "runaway" inflations.

While we do not discourage the formation of such a board, we confess, we fail to understand how the board can really control the price structure of farm products. There is a great difference between the fixation of prices of agricultural commodities and their enforcement. At least the history of price control in this country ever since the beginning of the Second World War definitely shows that in an underdeveloped economy price control cannot be effective unless and until the authorities are in a position to exercise control over the entire stock of production. The recent failure of price control of paddy in West Bengal is one more proof of our contention that mere declaration of prices of agricultural commodities will not be able to pin down the prices at the declared rates, while the stock shall continue to be controlled by private dealers and producers. The proposal of the Union Minister of Food also indicates that the authorities have learnt nothing from past experience that such a step would further worsen the situation and will encourage speculation and generate a condition of artificial scarcity. The economy of the country in relation to farm production is so diversified and decentralised that a board sitting in Delhi may declare the prices, but will not be able to enforce them. How it would prevent profiteering in particular commodities? The speculators in this country always reap unnatural profits in the short period by creating shortage in supply. That has been the case in the recent food scarcity in West Bengal. That is also the case with present abnormal rise in sugar prices. With all the forces at their command, the authorities could not stop the profiteering in paddy transactions in West Bengal nor are they in a position to check the present abnormal rise in sugar prices.

N. R.

#### Address to the Parliaments

Following is the text of President Eisenhower's speech to both the Houses of Parliament:

"With a sense of high distinction I accepted the invitation to address you. I deem this a great personal honour, and a bright symbol of the genuine friendship between the two peoples you and I represent.

"I bring to this nation of 400 million assurance from my own people that they feel the welfare of America is bound up with the welfare of India. America shares with India the deep desire to live in freedom, human dignity and peace with justice.

"A new and great opportunity for that sort of life has been opened up to all men by the startling achievement of men of science during recent decades. The issue placed squarely before us today is the purpose for which we use science.

"Before us we see long years of what can be a new era; mankind in each year reaping a richer harvest from the fields of earth—gaining a more sure mastery of elemental power for human benefit, sharing an expanding commerce in goods and in knowledge and wisdom—dwelling together in peace.

"But history portrays a world too often tragically divided by misgivings and mistrust. Time and again, governments have abused the fields of earth by staining them with blood and scarring them with the weapons of war. They have used a scientific mastery over nature to win a dominance over others—even made commerce an instrument of exploitation.

"One blunt question I put to you and to all everywhere who, like myself, share responsibility assigned us by our people: Must we continue to live with prejudices, practices and policies that will condemn our children, our children's children, to live helplessly in the pattern of the past—awaiting, possibly, a time of warborne obliteration?

"We all fervently pray not. Indeed, there can be no statesmanship in any person of responsibility who does not concur in this world-wide prayer.

"Over most of the earth, men and women are determined that the conference table shall

replace the propaganda mill; international exchange of knowledge shall succeed the international trade in threats and accusations; and the fertile works of peace shall supplant the frenzied race in armaments on war.

"Our hope is that we are moving into a better era. For my part, I shall do all I can, as one human working with other humans, to push toward peace, toward freedom, toward dignity and a worthy future for every man and woman and child in the world.

"If we give all that is within us to this cause, the generations that follow us will call us blessed. Should we shirk the task or pursue the ways of war—now become ways to annihilation and race suicide—there may be no generations to follow us.

"I come here representing a nation that wants not an acre of another people's land; that seeks no control of another people's Government; that pursues no programme of expansion in commerce or politics or power of any sort at another people's expense. It is a nation ready to share its substance in assisting toward achievement of mankind's deep, eternal aspirations for peace and freedom.

"I come here as a friend of India, speaking for 180 million friends of India. In fulfilling a desire of many years, I pay in person America's tribute to the Indian people, to their culture, to their progress, and to their strength among the independent nations.

"All humanity is in debt to this land. But we Americans have, with you, a special community of interests.

"You and we from our first days have sought, by national policy, the expansion of democracy. You and we, peopled by many strains and races speaking many tongues, worshipping in many ways, have each achieved national strength out of diversity. You and we never boast that ours is the only way. We both are conscious of our weakness and failings. We both seek the improvement and betterment of all our citizens by assuring that the State will serve, not master, its own people or any other people. Above all, our basic goals are the same.

"Ten years ago, your distinguished Prime Minister, when I was his host at Columbia University in New York, said: 'Political subjection, racial inequality, economic misery—these are the evils we have to remove if we would assure peace'.

"Our Republic, since its founding, has been committed to a relentless, ceaseless fight against those same three evils: political subjection; racial inequality; economic misery.

"Not always has America enjoyed instant success in a particular attack on them. By no means has victory been won over them and, indeed, complete victory can never be won so long as human nature is not transformed. But in my country, through almost 200 years, our most revered leaders have exhorted us to give our lives and our fortunes to the vanquishment of these evils. And, in this effort for the good of all our people, we shall not tire or desist.

"Ten years have passed since Mr. Nehru spoke his words. The pessimist might say that not only do the three evils still infest the world—entrenched and manifold—but that they will never lose their virulence. And the future, he might conclude, will be a repetition of the past; the world stumbling from crisis in one place to crisis in another; given no respite from anxiety and tension; forever fearful that inevitably some aggression will blaze into global war.

"Thus might the pessimist speak. And, were we to examine only the record of failure and frustration, we all would be compelled to agree with him.

"We Americans have known anxiety and suffering and tragedy, even in the decade just past. Tens of thousands of our families paid a heavy price that the U.N. and the rule of law might be sustained in the Republic of Korea. In millions of our homes there has been, in each, the vacant chair of an absent son who gave some of the years of his youth that successful aggression might not come to pass. The news, that through these 10 years has reached us in America, from near and distant places, has been marked by a long series of harsh alarms.

"These alarms invariably had their source in the aggressive intentions of an alien philosophy backed by great military might. Faced with this fact, we in America have felt it necessary to make clear our own determination to resist aggression through the provision of adequate armed forces. They serve, not only ourselves, but those of our friends and allies who, like us, have perceived this danger. But they so serve for defensive purposes only. In producing this strength we believe we have made a necessary contribution to a stable peace, for the present and for the future as well.

"Historically, and by instinct, the U.S.A. has always repudiated and still repudiates the settlement by force of international issues and quarrels. Though we will do our best to provide for free world security, we continue to urge the reduction of armaments on the basis of effective reciprocal verification.

"Contrasting with some of our disappointments of the past decade, and the negative purposes of security establishments, Americans have participated also in triumphant works of world progress—political, technical and material. We believe these works support the concept of the dignity and freedom of man. These hearten America that the years ahead will be marked by like and greater works. And America watches, with friendly concern, the valiant efforts of other nations for a better life, particularly those who have newly achieved their independence.

"Ten years ago, India had just achieved independence; wealthy in courage and determination, but beset with problems of a scale and depth and number scarcely paralleled in modern history. Not even the most optimistic of onlookers would then have predicted the success you have enjoyed.

"Today, India speaks to the other nations of the world with greatness of conviction and is heard with greatness of respect. The near conclusion of her second five-year programme is a proof that the difficulty of a problem is only the measure of its challenge to men and women of deter-

mined will. India is a triumph that offsets any world failure of the past decade; a triumph that, as men read our history a decade from now, may offset them all.

"India has paced and spurred and inspired men on other continents. Let anyone take a map of the earth and place on it a flag wherever political subjection has ended, racial prejudice been reduced, economic misery at least partially relieved—in the past ten years. He will find evidence in the cluster of these flags that the 10 years past may well have been the 10 most fruitful in the age-old fight against the three evils.

"Because of these 10 years, today our feet are set on the road leading to a better life for all men. What blocks us that we do not move forward instantly into an era of plenty and peace?

"The answer is obvious. We have not yet solved the problem of fear among the nations. The consequence is that not one Government can exploit the resources of its own territory solely for the good of its people.

"Governments are burdened with sterile expenditures—preoccupied with attainment of a defensive military posture that grows less meaningful against today's weapon-carriers.

"Much of the world is trapped in the same vicious circle. Weakness in arms often invites aggression or subversion or externally manipulated revolution. Fear inspired in others by the increasing military strength of one nation spurs them to concentrate still more of their resources on weapons and warlike measures. The arms race becomes more universal. Doubt as to the true purpose of these weapons intensifies tension. Peoples are robbed of opportunity for their own peaceful development. The hunger for a peace, of justice and good will inevitably become more intense.

"Controlled, universal disarmament is the imperative of our time. The demand for it by the hundreds of millions whose chief concern in the long future of themselves and their children will, I hope, become so universal and insistent that no man, no Government can withstand it.

"My nation is committed to a ceaseless search for ways through which genuine disarmament can be reached. And my Government, even as I said more than six years ago, in April of 1953, still 'is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction'.

"But armaments of themselves do not cause wars. Wars are caused by men.

"And, men are influenced by a fixation on the past, the dead past, with all its abuses of power, and its misuses of responsibility, all its futile convictions that force can solve any problem.

"In the name of humanity, can we not join in a five-year or a fifty-year plan against mistrust and misgivings and fixation on the wrongs of the past? Can we not apply ourselves to the removal or reduction of the causes of tension that exist in the world? All these are the creations of Governments, cherished and nourished by Governments. Nations would never feel them if they were given freedom from propaganda and pressure.

"My own experience in the past 10 years convinces me that much of the world's fear, suspicion, prejudice can be obliterated. Men and women everywhere need only to lift up their eyes to the heights that can be achieved together, and ignoring what has been, push together for what can be.

"Not one wrong of years ago that still rankles, not one problem that confronts us today, not one transitory profit that might be taken from another's weakness, should distract us from the pursuit of a goal that dwarfs every problem and wrong.

"We have the strength and the means and the knowledge. May God inspire us to strive for the worldwide will and wisdom that are now our first needs.

"In this great crusade, from the history of your own nation, I know India will ever be a leader."

Towards the end of his speech, Mr. Eisenhower departed from the prepared text to give his personal experiences in Hawaii and in Columbia University to

underscore his point that "the world's fear, suspicion, prejudice, can be obliterated."

Mr. Eisenhower said that Hawaii, which had emerged last year as a new State of the U.S.A., had peoples whose ancestral homes were in Asia, Africa, Europe and the two Americas. There were men and women of varied creeds and colour. "Yet they live in complete friendliness and in mutual trust, each choosing his own good by helping to achieve the good of all."

In Columbia University, Mr. Eisenhower added, as president of the university every year he welcomed boys and girls from almost every nation, from territories and colonies not yet free. There were hundreds of young people from India, China, Japan and other Asian countries. They were completely detached from prejudices, and suspicious of the past. "Indeed these vices are not easily discernible among the young of any people."

Dr. Radhakrishnan greeted President Eisenhower as "a servant of a new and nobler world" and assured him of India's wholehearted co-operation in his attempts to secure peace.

Stressing the common bonds and ideals between India and the U.S.A. the Vice-President, amidst loud and repeated cheers, told Mr. Eisenhower, "the bond of shared ideals, is stronger than military pacts, Mr. President."

"Our relations with the U.S.A. have been friendly all these years. The U.S.A. herself emerged from colonial status to independence after a struggle. So, she had sympathy for all nations who struggle for independence. During our struggle for independence we had the moral sympathy and support of the people of America and the Government of America.

"After independence, in our attempts to build the economy—an economy suited to the new expectations of our people—we have received assistance from them also.

"Even as social disparities resulting from inequalities of wealth and opportunity affect the stability of a nation, the gaps between the advanced nations, which are rich, and the desperately poor nations are an obstacle to the security and stability of

the world. We have to look upon the world as a single unit for economic affairs. This is admitted in theory but not implemented always in practice. We, in our country, have been attempting to raise the standards of living, increase employment opportunities by the encouragement of business, agriculture and industry. We do so within the framework of free institutions.

"If you look at our Constitution, Mr. President, you will see there echoes of your Constitution, equality of opportunity, respect for law, individual dignity, social justice and progress. The bond of shared ideals is stronger than military pacts, Mr. President.

"As a great general with all knowledge of the nature of war and the knowledge of the modern weapons of destruction you know the unintelligence, futility, stupidity and the waste of war as a method of settling international disputes.

"You are now, therefore, attempting with all your wisdom and great authority to reduce international tension and bring about disarmament. Recent events in the East as well as the West may not encourage optimism; but they do not forbid hope. It is with that hope that you have undertaken this long journey, visiting distant countries and explaining to our people, the peoples of different countries you visit, the passionate interest which you and your country have in peace and human welfare."

#### Chou En-lai's Reply

*The Hindu* of December 20, gives the following summary of Chou En-lai's reply:

The Chinese Premier's reply dated December 18, was handed over to the Indian Ambassador in Peking, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, and received by the External Affairs Ministry, at New Delhi today. The text was released by the Chinese Embassy here.

Prime Minister Nehru, it may be recalled, had, in his letter dated November 16, while expressing his willingness to meet Mr. Chou En-lai for talks, insisted that there should be some "interim understanding" which help to ease the present tension. The Chinese Premier says that holding of

talks is necessary to reach "some agreement on principles as a guidance to concrete discussion and settlement of the boundary question by the two sides."

In his 3,000-word letter, the Chinese Premier's main contention is that the entire border between the two countries has never been delimited and that it is impossible to deny this. Therefore it has to be settled by talks. Before dealing with Mr. Nehru's counter proposals in regard to the McMahon Line in the north-east and the creation of a no-man's land in Ladakh, the Chinese Premier hastens to assure that China will not take unilateral action pending settlement of the dispute.

Dealing with the counter-proposals made by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter dated November 16, the Chinese Premier says that the Chinese Government "is prepared to agree first to reach a partial solution by applying the proposal you have made in your letter for the non-stationing of armed forces of both sides at Longju to the other disputed places on the border as well." It claims Longju as Chinese territory by saying that Indian armed personnel once occupied it and mentions Khinzemane, Shipki Pass, Parigas, Sang, Taungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Lathpal and asserts that most of these places belong to China. It says that they were successively occupied by Indian personnel after the signing of the 1954 agreement. It welcomes the Indian Government's proposals for the frontier outposts of the two sides to stop sending out patrols, and says that this principle should apply to the entire Sino-Indian border and no different measure should be adopted in the Ladakh side.

The note expresses what it calls Chinese Government's perplexity that India had put forward a separate proposal for the prevention of clashes in the sector of the border between China and India's Ladakh. Citing the Chinese map of 1956 as the final authority of the border, it says "that except for the Parigas area by the Shangatsangpu river, India has not occupied any Chinese territory east of this section of the traditional boundary." It

thinks India's proposal unfair because it demands "a change in the state actually existing on the border." Even the withdrawal of Indian troops too, to create "a no-man's land," the note says would only be a "theoretical concession" because it contends that the area is Chinese and India has no personnel to withdraw.

As for the historical data concerning the Sino-Indian boundary produced by the Indian side the Chinese Premier says that his Government thought the matter could be discussed by the two Prime Ministers in their talks when the Chinese could put their case. Since the talks between the two Prime Ministers have not yet taken place, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs will give a reply to Mr. Nehru's letter dated September 26 and Indian Ministry of External Affairs' communication dated November 4 in the near future.

The Chinese Government have, so far as the Ladakh area is concerned, rejected India's proposal to have a "no-man's land" by withdrawal of both the Chinese and the Indian armed forces asserting that the area belongs to China and the proof for it is that it has been under Chinese jurisdiction and not under India's jurisdiction. If the Indian Government insists on its demand, the note says, the Chinese Government would like to know whether the India Government would apply "the same principle to the eastern sector, that is to say, to require both the Chinese and Indian sides to withdraw all their personnel from the area between the so-called McMahon Line and the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary as shown in Chinese maps."

In one part of the letter the Chinese Government say that both the Ladakh incidents were provoked by India. They refer to the treatment given to the Indian personnel taken as prisoners by them. It says that India saying that China maltreated the captured personnel and that she provoked the incident is "a serious state of affairs."

#### The Summit Problems

*The New York Times* of December 6, gives the following editorial on the "East and West" issues:

The diplomatic traffic between Western

capitals was heavy last week as the Allies grappled with the problems that have been threatening their unity. Chancellor Adenauer went to Paris for talks with President de Gaulle. Italian Premier Antonio Segni and Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella went to London for talks with Prime Minister Macmillan and other British officials. The talks in both capitals proceeded against a steady refrain from Budapest where Premier Khrushchev gave voice to the Soviet position on a number of East-West issues.

The Western Big Four have reached tentative agreement that the summit agenda should have four points. They would be: Berlin, disarmament, non-interference in the affairs of other nations, and aid to under-developed countries. This is where matters stood in relation to the four points last week, and some of the things Premier Khrushchev had to say on them:

On Berlin, Dr. Adenauer and President de Gaulle confirmed in their Paris talks that the Berlin issue should not be taken up at an East-West summit conference except as part of the larger issue of Germany. The British have been arguing that an interim settlement on Berlin is possible only if it is divorced from the over-all German problem, since the Russians clearly are not willing to settle the German issue except on their own terms.

Premier Khrushchev said of a Berlin settlement last week:

If we try by all means and they do not lead to the desired results, we shall have no other way except signing a peace treaty with that of the two German states which will want to. . . . A peace treaty must be signed and the status of a free city introduced for West Berlin.

On disarmament, there is general agreement among the Western powers that summit talks should take up a step-by-step disarmament program with effective controls at each step. The West Germans, however, have been concerned that a limited disarmament agreement on Europe might have the effect of disarming and neutralizing them.

In Rome yesterday, President Eisen-



hower and President Gronchi issued a joint communique expressing the determination of their Governments to ensure "an acceptable solution to the problem of disarmament" within the framework of a specific system of controls, inspection and safeguards.

Premier Khrushchev said last week that he agreed that disarmament was a major topic for summit talks. But while talking of disarmament, he brandished Soviet weapons. He said:

We have stockpiled such a quantity of rockets, so many atomic and hydrogen warheads, that if attacked we shall be able to raze to the ground all our potential enemies. . . . We are ready to destroy immediately all these stockpiles if a program for universal disarmament is adopted.

By "universal disarmament" Mr. Khrushchev clearly meant his own four-year disarmament plan in which controls would go into effect only after the program had been completed.

*Non-interference:* This is a delicate issue for the Allies since the Russians invariably attempt to interpret "non-interference" as meaning that the status quo in Eastern Europe must be accepted. It is precisely Soviet interference in Eastern Europe and attempted subversion elsewhere that the Allies seek to halt.

*Aid to under-developed countries:* This question has yet to be clearly defined as a topic for summit negotiation. President Eisenhower and General de Gaulle have both spoken of a program for aid to under-developed areas as a task for joint efforts by the great powers. Premier Khrushchev also has referred to the subject. But the Russians have always used aid to under-developed countries as a major weapon in their propaganda arsenal. Thus the difficulties in the way of a joint East-West aid program are immense.

#### The Neutral Antarctica

The *New York Times* of December 6, gives the following editorial on the question of the Antarctica claims.

Captain James Cook, master of the vessel *Resolution*, and the first man to penetrate south of the Antarctic Circle, wrote in 1774 of a continent "of horrid aspect . . . doomed by nature never once

to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to be buried in everlasting snow and ice."

The continent was Antarctica. In the years since Captain Cook's epic voyage, man's ambition has led to the conquest of the South Pole and to repeated explorations of the 5,000,000-square-mile continent. The most intensive period of Antarctic exploration came during the International Geophysical Year of 1957-1958 when eight nations, including the United States and Russia, sent expeditions there.

Out of the IGY explorations came efforts to write an international treaty establishing Antarctica as a preserve for scientific research. One of the complications was the fact that seven nations—Argentina, Australia, Britain, Chile, France, New Zealand and Norway—had claims to Antarctic territory, some of them overlapping.

Last week, after a year of negotiation, twelve nations signed an Antarctic treaty. In addition to the seven nations that have made territorial claims, the twelve include the United States, Russia, Japan, South Africa and Belgium. These are the main provisions of the treaty:

(1) The claims question is "frozen." No new claims may be made while the treaty is in force, and no activity in Antarctica can be used as a basis for strengthening present or potential claims.

(2) Antarctica is to be "used for peaceful purposes only." No military installations of any kind are to be established there. The area is not to be used either for the testing or stockpiling of nuclear weapons, nor for the disposal of radioactive waste.

(3) Any one of the signatories may inspect any area of Antarctica, including the activities and installations of other signatories, at will. This provision for unlimited, unilateral inspection is unique in international agreements.

The Antarctic treaty must be ratified by the signatory governments before it can go into effect. Last week President Eisenhower called the treaty a "significant advance toward the goal of a peaceful world." Others expressed the hope that the Antarctic treaty might provide a model for an agreement on outer space and possibly other international accords.

## AN ESTIMATE OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE FOR THE MIDDLE-EAST

By KHAGENDRA CHANDRA PAL, M.A.,

Department of Economics, Central Calcutta College, Calcutta

### SUMMARY

WHAT is known as the Eisenhower Doctrine was proposed by Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the U.S.A., to the U.S. Congress on January 5, 1957, as a plan of economic, political and military action for protecting the Middle-East from any kind of Communist domination. Accepted by the Congress in the form of a resolution with certain modifications, it has been in operation since March, 1957.

As a Congressional resolution its legal effectiveness is slightly less than a regular international treaty approved in the U.S. Senate by a two-thirds majority, though the late John Foster Dulles maintained that the Congressional resolution here was equivalent to the treaty process. The Doctrine is based on the terrible ideology that the best way to be out of war is to be always on the brink of it. Intended primarily for the so-called "general area of the Middle-East", the Doctrine has had already the effect of militarising the outlook of the whole world.

The forces which led to its formulation are basically economic greed for the oil profits of the Middle-East, the growing strategic importance of the area in modern bi-polar politics and the general history and policies of the U.S.A. during the last four centuries till the invasion of the Suez Canal by Israel, Britain and France with apparently no serious opposition from the U.S.A.

This Doctrine of meeting force by force and by still greater force cannot give mankind true peace and prosperity, and should be countered by the Gandhian Doctrine of the World State or self-determination of the whole human race aiming at the ideal of meeting greed by sacrifice, hatred by love, violence by non-violence, untruth by truth, pride by service and disunity by unity. Thus alone can mankind escape from the recurring brinks of war

in the present-day world and move towards the desired summit of Peace.

### CONTENTS OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

What is now known as the Eisenhower Doctrine was presented to the U.S. Congress by Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the U.S.A., in the shape of a plan of economic, political and military action for the Middle-East, in his famous speech on January 5, 1957. As adopted by the Congress after about three months of discussion, the Doctrine is contained in six sections. Under Section I, "To promote peace and stability in the Middle-East", the President of the U.S.A. is "authorized to co-operate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle-East desiring such assistance in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence." Under Section II, "The President is authorised to undertake, in the general area of the Middle-East, military assistance programmes with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance. Further, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle-East. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use the armed forces to assist any such nation or group of nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism; provided, that such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States."

Section III of the Doctrine implies that all assistance under the Doctrine should be subordinated to the military purposes in accordance with the Mutual Security Act which was first adopted in 1951, on an annual basis and



then placed on a permanent footing since 1954. As a matter of special urgency the President was authorised by the same Section to use during the balance of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, "for economic and military assistance under this joint resolution a sum not to exceed two hundred million dollars from any of the appropriations" then "available for carrying out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, in accord with the provisions of such act". In his speech to the Congress on January 5, 1957, Eisenhower proposed to "seek in subsequent legislation the authorization of 200 million dollars to be available during each of the fiscal years 1958 and 1959, for discretionary use in the same area in addition to the other mutual security programmes for the area hereafter provided by the Congress."

To retain the Congress control over the discretionary powers of the President, Section III also provided that none of the additional authorisations contained in that Section should be used until fifteen days after the relevant Committees of the Congress had been furnished with the Report showing the object of proposed use, the country for benefit of which such use was intended, and the particular appropriation or appropriations for carrying out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, from which the funds were proposed to be derived. The final paragraph in Section III stated that "nothing contained in this joint resolution shall be construed as itself authorizing appropriation of additional funds for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of" economic assistance under Section I or military assistance under Section II.

Section IV required that "The President should continue to furnish facilities and military assistance, within the provisions of applicable law and established policies, to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle-East, with a view to maintaining the truce in that region". Section V required that "The President shall within the months of January and July of each year report to the Congress his action hereunder". Under Section VI, "This joint resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the nations in the general area of the Middle-

East are reasonably assured by international conditions created by the action of the United Nations or otherwise except that it may be terminated earlier by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress".<sup>1</sup>

#### NATURE OF THE DOCTRINE

In the original draft resolution there was a provision for explicit authority for the use of U.S. armed forces by the President in the Middle-East, an authority which the President already had under the constitutional law of the U.S.A., subject only to the authority of the Congress to bring him under impeachment proceedings in case of misuse of his power. The Doctrine adopted by the Congress only says that the U.S. is prepared to use the armed forces if the President determines the necessity thereof, so that it leaves the basic dilemmas of the area in regard to the use of U.S. armed forces there to be dealt with by the President always in fear of the extraordinary power of the U.S. Congress to subject him to impeachment proceedings later.

It is necessary to note a misconception regarding the Doctrine in the mind of the late John Foster Dulles, who, more than anyone else with only the probable exception of Eisenhower himself, has to be credited with the discovery and planning of the Doctrine. According to Dulles, under the constitutional process of the U.S., the Government there acts in foreign relations "either by treaty process or pursuant to a Congressional resolution". U.S. commitments under the Doctrine, he said, "coincide" with the treaty commitments; and the U.S. Government were backing the Members of the Baghdad Pact, 1955 "by co-operative effort in the political, economic and military fields".<sup>2</sup>

Strictly speaking, there is no coincidence between the treaty process and the Congressional resolution in the U.S. The treaty process makes the obligation assumed by the U.S. binding on the U.S., and its President under

1. *Public Papers of the President, 1957: A U.S. Government publication. International Affairs, Moscow, April, 1957, pp. 164-166.*

2. Dulles's speech at the Baghdad Pact Council meeting on January 28, 1958.

both International Law and the Constitutional Law of the U.S. A Congressional resolution like the Eisenhower Doctrine imposes only a moral obligation on the President. Under the Eisenhower Doctrine there is no obligation at all under International Law, and the obligation of the U.S. President under the Constitutional Law of the U.S., is also not binding on him in the same way as a full Act of the Congress. A Congressional resolution is desired, first, to give strength to the President in his action if he acts at all which he is not bound to do, and, secondly, to avoid as much as possible any criticisms including impeachment proceedings in future if he should make wide use of his discretionary powers involving great risks and consequences.

Then why did not the U.S. act under the treaty process? The answer is to be found in the U.S. Constitution which requires that a treaty process to be valid at all must have the concurrence of the two-thirds of the Senators present; and unfortunately for Eisenhower and Dulles they had not that much support in the U.S. Senate for their controversial policy in respect of the Middle-East.

In a sense, the Eisenhower Doctrine is more or less redundant, unless of course, Eisenhower, impressed by Dulles's mistaken idea that the world has always been on the brink of war, wanted that a new orientation with an extra-ordinary emphasis on military ideals should be given to the role of the U.S.A. in world affairs. For under the Commander-in-Chief clause of the U.S. Constitution the President had all the powers implicitly in case of war or threat of war without any reference to any resolution by the U.S. Congress.

But Eisenhower in his Eisenhower Doctrine sought extra-ordinary powers specially for diverting large appropriations to military expenditure in the Middle-East and using even the forces of the U.S.A. in that region at a time when there was no war, but peace. Realising that the Constitution or existing treaties of the U.S.A. did not give him the extra-ordinary powers during peace, for any mis-use of which he might have to face even a Congressional impeachment, he sought through the Eisenhower Doctrine to silence all criticisms

from the Congress in any risky adventure in the Middle-East.

#### MILITARISATION OF THE MIDDLE-EAST AND THE WORLD

Eisenhower thus got most of what he sought, i.e., militarisation of the whole outlook of the U.S.A. in peace time, though he is not today absolutely free from the fear of impeachment. Through the Eisenhower Doctrine the U.S.A., has, by-passing to some extent the authority of the United Nations in such matters, virtually declared Martial Law during peace, and has thus subordinated to a great extent the civil power to the discretionary authority of the military power in the general area of the Middle-East—that great junction of three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa.

In effect it will be more and more seen that the Doctrine is intended for the world as a whole, and, even if not so intended, it will soon cover the whole world with the terrible ideology that the best way to be out of war is to be always on the brink of it. What, after all, is the Middle-East, or the still vaguer geographical concept, "the general area of the Middle-East" for whom alone the Doctrine is declared to be meant? No national or international law, not even the Eisenhower Doctrine ever defined the Middle-East. "Roughly, the region of the Middle-East stretches from the Western border of Egypt to the Western border of India and from the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea on the north to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean in the south".<sup>3</sup> Obviously "the general area of the Middle-East" is wider than the Middle-East proper, and is vaguely but certainly purposely intended to cover the territories of some nations surrounding the so-called Middle-East. It certainly includes now independent states like Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iraq. But it may include Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Libya, Sudan, Afghanistan and Pakistan; and if Pakistan, why not India which is bounded on her eastern and western sides by the two wings of Pakistan. If Sudan is in the Middle East, why ex-

3. *Annals*, July 1954, p. 151.

clude Ethiopia? "Nations" in the Eisenhower Doctrine may also include the British Colony of Aden, Aden Protectorate, Sultanate of Bahrein Islands, Sheikdom of Kuwait, Sultanate of Oman and Masqat, Sheikdom of Qatar and Sheikdoms of the Trucial Coast!

In his speech to the Congress on January 5, 1957 Eisenhower said that the U.S.A. had security treaties with forty-two other nations scattered all over the world. Under these security treaties if one nation is attacked, whatever may be the reason for the attack, others are obliged to rush to her defence. This obviously means that any local border conflict could be transformed into a world war by ambitious statesmen like Dulles who took a special delight in the political gymnastics of balancing on the brink of war.

#### ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

Economic considerations suggest that a commercial and industrial nation like the U.S.A. with what has been called an oil culture will find it difficult to resist the temptation to include all these areas in "the general area of the Middle East." It seems that the Middle East is literally floating on oil. It has underneath its area about two-thirds of the presently known oil deposits of the world.<sup>4</sup> The productivity of the Middle Eastern oil wells is several hundred times greater than those of U.S. wells. Indeed, the oil fields in the Middle East produce enormously and at low cost. Now, all the oil wells in the Middle East are owned by five American Companies, two British companies and one French Company. These eight companies send everyday about two million barrels of oil to markets all over the world. This is enough to explain Senator Kefauver's charge that the cloth of Eisenhower's programme for the Middle East is "primarily cut to fit the needs of the international oil companies, and that instead of oil being a factor in the formation of foreign policy,

4. Eisenhower's speech to the U.S. Congress on January 5, 1957.

oil has, instead, become the dominating influence."<sup>5</sup>

These interests operating behind the Eisenhower Doctrine were reinforced by strategic considerations. Oil itself is of great strategic value, for the modern industrial scene is dominated by petroleum derivations, so that oil in the contemporary world is power, and military strategists regard a drop of oil as important as a drop of blood. Americans believe that in a state of affairs where war on a restricted scale is already in progress and one of unlimited scope might occur at any moment, oil as the first sinews of war possesses a significance beyond measurement in ordinary terms.

But the Middle East is important strategically not only for its oil wealth. In August 1951, Eisenhower told the Senate's Armed Services Committee: "As far as the sheer value of territory is concerned, there is no more strategically important area in the world than the Middle East."<sup>6</sup> A bridge between three continents and a springboard for conquerors moving from west to east or from east to west, the strategic position of the Middle East was as important in the time of Alexander the Great as during World War II. Peter the Great, Czar of Russia from 1682 to 1725, believed that anyone who ruled the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea would rule India and Europe.

According to Sir John Bagot Glubb, "If a circle be drawn with its centre on Jerusalem and a radius of 4,000 miles, it will include all three continents with the exception of China and Manchuria. In these days of air-travel, air-warfare and rockets distances in a direct line are of some importance. . . . A great military power centrally established in the Middle East can thus strike into Europe, Asia or Africa at will. It can also prevent these continents from co-operating with one another. It could command the eastern Mediterranean

5. *International Affairs*, Moscow, June 1957, p. 148. Also, *P.S. Congressional Record*, 6. *New York Times*, August 8, 1951. March 1, 1957.

nearly cutting off Europe from Africa. From the naval point of view, it could maintain fleets and submarines in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean from the same base in Egypt. It could also control the only invasion route into Africa (apart from the Atlantic coast) that is up the Nile and through the Sudan." Thus from a purely military point of view in case of war with rockets and atomic weapons it appears to Sir John Bagot Glubb that "talk of Egyptian, Syrian or Arab neutrality . . . is too naive to require contradiction. These countries would fall a defenceless prey to whichever group of great powers arrived there first."

#### HISTORICAL FORCES BEHIND THE DOCTRINE

The U.S.A. gave a special importance to these economic and strategic considerations being driven in the direction by her history and politics. America was unknown to the modern world until the end of the 15th century before the discoveries of Columbus and Americus Vespucius. Then began the remarkable process of colonization of America by the Europeans beginning with the Spanish in Florida in 1513 and followed mainly by the English, Germans, French, Scandinavians, Italians, Polish, Irish and Russians. Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries solved her problem of overpopulation by large-scale emigration mainly to North America. The British effected their settlements, as the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, July 6, 1775 put it, "in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians."<sup>7</sup> "From the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century there were 110 wars against the Indians—the indigenous population of the two Americas. These predatory colonial wars led to the almost complete extermination of the numerous Indian tribes."<sup>8</sup> Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner

7. Sir John Bagot Glubb, *Britain and the Arabs*, p. 30.

8. *Profile of America*, edited by Emily Davie, p. 267.

9. *International Affairs*, Moscow, February, 1957, p. 61.

of Indian Affairs in the U.S.A., observed in 1891: "The record which the nation" of the U.S.A. "has made for itself in this sanguinary conflict" during the past 100 years "is not one to be proud of."<sup>10</sup> Not less than 10 million Negroes were taken from Africa to the U.S.A. for brutal exploitation. These together with colonial wars against Mexico, Puerto Rico, Panama, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, the seizure of the Philippines and Cuba, and the First World War and Second World War in both of which the U.S.A. took a leading part using in 1945 against Japan even Atom Bombs,—all these seem to show that there is something wrong with the now-world civilisation. Perhaps that civilisation as well as its progenitor, the so-called Western civilisation with its highpriest, Machiavelli (1469-1527), has in it more of barbarism than of civilisation. The Eisenhower Doctrine with its basis on oil profits and emphasis on force going against the true law if not the so-called "new"<sup>11</sup> law of the United Nations is in direct line with European and American history during the last four centuries.

#### EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE FORMULATION OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Following nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Egypt on July 26, 1956, which ultimately would have the effect of reducing the profits of all kinds for the Western Powers, there was a series of conferences and negotiations at all levels. Speaking at a session of the Second Suez Canal Conference in London on September 19, 1956, Dulles said: "I do not care how many words are written into the Charter of the

10. *Profile of America*, edited by Emily Davie, p. 97.

11. My paper entitled "Revision of the U. N. Charter" read at the Indian Political Science Conference at Muzaffarpur in December, 1954, and published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Oct-Dec., 1954.

U.N. about not using force.....I would like to point out that the U.N. Charter itself does not say there must be peace..... The very first Article of the Charter says that the purpose of the U.N. is to bring about settlements by peaceful means and in conformity with principles of justice and international law.....We have just as much a responsibility to try to seek a solution in conformity with the principles of justice and international law as we have a duty to prevent the use of force."<sup>12</sup> The concern of the Western Machiavellian statesmen then became to find out a common plan of action for rallying military forces to bring about a settlement which might or might not be peaceful, but had to be in conformity with the so-called law of the United Nations under the "Uniting For Peace" Resolution adopted by the General Assembly in November, 1950.

With Anglo-American connivance or secret suggestion<sup>13</sup> Israel opened war on Egypt by the invasion of the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956. On the same day elaborate arrangements were made to evacuate from Jordan non-essential Americans and the U.S. Embassy also announced that evacuation of American citizens from Syria had been completed. Be it noted here that on October 28, 1956 Dulles said in a television interview that the U.S., Britain and France had "developed a common policy" to an "amazing degree" and that "certain minor superficial difficulties as to details . . . does not detract from the fact that we have a common policy".<sup>14</sup> Utilising the pretext of the Israeli offensive as a menace to the Suez Canal, Britain and France issued on October 30, 1956 a 12-hour's ultimatum demanding, first, that both Egypt and Israel should withdraw their forces to a distance of ten miles from either side of the Canal (which meant that Egypt should leave a clear field for the advancing Israeli forces), and, secondly, that Egypt should accept Anglo-French military occupa-

tion of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez. On October 31, 1956 Britain and France began attacking the attacked with an aerial bombardment of Egypt. On November 5, 1956 Anglo-French forces landed at Port Said and after a battle for the possession of the town proceeded to advance along the Canal.

Meanwhile at the headquarters of the United Nations Dulles in active co-operation, rather collusion, with Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, played his trump by getting through the first Emergency Session of the General Assembly (November 1-10, 1956) a resolution approving on November 4, 1956 that a U.N. Police Force whose composition was subject to further negotiations be formed to keep the peace in the Middle-East. The obvious Western expectation was that like the U.S. forces in Korea since June 1950, British and French aggressors would somehow be recognized as United Nations Forces in the Middle-East, temporarily of course at the moment, but permanently in due course. This expectation, however, was not realised, as Egypt would not accept a U.N. Force of the aggressors and the "general will" of the whole human race also began to assert itself against any U.N. Force of the great Powers. A United Nations Emergency Force of small powers was then hurriedly formed to replace the British, French and Israeli aggressors. To give legal validity to this U.N.E.F. the Security Council had been brought to a session on a request from the U.S.A. on October 29, 1956 and Britain and France duly paralysed it by exercising on October 30, 1956 their vetoes on a U.S. resolution which called on all nations, specially Israel and Egypt but not directly Britain and France to refrain from any threat or use of force against the U.N. Charter.

When Dulles flew to London on August 4, 1956, the prospect was one of war in 24 or 48 hours, and Dulles claimed that only his intervention postponed this. Well, time was an important factor in this seemingly great historic conspiracy and the whole show appears to have been so arranged as to suit Eisenhower's election prospects at the U.S.A.'s Presidential election on November 6, 1956. Perhaps, the time factor had also something to do with the Western Plan of a U.N.E.F. meant for Hun-

gary. On November 1 and 2, 1956, the U.N. Secretary-General received two cables from the Hungarian Premier, Imre Nagy. The first requested help in defending Hungary's neutrality and asked that the Hungarian situation be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming General Assembly. The second cable asked the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start negotiations immediately for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. If Nagy was not replaced by Kadar on November 4, 1956, a U.N.E.F. would have gone to Hungary also as to the Middle-East. For arrangement was made for a Second Emergency Session of the General Assembly (November 4-10, 1956) on the Hungarian issue also after a Soviet veto in the Security Council on a U.S. resolution calling on Russia to cease intervention in Hungary.

The two crises, one in Hungary and the other in the Middle-East, were thus joined together by the jingoists to bring the world to a most terrible brink of war. The brink became more terrible when on November 5, 1956 the Russian Premier, Bulganin issued his famous threat: "Were rocket weapons used against Britain and France, you would most probably call this a barbarous action. But how does the inhuman attack launched by the armed forces of Britain and France against a practically defenceless Egypt differ from this?" It is difficult to imagine that with the world on such a terrible brink of war, Eisenhower's Presidential rival, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, without any comparable military qualification, could have a fair chance of getting himself elected.

Due care was, of course, taken to see that the world was carried back from that extraordinary brink of war, at least temporarily. From August 7, 1956 till almost the beginning of the Suez war, Eisenhower kept himself in touch with Bulganin through a series of correspondence regarding disarmament. The latest in this series was written by Eisenhower to Bulganin on October 21, 1956. In this Eisenhower expressed his hope that "direct communication between us may serve the cause of peace". Speaking in a nation-wide radio-television report on October 31, 1956 about the Suez crisis, Eisenhower showed only his verbal

or formal opposition to the Anglo-French attack which he then characterised only as an action "taken in error". When on November 5, 1956 the U.S.S.R. proposed in the Security Council that enforcement action be taken against the aggressors under Article 42 of the U.N. Charter and expressed its readiness to send to Egypt its air and naval forces, the U.S. delegate shrank from a duty under the Charter observing: "The Soviet draft resolution embodies an unthinkable suggestion that Soviet military forces, together with those of the U.S. should be sent to the fighting in Egypt unless the fighting stops within 12 hours".<sup>15</sup> Fortunately for the human race, world public opinion backed by the Russian threat and the financial difficulties of Britain and France forced the aggressors to retreat in time. Such however are the imperfections of the present law of the U.N. that nobody was penalised nor even censured, for this international robbery in broad day-light against Egypt. Only the U.N.E.F. composed of contingents from small powers has been guarding the Egyptian-Israeli border since November, 1956.

When it was found that the public opinion even in the imperfect organization of the General Assembly of the U.N. would not tolerate British and French forces in the Middle-East, Eisenhower in the name of his Eisenhower Doctrine thought of running his part of the relay race by carrying the U.S. forces to the general area of the Middle-East, wherefrom the British and French forces were forced to withdraw, so recently trembling not only in fear but also in shame. From this point of view the Eisenhower Doctrine is an attempt to fulfil the Western policy of aggression in the Middle-East, and through the Middle-East, the whole world. This led Khrushchev as early as January 13, 1957 to declare that "American imperialism" was attempting to penetrate the Middle-East "to replace" the "decrepit British lion" which "lost his tail in Egypt".<sup>16</sup> Khrushchev did not hesitate to predict at the same time that the Eisenhower Doctrine would break

12. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 21, 1956.

13. *The Record on Suez: A Chronology of Events*, compiled and published by the *Manchester Guardian*, November 1956, p. 10.

14. *Facts on File*, 1956, p. 367.

15. *United Nations Review*, December 1956, p. 38.

16. *Facts on File*, 1957, p. 10.

against the "granite rock" of Russian strength and be "thrown on the garbage heap of history".

About a year and a half after the enunciation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, it was put to its most serious test when in the midst of complaints and counter-complaints, specially between Lebanon and the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Yemen formed in February, 1958, Eisenhower on July 15, 1958 sent U.S. forces into Lebanon. This time Britain, but not France, acted with the U.S.A. by sending troops almost simultaneously into Jordan. In this "grave hour", "this terrible", "the most serious" moment in human history,<sup>17</sup> the Security Council failed to do anything substantial because of a U.S. veto and then the issue was shunted to the Third Emergency Session (August 7-21, 1958), of the General Assembly, after a Russian call for a Summit Meeting was cleverly avoided. On August 21, 1958, the General Assembly brought about an agreement among the Arab States themselves demanding the withdrawal of all British and American forces from the area. The Arab States also agreed on a principle of non-interference in internal affairs. But in the confusion that was created Iraq lost, among many others, its Ruler and Premier, King Feisal II and Nuri al-Said, and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact of 1955, even though under Article 7 the Pact was to remain in force for at least five years. The Pact has now been renamed as the Central Treaty and continues to function with the membership of Britain, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

Lebanon in July and August, 1958 is only an outstanding illustration of how the Eisenhower Doctrine operates. But in a subtler sense this Doctrine of meeting force with force, nay, force with greater force, has been in continuous operation in a historic way. It is unnecessary here to collect numerous other facts regarding the operation of the Eisenhower Doctrine. It is enough to say that it is now military men and military ideas that predominate in the Middle-East, indeed in the whole world.

17. Khrushchev's letters to Eisenhower, Macmillan, De Gaulle, Nehru and Hammarskjöld on July 19, 1958.

#### A REPLY TO THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Yet it is not difficult to see how terrible is the mistake in accepting or following the Eisenhower Doctrine which puts its faith on force and still greater force. Khrushchev said to the General Assembly of the U.N. on September 18, 1959: "Never in history had so many states, so many peoples, been drawn into military preparations as at present. The annual military expenditure of all states totalled \$100,000 million. The money spent by the states in the past decade for military needs should be enough to build over 150 million homes. General and complete disarmament would also render new opportunities to aid under-developed states".<sup>18</sup>

It is difficult for any statesman of the U.S.A. to accept such an advice about disarmament or non-violence, specially when the advice comes from the leader of a Communist Government which has no faith in non-violence.\* Yet while the whole Western world was violently defending human rights, a nobler way of fighting evils was shown by Mahatma Gandhi in his non-violent approach to the World War II. Of course, there was weakness in his followers, even in himself. It was non-violence of the weak which was practised in effect by the majority in India. It is because of such weakness that when India achieved her freedom, it was essentially a freedom divided by two. We got two nations in India, Indian Union and Pakistan, each with separate membership in an undemocratic United Nations at New York, without being United Nations at heart in Dacca and Calcutta, Delhi and Karachi or Rawalpindi. This so-called United Nations where the Western

18. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 19, 1959.

\* A typical Russian attitude towards violence and non-violence may be noted in Khrushchev's warning to the West on April 19, 1957, against West-inspired rebellion within the Soviet bloc. He said: "Don't try to test us as you did in Hungary—with the putsch. You think of doing it not in Hungary, but also in East Germany. Be careful! we are not saints, and if necessary, we can rap your knuckles." *Facts on File*, 1957, p. 129.

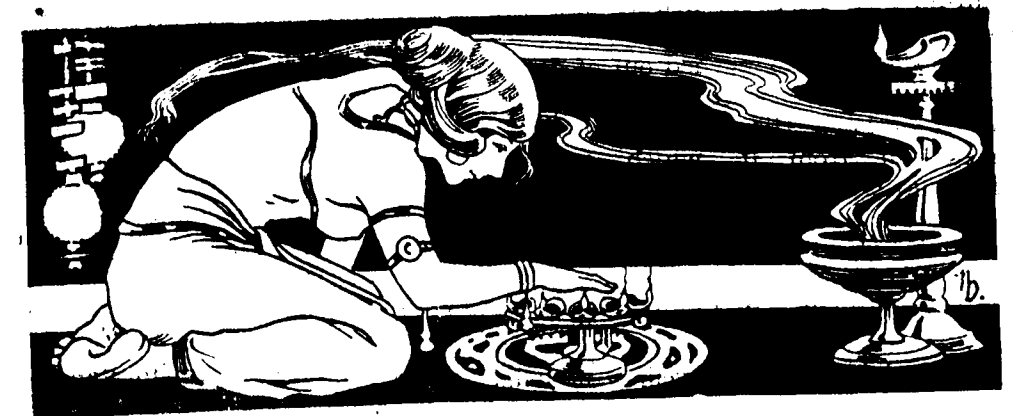
powers predominate cannot solve our problems, whether it is Kashmir, Korea, Formosa, Israel or South Africa.<sup>19</sup> Nasser in his own imperfect way has been trying to correct various mistakes or weaknesses of the Middle Eastern peoples. He has already persuaded Egypt, Syria and Yemen to form some sort of a United Nations, not only in political structure but also at heart, and has been able to reduce the national boundaries into mere administrative ones. If other States of the Middle-East, yes, the whole East of Asia and Africa, also formed a democratic United Nations with individual as the unit of representation with a view to meeting greed by sacrifice, hatred by love, violence by non-violence, untruth by truth, pride by service, and a disunity by unity, then if the Western powers lead their crusade even to Jerusalem or Mecca, or even further East, we shall be able to meet them by saying that those who live by the sword or Atom Bomb will perish by them. The democratic United Nations thus formed may be under-developed, but certainly not under-civilised. It should be kept open for others to join it until it embraces all parts of the world and becomes the Federal, Democratic and Socialist World State, which

representing an L.C.M. of all political ideals<sup>20</sup> looks like the inevitable destiny of mankind, indeed, in Hegelian terms, the march of God on earth. This Doctrine of the World State or Self-determination of the Human race was supported by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress in the Quit India Resolution of August, 1942 and, when realised in an effective form, it will be the best answer to the Eisenhower Doctrine of general militarisation of mankind. This, and nothing else, can take mankind away from the recurring brinks of war towards the summit of Peace and thus save us all from an atomic crucifixion by the jingoists masquerading under the garb of the so-called Western civilization.†

19. My paper on "Kashmir Problem and the United Nations," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, January 1958. The paper was read at the Indian Political Science Conference at Poona in December, 1957.

20. My paper on "Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, October 1949. Also, my papers on "The Problem of Disarmament in the World Today," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, April 1951 and "Disarmament and the Role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations," published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 1957 and "The World State: Why and How?" published in *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, May 1953.

† A paper accepted for discussion at the 22nd Annual Conference of the Indian Political Science Association at Jaipur under the auspices of the Rajasthan University during the Christmas, 1959.





## MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

By JOGES C. BOSE

## I

So at last mother agreed to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi leaving for England to study Law. She was, however, meticulously careful to make him vow to three things, namely, he would not eat meat, touch wine, and would not look upon a woman except as though she were a mother.

Gandhi, in England, strayed off the beaten path of austerity. In an all-out effort to be a gentleman, he had suits made in Bond Street, had his hair cropped like a dandy in costly saloons and spent a fairly good sum of money for lessons in violin and dancing. In one lucid flash, however, he was one day stung with remorse for playing fast and loose with money, his brother sweated hard to provide for him. All at once he resolved to take to rigid economy. He began life the hard way, practising frugality in all matters to the extent that he bought a stove and cooked his own food.

Three years after, Gandhi came back to India as a Barrister-at-Law and joined the Bombay High Court. The misfortune of what it is to belong to a subject race was brought home to him in a rather telling manner. His brother, in difficulty with the British Political Agent at Rajkot, sought him to intercede, as he happened to know him in England. Before Gandhi had half-finished what he had to say, the English gentleman asked him to clear out. As he persisted, he was pushed out of doors. Gandhi thought of proceeding against him in a court of law. His friends, however, dissuaded him from it, which, as they feared, would land them in further troubles. Pheroza Mehta was one of those to advise that if Gandhi intended to live in peace in this country he would do well to pocket an insult like that.<sup>1</sup> A business-

1. Edward VII, when travelling in India as Prince of Wales, wrote his mother home that Indians were being insulted by Englishmen a bit too often.

house of Porbundar, where Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869, engaged him to assist them in some legal matters in South Africa for a term of one year.

Most Indians went to South Africa as indentured labourers for a term of five years. After the term was over, they continued to work on their own account. So an Indian was, to all intents and purposes, a cooly to an Englishman. Gandhi likewise was called 'a cooly barrister'. The first day at Durban, as he went into a court-room to see how cases were being conducted there, the Magistrate peremptorily asked him to put off his turban. Gandhi retired from the room rather than submit to the insulting dictation. On his way from Durban to Pretoria, where he was due to stay, he was thrown bag and baggage from a first class railway compartment, even if he had the necessary ticket. He gathered that it was so for the one simple reason that a white-man intended to board the coach and he would not suffer an Indian to travel with him. Further up the journey, he was told that his ticket for the stage coach was cancelled, because there were white men seated inside. He accepted the offer and sat by the side of the coachman. After they had gone some distance, the coachman's assistant bade him step down to sit on the dirty board underneath their feet. As he refused, he was belaboured without let or hindrance. It was so unsightly that the gentlemen inside called him in.

At Pretoria—and for the matter of that in the state of Transvaal—Indians could not own any land. They had to pay poll tax. They had to observe curfew, i.e., they could not get out of the house without a permit after 9 P.M. Gandhi deeply thought over the matter and invited Indians in all walks of life to meet to discuss how best they could end such an intolerable state of things. He asked them to stand shoulder to shoulder to fight for a human treatment. An Association to take up what affected Indians as a class was formed. As Gandhi's

year of contract came to expire he was prevailed upon to stay at least till when the Natal Government abandoned its intention to pass a bill, of which it had just notified, denying Indians their right to vote. They offered to compensate him monetarily, but he declined to accept any money for his service to the community. To make both ends meet, he, therefore, settled at Durban for practice and from there he would fight out the disabilities, which were being imposed upon Indians in devastating succession.

The Natal Indian Congress was founded in 1894 with Gandhi as Secretary. Instantly he proved its life and soul. Since now, the Indians took heart and began to assert themselves. It was obvious that the struggle was going to be long and arduous. Gandhi, therefore, came back to India to take his wife and two sons to make their home with him in South Africa. On their way back, as the ship neared the port, deafening shouts of 'Gandhi go back' greeted them from a vast crowd of white people. It was so menacing that the Captain did not let them get down the ship. In fact, Mrs. Gandhi and her sons were escorted home under cover of night. And then as it looked that the hostile crowd had dispersed, Gandhi made for his residence. Some one must have recognised him and raised the cry 'Gandhi, Gandhi.' Immediately, as though some infernal spirits were let loose, white people gathered round him thick and fast. He was punched, kicked, beaten black and blue. But for the intervention of the wife of the Superintendent of Police, as she happened to pass by, Gandhi would have fared far worse.

Gandhi, barely twenty-eight, had by the time changed a tremendous lot and would not yield to the Superintendent of Police pressing him to help arrest the miscreants for trial. Punishment, said Gandhi with disarming candour, was no cure for the ills of the kind. Such a mental frame-up was wrought in him, amongst other things, by a devout study of Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. They made for simple living, hard work and the eschewing of violence

in acts and utterances. His honest square deal attracted all and sundry. Those who sought justice with clean hands in a Court of Law flocked to him and he picked up a good practice. But all the same, he devoted quite good hours each day in furtherance of the cause, for which he had agreed to stay in South Africa.

The crucial test came as the Boer War broke out. His innate sympathy was with the Boers. But as he was demanding the rights of a British citizen, he felt it was morally incumbent upon him to help the British. A vast section resented this and would not easily yield. He took great pains to conquer their apathy and an Ambulance Corps over one thousand strong was organised. The Indian stretcher-bearers never fought shy of the fire line, from which they carried the wounded to the hospital. On occasions they marched twenty to twenty-five miles with their precious load of the wounded. Their courage and the spirit of service elicited the admiration of even those who had hitherto viewed Indians with an insuperable aversion. Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, told a Sheffield audience that 'of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal'. It, however, evaporated as the victory was won.

As a result of British victory, the Boer countries of Orange Free State and the Transvaal came under British rule. Things for the Indians, Gandhi hoped, would now change for the better. He left South Africa after eight years of hard devoted labours for the Indian cause to stay home. Before, however, he left South Africa he made over by a trust-deed all gifts in silver, gold and diamond to be deposited with a bank to help achieve the goal of equal rights for Indians. He also gave them the promise that if they needed him badly enough he would be by their side.

Gandhi came back to India and took up practice at Bombay. Things prospered for him but the quiet tenor of a personal life was not in his line. By the end of 1902, i.e., when he had been in India for

only a year, he received a telegram from South Africa needing him desperately in view of the British Colonial Secretary Chamberlain's impending visit. Gandhi broke up his establishment at a moment's notice and went back to South Africa. Chamberlain gave a cold shoulder to the Indian Deputation and admonished Indians to placate the Europeans. Gandhi realised that Philip sober or Philip drunk made no difference and the Indian question was not to resolve in months. He called for his wife and family and plunged headlong into the task he had set for himself. Along with the practice of law, he conducted a paper called *The Indian Opinion* and ran a farm, named after Tolstoy. His family and many other co-workers lived there on the principle of absolute equality and no personal wealth.

His first head-on-clash with the Government was over the Registration Ordinance making it compulsory for every Indian above eight to register his or her name and carry the card just as the license of automobiles—females were later on excluded. A long struggle of Passive Resistance—*Satyagraha* as Gandhi called it—ensued. Gandhi suffered imprisonment and so did thousand other Indians. They suffered all kinds of privations not excluding starvation at times. A good many succumbed to the ordeal. What held his followers so mightily is their loyalty to Gandhi. He never shirked or excused himself doing things he asked others to do. The epic struggle was at last crowned with success by the passing of the Asiatic Relief Bill. It repealed the poll tax and the Registration Ordinance, and accepted the validity of Indian marriage. In July 1914, Gandhi sailed for home with the tale of his unique dedication running ahead of him to inspire love and faith.

## II

Gopal Krishna Gokhale amongst leaders of India was in vital affectionate touch with Gandhi in South Africa. As Gandhi came back to India, he referred to Gokhale, whom he called 'a sure pilot', regarding his future activities. Gokhale enjoined on

him to do nothing of politics for one year and spend it as a year of probation travelling throughout the country to gain first-hand knowledge of things. Gandhi travelled third class; and here was the real India revealed to him—incredibly poor, steeped in prejudice and superstition but sensitively mobile. What possibly struck him most was that even if so rugged she is inordinately tender to the ethical value of asceticism. As the C.I.D. people invariably bothered him with questions of all kinds, the fellow passengers, though utterly lacking in a sense of collective life, resented their intrusion upon a *Sadhu*; they took him to be.

In May 1915, Gandhi founded an Ashram, some five miles away from Ahmedabad. It came to be known as the *Sabarmati Ashram* from the name of the river flowing close by. Almost immediately after he was put to test, inasmuch as a family of 'untouchables' applied to be enrolled as members desiring to live in the Ashram. In so far as Gandhis were concerned, there could be no flicker of objection. Other inmates followed their example and did not object. In fact, they accepted to help remove untouchability from Hindu society as their creed. Gradually as Gandhi gained in weight and importance, the *Sabarmati Ashram* became the nerve-centre of India.

In the 1916 Lucknow Congress, a few peasants of Champaran (Bihar) came all the way to meet him to apprise him of the low degrading conditions in which they had to cultivate indigo for Europeans. One condition of their tenancy was that a tenant could not walk with an open umbrella in the vicinity of a planter's bungalow. Some Bihar leaders rose equal to the occasion and with their active co-operation Gandhi offered *Satyagraha*. The Government intervened with a suitable legislation to redress their grievances. But alongside, Gandhi initiated the villagers into lessons of self-help. They started schools, opened medical centres, practised sanitation and took to a cleaner standard of life. He was next requisitioned to rescue the peasants of Khairat, district Gujrat.

They were in the grip of a terrible famine and had defaulted to pay Government tax, as a result of which their properties were being confiscated. He started a no-tax campaign with the inevitable consequence of imprisonment and forfeiture of properties. Buyers, however, were not forthcoming and the labour refused to obey the orders to execute the decree. The Government gave in.

In the meantime The First Great War was in full swing and not without some reverses for England. Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General, invited Gandhi, amongst some other Indian leaders, to a conference to work out ways and means how best to help England. Gandhi agreed to raise recruits. What inspired Gandhi is what he gave vent to in his letter to Chelmsford. "I recognise," he wrote, "that in the hour of its danger, we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas." What blind faith Gandhi had in the ethics of the Empire—and in it is discernible the influence of Gokhale—is clear from the following in his letter to Surendranath Banerjee, "We must perceive that if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule." It sounds fantastic; but that it was his *bonafide* conviction is also clear from what he said in April 1915 at the Madras Law Dinner. "It gives me," he said, "the greatest pleasure to redeclare my loyalty to the British Empire. . . . I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love." In his exacting campaign for recruits he penetrated into far-off villages and very nearly ravaged himself. He was, in his words, at 'death's door' from an attack of dysentery. It is significant that in one of the leaflets, Gandhi issued from time to time asking people to enlist as recruits, he said much to the annoyance of the bureaucracy, "Among the many misdeeds of British rule in India, history will look upon the Act depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest." Here, Gandhi summed up his

stand-point, was the opportunity to learn the use of arms.

While yet pinned to bed, he got the news that the War had ended in a victory for England. But he was hardly on the way to his normal health, when he was taken aback to read the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, appointed to investigate the causes and cure of Indian unrest, depriving Indians of the semblance of civil liberty they had. They were such, said Gandhi, that no self-respecting people would submit to them—mere possession of a seditious document was punishable with imprisonment. And, was not promoting disaffection against the Government the gist of sedition? To what extent it would go was anticipated when 'disaffection' could be judicially interpreted, as in Tilak's case, as 'absence of affection.' Ballavbhai Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Anasuya Behn, Umar Sobhani and a few others pressed Gandhi to do something immediately. They all signed the *Satyagraha* pledge to undo the great insult that was being done to India, which had just bled herself white for England.

We would better pause to consider the ruling power's primary reaction to Gandhi. There can hardly be a better authenticated document for this than *India 1919*: "Since his stand in South Africa," to quote a few lines of this Blue Book, "he has commanded among his countrymen all the traditional reverence with which the East envelopes a religious leader of acknowledged asceticism. . . . His admirers are not confined to any religious sect. His readiness to take up the cudgels on behalf of any individual or class whom he regards as being oppressed has endeared him to the mass of his countrymen. . . . He is regarded with a reverence for which adoration is scarcely too strong a word." When such a man sounded the clarion call it passed for the fiat of a Messiah and echoed throughout the nook and corner of India. She was called upon to observe 6th of April 1919 as a national day. Bombay celebrated it by a congregational bath in the sea, by a mammoth protest meeting and selling literature, proscribed on national grounds.

Gandhi, on his way to Amritsar, was arrested at an intermediary station, because, Sir Michael O'Dyer had banned his entry into the Punjab. He was taken back to Delhi and released. The excited millions formed into a procession in his honour. This was obstructed by the mounted Police piercing through the seething mass and trampling under foot a good many. There was also for him disturbing news from other parts of India. In Calcutta there was a clash between the people and the police firing six of them dead and many others wounded. At Ahmedabad, the mill-hands had struck work and broke into violence and the city was put under martial law. Immediately as Gandhi reached Ahmedabad, he was taken to the house of the Dy. Commissioner, who listened to his advice and allowed him to hold a public meeting, where Gandhi counselled peace and order. On that very day the martial law was withdrawn and quiet restored.

Here now was to Gandhi a dilemma of singular complexity. There was the appeal of a section of the people to suspend *Satyagraha*, which, they said, would lead the country to anarchy, confusion, misery and ruin. There was the other section pleading with as much plausibility that if uniform peace throughout the length and breadth of India was a condition precedent to mass *Satyagraha*, he would have to wait for eternity and better not talk of it in future. With cool deliberation Gandhi confessed to having made a 'Himalayan miscalculation' and suspended the *Satyagraha*. He said it was wrong of him to have asked the people to work up to the potentials of civil disobedience without being sure that they had understood its deep ethical import. Such an unwary step at the very start would have finished any other man but Gandhi, who had, by reason of his character, anchored deep into the heart of million Indians. He was, Tagore assessed him, 'Truth itself as distinguished from quotations.'

In tune with Sir Michael banning Gandhi's entry into the Punjab, the Dy.

Commissioner of Amritsar summoned Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchle organising the Congress session held at Amritsar in the evening —to his bungalow and from there to an unknown destination. It was too severe a strain on the incoming apace of the people. A decision was made for the Dy. Commissioner's residence to ascertain their whereabouts. They were rolled back under volleys of buckshots. The victims were then carried in procession and the infuriated mob set fire to some buildings tenanted by Englishmen and killed five of them. The city was handed over to the military.

Winston Churchill denounced in the House of Commons some of the acts committed by the military, as standing in 'sinister isolation.' One of these to tower head and shoulders over the rest is what General Dyer did on the 13th of April 1919. He shot down unarmed men, women and children, who had gathered at the annual religious fair at Jallianwallabag after having barred the exits. His plea was that they had disobeyed his order under section 114 of the Criminal Procedure Code forbidding the assemblage of more than five persons without permission. He admitted before the Hunter Committee that it was quite possible that most of these people had come from villages and were not aware of the order. Even then, as the crowd broke pell-mell on the first shot, he kept up, as Valentine Chirol says, a relentless fusillade for ten consecutive minutes.<sup>2</sup> Major Carbury bombed and strafed Gurjanwalla by machine guns from airplanes. Colonel O'Brien said that he fired at the crowd 'wherever found'

2. There was a body of evidence for which C. R. Das, M. R. Jayakar and others were for incorporating into the Congress Report that Dyer had trapped the unwary crowd into the park for an exemplary punishment. Gandhi, who was in charge of the Report, set his face against it, because, the evidence, he argued, could be assailed in one respect or the other. This is how the world is spared a still more shocking version of Jallianwallabag.

People were publicly flogged;<sup>3</sup> women made to stand in rows and spat upon. Boys of sixteen to twenty were made to march under the boiling sun of May up to sixteen miles in some cases, in order to salute the British flag. Indians passing by a particular thoroughfare, where an English woman was done to death despite some Indians running to her rescue at the risk of their lives, were made to crawl up and down the whole length of it on their belly. Quarter Master General Hudson in the cool, composed atmosphere of the Indian Legislative Council gave a demonstration of the feat to the amusement of the English members breaking into laughter. An imbecile Governor General sat by in the presidential chair in statuesque immobility.

All reports were gagged. The Punjab episode, however, trickled out in gruesome details, as the ban on the egress and regress of the people was partly lifted. Rabindranath Tagore stepped forward renouncing his Knighthood as 'the very least,' he said, he could do in giving voice to the protest of his million countrymen, 'surprised into a dumb terror of anguish.' Rev. C. F. Andrews hurried to the lacerated Punjab, where, he said, Britain had in cold blood committed a crime, 'much blacker than the massacre of Glencoe.' Pundit Madanmohan Malavya, Swami Shradhdhananda, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Gandhi were amongst those to hurry up to Amritsar. They examined the position and declared that Hunter Committee was not justifying of confidence. A Congress Committee was formed with Gandhi to organise an Enquiry. It was during the on-the-spot

3. On the point, M. R. Jayakar says in his *The Story of My Life*—"One of them, a small boy became senseless after the fourth stripe but after some water was poured into his mouth he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed. He lost consciousness for a second time, but the flogging was not stopped till he was given thirty stripes. He was then taken off the flogging post bleeding and quite unconscious."

study of the situation that Gandhi first realised that the fear of the loss of India would make Britain abandon the basic principle of civilized being and in no time cast to the wind all canons of justice and fair play.

And yet at the Amritsar Congress, Gandhi 'begged loyally to respond,' as he said, 'to the sentiments of the Royal Proclamation,' ushering in the Montford Reforms. He went so far as to move to delete the word 'disappointing' from the Resolution of C. R. Das, who was originally for rejecting the Reforms. In five months' time the Report of the Hunter Committee exasperated India to a man. The observation of the level-headed Montagu that General Dyer had committed an 'error of judgement' but 'acted to the best of his light and sincerity of purpose' was a rude shock to India. The House of Lords would not even suffer the halting denunciation of this crime against humanity. The wife of a Calcutta Barrister raised funds to cover with silver the blood-stained hands of General Dyer. All these smacked of race hauteur and were like rubbing Indian wounds with salt. India was up to the neck with a revulsion of feeling. Gandhi took to exercising himself in terms of Non-cooperation.

The Non-co-operation Resolution was first passed in the Khilafat Conference at Meerut and then at the Gujrat Provincial Conference, Gandhi taking the lead in either. Then in September 1920, Gandhi led India launch Non-co-operation at a special session of the Congress in Calcutta, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding.

Were it the Punjab wrong, perpetrated and condoned with a headlong wantonness, which abruptly changed Gandhi from what he was vis-a-vis Britain to what he now became, smelling 'insidious poison' in everything of her 'satanic Government' in India, the swift, decisive measure, he proposed, is understandable. The mystery deepens as he says that it was England's betrayal in the matter of Khilafat, that made him make 'the final

choice.<sup>4</sup> A new-born Turkey dropped Khilafat, the symbol of stone-dead theocracy as a clog in the wheel of progress. id," says H. C. Armstrong in his *Tolf: Mustafa Kemal*,<sup>5</sup> "the crafty, enemy, who failed to destroy the by the Greeks, was at her intrigues using the Indian Moslems and Aga o split the Turks into two camps." e seized the precipitate Khilafat at e gave a new fillip to pan-Islamism,<sup>6</sup> rule had avidly nursed to prevent onal merger of the Hindus and s. The inexorable destiny was that Khilafat died a natural death, the frustration revenged itself by a omunalism. Some of the top rank t leaders, who swore by Gandhi n into hysterics over his name, had o scruples whatsoever to call him a he hateful unbeliever. But back to eme. was accepted that to make the Non-co-on Resolution finally operative, they wait for the Nagpur Congress in the ng December, when by the time the would have fully considered it in ects. The Nagpur President Vijay-chari was instrumental in making -operation hinge on the issue of the t of wrongs, the denial of Swaraj a. At Nagpur, C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai hers, who were not wholly in its in Calcutta, gave Gandhi an und support. He was acclaimed as the long awaited.

### III

e Non-co-operation spelt a complete f the old school leaders. They now l from the Congress, they had untibuilt up, and took to spoon-feeding ontford Reforms, which yielded for a many of them a rich harvest. Surenh Banerjea, Provash C. Mitter, C. Y.

Gandhi: *The Story of My Experiments with—Part V, Chapter XXXVI.*

This book inspired Mr. Jinnah to of a new role in life.

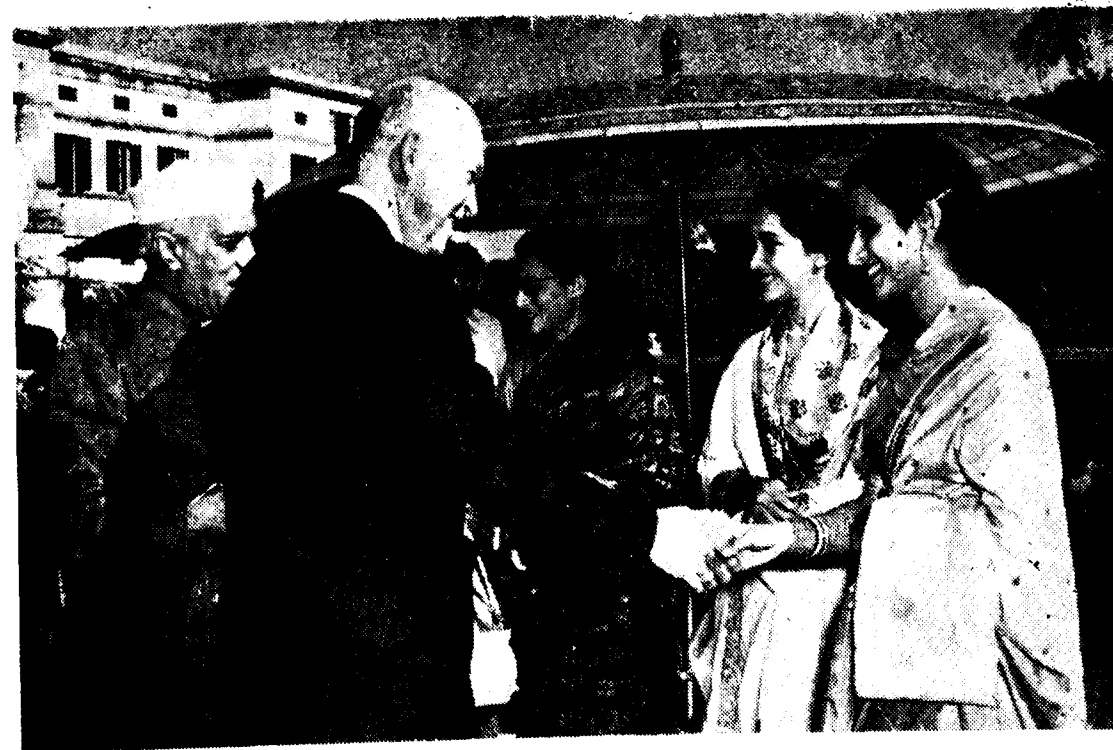
Bepin Chandra Pal warned against anism in the first decade of this century.

Chintamani, Lala Harkissen Lall were amongst those to be ministers; Lord Sinha was made Governor of Bihar and Orissa; B. N. Sarma and Tejbahadur Sapru were made Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council; C. C. Ghose was made a judge of the Calcutta High Court; Sreenivas Sastry was made a British Agent for the Dominions; and Bhupendranath Bose was taken over as Member to the Secretary of State's India Council. The old stalwarts, now absorbed into the bureaucracy, left the field open to Gandhi and a new set of leaders. They attacked the Montford Reforms from a pointblank range.

The Non-co-operation swept past India with the rapidity of a hurricane. Some over thirty thousand souls were clapped in jail for offering civil disobedience. Gandhi resolved to start a no-tax campaign at Bardoli. There were, however, sporadic riots and other acts of lawlessness. What happened at Chaurichaura was sufficient by itself to make Gandhi scan and reflect. Angry peasants broke open the jail and set fire to the Police Station burning to death some policemen. This was reminiscent of the storming of the Bastille. Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience.<sup>7</sup> But he was put to trial to answer the charge of sedition.

Three articles of Gandhi's *Young India* "The Puzzle and its Solution," "Tampering with Loyalty" and "Shaking the Manes" were cited as tokens of his guilt. In pleading guilty Gandhi declared, "I am here to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in Law is a deliberate crime but what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." Gandhi was given a sentence of six years. After two years he was operated for appendicitis—no easy operation in those days—and released. Eight months after, he went on a fast for twenty-one days in order to expiate the sin of the Hindus and the Moslems breaking each other's head

7. "To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching boiling point, was nothing short of a national calamity."—Subhas Bose in *The Indian Struggle*.



Some honoured guests in a launch held recently in New Delhi in honour of the U.S. President are being presented to him by the Prime Minister



Group photo taken at the Palam Airport on the occasion of President Eisenhower's five-day State visit in India





President Eisenhower is seen arriving with distinguished visitors at a special Convocation of the Delhi University



The U. S. President proceeding to the Central Hall of the Indian Parliament

over the question of music before mosque, cow-slaughter and other causes as flimsy. As Gandhi crossed the ordeal, he was back to the old schedule and accepted the presidentship of the Congress at Belgaum, December 1924.

Fast as time ran out, England sent a Commission in 1928, headed by Sir John Simon, of which Clement Attlee was a member, to consult Indian leaders and work out a scheme as the next change in the governance of India. There was not a single Indian on the Commission and the Congress boycotted it. The demonstrators sustained a barrage of 'Simon go back.' They were beaten up, such as to prompt Jawaharlal Nehru, 'half blinded with dull anger,' as he says, to retaliate, but deterred from a course like that by his loyalty to Gandhi. Lala Lajput Rai slumped under a stinging blow and died a few days after. The result of all these was that the 1929 Lahore Congress declared that the word Swaraj in Article I of the Congress Constitution meant complete independence; and January 26 was marked as the Independence Day for national observance.

Gandhi renewed his campaign of Civil Disobedience. On 12th March 1930, he and seventy eight others started on foot for the sea at village Dandi, some two hundred miles away from Ahmedabad, to make salt in violation of Law. There was an unprecedented upheaval in the country and people everywhere celebrated the occasion in whatever manner they deemed expedient in local conditions. Gandhi, erect with grim resoluteness, writ large on every step of his, was India on her pilgrimage to Freedom. He reached the destination, prepared salt and was confined in Yervada jail. Britain in the meantime tried one Round Table Conference in London without Gandhi. It proved dismally certain that no one else could deliver the goods. So at last the Governor General Lord Irwin came to terms with Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience was called off. The *Satyagraha* prisoners were released. The poor were given the right to make salt on their own account. Picketing of liquor and opium shops was pronounced legal. People

got back the lands, which were confiscated for Civil Disobedience. Gandhi agreed to attend the Second Round Table Conference. To Winston Churchill it was 'a humiliating, nauseating spectacle' that Gandhi, whom he called in one of his obstreperous moments 'a half naked, seditious fakir,'<sup>8</sup> should be striding up the steps of the Viceregal house to settle terms with Lord Irwin, as between plenipotentiaries.

London turned out in her thousands to receive Gandhi. He put up with Miss Muriel Lester, who was living in the service of the poor in their humble surroundings of East End. It was the year of acute economic depression and, furthermore, a good many of the working class were hit by Gandhi's campaign of boycott and Khadi. All the same, they would wait on the wayside and keep running in and out just for a glimpse of this great Indian.

Gandhi in his loin cloth and hand-stitched wrapper was an oxymoron in the House of Lords, when the King-Emperor opened the Second Round Table Conference with due pomp in the presence of immaculately dressed official dignitaries and gorgeously-attired Indian Princes. "Time was," said Gandhi to the assembled, "when I prided myself on being a British subject. I would far rather be called now a rebel than a subject." In speeches at the Round Table Conference and at Committee meetings he emphasised the wrong which was being done to India by denying her the right of self-determination. These speeches in their crisp simplicity were a ringing contrast to the high-flown eloquence of others. At the garden-party in the Buckingham Palace, Gandhi was introduced to the King by Sir Samuel Hoare, later on Lord Templewood. George V told Gandhi that formerly he was behaving quite well as a loyal subject and that he should not have taken to destructive politics. Gandhi politely replied that as an invited guest he had not come to discuss politics. Lord Templewood says in his *Nine Troubled*

8. George VI, on receipt of the news of Gandhi's death wired Mountbatten that it was 'an irreparable loss they (Indians) and indeed mankind (italics mine) have suffered.'

years how he breathed a sigh of relief that neither pushed the point any further. Gandhi, says he, impressed one and all by his 'beautiful manners' and contrasts him with the 'bumptious' Churchill. Bernard Shaw met him and declared that he was 'a man born once in a thousand years.' Lloyd George invited him and was all-praise for his winsomeness. Lady Astor invited him to luncheon. Winston Churchill refused to meet him. His cousin, the famous sculptress Clare Sheridan, however, obtained Gandhi's permission to do his head. He had no time to pose, but she did her job while he was spinning. On his way back, he met Romain Rolland at Paris. Rolland writes his impression, "He flung one arm around me, leaning his cheek against my shoulder. . . . It was, I amuse myself thinking, the kiss of St. Dominic and St. Francis."

Gandhi came back, the European Association chuckled, 'empty-handed'. This did not worry Gandhi; he never had high hopes from his visit. What however worried him, essentially the man of peace, was that what he and Irwin had initiated in healing up the differences between England and India were set at naught by Irwin's successor, the 'feather-brained' Willingdon, who chose to rule India by Ordinances. He turned Gandhi's request even for an interview. Gandhi wrote back to say that it was unworthy of the position, he held. Gandhi was taken a captive to the Yervada jail.

The Separate Electorate, which was embodied into the Indian Statute by the India Act, 1909, was confined to the Moslems only. The India Act, 1919, extended it to the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and the Europeans. As though the cup of divisiveness between man and man in India was not yet full to the brim, the India Act, 1935, sought to slice out a portion of the Hindu society, which passed for the Scheduled Caste, and give them a separate electorate. The magnitude of the contemplated step appalled Gandhi. He took to fast unto

death were the Hindus to remain obdurate and would not move fast to undo the mischief. The Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus agreed to a formula and Britain, shying at the odium of her responsibility, accepted it in place of her own. Thus was Gandhi saved, on the brink of a fatal sag; and he saved the Hindu society breaking down still further into pieces.

The India Act, 1935, conceded a measure of autonomy to the provinces. It was, however, hedged in by so many reservations, safeguards and residuary power that Attlee, as Leader of the Opposition, summed it up to say in the House of Commons, 'the one thing which seems to have been left out is the Indian people.' 'It ingeniously multiplied,' says Harold Lasky in *Where From Here*, 'every protective device discoverable of reaction.' And yet Winston Churchill fulminated as though the prodigals were giving away everything with a reckless abandon.

Gandhi consented to the Congress taking up the administration of eight out of eleven provinces. The Second Great War broke out in 1939. Lord Halifax, now the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, requested Gandhi to send a message to Poland groaning under German attack. Any other than Gandhi would have retorted, 'Were not you as much a party to the attempts of Chamberlain and Daldier to direct Fascist might eastward?' But Gandhi is of a different mould and at once acceded to the request. As Linlithgow invited Gandhi to line up with Britain, Gandhi asked the Governor General to consult the British Cabinet and state in unequivocal terms what India gained in being plunged into the desolating war. Linlithgow would not. He further involved India into the war over the head of her Legislature. Gandhi withdrew the Congress Ministries and started a symbolic civil disobedience. That is to say, one Congress member would stand at a public place to announce, for what consequence, that the war had been forced down the throat of India.

It was at this dissolving period of

history that Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister of Great Britain. One of his very early pronouncements was that he had not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Indian Empire. He declared as well that the Atlantic Charter, which promised the people the right to choose their own form of Government, did not apply to India. 'We hold what we have' was his arrogant assertion. In the inevitable clash some forty thousand people were put in jail. In the meantime, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and the United States of America entered the war. Churchill sent Stafford Cripps, with his successful record in Russia, to India to talk out, as it were, the question of her Independence. In August 1942, Gandhi started his 'Quit India'<sup>10</sup> campaign and left every Indian to go to the fullest length for a complete deadlock. The factor of surpassing importance to finalise the Indian struggle in the nick of time was, however, Netajee Subhas Bose.

Subhas Bose escaped from detention in his Calcutta residence in January, 1941. After an intriguing journey, which bristled with hazards and hardships of all kinds, he went to Russia via Afghanistan and then flew to Berlin in the following March. He was enthusiastically accepted by Germany and Japan in turn as an ally.<sup>11</sup> In the South East Asia he formed a battalion from out of the Indian Army, left over in the lurch by the British Generals fleeing for their lives. He launched the offensive and came as far as Kohima but was cut off from the main line of supply and had to retreat. Japan surrendered shortly after.

10. The coinage is that of an American Press-correspondent.

11. Paul Leverkuehn says in his *German Military Intelligence* that "Bose was in no way a collaborator in the evil sense which the word has acquired of recent years; rather he was a true Indian patriot with but one idea, who was prepared to do nothing for Germany's sake, but anything and everything including the harnessing of Germany's interests for India."

Abul Kalam Azad says in *India Wins Freedom* that Gandhi changed radically towards Netajee Subhas and was all affection whenever he was mentioned. He even countered Azad to say that if the Japanese landed in India they would come not as her enemy. The change is significant, because over the Tripuri Congress in 1939 the chasm between them looked complete. Over the distant radio, Subhas Bose, all the same, hailed Gandhi as 'the Father of the Nation', even if it is an anachronism historically.<sup>12</sup> To the Indian National Army, beaten back but covered with glory, Gandhi paid the well-merited tribute of acknowledgement. "You have," he said, "failed in your direct objective to defeat the British; but you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have begun to think in terms of Independence."<sup>13</sup> Britain, for fairly two hundred years since the Plassey down to relinquishing the sceptre, had rested her guns on Indian shoulders in order to keep India under subjection. It was Subhas Bose's

—The book is translated into English by R. H. Stevens and Constantine Fitzgibbon.

12. Round about 1913 or 14. Annie Besant raised a controversy as to whom should the fatherhood of the Indian National Congress, synchronising with the freedom-movement of India, be assigned. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, himself once a President of the Congress, clinched the issue by a somewhat forthright appraisal—"Were a father be found now, let us declare that Surendranath Banerjee is the grandfather; he is the father of our national consciousness". Moreover, India, so long snubbed by the die-hards as no nation but only a geographical expression, was, when Gandhi stepped into Indian politics, already a nation. There can be no better authority in support than Sir Reginald Coupland, who says that 'from 1918 onwards, India was recognised as a separate nation and represented in her own right at international conference.'—*India, A Re-statement*.

13. Dr. K. N. Katju said over the All-India Radio, 23rd January, 1952—"The final and decisive blow to the British Raj was dealt by Netajee Subhas Bose."

9. The expression is Montagu's.

sinews and inspiration, which imbued the Indian military with the spirit of 'about face' to British commands as a test of patriotism. This is what, Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in a roundabout way in the House of Commons, March 1947, in the debate on Indian independence. He dwelt on the 'absurdity of a considerable reinforcement of British troops to enforce administrative responsibility'. England may not tire preening herself on the virtue of fulfilling her mission by withdrawing from India, but History shall always be hard put to tone down the dire expediency of her leaving the Indian shores before the prospect of trade could yet be saved. And, in fact, it was saved.<sup>14</sup> We are, however, straying afield and must go back.

## IV

As the Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi, gave Britain the ultimatum 'Quit India,' Quaid-e-Azam Mahammed Ali Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League acting as a bastion against the Congress demand for Independence,<sup>15</sup> put in the re-

14. In March 1958, Prime Minister Macmillan said at New Delhi, that Britain's trade position with India was better than what it was during the British regime. And what that trade position means is abundantly clear from what Viscount Rothermere said in the *Daily Mail*, June 3, 1930. Vide *The Daily Mail Blue Book on the Indian Crisis*. "India," says he, "is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports. Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old-age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all other State allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of the automatic routine of existence. These advantages are unparalleled in any other nation, and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India".

15. On 12th November 1930, Jinnah himself claimed at the First Round Table Conference that the Muslim League had 'checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete Independence of India'.

joinder 'Divide India before you quit'. To enforce their demand the Muslim League started Direct Action, which inaugurated a blood-bath in Calcutta and Noakhali with grim repercussions in Bihar. The English governor of either Bengal or Bihar acted as the wooden horse of the Trojan War. Gandhi in his trek to restore brutalised Noakhali and Bihar to normalcy once again signalled how incredibly apart he was from others. He would personally visit the plague-spots, contact the people, smitten with a frenzied communalism, and help heal up the wounds.

In February 1947 Britain announced that she would quit India not later than June 1948. The then Governor-General Lord Wavel was practically dismissed to make room for Lord Mountbatten, related to the royal family. He speeded up the process and completed by 16th August, 1947, withdrawal from India, now divided into two independent countries, India and Pakistan. History has the indelible print that Gandhi assented to the division of India after having repeatedly held out the solemn assurance that it is only over his dead body that the division could be effected.<sup>16</sup> All the same, it is Gandhi's signal achievement that he made India a secular state as distinguished from Pakistan being made an Islamic State. It enables forty-five million Muslims to live in India as equal citizens under the security guaranteed by the Constitution.

Gandhi stole away from the furore of Independence celebrations to devote himself to his mission of 'forget and forgive.' The process he had ere long initiated was disturbed by the shocking tales of refugees coming from East Bengal and West Punjab. As he felt that his appeal did not avail to the extent he hoped, he resorted to a fast in Calcutta. The leaders of each community pledged with him their word of honour and there were indications that their joint efforts were bearing fruits.

H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, during the 'Great Killings'—the

16. The inside story is yet awaited why Gandhi agreed to the Partition.

coinage is that of *The Statesman*, Calcutta—trooping at the heels of Gandhi for peace and amity between the Hindus and Moslems is a pathetic phenomenon of history. Gandhi gave up the fast after seven days. In the meantime, Pakistan attacked Kashmir, which acceded to India. Ballabh Patel, as Home Minister, withheld the payment of Rupees Fifty-five crores to Pakistan, India had agreed to pay her under the head Partition-assets. Possibly never before Gandhi had his non-violence so sorely tested. He supported India resist by arms the raiders of Kashmir but would be no party to withhold the aforesaid payment, firstly because, it was agreed upon without any condition attached to it and, secondly, it was the only way to localise the conflict.

At times it is difficult to reconcile to the ethics of Gandhi's non-violence. It is based, he says, on India's ancient Law of suffering and sacrifice and is conceived to work out a change of heart in the wrongdoer. It is universally accepted that Gandhi has, more than any body else in modern times, brought home to a distracted world the urgent necessity of evolving a code of conduct between a nation and nation, such as it obtains between two gentlemen in the ordinary affairs of life. He has held with untiring insistence that were civilization, built up in the length of ages, to survive, brute reciprocity must not be the last say. He has demonstrated without one single equivocation that in the most exacting fight to liquidate British rule he has not said far less acted, which even remotely bespeaks of spite, malice or hate against the British people. No political leader anywhere in the world has ever shied at or shunned a subterfuge as he. Can it be said of any other doing politics, as Gokhale said of Gandhi 'as the kind of man before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy'? He was called 'a crank', 'a charlatan', 'a dangerous maniac', but as he replied to

the charge or discussed the subject-matter on the boil, he never used a harsh word. Stuck up in a gruelling fight for national ends, he was, true to the kindred spirits of heaven and home, always for a federal adjustment of sovereign states. It is no wonder that Bishops and Prelates of note and standing acknowledged this Hindu as having given life and meaning to Christianity. In fact, he has built up a legend as to justify Einstein to say that 'a generation after, people will scarcely believe that such a man as he ever walked on this earth'.

But the Nemesis is eternally jealous. The charge that from the very start Gandhi appeased the Moslems such as to inflate their demands persisted. Even Abul Kalam Azad accuses him in cold print that he fawned at Jinnah, when the latter had very nearly dropped as a back number; and that Jinnah, invested with a new lease of life, took to kicking with disastrous results. There was a section of people, which could not, as well, take kindly to Gandhi refusing to make India a Hindu State. The sense of chagrin and discontent was wellnigh universal as he stood in the way of Patel withholding payment to Pakistan till her regular army was withdrawn from Kashmir. One of those, who completely lost balance in mad fury, shot Gandhi dead at Delhi on 30th January, 1948.<sup>17</sup> There were hardly eyes, which did not moisten, voices, which did not choke. There was, however, an automatic recovery in the bliss of one supreme consciousness—what other death would have given him the priceless crown of martyrdom? People in a flash recalled Socrates condemned to a cup of hemlock; Jesus Christ crucified; Abraham Lincoln shot dead; and Lenin shot at to die of the injuries.

17. After mid-day nap Gandhi told his Secretary, 'Bring me my important letters; I must reply them today, for tomorrow I may never be'. Is it premonition or his way of doing things, i.e., not putting off important things?

## REV. FATHER LAFONT S. J. of ST XAVIER'S COLLEGE

By ARUN KUMAR BISWAS, M.Sc. (Tech.)  
Department of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University

### I

Pandit Shibnath Sastri remarked in one of his writings, that the period from 1856 to 1861 had been a very significant one in the context of Bengali Renaissance. Great sons of Bengal, e.g., Sir J. C. Bose, Bepin Chandra Pal, Rabindranath Tagore, etc., were born in this period; widow remarriage movement, Indigo movement and Sepoy Mutiny agitated the mind of young Bengal, and, in the turmoil, everlasting benefit was done to the country in the establishment of three important Indian Universities in the year 1857. 16th of January, 1860 was a very important date in that epoch-making age; for, on that day St. Xavier's College was started at the site of Sans Souci Theatre at Park Street. How the College has influenced the Bengali and Indian mind throughout one complete century is a long tale, only a part of which may be told in this article. The life and works of Rev. Father Eugene Lafont S. J. would be particularly discussed here, he having been not only a Rector of this Institution, but also one of the chief architects of the Xaverian tradition. In the modern scientific age, the contribution of this "Father of Science in Bengal" towards the scientific renaissance should be appreciated by one and all.

### II

The history of the earlier St. Xavier's College that ran its chequered and strenuous course from June 1, 1835 to September 27, 1846 is known to but few. The college was opened in the interests of Catholic education and was conducted by the English Jesuits. On account of the Protestant rivalry and party feelings running high even amongst the Catholics of Calcutta, the first St. Xavier's College had to eventually close down its book. The Catholics of Calcutta petitioned the Holy See for a good college to suit their purpose and this time the task was taken up by Belgian Province of Society of Jesus. The first batch of eight Jesuit Fathers led by

Father H. Depelchin arrived at Calcutta on November 28, 1859. In the meantime, the old Sans Souci Theatre at 10, Park Street (at present 30, Park St.) had been bought by the Catholic community and this building came to be the site of St. Xavier's College.

The College started very modestly on January the 16th, 1860. Under the management of Father Depelchin and patronage of devoted Catholics like Mr. James Cantopher, Mr. Bentham Bowring (Private Secretary to Lord Canning), etc., the College gradually grew up to its full stature. It was soon affiliated to the Calcutta University. In spite of sickness, of opposition, financial difficulties and "perhaps because of all these, God's work prospered." In this background, the arrival of Father Eugene Lafont at Calcutta on December 7, 1865 was an auspicious event, for besides being one of the pioneers of Science in this country, he guided the course of St. Xavier's College through 43 long years, he made the Xaverian edifice at Calcutta nobler and stabler. Although Father Lafont and St. Xavier's College were indissolubly connected, we propose to reserve our attention on Father Lafont and to probe as regards how his words and deeds glorified the College, he represented.

### III

Eugene Lafont, eldest son of Pierre Lafont, was born at Mons in Belgium on the 26th March, 1837. Father Lafont, in his maturity, did not remember much about Mons and the house and street where he was born, for it was "so far back" and he had seen "so many others since." As a matter of fact, he had hardly stayed at Mons. His early training was at Ghent (St. Barbara's College) where his father was an Army officer. Very little is known about Fr. Lafont's boyhood; he joined the Society of Jesus in December 1854. After the preliminary training afforded by the Order, he gave himself to the study of Philosophy and

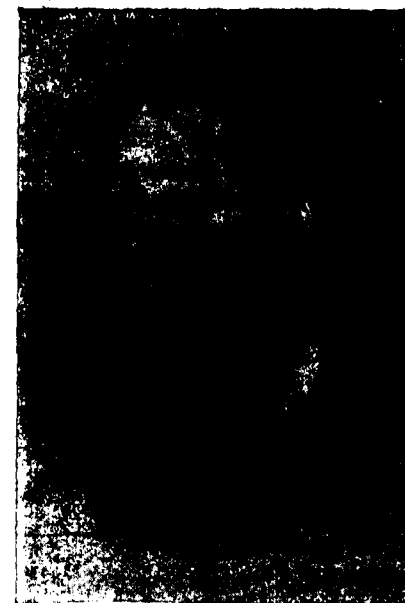
## REV. FATHER LAFONT S. J. OF ST.

Natural Science at Namur. (Father Depelchin was at that time Minister of the Namur College). It was here that he developed that aptitude for Experimental Physics which in him seems to have been a real gift and which he utilised to such immense advantage in later years and in other climes. His service was very soon requisitioned for Bengal Mission and he came down to Calcutta in the winter of 1865, and joined St. Xavier's College.

In 1866, he was engaged in the pre-Entrance class but very soon he had to teach Natural Sciences in the College. It was during this year that Father Lafont gave the first of the long series of public exhibitions that ended only with his death 42 years later. "It was a very humble beginning—only a magic lantern show. He worked the slides but owing to his want of the familiarity with the English language, he engaged the services of one of the senior boys, Richard Bradley, to announce the pictures." Charity is said to begin at home and Father Lafont gave the doses of scientific thought to his own pupils first before trying the same on the Indian public. Besides, he had to wait till the public was acquainted with his name, and the cyclone of 1867 gave the opportunity.

He had been steadily acquiring apparatus for his physical laboratory ("Museum" as he called it) and day-to-day meteorological observations. With his meteorological apparatus, he sensed an approaching cyclone in the morning of 1st November 1867 and gave the timely warning to the Government Meteorological Department. The cyclone came that night obeying his predictions; he took series of meteorological readings, braving the fury of elements, and published the same. The newspapers had rather disparaging comments on the fact that "the Government observatory had failed to do what the scientific enthusiast had braved the elements to perform." The public came to know of this unique man, who had come in this country to preach not only religion but also science. Father Lafont continued his scientific pursuits and particularly meteorological ones. In 1870,

Secchi's meteorograph, a self-registering instrument for recording temperature, pressure, rainfall, velocity of wind, etc., was purchased and placed in the Physical Laboratory of the College for daily observations. The cogent recordings of the weather in its multiplicit forms and its publication in the form of tables made Father Lafont and his laboratory very famous, not only in this country but even abroad. Abbe Megino, the French Savant said, "These are magnificent tables. We offer Father Lafont our best congratulations. He does better than the Imperial Observatory of Paris."



Rev. Father Lafont S. J. (1837-1908)

Now that his popularity in the city was an established fact, his lectures at the College Hall drew ordinary public, and the college gatherings underwent a metamorphosis into public lectures. On September 18, 1868, he gave a public lecture on a scientific subject which was favourably commented upon by the local press. The demonstration "showed clearly how attractive a really good course of popular scientific lectures, abundantly illustrated with experiments would be to the inhabitants of Calcutta." The series of lectures in the



months of May and June, 1870 were similarly appreciated. It was reported about the lecture on 19-5-1870, that "notwithstanding rain and lightning, a pretty fair attendance of native gentlemen gathered around the lecture table to hear the exposition of Dalton's atomic theory and witness some experiments, illustrating the general principles of matter. . . . Throughout the series, the gentlemen were most assiduous and punctual in their attendance."

Father Lafont continued his popular scientific lectures till his death in 1908; the reader need not be bored with a huge catalogue of references. The fact however remains that he was a successful populariser of science and this was due to his beautiful introduction and presentation of the topics. He knew how to "sell his wares." In a lecture on X-ray, he would start with a claim that a particular shoe-maker makes the best kind of boot and then he would proceed to show how the superiority over other kinds of boots may be established by X-ray experiments. According to Rev. Father A. Briot S. J., the oldest Jesuit teacher today in St. Xavier's College, the lectures of Father Lafont had always a novel beginning and an ending with an exclamatory note on 'God's beautiful positive works'. While his religious preachings drew Catholic devotees round him at St. Thomas Church in Middleton St., his scientific lectures equally fascinated the architects of scientific renaissance in Bengal. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, the eminent homoeopath and founder of Indian Association for Cultivation of Science was strongly attracted by the scientific preachings of this man of God and became tied with him by a life-long friendship. The two friends then proceeded to sow the seed of science in the fertile land of Bengal.

#### IV

The historic letter of Raja Rammohan Roy addressed to Lord Amherst advocating for introduction of scientific education in India had marked the beginning of a new age. Although the Rajah's dream was not fulfilled in his lifetime, it gradually came out to be true. The establishment of

Calcutta Medical College in June, 1835, Roorkee Engineering College in 1848, etc., instilled in the Indian mind new aspirations; general and broad-based scientific education was still however a far cry. In the August 1869 issue of *Calcutta Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar published an article entitled "The desirability of a national institution for the cultivation of the physical sciences by the natives of India." In this article is to be sought the origin of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, which has produced internationally reputed scientists like Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Krishnan, etc. The idea of Science Association where Indians could do original research work and cultivate science in its various aspects, occupied all thoughts and efforts of Dr. Sircar. The project of the Association was conceived and given out in December, 1869 (when Father Lafont had already started his public lectures) and it was not till after "six years' agitation, cogitation and education of public mind" as Kristo Das Pal used to say, that the Association was opened for work in 1876. The leading men of the then Bengal, e.g., Keshub Chandra Sen, Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra, Kristo Das Pal, etc., came forward to help Dr. Sircar to the best of their abilities. His Grace the Archbishop Goethals and the Professors of St. Xavier's College, who were representing Catholic opinion through the forum. *Indo-European Correspondence* (later *Catholic Herald of India*), did not lag behind. On the one hand they encouraged and instructed Father Lafont in his noble venture of popularisation of science and on the other, they recommended Dr. Sircar's project of Science Association strongly to the public.<sup>1</sup>

The acquaintance and friendship between Dr. Sircar and Father Lafont (which happened perhaps in the year 1869) must be admitted as a very significant event in the scientific renaissance of the

<sup>1</sup> Ref. *Indo-European Correspondent* Sept., 26, 1868; May and June issues, 187 March, 1882, etc.

FATHER LAFONT S. J. OF ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE

St. Xavier's College

10. Park Street

Calcutta

I Certify that Jagadis  
Jagdish Chandra Bose B.A.  
was my pupil in Physical  
Science for a period of  
four years and gave me  
proof of very great pro-  
ficiency in that branch  
of study. I consider him  
to be one of the best stu-  
dents we had in our Col-  
lege Department.

Lafont S.J.

Lat. Rector and Lect.  
in Sc. & Nat. Hist.

Facsimile of the certificate given by Father Lafont to his student, Jagadis  
Chandra Bose

country.<sup>2</sup> While most of the others helped the cause of science in India by mere 'agitation' and 'cogitation,' the patient task of educating the public mind was taken up by Father Lafont. At the time the funds of the projected Science Association were swelling by the donations of Maharajahs and wealthy men, the humble gate collections of the public lectures of Father Lafont were also added to it. On 2nd June, 1870 Father Lafont delivered his first lecture towards the cause of the Science Association, at St. Xavier's College.

The discourse of Father Lafont on the 'Physical basis of Spectrum Analysis' delivered on 11th April, 1872 at the Medical College stirred up the public mind greatly in favour of propagation of science. The comments of *The Indian Mirror* on the said lecture may be quoted as this amply proves what the joint personality of Father Lafont and Dr. Sircar meant to the intelligentsia of the nineteenth century Bengal:

"For the space of two hours, Father Lafont kept up the interest of his audience by the fascination of his discourse as step by step he traversed the grand field and carried us through the mysteries of the distant worlds. . . . There was an electric effect produced by the lecturer's words, which were at once clear and graceful, plain and animated, rising at times to the height of eloquence.

". . . . Time has come when someone ought to take the missionary's role and go through the country interesting the people by means of popular science lectures and exposition of the kind given by Father Lafont.

"There can be no doubt that Father Lafont and Dr. Sircar are the persons to whom the popular vote would turn in the matter of the choice for leaders. It is to them, therefore, that all our hopes in this direction are directed." (Italics are mine).

When the Science Association was founded, Father Lafont used to deliver lectures at the Association premises every Thursday evening. In Father Lafont's

2. As the late Prof. Meghnad Saha used to say, "They always worked together."

own words, "Thursday was my only day of leisure in the week and although I had a great deal of work in the preparation, I was amply repaid by the manner in which my lectures were always attended and received." After long 19 years, Father Lafont had to discontinue his lectures at the Science Association but his contact with the Association remained as fresh as ever till he breathed his last. In the year 1893, the Science Association was affiliated, in the Physics and Chemistry course, to Calcutta University up to the First Arts standard. Before that, the members of the Association had doubted whether a Research Association should take up teaching and beg for affiliation under an University. It was Father Lafont who at that time convinced Dr. Sircar and others "that as one of the objects of the Association was the diffusion of knowledge of science by lectures, and as from the funds at the disposal they were only to fulfil that subordinate object, it would be no derogation of its dignity to seek the affiliation." Fourteen years later, the same Father while presiding over the Annual Association meeting (Sir C. V. Raman was present in the meeting; Dr. Sircar had died three years earlier) approved the idea of disaffiliation, as the Association had funds and abilities for pursuits of research and as the task of science-teaching could now be left to the competent authorities of the private colleges. While in his death-bed, Dr. Sircar rightly referred to Father Lafont "without whose ungrudging and long continued aid the Association could never have been an accomplished fact."

#### V

In October 1871, Father Lafont was appointed Rector of St. Xavier's College, and his position as head of the college naturally afforded him wider opportunities for furthering the interests of the institution. Even before he was raised to the Rectorship, he was endeavouring to impart real scientific instruction to his pupils. In the letter, dated 21-4-1870, addressed to Mr. W. S. Atkinson, Director of Public Instruction, Father Depelchin wrote:

"Three times a week, lectures on the

attractive and useful science are delivered to all students of the College Department by the Rev. Father Lafont. The lectures are illustrated with experiments." Although the attendance was compulsory, the students liked it. They always found interest in the lectures and in the latest apparatus secured by Father Lafont.

Father Lafont was always the first to exhibit the latest discoveries of physical science to his students as well as to the Indian public: Telephone, Tesla's experiments, Wireless Telegraphy,<sup>3</sup> X-ray, coloured photography, Phonograph, the phenomena of Radioactivity, etc., are some of the examples. Generations of students listened with the same enchantment, as their elders did before them, to the wonderful lectures of this wonderful man. "Many a college feast day had its pleasant termination in the laboratory as the good Father had the habit of taking the school around him in the Museum".

An ardent believer of experimental science, Father Lafont expanded his physical laboratory as best as he could. This laboratory was a 'cynosure of all eyes', whether in India or elsewhere. Wealthy people donated for the purchase of new instruments. In January 1872, Lord Mayo presented to Father Lafont a beautiful model of horizontal steam-engine. From the Paris Exhibition (1900), the Father collected a good stock of some latest apparatus.

The most important event during the first Rectorship of Father Lafont was erection of the Astronomical observatory of the college, the history of which may be briefly told. On December 9, 1874, the transit of Venus across the Sun's disc aroused the enthusiasm of the astronomers throughout the world. Prof. P. Tacchini, the famous Italian Astronomer, had arrived in India and invited Father Lafont in the Muddapore expedition. Father Lafont participated and later published an inter-

3. After Sir J. C. Bose, a student of Father Lafont, had made the discovery, it was the great Father who insisted on his celebrated student, that the discovery should be demonstrated in public.

esting account of the expedition and its results.<sup>4</sup> Prof. Tacchini was so impressed by the value of solar observations in the cloudless sky of India that he persuaded Father Lafont to erect a spectro-telescope at St. Xavier's. An appeal was made for funds; Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant Governor visited the college on 5th February, 1875 and granted Rs. 2,000 for the purpose. Four days later, Father Lafont approached the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he himself was a member for monetary help; the society granted Rs. 500. A total of Rs. 21,000 was soon amassed and orders for the necessary equipment were placed to various European firms. A magnificent circular flight of steps led up to the observatory which was placed 60 ft above the ground. The important equipments were as follows: a large equatorial parallactic instrument, object-glass which was furnished with an hour-circle six astronomical eye-pieces, five micrometer eye-pieces, one ring micrometer, clock work with conical pendulum, a direct vision spectroscope and lastly a polarising helioscope with photometer. It took months to construct the whole instrument. Father Alphonse de Penaranda, an able colleague of Father Lafont, calculated the geographical co-ordinates of the site of the observatory.<sup>5</sup> The work of daily mapping of the solar protuberances, study of Sun spots, and studies of other heavenly bodies were started; even today, the Jesuit Fathers of the college are busy with important astronomical observations. Father Lafont's astronomical work was pioneering indeed as the India Government decided

4. With the help of a spectro-telescope Prof. Tacchini made the important discovery of the presence of water vapour in the atmosphere of Venus. The total time of transit, noted by Father Lafont with the help of equatorial refractors and carefully rated chronometers, was 4 hours 41 minutes 1.5 seconds.

5. The values viz., Longitude East Greenwich 5 hrs. 53 min. 26 sec. and Latitude North 22° 32' 51", are greater than those of Alipore Observatory by 6.23 secs. and 4' respectively.

almost simultaneously, to conduct an observatory at Kodaikonal.

In view of the remarkable contributions of Father Lafont in the educational field, suggestions were afloat in the year 1876 that the Father should be nominated a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The *Statesman* wrote, "The University would gain more honour by the nomination than Father Lafont." The Father was eventually nominated a Fellow in March 1877 and ever since he took active interest in the affairs of the University. It was mainly due to him, Dr. Sircar and Sir Alexander Pedler that the importance of scientific study in the University curriculum came to be recognised. His advocacy for more stress on science and experimental science in particular and more laboratory facilities in the colleges convinced the members of the Indian Universities Commission, appointed in the year 1903; his suggestions for an improved science course were accepted and eventually implemented by the University.

#### VI

The varied engagements and tireless activities at the St. Xavier's College, Science Association, Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Calcutta University broke down the health of the Father and he had to abandon his Rectorship and go to Europe for recovering the lost health (1878). He returned the next year and continued not only his lectures in Natural Science but also all other former activities. In 1901, he accepted his second Rectorship for another three years. His health having broken irrecoverably, he had to give up even his lectures in 1906 and everybody felt that the end was nigh. On Passion Sunday, the 5th April 1908, he preached with his usual vigour at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Dharmatallah; the excessive summer-heat began to tell on him and on medical advice, he had to leave for Darjeeling. He spent his last happy days with the boys of St. Joseph's school. He liked noise, he said, and the merry laughter of the boys was, he thought, the best tonic for a jaded liver. On 6th May, a sudden stroke of paralysis made his condition

grave and he breathed his last on 10th May, 1908.

#### VII

If for nothing else, Father Lafont shall be ever remembered as the teacher of Sir J. C. Bose. The brilliant teacher moulded the aspirations of this young pupil for the starry heights of scientific attainment. When Sir Jagadish had made his important discovery on 'Telegraphy without Wires,' Father Lafont publicly demonstrated the experiments and paid his student a well-deserved tribute (19th Sept., 1897). The Father mentioned that Bose's discovery preceded that of Marconi; in contrast to the latter, Bose did not take any patent, as he thought that the result of any scientific discovery should be a public property. "Prof. Bose, whose modesty was on a par with his merit, had requested his old Master not to mention all these, but Father Lafont was determined that justice should be done to whom justice was due."

Besides Sir J. C. Bose, many other students were influenced by Rev. Father Lafont's teachings and adopted science as the main guiding principle in their lives. To name a few, the instances of Richard Bradley, Irrigation Engineer at Roorkee, Dr. Arthur Younan (later trained at Edinburgh), a famous research worker on the Vitreous Humour of the Eye and a renowned medical practitioner, Mr. E. R. Deefholts, Electrical Engineer (an expert in Electrification of tramways), Mr. Devendra Nath Mullick, a Physicist, Mr. Hariprasanna Chatterji (Swami Vijnananda of Ramakrishna Order), an Engineer, Mr. P. N. Bose, a famous geologist, etc., may be cited.

Father Lafont exercised his noble influence not only upon his students but also on the contemporary intellectuals and royal dignitaries. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, Justice Gurudas Banerji, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Sourindra Mohan and Jatindra Mohan Tagore, Moulvee Abdul Lateef Khan, Babu Rajendralal Mitra and many other intellectuals were deeply impressed by what Father Lafont preached and did. The then Nawab of Murshidabad, the Maharajah of Gwalior, Maharani Sarnamoyee

as well as many Chief Justices of High Court and Lt. Governors considered Father Lafont "as one of their best friends"; the above statements can be proved by a host of well-connected references. He was able, amid the jarring discord of public life, to direct the mind of statesmen and administrators to those great moral issues of justice and of right on which the happiness and contentment of the people depend. Sir Ashutosh remarked that Father Lafont had "a very deep sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians." This remark is extremely significant when viewed in the context of nationalistic agitations in the beginning of this century. One cannot fail to note without amazement the connection of the great Father with a huge number of organisations and associations. Mahomedan Literary Society, Burrabazar Family Literary Society, various women's educational organisation, Calcutta Homoeopath Society, Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, etc., enrolled Father Lafont as their active patron or member. Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, the Calcutta University and Asiatic Society of Bengal however occupied the greater part of his attention.

The terrific impact, he made on the contemporary public opinion, can be best judged from the honours he received during his life time. A man of God, as he was, he valued his decorations, viz., 'Companion of the Indian Empire' (1880), 'Officier d'Academie de France' (1896), a 'Knight of the Order of Leopold' (1898), 'Doctor of Science' (Calcutta University) (1908), only because those were beneficial to the cause of Bengal Mission ('all these for Chotanagpur' as he used to say); his heart, however, pined for divine rewards alone.

#### VIII

Father Lafont was a man of Christ; he advocated for the modern science, only because he thought that neither Christia-

6. Father Lafont used to deliver lectures on science at Victoria Institution, (founded by Keshub Chandra Sen), Loretto Convent etc.: Sm. Indira Debi Chandhurani had been one of the Father's pupils at Loretto Convent.

nity was anti-scientific nor Science anti-religious. After coming to India, he pursued his theological studies and began preachings on various topics of religion and Christian faith. His sermons against Freemasonry (a cult of secrecy and anti-christianity) in 1875, Triduum speeches in 1888, Charity sermons in 1899, speech on Saint Francis Xavier in 1901 and numerous 'Retreat' sermons attracted catholics and non-catholics alike. He preached what he himself cultivated: love, charity, readiness to help others and above all religious faith. He stressed that the ideal way of exercising one's faith was "never to be ashamed of it and never to sacrifice it for worldly advantages." In the age of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, he nobly and significantly represented in India all that was best in Catholic faith. If he wanted anything in his mortal life it was an eternity of divine bliss. At his death-bed, he exclaimed, "Spare me human honours! I am thirsting for eternity."

#### IX

To evaluate the profound influence exercised by Father Lafont on Indian Renaissance, a critical assessment must be made of his scientific achievements and belief.

As Justice Gurudas Banerji said, "Father Lafont's mission has been to popularise the study of science in this country." With a rare power of exposition which recalled 'la manière de Tyndall', he succeeded in that noble mission. "Through the dissemination of Western culture, there has been a reaction in favour of the study of science; and with this salutary reaction the name of the Rev. Father Lafont must ever be most gratefully associated." Besides delivering popular lectures, he contributed largely towards the foundation of the Science Association, a tree which bore the fruits of Raman and Krishnan, and this, as the great Father himself considered, was the "best thing that he had done in India." And it must be remem-

7. Rev. Father A. Briot has said that one of the characteristics of the great Father was that "he was always ready to help."



bered, that when he first came in India in 1865, there was no laboratory worthy of the name; his missionary work in science was started when it was so badly needed in the country.

Speaking of the current belief that Father Lafont had been a mere popular lecturer, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji said, "No greater injustice could have been done him. His knowledge of the principles of science was as deep and as sound as that of any other scientist." The high proficiency which he attained in the study of Physical Science gives evidence that had he remained in Europe, he would have won a very conspicuous place in the world of Science. He however devoted himself to the cause of Bengal Mission, as "the needs of Bengal were many." The internationally-reputed British journal *Nature* regretted Father Lafont's death and remarked (May 14, 1908): "The influence of Father Lafont is to be found in many of the science courses of study at Calcutta University. His name will be long kept in mind as that of one of the pioneers of scientific education in Bengal; his death is a great loss, especially at this time when strenuous efforts are being made to put education in Bengal on a satisfactory basis."

Historians of scientific renaissance in India would do well to go through the various speeches and writings of Father Lafont in which he expressed his scientific belief and profound religious faith (the latter did not contradict but complemented the former).

His pursuits in the meteorological and astronomical sciences were backed by a deep scientific philosophy which was a dogma of experiment, observation and unbiased inference. He wrote a series of articles on 'Cyclone,' 'Spectroscope', etc., in Indo-European correspondence (*Indo*); in one place, he remarked, "Every accurate observation of natural facts is precious on account of the possible conclusions to which it may subsequently lead, although at the time it is recorded, it may seem of little use." He believed in facts but not in unfounded and dogmatic hypotheses. As he clearly explained in a communication to

*Indo* in October 16, 1869, "idle hypothesis led alchemists nowhere." In one of the early lectures, he said, "I belong to a religion commonly, though erroneously regarded as antagonistic to science. Well gentlemen, I declare to you, though a Catholic and Priest, I hail with delight and pursue with love any advance of true science, the only thing that frightens me being the pretended discoveries of men who are not satisfied with facts, but put in their stead, and erect into scientific dogmas, the ill-digested lucubrations of their imagination." According to him, an ideal scientific mind should be sufficiently liberal to accept and reconcile new facts. Six months before his death, when the atomic science was only in its infancy, he gave the warning, "Let us beware of accepting all theories and mere working hypotheses as absolute truths." "The discoveries about Radium and other radiant substances must make us very cautious in assuming that we are already in possession of a final certainty about the constitution of matter and the forces of Nature in general. It is a great thing to learn how to say, 'I do not know' instead of pretending rashly that we know all about everything."

There have been unconfirmed views (rather, rash pretensions) that modern science has forfeited the claims of religion and secondly, that the nineteenth century religious revivalism has acted in Bengal in a direction opposite to the current of scientific renaissance. In fact, modern exponents of scientific philosophy consider that science of today can neither prove nor disprove the claims of religion. Besides, as it has been rightly remarked by Dr. Bertram C.A. Windle, "The paths of science are not untreadable by the religious man, and as he walks in them, he will find in front of him the footprints of many who upheld the banner of religion as they did that of science." As regards the second part of the 'rash pretension,' the views on science held and expressed by the monks of Ramakrishna Order and Society of Jesus in India should be sufficient to dispel this illusion.

The utterances of Rev. Father Lafont make it abundantly clear that his religious faith and scientific belief were harmonised in him into one concerted philosophy of Life: philosophy of God and 'God's positive works.' Rev. Father E. O'Neill, the successor of Father Lafont as Rector of St. Xavier's College, brought out this trait of Father Lafont's character very explicitly: "Many of us will remember how at the close of an interesting lecture, he would in accent of profound veneration, raise the thoughts of an enraptured audience to a feeling of thankfulness to the God of all truth who deigns to lift the veil of Nature's mysteries to give man a glimpse into the secrets of His own universe. On this point, he was uncompromising. Truth, he often asserted with that depth of conviction so characteristic of him, cannot be opposed to truth." To conclude, his religious faith, love and sympathy to all and many other Christian virtues, coupled with profound belief in science gave him an unique personality, which could not but indelibly impress itself on the emerging new India.

## X

Evaluation of the total contribution of St. Xavier's College to the cause of renaissance in this country, has been beyond the scope of this article. Only the publications and discussions in connection with the centenary celebration of the College can satisfy the curiosity of the interested people.

The steady and useful educational work of this College elicited the praise of the Bengali press even when the College was in its early teens. Following the examples of Father Lafont, the teachers of the College have contributed to the cause of education and science in this province. Father Alphonse de Penaranda, one of the pioneers of Astronomical Science in India was an able colleague of Father Lafont; in his lectures delivered at the Science Association (1888) he regretted that a course on Astronomical Science had not been included in the University syllabus. He devoted his life to St. Xavier's College and

to his favourite pursuit of astronomy, "which excited in him a kind of religious enthusiasm;" his serene personality deeply influenced poet Rabindranath Tagore, who had been one of his students. Father Lafont before his death, had not only left behind him in the College, the lecture and demonstration rooms "better equipped than any other in India" (*Nature*, 14. 5. 1908) but also several junior colleagues who were already well-received in the society of Bengal.<sup>8</sup>

Father Lafont set the Xaverian tradition in the domain of science and scientific education. The best tradition, that the College has set in one hundred years, however, consists in the "consistent contribution of its quota to the number of useful citizens that labour for the welfare of this great country." St. Xavier's College and Rev. Father Lafont shall ever be remembered, if for nothing else, at least in connection with the immortal names of Poet Tagore and Acharya J. C. Bose. Let us hope, that this College shall produce many more worthy sons of the country!

## Acknowledgement

The author is deeply indebted to Rev. Father A. Huart S. J., and Rev. Father P. Turmes S. J. of St. Xavier's College for the various helps rendered in connection with the preparation of this article. Thanks are also due to Rev. Father Rector, St. Xavier's College, and Dr. D. M. Bose, Director, Bose Research Institute, for their kindly permitting the publication of the photo and the document respectively.

8. On February, 14, 1908, Father A. Briot, along with Father Lafont, received Lord Minto, the then Viceroy, in the Astronomical Observatory; on Sept. 24, 1908, Father P. Van Neste was elected, along with Acharya P. C. Roy, R. S. Trivedi, Dr. Watson etc., a member of the Executive Committee of 'Chemical Club' which served as a 'common platform on which scientists of all countries could meet.'

The author of this article has been fortunate in having the opportunity of studying at the feet of these two great teachers. Rev. Father Briot is still amidst us.

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## ASSAM

BY E. V. GANAPATI IYER, I.A.S. (Retd.)

ASSAM is a little developed part of India of which there is considerable ignorance among the people of the rest of the country and even among Government and Parliamentary circles generally. Nevertheless it is a strategic part which is of great importance at any time and particularly at the present time when it has become a subject of exciting political interest and international controversy. This article deals with (I) "Assam as the Land of the Brahmaputra and the Hills" and the subsequent one, (II) "Assam—Its Peoples and Problems."

## I. Assam—the Land of the Brahmaputra and the Hills

The circumstances of Assam's current topical interest may be here briefly mentioned. Firstly, the Dalai Lama, the God-King who left Tibet voluntarily, entered India through the northern border of Assam—a circumstance which inevitably has led to a border situation which has created tension and misunderstanding between two great friendly nations and requires to be resolved with proper circumspection. Again, Assam's northern border lies with China (of which Tibet is a part) and this is largely an undetermined and undemarcated line, generally called the McMahon Line. It is to be hoped that if the

British Government did not consider it necessary or possible to reach a settlement about this so-called boundary line, for 50 years, the National Government of India will take a little time to consider enlightened Indian opinion on the matter and negotiate a wise settlement of the international boundary with its neighbour



Our jeep is ready for ferry-crossing on the Bharati river

from the basic considerations of friendship security and mutual convenience. The constantly recurring theme of Naga raids, loot and plunder and their talk of Nagaland and the origin and forces behind these activities have roused much public attention. The Nagas are

only one group of the hill peoples of Assam and there are at least 5 or 6 other equally distinct peoples in the hill areas of Assam, the Khasias, a distinct Indo-Chinese race, the Dafflas, the Cacharis, Miris, Abors and Singphos. These brave and hardy people have been largely dumb so far about their political and economic rights because of their continued state of economic backwardness and the want of educational and social progress among them. Whatever might have been or may be the condition of such people in an imperialistic economy, it will be a national slur if their lot continues to be as hitherto and the implications of the Tibetan situation should not be ignored in this connection. Last but not least is the circumstance that Assam is the chief scene of Pakistan's persistent border incursions into India and of killings by Pakistani troops on Indian citizens. These numerous and formidable problems make Assam really the biggest problem State for India as a whole.



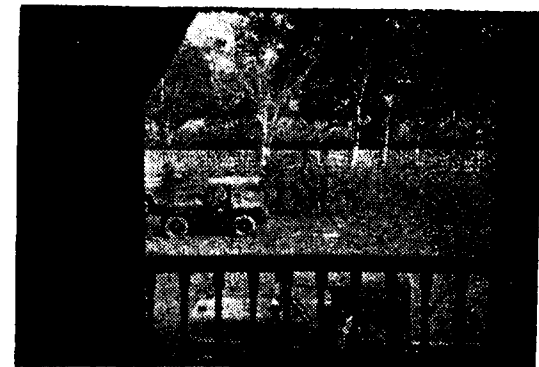
Temple built by the Ahom kings (1714-1744 A.D.)

The briefest description of Assam is that "it is the land of the Brahmaputra and the hills." In its Sanskrit meaning, Assam is the "A-Sama" land—the 'unequalled land' according to some,—the 'land of variation and divergence' according to others. It should be said that both the meanings are simultaneously true and valid. Assam is 'the unequalled land of inequality, and divergence.'

The dominant thing of Assam is the Brahmaputra, one of the mightiest rivers of the world. The masculine name of the river—a unique thing in India—is attributed to ancient

## ASSAM

Hindu mythology, the river being alleged to have risen from a place called Brahmakund in Assam's border.



A jeep at Jorhat Circuit House

To give some idea of this great river, I cannot do better than quote from a verse:

## ODE TO THE BRAHMAPUTRA

In gentle peace I sat on thy bank and mused,  
Of thy grandeur, beauty-bound, is man enthused,  
Divine thy being, oh Brahmaputra, fair and free,  
Serene and kind, in untamed strength yet thy glee.

Wherever I wend and look from side to side  
Thy waters spreading, thy form long and wide  
Sparkling fast thy flow, 'Shwet' ribbon in the sky  
Gift of eternal Gourishankar, mighty and high.

The hills are thy sides, forests and towns on them too,  
Kamakhya's towering height and Kaziranga's natural view Zoo,  
Dibru and Dhubri, Tejpur and twin Gauhati  
And islands in thy waters in lone majesty.

Tsangpo and Brahmaputra, Lohit and Dihang,

Many thy names in Kamrup's story and  
Many the peoples and lands that mark  
Boundless power and plenty man has

A day in May the noon was hot and gay  
The wind it blew at even dark clouds  
Sweet in thy caress lo! behold the furies  
As we sped across to safety singing thy

May thy mighty waters from high and  
Shining in plenty and for ever in glory  
May thy bounty in Assam's pride of  
Bind her brave peoples of Khasi, Jaintia, and Naga

Assam is identified as much with the  
Brahmaputra as with the ranges of hills which



A small boat is out to cross the river Brahmaputra to Dhubri

have inevitably conditioned and contained the river. Fortunately the Brahmaputra whose course on the other side of the Himalayas in Tibet and China, runs from West to East doubles on itself at the north-eastern bend, enters India and flows from East to West thereafter through the length of Assam. At the western end the Garo hills turn it to a direct southerly flow, which thereafter spreads itself uncontrolled by any hills right up to the

Hooghly and the sea, becoming the terror-creator of floods and destruction.

The Brahmaputra valley lies between the spurs of the great Himalayan mountains on the north and a chain of Assam hills on the south. The northern range includes the Bhutan hills, Dafla hills, Miri hills and the Abor hills while the southern chain spreads along the Garo hills, Khasi and Jaintia hills, Mikir hills, Cachar and Naga hills and the Mishmi or Lohit hills.



The writer with the Khasis

The northern hills rise steeply and abruptly from the plains being in most places very high from 10,000 ft. to over 18,000 ft. The route of the Dalai Lama to Tejpur through Kameng District, for instance, traversed over hills of 10,000 feet or more. To reach places affected by floods in the Dafla hills, to parachute-drop food supplies, the Indian Air Force had to fly over 12,000 ft. The hills on the south are not so high being about 4 to 7 thousand feet high. This will give some idea of the relative vulnerability of Assam's international frontiers of the north and the south borne out also by the actual facts of history. Famous peaks of the southern hills are the 'Nokrek' hill (4,600 ft.) in Garo hills Shillong Peak in Upper Shillong (6,500 ft.) in Khasi and Jaintia hills, and the Japna peak in Naga hills (10,000 ft.). I must specially mention the Kamakhya hill near Pandu Ghat in Kamrup; this peak rises like a fairy from the waters of the Brahmaputra, overlooks the country on all sides for miles and on its top stands the temple of Kamakhya, Goddess of *Shakhti* and the embodiment of beauty and purity, visited by millions of people every year, a symbol of

the sway Hinduism established in Assam on its foreign conquerors of the Shan races.

The Brahmaputra valley extends over a length of about 450 miles in Assam from Dhubri on the West to Pasighat and Sadiya on the north-east, with an average width of 50 to 60 miles. There are few areas in the world which abound in such wealth of fertile soil (one has only to scratch the surface for luxuriant crops of rice, jute and tea), of mineral and forest wealth and hydro-electric resources. The Brahmaputra is a navigable high-way from Dibrugarh right down to Calcutta and carries a great traffic (which in methods of handling leaves much to be desired) in coal, rice, jute, tea, tea-chests, machinery and hardware up and down the river. Of its potential for the production of hydro-electric power, I need only mention that in its flow through Assam the river comes down from a height of 8 to 10 thousand feet to a few hundred feet above the sea level and we hear already that China has plans to generate 5 million KW. of electric power from the river gradients on the Chinese side. The State and the Central Governments owe a duty to the country and to the people of Assam to develop this source of power by utilising the potential fully.

If we turn our attention from the river to the land, we go from great to greater abundance and variety of natural bounty. The animal life and forest wealth of Assam are exuberant and unmatched by any other part of India. The giant vegetarians of the animal kingdom, the elephant and the single-horned Rhino of the grassy swamps and swiftfooted wild buffalo, the ferocious tiger and the bear, the huge crocodile and the cattle-devouring python are equally blessed in this land. In Assam fine bird life is as interesting as the fish life in its innumerable streams and ponds. The natural game sanctuary at Kaziranga which spreads over 160 square miles is justly famed throughout the world and is visited every year by zoologists, international sportsmen and circus trainers. In one morning I saw at close range in their freedom in this park 9 large Rhinos, several elephants, one of them crossing the road

only yards ahead of our jeep in such fashion, herd of wild buffaloes at the water edge so alert and fast that at the mere rustle of leaves a hundred yards away they disappeared as if by magic, sambhar, deer, numerous colourful birds and small animals.



Coal-digging near Cherra from surface seams

The bounty of nature hidden within the land is as varied and attractive as that above it in Assam. Coal of the best quality with an ash content of only 3% as compared with 11% of Raniganj is found in the thickets of seams of average depth of 50' and more, quite close to the surface in the Khazi hills near Cherrapunji. New rich fields of coal have been discovered in the Garo hills. The world's best silimannite deposits—a refractory material—is to be found there. A comprehensive geological exploration and mapping of the land have yet to be undertaken. But sufficient has been done to point to the unlimited petroleum resources of Assam, the exploitation of which has led already to ideological controversies in India.

What are the problems of the Brahmaputra in Assam? They are:

- To control its water,
- To harness its energy,
- To drain its swamps,
- To improve its navigability with all modernity,
- To bridge it and link it with roads to its twin frontiers.

## II. Assam Its Peoples and Problems

Assam enjoys the distinction of being about the last part of India to go under the British rule. Till the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century when practically the whole of North India and all the Peninsula formed British dominion, the centuries old kingdom of the Ahoms in Assam was independent country, lying interposed between the English districts or protectorates like Bhutan and the Burmese dominion. The beginnings of the Ahom rule went back to the 13th century, when the Ahoms, an offshoot of the great Shan race of people in Upper Burma migrated to and held sway in the neighbouring lands



Fine bulls

to the West, East and South of their homeland, after the defeat of the Burmese king by the great Tartar (Chinese) overlord Kublai Khan. The army of the Chinese warrior Emperor did not however, after the victory stay to colonise and rule in Burma but withdrew after putting the Burmese king back in power but as an ally and subordinate of the Chinese ruler. The Shans who went to Assam were an entirely different race from the Indo-Aryans of Bengal, Bihar and U.P. and had different culture, customs and thought. They were Buddhists, were warlike and capable of endurance and hard fighting. They were able to assert their mastery easily over the hill tribals and the Hindu natives in the valley of Assam who were generally given to the peace-loving life born of devotion to religion, learning, cultivation and the arts.

As the Shans were a warlike race, could organise things well and were also

aided by the abnormal rains and terrain of Assam whenever they campaigned for fighting, they kept back the Mussalmans and the Moghuls from East Bengal when the neighbouring regions had fallen to them. Thus Aurangzeb had finally withdrawn from Assam and relinquished all idea of conquering it and the Assamese maintained their independence.

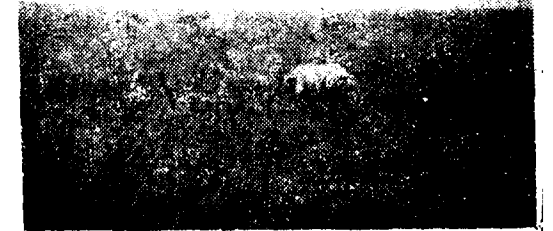
Whatever material prosperity and cultural glory Assam attained owes to the work of Ahom rulers. The Ahoms were Buddhists when they came from Upper Burma but in Assam in time they were quickly and effectively converted to Hinduism and they completely assimilated. In Sibsagar, the modern town which stands quite close to Rangpur, once a great town and the Capital of the Ahom kings, still stands on the fringe of a magnificent lake a great temple of Shiva, one of the finest large temples of India, built by the Ahoms. Hereditary family dynasties of sovereign authority have never yet made good anywhere in the world and it is no wonder that the Ahom kings in course of time lost that virility of administrative and military power which alone at all times is necessary to unify and canalise the strength of the people and utilise it to stem attacks from depredators and exploiters from abroad. So it came to pass that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ahom kingdom had so much declined in cohesion and authority that it was in a state of dissolution. There were sanguinary contests for power among the princes of the reigning house and the ministers supporting them, resulting inevitably in the defeated party calling in the Burmese from across the mountains eastward. The Burmese after putting up and down several puppets, finally placed Assam under a Governor of their own who was hated by the people. Then followed the turn of history for Assam. In the illuminating words of a British historian, "The conversion of a feeble semi-Hindu State on the frontier into a province of a warlike and aggressive Indo-Chinese kingdom was by no means to the advantage of the English. . . . It was always the practice of the English in

India, as of other civilised empires in contact with barbarism to maintain a zone of tribal lands and chiefships as a barrier or quickset hedge against trespassers upon their actual frontier by taking these Chiefships or little border principalities under their protection." As the Burmese violated such protectorate in Cachar, menaced the British possessions in Sylhet and overran Manipur, the first Burmese war ensued in 1824 and as an important consequence of the defect of the Burmese, Assam including Cachar came under the British and its individuality became merged in the dominion and now the Union of India.

The picture of the people of Assam is as variegated as that of its valley and the hills. In the valley, Hinduism with its unique power of absorption and enervating hold has synthesised into a strange unity the peoples of the Shan and Indo-Aryan races. The Assamese people now form a composite characteristic section of the Indian nation, with language and culture which are mainly Hindu and Sanskrit. They take interest in learning, in arts and religion, are devoted to Vaishnavism and tolerant of Buddhism (the God Hayagriva Madho in Hajo temple is worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists) and have by long dissociation been losing their warlike traits and capacities. While the Assamese disliked the monopoly and the domination of the Bengalees in many fields in the past, they themselves have not mingled very much with the other regional groups of their State, Khasis, Nagas, Miris, etc., and they have also remained rather isolated from the rest of India. The so-called tribals of Assam falling broadly into the divisions, plains tribals and hills tribals, form some distinct heterogeneous small group units in the State.

The Khasis with their special Khasi land—the Khasi hills—are a sturdy square-built race of hard-working people, the women more so than the men. They are good hill climbers, carry great loads over the hills, are fond of archery, cock-fighting, and opium-eating, take to professions like carpentry, blacksmithy, lock-smithy and rifle repairs readily and are too ready

to use the rifle. They have been attempted to use the English script as the vehicle of the Khasi dialect in recent years. While they form a fine people on the whole, they have many superstitions and uncivilised practices to outlive. They are said to resort too readily to the habit of poisoning rival and relations and carry on feuds and follow personal leaderships to a large extent.



A Rhino

The Nagas, still sometimes exaggeratedly called the head-hunting Nagas because of the vindictive manner in which family and group feuds are pursued, are also brave physically fine group of hill people. Though a feeling of mutual prejudice and suspicion has since recently come to exist between them and the Assamese, I found that they are noted for their loyalty, devotion, courage and hard work. They normally live in their mountain homes, have to find food from killing animals in the hills, lack supply of clothing and other amenities of a civilised life.

The Daflas, Mikirs and the Abors are the people of the hill areas on the Himalayan foot-ranges, to the north of the Brahmaputra. European travellers notably a German missionary and his wife who lived for years among the Apa Tanis in their inaccessible areas have written much about their bravery, endurance and simplicity, nevertheless also treachery, cruelty, superstition and jealousy. Ignorance of illnesses like dysentery, typhoid, malaria, etc., has given the deep-rooted superstitions and animal instincts, which are reflected in quaint habits so interesting to the anthropologist but so discreditable to



the patriot, the nation-builder and the social worker. Their standards of living, material conveniences, social life and culture have been for decades and still continue to be of less than the elementary kind. Circumstances may have hitherto accounted for the isolation of these people and their backward condition but surely it should be the first and foremost task of the nation-builders and more than anybody else, of the Central and State Governments to open out these hill areas to civilisation and culture, to promote new modern townships and settlements of the Indo-Aryan people in these areas and the intermingling of these people with hill peoples and others of the land and build up the strength and unity of a national entity of people and culture.



Hill tribals' huts on a hill

In making this closely interwoven fabric of the unity and social life of the component peoples of Assam, of the valley and the hills, through common education and culture, social and economic welfare and military training and organisation, and not in segregation of the groups, lies the key to the prosperity of the State and its strength to contribute to the safety of India. Assam occupies a strategic position in the geography of India, a position which in the changed world polity of the second half of the twentieth century is the most dangerous and the most vulnerable at the same time.

The frontiers of India are literally and truly in Assam and in the strength and the unity of the peoples of Assam will lie in large measure the strength and sup-

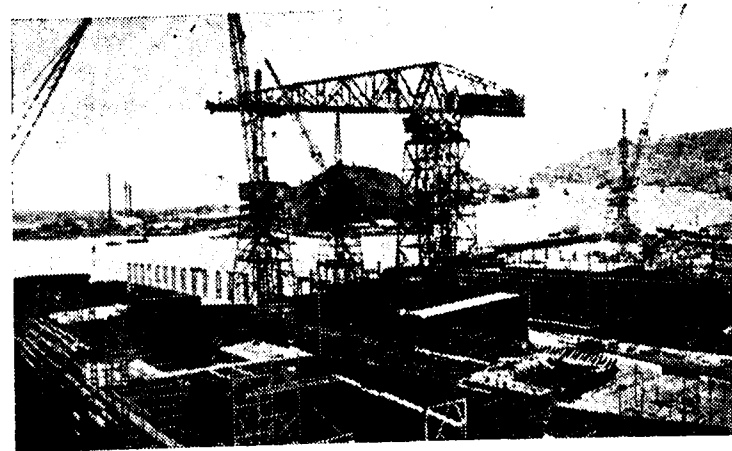
port of the people of India. Patriotism and devotion of these peoples cannot be secured by wishfulness or by command. That the people of the hill areas of Assam can be made into highly useful, respected and eminent citizens of India within a short time is apparent to any one who has come into contact with them. Nevertheless the magnitude of the task is tremendous and the task is multifaceted and will need single-minded devotion and concentration of effort of people and Government. In this noble task of the uplifting of a whole people, of making the brotherhood of men intelligible to them and a reality, and a great force of moral and material endeavour, it may be that social institutions like the Indian Institute of World Culture, the Ramakrishna Mission, can play a worthy role to further the efforts of Government on an all-party national basis. The problems of Assam are then, firstly to forge patriotic unity amongst the peoples of Assam themselves and their affinity with the Indian peoples, secondly, to display affection and real brotherhood towards the backward so-called hills and plains tribals peoples, thirdly, to help them to material and moral upliftment and give them equal honoured place in the State, and last but not the least, to build up the economic prosperity of the peoples of Assam on a strong platform of social justice and not exploitation. In solving these problems will arise the following measures:

- To find large populations to settle on the land,
- To build roads, towns and houses by the lakhs,
- To increase the number of educated and technically-trained young men in the country a thousand fold,
- To increase cultivation of land in the hill areas and in the valleys,
- To develop mining and to establish other industries,
- To provide power, transport, water and medical facilities.

In short, to find millions of young people to be employed and to place them in employment well and truly in a common social economy.

## HINDUSTAN SHIPYARD AT VISAKHAPATNAM

Within twelve years of work the Hindustan Shipyards has built 24 modern diesel cargo ships and delivered them to ship owners. Three more have been launched and are being fitted out. Keels have been laid for four, three of them being 9,500 tonners. The value of the ships built now exceeds Rs. 25 crores.



A view of the Shipyards

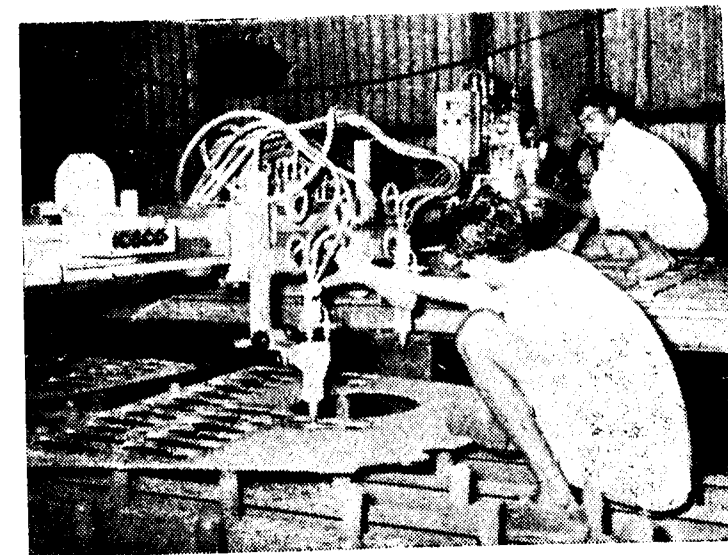
Just to have an idea what it means in terms of material alone to build modern ships, take one 8,000-ton ship of the type built in the Shipyards. The surface area of the hull of such a vessel is about 70,000 square feet, roughly half the area of football field. Three thousand tons of steel goes into its construction—the quantity required to build 360 goods wagons including their wheels and axles. About 500 tons of timber are used—roughly enough to build 400 four-roomed houses. Over 18 miles of steel wires are required for just one ship. The number of rivets and bolts is nearly seven lakhs.

The main engine is about 28 feet high and 25 feet long—about the size of a small double-storey building. The traction power is about 5,000 h.p., equivalent to that of four to five broadgauge locomotives. And the ship can carry 7,000 tons of cargo, sufficient to fill 400 goods wagons.

The range of vessels built at the Shipyards includes cargo, cargo-cum-passenger, survey, mooring vessels, barges and tugs. And they are good, sturdy, utility ships, though perhaps the finish may not be as good as the best abroad.

That so much has been done within such a short time can be appreciated only by comparison with little that was done in years before Independence. Shipyards is an industry where tradition counts a lot. In maritime nations fitters, riveters and welders have been at it for generations; with special acquired skills handed down from father to son; and all of them talking, breathing and dreaming of ship building all their lives.

Here in Visakhapatnam except for some higher technical staff—some from



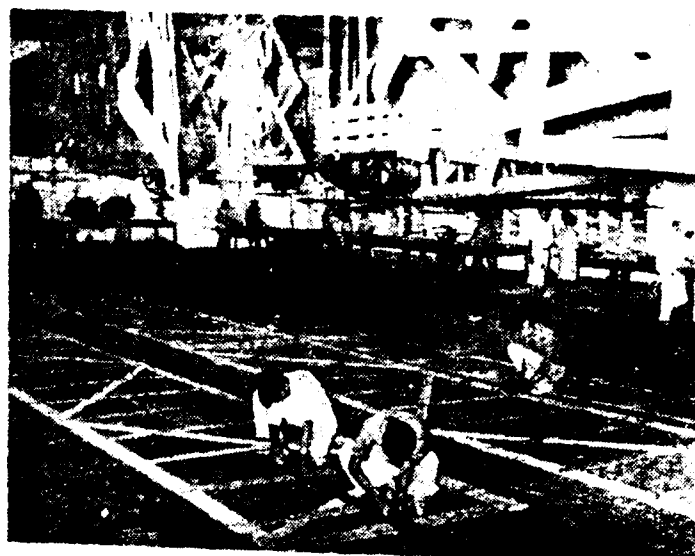
Electric automatic cutting machines

Bombay and some from Calcutta—residents of the people who were recruited had wielded only a sickle or handled a plough or fishing net. They had never handled in their hands a file or a hammer

They are now doing a first class job.

### Ship-Building Tradition

It is true ship building had reached a fairly high standard in ancient India. In the 13th century Marco Polo saw large



The Design Section of the Shipyard

Indian ships that carried 10 small boats slung on the side with 60 cabins below the main deck, mostly four-masted and with as many as 14 watertight compartments, separated by stout bulkheads. For those times these achievements indicate the highest degree of technical knowledge and workmanship.

And later, the East Indian Company recognised the excellence and durability of India-built ships. It established seven ship-building yards in India and right up to 1840 a large number of naval crafts and merchant vessels of all types were built by the shipyards.

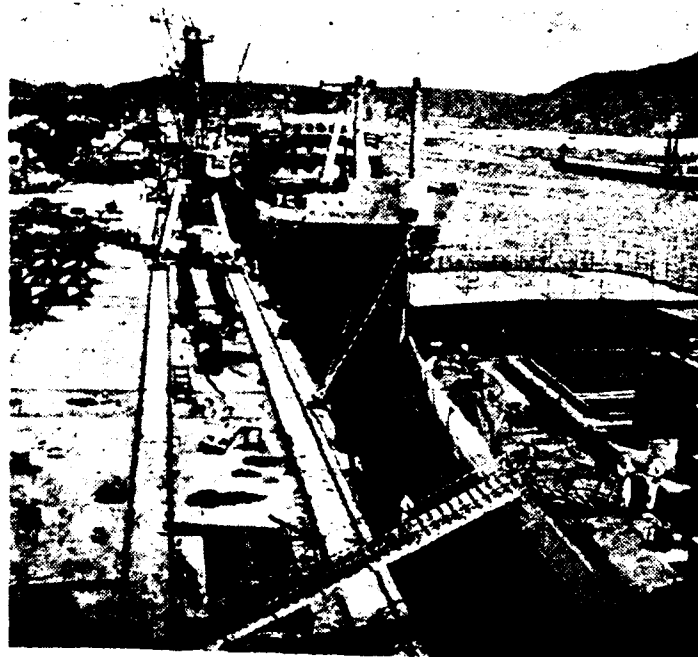
The use of steam power and of steel in place of timber however created a revolu-

tion in the technique of ship construction and released new forces which the Indian ship-building industry was unable to withstand.

The industry lay defunct for about a century until the idea of establishing a modern ship-building yard in India was conceived by the late Shri Walchand Hira Chand, almost immediately after the formation of Scindia Steam Navigation Company Limited in 1919.

After various vicissitudes through which the pioneer project passed, the foundation stone of the Shipyard was finally laid in June 1941 by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was then the President of the Indian National Congress. Owned by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, the Shipyard was designed by Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners of U.K.

The Shipyard, as originally laid down, occupied an area of 56 acres of barren scrub-



The ship "Indian Industry" being fitted out at the jetty

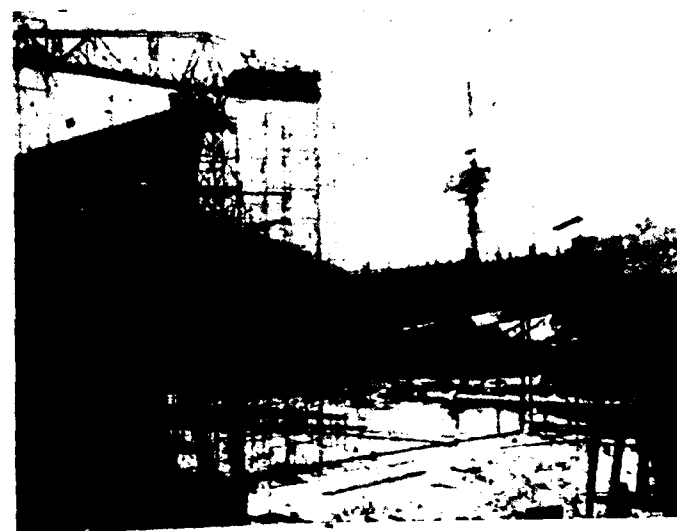
land located to the south-west of the Visakhapatnam harbour. It was well situated for development into a compact and efficient unit of ship-building.

Three more berths have been added, one small one. The Shipyard is now equipped with four large-size slipways on which ships up to 550 feet in length and 15,000

tons in dead-weight can be built, apart from a well-fitted-out jetty 1,200 feet long (which is being further extended) with heavy-lift fixed crane of 125 tons capacity, a large mould loft floor, a hull shop, a saw mill and a carpenter shop together with extensive storage accommodation, electric sub-station and various other small necessary units for ship-building and office buildings.

About 1,500 employees out of a total of 5,000 live in a modern housing colony spread out nearby over an area of 146 acres.

Further development includes extension of the Shipyard by 16 acres, a new



Two ships under construction

### Development and Expansion

Exigencies of the peak years of war intervened to delay progress, with the result that the first stage of construction of the Shipyard, with only two slipways, was completed as late as 1947. The keel for the first ocean-going ship of 8,000 tons 'Jala-Usha' was laid in June 1946. It was launched in 1948 by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Eight more ships of similar type were built by 1952, and considerable development and expansion followed in the wake of the formation of the Hindustan Shipyard Limited, a new Government-sponsored company, in which two-thirds of the share capital was held by the Government of India and one-third by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. The invested amount is Rs. 5.2 crores.

Since then much development and expansion has taken place at the Shipyard.

prefabrication shop, provision of travelling cranes to serve the berths and extension of the housing colony at an estimated cost of Rs. 2 crores. This work is going on and the first phase is so conceived as to secure



A view of the administrative building and of the housing colony

when complete, a production capacity of four ships every year.

The prefabrication shop will be in commission this year. Two heavy 35-ton capacity travelling cranes have already been installed.

This would enable the Shipyard to adopt prefabrication on a large scale. It would make for easier material flow with the result that optimum time of building the ship from the date of keeling would come down to 18 to 20 months whereas normally it has been, so far, 25 months. In U.K. shipyards the average time taken is 15 months.

#### Impressive Progress Achieved Despite Handicaps

As one goes round the 72-acre Shipyard and the workshops and the administrative offices talking to workmen, foremen, engineers, accountants and planners, one feels a sense of confidence and pride among them, not only in themselves as builders of ships but in the future of the ship-building industry too.

One indication of that confidence is that the technical organisation since July last year is completely under the executive charge of the Indians. The agreement with the French Consultants was terminated last year.

New modern methods of management and production are being adopted more and more. Time and job standardisation is being carried out and there is an effective control on the day by day production, and there is more and more insistence on keeping to the schedule. This is all to the good.

There is a beginning in designing ships too. The present position is that designs are purchased from well-known foreign naval-architects. A new design section has been set up with a German draughtsman. A nucleus staff has been gathered and trial designs are already coming out.

Considering the handicaps the Hindustan Shipyard faces—and there are a number of them—progress achieved is impressive. In other maritime countries where a large number of ships are built every year the shipyards usually confine themselves to the

business of hull construction and the work of fitting out and supply are entrusted to specialists on sub-contracts. In this way the work is carried out expertly as well as economically.

In India ancillary industries which produce equipment and fittings for ships have not developed so far. With only one shipyard with a limited offtake there is not enough incentive for them to come up. Only a few engineering firms in Bombay and Calcutta are able to supply some small items. The result is that the Shipyard has to depend on imports from foreign countries.

Special soft steel, the main raw material for ship-building, is not obtainable in the country in economical sizes or in adequate quantities (there is only one rolling mill in India). It has to be imported. With brisk ship-building activity going on in other countries there is usually some difficulty in the procurement of equipment abroad.

Shortage of freight space in shipping materials to Visakhapatnam and heavy demands on railway freight wagons from Bombay and Calcutta add further to the element of delay and uncertainty apart from raising the costs. Stocks of steel worth Rs. 2.5 crores have usually to be stocked up to keep the work going without a stop. This ties up capital, necessitates expense on storage and also leads to a certain amount of waste of steel.

Another factor which contributes towards making the costs higher than these prevailing, for instance, in U.K. is somewhat lower output per man-hour at the Visakhapatnam Shipyard. It takes time to build up a ship-building tradition.

To make the ships available to the Indian ship-owners, however, at a price approximately equivalent to the cost of a similar ship at U.K. docks, the Government of India pays 20 per cent to 25 per cent subsidy—this being the difference between the cost of production at Visakhapatnam and the estimated cost in U.K. One cargo ship of 8,000 tons of "Jayalakshmi" class (being fitted out at the jetty these days) costs Rs. 1 crore 3 lakhs to the shipper. Its

actual construction costs at the Hindustan Shipyard come to about Rs. 1 crore 56 lakhs.

#### Closing the Gap

However, a number of factors are helping towards closing the gap. Production

Planned standardisation of ship designs—two for coastal shipping and one for overseas—is also likely to make it easier to import steel in bulk and help in raising the production and lowering the cost level.

At present imports account for 60 per cent of the cost of a ship while indigenous material and labour account for the remaining 40 per cent. But, when steel from Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela becomes available, there will be a cut of 15 to 20 per cent in imports of steel plates. This would not only mean saving of foreign exchange, it would cut down production cost further, apart from speeding up construction time. The Shipyard has under existing conditions already saved Rs. 10 crores in terms of foreign exchange, apart from employing and training nearly five thousand ship-building engineers and technicians.

#### Training Personnel

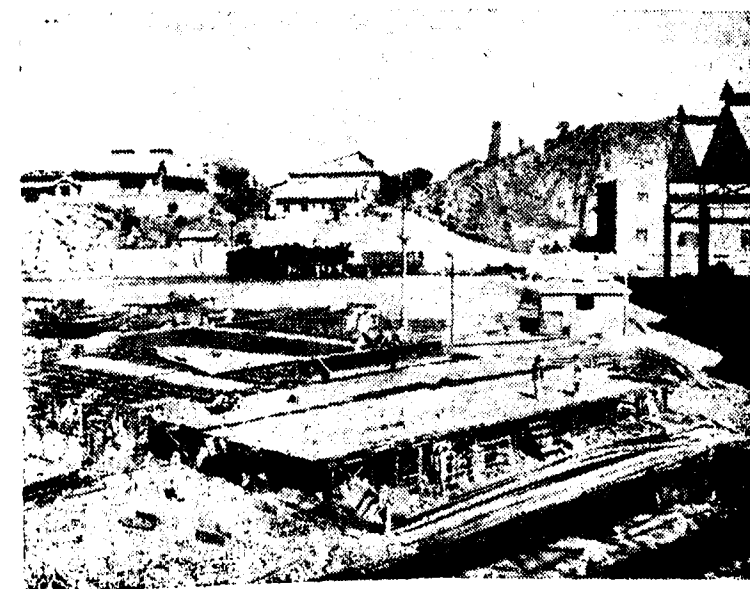
On the technical training of personnel—an important aspect—the situation at the



A sheet-pressing machine at the Machine Shop

is steadily rising. In 1956-57 and 1957-58 the value of work done at the Shipyard was Rs. 2 crores 98 lakhs and Rs. 3 crores 43 lakhs respectively. This is 15 per cent over the production in 1956-57 which was 20 per cent higher than in 1954-55. This trend signifies fuller use of the plant and manpower.

With the extension of jetty and the construction of the new welding shop (both completed), more slipways and moving cranes and more rational placement of the hull shop and the other workshops—more rational in terms of time and movement economy—and more trained manpower, the results are expected to be even better.



A panoramic view of the Hindustan Shipyard

Shipyards are admittedly not satisfactory as yet though considerable progress has been made.

As for the higher technical staff, the Shipyards have so far absorbed almost the entire number of graduates of naval engineering from the Kharagpur Technological Institute, and trained them at the Shipyards and abroad. "Their skill, initiative and leadership is satisfactory. But the main difficulty is shortages at the level immediately below the foreman," said Commodore B. N. Lele, the Managing Director of the Shipyards. Foremen have been known to work 16 to 17 hours at a stretch on some vital operations which once started must go on till they are over. There is no choice because there are no substitutes available.

Commodore Lele is satisfied with the standard achieved by the skilled labourers too. "But they are just not enough," he says, "lots more are urgently needed."

One difficulty is that the skilled workman at the Shipyards has to be skilled not only in one operation but should be good at a number of jobs—one who can switch jobs. This is necessary in a Shipyards so that you avoid the problem of idle labour. The number of ships built every year being limited, the skilled workman cannot work at one job all the time. There is just not enough demand for that work throughout the year. So he has to be able to shift to another job to keep being useful and busy.

Owing to changing techniques in shipbuilding too it is necessary to have people with more than one skill. For example, the trend in modern ship-building is more

and more from rivetting to welding. Whereas rivetting constituted 80 per cent of the construction job earlier and welding only 20 per cent, the present position is that welding constitutes 60 per cent and rivetting 40 per cent, and the chances are that in future welding might mean 90 per cent and rivetting only 10 per cent. At the Shipyards the younger men are gradually being switched over to welding; the older ones who have difficulties in adjusting themselves to a new skill have been kept employed by taking on orders for construction of barges which require only rivetting. It is a short-term solution, however.

To meet this need for well-trained technicians a full-fledged training school has been started in which recruits get intensive training for 4½ years in batches of 100 each. Boys taken from the Labour Ministry's industrial courses of 18 months also get a further training of 2½ years. Nearly 100 are already under training at the school. Now, more urgency has been lent to this training scheme because of the plan for a second Shipyards for which the nucleus of trained personnel will have to be provided by the Hindustan Shipyards.

To revive the great naval tradition of India is a great adventure. The total Indian tonnage is slightly over half per cent of the total world tonnage and the Indian ships carry between 7 and 9 per cent of overseas cargo handled by the ports of India. There is obviously a tremendous leeway to be made up. The Hindustan Shipyards at Visakhapatnam is really just the beginning. —PIB



## A U.S. UNIVERSITY AS SEEN BY ITS STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

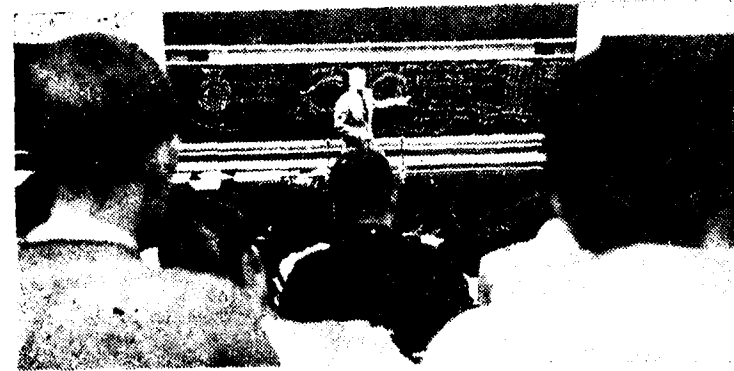
EACH year thousands of young men and women from overseas study in the United States—some in small colleges, some in big, diversified universities. Typical of the larger institutions which annually enroll hundreds of students from other countries is the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

### The University of Michigan

The University of Michigan is a co-educational institution of higher learning and is composed of sixteen different colleges and schools and several institutes for advanced research and public service.

The main campus is located in Ann Arbor, a small city about 40 miles west of Detroit, Michigan. Flint College is in the city of that name and the Dearborn Center will open in the Fall of 1959, on the outskirts of Detroit. Extension centers in six other cities bring the educational opportunities and services of the University to people in all parts of the State.

The University was founded in 1817, while Michigan was still a territory. The Consti-



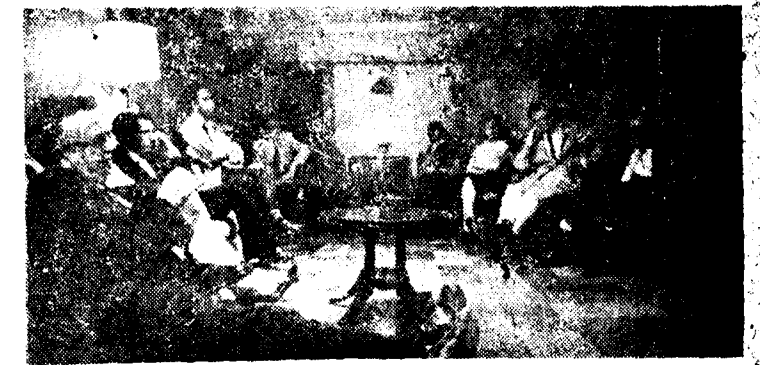
Students attend two or three lectures a week, take copious notes

Recently photographer George Zimbel visited the Michigan campus and talked with many undergraduates and graduates from abroad. He asked them, "What is it like? How would you describe the University?"

They told him what impressed them most—the cosmopolitan nature of the student body; the wealth and availability of libraries, laboratories and other facilities for specialized study; the sometimes irksome system of required lectures and reading followed by frequent tests; the informality and challenge of the smaller classes; the friendliness, self-confidence and open-mindedness of their American class-mates.

They commented on the approachability of the Professors: "They treat you as individuals"; on the pace of student life: "There is so much to do there is no time for homesickness"; on the academic atmosphere: "The superiority of the Professors, which is always there, is not imposed to curb the thought of the student. A student, like a common man, is valued for his common sense."

Guided by such observations, Zimbel photographed Michigan as if seen through the eyes of its students from overseas. His pictures



Harry Golden (right), newspaper editor, meets with an advanced journalism seminar

tution drawn up in 1835, as a basis for the new State's Government required the legislature to support a university, and two years later it was formally organized and located in Ann Arbor. The first class of seven students was admitted in 1841. In the early years, instruction was limited to the classics, mathematics and medicine, but during the latter half of the nineteenth century several new colleges were established and since that time the educational facilities and the enrolment have grown steadily.

College of Architecture and Design, School of Business Administration, School of Dentistry, School of Education, College of Engineering, Flint College, Horace H. Rack





Professor Henry Van der Schalie, a world-known authority on mollusks

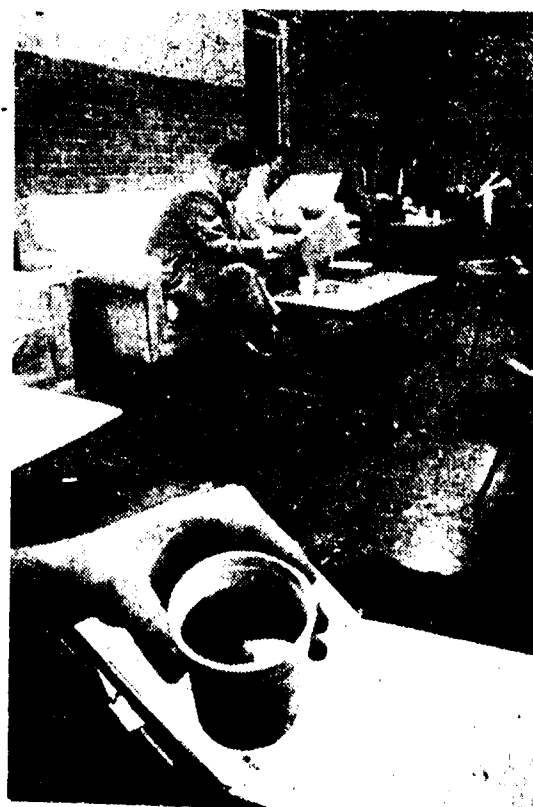
# A U.S. UNIVERSITY AS SEEN BY ITS STUDENTS



Students concentrate on their books



Many American students earn some of their expenses



Students meet informally with faculty members



Everywhere and at any time you can see students studying



Anxious students search for their graded quiz papers



Uniformity of dress



A student working in a sound proof cubicle equipped with tape-recording and earphones



A student astounded by his bad quiz results



Professor Robert W. Pidd meets with physics class

ham School of Graduate Studies, Law School, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, Medical School, School of Music, School of Natural Resources, College of Pharmacy, School of Public Health, School of Social Work, and Dearborn Center.

Institute of Public Administration; Institute for Human Adjustment (including the Bureau of Psychological Services, Division of Gerontology, Fresh Air Camp, Social Science Research Project and Speech Clinic); Engineering Research Institute; Institute for Social Research (including the Survey Research Center and the Research Center for Group Dynamics); Center for Japanese Studies; Bureau of Industrial Relations; Bureau of Business Research; Institute of Industrial Health; Audio-Visual Education Center and the Michigan Memorial-Phoenix Project.

During the spring term of 1959, 22,400 students were enrolled in the University, of whom approximately two-thirds were men and one-third women. Although a majority of the students are residents of the State of Michigan all the other states are represented as well as 78 foreign countries. Students from abroad numbered 1,524 in 1959.

The University is controlled by a board of eight regents who are elected by the voters of the State. The Chief Executive Officer is the President. Together with the deans of the colleges and schools he presides over the administration of the University.

Michigan students live in the University dormitories, in co-operative residences where

they share the house-keeping work, in rooms in private homes, in fraternity and sorority houses and in apartments. The University has recently constructed apartments to house married students and their children. Many of the students take their meals in their living units, some do their own cooking and others eat in cafeterias and restaurants.

Approximately 150 clubs and extra-curricular activities are open to students on campus. These include the International Center, which sponsors social events, debates, trips and counseling services for students from abroad; the student Government; the Union and League, recreational centers for men and women respectively; athletics, both inter-collegiate and intramural; a daily newspaper and other publications; choirs, orchestras; bands, dramatic and debating societies and other groups organized by the students to further their special interests.

Several annual concert series give Michigan students the opportunity to hear such outstanding artists as William Warfield, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Budapest String Quarter. Operas are presented each year by the School of Music and the Department of Speech. The Drama Season brings professional theater to the campus every spring to augment the series of experimental, classical and original plays produced by on-campus companies during the year. Various organizations sponsor lectures by statesmen, men of letters and outstanding authorities in many fields.—USIS.



An American (*right*) introduces a new student to hotdogs and football



Gilbert Ross gestures feelingly as he coaches a violin student



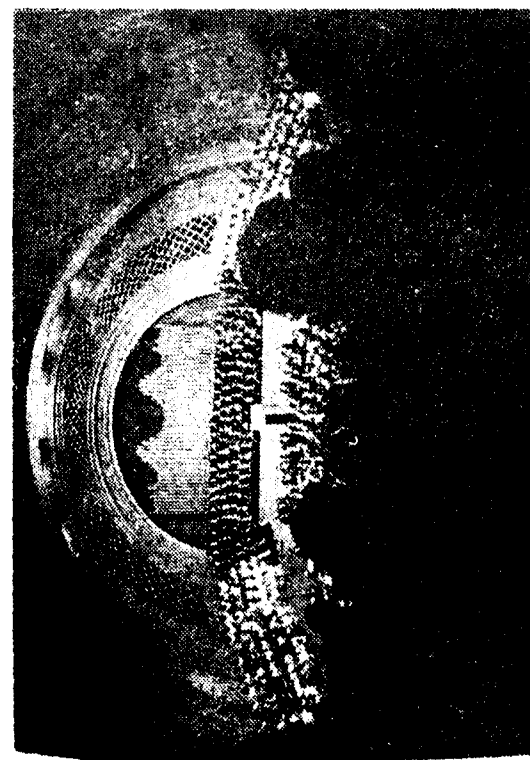
Posters announce subjects on different topics—all taking place within one week



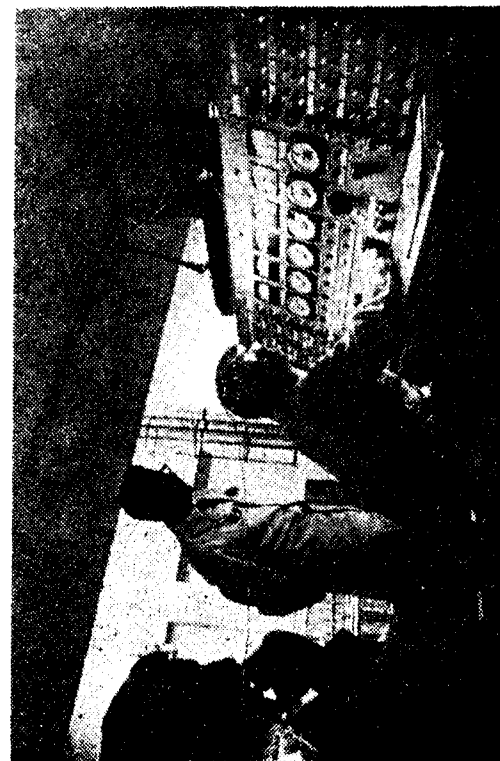
The Lawn



Professor Joseph Yamagiwa



Michigan students enjoy the annual May Music Festival



## THE CHINESE WAY

BY PROF. BIRENDRA CHAKRAVORTY, M.A.

The prevalence of Indo-Chinese friendship for hundreds of years in the past has made us too much complacent. But it will be a folly to think that what did not happen in the past cannot happen in the present or will not happen in the future. A review of China's relations with the neighbours on her South-Western Frontier in the last few decades will perhaps disillusion many about China's real intentions.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century Russian intrigues in Tibet, which was then a nominal dependency of China, alarmed the British. The new Dalai Lama was under the influence of Dorjief, a Russian, and in 1902 stories spread abroad that the Chinese rights over Tibet had been ceded to Russia through a Russo-Chinese agreement. Consequently, the British Government could not sit idle. As direct negotiations with Tibet were hindered, a military mission under Col. Younghusband was sent into Tibet. The Younghusband expedition defeated the Tibetan resistance, and an agreement was signed at Lhasa, by which marts for the exchange of goods were to be opened, a war indemnity to be paid to the British by Tibet, pending which the Chumbi Valley would remain under British occupation. In the context of an improvement in the Anglo-Russian relations Lord Lansdowne, then at the Foreign Office, assured the Russian envoy that so long as no other European state interfered with Tibetan affairs, England would not either annex Tibet, or establish a protectorate over it, or try to control its internal affairs.

The British expedition of 1904 had thoroughly alarmed the Chinese, who now were in a haste for the restoration of the Chinese hold over Tibet. As the Dalai Lama had fled from Lhasa to Urga (in North Mongolia) in 1904, on the approach

of the Younghusband expedition, China issued a proclamation deposing him, but the Tibetans treated it with contumacy. From Urga the Dalai Lama came to Peking where he rendered homage de convenance to the Chinese Emperor in the hope of securing a better treatment from the Chinese Government for his Tibetan people. But when he returned to Tibet in 1909, he was thoroughly disgusted seeing the Tibetans suffering tremendously under an oppressive and inhuman Chinese control. He at once appealed to the outside world for help against the Chinese oppressors and fled to India across the Sikkim border in 1910, and was granted political asylum by the Indian Government.

The traditional Russophobia led the British Government to give up her newly-established hold on Tibet and enter into a convention with China in 1906. This Anglo-Chinese Convention, held at Peking, modified the Lhasa convention of 1904 by providing that the preservation of Tibet's integrity should rest with China, and that she alone would have the right to concessions in Tibet. Again, by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, both England and Russia agreed to conduct their political relations with Tibet through China, to refrain from sending any agents to Lhasa and seeking any concession in Tibet. The result of the Younghusband mission and the treaties following that were disastrous for the Tibetans. Sir Charles Bell has observed, "By going and then coming out again, we knocked the Tibetans down and left them for the first-comer to kick." Actually, the British created a political vacuum in Tibet, and China was not late in filling it. The Chumbi valley, a wedge of territory that cuts between Bhutan and Sikkim and is within twenty-five miles of the plains of Bengal, was evacuated by the

British troops on 8th February, 1908, as the last instalment of the war indemnity, imposed on Tibet by Col. Younghusband, was cleared up by the Chinese overlord. "The absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and the payment by China of the Younghusband indemnity strengthened the Chinese position."

Mr. Chang Yin Tang, the newly-appointed Chinese High Commissioner in Tibet, was an able man. In a short time he gained a full control over the Tibetan administration and lessened British influence in Tibet. He also "endeavoured to assert Chinese suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan, an early sign of the danger that threatened India if China obtained a firm hold over Tibet." The Anglo-Chinese Trade Regulations for Tibet of 1908 worsened the situation as their effect was still further to push the British and Indians out of Tibet. For instance, by the Ninth Regulation the British "Government agreed that 'British Officers and subjects' (including Indians) should be barred from travelling in Tibet beyond Gyantse." Moreover, the Chinese violated various treaty rights including the Trade Regulations of 1908 in the following way: old duties were reimposed at Phari in the Chumbi Valley, and in Western Tibet, the Sikkim traders were not allowed to proceed to Kampadzung; a Chinese monopoly in wool and hides was inaugurated; and a consignment of Indian Silver to Tibet was stopped by the Chinese guards at the frontier.

But the Chinese were not satisfied with internal consolidation in Tibet; they endeavoured for external expansion. Mr. Chang Yin Tang informed the representative of Nepal that "Tibet and Nepal being united like brothers, under the auspices of China, should work in harmony for the mutual good"—a tentative assumption of Chinese suzerainty over Nepal. And over Bhutan, inhabited by people of Tibetan stock and revering the Dalai Lama of Tibet as the head of their faith, the claim of a Chinese suzerainty did not appear unnatural to the Chinese. The Chinese representative at Lhasa, called Amban, once addressed the Bhutanese rulers thus: "The

Bhutanese are the subjects of the Emperor of China, who is the Lord of Heaven. You, Deb Raja and two Penlops, think you are great, but you cannot continue without paying attention to the orders of your Ruler. Bhutan is the gate on the South which prevents entry (by the British). The Popon (the Chinese magistrate in the Chumbi Valley) will inspect your climate, crop, etc. The Deb Raja should endeavour to improve the trade of the country and the condition of the peasants. If you want any assistance, let me know." To counteract the Chinese propaganda in Bhutan and her designs against all the Himalayan States the British Government took the external relations of Bhutan in their own hands by a treaty with Bhutan concluded in 1910. In fact, China appears to regard the Mongolian peoples that border on her South-Western frontier—the Nepalese, the Bhutanese, the Sikkimese and even the Burmese—as within her natural sphere. But once, the Chinese are entrenched in Tibet they may prove a real menace to the northern border of Assam, inhabited by a number of savage tribes along seven hundred miles of the Indian frontier. "I feared Chinese intervention," wrote Sir Charles Bell, "and influence—and eventually a measure of control—in these tribal territories." In 1910, the Chinese troops advanced into the Khampti territory, and two months later a Chinese force arrived at Rima near the Mishmi border, and ordered a Mishmi Chief to cut a track from the Tibetan border to India.

In 1910, China deposed the Dalai Lama for the second time, but the Tibetans did not care it. Towards the close of that year the Dalai Lama wrote both to the British King and the Russian Tsar for protection. But none came to help him. Taking advantage of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Tibetans rose in revolt against their Chinese rulers and in 1912 the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa. The Chinese army surrendered to the Tibetans in Central Tibet and the Dalai Lama restored his authority. But in Eastern Tibet the Chinese were able to maintain most of their ground. By the Simla convention



of 1913-1914, in which Sir Henry McMahon represented the British India Government. Chinese suzerainty over the whole of Tibet was recognised, but China engaged not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province. Tibet was divided into two zones, 'outer Tibet' (nearer India) and 'Inner Tibet' (nearer China), and the autonomy of Outer Tibet was recognised. China agreed to abstain from sending troops, stationing civil or military officers, or establishing Chinese colonies there. In Inner Tibet the Tibetan Central Government were to exercise their existing rights. But no sooner had the ink of the initials of the representatives of China, India and Tibet dried than the Peking Government refused to ratify it. Thereupon, the British Minister at Peking informed the Chinese Government on 6th June 1914, that England and Tibet regarded the convention as concluded by the act of initiating, and that in default of China's ratification they would sign it independently. Soon the Great War broke out, and China "notified Britain that, except as regards the boundary, she was willing to accept the convention in all respects."

The Dalai Lama continued to exercise his control over Outer Tibet till 1949. But the Communist Government of China invaded Tibet in 1950 and turned her into a part of the Chinese People's Republic. The Sino-Indian agreement of 29th April, 1954, sealed the fate of Tibet and India's traditional rights in Tibet were surrendered once for all.

As Afghanistan has been turned into a friendly buffer for the safety of our North-Western frontier, Tibet is our natural buffer against an expansionist China. The British policy in the early twentieth century was to resist the establishment of full Chinese dominance in Outer Tibet which would stand as a friendly territory between India and China. By signing away the death sentence for Tibet we have

invited Chinese aggression on our northern and eastern borders. Dr. Davies has observed that "the importance of a frontier lies in the pressure behind it, the more populated a district the greater the pressure." From this angle of vision the pressure on the Sino-Indian border is perhaps the heaviest in the world. Though our frontier system has been adjudged by one historian as "the most highly organised in the world" it is by no means perfect. A great improvement can be made upon the road and railway systems leading to the borders. All-weather roads, suitable for mechanical transport, are necessary for pursuing raiding gangs as well as for developing trade and commerce with the distant frontier regions. Airfields also should be constructed on the flat tops of the border hills for despatching quick supplies to the border outposts and giving air support to the infantry in all defensive and offensive operations that may be necessary at any moment. But the most important of all, for the sake of uniformity and efficiency the frontier defence should be reorganised and entrusted absolutely with the Indian army instead of the police battalions like the Punjab Frontier Force on the Western frontier or the Assam Rifles on the Eastern frontier. The border patrols should be provided with the latest type of weapons and the best possible training, including mountaineering which is a necessary qualification for the sentinel guarding the Himalayan passes.

After the Partition of India, the task of protecting the difficult north-western frontier of the Indian subcontinent has fallen to the share of Pakistan, and for independent India the north-eastern frontier is the real concern. With an expanding China across the borders, enjoying a common frontier for over a thousand miles and seeking space for her ever-growing millions a well-organised defence coupled with a wise frontier policy is the need of the hour.



# Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

AN INTRODUCTION INTO LAMAISM. THE MYSTICAL BUDDHISM OF TIBET: By R. P. Aniruddha. Vishveshvarananda Vedic Research Institute. Hoshiarpur. 1959. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 8.00.

The vast complex of faiths and practices making up Tibetan Buddhism (or as it is shortly called Lamaism) has been placed before the public for some time now by a number of European scholars who have however been often repelled by its apparent extravagances. In this popular work expressly making no claim to originality or even completeness, the author has attempted to present before the general public some fundamental features of Lamaism dealing with "its history, rituals, Tantricism and iconography". The author who is evidently widely read in his subject has freely drawn upon some recent first-hand authorities by way of correcting prevailing misconceptions. Such are Lama A. Govinda and Madame David Neel in the field of Lamaism proper, Edward Conze and George C. Grimm in the branch of Mahayana philosophy, and H. Guenther in the sphere of Tantric rituals. In the result the author gives interesting accounts of the Lamaist pantheon, the daily Lamaist ritual and the ritual of the mystic mandala, Tantric Buddhism and Tibetan Yoga practices. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the work suffers from a certain diffuseness. Another defect is its lack of proper arrangement as is shown by the long discussion of "the secret teachings" of Buddhism in Ch. I, the contact of European travellers with Tibet in Ch. III and the account of the Buddhist ceremonies of birth, sickness and death in Ch. XIII. We have noticed a few slips such as *Sutramkaya* (p. 17), *Devapriya* (p. 27) and *the Gandhara period of India in the 6th century A.D.* (p. 56). Seven appen-

dices, an adequate bibliography and a good Index bring the work to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JADUNATH SARKAR: Edited by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, D.Phil. Punjab University. 1958. 2 vols.

The publication of these learned volumes containing side-lights on the character and the literary activities of our late lamented historian, Acharya Jadunath, in the year of his demise comes as a consolation to his countrymen who mourn his exit from the world without such an appreciation long overdue. The Preface written by the editor makes it clear how the impossible was made possible by the generosity, tenacity and the courage of Punjab. The preparation of a commemoration volume for the aging historian had, as it is generally known, been the wish of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and of his other admirers and pupils. It did not materialize because even venerable Sardesai could not prevail upon his younger friend to agree. When elders failed in their courage, it is apparently the youngest one who was pushed to the front by the University of the Punjab. After an emphatic "No" from Jadunath, few would have dared except Prof. Hari Ram to meet him with the same proposal again the very next day. However, but for the generosity of Dewan Anand Kumar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and the son of a more illustrious father, late Raja Narendra Nath, this project would not have materialized.

Vol. I of this book under review opens with a learned Introduction by the editor. We are told how he had to slip out of Jadunath's house with his basket of mangoes that infuriated Jadunath (p. 5). Next to the letters of Jadunath to Sardesai, the most learned and in-

formative paper is from the pen of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, "*Jadunath Sarkar as I know him*" (pp. 18-34). It stands out a fact beyond challenge that none knew Jadunath more as a man and a scholar than Rao Bahadur Sardesai. He sums up the estimate of Jadunath as "the Gibbon of India." Dr. K. R. Qanungo's biographical sketch (pp. 35-54) adds some reminiscences of his apprenticeship in Jadunath's house at Cuttack. It lacks the warmth and vividness of Sardesai's paper. "Sir Jadunath and Lady Abala Bose were also known to have shared Jadunath's regard and affection" (p. 54) perhaps suffers from error. He evidently means "Sir Jagadish and Lady Abala Bose . . . ." Dr. K. R. Qanungo's paper on Sir Jadunath as a historian similarly suffers from misprints and confusion of names that need revision. He does not subscribe to the view of Sardesai and takes some pains to prove that Jadunath could not be the Gibbon of India. *Reminiscences* contributed by seven scholars (pp. 74-87), Prof. Nilkanta Sastri, Sri M. B. Kibe and five others throw very interesting side-lights on Jadunath's character as a man, which had been more or less a sealed book to the most of his countrymen, and sometimes a riddle to those even who lived closer to him. The story of the mysterious theft in the Ravenshaw College hostel, told by Prof. G. S. Das, reveals the fact that Jadunath's knowledge of physiognomy of persons standing before him for justice would have done credit to a Chief Qazi of Caliph Harun al-Rashid! (p. 78).

It was indeed a hard job to print Jadunath's letters to G. S. Sardesai giving us one hundred-forty-seven pages of solid matter (pp. 127-274), mostly historical and a few personal, the latter being more helpful to us in appraising Jadunath's worth as a man. Jadunath reveals himself as a political seer in one of his letters. (14th August, 1931).

" . . . the Swarajists will soon have to test their strength against Britishers plus Muslims. The Hindus are so divided and so foolishly selfish that their majority does not count in actual politics. The atmosphere can tear only after a thunderstorm—after showers of blood." (p. 159).

Acharya Jadunath was a master of English prose which imparts an enduring charm to his works. In a letter to Rao Bahadur Sardesai he gives a piece of advice worth noticing by every aspirant of a fairly good style. He writes:

"In fact, the surest means of acquiring a

good style is (1) to read aloud the best English prose—avoiding ornate and involved authors, such as, Dr. Johnson and Macaulay,—for half an hour every morning, (2) to avoid trashy authors . . . , (3) to pause and revise frequently in the course of our own writing. This is the method that has borne most fruit with me, besides certain advantages that I had in my college life.

"You write too long and too diffusely, and hence your style is bound to suffer. I compress as much as I can . . . as I meditate before writing the words flow well-chosen out of my pen.

" . . . Please remember that the elements of a good prose style include not merely the choice of apt phrases, but also the judicious and most effective marshalling of facts. . . . 'The half is better than the whole,' is a Greek adage, which Macaulay admires . . . (Vol. I, pp. 233-34)."

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's *Letters to Jadunath Sarkar* cover 82 pages of Vol. I. These are difficult to digest except by a specialist of Maratha history. We come across clash of views between two friends who, however, keep their mind open and readily submit to facts.

Vol. II contains 38 essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar covering 347 pages of this volume. Some of these essays are illuminating, and others also are readable and informative. Those who are puzzled by the contradictory versions of the same incident by eye-witnesses would do well to read C. E. W. Ben's interesting article (pp. 36-44). He is the official historian for Australia for the War of 1914-1918. He tells us that eye-witnesses sometimes repeat not what they see but what they pick up from others and add their own. Our historians and newspaper reporters relying on the so-called eye-witnesses cannot afford to be too sanguine of the truth of their own findings (pp. 36-43, Vol. II). Prof. Dyornik's paper, *Some Characteristic Features of the Old Iranian Political Philosophy* (pp. 76-85), opens fresh avenues of researches into the origin and character of the Law (Sans. *Dharma*) in the Aryan and the Semetic polity. Space does not permit us to notice individually other papers written by distinguished scholars, though some of them are promising fresh blooms in the field of research.

In short, Jadunath's Commemoration Volumes faithfully reflect Jadunath's varied interest in history of all ages and of countries of the East and the West. We hope that these

volumes will receive warm appreciation and wide circulation. If this work goes to a second edition, the learned editor will do well to have the papers purged of printing errors or the mistakes of oversight in proof-reading; e.g., "What is the kingly glory of Indian belief?" (Vol. II, p. 79). In this passage India does not come into the picture at all. "Indian" is apparently a printer's devil for *Iranian*.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

CHINA'S POPULATION (Census and Vital Statistics): By S. Chandrasekhar. Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1959, with an outline map of China. Pp. 69. HK. Price \$4.

This small booklet represents the text of two lectures delivered by the author at the University of Hong Kong in June, 1959, and provides an authoritative introduction to important knowledge about the population of contemporary China. Dr. Chandrasekhar, who is regarded as one of the world's leading authorities on demographic studies, combines in himself a wide theoretical background with firsthand knowledge of China. The readers of this volume will eagerly await his forthcoming book on China in which he promises to give a fuller account and his opinions.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

#### BENGALI

RASHI GYANADARPAN: By Pt. Rampran Sharma, Kaviranjan, M.D.H.I.A.S., Palmist. Published by the Howrah Kustha Kutir, 1, Madhab Ghosh Lane, Khurut, Howrah. Ninth Edition. Price Rs. 4.

The author is well-known amongst Astrologers and Ayurvedic practitioners. He does his work so creditably that his book passes through the ninth edition. The present edition has been thoroughly revised and improved. The book begins with a general definition of Rashi Gyan, then it goes on to deal with the influence of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. After explaining the terminology the writer enumerates different kinds of human diseases caused by the planetary influence. He also suggests remedial direction according to the Tantrik treatment.

In Chapters I to III the author deals with different terms of Astrology; it will help general students of Astrology. In Chapters IV and

V he explains the usefulness of metal, herbs and jewels in respect of the nine planets. Chapter VI explains the nature and character of individuals and indicates special remedy for the bad influence of the nine planets. Chapter VII and VIII are the vital chapters of this book. In these two chapters the author explains the various kinds of human diseases. It will be of great help to those who believe in Astro-Medical theory and are practising in this line. The last, i.e., the ninth chapter of the book is purely commercial. The book is an attempt at presenting the proper way of Hindu Ayurveda based on Astrological basis. Hippocrates, the father of Western Medical Science, says that 'A Physician without knowledge of Astrology has no right to call himself a Physician'.

NARENDRANATH BAGAL

#### HINDI

PREMCHAND AUR UNKI SAHITYA SADHANA: By Doctor Padamsinha Sharma, "Kamalesh." Attorchand Kapur and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 201. Price and publication year not mentioned.

PEKING MEN MERE TEEN VARSHA: By Ko Ling. Navachetan Press Ltd., Naya Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1.

MAN KI BATEN: By Tarini Charan Das, "Chidanand". Utkal Rashtrabhasha Prachar Sabha, Cuttack-1. 1954. Pp. 33. Price As. 8.

Dr. "Kamalesh" has given us in his book, *Premchand Aur Uuki Sahitya Sadhana*, a comprehensive assessment of the many-sided achievements in the different fields of Hindi and Urdu literatures of Premchand,—that pioneer and prince of modern Hindi and Urdu short-story writers and novelists, but also a biographer, playwright, essayist, translator and writer of children's literature. The latter aspect of his literary activities and acumen has been perhaps, for the first time so well presented in any of the studies on Premchand. As such, this section of the book is the most valuable as well as the thesis that for Premchand, literature was both a lens and lever of life.

*Peking men mere teen varsha* is a Hindi rendering of *My Three Years in Peking* by Ko Ling, whose account of the Communist faith and philosophy with its apparatus of insidious infiltration as sensed and studied by her during her stay in Peking, is vivid, indeed.

*Man ki Baten* is a symphony of prose-poems, dictated by the mind and the heart of the author as he observes love and life. They have the simplicity and spontaneity of the bird-song.

G.M.

# GUJARATI

**MANDUKYOPANISHAD:** Edited by M. P. Desai. Gujarati Vidyapith. Ahmedabad-14, May, 1959. Price Re 1/75.

This volume is part of a series 'Rebhabhai Patel Smarak Granthamala'—in fact, thirteenth publication of the series which started in 1947. As is known, the Mandukya explains the significance of Omkar. It also expounds the Advaita in its own way. The publication has included a substance of Gaudapada's *karika* in

Gujarati to follow up the text of the Upanishad. After the preface and the Shantipath, the text begins, then the word for word explanation, the prose order, the meaning, the notes and then a detailed explanation. This succession is carried on up to the 12th sloka, and the part closes with Shantipath.

Then follows the second part dealing with the *karika* of Gaudapada. The learned commentator's place or status in the roll, his times (somewhere near 500 A.D.), the main principles which the commentator seeks to establish are given one after another—some of them quite fitting for the times, e.g., there is no conflict between advait philosophy and another school of philosophy!

An appendix and an index bring up the end.

P. R. SEN

## GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors : Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose

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## Indian Periodicals

### EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART IN GERMANY

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

While the study of Indian Art—the fields of Buddhist lore. Paul Deussen and finest flower of Indian culture—is being a host of other German scholars glorified continuously boycotted by our Indian the contributions of Indian Philosophy. But Universities, it is receiving serious atten- German interest in Indian Art is compara- tion in Europe and America, and, the latest tively recent. The French scholars probably movement in this study is proved by a preceded the German in their negotiations very comprehensive presentation of the with Indian Art. The earlier German whole history of Indian Art under the scholars were pre-occupied with Indian title: "Five Thousand Years' Art from Literature and Philosophy, and for the India"—arranged by a group of German best Dictionary of the Sanskrit language experts—at Villa Hugel, at Essen (May 14 we are indebted to the monumental industry and erudition of a group of German scholars and philologists led by Dr. Both- of Dr. Heuss, President of the Federal Re- ling. But the German excursion into the public of Germany. Though the matter continent of Indian Art is not earlier than has been noticed in some Indian newspapers the year 1920 when Dr. William Cohn, —as a piece of naked news-item—no criti- later known by his brilliant study of cal appraisal of this great exhibition and Buddhist Art, for the first time champion- the significance of its being held in ed the merits of Indian Plastic Art in Germany has been realised by any section of the Indian public—cultured or un- Germany. Almost about the same time cultured. There is an 'amusing' remark another German scholar—Dr. Stella Kram- made by an Indian politician who had ex- risch—in an erudite monograph analysed pressed "the hope that the Exhibition will the "Fundamentals of Indian Art" (1920), serve a useful purpose and help the German and later studied "the Plastic Art of the people and others to understand the mean- Gupta Period" (1929), with a comprehen- ing of Indian Art and Culture." It may sive survey of the whole development of be pointed out the German people have Indian Art in a little handbook on "Indian Sculpture" (1932). Yet, a third scholar—Dr. Hermann Goetz—entered the field of Indian painting by a series of articles: realised the deep significance of his own national culture. "Studies in Indian Painting," published in the German quarterly *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1922-24). In collaboration with Dr. Kuhnelt, Dr. Goetz published a valuable document of the Jahangir period, entitled "Indian Book-Painting" (1926), followed by numerous contributions on various phases of Indian painting which have established him as the foremost authority on Indian painting, a position unchallenged by any Indian scholar. With this group of German scholars, Dr. Alfred Salmons joined hands to analyse the scientific presentation of Indian Plastic Art. And finally, in 1929, Hermann Goethe for the Indian drama to *Sakuntala* is very well-known. Hermann Hess wrote many years ago a "Life of the Buddha" and Oldenberg ploughed the rich mental volumes on "Early Indian Sculpture"

### TRIBUTE TO GERMAN SCHOLARS

When Indians had forgotten their own culture—German scholars were the first to discover the rich treasures of Indian Literature. Of these studies the earliest pioneers were Prof. Max-Muller and Professor Shaupenhawer, both of whom were deeply stirred by the monuments of Indian Literature and Philosophy. The infatu- ation of Goethe for the Indian drama *Sakuntala* is very well-known. Hermann Hess wrote many years ago a "Life of the Buddha" and Oldenberg ploughed the rich mental volumes on "Early Indian Sculpture"

## EAST INDIAN SCHOOLS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR

The East Indian Schools of Bengal and Bihar excel in point of elegance, gracefulness, voluptuousness and mobility. In the North and North-West, plastic art soon underwent a transformation, tending towards an exaggerated lengthening of the limbs and a stilted awkwardness of movement.

The Bronzes from Southern India have right up to the most recent times, preserved the greatest measure of natural proportion and trueness to life. The "Baroque" Hoya-sala style was a special development leading to the embellishment of the temple walls and its figures with ornamental details; this is particularly characteristic of all temples at Somnathpur, Halbeid and Belur, and the fragments from the two latter shrines give us an insight into this special form of Medieval Indian Art.

As most of the surviving relics of Indian Art are spread over many different and distant Museums it is not possible for

an average Indian to obtain a comprehensive view of the total output and evolution, the fundamental unity in its variety of expression such as it was possible to juxtapose in this great exhibition of Indian Art in Germany. India is one but her cultural expressions have been different in different ages and in different cultural areas, and it is only in such carefully organised assemblage of its multifarious art-forms that can realise their basic fundamental unity.

Our Universities have hitherto failed to present—in carefully organised illustrating extension lectures—the multifarious expressions of Indian Art, and our students file out from the portals of our Universities year after year without any idea of the rich spiritual expressions of India's Vishal Arts, which cannot be gleaned from her Literature or Philosophy. — *Northern India Patrika Devali Supplement*, October 3, 1959.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The N. S. Savannah

Richard P. Godwin, William A. Hepburn and Paul E. Carrico observe in the *International Labor Review*, September, 1959:

The N. S. Savannah is a single-screw passenger-cargo ship with a raked stem and modified cruiser stern. It has three complete decks, and platform decks at various levels. Passenger staterooms are on the "A" deck; public rooms and the swimming pool are on the promenade deck which extends over "A" deck for about one-third of the ship's length.

The hull is subdivided by a total of ten watertight transverse bulkheads into peak spaces, seven holds, a machinery space and a reactor space. At load draft of 29ft. 6in. (9m.) in salt water, the N. S. Savannah is designed for a total dead-weight of 9,990 tons.

The power plant is made up of a primary system (a reactor located amidships within a cylindrical containment vessel) and a secondary system (comprised of the main turbines and reduction gears, the main condensers, the feed water system, the turbine generators to supply propulsive auxiliaries and ship's hotel load, and the auxiliary diesel generators and auxiliary boiler to supply the ship's needs when the reactor is shut down).

The reactor is moderated and cooled by light water at 1,750 lb./sq. in. (123 kg./sq. cm.) above atmospheric pressure at a temperature of 508°F (265°C) and fuelled with uranium oxide of about 4.4 per cent. enrichment, which is clad in stainless steel rods.

The electrical system is designed to provide a high degree of reliability so as to ensure safety both when the reactor is in operation and when it is shut down. Power will be supplied by two 1,500kW turbine generators either of which will automatically take over all vital loads if the other fails.

A third source of power to remove decay heat and provide emergency power is a 300 kW diesel generator located above the bulkhead deck, which is connected to the 450-volt emergency switchboard.

For the crew the most important new element on the ship will be the nuclear instrumentation system. This system consists of ten neutron flux measuring channels

that (in four measuring ranges) cover the entire flux range of the reactor from the initial starting power to 150 per cent maximum power.

Closely associated is the radiation monitoring system which provides protection for all aboard ship and for the nuclear power plant itself.

The general principle for the collection and disposal of radioactive wastes in the N. S. Savannah is to contain all solid, liquid and high activity gaseous wastes for dockside transfer.

Low-activity gaseous wastes, such as the voids in the liquid waste storage tanks, can be discharged at sea with dilution from a 1,500 cu.ft./min. (42 cu.m./min.) fan.

A primary shield surrounding the reactor pressure vessel attenuates the core neutron flux to such an extent that materials outside this shield will not undergo sufficient neutron interaction to become important sources of gamma radiation.

The secondary shield which is attached to the outside of the 35 ft. (10.67 m.) diameter containment vessel consists of lead, polyethylene and concrete of sufficient thickness to reduce reactor and coolant radiation doses to the levels specified in the accompanying chart, which applies equally to crew and dockside personnel.

The U.S. Coast Guard, the Atomic Energy Commission and the American Bureau of Shipping review and approve specifications prepared for all major systems and components. These agencies provide inspection services at the reactor plant and shipyard.

Personnel with nuclear engineering competence is being added to the qualified marine staff of the shipping company which will operate the vessel. All ship operating personnel will be seasoned mariners fully qualified and documented by the U.S. Coast Guard; they will also be given whatever nuclear training is necessary to enable them to assume the new duties required by the propulsion system.

Selection of the operating agent for the N. S. Savannah was made from 47 shipping companies operating vessels under the United States flag. States Marine Lines, which will act as agent for the Government in operating the vessel, was chosen for its demonstrated marine capability and safety record.

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which still upholds the position of an exhaustive survey of the subject. German "occupation" of the continent of Indian Art is now complete.

#### STUDY OF INDIAN MONUMENTS

The latest recruit in the field is Dr. Klaus Fischer, who after a three years' intensive study of Indian monuments has begun to throw new lights on various phases of Indian Art and Architecture. His most original contribution is the "Art of Bengal Temples With Bent Caves" (Ahmedabad, 1953). Dr. Fischer's expert knowledge of Indian Art has been happily utilised by the organisers in arranging the exhibits in a chronological order, illustrating the whole evolution of the Art covered by five thousand years. The present exhibition is in some respects superior to the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art, held in London in 1947-48, as in the present show the history has been illustrated by carefully chosen masterpieces—representing each phase of the subject—in an easily comprehensible presentation of a complicated Art-History. The whole evolution has been visualised through only 865 significant specimens—critically selected to explain not only the different schools, from the pre-historic phases of Mohenjo-Daro, period by period, divided into eleven sections, including a section presenting all phases of Applied Art, textiles, pottery, wood-work and metal-ware, each illustrated by typical specimens, altogether numbering 380 pieces. Sculpture and Painting have been illustrated by 44 items—which is a marvellous achievement in expounding the long history by significant emphasis on each stage of the evolution. Such a marvellous presentation is only worthy of the careful judgment of a group of art-experts who have studied each school, scrupulously appraising the significance of the chosen masterpieces with subtle judgment and connoisseurship. This carefully selected presentation has brought to light many little known or hitherto unknown masterpieces. The high-lights of the exhibits consist of (1) an "unknown" seal from Mohenjo-Daro (7)—a combat of animals—a composition of marvellous design and skill. (2) Three very fine terracotta figurines of Molhar-cult of the Mayurya period (55, 56, 57), (3) a realistic picture

of an elephant with Mahouts, from Sanchi (75). A brilliant terracotta masterpiece is a 'Love-scene' from Kausambi (99). Of the Mathura school is a fine first century Statuette of Kartikeya (116). The weakness of the Gandhara School is represented by a seated Buddha perched on a small lotus—an absurd foreign interpretation of the 'padmasana' (126), and a remarkable portrait of a foreign convert carrying an alms-bowl (141), and several fragmentary heads illustrating different races of people who had built the Hellenistic colony in Gandhara (142, 143). The Andhra School is represented by a circular medallion from Amaravati and an Ayaka-frieze from Nagarjuni-konda with 'Mithuna' finials (143).

#### GUPTA AND MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS

The Gupta School is illustrated by several examples—the 'Surpanakha' scene from Deoghur (Jhansi), a late Saranath torso of a beautiful Buddha, clad in 'wet-drapery' style (161), and a masterly nude study of a damsel (167) as lively terracotta study of a domestic scene (173), and a dramatic presentation of 'Siva-Ganas' destroying the sacrifice of Daksha (183). Post-Gupta and Medieval Schools are represented by several unknown and less known examples—especially a 'Mahisasura-mardini' from Rajasthan (195). 'Dancing Siva' is not only represented by three stone pieces but by very fine bronzes lent by the Madras Museum. Early Chola sculpture is illustrated by a beautiful cult-image of Agni (289) and by a stone portrait of Agastya (291). The story of Plastic Art is brought down to the 17th and 18th centuries of which a remarkable example is a Procession of Krishna and Balaram—and a Durga on Lion from Travancore (328). The Section of Painting demonstrated by a series, of 142 pieces skilfully present the whole history of Indian Painting—including the Guzerati, Rajasthani, the Moghul schools and the Hill schools of the Punjab Valley—through carefully selected specimens. The high-lights of this section are: (1) an illustrated page of 'Rasika-priya' (453), (2) Baz Bahadur and Rupamati (357-a), and an unknown specimen of the Pahari-Poonch school of surprising realism and primitive strength (403). Altogether it is a brilliant presentation of the whole history

documented by chosen and significant masterpieces.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF ART EXHIBITION

But the greater significance of this exhibition is a new appraisal of the multifarious merits of the Indian schools by a group of trained experts who have probed deeply into each phase of the manifestation. With commendable courage the German experts have repudiated the popular fallacy of ascribing the origin of the Buddha Image to the Hellenistic masons of Gandhara. According to this appraisal: "To the technique of Greco-Roman Art was added the aesthetic idealism as evolved in India after the first millennium A.D. The Gupta style, that is the classic Art of India, became dissimilated in all directions, and, on the North-West Frontier territories, fused with the cultural achievements of the neighbouring districts to form a new artistic unity." The leading artists and the sculptor's studios of Gandhara, the central Indian Kushana capital Mathura, and the Vengi school in South-East India appear to have had a certain amount of contact with each other. From the 2nd to the 4th century the schools of sculpture responsible for the ornamentation of the Stupas of Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda and Goli, evinced such wealth and variety of imagination that Indian art for the first time seemed to be "l'art pour l'art". Loving couples are reproduced with great sensuality, seemingly independent of symbolic meaning. Quietness and restraint have been replaced by gaiety, passion and movement. The Buddhist stories are retold in two ways, one that describes the Buddha in the abstract symbols of the tree, the throne, the wheel, and the other that depicts him in the likeness of a human being. The all-over patterns of dynamic movement, the refinement used in portraying the female form, the fullness and extravagance of details are said to have been the consequence of new social conditions. The archaic severity and massiveness of the art of the Mauryan and Kushana periods, the wealth in iconography and form displayed by the Gandharan artists, and lastly, the delight in life and beauty during the Golden age of the Gupta dynasty combined to form an Indian "classical Art". National genius was expressed in all the arts, in literature, music, philosophy

and dancing. For the last time, on the soil of India as she is today, the three great religious communities bore an equal share in bringing about the high standard of culture and tolerance. The ancient codes and regulations forbade "realism" in the reproductions of anatomical detail, all the same, flowers and animals were the artist's models and were combined in a new artistic unity. Never before and never afterwards was such harmony of object and form, mind and matter attained. At some period during the intervening 500 years between the 9th and 14th centuries A.D., creative forces were at work in all parts of the Indian sub-continent to preserve unbroken the ancient forms of a great stylistic tradition and further to develop and adopt them in harmony with provincial peculiarities. The region from the southern-most part to the Himalayas, from the desert of Thar in the west to Burma in the east, covers an area roughly of the size of Europe. The sculptures of South and Central India, Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan or Northern India taking the development of art as a whole, displays peculiarities similar to those we find in the Ages, evinced, for example, in a certain iconographic community of expression in French, English, Italian or German formative art.

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## NOTES

### A Month in Retrospect

January seems to be one of the festive months of the year, where the people and the Government of India are concerned. This January, of the year 1960, has been no exception.

Amongst the high-lights of all the festivities, there has been the *tamasha* of the A.I.C.C., costing twenty lakhs; then a very distinguished foreign visitor, namely, President Voroshilov of the U.S.S.R. is honouring us with a visit, and an old friend and neighbour, Prime Minister B. P. Koirala of Nepal has also chosen this month for his coming to us. Then, of course, we have had Republic Day with its parades and processions, together with the bestowal of various awards of titles, medals, and so on and so forth.

If we had a special issue of this journal giving a critical review of all these, then perhaps we might have given a fuller account, in retrospect and for record, for the use of future historians, but failing that we can only give our impressions of the crowded events of the month under review, in these columns, with as much precision as possible under the circumstances.

The A.I.C.C. proceedings, as far as we can judge from the daily press reports, make extremely dull and somewhat pain-

ful reading. The outbursts of Pandit Nehru, and the peroration of our Defence Minister, in words of one syllable so to say, for the benefit of his fellow A.I.C.C. members make painful reading. Last of all, Pandit Nehru's utterances in the negation of Sri Deshmukh's proposal for a comprehensive probe into the rising tide of corruption, which is threatening to engulf the entire machinery of the governmental administration, has left us pained and amazed, to say the least. Has Pandit Nehru's contact with his own people and the country degenerated to such a low ebb that he is unaware of the stark realities of the day?

The only other explanation of Pandit Nehru's "spates" of words would be along the ancient Hindustani proverb regarding the words and actions of great men and the "teeth" of elephants "One set for show (the tusks) and another set for eating." If that be the case, then we would prefer that all these exhibitions be made behind Khadi curtains. For, what is painful to us, would cause ribald laughter amongst those whose *dal roti* did not depend on the good graces of Pandit Nehru.

Regarding the National Awards, they are the usual hotch-potch, as there are at least three names in the Padma Shri class—the most prominent being Dr. Artaballav Mahanti—which should carry as much respect as any of those in the Padma Bhushan class.

Extensive environmental health and personnel health physics programmes have been planned for the N. S. Savannah to provide radiological protection for the crew, passengers, stevedors and shipyard personnel.

In initiating the nuclear ship programme President Eisenhower stated:

"I should like to emphasise that the ship's reactor design will not be secret. The reactor will be built on an unclassified basis. It will be possible for engineers, not only of our own country but of other nations, to view the nuclear power plant and see at first hand this demonstration of the great promise of atomic energy for human betterment."

### The Historic Plains of Delhi

The following are some portions of the travel-in-India diary of Sister Daya, president of SRF and YSS, published in the *Self-Realization Magazine*, September-October, 1959:

April 21st. We travel by car to Delhi. The trip is long and the roads are dusty but we do not mind, for we see interesting sights, such as camels carrying huge bundles on their backs while camel-drivers walk alongside their charges.

April 22nd. We drive about Delhi in the afternoon. Our sightseeing tour includes the beautiful U.S. Embassy. New Delhi, the capital of India, is an attractive city, with red administrative buildings and rich green lawns. History tells us that seven times great empires have risen and fallen here on the plains of Delhi. We see some of the ancient ruins, sad reminders of civilizations long gone. The most outstanding ruin in Delhi today is the Red Fort, built by Shah Jahan (who also erected the Taj Mahal in Agra). The Red Fort is in old Delhi about four miles from New Delhi.

The first glimpse of New Delhi is Connaught Place—a series of buildings circular in design, used for dress shops, hotels, restaurants, newspaper offices, etc. The streets are wide, lined with beautiful shade trees. The buildings of the city were designed by the British, expressing a blend of European and Indian architecture. We visit Birla Temple during our stay in New Delhi. It was on the lawn of Birla House that Mahatma Gandhi was felled by an assassin's bullet, and India was plunged into

mourning for the Father of the Nation.

We visit the Ivory Palace, where we see men, young and old, carving beautiful figures out of blocks of ivory. They do delicate work with what appear to be primitive instruments. We make a few purchases—beautiful vases, and ivory pieces that we plan to put on display in the SRF Lake Shrine museum in Pacific Palisades.

April 23rd. We leave Delhi at 6:30 a.m. by train for Agra. We pass through beautiful and interesting countryside, dotted here and there with ancient forts and buildings dating back to the Mogul era. The ride from Delhi to Agra takes about three hours.

A little booklet titled "Agra" which I have purchased tells us that "Agra's origin is lost in the midst of antiquity. According to one Puranic legend, it was a flourishing city at the time of Lord Krishna and was included in the territories of Kamsa, his uncle." Modern Agra stands on the bank of the River Jamuna in which the beautiful Taj is reflected. The Taj Mahal is one of the wonders of the world.

Never before have we seen such exquisite work in marble or in any other material! The floors, walls, and ceilings of the interior are of the purest white marble; the walls are decorated with inlays worked in floral and geometrical designs for which emeralds, sapphires, onyx, and jasper have been used. We walk from room to room, reliving the days of the Shah, as the guide recounts incidents in the Emperor's life. The center of the main chamber, which is octagonal, contains the cenotaphs of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan.

The mausoleum stands at a distance of about 1000 feet from the gateway. A water-course of fountains, broken in the middle by a square pool with fountains playing throughout its length, divides the paved path to the main building. On either side is an avenue of cypresses, tall, sentinel-like; and extending beyond them are flowerbeds, lawns, and lovely trees. As one walks toward the mausoleum, one sees in the pool striking reflections of the pristine white of the marble background.

The beauty of the Taj Mahal by moonlight is beyond description. There is a hush all about us as visitors like ourselves stand, breath swept away by the exquisiteness of the scene. How to describe the beauty of the Taj? It is like a glistening teardrop, frozen in the night, reflecting the softness of the moonglow.



Fishing



In the blazing sun

[Photo : Ramen Bagchi

### Problem of Tax Evasion

Tax evasion as well as tax avoidance has been a long-standing problem in this country. Various measures adopted by the authorities do not appear to be effective in preventing tax evasion. The consequence of tax evasion and tax avoidance is the same, that is, they result in a loss of revenue to the State and an increase in the burden of tax on the other tax-payers who do not adopt such practices. The Government of India appointed a Committee in June 1958, known as the Direct Tax Administration Enquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Sri Mahavir Tyagi. The Committee has recently submitted its report in which recommendations have been made to prevent tax evasion as well as tax avoidance.

As regards the cause of tax evasion, the Committee says that while it cannot be denied that the higher the rate of tax, the greater will be the temptation for evasion and avoidance, the tax rates by themselves are not to blame for the large extent of evasion in the country. The complicated provisions of the direct taxes Acts, not all of which are easily intelligible, are responsible to some extent for tax avoidance and evasion. The inadequacy of the powers vested in the personnel of the department is yet another cause for tax evasion. The Committee adds: "Unless it is brought home to the potential tax evader that attempts at concealment will not only pay but also actually land him in jail, there could be no effective check against tax evasion. Non-resort to prosecution and non-levy of deterrent penalties have undoubtedly encouraged the growth of tax evasion." According to the Committee's view, the Directorate of Inspection should be reorganised into a Directorate of Investigation and Intelligence and it should function in a more positive way by itself gathering all useful information and directing the investigational aspects of the department.

Although even the existing law contains provisions for prosecutions and punishment for tax evasion, not a single prosecution

has been made since Independence. The Committee says that in Britain at least one or two big tax evaders are sent to jail every year, as also the auditors who abet in such tax evasions. The USA, too, is very strict in the assessment and realisation of direct taxes. Apart from their failure to prosecute evaders, even the provisions empowering the levy of penalties up to 150 per cent of the evaded tax have not been enforced by the taxation authorities against any big tax evader. Rarely, if ever, have the penalties exceeded 50 per cent of the evaded tax. The Central Board of Revenue is understood to have explained that in the few cases in which the income-tax officers exercised this power and imposed heavy penalties, the appellate authorities and tribunals set it aside and reduced the penalties to small figures. As a result, the officers have adopted the safer course of levying lighter penalties, rather than risk such an adverse action in appeal.

The Tyagi Committee believes that the department must use the penal provisions to levy deterrent fines in cases of major evasions. If it is later found that the judicial authorities hearing appeals tend not to co-operate with the tax machinery in heavily punishing evaders, the law should be changed to provide that while the appellate authorities will have the power to decide whether or not evasion has taken place, they would have no power to interfere with the penalty levied by the income-tax officers. The Committee is reported to have pointed out that any tax administration must have the twin objective of encouraging the honest and punishing deterrently the dishonest. It has, towards this end, suggested a number of amendments to the existing law. These include the setting up of a separate enforcement branch to discover, prosecute and punish tax evaders. This branch will also undertake to publish in the official gazette the names of tax evaders who are fined more than Rs. 5,000. The law should restrict the scope of the present exemption provisions in regard to business done by charitable trusts so that big business houses do not

take advantage of these provisions as is done at present.

With regard to these suggestions we would strongly lay emphasis on the point of keeping the judicial side of law untrammelled. Any curtailment of the powers of the High Court and the Supreme Court should be regarded as a notation of the constitution. Further we fail to see how the Tyagi Committee propose to check corrupt officialdom the biggest escape door for tax evaders and avoiders.

Prof. Kaldor has assessed the quantum of tax evasion, on the basis of some national income reports, at about Rs. 200-300 crore in respect of the assessment year 1953-54. But the Central Board of Revenue maintains that it could not have been more than Rs. 20-30 crore. Prof. Kaldor, in his evidence before the Committee, has made it clear that his estimates include both tax evasion and tax avoidance. The Committee says, "The quantum of tax evasion, through undoubtedly high, is not of the magnitude indicated by Prof. Kaldor." We fail to understand why the Central Board of Revenue and also the Tyagi Committee are at pains to underestimate the extent of tax evasion in this country. The tax evasion and avoidance as well perhaps exceeds the figure as suggested by Prof. Kaldor.

There are certain classes of business which always evade and avoid tax payments. As for example, in recent times a method has been adopted in interlocking directorates and also Managing Agency systems. At present the same entrepreneur starts a new business or industrial concern with a different name. He maintains his ownership in benami and gets himself appointed as a technical adviser to the concern. The benami transactions and industrial organisations today provide the most serious problem for the authorities. But the Tyagi Committee does not appear to have studied this problem in a serious way. Its recommendation in this connection is rather wide of the mark. It says: "In order to discourage tax evaders from entering into benami transactions for the purpose of achieving their object, statements made by any party to such transaction be-

fore the direct tax authorities with regard to the ownership of an asset should be made available to the other party concerned in the case, if he applied for a copy of it. The secrecy provisions of the Income-Tax Act should be modified to secure this."

In most of the cases benami transactions are made in collusion of both the parties to a transaction. The verification of statement by the other party may not always bring about the desired result. And the most important point that seems to have been overlooked in this connection is how to find out that a transaction is purely a benami one. Today firms, industrial as well as commercial, are being set up in fictitious names, the real owners remaining behind the scene as mere advisers, although in fact they control the business and also earn the profits. Further, fictitious firms are also being set up as Managing Agents and neither the Indian Companies Act, 1956, nor the Income-Tax Act provide any effective measure to deal with such frauds. The Tyagi Committee has not gone deeper into the ramifications of benami and fictitious deals in this country. Benami transactions are mostly collusive and therefore the simple remedy as suggested by the Tyagi Committee has too much simplified the issue, or rather it has evaded or avoided the issue. In most of the cases the benamidar is not required to go to the taxing authorities to know that his name has been used. The benami transaction is a conspiracy to evade tax payment. Moreover, there is much legal difficulty in proving a benami transaction as such.

With the help of benami transactions old business houses in this country are expanding their business. Charitable trusts constitute another form of ruse for the purpose of tax avoidance. Small concerns are no less guilty of tax evasion. As for example, furniture shops, grocery, textile shops, stationers and the like invariably evade taxes by falsification and suppression of accounts. The owners of furniture shops in 80 per cent of sales do not give any cash receipts and thus they suppress the actual amount of sales. As regards other retailers as mentioned above, it is very



difficult to find out their actual sales, because their transactions constitute hand to hand sales for which sales-books are generally destroyed by the assesseees.

Calling for the rousing of public conscience and opinion against tax evasion, the Tyagi Committee has suggested publication of names of assesseees and their returns, publication of names of tax evaders subjected to a penalty exceeding Rs. 5,000 and withholding of official patronage, recognition or awards from tax evaders. But how the publication of the names of assesseees and their returns will solve the problem of tax evasion is difficult to understand. Unless adequate measures are provided by the law for the proper verification of the sources of income, mere publication of the names of the assesseees will not improve the administration of direct tax to any appreciable extent. To prevent evasion, auditing should be nationalised.

Blank transfers provide another way for tax evasion. The Committee says that by means of blank transfers, dishonest assesseees are able to conceal their income from the Income-Tax Department. Even if the concealments are detected and assessed, they can avoid the payment of taxes as the shares are not registered in their names, and they cannot therefore be attached and sold. The only effective remedy against blank transfers is to provide that all transfer deeds executed by the transferrer should be registered by the stock exchange and simultaneously date stamped. It should be secured by the statute that the transfer deeds should have a currency of only six months from the date of stamping and that multiple transfers will be permitted only within the period of six months. These restrictions will not, however, apply to transfers to a banking company either as a security or for safe custody or where blank transfers are held in a fiduciary capacity.

To prevent tax evasion Prof. Kaldor suggested that every tax payer be required to submit a comprehensive return concerning personal balance sheet, income account, gratuitous transfers, purchase and sale of capital assets during the year of assess-

ment, borrowing and lending, other capital or casual transactions, and personal expenditure. The accounts for the purchase and sale of capital assets should be split up into income-yielding assets and bar gold, and capital assets for personal assets. In the opinion of Prof. Kaldor, such an integrated return would reduce the scope for tax evasion through falsification of accounts. But neither the Tyagi Committee nor the Central Board of Revenue has accepted this suggestion.

N. R.

#### India and China

The Chinese aggression over Indian territory has exposed the failure of India's Pancha Sheel doctrine because on the Indo-Chinese agreement of 1954 the doctrine was given a shape and by the occupation of Indian territory it seems that the doctrine has come to an end at least so far as these two countries are concerned. The Chinese aggression also reveals India's failure to realise the potentiality of China as an expansionist power. Great Powers, like a heated body, have the tendency to expand and Chinese expansion over Tibet and Indian territory supports this principle. While India was sleeping over the developments in China and her attitude, China seized the full opportunity in giving her expansionist bid a further push—a push inside the Indian territory. It is now well known that China was preparing for this move ever since she conquered Tibet in 1950. Virtually it was a conquest because before that time Tibet practically enjoyed her autonomy as an semi-independent State. The so-called Chinese suzerainty fell into disuse ever since 1912 and India in the name of non-alignment and Pancha Sheel tried to appease China by sacrificing Tibet at the scaffold of Chinese imperialistic aggression over Tibet.

The root of the present trouble must be sought in that event, that is, the Chinese conquest of Tibet. With Tibet gone as a buffer State between India and China, China extended her borders straight to the borders of India. And now she is just settling her boundaries by invading Indian territories. Since 1912, Tibet was nobody's,

she belonged to herself. In the name of a vague concept of suzerainty, the Communist China occupied Tibet and India supported that move hoping that the sacrifice of Tibet may satisfy the expansionist greed of China. But this very move has now recoiled upon India as she is now forced to yield a large chunk of Indian territory to China. India of course cries hoarse that China must vacate aggression, but there ends the matter as has happened in the case of Goa and Kashmir.

India abhors violence and she claims that she is the great lover of peace and that international disputes will not be solved by violent methods. India today has lost a great portion of Kashmir on account of this passivity, or rather timidity. When Pakistan raiders occupied Indian territory, instead of driving them out by force, India rushed to the UNO and the result was that Kashmir problem had been solved (in reality) by a division of the territory on the basis of present occupation by India and Pakistan. If India goes on crying and claiming that portion of Kashmir which is now under the occupation of Pakistan, she will not get it back, although India may feel proud of her non-violent tenets. Similarly, Goa issue remains what it was before the independence. These examples are just to show that the so-called Indian foreign policy has not earned her anything and she has hardly made any friend among the nations of the world. While all nations admire Indian foreign policy of non-alignment and Pancha Sheel, none of them supports India in this respect when she needs it most.

The dispute between India and China over the northern borders once again shows that India has practically no friends to stand by her in her support. India should realise now that "we have neither eternal friends, nor eternal enemies, but eternal interests." While China was preparing herself militarily and economically for invasion of Tibet and subsequently of India, this country of ours complacently remained asleep believing on the Chinese goodwill which was steadily vanishing. With Tibet gone as a buffer State, India and China

today stand face to face and the 2,000 miles of India's northern frontier will ever remain vulnerable requiring India's armed might being pinned down on this long frontier. Not only that, Chinese penetration into Bhutan and Sikkim will remain a constant threat. Nepal will also remain as a big problem for India. If in future Nepal is won over by China, then China will get a foothold on a very vantage point and this will mean that India shall have to remain in an eternal threat of war.

The occupation of a large chunk of Ladakhi territory has given China the much needed link between Sinkiang and Southern China. China has built up roads in Tibet and from the Tibetan side China is placed at a very advantageous position from where she can mobilise her army against India. India failed to strike the iron while it was hot and now she has lost the advantage in regaining her territory conquered by China. In other words, as India has failed to maintain her own borders and as she has allowed China to conquer her territory now she will have either to cede that territory to China or go single-handed in dealing with that country. That China has committed aggression over the Indian territory has not been until recently recognised by the Indian Defence Minister. The word "aggression" so long stuck into his throat and he held the brief for China by saying that what has happened is merely incursions by China and not aggression. Of course, he did not explain the distinction between an incursion and an aggression. It is only when the Congress Party recently adopted the resolution that China has committed aggression over the Indian territory, the Defence Minister in a recent speech at Bangalore has admitted to that effect. Minimising the Chinese aggression, the Defence Minister of India sometime ago defended China by saying that "if China fears the return of the Tibetans, it is for her to protect her frontiers." In the plea of protecting her frontiers, China thus can invade Indian territory.

China today claims nearly 40,000 square

propose to stick to that belief—in spite of the way the policy was defended by the foremost official spokesmen for it at Bangalore. For the manner which the Prime Minister chose to adopt towards those who moved amendments suggesting a revision and, one or two of the arguments which the Defence Minister gave might raise in some minds the doubt: could a thing really be so wholly good if its defenders must behave and talk like this? One wonders why Shri Nehru could not keep himself from giving that “three musketeers” touch to his castigation of the would-be critics? Can it be that he was conscious of the silent presence of a considerable number of doubters among the members of the A.I.C.C. and was the more angry because those three men had the temerity to come out in the open with their doubts? In any case the loss of dignity suffered by that body, considering the level to which it had already been reduced, was grievous. (How much self-respect is left in a body where, let alone any real exchange between the platform and the floor, the former itself behaves like the shadow of only one person? To realize this, one has only to count the number of times the Prime Minister spoke—on every resolution and at every stage—as if to make it clear that those who were supposed to be in charge of the resolutions were only nominally so.) And surely Shri Krishna Menon’s speech was no help to the A.I.C.C. for recovering any of its lost dignity. Because some of the arguments the Defence Minister gave were so strange and so thoroughly unnecessary for the purpose of justifying non-alignment that it is difficult to understand why he invented them, unless it were deliberately to insult the intelligence of his audience. Dwelling on the disastrous consequences that would have resulted if India had been aligned to a Power bloc, Shri Krishna Menon, after saying that for various reasons India could align herself only to the Western bloc, declared that in such an eventuality Indian troops would have marched on the deserts of the Sinai burning Port Said at the time of the Anglo-French invasion of Suez in 1956 and that

soldiers would have gone from India and not Nicosia in Cyprus with torches to burn and destroy.”

Rejecting such an interpretation of the foreign policy the newspaper added:

“Non-alignment is all right but to talk this kind of fantastic nonsense in its justification was to insult not only the intelligence of the A.I.C.C. but India herself. Pakistan was not only aligned to the Western bloc but was a pact-ally of Britain. Did soldiers from Pakistan go to help in the British invasion of Suez? None of the NATO allies of Britain and France sent troops in their support and most of them, headed by the U.S.A. itself, denounced the Anglo-French action and joined in the demand for Britain and France to go back from where they had come. Are we to understand that what Pakistan and others belonging or aligned to the Western bloc could do, that is, keep themselves from being involved in the Anglo-French criminal folly of 1956 India, supposing she too was so sly, would be incapable of doing? Have the foreign affairs and defence of this country been so long in the hands of such weaklings who must be so carefully protected from temptation to betray the nation’s interests and their own honour under the smallest pressure from outside? Again, we are wholly in favour of non-alignment. But we have the gravest doubt whether the actual conduct of affairs within that framework has been in right hands or on right lines always.”

S.S.

#### Constitution and Social Progress

The general tendency for social organization to lag behind economic and political developments becomes all the more pronounced in a multireligious society where the various religious and cultural groups are in different stages of social and psychological evolution. In India, for example, despite the insistence in the Constitution upon observing equality of treatment to all citizens irrespective of race, caste, religion, sex or place of birth, the state has been obliged to introduce a number of discriminatory legislations under the permissive clauses, to give protection to various back-

ward religious and cultural groups and sub-groups. It is at once to be noted, however, that this discriminatory legislation has been designed sincerely to reduce the chasm of inequality in personal rights that existed between the members belonging to different religions or between various sub-groups within a particular religious group. But even then, as often happens in history, this legislations have worked out in practice to create new inequalities between persons professing different religious faiths in respect of their personal rights and duties—because of the failure of some to keep pace with the changes effected by others for themselves. The Hindu society has been thoroughly shaken by a series of legislations affecting the observance of religious rites, abolition of untouchability (in and outside temples), inheritance, marriage, divorce, and such other matters so that persons and groups within the Hindu society can now claim a greater dignity and enforce it with the help of the law courts a thing that was inconceivable a decade ago. Through this single sweep of social reform the Hindu law which in some social matters was lagging behind the Muslim and Christian laws is now on a par with them and in several matters even ahead of them.

The state’s initiative in this matter is circumscribed by the desire for change within the various religious groups themselves because the Constitution guarantees them considerable degree of autonomy within broad limitations imposed by the need to maintain public order, morality, health, and the financial and political integrity of the nation. The state may undoubtedly curtail the freedom of religious practice in the interest of social reform, as it has done in the case of the Hindus, but by the nature of the things the initiative has to come from the believers of that particular religion. In the historical and current political context the practice of discriminatory legislation cannot be avoided and its need can be obviated only when social and religious leaders belonging to different denominations come to realize

the imperative need for a universal, common approach to reforms.

An example of the inequality of a right arising out of the difference in religious allegiance was provided by a recent case in which a Muslim lady sought the protection of the Allahabad High Court in her bid to live separately from her husband when he had married for a second time (under present Hindu and Christian laws such a thing can no longer happen). The court was faced with a difficult task in interpreting the law without doing injustice to either party—the difficulty being accentuated by the provision in Muslim law permitting polygamy. Justice demanded that the lady should not be compelled to live with a person against her will while the formal law seemed to be acting against her. In one of his most remarkable judgments, Mr. Justice Dhawan of Allahabad High Court has given an interpretation of the Muslim social law which is profound in its analysis and implications meeting at the same time the end of both justice and law. He has observed that Muslim law as practised in India had considered polygamy as an institution to be tolerated but not encouraged. It had not conferred upon the husband any fundamental right to compel the first wife to share his consortium with another woman under all circumstances. In any case the court could not be a party in coercing the first wife to such enforced conjugal relations against her will. He added that the changes that have occurred in Muslim social life makes the import of a second wife into the household a stinging insult to the first wife and would raise a presumption of cruelty towards her and that the onus would be on the husband to explain his action and prove that his conduct involved no insult or cruelty to the first wife.

There is no doubt that progressive opinion everywhere will heartily endorse this interpretation of Justice Dhawan. The very fact that a Muslim lady had approached the court for protection shows the dissatisfaction of a section of the Indian Muslims against the prevailing social laws.

miles of what has been for many decades, and in some places for centuries, an integral part of Indian territory. When India recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, it would have been proper for India to get Chinese recognition of the McMahon line as the boundary between India and China. But India did not do that nor did she take sufficient enough steps to fortify her northern boundary. In her latest note to India, China claims that she may withdraw from Ladakh, if certain portions of the NEFA area are handed over to China. It now seems that in order to compel India to cede certain portions of the NEFA area, China has committed aggression in Ladakh. China has also accused India by saying that India is seeking to reap a benefit from the British aggression against China. At the 1914 Simla Convention, the McMahon line was recognised to be the boundary between India and Tibet and between India and China. At the Conference, not only did the Chinese representative fully participate but the Tibetan representative took part in the discussions on an equal footing with the Chinese and the then British Indian representatives. At no stage, either then or later, did the Chinese Government object to the boundary between India and Tibet, being discussed at the Conference. The Chinese representative was fully aware of the boundary that had been settled between India and Tibet.

But the Chinese Government did not at the time or later raise any objection to this delineation. In the circumstances, the boundary settled between India and Tibet in 1914 must be regarded as binding on both the parties in accordance with the accepted international practice. The water-parting formed by the crest of the Himalayas is the natural frontier which has been accepted for centuries as the boundary by the peoples of both sides. The tribes inhabiting the area south of the "McMahon Line" are of the same stock as the hill tribes of Assam and have no kinship with the Tibetans.

China is now trying to create a sphere of influence over Sikkim and Bhutan. She claims that the boundaries of Sikkim and

Bhutan do not fall within the scope of the present discussion. The Chinese Government recognised as far back as 1890 that the Government of India had direct and exclusive control over the internal administration and foreign relations of Sikkim. There can be no dispute about Sikkim's boundary with Tibet, for the 1890 Convention defined that boundary and it was five years later demarcated on the ground. Chinese maps, however, show sizeable areas of Bhutan as parts of Tibet, and under treaty relationships with Bhutan, the Government of India is the only competent authority to take up with other Governments matters concerning Bhutan's external relations.

China has built a road across north-east Ladakh within the Indian territory and in 1958 Indian personnel carrying out routine patrol duties in this area were arrested and detained by the Chinese for five weeks. In the Pangong area, and also in Ladakh, Chinese forces have been aggressively pushing forward in recent years and have established a camp on the western bank of the Spanggur Lake, which even according to some official Chinese maps is in Indian territory. Longju belongs to India. But recently it has been occupied by China and it is strange that India has decided not to send any Indian personnel back to this area, provided the Chinese also withdraw their forces. But the Chinese have not withdrawn their forces from this area and it now practically remains under the Chinese occupation. It is rather strange why India did not take proper measures to reoccupy this area.

China today is expanding in different parts of South-east Asia. China is trying to grab certain portions of Burma. She is making troubles in Malaya, in Viet Nam, in Laos, in Thailand. Everywhere in this region she is making expansion and it seems that smaller States in this area shall not be able to withstand ultimately the Chinese expansionist pressure. In this connection India has an important role to stop the Chinese imperialistic designs in this part of the world.

N. R.

### Law and Justice

The decision of the Supreme Court of India reversing the orders of conviction of the Calcutta High Court, which had sentenced a restaurant owner to a fine of Rs. 200 for allegedly selling adulterated butter at the Howrah railway stall, brings to the fore the internal inconsistencies of the judicial system of India underlining, as it does, the dichotomy between law and justice. The Supreme Court, by a majority of two to one, has allowed the appeal of the restaurant owner against his conviction on the ground that the officer, who had instituted the proceedings against the appellant, lacked authority to do so under the relevant Act which enabled only the Chairman of the municipality to sanction such prosecution. Justice Shri S. K. Das, who delivered the majority judgment, held that in the absence of proper authority of the complainant the complaint itself became invalid, adding that such lack of authority could not be dismissed as trivial as it affected jurisdiction and initiation of proceedings.

In dispensing justice the courts are bound by the provisions of law—substantial as well as procedural. They have a duty to ensure that the proper procedure has been observed in instituting prosecution—particularly in cases affecting personal liberty of citizens. It is for the legislature to lay down the procedure which is to be followed under any particular Act. If, as it has happened in the present case, defective formulation of procedure (it is really inexplicable why even an ordinary citizen, not to speak of the municipal health officer, should not have the authority to charge adulteration upon a person before a court of law), should make it impossible for the judges to examine the substance of the accusation (the Supreme Court does not appear to have said anything on the finding of the High Court about the offence of the accused) the supremacy of law may remain valid, but the ends of justice, which are to bring the guilty to book, are not met. Such instances instead of creating reverence for law generates the opposite tendency and makes

law an object of public contempt. Repetition of such cases may cut at the very basis of the rule of law which is justly held in high esteem by our people.

One of the objects of law is to reconcile the claims of individual and society, which sometimes contradict each other, and to maintain a just balance between rights and duties. The liberty of an individual—be he owner of a restaurant or a college teacher or a newspaper editor,—is not a thing to be toyed with. But the extent of the individual's liberty is circumscribed by the need to maintain social cohesion. If any individual resorts to adulteration of foodstuffs which is harmful for the consumers, his liberties have to be curtailed in the interest of social growth, and the law should accordingly provide for his punishment; because the action of the adulterator impinged upon the rights of other citizens to a healthy life. The present case is not the only instance where the statute is incompatible with justice. We hear frequent complaints that there is no law to punish black marketeers and other anti-social elements. This contradiction should be resolved in the earliest possible time inasmuch as once the faith on the judiciary as an effective instrument for securing redress for grievances is shaken, democracy itself will be undermined beyond repair.

S. S.

### The Congress Foreign Policy

The 65th session of the Indian National Congress has endorsed the foreign policy of the Government of India. An interesting analysis of these discussions is given in a leading editorial article of the "Delhi Hindustan Standard" which while agreeing with the fundamental stand of non-alignment, questions the manner in which it is being implemented and the way in which it is being interpreted by leaders of the Congress party and Government. Writing under the title "Malaligned," the newspaper writes:

"Non-alignment with either power bloc and avoidance of military alliances we have always believed to be the right policy for this country in the Cold War age. We

taught (complaints against individual teachers or administrative acts must be distinguished from such acts of usurpation of management by students) which make any teaching impossible, as seems to have happened in several universities of Uttar Pradesh. Such outbursts of indiscipline must be suppressed with firmness. There is no disagreement over that.

But one question remains to which also Dr. Chatterji has made a reference in his speech. It is, how could the students dare to arrogate to themselves the tasks of university management? It presupposes a grave failure on the part of the management. He has thus correctly condemned the "supine and ostrich-like attitude" adopted by the authorities of certain universities who failed to act with courage and despatch to attend to the complaints of students or in suppressing the first signs of indiscipline—a failure that was ascribable to the existence of elements within the university bodies themselves which encouraged and supported manifestations of student indiscipline. In Uttar Pradesh, in particular, where student unrest has come to the fore with a great force public allegations have been made that such unworthy persons were receiving official patronage. In such circumstances the further question is who is to enforce discipline upon the students? And how? Unless satisfactory replies are found to these questions mere banning of students' associations cannot be expected to achieve the desired goal of restoring the normal atmosphere of peace and tranquillity in the academic world.

S. S.

#### SGPC Elections

The results of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the supreme Sikh religious body looking after the management of the Sikh Gurdwaras, have marked a crushing defeat for the Congress and a resounding victory for the Akalis. Out of a total membership of 160 of the Committee, 140 seats are elective. In the January elections the Shiromani

Akali Dal led by Master Tara Singh has annexed 132 seats; the Congress-backed Sadp Sangat Board which is a united front of Panth Sewak Dal founded by Giani Kartar Singh, Malwa Shiromani Akali Dal of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala and Deshmesh Dal of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon—could win only four seats. The party affiliation of two of the elected members is not known at the time of writing when the result of the election at one constituency is yet to be announced. One Independent candidate has been returned. The Communist-backed Desh Bhagat Party which had put up 54 candidates failed to secure even a single seat. Shri Kanwarrani Jagadish Kaur, Opposition M.L.A., is the only woman elected.

Master Tara Singh said that the Akali Dal's success was "a victory for truth and virtue and a decisive Sikh vote against Governmental interference in the religious affairs of Sikhs." It was also a "clear verdict of the Sikh Community in favour of the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State within the Indian Union", he added. The understandable Congress dismay at this not-altogether-unexpected debacle found expression in repeated assertions by Congress leaders that the Akali victory in the SGPC elections had no political significance whatever. The Akalis were not even allowed to celebrate their victory in public because the Government promptly enforced a ban on public gatherings. Meanwhile January 24 has been fixed by the Akali leader for "Victory Day" celebrations when the agitation for a Punjabi Suba will also be started. In a letter to the Prime Minister, Sardar Atma Singh, Chief organiser of the Akali Dal, has assured that the agitation will be peaceful. "There is no danger to law and order from the Akalis but the State Government itself is moving in such a way as to create trouble," the letter added.

While the full significance of these results will take some time to unfold itself, given the present mutually incompatible policies of the Congress and the Akali's, Punjab seems to be facing an uncertain future.

#### Primary Education

Dr. V. Veronese, Director-General of the Unesco announced in New Delhi in the middle of January that with the signing of the agreement between the Unesco and India, the latter would be receiving 1.5 million dollars annually during the next four years against 700,000 dollars hitherto. He disclosed that the Karachi Conference of 17-member states of the Unesco had agreed upon a plan for making primary education a reality in Asia within a period of 20 years from 1960. The plan aims at raising the number of primary school-going children from 65 millions in 1960 to 90 millions in 1965, 125 millions in 1970, 167 millions in 1975 and 225 millions in 1980. The number of teachers that will be required for this entire period is more than eight millions which means that the number of teachers should increase by 580,000 every year against the current addition of 284,000 per annum. To implement the plan would call for an annual foreign assistance of 500 million dollars. Dr. Veronese further disclosed that Unesco would send a mission to help safeguard the archaeological sites and monuments in Nubia, which is threatened to be submerged as a consequence of the construction of the Aswan High Dam on the river Nile in North Africa.

S. S.

#### Town Planning

While addressing a rally of students recently in Bangalore during one of the intervals between meetings of the Congress Session there, the Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, dwelt upon the shocking incongruity of the co-existence of affluence and beauty on the one hand and poverty and ugliness on the other. Referring to the slums in the city of Bangalore he said that he was bowled over completely by the wretched contrast posed by the living conditions in different parts of the city. In places the city was beautiful with palaces, huge buildings, science, industries and huge industrial establishment, while elsewhere there were hideous slums to hurt the eye. He

wondered "how it does not bowl over the Corporation of Bangalore!" The Prime Minister's sensitiveness to such ugly contrasts which is an expression of his innate sympathy, and love for beauty and happiness is well known and will find reflection in many minds. But one wonders why he should have to go to distant Bangalore when such hideous contrasts are present in every city and town not excluding the capital city itself. From time to time newspapers in New Delhi have published articles and pictures about the ghastly conditions of the slums which are to be found right across the Connaught Circus—the nerve-centre of the city. The contrast between the areas where the ministers and the top officials live and the bustees in Ramnagar, Paharganj and the Jhandewallan Estates, to name only few, cannot, we believe, be less shocking than what had struck the eyes of the Prime Minister at Bangalore. In Calcutta conditions are still worse and the people are helpless spectators of squalor and exploitation.

The truth is that despite much talk and big promises no serious effort has so far been made to tackle the problem of the bustees in a determined manner. Official efforts have largely been bogged in wranglings over jurisdiction between different city bodies which not unexpectedly, did not lead to any substantial results in the abolition of slums. The problem is by no means easy of solution, but the fact remains that sufficient attention was never given to it. For example, when some cities—Tollygunge in Calcutta, for example—expanded during the post-independence years a little bit of forethought on the part of Government and the local authorities could ensure much better civic amenities without any appreciable additional expenditure. This was not done. The unplanned growth that came in the wake has tended to create slumlike conditions in areas hitherto unaffected. It is good that the Prime Minister has written to all State Governments drawing their attention to the need for ensuring some degree of planning in the growth of urban areas.

The situation in New Delhi is rather



They would undoubtedly derive much encouragement from the learned judge's stand which is likely to remain a valid precedent. In many Muslim countries progressive public opinion has been campaigning for the abolition of polygamy. In Iraq, for example, a restricted order to that effect has been actually promulgated. In India the progressive Muslims can also draw inspiration from the practices of Christian and Hindu societies as they can count upon the support of Parliament once they have been able to create a strong movement among their co-religionists in all parts of India.

S.S.

#### Administration and Planning

The Congress Working Committee's draft resolution on development and planning is remarkably frank in its diagnosis of the roots of the ills hindering the nation's growth. The only question is whether it is meant to be a mere platitude designed to prevent criticism in the plenary session of the A.I.C.C. where grave discontent was expected to be voiced against the handling of some of the leading problems by the leadership or it does signify a renewed determination to lead the country to greater prosperity and equality. The resolution correctly underlines the lag at the level of execution stating that what is most necessary at the present stage is to concentrate on the implementation of the broad policies and programmes which have been already laid down. Whatever institutional changes are required to be effected for achieving his end have been suggested to be made without delay. It recognises the fact that the best of policies and programmes tend to lose all their value on account of delay or slowness in their implementation. The degree of candour of the resolution is given by the specific reference to the failure so far to tap the potential and unutilized productive power in the vast rural population of India. "Properly approached," the resolution reads, "the peasantry of India reacts favourably. If that reaction is not adequate, the approach has not been proper."

The reference to the administrative machinery of the Government of India in the Centre and in the States as well as the suggestions for changes in procedure, which have been made in the resolution, is most apt. The rules designed to serve an alien administration based on the theory of the supremacy of force are utterly inadequate to meet the demands of a welfare State based on popular consent. The preposterous extent to which some of the rules can go has been illustrated by the death of the Pusa Scientist who resorted to suicide in a bid to escape from the inhuman clutches of the governmental procedure which did not allow him to seek a better job outside if when actually offered one—though his office was unable to offer him any scope for promotion. As conditions obtain at present it is extremely difficult to fix responsibility for any success or failure, for in the bureaucratic hierarchy nobody except a few is certain of his powers and responsibilities. Strange as it may sound it is nevertheless correct to say that most state matters of the highest importance are being largely determined by those lower-grade Government servants whose training, status, authority and opportunity are not adequate to equip them to deal with the subject with the required degree of competence and confidence. This excessive burden on the lowest ladder has tended to stagger the administrative edifice which is finding expression in huge accumulation of arrear work in almost every department. The only sensible solution is to do away with the dichotomy of authority and responsibility in official work and to vest people responsible for a work with the requisite authority so that there is no uncertainty from any quarters. This will tone up the administrative morale and will enable more work to be done by the existing staff by exposing the concealed unemployment of many who have so long monopolized power without sharing responsibility.

"The Congress feels strongly," the resolution adds, "that the temper of the administration as well as of the people generally has to change in order to face

the great tasks before the country with faith, speed and determination." The question that automatically suggests itself is whether this feeling is a new development. It is the Congress which has been in power all these years. If it has felt so "strongly" over these matters as the resolution wants the people to believe, why has nothing changed? Perhaps the root lies in the philosophy and organization of the Congress party itself. Because in the same resolution we find an admission of the party's failure to implement its own resolution on co-operative farming with the desire speed so that it has now to call for an acceleration of the pace of its implementation.

S. S.

#### Cure of Indiscipline

Social development is inseparable from disciplined conduct. Any breach of discipline is thus to be viewed as a deviation from the desired social conduct which can be traced to a particular maladjustment in social organization and should be attended to with the least possible delay. The recurring instances of indiscipline which have been taking place from time to time affecting practically every field of national endeavour has thus to be regarded with the gravest concern. The disease has become so widespread that nobody can really claim exemption from the charge of indiscipline which manifest itself not only in the failure to obey the orders of the constituted authority, but also in the failure of the authority to act with honesty, courage and determination. These weaknesses mutually re-inforce each other. Inefficiency and corruption among the people in authority and positions of leadership breed indiscipline among the ranks of the general people while the latter provides an ideal ground for corruption and inefficiency to thrive among those who have manoeuvred themselves into positions of power and leadership, irrespective of their qualifications. There is no escape from this vicious circle unless it is forcibly broken at one or more points.

It is in this context that the suggestions made by Dr. G. C. Chatterji for the restoration of normalcy in the university life of the country have to be considered. The universities are the nurseries of future leadership. If they are allowed to drift in a state of uncertainty over a prolonged period, the injury caused to the moral and intellectual life of the nation may prove irreparable. In recent times they have shown an increasing proneness to indiscipline. No doubt this indiscipline is largely restricted to a particular area but the length of time over which it has proved itself irresponsible to any kind of treatment has justly given rise to serious misgivings in the minds of people wishing well of the nation. Dr. Chatterji who, with a fairly long record of vice-chancellorship of a university, is in an eminently advantageous position to speak on the problems of the universities with a degree of authority, seems to hold the students' unions, which he describes as "those misconceived and misbegotten organizations," to be the most liable for the rise of indiscipline. If sanity and good sense are to be re-established in the universities in the country, he has said, "we must with firm determination and an inexorable act of decision disband all students' unions and refuse to have any further truck with them." The fact that a well-known teacher has come out with such a ringing denunciation of the unions of students is in itself an indication of the extent to which the students' unions have succeeded in making themselves unpopular by their unwise conduct.

That most of the students' unions are more concerned with politics than with the specific problems of the students as a community cannot be gainsaid. Student interest in politics is not to be condemned altogether provided it keeps itself within certain limits. Intra-union political rivalries also are not bad things up to a point. But when students come to dictate over the manner of management of universities and other educational institutions it is a completely indifferent matter vitally affecting the very roles of the teachers and the

confusing. While elsewhere the work of city improvement and slum clearance is entrusted to specialised agencies such as improvement trusts and boards, here the opposite tendency is in operation, and more and more of the work of the improvement trust is being shoved on to Municipal Corporation. If this process of reversal has been the result of the dissatisfaction with the rate of progress achieved under the aegis of the improvement trust, the new arrangement is not likely to generate much enthusiasm because of the disappointing record of the Corporation in discharging its own duties to the citizens. In Calcutta the improvement trust has some creditable achievements to its credit but lack of funds and, to a certain extent, mismanagement have greatly crippled its initiative, the need is most pressing and unless some special attention is given to the problem it may soon prove incapable of any solution without untold of misery and suffering for many.

S. S.

#### Sanskrit Learning in the South

The Cultural bond between Bengal and the South is an eternal one maintained mainly through Sanskrit. Hence, it was very fit and proper that the authorities of All India Bengali Literary Conference should arrange for the first time for the staging of a Sanskrit Drama at its 35th Session held during the last Christmas Vacation at Bangalore. The Party invited was the celebrated Calcutta Prachya-Vani Mandir (Institute of Oriental Learning) Sanskrit Drama Troupe who have already earned wide fame by staging Sanskrit dramas composed by the Founder-Secretary Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri in different parts of India.

Three Sanskrit dramas, viz., "Sakti-Saradam," "Mukti-Saradam" and "Bhakti-Visnupriyam" on the lives of the Holy Mothers Sri Saradamani and Visnupriya, composed by Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, were staged by them under the auspices of Bangalore All India Bengali Literary Conference, Bangalore Ramkrishna Mission and Pondicherry Sri Aurobindo Ashram. On every occasion there was a large

audience of Bengalee and non-Bengalee Scholars from all over India who highly appreciated the very simple and sweet language, depth of thought and melodious music of the dramas as well as the high standard of pronunciation and acting.

#### The Aswan Dam

The New York Times of Jan. 10 has the following editorial on President Nasser's Aswan Dam Scheme:

In Biblical times, Joseph of the many-colored coat warned the Pharaoh to increase Egypt's stores in preparation for seven lean years. Often in the centuries since then, Egypt has suffered acutely from drought and famine, but the Egyptians have never had the facilities to store the commodity they need most—water. As a result of lack of water, only 3.9 per cent (13,600 square miles) of Egypt's area of 383,000 square miles is cultivated. Yet each year some 85 per cent of the Nile's water spills wasted into the Mediterranean.

To harness the Nile for irrigation and power has long been a dream of President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic. He has staked much of Egypt's economic future on a massive project known as Sadd el'Ali—the High Dam—at Aswan, on the Nile, 430 miles south of Cairo. At first—in 1955—the U. S. and Britain said they would help Egypt finance the dam; then, as Egypt turned increasingly against the West and toward the Communist world, the U. S. and Britain decided against aid. It was that decision that led President Nasser to seize the Suez Canal and brought on the Suez crisis of 1956. Eventually Russia agreed to lend Egypt the money it needed for the first stage of the dam—the equivalent of \$93 million.

Yesterday at Aswan an elaborate ceremony was held to mark the start of construction of the first stage. One observer remarked, "The U. A. R. threw in everything except Aida"—a reference to the fact that Verdi was commissioned to compose that opera for the Suez Canal's opening a century ago. At the end of yesterday's ceremony, President Nasser pulled a lever that set off ten tons of dynamite for the initial blasting.

The first stage is to be finished by the end of 1964, the second stage by 1970. When completed the high dam will be 2.6 miles long and 436 feet high. Its reservoir will hold up to 170 million cubic yards of water. This water will provide the irrigation to cultivate a million acres of desert land, one-sixth of Egypt's present cultivated acreage. When the hydro-electric phase of the dam is completed, water flowing through the power turbines will produce 10 billion kilowatt hours of electricity a year to help industrialize Egypt.

The completed project will cost over \$1 billion. Cairo says the result will increase Egypt's national income from agriculture by 35 per cent. Much of this gain might be nullified, however, by Egypt's continuing population growth.

#### The Algiers Dilemma

President De Gaulle faces his stiffest problem at Algiers as the following news report states:

Algiers, Jan. 24.—A state of siege was proclaimed in Algiers tonight as anti-Gaullist demonstrators joined by armed Reservist troops entrenched themselves behind barricades in the city centre. The demonstrators were reported to be in control of several streets.

One demonstrator and a republican guard were reported to have been killed in an exchange of shots as police and troops tried to disperse crowds estimated at 20,000 and remove barricades thrown up near Government House.

The barricades had been erected in streets near Government House by demonstrators protesting against President de Gaulle's Algerian policy and his dismissal of paratroop General Massu last week. Authorities ordered security guards to remove the barricades.

Firing broke out near the war memorial, where most of the demonstrators were gathered, and later there was more firing near the university and the Rue Michelet and Rue Charras, where barricades had been set up.

Unofficial estimates said three demonstrators had been killed and about 30 wounded.

One report said police were withdrawing towards the Forum, from where a crowd stormed Government House in May 1958 and opened the way for General de Gaulle's return to power.

The shooting broke out shortly after 5 p.m. (G.M.T.) when a number of demonstrators armed with sub-machine guns fired on mobile guards who were descending the big steps leading down from the Forum. The guards were making their first attempt to break up the big crowd of demonstrators and remove the street barricades.

Army helicopters which had been flying over the centre of the city all day dropped tear gas grenades on the crowd at 7 p.m.

The demonstrators ignored an appeal for calm by the French Government Delegate-General, M. Paul Delouvrier, which was broadcast repeatedly by Algiers Radio.

M. Delouvrier this morning issued a warning that "the Army will not tolerate disorders."

#### African Independence

The New York Times of Jan. 3. gives the following editorial on the African situation at the New Year:

In Africa between 1945 and 1959 the number of independent nations increased from four to ten. By the end of 1960 the number will be at least fourteen, with the emergence of Cameroon, Nigeria, Togoland and Somalia. Still others are in prospect.

The pace of the drive for independence was underscored last week in two areas—in Cameroon, which was proclaimed a sovereign state on New Year's Day; and in the Belgian Congo, where the Belgians appeared to be accelerating their program for complete Congolese independence.

"Cameroon" is part of the former German colony of Kamerun which after World War I was divided between France and Britain as League of Nations mandates. At the end of World War II the mandates became United Nations trusteeships. In 1958 the U.N. affirmed a French decision to accord her area independence; the

future status of the British territory has yet to be decided.

The French territory covers 166,489 square miles and has an estimated 3.2 million people. The country is hot, damp and covered by jungle. In U.N.-sponsored elections Ahamadou Adhijo, a moderate nationalist who favours close economic ties with France, emerged as Premier. His rival, Dr. Felix Moumie, an extreme leftist who denies being a Communist, has been waging a campaign of terror ever since.

Last Friday—New Year's Day—Cameroun became sovereign. At Yaounde, the capital, Premier Adhijo proclaimed independence. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld witnessed the festivities. In his first speech, Premier Adhijo called on the dissidents to lay down their arms; the Moumies faction replied with a new wave of terrorism, killing more than a score of persons by the week-end.

In the "Congo" a year ago the Belgians sought to come to terms with African nationalism by offering a program of "gradual independence" for the colony's 13,000,000 people. Instead of placating nationalist sentiment, the plan fueled the nationalist flames. The Belgians have responded by accelerating their program—reaffirming independence as their goal, scheduling a round-table conference for mid-January at Brussels between Congolese leaders and Belgian officials, and moving up national elections from summer to next March.

On Dec. 17 King Baudouin flew to the Congo. His visit surprised both Belgians and Africans. As sovereign, he stands above politics and has no role in such matters as Congo policy. But the Africans received him as a man who championed their cause. During his tour cries by Belgian colonists of "Long Live the King!" were drowned by African shouts of "Independence!"

Last Wednesday the King met with Congolese leaders for eighty minutes. They confronted him with demands for "immediate" independence. Later the Africans said the King "nodded gravely when we made our points" and that the King

"seemed very well aware of all aspects of the Congolese problem." At the week-end the King was scheduled to fly home.

The feeling was that the Belgians would hand over sovereignty to the Congolese as soon as possible without endangering the economy or unleashing inter-ethnic strife among rival tribes and clans.

#### The Kerala Inquiry

We quote the following from the *Statesman*:

New Delhi, Jan. 23.—The three-man committee of inquiry on Kerala, appointed by the Indian Commission of Jurists in September last year, has recommended, in its report published today, that there should be a provision in the Constitution for impeachment of Ministers and civil officers as in the U.K. and the U.S.A.

It has also recommended the appointment of a director of public prosecution, with the status of a high court judge, with powers of supervision over all criminal investigations and prosecution, to ensure the administration of impartial criminal justice.

These two recommendations follow the committee's findings that during the Communist regime in Kerala there was "gross and systematic violation of the rule of law". The Communist rule was primarily for the benefit of party members, with the main object of "securing Communist hegemony over the whole of Kerala."

Non-Communist citizens, the report adds, were denied fundamental rights to form associations or unions, to hold property and to carry on trade or business. Moreover, the Communist cell courts subjected citizens to the jurisdiction of extra-judicial courts, which did not have the sanction of any law in force. These cell courts enforced their decisions by illegal methods.

Similarly, the police policy, as enunciated by the Communist Chief Minister in July, 1957, had laid down a code of conduct in violation of the provisions of the relevant legislative enactments in force. It amounted to abrogation of the relevant provisions, in conflict with or dispensation of such laws, which the Communist Government had no legal authority or jurisdiction to ordain.

The report further states that neither the police nor the Ministers are above the law. Ministers who promulgate orders in contravention of the law, or instigate authorities contrary to the law, are themselves privy to a breach of the law and are liable to be proceeded against.

In view of these findings, the committee has suggested to Parliament that it considers whether the administration of justice, of public order and enforcement of criminal law should not be transferred to the concurrent list.

The committee is also of the view that if, at the end of the term of President's Rule, no Ministry can be found to form a stable Government for any reason whatever, the Ministry so formed should again be imposed and continue for the full term of five years after making the necessary constitutional amendments.

In its bulky report, running into 241 typed pages, the committee has stated that in spite of a direct request to the parties concerned, neither the Communist Party nor the Congress co-operated in its inquiry. The demand for public documents made by the committee from the Centre, as well as the present Kerala Government, also did not elicit any response.

The only concession given to the committee was that just like other members of the public, it could have access to the public documents, provided they were not privileged or confidential. This was not of much help.

The committee, therefore, depended primarily on the evidence of a large number of witnesses at its public sittings, and on such materials which it could secure, including the various publications issued by the Communist Government, as well as the Communist Party. But even these consisted of many statements unsupported by evidence.

#### Pandit Nehru's Press Talk

The *Statesman* gave the following report which we quote, for record, below:

New Delhi, Jan. 8.—While he said he would not adopt a "rigid attitude" and lay

down any conditions, Mr. Nehru today did not visualize any meeting between himself and the Chinese Premier in the near future.

Mr. Nehru's monthly talk with the Press lasted much longer than usual but it contained little information of any importance in regard either to the dispute with China or issues at home.

Uninterrupted by many questions, Mr. Nehru spoke for nearly 40 minutes about Mr. C. D. Deshmukh's much publicized proposal for the appointment of a permanent tribunal to inquire into charges of corruption against people in high places and reiterated what he had said in Parliament nearly three weeks ago.

Mr. Nehru said the suggestion was "totally unworkable" and he did not think that any other country had ever constituted such a body during normal times. Pakistan, he admitted, had set up a commission of this type but "our thinking" on various subjects as well as conditions in India were different from those prevailing in Pakistan.

During his lengthy discourse on the subject, he deprecated the common habit of levelling charges against men in responsible positions on the basis of "mere bazar gossip". He asserted that it had become difficult for "sensitive people" to function in public life and that in the atmosphere of recrimination and suspicion created by such allegations senior officials tended to shun responsibility.

While he admitted prevalence of certain degree of "caste nepotism" which, he said, was difficult to check. Mr. Nehru claimed that standards maintained by the services in India were among the highest in the world and that by and large they worked on "decent and honest" lines.

#### Heavy Electrical Plant

Lord Chandos in his press conference on January 18, envisaged larger flow of British Private Capital into India. The AEI of which he is the Chairman is the Government of India's consultant in the setting up of the Bhopal Heavy Electric-

health would be jeopardized beyond repair. Some of the problems of checking this fell disease were discussed by Dr. P. K. Sen in course of his presidential address at the Sixth Tuberculosis and Chest Diseases Worker's Conference held at Poona in the third week of January.

Dr. Sen said that in a disease like tuberculosis no measure was comparable in effectiveness to those which improved the standard of living of the people and of sanitation. Those being general measure for the uplift of the nation he left them for the proper quarters to consider. He wanted everybody to realise that they were, at the moment, in a dangerous phase in regard to tuberculosis. The impact of industrialisation and of mass movement of population due to partition of the country had disturbed the barriers of village shelters mingling this ocean of humanity into one homogeneous mass. Tremendous efforts to make up past deficiencies and desire for better standard of living without parallel achievements were causing hardship both on the body and mind of the people. All these environmental and psychological causes made for greater inroads of tuberculosis in the country deeply indenting and increasing their problems. As he did not see much chance of remission of all these stresses in the near future, he wanted that keeping these in mind their tuberculosis control programme would have to be so designed that it would ensure the greatest gain in the shortest time with minimum expense.

In the opinion of Dr. Sen India should lay greater stress on domiciliary treatment as part of her anti-TB programme in the Third Five-Year Plan period. He said that a fair amount of information was already available to justify a statement that up to the end of drug treatment and for a short period thereafter patients treated at home fared almost as well as the hospital treated cases. The most interesting findings in the assessment of the influence of different factors were that neither the environmental conditions like bad housing and overcrowding, nor the standard of living

in terms of diet, etc., nor the standard of supervision and not even the state of ambulation had any appreciable effect on the result provided the drugs were taken regularly. All that mattered was the anti-microbial therapy, and to some extent, the character of the lesion. It might be accepted that the main difference between hospital and domiciliary treatment was better control on the movement of the patients in the hospitals. As movement also did not have any appreciable effect when drugs were taken then there should be no great difference in the result of treatment between home and hospital cases under chemotherapy. If these findings reflected truth, it must then be conceded that the drugs alone could control the growth of bacillary and heal the disease to such an extent that no other factor could have any appreciable influence on the immediate result of the treatment. A phenomenon of this magnitude, he felt, changed many of their previous concepts and must have the potentiality of revolutionizing the anti-tuberculosis campaign in a country with our type of epidemiology and resources. There was, he felt, sufficient justification for optimism with regard to domiciliary treatment. Extensive use of this service might fulfil their dream of early control of tuberculosis.

Dr. Sen pleaded for a reorientation of clinic system and case finding programme as it was in vogue today. He said that from his experience about clinics it seemed to him that two most important functions of early case finding and supervision of domiciliary treatment, specially that of self-administration of drugs, were not adequately practised and controlled. The intention of having clinics up to the district level at the end of the Second Plan period was not fulfilled. In the Third Plan period they had rightly stressed on clinic-based domiciliary treatment more than any other measure and it was natural to expect that their greatest effort should be channelled in this line.

S. S.

## NATIONAL PLANNING AND CULTURE CHANGE

By Prof. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.Sc. (Cantab), F.N.I.,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology,  
University of Calcutta

It is a truism to say that our country is almost a continent. We have a big population and immense untapped resources. But the economic development of our country was sharply interfered with during the past two centuries of foreign rule. In consequence, the national government when it came into power in 1947 was faced with extremely complex problems. There was general agreement that the State should be democratic and that it should aim at the welfare of the people. Since welfare must have a material basis, a plan aiming at such welfare was drawn up for five years' work. This period is over and a second and more elaborate as well as better considered plan has been drawn up and is in operation for the next period of five years, with a third plan in the offing. Details of this second economic plan need not be stated here as these have been widely publicised, and discussed.

Changes in the material basis of life produce inevitably changes in the culture as a whole. The direction of such change is not, however, uniquely determined by this factor alone. It depends on the earlier history of the culture, the geographical environment, and the existing social and religious milieu. While it is generally agreed by the planners that changes in economic structure envisaged are necessary, and while certain amenities of life such as health and educational services have also been provided for, the type of culture aimed at, the pattern of life to be lived has not been so clearly envisaged. Some general statements have been made but as the plan is about economic development, details about culture have been mainly left out. In the First Five-Year Plan, certain statements on this point were made. These are not, however, adequate. We have

clearly to face the fact that there are in India a number of important sub-cultures, some of which might almost be termed distinct cultures with special characteristics. Our job is to integrate these, while preserving individualities that will enrich the composite structure.

We may note, as an illustration of the difference in culture in various areas, a few examples from our scheduled tribes. Some Juangs and Bondos of Orissa, and Chenchus of Andhra, are shifting cultivators. The Khasis of Assam and Nagas and Kukis were practising the same type of agriculture until recently. Many of them are still in this category of food-growers. Mundas, Oraons and Santals have on the other hand been settled agriculturists for many generations. Many Birhors on the other hand and the Andaman Islanders do not follow agriculture. Our own peasantry use a very simple plough of an ancient type and are not accustomed to intensive cultivation of the kind long familiar to the Chinese and Japanese peasantry. The rules of descent and inheritance of these different groups, their customs of marriage and the regulation of sex life also vary a good deal.

Ignoring the differences in social patterns, we may say that we are stepping from a fairly backward economy not only into the technological environment of the steam, electricity and internal combustion engine age but of the atomic power age. Will this leap across centuries land our culture in a new position of dynamic equilibrium or will it lead to the disintegration of our older culture as if in an atomic blast? Will it inevitably lead to a complete change of our way of life and philosophic outlook? These are questions



cal Plant which will require a total capital outlay of £85 million. The fixed assets alone are likely to cost £47 million with a foreign exchange component of £18 million. He assured that his firm would do everything possible in assisting the Government of India to secure the necessary amount of credit.

Under the original programme the Bhopal Electrical Plant was expected to produce Rs. 12.5 crore worth of electrical equipment on a single shift, the revised plan envisages doubling the capacity of the plant to produce Rs. 50 crores worth of goods within ten years. According to Shri Manubhai Shah, the Union Minister for Industries, even this increased production would be insufficient to meet the country's requirements.

Dwelling upon the importance of a Heavy Electrical Plant for the country, the *Hitavada* writes in an editorial article:

"The need for such vast expansion of the Bhopal plant will become obvious if we examine the plans for power development in this country. In March 1951 the total generating capacity of all electric plants in India stood at 2.3 million kw. By 1955-56, the end of the First Plan period, the total capacity of electrical undertakings had risen to 3.4 million kw., roughly 50 per cent more than in 1951. The target for power production by the end of the Second Plan has been fixed at 7.9 million kw. and, according to Mr. Manubhai Shah, the target for the Third Plan is to be set at 15 million kw. The expansion of the total generating capacity through the three Five-Year Plans is definitely striking, but considered in terms of the annual per capita generation of electricity and compared to figures for countries like Norway, Canada, the U.K., U.S.S.R. and Japan, India is still a long way behind most of the industrialised countries. Power production along with steel and machine-building industries constitute the base of any programme of industrialisation. India requires more power—thermal and hydro-electric. To generate more power and to transmit and distribute this energy we need heavy electrical equipment. Hitherto

this equipment has been largely imported, thereby adding to the strain on our foreign exchange resources. But when the Bhopal plant goes into operation by the middle of this year and its capacity is expanded four-fold over the next ten years, the need for imports will be gradually reduced. In the context of the power development programme and the need for conservation of foreign exchange, we feel that the decision to step up the output of the Bhopal plant to Rs. 50 crores is timely as well as necessary.

"It is significant that the first machine tool installed at the Heavy Electrical Factory is a radial drilling machine manufactured at the Hindustan Machine Tools at Bangalore. India has thus set out on the most important stage of industrialisation, namely of herself turning out the "mother" machines which will help to manufacture a wide range of products. What is equally important is that simultaneously steps are being taken to train the engineers and technicians needed for such basic industries as the Bhilai Steel Plant and the Heavy Electrical Project. It is gratifying to note that the construction work at Bhopal is going on apace and that at the same time a big training programme is being put through. The present strength of the Training School is 2,700 and within a few weeks it will be raised to its full complement of 3,000. Lord Chandos said in New Delhi that the Training School at Bhopal was perhaps the largest single training school in the world and that the training shops had been equipped with "first class machine tools" produced in India. The Bhopal Project is the first of its kind in the country and is making good progress, thanks to the guidance and assistance given by the Associated Electrical Industries headed by Lord Chandos and also to the hard work that is being put in by our own engineers and technicians. We are confident that if the present tempo of work is kept up, the four-fold expansion scheme will be implemented with the ten-year period envisaged."

S. S.

### Steel Plant in the South

The "Hindu" reports:

The Government of India have constituted a Technical Committee, consisting of representatives of the concerned Union Ministries and Madras State to go into the technical aspects of the feasibility of establishing a Steel Plant in the South.

Giving this information in a Press interview before his departure for Delhi this morning, Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for Steel, said that if a suitable and effective method of smelting iron ore with the aid of lignite could be economically developed, the possibility of establishing a Steel Plant in the South could be said to be reasonably bright. The iron ore in Salem was no doubt rich but the main difficulty appeared to be non-availability of coking coal. A great deal would depend on the outcome of the experiments now being conducted in the Fuel Research Institute at Dhanbad and the Low Shaft Furnace in Jamshedpur on the suitability of lignite briquettes for smelting purposes.

The Technical Committee, set up by the Government of India, he added, would consider all these matters and advise the Government as to the best method of exploiting the mineral resources of the Southern Region.

Sardar Swaran Singh, who came here yesterday from Bangalore, visited Neyveli and saw the progress of the work of the Lignite Project. He said that, with the modern open cast mining equipment now in operation and work having been started on the Power House and Fertilizer Plant, the Project could be said to have been put on the rails. He said he was much impressed by the progress made during the last one year. The mechanical arrangements of the belt conveyors and spreaders, which had been installed in India for the first time, could be said to have overcome most of the teething trouble and were yielding good results. The civil work on the Power House had already commenced and the railway track for handling power house equipment had been practically completed. These preliminary works would

greatly facilitate the erection of the plant and equipment when they started arriving from the Soviet Union. Sardar Swaran Singh hoped that power from the first unit would be available in about 18 months' time. He also added that quotations had been received as a result of global tenders for the Briquetting and Carbonisation Plant. He thought that the Carbonisation Plant would start functioning in the latter half of 1963.

S. S.

### T.B.—The National Killer

Tuberculosis has unmistakably substituted itself for Malaria as the national killer. According to the national tuberculosis survey conducted under the auspices of the Indian Council of Medical Research, about 50 lakh persons or 1.3 per cent of the population of India is now suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, the number of infections cases being at least 1.5 million or 0.4 per cent of the population. The latest survey has belied the fond belief that tuberculosis was an urban disease, and has underlined the seriousness of its spread in the rural areas as well. The national capital itself claims 30,000 patients of whom 6000 are believed to be infectious.

The incidence of T.B. is particularly heavy in the cities and towns of West Bengal when the hospitals are unable to cope with the demands for beds from new patients. The extent to which tuberculosis has been eating into the vitals of the people of Calcutta is provided by the number of weakly deaths from various diseases. According to a report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* tuberculosis was the killer of the largest number of lives in Calcutta during the week ended January 16, when as many as 42 persons died of it as compared with 45 the week before. The number of death due to tuberculosis during the corresponding weeks last year were 42 and 45.

It is clear from the available statistics that unless something is immediately done to check the spread of T.B., the national

that have to be considered, and squarely faced.

The blind imitation of dress habits and certain social habits occurred among our western educated folk in the last century. Such a phenomenon has parallels elsewhere. It results from a desire to attain the status of the dominant group and the belief that a close approximation in behaviour and appearance to members of that group will lead to success in attaining this end. Although the rule of these foreigners has been ended, certain of these imitative traits have remained, that do not fit in with the old way of life. Dress habits, food habits and recreational habits have changed to more or less extent in almost all strata of society in urban and many rural areas. We have to consider whether such changes are essentially needed. If not, should we discourage them? No less important is the question of religious outlook. At a recent conference to which I shall refer in detail a little later, one of the speakers pointed out that religious beliefs are closely interwoven with other culture traits and according to him, the one cannot be taken out without destroying the other. How far is this true? And what should we do, in a secular state, where there are strong movements to leave out religion, and emphasise culture, apart from it? Should we let things move on and take up the role of mere observers? In other words follow a policy of drift? But this last alternative is incompatible in a planned economy. Freedom under planning is limited to a defined extent in the producer's as well as consumer's sphere, and, therefore, indirectly in the cultural sphere.

Should we aim at changing the way of life of those who have been mildly affected by the impact of modern technology and bring them into line with those who have changed a good deal? Or should it be the other way round? It is first of all necessary to know the facts about the change, and the trends of change.

During the earlier part of 1956 some of us attempted, in a series of conferences

held in co-operation with the Unesco, a study of changes in traditional culture in our part of the country. I shall draw freely from that co-operative store of information.

Our older villages were roughly of two types, those inhabited by a homogeneous social group and those in which lived heterogeneous social units. The former type was to be found mainly in tribal villages; the latter in our ordinary rural areas. In these last type of villages, there were different caste groups, each of which functioned as a separate social unit, often linked to such caste units in nearby villages. Within the caste group there was close social unity and economic co-operation. But even outside the caste there was a loose economic co-operation. Different caste groups tended to meet different needs of the village as a whole, rendering it largely, although not entirely, self-sufficient. The tribal villages, being generally of a single community, displayed a unity of the village in social, economic and religious activities. In one such area, among Santals, for example, it may be noted that in marriage all the households of the village welcomed the groom and bride although the essential rites were arranged in the house of the parents of each. If there was a birth of a child, the household came under pollution and needed purification. The village also came under certain taboos. All these rules and practices showed that the household while it retained its individuality, was an integral part of the village community. This unity has been seriously weakened now. Village unity of this type was lacking in our rural (non-tribal) villages even in the pre-British days. But the economic co-operation between different social groups that formerly existed in these other villages has largely disappeared.

This has happened because the economic basis of such co-operation is no longer in existence. Clothes are no longer woven by the village weaver or the group of such craftsmen catering to the needs of a number of villages. Cheap mill-made clothes have

taken the place of the goods produced from homespun yarn, woven locally. Iron implements like the hoe and pick are supplied by big manufacturers in place of the village blacksmith who now mainly does repair work. The village lands do not suffice to maintain the families living there or to maintain them in changed standards of life. Even in an Orissa village of Sasan type, endowed by the former kings, as many as one-third of the families of Brahmans have their earners working in various administrative jobs elsewhere. As the land grant to Brahmans was quite large here, and the Sasan Brahmans are entitled to sit in the theocratic legislative body that formerly ruled Orissa in socio-religious matters, it will be apparent that villages elsewhere not so liberally endowed nor with such traditions linking them with conservative forces, will have changed to a greater extent. The process of erosion has in fact been far more extensive in Bengal than in Orissa for these reasons.

It may be noted that in Bengal villages not far from urban and semi-urban areas, the facilities for marketing the produce of kitchen garden and orchards has led to more intensive and extensive utilisation of land. In consequence, there has been geographical integration of nearby villages, one running into the other. But there has not been a corresponding development of social or community integration. There are, however, trends visible of the emergence of a higher type of integration than that which formed the basis of the old semi-self-sufficient village. Villagers have been found, before and after independence, to work together to set up embankments against floods, excavate and open up silted waterways, and also to combine to oppose unjust revenue realisation of landlords. United work of this type by villagers in the field of embankments against, for example, the Kosi flood, or of canals to irrigate land, are now being encouraged and organised by the States under the national government. Such united work may not extend over a long period or spread into other spheres of life. But as such initiative has appeared

even without State support and sometimes in the face of discouragement by authority, it should be clear that it indicates a consciousness of a fairly strong wider community feeling than before. Among other factors, greater geographical contact seems to have been helpful in this respect.

In the social sphere also the changes have been far-reaching. In the villages, tribal as well as non-tribal, participation in the loose yet inter-linked community life that was the pattern earlier was conditional on conformity to the social code or norm of behaviour prevalent. It is not proposed at this stage to judge the merits or demerits of that social code. But it defined fairly clearly how a man should behave in society as a member of it, both in his family and in his caste or community group. If he did not conform, he was subjected to non-co-operation in social and economic matters. It is true that the leaders of the advanced communities have always enjoyed a limited possibility of escape from such social control. But in essential matters, its long arm reached out far enough to ensure obedience. For tribal folk and the common rural people whose social life was bound up with the economic life of the village, any avenue of escape was practically non-existent in earlier times. A different way of escape came into existence with the coming of Islam and the political dominance of Muslim rulers. It became possible thereafter to leave the community altogether by conversion, without social and economic difficulties.

The powerful effects of early upbringing, and many generations of social conditioning, however, acted as a powerful brake to such drastic cutting away from moorings, in many cases. This explains why conversion was far less in West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh as compared to Eastern Bengal and the Punjab and Sind, now known as Pakistan. While such loss of a member or large number of members of the community would be considered undesirable, this did not directly weaken the taboos and alter the code of

conduct of the orthodox. These were actually made somewhat more stringent and with detailed provision to prevent extension of various lapses, as in the case of **mela bandhana** system of the Brahmins of Bengal in the fourteenth century. At the same time, the breaking away of individuals or groups of people, when considerable, led eventually to reconsideration of old values of life. For some who left the community there were many others who also objected to the orthodox code, and who in the changed political conditions, voiced their protest. This discontent made itself felt and strengthened that section of the community which had observed the maladjustments earlier but failed to persuade the majority to their way of thought. The large-scale movements towards socio-religious change that occurred among Hindus as a result of the impact of Islam, in this subcontinent, came about in this way. Hindu religion and Hindu culture, at that time at least, being interwoven fairly closely, the change had also to come through socio-religious movements, both in Bengal and the Punjab, and to a less extent in other areas. These details are noted here to indicate the lines along which forces operate in case of culture contact to bring about culture change.

In this earlier contact, the technological basis of production was not appreciably different between those who came to dominate politically and those who were residents of the country. Hence the emphasis of change lay on the social and religious spheres as noted. The villages were little affected in their economic structure and function.

The impact of modern culture has differed profoundly, because of the coming in of far more complex and more productive machines and organizations. As noted earlier, the new political rulers hampered our normal economic development. But they brought in modern means of communication, in the interest of their trade and commerce. They also broke the political power of the semi-feudal princely rulers, to secure their own dominance. Areas which had been practically autonomous

earlier, like the Jungle Mahals, were brought under closer control. The political changes were in the beginning more important and brought protests in the shape of risings of Naiks, Paiks, Hos, Santals, and finally of the princely rulers and a section of the Indian soldiers. These were crushed by superior military organization. The economic changes and the effect on our society as a whole became more felt thereafter. The reforming socio-religious movement which had started earlier among the middle class in contact with the new conditions also broadened its basis in the community.

As already noted, the new political rulers were interested in selling their goods produced by their more advanced technology. Political power was used to push such sale under favoured circumstances such as exemption from excise duty which the Indian merchants had to pay. Also later, roads and railways were built when political control was much greater and direct. Since it is only people who have a surplus over prime necessities of life who can purchase goods, the areas first tackled were the old settled areas of advanced people. Forest and hill areas which had been neglected by our own rulers, were also explored in search of raw materials for various industries. Contact with tribal people was established thereby. I shall study in detail a few of the changes that occurred in consequence.

In the areas of advanced communities, the people of the upper-middle class had for generations used fine dhotis and saris with artistic designs, made in handlooms in our country. These are costly and beyond the means of the common folk. Among them, the women spun yarn on the charkha and takli at home and took it to the weaver of the village or the group of villages, with some paddy for sizing and also for the labour charges. These clothes were thick and durable but of plain border and design, or if varied, of a limited number of patterns. The development of industries, and the growth of large towns, made sale of surplus labour for cash possible. Also the

cloth mills began to supply cloth of thinner and finer texture with more varied border designs at a cheaper price. The desire to imitate the upper classes of their own community, in addition to cheapness of such cloth and of availability of cash (even though very limited in quantity) led them to purchase these finer clothes. This resulted in decay of the homespun village woven textile industry. The cotton weavers in Bengal fell back of necessity largely on land, as jute mills were taboo to this pure caste. As a consequence of such change weavers of artistic designs had their reserve of land wiped out. To make living by weaving and sale of fine clothes needs capital as such sale is seasonal. Security in following their craft was lost by them in this way and eventually most of them became wage labourers of money lenders or small capitalists who advanced money for weaving clothes and in the end bought up the looms when repayment could not be made of loans, after using up the earnings to provide food for the family. In the tribal areas also, the Hindus who lived close to these settlements, took advantage of the new and improved means of communication. Hindu influence which had been slowly percolating into these areas through centuries, now spread more rapidly, except when deliberately excluded in the interest of Christian missionaries. In the tribal villages also, the changes in the kind of dhoti and sari worn have followed somewhat similar lines. Here, the imitation has been of the middle class among Hindus, along with love of variety and the possibility of earning cash by work. In the case of both kinds of weavers, there has been, in consequence, loss of artistic design and quality of craftsmanship. This particular craft has been selected for illustration as it used to supply and still supplies livelihood to the largest number of our rural artisans. Also, the States of our Republic are attempting to rehabilitate this craft. In some of the States, recognition has been made of the fact that different areas in each State have certain traditional beautiful designs. The embroidery type designs of Dacca, the ovoid pattern of Baluchar, the

deep and ornate, yellow and red borders of Orissa, the beautiful purple and violet colour harmony of Sambalpur Sari borders, the Hyderabad designs, the Surat print and the rich Benarasi gold thread work are a few of such examples.

Owing to increased intercommunication between States, the variety of designs in saris in different States have become available in large centres of commerce, like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. With the introduction of planned economy under our national government, the handloom weavers of different areas are being encouraged to copy and assimilate the beautiful designs of other areas. This has happened especially in Madras State and similar work though on a much more limited scale has also been taken up in West Bengal. The result has been of late an enrichment of the artistic designs of sari borders woven in these States. But in order to ensure stability in this change and trend, it is necessary to afford economic security to the weavers. Although it is recognised that the best way of doing so is through the organization of co-operatives, there is still more Mahajans of weavers in these bodies, as being owners of looms, than actual craftsmen as I found in an actual survey. In the local levels of planning in each State, greater attention has to be paid to this aspect of the matter. It has to be ensured that co-operatives do not lead to a masked exploitation of the actual craftsmen. As the details of changes needed have been discussed elsewhere, they are not noted here.

I shall now take up the changes that have occurred in social structure and moral outlook under the impact of modern technology. The family is recognised as the primary and fundamental unit of society. In the villages, the extended or joint family was more common in the earlier period. Owing to the economic difficulties that arose under the new conditions and the need of adult menfolk having to go away to work elsewhere, the joint family ties were weakened and in many instances broken. A survey carried out by me in 1944-45 in 500 Bengal villages with the technical

help of the Indian Statistical Institute revealed that less than half the family units were then of the joint type. With increased development of industries, mines and tea gardens, there was a greater flow of labour from rural to these urban or industrial areas. In general, it was not possible to maintain a family in an industrial area by any single earner. The ties with the village through some ownership of land or at least a dwelling house was also not broken. A survey of the jute mill labourers of Jagatdal carried out by me in 1948-49 with the financial and technical help of the Indian Statistical Institute, showed that even in that year, as many as half the workers were sons of peasants and two-fifths of the total number had some land. Only one-fourth had fathers who had themselves been industrial workers. The pressure on land was the main cause of migration to the industrial area, but the exact direction had in most cases been settled by the fact that "sirdars" or labour recruiting agents were from some neighbouring area and there were either relatives of the intending workers or of his friends already in employment in a particular mill or mill area. This has been confirmed by some detailed enquiries carried out very recently by one of my students working under me. Although these labourers visit their homes, it appears that they are able to do so only for eight weeks in three years. Only 44.4 per cent of the workers were, however (data of 1948-49 survey), able to live with their complete simple family, i.e., with wife and children in the place of their employment. On a detailed analysis of the figures for different communities, it was found that family life was possible only in case of those workers who were earning what may be described as near about the level of minimum living wages needed for adequate food, clothing, and privacy in living quarters. The same end was attained in those communities where women work freely along with men and if able to secure employment, raise the level of family income. In the case of men living without their families, the surplus left for sending home is not adequate for securing for the non-

resident dependents what we consider to be the minimum amenities of life. It will be apparent that in these conditions the normal functions of the family do not remain in operation. Common residence is lacking; the common economic resources are not adequate for the common requirements. Sex life is not normally regulated. Bringing up of children by both parents together is not possible. The social duties of kinship cannot also be discharged. The result, inevitably, is a weakening of family as well as kinship ties. Owing to breaches brought about due to these conditions of the sexual rules operative in our society, the moral values also change among these men. At the same time, the possibility of earning a living and making a home away from the village community has made these men independent of the control of their village authority. The result has been a weakening of the forces that had earlier supported the existing moral and behavioural code. This control, which rested on traditional beliefs and practices have been further weakened by propaganda of missionaries in the interest of evangelisation, and sometimes of those among our own so-called progressive groups who have set out only to destroy what they consider to be old-fashioned ideas and practices.

In general, neither the missionary nor the pure iconoclast have been able to replace the traditional regulating code by a better integrated basis for social conduct. This has happened especially in the tribal and semi-tribal areas where the differences between the earlier and supplanting concepts and codes were much greater than in ordinary rural areas. Instability of the family and of the village community means in the last instance instability of the State and its economic structure. A detailed analysis is not necessary to prove this. It is, therefore, essential in national planning to aim at removing these maladjustments. Changes in land tenure are occurring. Large-scale irrigation schemes will, when completed, yield greater amounts of food and cash crops per acre. Community development projects and national extension blocks aim at better economic condition in

the villages along with increase in the education and medical services and fostering co-operative work among the members. In theory, the results of such activities should be an uplift of rural and tribal areas. For industrial labour the main trend has been to provide for canteens, medical help and a moderate amount of quarters of the better type, as also tribunals to settle disputes.

In practice, it is found that young educated tribals tend to seek out small jobs in Government departments, after attaining literacy; and try to get better jobs, also from the same source, if they have received higher education. The tribal areas have failed to keep them occupied in uplift work of their own community. The better educated and more energetic men among rural communities still tend to gravitate to urban areas. In the industrial areas, the bulk of labourers still continue to live apart from their families. It is, therefore, essential to provide a worthwhile incentive to the educated young men to work in their community areas. It is also very necessary to make it possible for industrial workers to live with their families in their places of employment.

Reference has already been made to some of the changes that have taken place in our older culture under the impact of modern conditions. It has been noted that in the villages, the emphasis on the community has been weakened greatly, and that on the individuals has increased. In the closer unit, family structure also, the same process is in operation. An examination of the changes in the making of even such objects as folk toys and images of deities (in the symposium mentioned earlier) revealed that here also community co-operation or even family co-operation is giving way to individual contribution. At the same time, a wider community co-operation was apparent, in a different field, in the "barwari" worship, the "sarbojonin" pujas of Calcutta. This trend in Calcutta came from a conscious attempt to build such community co-operation, emerging from the newly-developed national feeling

and the felt need of strengthening it through working together. This is in line with the fact pointed out earlier that when an obvious need for co-operation is present, as in a famine, epidemic, or a slightly deferred need, in raising embankments and excavating waterways, the people of rural areas have come forward. But it has needed, in all such cases, the stirring up of that consciousness and guiding the impulse to do something along a planned line of work. I observed ample evidence of it through actual visits during the rehabilitation phase after relief work following the famine of 1943 in Bengal.

It is, therefore, necessary to make our youth conscious of the need and desirability of work for community welfare. In the backward rural and tribal areas, the desire to imitate the more advanced social group is found to be quite strong. This is not a peculiarity of our country but has been noted again and again in other parts of the world. The object of such imitation, as noted before, is to become like the other group. Such imitation has extended not merely to dress and food habits and other trappings of material culture in our backward areas such as tribal areas, but to other spheres of culture such as the structure of tune and the content of songs, as well as to some religious beliefs, and practices. Education has been a potent force in culture contact as it is the means of bringing minds together and it is partly responsible for such imitation of the people of advanced cultures. But education has also led to other changes, including an awakening of the need of better community integration. The old feeling of limited community life, among Santals for example, had, in the last century, found expression in widespread revolt to end common oppression. Here, the bringing together, earlier of large numbers of tribals in railway construction and similar works had led to a broader concept of the community. Education among them although limited even now, has through mental contact, now developed in those areas where literacy is high, a better perception of the needs of



the community. This has been observed in the course of my study of Santal culture. Such visualisation of needs has been largely coloured by the ideals set up, which are those of the middle and upper class groups of advanced people who play the effective role in the life of modern India. It is, therefore, necessary to change the emphasis, among this leadership, and leading social groups, from the individual to the community. The individual will naturally develop as an individual and have his place in society but this should be as a worker for the welfare of the community. The shift will, therefore, have to be from individual profit disregarding community interest, to emulation for better service to the community. The economic framework of a national plan has to supply the basis for such changes. The greater emphasis on the public sector in industrial planning is undoubtedly helpful in this respect. But the operative details have to be worked out with care to ensure the attainment of the change in emphasis in cultural environment. If such an alteration in the emphasis can be secured, it should be possible to reach the other objective, of making stable family life possible. In the economic field, a shift of emphasis from profit motive to welfare of the community will enable larger shares

of the total national wealth produced, to be employed to improve the economic condition of workers and to enable them to live with their families. In the case of tribals, the same type of changes will occur if there is spread of education and of improvement of economic condition, provided there is the shift of emphasis noted above, in the people admired and sought to be approximated to by them in their cultural life. A scientific random sampling study of Santal culture, carried out by me with the technical help in the matter of sampling by the Indian Statistical Institute, fully supports such conclusions.

I have earlier mentioned the question raised, of the link between religion and culture and asked, what should be our attitude in this respect. I have to note here that the shift in emphasis from individual profit to community welfare will bring the outlook on life close to the essential philosophic beliefs that have been the force behind the best expressions of our culture in the past, in the recent past, and also in the present.\*

\*Based on a talk given at the Indian Statistical Institute.



## SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

By JOGES C. BOSE

### I

The history of India tells us the melancholy tale that she bowed down to all attacks from outside. It was so for the paramount reason that she was split up into numerous states, each aloof and often hostile to the other.

England brought India under one rule on a more comprehensive scale than Asoka or Akbar. The same law, currency, postage, system of education, increasing facilities of travel and, above all, the dynamics of Western nationalism fostered a sense of fellowship among peoples of different parts. The ruling power, however, made no bone of its pleasure to stand in the way of Indians developing a national unity. The Indian National Congress, in fact, achieved it in the background of a cultural oneness and the misfortune of foreign rule. One of the towering patriots, who built up this great institution, is Surendranath Banerjea. An estimate of his contributions in respect of this has been made by C. Rajagopalachari in the first lap of our freedom in November, 1948. He said at the University Senate Hall, Calcutta, that in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea.

Surendranath was born on 10th November, 1848, at Barrackpur, 24 Parganas. As he finished the English alphabets, he was sent to a school, where all the teachers were Englishmen and the medium of teaching was English. His difficulty can better be imagined from the fact that English was not the spoken language in the family; and his father Durgacharan, an eminent physician of Calcutta, provided no tutor for him at home. He left the boy to fend for himself, giving him what assistance he was sought to render specifically. The son treasures up the memory of

this to say that this exercise in self-help was of great value to him in after life.\*

Intensely devoted to class-work, Surendranath was not the goody goody bookish type. He and his brother Jitendranath founded a gymnasium in their residence and took to physical exercise as earnestly. The Calcutta Wellington Square—now the Raja Subodh Mullick Park—was in those days a favourite resort of the Anglo-Indians. They resented Indians using it and handled them roughly. The two brothers, bent on a showdown, would go into the Park and walk about in an obtrusive manner. In the inevitable tussles, they proved what metal they were made of; and gradually, as they were reinforced by other friends, the Anglo-Indians gave in.

After graduation, Surendranath went to England and passed the Indian Civil Service Examination. Because of a certain discrepancy between his age and the eligible age for service, the Civil Service Commissioners removed his name from the list of successful candidates. As the Governing Body did not accept his explanation, he fought out the issue in a Court of Law, Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar swearing for him an affidavit in the Calcutta Police Court.

Surendranath was posted as Assistant Magistrate at Sylhet, Assam. Bepin Chandra Pal, who was then reading in a local school, says in his autobiography that Surendranath eschewed English dress outside office and made it a point to cultivate the acquaintance of non-official gentry. It grated on the nerves of local Englishmen. Even if this could pass, what looked like an affront would not. His wife used to ride a pony for her constitutional. It therefore clearly indicated that she did not belong to the orthodox school of living. She, how-

\*A Nation In Making.

ever, refused to hobnob with the English club, the focal point of Western convivialisism in a mufasil town. It so happened that one day an English tea planter's wife insulted her in the race-course. The long and short of it was that the English lady had to apologize openly. It was like a sore that festered.

The District Magistrate fished out an irregularity—a signature with back date in the order-sheet of a case Surendranath was trying. Obviously, the Bench clerk was to blame. But it was pretty certain that some dark forces were at work to create trouble for him. A commission was appointed and on its finding he was dismissed.

Nothing more conclusive to suggest that this dismissal was wickedly planned is the fact that well within ten years Surendranath was made an Honorary Magistrate for the town of Calcutta. **The Statesman**, then held in high esteem for its balanced views in matters of conflict between the Government and the people even if it was the mouthpiece of English people in India, wrote editorially on the 2nd October, 1882, that this appointment was 'regarded as a rather late admission that he was very harshly dealt with when he was dismissed from the Civil Service.' Sir Edward Baker told Gopal K. Koghale, "We have done Surendranath a grievous wrong, but he bears us no malice." Allen Hume of the Indian Civil Service, famous as one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, was forthright in his appraisal. He noted in this dismissal 'a jealous, determined attempt to oust at least one Indian from the covenanted service.' Was it as well to frighten the new aspirants?<sup>1</sup>

Surendranath knocked at each conceivable door in India and England; but to no purpose. The Benchers of the Middle Temple refused to call a dismissed Govern-

1. Surendranath, Romes C. Dutt and Behari L. Gupta passed the I.C.S. examination in the same year. Previous to this, Satyendranath Tagore had passed the examination.

ment servant to Bar. He felt convinced that he had suffered because as a people Indians sadly lacked the elements, which make for a collective life and, therefore, there was no protest worth the name. Were others, he addressed himself to the question, to suffer in the same manner? As the dream he had nursed from boyhood broke down, a new vision dawned on him. He resolved to rouse his countrymen to a sense of integrated national life. Verily it was the moment eternal in the destiny of India.

Fortunately, there lived at this time Pundit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar to watch and guide every breath of Bengal's new life. He offered to accommodate Surendranath as a Professor of English in his Metropolitan College. This story goes that Vidyasagar charged Surendranath not to confine to books but to heighten the promise and purpose of Education, so as to inspire the students to yearn for a virile order of existence.

A. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law,<sup>2</sup> the founder-President of the Student's Association, offered him their forum. Surendranath availed himself of this and delivered a series of lectures on Joseph Mazzini, the Rise of Sikhism, English Education, the Unity of the Indian People and Chaitanya,<sup>3</sup> etc.

Divorced from the context of a new birth, these lectures have lost their old flavour in print.<sup>4</sup> As to the desired effect, which endured, they made the then new Bengal. Sarojini Naidu says, 'They thrilled me when I was young; they thrill me as

2. The first Indian Wrangler.

3. Chaitanya was utilised to help break the barriers of caste, creed and religion.

4. H. W. Nevins of the **Manchester Guardian** observes with regard to his cratory, 'Sentence answered to sentence, period to period, thunder to thunder. There was no hesitation, no wandering for ideas or words. But the great language rolled without a break and without a drop, each syllable in its exact place and order, each sentence following some cadence of its own.'—**New Spirit In India**.

I recall them even as I am old'.<sup>5</sup> For the devout, therefore, they have the same historical interest as the phillipics of Demosthenes. People of the day found in him a national hero. The wrong done to him by the alien bureaucracy lent its quota of an additional halo round him. It is small wonder that he was acclaimed as the Prometheus snatching away fire from the lightning of Zeus and giving it to his countrymen for a new initiation.

Surendranath was getting so popular that students of other colleges flocked to his class to hear him read Burke. Round about the time, a Native State offered to make him their Dewan. He declined and stuck fast to the ideal he had set for himself. This choice to live for the Nation, some ten years before the Indian National Congress was born, has been most feelingly referred to by Romes C. Dutt in dedicating his novel **Madhavi Kankan** to Surendranath.

## II

By now, it was getting obvious that the Zamindars, as the traditional leaders of the people, would not be able to keep pace with the growing national consciousness. The urgent need of the day was, therefore, to transfer the political influence from the landholders, basking in official sunshine, to the middle class intelligentsia. With this end in view Surendranath and A. M. Bose took the initiative to found the Indian Association. They were fully backed amongst others by men like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore,<sup>6</sup> Reverend K. M. Banerjea, Durgamohan Das<sup>7</sup> and others. On the day of inaugural, Surendranath lost his son. All the same, he was at his post

5. As Tej Bahadur Sapru was unveiling Surendranath's statue at the Esplanade, Calcutta, on 6th August, 1942.

6. Father of Rabindranath Tagore. He was the President of the British Indian Association, the Zamindar's organisation. He failed to admit Surendranath and A. M. Bose into the B.I.A.

7. Father of C. R. Das.

to pilot the foundation ceremony. So many decisions to fight the Government have been taken on the floor of the Indian Association that it constitutes a landmark in the Indian struggle for Freedom.

The first work of great consequence, the Indian Association took up, was the Civil Service Regulations. It was a deep-seated conviction of the old-day leaders that the gradual substitution of Englishmen by Indians in the cadre of Civil Service was a necessary step in the pursuit of self-Government. The reactionary Governor General Lord Lytton proposed to reduce the maximum age-limit of the Civil Service examinees from twenty-one to nineteen. It was bound to be a severe handicap to the Indian students and, in fact, it was designed to obstruct them.

There were protests all over Bengal. Civil Service Regulation, however, was a matter that touched the whole country and Surendranath sought to determine if it were possible to unite India on this common issue. He toured over almost all important cities of Northern India, Bombay and Madras. As he explained the retrograde measure, he explained the opportunity and obligations of the people to the country. It was now that he issued the categorical challenge that much as India coveted peace, she would never bargain for 'the peace of the grave.' 'These tours contain in them,' says Sir Henry Cotton I.C.S. in his **New India**, 'the seed of the Indian National Congress.' No less an event of pith and moment is what Sreenivas Sastry and Lala Lajpat Rai have openly acknowledged that they felt inspired in their plastic youth to work for the Nation because of the irresistible appeal Surendranath made during these tours.

The elders of the Nation thought of presenting a memorial to the House of Commons. Surendranath was their choice to a man. He, however, relinquished the pleasure of unique publicity the occasion would give him and suggested that some one else should go, because his dismissal would stink in the nostrils of Englishmen at home and defeat the purpose of the memorial. To Lal Mohan Ghose was the job

next assigned. John Bright helping India, the House of Commons passed the Law of simultaneous examination. What Lalmohan said in a public meeting in England bears recalling. "The Country", he said, "is ruled by an oligarchy, demoralised by irresponsible power, a selfish and unscrupulous community who are for ever snatching away the cup from the very lips of the people of India." The Law of simultaneous examination was subsequently abandoned; and the Rules were oft and on changed to the prejudice of Indian students. And in the words of Surendranath, "The History of Civil Service Regulations is a history of broken pledges" was India's reaction summed up.

Public opinion in India triumphed for the moment and it nettled Lord Lytton. In consultation with the Secretary of State Lord Salisbury, who had the vulgarity to call Dadabhai Nourajee 'the blackman,' he enacted the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act. The Arms Act denied the right of Indians to possess Arms in the humiliating context of Europeans enjoying it. Boiled to the concrete, it came to this that an Indian notable, treated with all courtesy by the Government, could not own a gun or revolver without license, but his coachman a Dick or Harry could. The Vernacular Press Act took away what right Sir Charles Metcalfe gave the vernacular press to be at level with English newspapers.

On the day fixed for the Town Hall meeting to protest against the measure, news reached Calcutta that war with Russia was well-nigh certain and it would break out at any moment. A. M. Bose was pressed by his colleagues of the Bar Library—people whose voice counted so much in public affairs in those days—to desist from a mass protest, because it might entail them in a criminal proceeding. Closeted together, the two stalwarts decided not to flinch. To back out after having called upon the people to protest publicly would, they felt, compromise national honour, still a sapling needing to be tended with great care. The meeting was held; and Surendranath asked British

statesmanship to take note of the fact that 'a true scientific frontier,' they had been labouriously searching for, could only be had in the heart of a contented people. Gladstone condemned either measure in his election speeches. As, however, he came to power he had the Vernacular Press Act repealed but forbore touching the Arms Act. Sree Aurobindo Ghose, then a student in England, openly denounced Gladstone as a 'traitor'—a phase of mind, which was the beginning of his lack of faith in Britain, ever conceding Self-Government to India unless in the compulsion of circumstances.

It was now imperative that the Indian Association needed an organ of its own. Surendranath on his own account purchased a Calcutta English Weekly, *The Bengalee*.<sup>8</sup> Fairly within three years, he was hauled up before a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court to answer the charge of Contempt of Court. It happened like this: Justice Norris had had a Saligram stone-deity, brought into the mundane atmosphere of the Court-room for identification. It offended Hindu sentiments and there were strong comments in newspapers. Surendranath went out of his way to compare Norris with the blood-thirsty Jeffrys of the Restoration period. There was no point in such comparison. Possibly, Surendranath worked himself up into an unwonted rage against Justice Norris,<sup>9</sup> because he had betrayed his leanings for

8. For Rs. 25/-; Sisir K. Ghose purchased the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for Rs. 22/-—C. Y. Chintamony's *Indian Politics From the Days of Sepoy Mutiny*.

9. Norris was otherwise a fair-minded Judge. O'hara, a private of Leinchester Regiment, stationed at Dumdum, got into the house of an Indian at dead of night for toddy. The man was waked up and on his failure to supply toddy, he was shoved into a nearby tank and then shot dead. In the Sessions trial before Norris, the Jury, composed of O'hara's countrymen, returned a verdict of 'Not guilty.' Justice Norris did not accept the verdict and called for a fresh trial.

the rabid opponents of the Ilbert Bill.<sup>10</sup> Surendranath was given a sentence of two months. Justice Romes C. Mitter, the only Indian Judge of the Special Bench, dissented on the question of sentence. He had refused to yield to the Chief Justice Sir Richard Garth seeing him at his residence for unanimity.

Instantly the sentence was passed, there was a wild demonstration within the precincts of the High Court. Among those who pelted stones at the police and broke glass-panes were Ashutosh Mookherjea and C. R. Das, then students. The Indian shops closed for the day. Students walked barefooted, as in mourning; those of the Bethune College put on black badge. The leaders of other provinces vied with each other to congratulate Bengal, adding one more feather to her cap of leadership.

Did the enforced leisure within prison-walls set Surendranath think hard of a stout line of action? What otherwise explains his head-on clash with the Government immediately after release? The Excise department had introduced in the district of Hooghly what was known as the 'Outstill system.' By this the price of country liquor was reduced to half in expectation that cheaper price would augment sale and hence the revenue. The Indian Association failed to rouse the conscience of the Government by a memorial. Surendranath struck a novel line and appealed to the people of the locality to give up drink altogether as a measure of

resistance. He held meetings in the affected area, led procession village to village with songs specially composed and had the liquor shops picketted. The Government realised the awkwardness of its position and abolished the system. The event that followed, however, outdistances all others in importance.

In 1883, under the auspices of the Indian Association was convened in Calcutta a National Conference. Delegates from all parts of India joined it, which had its session for three days. Surendranath, in opening the Conference, stressed the great need of representative Indians meeting to chalk out a concerted line of action in matters that concern the people vis-a-vis the Government. Wilfred S. Blunt says in *India Under Ripon* that 'this Conference is the first stage towards a national Parliament.'

Were the apologists of British rule in India stung with an awareness by this time that a new force was looming large in the horizon? Allen Hume, who had just retired from the Indian Civil Service—the last post he held was that of the Chief Secretary, Home department, Government of India—started negotiations with the Governor General Lord Dufferin on one side and some Indian leaders on the other—Surendranath was not one of them—and founded the Indian Union. On the invitation of this Indian Union was held in Bombay the first Indian National Congress in December, 1885. Surendranath was not even invited to attend it. In the same December was, however, held in Calcutta the Second Indian National Conference. The gathering was so large and representative that the Bombay Congress paled into insignificance. The Muslim Association and the British Indian Association, either of which had hitherto held back from agitational politics, joined it. Delegates like Gopal Krishna Gokhale from Maharashtra, K. T. Telang from Madras, G. S. Khaparde from Nagpur, Dayal Singh from Punjab actively participated in it.

It was an eye-opener to Hume, who sincerely desired the Congress to grow up into a live organisation explaining the Government to the people and the people to the Government, and other-

10. Beharilal Gupta, when he was Presidency Magistrate Calcutta, raised the point and there was the Bill to empower Indian Magistrates to try Europeans. The concept of a superior race had so much seized the European community that they were up in arms against Indians, whom they called all sorts of names. Branson, a leading Counsel of Calcutta High Court, summed up his address in their protest meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall, 'Verily the jackass kicketh at the lion.' Lal Mohan Ghose called Branson in a public meeting 'a pitiful cur that covers his recreant limbs with the borrowed hide of the lion'; Branson was an Anglo-Indian.

wise act as an Opposition in a parliamentary system of Government. He pressed Surendranath with all the warmth of love, he truly bore him, to wind up the Conference and join the Second Indian National Congress in Calcutta. Surendranath appreciated the reasonableness of having only one political organisation in the country and they all joined the Calcutta Congress, December, 1886.

It is not known what, if any, were the terms, mutually agreed upon, as to the objective of the Congress. It was, however, left to everybody to read what Surendranath was for. He announced from the Congress platform, 'Self-Government is the ordering of Nature. It is not new to us; our Panchayet system is as old as the hills and is graven on the hearts and instincts of our people'. Since that day, 'whoever', says C. Y. Chintamony, 'might be the president, Surendranath Banerjee was session after session the central figure.' In the 1895 Madras Congress, he developed his 1886 demand to say point blank, 'We desire to tell Lord Wenlock and all else whom it may concern that we cannot submit to a decision which will have the effect of stereotyping our political servitude. We cannot afford to palter with our birthright or sell it for a pottage'. Let therefore be no confounding the issue that Freedom as our birthright is Surendranath's demand for the first time.

### III

Fast as the Congress was gathering strength to be a factor to reckon with the clash between the ruler and the ruled followed as a matter of course. In Bengal, it first took a concrete shape in the Mackenzie Bill, which sought to curb the popular control in the Calcutta Corporation. Surendranath attacked the Bill, clause by clause in the Bengal Legislative Council of which he was a member representing Bengal Municipalities. It was passed by the standing official majority. In protest he and twenty-seven others resigned their membership of the Calcutta Corporation. Its impact in point of national honour was tre-

mendous. Poet Hemchandra Banerjee celebrated the occasion by his poem *Sabash Atash, Bravo Twenty-eight*.

The Bill was no handiwork of Lord Curzon. It, all the same, disclosed his Roman hand in many a crucial touch. In any case, it gave a foretaste of what he was going to be in respect of India's newborn aspiration. He divided Bengal into two zones, Hindu and Moslem. With the Muslim zone East Bengal, Assam, the close reserve of English tea-planters, was tacked in to make a separate province East Bengal and Assam. On the 7th August, 1905 Bengal ceremonially protested against it. It was like a spark igniting the powder ablaze. The 16th of October, the day Bengal was officially cleft into two, was observed with a strange solemnity. Shops did not open; ovens did not burn except for the babies and the ailing; traffic did not ply. People gathered in their thousands in all parts of Bengal to reaffirm their vow of Swadeshi—Boycott of British goods—and to vow to live in affirmation of India's right to Freedom.

As the movement gained in volume, volunteers began picketting the sale of foreign cloth and salts. The Government in return bolstered up charges of theft and rioting in respect of the forbidden wares. Students were prohibited to join political meetings or processions and were flogged in breach thereof. Many a school, suspected of nursing an anti-Government feeling, was wiped out of existence; stopping the grant-in-aid was but a normal order of things. Punitive Police and even Military were posted at places where the Swadeshi spirit was most intense, obviously, to frighten, harass and humiliate people. Respected leaders were bound down to keep peace and some of them were commandeered to act as Special Constables. Worse than all these, the hooligan elements of the Mahomedan community were being incited and they made a hell of Hindu life and property.<sup>11</sup> On the top of all, the entire

11. Read Dr. Rashbehari Ghose's Congress Speeches of 1906 and 1907 giving illustrations from Court-proceedings.

Mahomedan community was being waylaid and drawn away from the national struggle over the appetising prospects of the Separate Electorate. By this the Moslems were being provided with a separate constituency, where they alone could vote and contest seats with their rights left intact in the general constituency; secondly, to become a voter, besides the qualifications in common with others, a Moslem had to pay Income-tax on Rs. 3,000/- a year as against Rs. 3,00,000/- a year for non-Moslems; and a graduate of 3 years as against 30 years.

The Swadeshi movement reacted most amazingly on Bengal Art and Literature. Possibly no literature anywhere in the world has within a short period of five to six years made such rapid strides in songs, poems, essays, stories, novels and dramas etcetera. They made a lavish use of the patriotic pages of the history of the Mahrattas and the Rajputs. It answered the need of the hour. It forged a link of enduring moments between Bengal and that distant India. Rabindranath Tagore's was, naturally, the mammoth contribution. Besides his discourses of deep, cogent thinking on National Education and Village-reconstruction he gave us in the abandon of his 'native wood notes wild' soul-stirring national songs. In the category of national songs a good many other lyrists, such as Sarala Devi, Man Kumari, Govinda Das, Rajani K. Sen, Kaliprassanna Kabyavisarad, Dwijendra Lal Roy, Kamini Kumar Bhattacharjee deserve no less to be remembered. The historical dramas of Girish Chandra Ghose, Kshirodeprosad Vidyabinode and Dwijendra Lal Roy contributed their virile quota to the national upsurge all too well. Indicative of the temper of the day a picture under the title *Bengal Fifty Years Hence* sold like hot cakes. It was the picture of a mother making over a sword to her son and bidding him go ahead to vindicate the honour of motherland. The Indian School of Art under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore owes its birth to this Renaissance and struck a new line. Ramsay Macdonald, who came to India for an on-the-spot study of the situation,

wrote in his *Awakening of India*, 'Bengal is idealising politics into Art and Literature.'

The Industry and Trade of a country, says Herr Hitler in *Mein Kamp*, can flourish only if a national consciousness provides the necessary setting. The Swadeshi movement of Bengal paved the way for an industrial regeneration of India. New cloth mills were set up and the old ones rehabilitated with new blood infused into them. The vast weaving class, which was dying of neglect, got back into life. Banking and Insurance, the Industry of Pharmacology, Toilets and Leather had their foundation laid truly and well. Dr. Meghnad Saha, whose name remains associated with the history of Five-Year Plans of India, says that it was for the impetus of the Swadeshi movement that the Tatas were able to raise within such a small space of time the requisite capital for their Plant of Steel Industry, one of the biggest in the world.

Bengal, in the stress of a sudden challenge evolved the techniques of Civil Disobedience. Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya Editor of the Bengali daily *Sandhya*, stated in answer to the charge of sedition that he accepted the full responsibility of the paper and the article in question, but would not take any part in the trial, because, in his fight for swaraj he was not in any way accountable to the alien power. There were, however, another set of nationalists to stoutly defend and fight every inch of the ground. They went to the limit of harrying the Executive as to find out who the editors were and otherwise foil them in proving the charge. At Barisal in April 1906, as the Bengal Provincial Conference was being held, the District Magistrate forbade any procession and the call of *Bande Mataram* in the open. The leaders resolved to defy the order. Surendranath led the procession. It was attacked in the rear. History does not furnish a parallel, where a disarmed people stood shoulder to shoulder to face the flash and steel of such a terribly well-posted rule. The delegates refused to disperse or stop raising the call of *Bande*



Mataram, notwithstanding lathi-charge and mounted Police galloping full length at them.

It so happened that a boy of the name of Chittaranjan Guha Thakurta was hit right on the head and he fell down senseless. Even then he continued uttering **Bande Mataram** in faint to fainter voice and even as the Police were pushing him down with their lathis into a tank close by. As Surendranath was apprised of it, he rushed back. Face to face with the Superintendent of Police, he blurted out "What cowardice! Are you not ashamed of it? I am responsible for the procession; do me what you like." Surendranath was arrested. "But then," said Surendranath, "let the procession pass on; the other alternative is that you have to arrest each one of this vast concourse or, if you choose, shoot them en masse. They shall not break the line." The procession was allowed to pass. Surendranath enjoined on them as a parting message, "Brother delegates, it is the testing moment in the hour of our destiny. Do not flinch; but do not retaliate under any provocation. March on to the goal." They proceeded to the meeting and Surendranath to the house of the Dist. Magistrate under arrest. There he was fined Rs. 400. Sixteen years later, to anticipate events, Emerson, the Dist. Magistrate was requisitioned by Minister Surendranath to act under him as Chairman of the Calcutta Improvement Trust. And none was the worse for it.

While the conference was being held, it was declared an unlawful assembly and ordered to disperse. Their first impulse was again to disobey. As the order was read out, Krishnakumar Mitter stood up to say 'I refuse to disperse even if I am shot dead,' echoed by thousand voices. It was, however, decided that in view of hundreds of ladies with children having mixed up, they would better not. The Barisal Conference marked, as it was declared in the open session, 'the beginning of the end of British rule.' The real issue since now 'was not,' as Sir Valentine Chirol noted in his *Indian Unrest*, 'whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two par-

tioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure.'

The bureaucracy banned **Bande Mataram**, as though it was a war-cry. It is, truly speaking, an oath of fealty to the Nation. The author of the hymn, Bankimchandra Chatterjea visualised our motherland 'richly-watered, richly-fruited, sweet of smile and sweet of speech,' to change, as the occasion demands, 'terrible with the clamorous shout of seventy million throats and sharpness of swords raised in seventy million hands'—the translation is Sree Aurobindo's. Bankimchandra had incorporated the song into his novel *Ananda Math*. The picture is that of a dense forest, so very dense that the sun fails to pierce through it. The deep eerie silence of the place is broken by two strange voices in the form of question and answer:

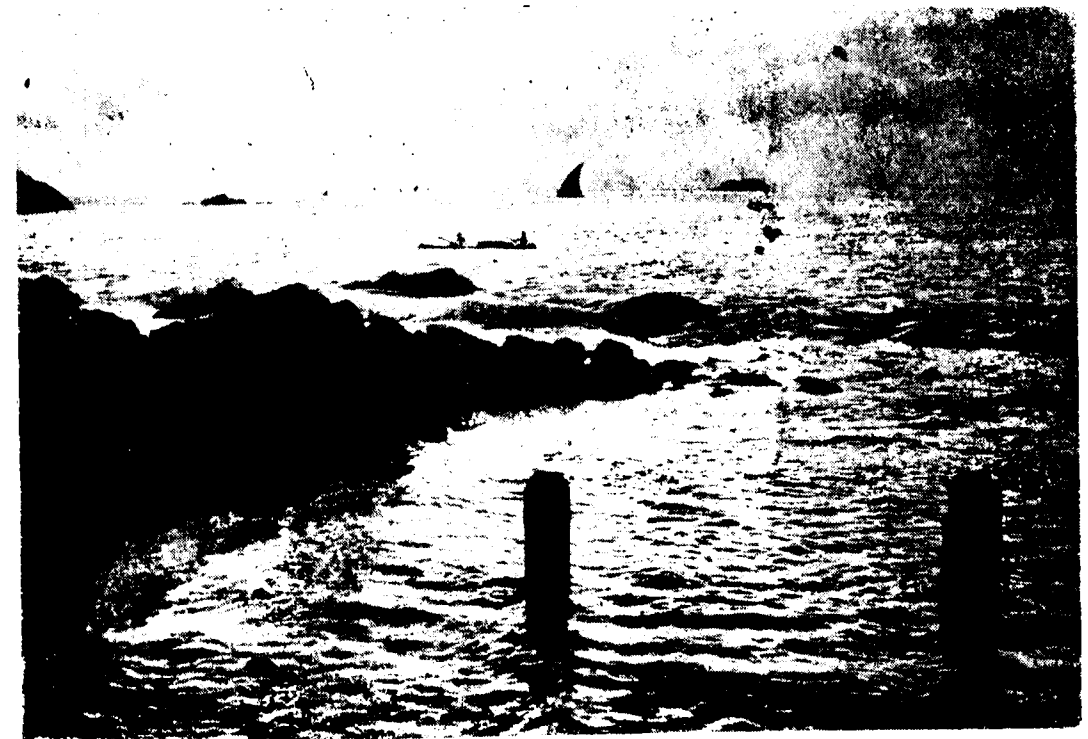
'If not life, what then does the motherland call for?

'A life of self-effacing, steadfast devotion.'

This is the inspiration, Bankimchandra sought to imbue the country with.

"One of the alarming effects of the Bengal episode," says Hector Bolitho in his biographical study of Quaid-e-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah<sup>12</sup> "was on the character of the Congress so mild up to then. The dramatic appeal of Bengal against the British startled all India, and to hold their own as a political force, liberal-minded men like G. K. Gokhale and Dadabhai Nourajee had to assume a more belligerent look." To explain in the concrete, Dadabhai Nourajee, the President of the Calcutta Congress, December 1906, said, "All our sufferings in the past demand before God and men reparation . . . . Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our right, the whole matter can be comprised into one word Swaraj." To leave no room for speculation, he further said that by Swaraj he meant 'Self-Government as in the United Kingdom.' The change is significant in view of the

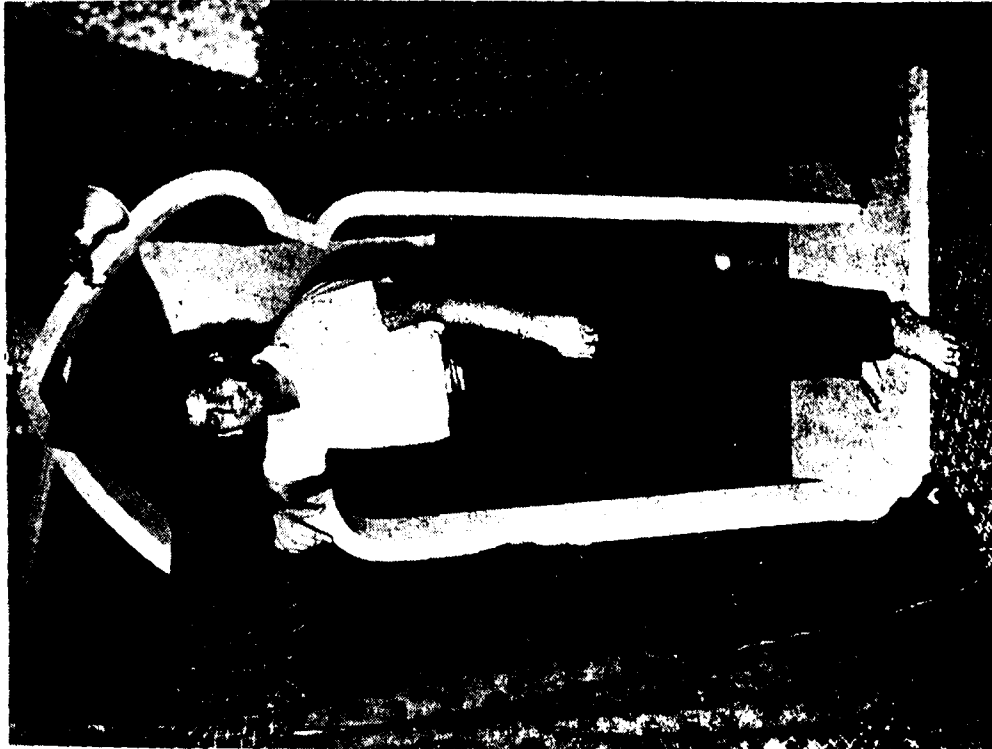
12. This book is written at the instance of the Pakistan Government.



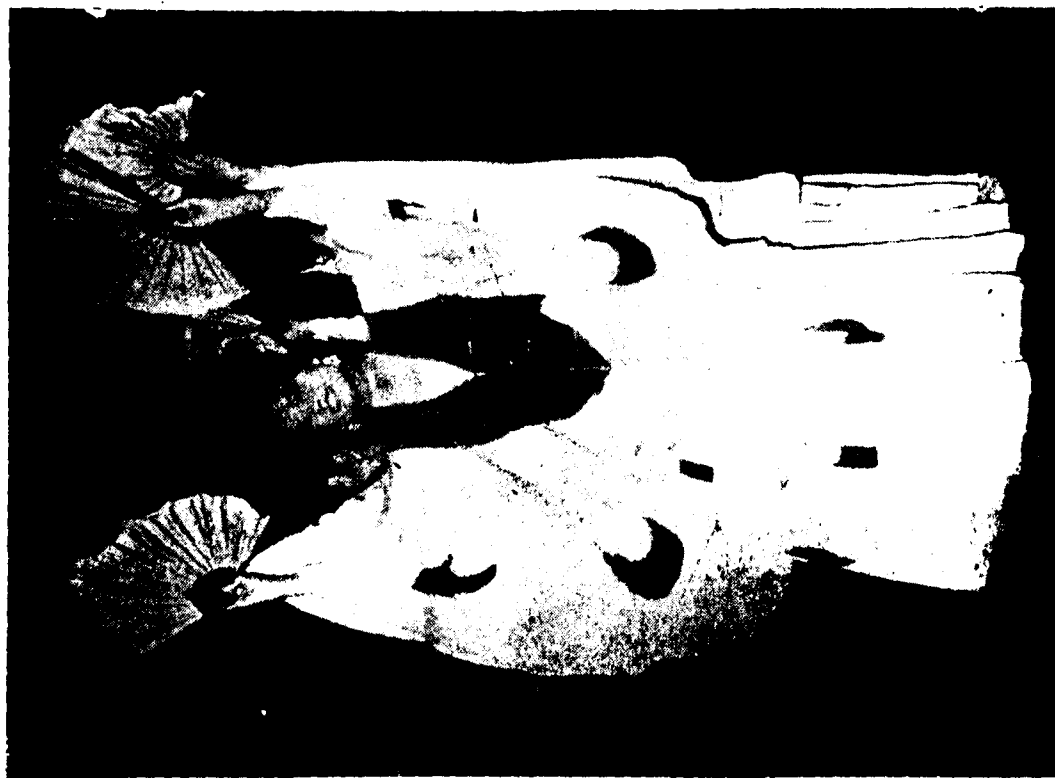
The year 1959 ends: Sunset at Kanyakumari, southern strip of India



In the midst of the arid regions of Rajasthan



A student from Bombay modeling a man's wear in a showing of Indian handloom fabrics in New York



Dance and song ensemble from Viet-Nam visits India Thai folk dance

fact that all throughout 1906, he had pleaded that India must not cut adrift from British moorings. In fact, **The Englishman**, a leading British-owned daily (now defunct) of Calcutta, lamented that Nourajee came to warn Bengal but left blessing her. As President of the 1905 Benaras Congress, G. K. Gokhale said, "The Congress fully recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire." Two months after the aforesaid Calcutta Congress, Gokhale made a public declaration, "I set no limits to the aspiration of my countrymen. I want an Indian to be in India what an Englishman is in England."

The long and short of all the above may be indicated in one broad outline. Bengal's answer to the insolent challenge of imperialistic rule may fitly be likened to Martin Luther's voice of protest at the Diet of Worms. Luther struck the Pope at the crown and the monks in the belly. Without pushing the comparison to any length, Bengal struck at British rule and trade in India and breathed into the pages of history the breath of a new life. History, in the final analysis, is really made by a minority with conviction. How many men, Morley asked Minto, were with Cromwell when he beheaded the King?—**Recollections.**

In December 1907, the Congress split at Surat. The new-school leadership was restive of pace. There were, ere long, symptoms of a cleavage manifesting itself in ugly recriminations. Rabindranath Tagore, who did not, strictly speaking, belong to one school or the other, issued an appeal of warning. "If," he said amongst other things, "you want to fight for Freedom, you need a General. I invite my countrymen to gather together and formally acknowledge Surendranath Banerjea as our leader"—(Translation mine). That leadership is highlighted by Dr. P. C. Roy in his **Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist**. "Fortunately for Bengal," he recalls the stirring days of the Swadeshi movement, "her destiny was then in the keeping of able leaders under the guidance of Surendranath Banerjea." What that leadership connotes is emphasised by Sarojini Naidu, a leading protagonist of the Non-co-

operation movement. "There is not," she said, "a single weapon, we have used, which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea."<sup>13</sup> It fixes unequivocally, unalterably, Surendranath's place in the history of our Freedom.

#### IV

In 1909, Surendranath was invited to represent the Indian Press in the Imperial Press Conference, presided over by Lord Morley. Lovet Fraser, I.C.S., who as the Private Secretary of Lord Curzon had a firsthand knowledge of Surendranath's position, influenced the choice. In England, Surendranath availed himself of all possible opportunities to press home the urgent need of a change in the ruling power's angle of vision.

William Stead, an honoured name among English journalists, wrote of him editorially in the **Review of Reviews** that 'none of the editors of the Empire excelled him in eloquence, energy, geniality and personal charm.' Sir Henry Cotton, now M.P., said of him at Westminster Palace Hotel, "If the growth of a national feeling in India and the sense of enthusiasm for motherland was due to any man that man was Surendranath Banerjea."

Morely had played a distinguished part as a lieutenant of Gladstone on the question of Irish Home Rule. He felt that he owed his party to indicate a gesture of goodwill to India. In collaboration with the Governor General Lord Minto he introduced Reforms. They brought into being the principle of election in the Central and Provincial Councils, both of which were considerably enlarged. There was, of course, a hide-bound official majority at the centre. In provinces, it was a non-official majority, which, however, was infructuous, because the non-officials were only a majority with the help of the nominated members; and nominated members were so chosen that they would not say 'no' to the Government. The Reforms

13. Calcutta Esplanade, 6th August 1942.

empowered the Councils to discuss any matter of public interest. The Government's budget-policy was from now subject to criticism. All these amounted to the right of the people to bring home to the Executive the non-official point of view in any question of importance. To control them, however, was as remote. The one gain of incalculable value was that the obviousness of people's limitations whetted an appetite for political power.

Regarding the genesis of Reforms, what Prime Minister Asquith said in the House of Commons is revealing. "It is a step" he said, "which will avert the danger, which has been confronting us for the last few years." Thirty-six years after, Sir Reginald Coupland, in reviewing the then position, observes in his *India, A-Restatement* that "The Act of 1909 was an attempt to control and canalise the now fast-flowing current of Indian nationalism." The 'fast-flowing current of Indian nationalism,' which was so deep a concern to England is an eloquent tribute to the leadership, generating this at a time when, as Mahatma Gandhi says, 'the rest of India was almost asleep.'<sup>14</sup>

As however we give this leadership high praise, we cannot, at the same time, help scan it rather hard. It failed to size up the sinister potentials of the Separate Electorate, embodied into the 1909 Act. How calamitously it worked can be gathered from Aga Khan himself, who led the deputation for it. "These were critical years," says he in his *Memoirs*, "in that vast complex process, which brought about in little more than forty years the partition of the Indian subcontinent into two separate states, Bharat and Pakistan." Lord Morley had, of course, read it aright. He wrote to Minto unabashed, "We are sowing the dragon's teeth." The reference is to Cadmus, who sowed at Boetia in Greece 'dragon's teeth' from the two rows of which soldiers sprang up fighting each other till the city was razed to the ground. "Some may be shocked," says Morley in

14. Prayer meeting 23rd August, 1947, i.e., immediately after India had won her Freedom.

the House of Lords, "at the idea of religious register. We may wish, we do wish—certainly I do that it were otherwise." And yet he congratulates Minto for the part he has been playing right from having 'started the Mahomedan hare',<sup>15</sup> and then tackling the deputation in the manner he did. Mahammad Ali, who supported the Separate Electorate, calls the deputation 'a command performance.' "It stamps," Morley assures Minto, "your position and personal authority decisively." This is the part honest John played with India. And yet Indian leadership ran into hysterics over his name. When Morley's brother parliamentarians cried 'murder' that democracy was being introduced into India, to which it was completely alien, he said that 'if this chapter of Reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it.' Lord Minto, as well, told the Deputation that 'any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure.' But just ten years after India had thrown off the yoke of England, Prime Minister Macmillan said in March 1958: "It is by the strength of her example and by her tradition of democracy (italics mine) and justice that an uncommitted country like India can play an important part in the defence of the democratic way of life."

Morley expressed one pious wish with reference to the Separate Electorate that 'Time with wise and careful statesmanship would make things otherwise.' 'Wise and careful statesmanship' was within three years applied with vengeance by Lord Hardinge. In the name of annulling Partition, he denuded Bengal of some districts and made them over to Bihar and Orissa, created a separate province. In other words, Hardinge made the entire Bengal what Curzon intended East Bengal and Assam to be—statutorily Moslem. England had no more fascination for the Moslems as for the man in the moon. What, in fact, she was for was to see to it that

15. "Your early speech started the Mahomedan hare," Morley writes to Minto.

Bengal majority did not join the rank of 'seditious opposition'—the expression is from Lady Minto's Journal, *India, Minto and Morley*—or, in other words, the nationalists constituted no majority in Bengal. It was so much a success that, to anticipate events, Sir Samuel Hoare, while passing the India Act, 1935, which conceded provincial autonomy, chuckled that he could not imagine of landslide by which Bengal would run counter to British interests, thanks, no doubt, to Lord Hardinge's master manipulation.

Time ran fast. The 'swift current of nationalism,' which by the time spread all over India, made Morley-Minto Reforms outdated and outmoded. As things would have it, the First Great War broke out in 1914. England and France declared that they had drawn the sword to make the world safe for democracy. U.S.A. joined the War on the express understanding that 'her guarantee will be given to a settlement, which puts no people under an alien government without its consent.' All this, naturally, fed the imagination of India. As the War proceeded, Russia freed herself from the autocracy of the Czars and established a new order of awakened humanity. German intrigues penetrated as far as Kabul; and Afghanistan snapped asunder the tie of England's influence. India was awake, astir.

England took a note of all these and thought prudent to rally India to a belief in her bonafides. In any case, she was to be kept absorbed in her own affairs over some promised Reforms.<sup>16</sup> In 1917, Edwin Montagu, as Secretary of State for India, made a declaration in the Parliament on behalf of the British Cabinet that 'the policy of His Majesty's Government . . . is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Govern-

ment<sup>17</sup> in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. Montagu came to India to contact her leaders and draw up a scheme in collaboration with the Governor General Lord Chelmsford. As they published the Report, the Old and New-school-politics, which broke apart at Surat in 1907 and then united at Lucknow in 1916, again parted company. The New school, called the Extremists, had by now won over the country by a decisive majority on the question of the inadequacy of the Reforms. In a special Session at Bombay, they cried down the Reforms as unacceptable. The Old school, called the Moderates, also held their Conference at Bombay, presided over by Surendranath Banerjea, and gave the Reforms their unqualified support.

Surendranath, now seventy-one, led a Deputation to England to face the relentless attacks of the die-hards. Their point of view was that if the majority of people in India did not like the Reforms, they be better shelved. Montagu had several discussions with Surendranath both in India and England and made one very significant observation about him in his *An Indian Diary*. 'There is,' he writes, 'no sign of moderation in him'. Like an ounce of fact, worth a ton of theories, it establishes beyond controversy that at the time, when Surendranath was being attacked in virulent terms for weakening the demand of India, he did not abate it by a jot or tittle.

The India Act 1919 was in many respects a bold departure. By enfranchising a very large number of people it disturbed the 'pathetic contentment' of the inert mass. It crossed the line between the legislative and executive authority. Previously, there were, no doubt, Indians in the high command of the Government, but they were appointed out and out. Now some Ministers were to be called to their jobs from out of the elected members and they were answerable to the Legislature. In other words, some departments were transferred to the

16. Read Introduction to Montagu's *An Indian Diary*.

17. Substituted for 'Self-Government' of the original draft at the instance of Lord Curzon, now the Foreign Secretary.

people's representative. Thus was the parliamentary form of Government conceded for the first time.

On the debit side, the Reforms set a premium upon the Separate Electorate. Montagu, while in India, wrote Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, warning him in time to beware of its extension and also to note how it had proved fatal to the growth of democracy. "Division by creeds and classes," the Montford Report says, "means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens." All the same, they extended it, such as to justify Josiah Wedgwood to say in the House of Commons, 'the very idea of India has vanished from the Bill to be replaced by disunited communities of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the Europeans.'

Before, however, the Act was put into operation the Punjab Martial Law intervened in all its ugliness. "It subjected Indians," as Rabindranath Tagore puts it, "to degradations not fit for human beings." Consequently, it brought about a cataclysmic change in the outlook of India vis-à-vis Britain and made the Reforms, on the whole, a damp squib. And yet with the bleak shadow of the Punjab lengthening over India, Lokamannya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi pleaded for working the Reforms at the Amritsar Congress, December 1919. Gandhi went so far as to delete the word 'disappointing' from the Resolution of C. R. Das. Montford Reforms were finally accepted as worth a fair trial. Gandhi even got over the Hunter Committee's Report and Montagu's halting denunciation of Dyer at Jallianwallabag as an 'error of judgment'. What, however, looks somewhat baffling, is that England's 'betrayal of the Khilafat,' as he called it, changed him lock, stock and barrel and made him 'make the final choice'.<sup>18</sup> He inaugurated the Non-Co-operation movement and was instantly hailed as a Messiah bringing in new light and vision. In him,

18. Gandhi's *The Story of my Experiments with Truth*, Part V, Chapter XXXVI.

in fact, people smarting under the very painful, humiliating Punjab episode sought the last ray of hope. There was an unprecedented upheaval. Surendranath was hurled down. He yet said, if the Reforms would bring us nearer the Swaraj—what else does the support of Tilak and Gandhi at Amritsar indicate?—it was religiously incumbent upon the Nation to make the fullest use of it in a cool, composed atmosphere. He stoutly protested against bringing in the Khilafat into Indian politics. He warned that it would inflate Pan-Islamism and complicate the Indian situation. A new-born Turkey, by the way, dropped Khilafat. Naturally, it died of inanity in India, but left behind the trail of a bitter, aggressive communalism. Be that as it may, Surendranath accepted Ministry and Knighthood. The country reeked with the cry, for a handful of coins and meretricious honours he has left us.

It is said of Cincinnatus that as Rome was threatened with danger from within and without, the choice of the Nation fell upon him. He was living the life of a cultivator in a far-off village. He came and staved off the crisis. When, however, what contributed to an easy stately living was within the hollow of his hand, he spurned the lure and to the plough he went back. Sreenivas Sastri desired Surendranath to stick to journalism as the Tribune of the people. He was the symbol of the people's demand for Swaraj. Therefore, to argue, before that demand was fulfilled, on the point of his personal obligation to prove the worth of Indians in the responsible conduct of administration, when there were so many others who could easily do it, is a sophistry. It may, however, be nearer the truth that early in life, he was cloyed with the pleasures of ambition to be some body in the ruling hierarchy of his country. He strenuously qualified himself for this. But the Government of the day flung him down, in the very first round of success, to the depth of ruins. Such was the position, that a friend of his seriously suggested that he should change his name and go to Australia to earn his bread. He, however, squared his shoulders and lived, resolutely

bent on bending the hard-boned oligarchy to admit him, as the representative of his people to share the control of administration. And as the triumphant moment came, he could not rise above it. There was the other and no less a weighty consideration. All his life, he had passionately pleaded for British Parliamentary system of rule in India. It was definitely initiated in the Act of 1919. In fact, the transfer of power, even if for the moment limited to a few spheres only constituted an act of faith. Was it becoming of him to refuse to shoulder the responsibility of the new set-up? He had, however, no illusion. As he was about to accept ministry, he made clear, while unveiling the portrait of Dadabhai Nourajee in the Convocation Hall, Bombay, that he had meant nothing more regarding the Reforms than to suggest that only the beginning was laid. 'The first streaks of dawn', he said, 'are almost visible'.

Surendranath, as Minister, avenged his defeat of the Mackenzie Bill and gave the Calcutta Corporation a truly democratic shape and colour. He Indianised the Indian Medical Service to proportions considered revolutionary at the time. But, thanks to Gandhi, what now mattered most was what Bengal leadership had posed during the days of the Swadeshi movement, 'How long was the British rule to endure?'

The country forgot his past; forgot how he first raised the demand for Swaraj and manfully spanned the stressful period of our national evolution. He was caricatured, lampooned, vilified and made responsible for all the sins of not only the

Bengal Government but of the Central Government as well, such as the increase in Railway fares, postage etcetera. The result cumulatively was that he, who was returned at the head of the poll on the mere asking since 1885, lost the 1923 General Election.

The gentleman of seventy-five, however, lost no time in mourning his repudiation. He again took up the editorship of *The Bengalee*, which had passed into other hands. During one of these days, Gandhi, who had all along strongly disapproved of the conduct of some fussy, flashy politicians vilifying Surendranath, paid him a visit at his Barrackpore residence. He walked all the distance of sixteen miles. When pressed to take a car with him, he said that he was on his pilgrimage, and a car was a misfit. It indicates the size of either. His days were, however, numbered; and on August 6th, 1926, he breathed his last.

The evening of Surendranath's life was strewn with the wreckage of heated controversy. The impatience of his countrymen for Independence was the measure of their impatience with him; and passions ran high. It destroyed the perspective. If, however, it is true that posterity fixes a man's place in history not by counting what number of people applauded or jeered him in his lifetime, but what factor he was in the making of his country, Surendranath's place is very very high. In fact, to bypass him is as amusing as for a child, lifted on the shoulder of his father, to say 'I am taller than papa'.





## THE AGE OF GIANTS

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

There are periods in a nation's history when men whose "names (as Emerson says) are wrought up into the verbs of language, whose works and effigies are in our homes, and every circumstance of the day recalls an anecdote of them," appear in clusters. It is equally strange that such periods are usually followed, with the exception of "a village Hampden" or "a mute inglorious Milton" here and there, by an era of small men.

No one can say with any degree of certitude how and why this happens and it is most likely to be a subject for interesting study. It is rather difficult to hazard any conjecture on this point, but it happens not very commonly though, as a fulfilment of the needs of the hour. The yearning of a nation for some particular agency to help it out of gloom, political, economic, intellectual and moral, is at times met by the advent of men "who inhabit a higher sphere of thought into which other men rise with labour and difficulty; who has but to open his eyes to see things in a true light and in large relations; whilst they make painful corrections and keep a vigilant eye on many sources of error." The history of each nation would relate some such story and India is no exception to it.

In India this fact is most noticeable in the sixties of the last century and if the period can be extended by five years preceding and five succeeding it, then these twenty years, 1855-75, puts the whole century into comparative shade and leaves the twentieth as bleak and blank in this respect. Bengal, even as it is now known, may claim a pardonable pride because the number of great Bengalees born during this period far exceeds the total of all other states taken together.

Of the ten years from 1861 to 1870, the first seems to excel all others in respect of

the number of births of persons of versatile genius. The very first month saw Brahmanand Upadhyaya (20th January) coming to the world. He was followed by Motilal Nehru (6th May) and Rabindranath Tagore (7th May). Acharya Prafulla Chandra came just three months after (2nd August) and Nilratan Sircar was born on 1st October. The others that adorned the different fields were Col. Suresh Biswas, Kaliprassanna Kabyabisharad and Akshoy Kumar Maitreya.

The next year, 1862, produced in the very first month, Vivekananda (9th January) and in the last month Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (December 18); and in between came Shamsul Huda.

Swami Brahmananda (of the Belur Math) was born in 1863 (January 26); (Lord) Satyendra Prassanna Sinha of Raipur on March 24 and Dwijendra Lal Roy on the 19th of July, 1863.

The year 1864 saw the advent of a galaxy of men who illumined every path they pursued, viz., Ramananda Chatterji (May, 1864—Jaistha 1271, B.S.), Asutosh Mookerjee (June 29), Ramendra Sundar Trivedi (August 20), Janaki Nath Bhattacharya, Brajendra Nath Seal and Kaviraj-shiromani Syamadas Vachaspati.

Lala Lajpat Rai, Rajani Kanta Sen (July 7) and the great surgeon Suresh Prasad Sarbadhikari are the products of 1865.

The next year, 1866, did not fare worse in this respect, inasmuch as Gopal Krishna Gokhale (May 9), and Sister Nivedita (October 10) were born in that year. The last month December 24, 1867, saw the birth of Panchcowrie Banerjee.

Hirendra Nath Dutt (January 17) and the great actor Surendra Mohan Ghosh (Dani Babu) were the only two gifts of the year 1868.

The poor crops of the two preceding years were fully compensated by a bumper one in the blessed year 1869 which witnessed the advent of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (October 2), Srinivasa Sastri (September 9), Shyamsundar Chakravarty, Sakharan Ganesh Dewskar and Jagadnanda Ray.

For 1870 Chittaranjan Das would have been more than sufficient, but we have also Jadunath Sarkar and Suresh Chandra Samajpati in addition.

For the five years preceding the 1860's we have such men as Pramathanath Bose, the great geologist (1855), Swami Shraddhananda (1855), Aswini Kumar Dutta (January 20, 1856), Bal Gangadhar Tilak (July 23), Subramaniam Iyer (1856), Jagadish Chandra Bose (November 30, 1858), Bepin Chandra Pal (1858), and for 1859 there were Bhupendra Nath Basu and Asutosh Chaudhuri.

The first half of 1870's kept the rage fully alive and on the 7th of August (1871) Abanindra Nath Tagore and on August (15th) next year, i.e., 1872, Sri Aurobindo saw the light of day. Syed Hasan Imam was also born in the same year. The next three years presented men very prominent in several fields of life. In 1873 Dinabandhu Mitra and Vithalbhai Patel, in 1875, his great brother Vallabbhai (December 15), Tej Bahadur Sapru, the great singer Lalchand Boral and the man who nearly banished Kala-azar, the deadly disease from India, viz., Dr. Upendranath Bhattachari appeared to leave indelible marks in their respective fields of activity.

The last five years of 1870 were equally marvellous as we find that in 1876 two litterateurs of great fame, Sarat Chandra Chatterji and Md. Iqbal, and in 1877, the great linguist Harinath Dey and M. A. Jinnah were born and the concluding year delivered Sarojini Naidu.

It may be noted in passing that the personages mentioned above are so well-known that no introduction is necessary to make them further known. As the Chinese proverb goes (attributed to Mencius), "A sage is the instructor of hundred

ages. When the manners of Loo are heard of, the stupid become intelligent and the wavering, determined" and all of these inspired the age in which they flourished and have left a saga of great deeds for the future.

It is really a pleasure and a source of inspiration to remember the name of the one or the other in the field of religion, philosophy, literature, art, science, medicine, law, etc., etc., and also because of the fact that through all of them 'one great purpose runs' the overriding sense of serving the motherland, to make the country great in the eyes of the world. Wrote Mr. Rushbrook Williams in the introduction of the **Great Men of India**: "There are among them men who have discarded age-long traditions of caste and creed. There are men who have sacrificed great careers for their convictions. There are men who have given up the prizes the world can offer. There are men who have come, through patient toil, to fame they did not seek. The ranks include scientists, scholars, poets, authors, founders of universities and schools, princes (among men) and great ministers. They are all of them working for the advancement of India.... Whether of the past or the present, India's great men are such as would do honour to any country known to history."

Now it is for the astrologers to say if the stars and the planets in the firmament had been propitious enough to shower their benedictions in bringing about such a constellation of celebrities on the earth within such a short period. But the study of mundane influences on this momentous event may throw some light.

The influence of the parents on the young minds has all along been very great and the opinion of most of the top-ranking men all over the world is that they had imbued the best qualities in them in their childhood from the parents, especially the mother. If one takes the trouble of searching the biographies of these glorious men in India, he will, I am sure, not fail to discover, as is the case with Vivekananda, that he "was blessed with noble parents" and that is true in India as elsewhere.

In the days when persons of outstanding qualities of head and heart were not scarce, the parents knew their share of responsibility in a measure which has since almost vanished. With them reading of books by boys did not constitute the entire education, but just a mere part of it. They fully realised that their duty was to "call forth power of every kind" in the youngsters under their care, "power of thought, affection, will and outward action; power to observe, to reason, to judge, to contrive; power to adopt good ends firmly and to pursue them efficiently; power to govern themselves and to influence others; power to gain and spread happiness."

With the parents, there were the teachers or **gurus**. These unostentatious people mostly keeping themselves in the background would try to mould the character of their pupils. And their number was large indeed. Not only with their depth of learning but by the force of character could they influence the minds of young boys placed in their charge as if by Providence. They would try to inculcate the best traits of character, a love of study, sense of duty and discipline and a largeness of outlook. They opened the minds to the vista of fulfilment of life's aim and unfoldment of the best that lay dormant in youthful hearts. As a rule, says Channings, the teachers knew that "the young are to be made, as far as possible, their own teachers, the discoverers of truth, the interpreters of nature, the framers of science. They are to be helped to help themselves. They should be taught to observe and study the world, in which they live, to trace the connections of events, to rise from particular facts to general principles and then to apply these in explaining new phenomena." Further, "in proportion, as the child gains knowledge, he should be taught how to use it well, how to turn it to the good of mankind."

Subhas Chandra Bose, the last 'great man' of the 19th century in India writes with a good deal of emotion about the headmaster of his time in his School and

it is true of many such teachers whose disappearance has caused such tremendous deterioration in students' behaviour. In Subhas Chandra's words: "Of the teachers there was one who left a permanent impression on my youthful mind. That was our headmaster, Babu Beni Madhav Das. The very first day I saw him taking his rounds—and I was then just over twelve—I felt what I should now call an **irresistible moral appeal in his personality**. Up till then I had never experienced what it was to respect a man. But for me, to see Beni Madhav Das was to adore him. I was not old enough then to realise what it was that I adored. I could only feel that here was a man who was not an ordinary teacher, who stood apart from, and above, the rest of his tribe. And I secretly said to myself that **if I wanted an ideal for my life, it should be to emulate him**." Continuing in this vein Subhas writes: "He succeeded in rousing in me a vague perception of moral values—an inchoate feeling that in human life moral values should count more than anything else. In other words he had made me feel the truth of what we had read in our Poetry Book:

The rank is but the guinea's stamp  
The man is the gold for all that."  
(Italics mine)

The list of teachers in those days comprised not only Indians but some of the best minds amongst foreigners that are long past thus leaving in the field of education a great void that has remained so during all subsequent years.

The mutual relations of the parents and teachers on the one hand and the sons and pupils on the other were very charming. The parents together with the teachers deemed the youngsters as their sacred trust placed to their care as a divine gift. And the little mites in their turn looked upon the elders as the living gods on earth whom they have to love, to obey and do reverence. The boys were rewarded by the blessings that flowed like a spontaneous stream carrying the humble and the reverent to the irrigated pastures of rich intellectual, moral and spiritual harvests.

Thinking of teachers from overseas it naturally brings to one's mind the enormous benefit that was derived from the contact with the English people. Speaking on the 6th of July, 1831, at the City of London Tavern, Raja Rammohun Roy said, "Before the period in which India had become tributary to Great Britain, it was the scene of the most frequent and bloody conflicts. In the various provinces of the Eastern Dominions, nothing was to be seen but plunder and devastation; there was no security of property or for life, until by the interference of this country (U.K.), the great sources of discord were checked, education has advanced and the example of British system of dominion had a conflicting effect on the natives of the east." Dadabhai Naoroji truly said that "To the enlightenment of the country, the results of the Universities and educational establishments bear witness. In place of the old general darkness and ignorance, thousands of natives have derived and millions will derive hereafter, the benefit of the highest degree of enlightenment which man has obtained."

The young plant of intellectual life was watered and nurtured with the best of sustenance. In the wake of the expansion of English education, the young minds drank deep into whatever was best, with shortcomings here and there, and came out fully prepared for the mighty battle of life that awaited them.

Fortunately for the country there were not so many distractions in those days to split young minds to tatters. Acquisition of knowledge through single-minded devotion was the main aim during the student

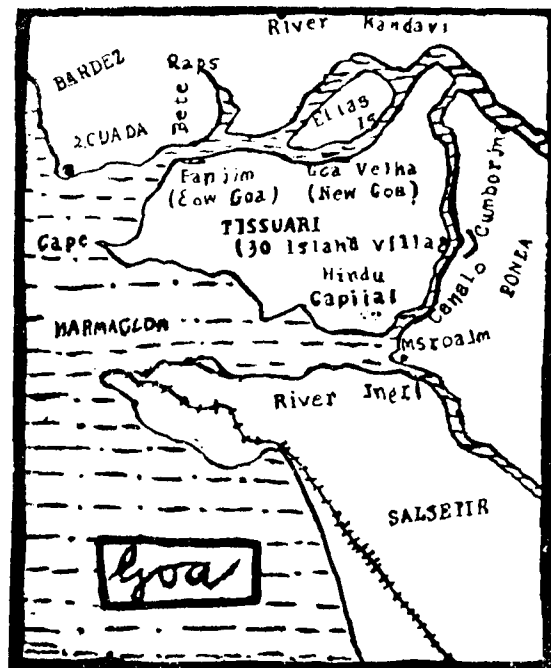
days. The pull of 'isms' was absent and students were only 'students' and not young patriots and leaders, organisers of 'societies' and agitators in all sorts of movements, defenders of justice in Malay, Madagascar or Mauritius. Student or Youth 'Leagues' for school and college boys were far far removed from the portals of learning. Cinema houses were not there to serve as hurdles to the path of our knowledge. Children are children and the 'little' amongst them had not to appear annually on theatrical stages to display their skill in histrionic arts. Extracurricular activities, except healthy sports and other modes of physical culture were rare. Simple unostentatious life was the aim of the students which was encouraged by the parents and teachers alike. It was their aim to banish all forms of luxury themselves so as to be regarded as embodiment of the best qualities in man and provide models for young minds.

With the drift from the lofty ideals of the past, the deterioration in the calibre and capacity of young men and women has been steady with the result that with the exception of one single instance, Syamaprasad Mookherjee (July, 1901), the whole of the present century, up till now, has failed to produce any Bengalee, nay any Indian of the stature of the legion of master-minds, of the previous century who not only shed lustre to their main vocation of life, but could also adorn other fields by their versatility. The land where even unto the other day the giants roamed with mighty strides has become the parade-ground of vain-glorious pygmies.



By ADINATH SEN

Goa like Kashmir has been a canker in the blossoming of Indian independence. No cure appears to be in sight. The little patch of ground has in it no profit, but the name.

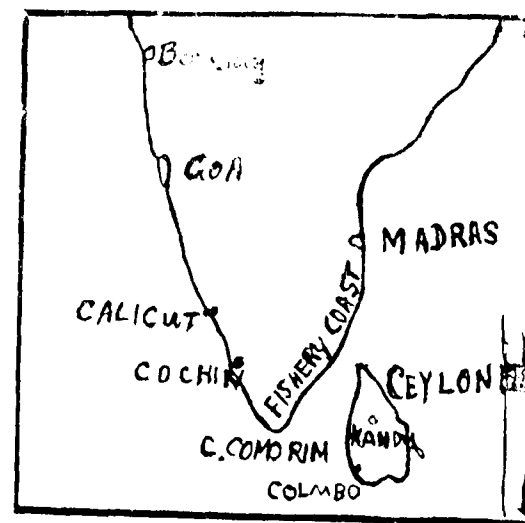


Map of Goa

Goa territory is roughly 60 miles long and 30 miles broad, along the Sea on the West coast of India, about 200 miles south of Bombay. There are now in Goa, about 210,000 Christians, 200,000 Hindus and 8,400 Moslems. The Hindus, Moslems and the Europeans ruled in succession. The original capital of the Hindus was on the banks of the river Jauri in the south. No trace of the buildings remains. Five miles to the north of the Hindu capital, stood Goa Velha, the Moslem capital, or Old Goa on the left bank of the river Mandavi, in the north. The present Portuguese capital, New Goa, at Panjim, is also on its left bank, 3 miles from the mouth. This portion of Goa with the capitals, is on the island Tisuari (meaning 30-island villages), so called from the many intersecting rivulets and fountains and final separation by the canal of Cumbarjoa, from the main land

of Ponda and Salsette districts, extending from the Ghats, from where the two rivers (about 30 miles long) start and enclosing the islands, fall into the Sea. The important port of Marmagaon is on the tip of the promontory, below the lower estuary to the south of the island, where ends the railway line from India from Bombay by Bezvada. Aguada is the other tip over the upper estuary in the promontory in the district of Bardez. The cape of the island is half-way between the tips.

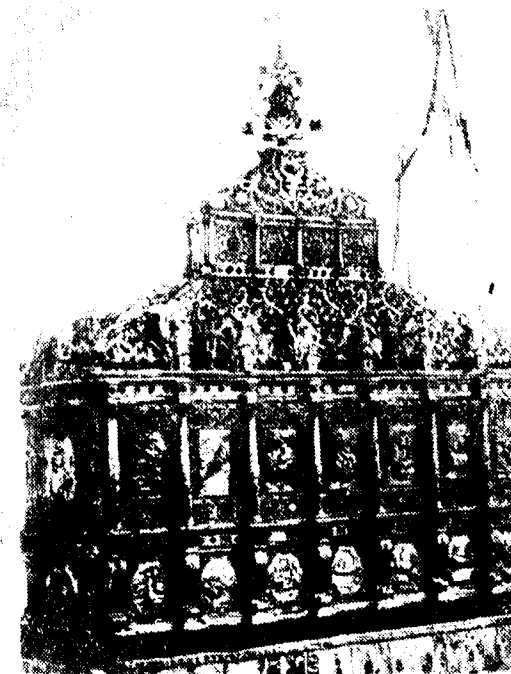
India claims Goa for consolidation of India after independence. The Portuguese call Goa, one of their metropolitan territories or Provinces, scattered over the continents, all absolutely of equal status, though only in 1951, the official designation of colonies was changed by law to that of a territory. In reality the majority of the people have not the political status, even of a self-governing colony and are exploited by foreign Pro-consuls for the benefit of foreign masters. Now counting on an ancient treaty with Britain (1703 A.D.) and membership of the North Atlantic Treaty



Position of Goa in India

Organisation (every member will fight when any one is involved), Portugal is showing its teeth against peaceful intentions of India. Nehru counted on the public

opinion of the United Nations Organisation, which was not forthcoming and has now withdrawn restrictions of travel to Goa for the benefit of the suppressed Goans.



Sarcophagus of St. Francis Xavier at Old Goa

It would be interesting to trace the history of Goa from the earliest times as a part of India. The occupation of Goa by the Portuguese interlopers will stand out in sharp contrast if we consider how and why the contact with the Europeans came about and how the Portuguese possess it.

Goa is a very ancient city, mentioned in the Skanda Purana, under an almost identical name. There is a legend that Parasurama brought Aryans to settle in Goa from Mithila (present Tirhut in Bihar). An inscription dated 119-120 A.D. mentions the first king Trilochana of the Kadambas. His dynasty ruled until 1312 A.D., when Malik Kafur captured Goa. The Moslem rulers were, however, ousted in 1370, by Vijayanagara. A hundred years later, Goa fell under the Bahmani Sultans of Deccan. Pilgrims for Mecca used to embark from here. Adil Shah of Bijapur

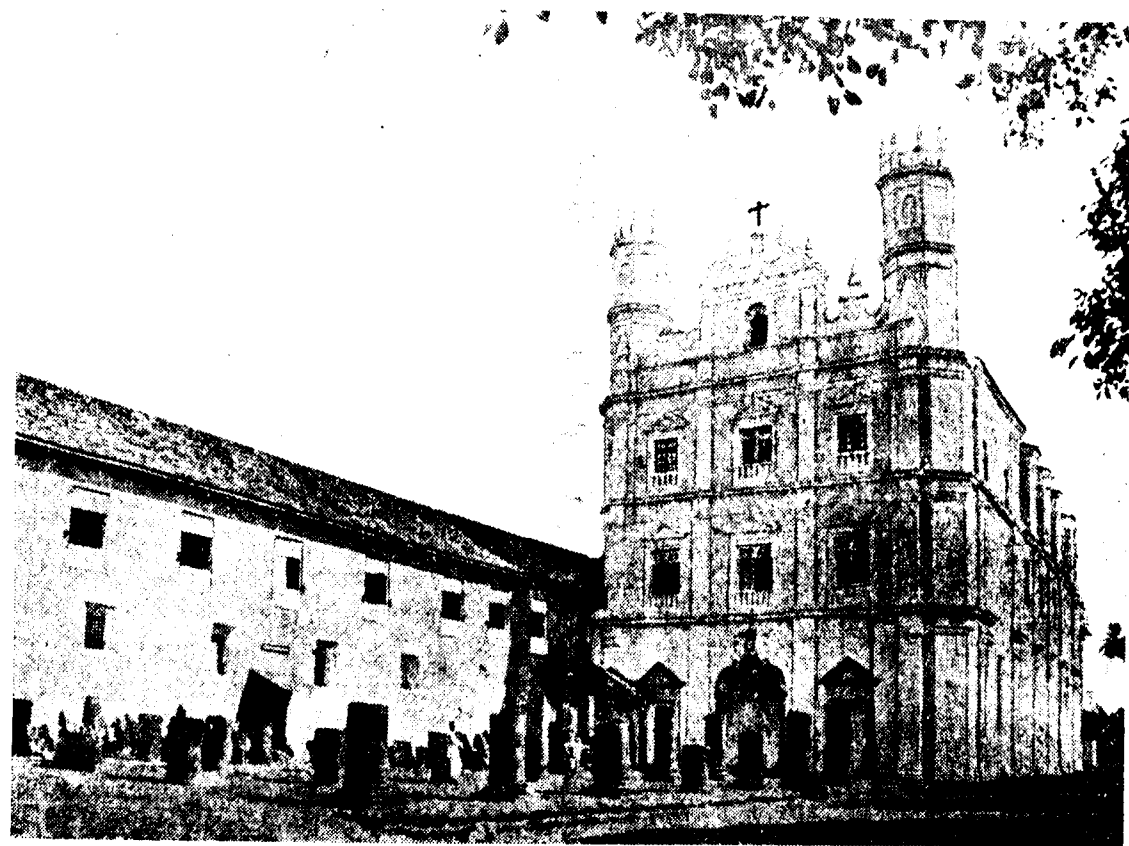
built Old Goa, called Goa Velha, about 1479. In 1498, 18 years later, Vasco de Gama rounded the cape of Good Hope and landed at Calicut. Goa was under the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, when Albuquerque conquered it in 1510. But he was soon ousted by the Bijapur rulers. However, invited by a treacherous Hindu king and reinforced, he took the city again and fortified it. It soon rose to great importance, which reached its summit towards the close of the 16th Century. Goa became one of the leading trading centres and the slave market of the East.

We now turn to the European side. The importance of the Mediterranean cities (Alexandria, Carthage, Marseilles, Genoa, Venice, &c.) or countries (Greece, Italy, France, Spain, etc.) of Europe was due to their trade with the East since the time of the early sea-faring Phoenicians, (who



St. Francis Xavier

also settled in those centres), because a country thrives on its trade. The other alternative way to thrive is by war (always condemned). When Sea-power weakened by competition of the various Mediterranean states, trade also suffered



Church and Monastery of St. Xavier at Old Goa

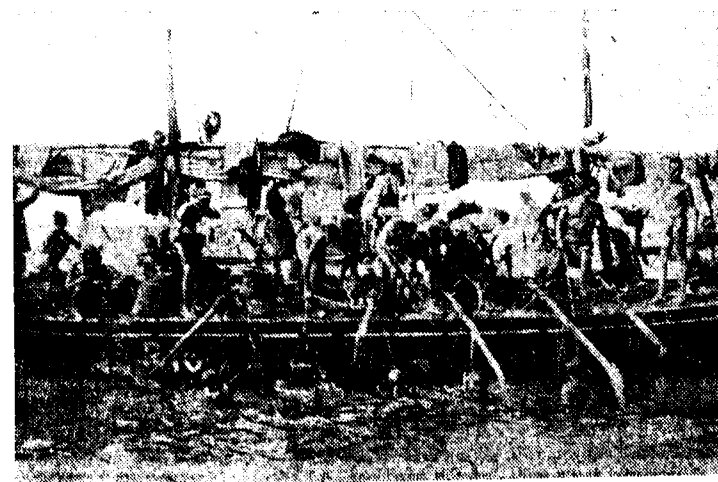
and Eastern trade took a new channel through the city of Constantinople, the Byzantine capital (originally a Greek settlement, falling in turn to Roman, Greek and Latin hands) of the Eastern Roman Empire, flourishing for a thousand years, while the Western Roman Empire dwindled. This trade was however cut off abruptly in 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople just as Nasser cut off the Canal trade recently. In the beginning of the 15th Century, Central Europe was also in turmoil (Secular Vs. Ecclesiastical). Now came the opportunity of the Atlantic States. They sent men voyaging out for trade, rather than for colonisation. This led to discoveries and immigrations. Traffic and regular trade thus succeeded prevalent piracy, often connived at by the expanding European states. Spain was first in the field. Columbus mistaking the New World for India, discovered America and Spain

claimed the whole of the New World. The Pope arbitrated. Brazil and countries east of 50 degrees West Longitude in South America, were to belong to Portugal and the rest to Spain. Owing to dynastic succession, most of Europe was also under Spain, but after the disastrous failure of the Armada in the English Channel, Spain rapidly declined and practically disappeared from the scene, but others appeared. Other countries, even "Catholic" France, did not pay any heed to the proposals of the Pope; it was contended that Oceans were free to all nations, outside the gun range of any country. The question is still undecided and has led to devastating wars.

Portugal owed its early pre-eminence to its unique position on the Atlantic Sea-board and eventually founded a vast Colonial Empire in South America in the West and Africa and Asia on the East. In the quest for trade, India was

first visited by Europeans in 1486, Pedro (Europe) was "to clean the land for the Portuguese expansion had started about a century earlier towards the West Coast of Africa. Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, establishing a number of stations, only built prison houses, but also raised

magnificent hospitals, convents, cathedrals and churches, ruins of which now abound in Old Goa. Along the road from New Goa (Panjim is a narrow strip with a few high hotels) by the coast, over the cause-way of Ribandar (300 yards), buses with pictures of St. Xavier or Sri Krishna, over the driver's seat, according to his religion, run daily to the deserted city with visitors to see the Diocesan Canons sing the office and for divine service at the Cathedral. The atrocities of the early conquerors like Albuquerque



Fishery Coast, Cape Comorin

Cochin, Ceylon in Southern India and Malacca on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal in 1511. He destroyed Ormuz at the head of the Persian Gulf in 1515. This was the jewel of Persia and a great centre of trade (horses, fruits, spices) between East and West through Bagdad (and the Red Sea) and Cairo to Venice and Genoa. This also weakened the Mediterranean trade again and helped the ocean-borne trade. Albuquerque found that the Indo-European trade was all in the hands of the Moors, which he could not displace even with all his might. He next attempted to spread the Catholic faith to convert the Moslems. The Hindus were also not exempted. He had the Pope's benediction and funds for spreading the faith. The quest of Portugal was thus for spices (trade) as well as for the souls of men (conversion) and later for land (expansion), backed by their fleet. Spices predominated, but the wholesale massacre of the Moslems (as if in



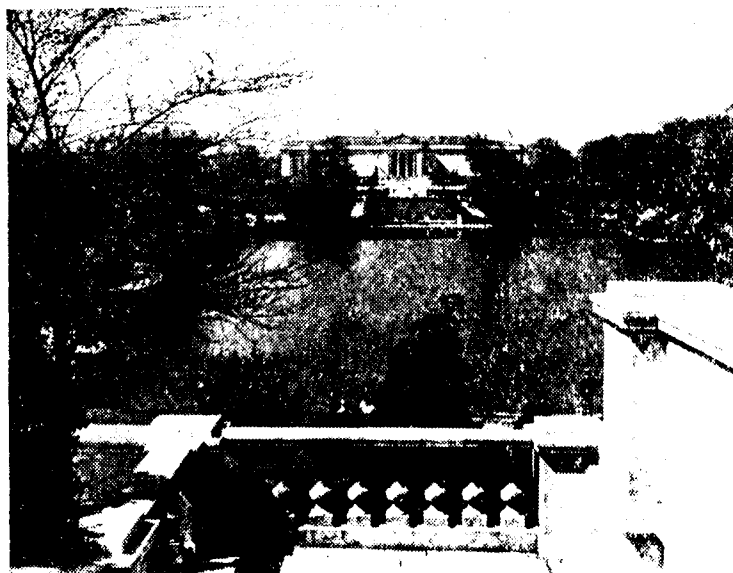
Cathedral at Cochin

were due, it is said, to fear.

St. Francis Xavier came to Goa in 1548 after a most trying journey of 15 months. He stayed at Goa for 5 months, when hospitals, prisons and slaves in the market kept him busy in his own way, that is, preaching and tending the sick. The Portuguese rapacity was notorious, as was their cruelty inhuman. St. Francis Xavier repeated



But now it has outstripped its old classification of "smaller museum." The opening of a new wing—shaped like a square



The main building, beautifully situated in a Landscaped Park

U and enclosing a garden, sculpture court—has doubled its original size.

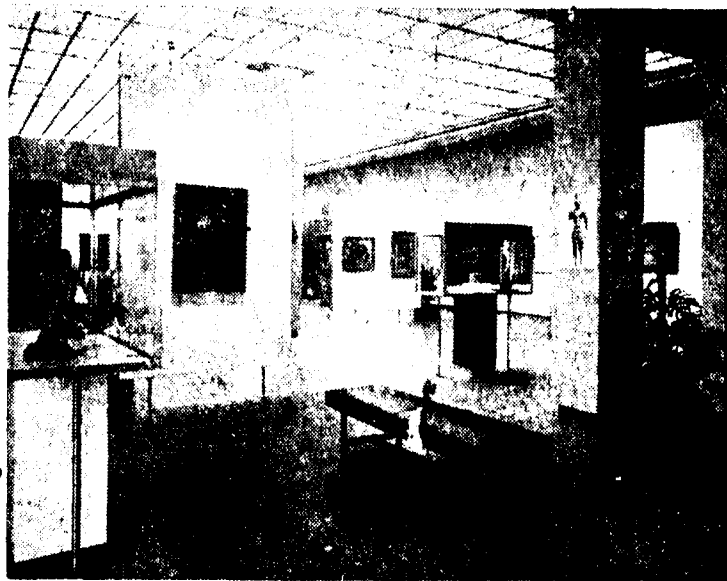
As a result, wrote "Time" magazine, the Cleveland Museum of Art has "moved into a position close behind the 'big three' in the United States—New York's Metropolitan, Washington's National Gallery, and Boston's Fine Arts."

The quality of the original works of art the Museum acquires has given it a unique reputation. "It is not so much a matter of occasional striking masterpieces," "Art News" said, "as it is of a consistently high average."

The Indian collection at the Museum called a "considerable and important" display, traces the development of Indian art beginning with the Gandhara period, in the late first and early second centuries A.D. (The Indus Valley culture, the earliest art, is not represented). Distinctive examples of Buddhist art, medieval Hindu stone sculpture and Mughal (Muhammadan) miniature painting are included in the collection.

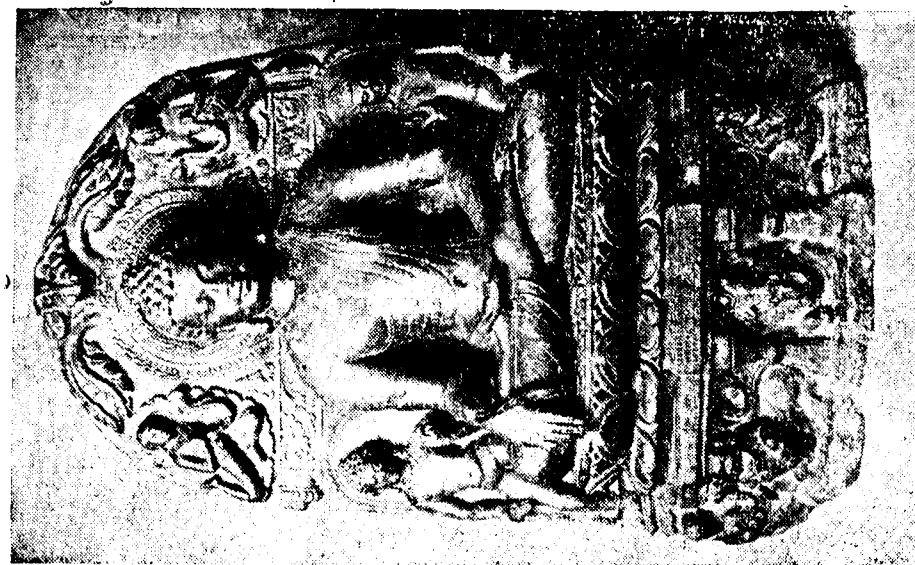
Early Indian sculpture in the Museum emphasizing Buddhist art, highlights one of the earliest representations of Buddha, of the type which established the seated 'lotus' pose as the norm. Shown also is a fragment in the Andhra style developed at the great Stupas in the South on the banks of the Krishna River. Sculpture of the Gupta Dynasty (320-647 A.D.) is represented by such examples as the "Head of a Bodhisattva" of red sandstone, as well as purely decorative forms of the lotus, cushion, and jewel.

Representative of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal (730-1197) the last repository of

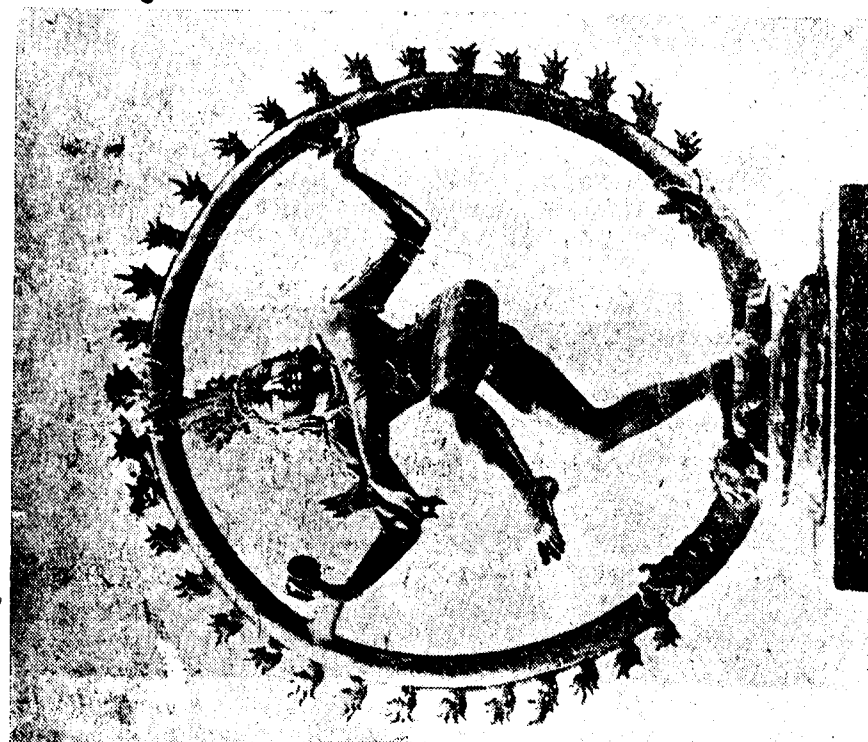


Special Exhibition Gallery in the New Wing

Gupta style in India and the great black chlorite steles of this period, is the beautiful "Buddha in the Earth Touching Pose." Also in the Gupta style of painting, the



Buddha in the Earth-touching pose (Pala Period—9th Century A.D.)



Nataraja, Lord of the Dance, from South India (11th Century A.D.)

brought the profligacy of the 'doughty conquerers' to the notice of the king and the Pope, but without much result. Next, Father went to the Fishery Coast (Cape Comorin) and for 2 years, lived barefooted, in tattered gowns, sleeping anywhere amongst rats, frogs and snakes, eating whatever was available or fasting. However, he easily made thousands of converts. He moved about a lot, voyaging and on foot to Madras, Ceylon, Malacca, Japan, always returning to Goa, until his last journey to China. On this journey he died of high fever, almost unattended. His body, miraculously preserved from corruption, twice removed, has found a last resting place in the shrine of Old Goa.



St. Thomas's Mount near Madras

By the middle of the 16th Century, a long line of trading posts was established from Europe to China and later converted to military stations as a protection from rival colonial powers. Panjim or New Goa became the metropolis of the East, long before Calcutta was born.

Holland, throwing off the Spanish yoke, by 1580, assumed a war-like attitude towards Portugal, owing to its connection with Spain and began to assert herself in the East. The British East India Company was struggling during the last years of Queen Elizabeth for a foot-hold in the East. The Portuguese and the Spaniards were very cruel and haughty, because their religious beliefs were lost before their greed for gold; so when after a century, the Dutch, French and the English appeared on the scene they were looked upon as deliverers. In the East, the Eng-

lish, French and the Dutch cornered the Portuguese. In the West, the Portuguese colonies rebelled and became independent. No attention was paid to Goa by Portugal from 1794 to 1815, during the disturbances in Europe (Napoleon's Peninsular War), the Royal family having fled to Brazil. The king returned but Brazil soon became independent of Portugal under his son. The vast Portuguese Empire really vanished in the struggle for the mastery of the seas, just as Spain and particularly France lost practically all their colonies.

Subsequent history of Goa is luxury, ostentation, decay and squalor. There were wars with the Marhattas. A capital, New Goa, was built at Panjim at enormous cost

by 1759, during a century of fruitless efforts and foolish expenditure. People shifted to the new capital. Goa was subjected to internal forces and external troubles. Pride of the previous (16th) Century and succeeding poverty induced shabby devices. Frequent plagues, malaria and other diseases, mosquitoes and rats reduced the population of the 16th century metropolis from 200,000

to 20,000. There were only Jesuit Fathers, who were later taken back to Portugal as captives. The land became a burden to the Home Government. The unpopular dictator President, Dr. Salazar, in Portugal appears to be keeping for over 25 years, his position secure in Portugal, by inviting trouble outside. Unbearable conditions under which the Goans are living, such as exploitation, misery, squalor and demoralisation led to the liberation movement in 1946 (really started 200 years earlier), even before India achieved her independence. This was met by indiscriminate arrests, inhuman torture, mutilations, locking up of thousands without trial, sentences of imprisonment with hard labour (some for 20 years), deportations, etc., to suppress the independence movement. Outside interest (of India) manifested itself only in 1954, when the Goans in Bombay joined the

## GROWTH OF AN ART MUSEUM

movement. Economic conditions however reversed in 10 years, mainly due to the smuggling trade between India and Goa and exploitation of Iron and Manganese ores with Indian capital and management. So Goa has been able to meet the heavy expenditure of fortifying the state with men, guns and heavy armaments and munitions, enough to deal with a regular army and not meant for checking internal troubles in Goa, where peaceful and non-violent oppo-

sition was met with detention in jails, prisons and lunatic asylums with heartless brute force, at Mapuca, Bete and Panjim, discrediting the Gandhi cult. India's peaceful methods are also perhaps politic. For, if the Portuguese were forcibly driven out of Goa, and they did make no peace, Indian Navy would have been put to an unequal combat and her growing trade, badly mauled.

## GROWTH OF AN ART MUSEUM

Near-Eastern, South-Asian and African Art

The Museum of Art in Cleveland--the State of Ohio's large, industrial city which sprawls for miles along the shores of Lake Erie--has long ranked high among

smaller museums in the United States. It has been known for the quality of its collections, its extremely fine educational program, and for the support it has given Cleveland artists and craftsmen.



Light filters through stained glass windows at the end of the Gothic Art Gallery



Students from one of the free Saturday-morning art classes

Museum has rare, palm-leaf manuscripts.

Medieval Hindu stone sculpture, the culmination of Indian organic style, is demonstrated by the styles of Rajputana and Gujarat. A Museum catalogue describes outstanding examples as "Agni: God of Fire" of cream sandstone and the "Female Figure" of marble, adding that "the former is especially well-preserved and while the main figure of the 'Fire God' shows an iconic rigidity, the subsidiary figures display that curvilinear grace of pose and perfection of detail that mark the sculptures of the Khajuraho region."

The Museum has a noteworthy collection of copper images ranging from the Chola (C. 850-1310) to the Madura (1646-modern) period. These are works of art of the flourishing schools of metal-casting in South India which produced fine images in sizes ranging from miniature to almost life-size, usually by the lost wax process. Among these copper works at the Museum, is one of the greatest known images of the "Dancing Shiva" demonstrating the Tanjore style of c.1000.

Glowing colors and varied subject matter are featured in Indian miniature paintings of the Mughal (Muhammadan) and Rajput (Hindu) styles. The Museum catalogue calls the Rajput style "richly colored, lyrical and very decorative, though much influenced by the more realistic Mughal School."

The Rajputana miniature grouping at the Cleveland Museum begins with a page from a Malwa manuscript of 1634. Pages from the famous Coomaraswamy set of c.1660-70 and a Narsingarh manuscript by Madhava Das of 1680 are considered imposing art work of the period. The later Rajputana School of Bundi is represented by one of its masterpieces, "The Palace Ladies Hunting From a Pavilion," in which the fecundity of nature is expressed through pairs of animals in a richly detailed landscape.

Mughal painting is represented by 22 examples of the major styles under successive reigns. The art covers a full range of subject matter, including portraits of historical figures, narratives, animal

portraiture, and hunting scenes. The Mughal style which reached great heights under Akbar and Jahangir (1606-27) is demonstrated by the pastoral "Noble Inspecting His Herds," a painting described as a "marvel of probity of observation and uncanny control of the brush." A Museum catalogue says that "the decorative arts of this period are much admired for their technique, their formal yet rich design, and their remarkably vivid use of color."

The old, long, Neo-classic, rectangular building has stood since 1916 high on a ride of land looking down over the tree-shaded lagoon of the Fine Arts Garden. Connected to it by bays of stainless steel and glass, the new wing of the Cleveland Museum of Art lays claim to no special architectural merit on the outside. But the interior has been designed to give an air of both charm and intimacy to its large galleries.

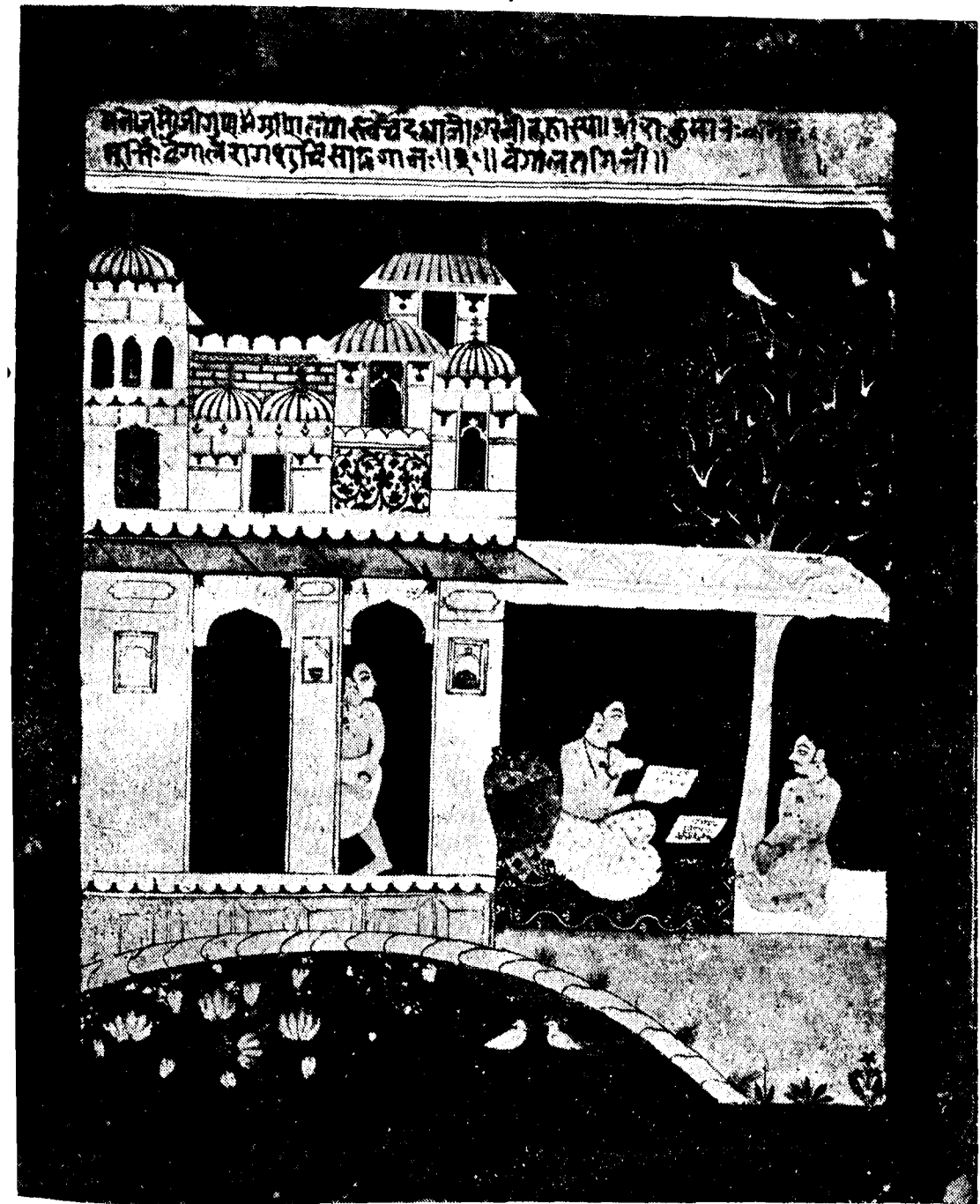
Within the galleries are partitions, curtains, various kinds of cases so constructed that they can be moved or changed as to color and texture to suit the character of a particular exhibition. The floors are of plastic terrazzo and throughout the galleries a pleasant variety of materials has been used, resulting, said an art critic, in a "noticeable increase of one's attention span, which is apt to suffer in a big museum the way it does on a long highway."

The lighting is filtered daylight (reinforced if necessary by fluorescent lights) coming from clerestories. Through a series of television cameras installed in the galleries, a master guard in the basement is able to survey eight rooms at once.

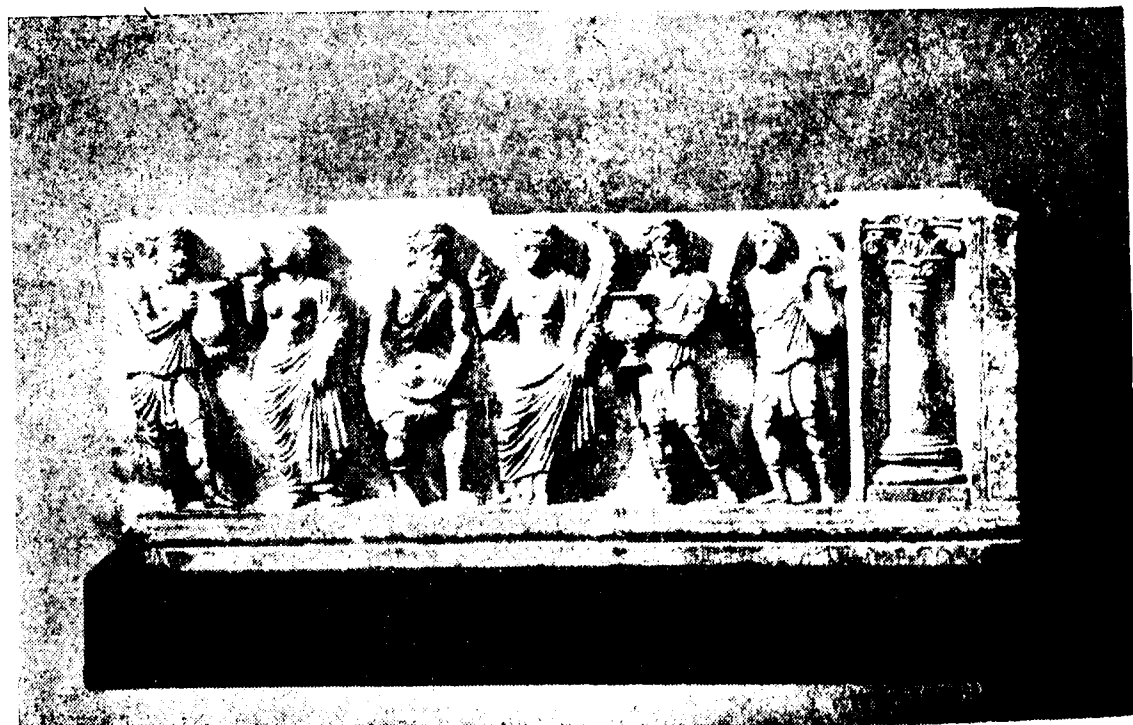
Like most American museums, Cleveland's receives neither Federal nor State aid. It exists only because of the generosity of its citizens.

The original building, the landscaped acres around it, many of its choicest possessions, and trust funds to maintain its activities, have been gifts to the Museum from Cleveland's most prominent citizens.

Its greatest benefactor has been Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., who did not live to see the new wing actually completed.



"Vangala Ragini: Musical Mode"  
(Malwa School, India, 1680 A.D.)



Indian Relief of gray schist

Himself a collector of exquisite taste—which he never tried to impose on others—his interest in the Museum had been long-standing. Through the "Hanna Fund" he set up during his lifetime, the Museum was able to make purchases otherwise difficult or impossible to make. At his death, he left an additional endowment fund to the Museum and also his private collection of French Impressionists and post-Impressionists, to perpetuate that interest. Half the money needed to build the new wing came from Hanna. The rest came from public contributions.

But no amount of wealth alone could create the widespread interest in art that exists in Cleveland, whose Museum has the largest supporting membership, in relation to its size, of any American city. The responsibility for this must be traced directly to a program of public education—in the broadest sense—which has been a distinguishing feature of the Museum since its beginning.

Its Department of Education is one of the various main divisions of the Museum.

and its Curator of Education works closely with local schools at all levels: primary, secondary, college, university and graduate. The public school system in turn provides three full-time teachers to work with the Museum's staff. They spend half their time guiding and instructing school classes at the Museum, and the other half in the schools interpreting Museum materials.

Saturday is "Children's Day" at the Museum. There are materials, free voluntary classes in drawing and painting for any child, whether his parents are members of the Museum or not. There are special classes for talented children in the morning, and the afternoons find children in the auditorium, watching Museum-arranged programs of plays, dance groups, music, marionettes and selected films.

The Museum maintains close relations with Western Reserve University, whose campus is not far distant; some members of the Museum's staff also serve on the University faculty, and the University sends several classes to study at the Museum.

An equally close relationship is maintained with the Cleveland Institute of Art, recognized throughout the United States for the distinction of its work in both arts and crafts. Annually, for 40 years, the Museum has held a "May Show" where work done at the Institute is exhibited and sold. Ten times a year the Museum publishes a "Bulletin" containing articles on acquisitions, and relevant information. More recently it also assumed the task of editing the "Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism," issued by the American Society for Aesthetics. Furthermore, it offers public lectures, gallery talks, courses arranged for members and gives special lectures, courses, or holds exhibits for various clubs and groups in the city.—USIS.

### DANCE AND SONG ENSEMBLE FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM

DANCES have long been a part of the tradition of the Vietnamese people. They reflect the life and the feeling for life of the people whether they are performed by the peasants in their villages or by professional dancers on the stage or in the royal palaces.

From time immemorial, there existed dances such as the "Riding Horse" dance with a stick ended by four wisps of hair representing the horse, the "Butterfly" dance presented under coloured light, or the "Soldiers Bathing Their Horse" dance performed by two young men. There existed also dances such as the "Wine Offering" dance usually performed in temples by heralds or the "lantern Procession" presented in the religious festivals by the people and the "Fan" dance often seen in royal palaces.

One can find the chivalrous spirit of the Vietnamese people through such dances as the "Stick" dance, "Sword" dance, or their enthusiasm and optimism through the joyful "Lion Procession" at the autumn and spring festivals with the accompaniment of grotesque clowns and bizarre faked animals.

Dances were mostly developed in mountainous areas and performed by the national minorities people during their spare time or in religious ceremonies. Each nationality had its own characteristic dances such as the "Monkey" dance of the Caolan minority people, the

"Spear" dance of the Ede, the "Xoe" dance of the Meo, with a display of wide skirts and umbrellas to the accompaniment of their "khen" (musical instrument), to cite only a few.

August Revolution (1945), marked a new stage in cultural life throughout Viet-Nam. Central and various local artistic ensembles were established after 1950, and many cadres were appointed to study the nation's traditional arts.

As a result, many folk dances have been adapted; for example, the "Pole" dance of the Muong minority people which under the new form, describes the jubilant atmosphere in victory of the people and the Viet-Nam people's Army or the "Fan" dance in which the joyfulness of the Thai young maids is manifested in the flutterings of the fan representing a butterfly.

Many new dances have been created on the basis of folk dances such as the "Umbrella" dance of the Neo people, the "Turtle Dove" dance of the Caolan, the "Drum" dance of the Bana, the "Lotus" dance of the Khmer people and the "Fan" dance of the Viet people.

There are also dances based on classical dances from the traditional operas such as the "Would-be Son-in-law" illustrating the competition between three horse-riding archers for the love of a beautiful girl.—PIB.





## INDIAN REACTIONS TO THE CHINESE BORDER INCURSIONS

By SUBHAS CHANDRA SARKER

The crisis in Tibet (March 1959) tremendously shook India's sense of security—which found reflection in the comments of newspapers and opposition political leaders. Writing as early as March 22 when the news of the Tibetan revolt had just begun to reach India, the "Hindu," a leading newspaper of the South, referred in an editorial article to the grave possibilities of a Chinese advance in Tibet for India's security and observed: "The Chinese Cartographers still include certain parts of India in their maps and their soldiers have even occupied a little of Indian territory. We expect these matters to be settled without much fuss and, one hopes, to our satisfaction."<sup>1</sup>

The "Sunday Standard," another English Weekly newspaper published simultaneously from four centres in India, dwelt upon the fact that the developments in Tibet coupled with the grant of military aid to Pakistan by the United States of America had disturbed Indian minds very much. The developments in Tibet had not only given a new insight into the mind and face of China, but also a new awareness of India's vulnerability. "Our studiously cultivated pose of lofty detachment," the newspaper wrote, "has given way to something like panicky concern for our security, which was reflected in the recent defence debate in Parliament. No longer were heard the usual demands for cuts in defence expenditure. On the contrary, M.P.s went to the length of questioning the wisdom of the economics voluntarily effected by the Defence Ministry."<sup>2</sup> The degree of general

uneasiness about Chinese actions and intentions found expression in the speeches of prominent Indian personalities who participated in a discussion meeting in New Delhi on April 17. "If other people (the reference is to the Chinese—S.C.S.) think they should consolidate their control and military position in Tibet," Dr. H. N. Kunzru, the veteran public leader declared, "surely India has a right to think of her own future position vis-a-vis her north-eastern part."<sup>3</sup> Other speakers before the meeting dwelt upon the "profound implications" of the Tibetan developments for the entire Himalayan region of Ladakh, Bhutan, Sikkim and NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency of India inhabited by the Nagas and other hill tribes south of the McMahon Line).<sup>4</sup>

This reaction was instinctive, because the facts of Chinese border incursions and the differences between the Governments of India and China were not yet generally known. The Government of India which was in possession of fuller facts and information was not, however, ready to substantiate these fears of the public—obviously in the hope of not irritating the Chinese Government unduly over matters which were until then undoubtedly minor, and thereby destroy the chances of an amicable settlement of points under dispute. Yet the Government evidently felt sufficiently uneasy about the Chinese moves which did not allow it to sit completely silent as before. "I do not mean to say that our security is now challenged or in immediate danger," the Indian Prime Minister, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, said in Madras on April 14, "but we have to think of what might happen also in future."<sup>5</sup>

3. "The Statesman," New Delhi, April 18, 1959.

4. "Ibid."

5. "Free Press Journal," Bombay, April 15, 1959.

During the following months the fears these uneasiness about developments in about Chinese intentions and the problems Tibet which had also some direct repercussions of maintaining India's territorial integrity adversely affecting the movement and from an attack from the north came up trade interests of Indian citizens in Tibet,<sup>10</sup> again and again in one form or other both in there was no knowledge or realization of the Houses of Parliament,<sup>6</sup> in the press<sup>7</sup> and the bigger shock involving a considerable in the speeches of public leaders.<sup>8</sup> Tibet slice of Indian territory that was soon to again and again came into prominence in come.

6. Debates in the "Lok Sabha" (Lower House of the Indian Parliament) on April 22 and 27, 1959 reported in the "Statesman" New, Delhi, April 23 and 28, 1959; and "Rajya Sabha" (Upper House of the Indian Parliament) on May 4, 1959 reported in the "Statesman," May 5, 1959.

7. Editorial articles "in the 'Amrita Bazar Patrika,' Calcutta, April 23, 1959 ("China and India"), "Delhi Hindusthan Standard," New Delhi, July 21, 1959 ("Say out, Please"). "Pioneer," Lucknow, June 25, 1959 ("Dalai Lama Speaks"). See also the report of the Staff Correspondent of the "Hindustan Times," New Delhi, in the issue of the newspaper of May 15, 1959.

8. Deliberations before the All-India Tibet Convention held in Calcutta, May 30 and 31, 1959 reported in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, May 31 and June 1, 1959; Statement of Mr. H. V. Kamath—former member of the Indian Civil Service, past president of the Forward Bloc founded by Subhas Chandra Bose, former member of Parliament and now leader of the Praja Socialist Party—to pressmen in Bhopal, Capital of Madhya Pradesh on July 19, reported by the "Press Trust of India" ("Delhi Hindusthan Standard," July 20, 1959).

9. For example see the editorial articles in the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, June 22, 1959 ("Call to Conscience"), August 8, ("China and the Himalayas"), "The Statesman," Calcutta and Delhi, July 3, ("In Exile"), "Hindustan Times," New Delhi, June 22 ("The Dalai Lama Speaks"), July 2 ("Dalai Lama's Future"); "Indian Nation," Patna, June 23, ("The Dalai Lama's Version"); "Hitavada," Nagpur and Bhopal, June 23 ("Tibetan Problems"), August 9, ("Indo-Tibetan Trade"); "Pioneer," Lucknow, June 24, August 9; "National Herald," Lucknow, June 30, 1959 ("Tibet and U.N."), August 8, ("Indo-Tibet

The first major indication of serious border trouble between India and China was contained in the Indian Prime Minister's reply to an adjournment motion and a short notice question in the "Lok Sabha" on August 28. He disclosed that a small Indian reconnaissance police party consisting of an officer and five others, while proceeding towards the Khurnak Fort in Jammu and Kashmir in India, had been apprehended by a stronger Chinese detachment on July 28, some miles from the border inside Indian territory and that the Chinese had established a camp at a place called Spanggur well within Indian territory. On a protest from the Government of India, the Chinese had released the captured Indians but had refused to vacate the territory claiming it as part of China. No reply had been received to a subsequent Indian note expressing surprise at that Chinese claim. He further disclosed that the Chinese had built a road from Gartok towards Yarkand, that is, Chinese Turkestan which encroached upon a part of Indian territory in north-eastern Ladakh and that the Chinese had similarly arrested one of the two parties sent to reconnoitre the area about a year earlier.

Trade"); "Free Press Journal," Bombay, August 7, ("Trade with Tibet"), August 14, ("Turning the Check?"); "Times of India," Bombay, July 3, ("Tibetan Affairs"), July 11, ("Changes in Tibet").

10. See the Indian Prime Minister's statement in the "Lok Sabha" on August 6 in regard to an adjournment motion on the difficulties experienced in India's trade with Tibet. "Amrita Bazar Patrika," August 7, 1959 (henceforth cited as "Patrika").

About other difficulties experienced by Indian citizens in Tibet, see the Statement of the Deputy Minister for External Affairs, in the "Lok Sabha," on August 11, 1959, "Patrika," August 12.

1. "Hindu," Madras, Editorial article on Tibet, March 22, 1959.

2. "Sunday Standard," Madras, April 19, 1959 Editorial article. See also the Commentary of B.G. Verghese, "The National Scene" in the "Times of India," Bombay, April 19, 1959.

The Indian Prime Minister then referred to the latest incidents that had taken place on August 7 and 25. In the first instance an armed Chinese patrol, approximately 200 strong, had violated the Indian border at Khinzemane north of Chuthangmu in the Kameng Frontier Division in Assam in north-eastern India. When requested to withdraw, the Chinese had actually physically pushed back the Indian patrol party which consisted of only about a dozen men. The Indians retook the post after the Chinese had vacated it. But the Chinese had again come back and had demanded immediate withdrawal of the Indian picket from the area which the Indian policemen had refused to do. There had been no firing. In the other case, on August 25 a strong Chinese detachment had crossed into Indian territory in the Subansiri Frontier Division in that area of Assam at a place south of Migyitun and had opened fire. There had also been such forcible occupation of Indian territory at Longju.<sup>11</sup>

The Indian Prime Minister said that there was absolutely no doubt about India's border with China but as the border had not been physically demarcated along its entire length the Government of India was willing to discuss the question of minor adjustments here and there with China. "But," he added, "from such information as we have received and which I have placed before the House, when their forces come, envelop our checkposts and capture them after firing, it is not the normal peaceful way of approaching these questions (of border adjustments), even if there is a dispute. Therefore this matter becomes a much more serious one than some incidental or accidental border affray."<sup>12</sup>

The Prime Minister's statement was flashed by all the newspapers in India on their first page and many gave an eight-column heading<sup>13</sup> describing China as aggressor. The Prime Minister's statement was

11. "Patrika," August 29, 1959.

12. "Prime Minister on Sino-Indian Relations, Vol. 1" (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India), p. 95.

13. See for example, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, August 29, 1959.

interpreted in the Parliamentary circles as marking the end of an era of India-China friendship and the beginning of an era of controversy and strife.<sup>14</sup>

"A new Menace" was how the Patrika characterised the Chinese border incursions.<sup>15</sup> It drew attention to the Chinese plan for grabbing the territories of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim on the northern frontier of India and endorsed the Indian Prime Minister's declaration re-iterating the McMahon Line as the limit of India's north-eastern frontier and India's interest in the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Bhutan and Sikkim. Practically the entire press in one voice endorsed the Prime Minister's stand.<sup>16</sup> "The Statesman in a leader on August 30 wrote: "As is customary in disputes of this kind, the precise location and sequence of events can be deliberately blurred. But one fact is clear: the Chinese forces involved displayed a hostility that is at marked variance with their country's past protestations of friendship for India and was unexpected even in the coolness between the two capitals since the rape of Tibet.<sup>17</sup> The "Hindu" commended the Prime Minister's "sober presentation of facts" and his "dignified restraint in Comment" and "for the evident anxiety to be fair to the other side" and expressed the hope that "the Chinese Government will soon realise the dangers inherent in the forward policy pursued by their military patrols on India's border."<sup>18</sup>

In response to the demand of the members of Parliament a White Paper was published early in September, containing documents bearing upon India-China relations

14. "Patrika," August 29, (Report of its special Representative at New Delhi).

15. Editorial article, August 29, 1959.

16. See also the editorial articles in the "Indian Nation," August 29, ("China's Cold War"); "The Statesman," Calcutta and Delhi, August 30; "Hitavada," September 1, ("Sino-Indian Border Relations"); "The Pioneer," September 2, ("Knocking on the North") and "The Hindu," September 1 ("Border Troubles").

17. Editorial article "Frontier Dilemma."

18. Editorial article "Border Troubles," September 1, 1959.

since 1954. It was disclosed that there had been minor disputes on the border ever since 1954 which were results of the absence of demarcation of the boundary at the places on the ground. It was further seen that the Indian Prime Minister had written<sup>19</sup> to the Chinese Prime Minister about the withdrawal of Chinese forces from the parts of Indian territory which they had encroached upon forcefully, as early as March 22, 1959 but no reply had been given to that letter even after five months. Immediately after the publication of the White Paper Premier Chou's reply was received.<sup>20</sup> It was from that letter that Indians first learnt that the Government of China held almost the entire length of the Sino-Indian boundary to be a disputed area. Not only that, the Chinese Premier put all the blame for the border incidents upon India and accused her of aggressive actions against China. The Chinese Premier's letter was followed by the release of a 2000-word official statement by "Hsinhua" (official Chinese) News Agency which, among other things, accused India of: (i) drawing its map in such a way as to cut 38,000 square kilometres deep into Chinese territory along the Sinkiang-Tibet-Ladakh border, (ii) invading several places which were claimed to be Chinese territory along the Tibet-Punjab-Uttar Pradesh frontier and (iii) annexing 90,000 square miles of Chinese territory along the Assam-Tibet border.<sup>21</sup> Rejecting these claims as "fantastic and absurd," the Indian Prime Minister said in the "Lok Sabha" on September 12: "When India referred to these (Chinese) maps in the past, she was told they were old maps and China would revise them (vide Chinese Government memorandum of November 3, 1958 on p. 47 of White Paper I-S.C.S.). That was a totally inadequate answer, though it was some kind of postponement of answer. But now the real thing is this it is more definite. They

(the Chinese) hold by it (Chinese map) when we do not exactly know where their line is. This kind of treatment or behaviour—that is claiming a large tract of Indian territory as Chinese—does seem to me very improper for one nation to treat another, even much more so among nations which have been friendly."<sup>22</sup> Prime Minister Nehru met the points raised by Mr. Chou in a further letter on September 26. There was a temporary halt in China's forward movements until in late October India was shocked to learn of the attack on Indian patrol policemen by an armed Chinese detachment, resulting in the death of nine Indian policemen and injury to several others. (The Chinese did not disclose the number of dead or injured, if any, on their side). The whole of the nation became angry. The Government of India sent a strong protest note demanding the immediate release of captured Indians and for the evacuation of the Indian territory.

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" characterised it as "Stabbing while Smiling"<sup>23</sup> (the reference was to Chou's friendly acknowledgment of Nehru's greetings on China's National Day which had been received a little earlier) and asked, "Is it possible to treat such surprise attacks as a prelude to friendly negotiations?" "The Nagpur Times" said that this incident was "the last straw for India's patience and neutrality" and blew up "once for all the fondly nurtured fiction that China may be interested in settling the border dispute with India in any friendly spirit."<sup>24</sup>

A section of the press strongly criticised the Government of India's lack of firmness in dealing with the Chinese. "The 17 (actually the number was nine as was learnt on verification—S.C.S.) policemen who laid their lives in the heights of Ladakh," the "Hindustan Times" wrote, "are as much the victims of a policy which has wantonly neglected national interests as of Chinese

19. For the Indian Prime Minister's letter see "White Paper" No. 1 (pp. 55-57).

20. Text of Premier Chou's reply in "White Paper" No. II (pp. 27-33).

21. "Times of India," Bombay, September 13, 1959.

22. "Ibid," September 14, 1959.

23. "Patrika," October 25, 1959 Editorial articles.

24. Editorial article "A Call to Arms," October 26, 1959.

expansionist adventures."<sup>25</sup> The "Indian Express, another critic of Nehru's policies wrote: "Mr. Nehru's habit of countering each new act of Chinese aggression with a Niagara of words has begun increasingly to dismay India's people and to embolden the Chinese."<sup>26</sup> There was no doubt about the nation's anger at that outrage.<sup>27</sup> Even the Communist Party of India also condemned this outrage. China succeeded in losing the friendship of even the last Indian.

The Government of India published a second White Paper in November incorporating in it the text of letters and notes exchanged between the Governments of China and India on the Border dispute since September which disclosed a steady deterioration in their mutual relationships.

#### Parliament

The deterioration in India-China relations over the border disputes was a frequent matter for discussion in both Houses of Parliament during the past four months. There were many adjournment motions and anxious questions about the various incidents. There was strong criticism for the Government's failure to keep the nation informed about the fact of Chinese incursions into Indian territory which had steadily taken place since 1954. The Prime Minister duly apologised for this lapse explaining that he had thought it would be possible to arrive at a mutually satisfactory settlement without undue publicity. The Government of India's China policy was under fire from the Praja Socialist, Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party members who charged the Government with timidity and half-heartedness. India's advocacy for China's seat in the UN and especially

25. Editorial article "How Long?" October 26, 1959.

26. Editorial article, "Failure of a Policy," October 26, 1959.

27. See also the editorial articles of "Delhi Hindustan Standard" October 25 ("Ladakh outrage"); "Deccan Chronicle" Secunderabad, October 25 ("Pig hunting?"); "Aanada Bazar Patrika," Calcutta, (influential Bengali daily newspaper), October 25, 1959; the "Hitavada" October 27, ("Bellicose China").

her opposition to the discussion of the Tibetan question in the United Nations were particular targets of attack. Ironically enough, the Communists appeared to be the only supporter of the Government from among the opposition.

#### Political Parties

All the political parties and groups in India—with the exception of the Communist Party of India, and two splinter groups in West Bengal known as the Socialist Unity Centre and the Forward Bloc Marxists who have insignificant followings—were unanimous in their denunciation of the Chinese actions. The Congress,<sup>28</sup> the Praja Socialist Party,<sup>29</sup> the Jan Sangh,<sup>30</sup> the newly-founded Swatantra Party,<sup>31</sup> and the Revolutionary Socialist Party<sup>32</sup>—all pledged support to the Government in its stand against the Chinese aggression upon Indian territory. The general criticism of the opposition parties with the exception of the Communist Party was that the Government was pursuing a policy of appeasement towards China.<sup>33</sup> The President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha de-

28. Text of the resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee at its Nagpur-session in the "Patrika," September 29, 1959. Another resolution was adopted by the working committee of the Indian National Congress on November 10. (See "Patrika," November 11).

29. Resolution adopted at the Silver Jubilee Conference of the Party in Bombay on November 5, ("Hindu," November 7).

30. Resolution passed by the working committee of the All India Jan Sangh on September 20 in New Delhi ("Statesman," Calcutta, September 21, 1959).

31. See the Statement of Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Swatantra Party Leader, while inaugurating the Swatantra Party Convention in Punjab on October 25, ("Patrika," October 26, 1959).

32. Statement of Mr. T. K. Chowdhury, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Calcutta on August 30. ("Patrika," August 31, 1959).

33. Acharya J. B. Kripalani called the policy "Chamberlain like," "Times of India," Bombay, September 7.

clared that the "continued insult" by China "to the sense of our national prestige is a direct proof of failure of the foreign policy of the Nehru Government."<sup>34</sup> The Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh were most vocal in demanding a firm policy towards China.

#### Communists

Even the Communist Party of India also was forced to criticise China publicly. However its ill-conceived policies made it the Chief political casualty and the party found itself in the midst of the gravest internal crisis in its history. The dilemma before the party lay in the obvious difficulty in reconciling its much vaunted "proletarian internationalism" which did not allow it to recognise aggression committed by any communist country (a Socialist country can never be an aggressor was how the party defined its attitude) with the political expediency of retaining the allegiance of the Indian masses who had been profoundly shaken by what they believed, rightly or wrongly, a perfidy on the part of the Chinese Government. Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Deputy Leader of the Communist Group in the "Lok Sabha" told a public meeting in Gaya on August 31—three days after Prime Minister's authoritative announcement in Parliament—that "the much publicised incursion on India's border by China is nothing but a bogey by newspapers and a deep-rooted conspiracy by the western imperialists and vested interests for whom Indo-China friendship is an eyesore."<sup>35</sup> The party thought that a revival of the slogan "Hindi Chini Bhai-Bhai" (meaning Indians and Chinese are brothers) would remove all the difficulties.<sup>36</sup> However the continued violation of the Indian territory by Chinese armed forces opened the eyes of some leaders including the veteran Mr. S. A. Dange, whose sixtieth birthday was recently celebrated throughout the Communist world by the World Federation of Trade Unions, and

34. "Patrika" October 26, 1959.

35. "Patrika," September 2, 1959.

36. Statement of the Secretariat of C.P.I., "Statesman," Calcutta, September 20, 1959.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan. The Party, however, was yet unprepared to take an honest stand—either supporting or opposing China—but instead its Central executive adopted a resolution in its Calcutta meeting stating that neither the McMahon Line which India claimed to be north-eastern boundary nor the Chinese maps which included a considerable area south of that line within China, should be a precondition for starting negotiations for a settlement of all outstanding issues between India and China. There was no condemnation of China.<sup>37</sup> This resolution was promptly greeted as "positively dishonest and mischievous."<sup>38</sup>

This double-talking resolution shattered the morale of many Communists and the Maharashtra and Poona Units openly passed resolutions repudiating the Calcutta resolution of its Central Executive Committee. This open cleavage necessitated the convention of a meeting of the policy-making National Council of the Party to consider this matter. Under pressure from the general body of members the National Council substantially modified the Calcutta resolution and asserted the McMahon Line to be the limit of India's north-eastern boundary and even with regard to Ladakh it endorsed the Government of India's stand. The Party was not yet prepared to call China aggressor—although it had earlier condemned the Chinese firings in Ladakh—and accused political parties such as the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party, the leadership of the Praja Socialist Party and some influential elements inside the Congress of launching a campaign of hatred against China and asked the people to be-

37. Full text of the resolution "Hindu," Madras September 27, 1959.

38. Editorial article of the "Patrika," September 28 ("Parting of Ways") see also Mahesh Chandra's "Political Commentary" in the "Statesman," Sept. 30, 1959, who said: "Had the Communist Party tried to demonstrate its anti-national and un-Indian character it could not have done better than through the resolution which its Central Executive released at Calcutta last week."

ware "of the activities of such parties."<sup>39</sup> This resolution also apparently failed to satisfy even some of the leading party members whose feelings were reflected in the refusal of the Executive of the Maharashtra Communist Party Committee to endorse it.<sup>40</sup> The party, however, fully upheld the policies of the Government of India—at least on the surface and even the most vocal among the pro-Chinese elements in the party also endorsed Nehru's latest (Nov. 16) letter to the Chinese Premier.<sup>41</sup> Many including the Congress Chief Minister of Orissa State, Dr. H. K. Mahatab,<sup>42</sup> asked the Government to place a curb upon the Communist Party, but the Indian Prime Minister declined to do so.<sup>43</sup>

#### Government of India's Position

The Government of India was at first inclined to dismiss the border incursions as trifling matter arising out of misunderstanding on the part of local Chinese troops. The receipt of Premier Chou En-lai's letter of September 8, convinced it that China's differences with India were not simple matters, yet even then it did not consider that China would resort to deliberate armed intrusion into India's territory. Even as late as October 21, Premier Nehru was telling pressmen in Calcutta that he did not think there was any "major idea" behind the Chinese incursions. The news of the outrage in Ladakh in which nine Indians had been killed completely unawares inflamed public opinion in the country which was further stiffened by the Chinese replies to the Government of India's note. The extent to which the Indian Prime Minister's views about China had undergone transformation since October 21 was given by his remark at the convocation of the Dronacharya

Sanatan Dharam College at Gurgaon, near Delhi on November 29 when he exhorted all to realise that "these dangers are not only for the present, but may remain for many years to come. We have to face this challenge by increasing our strength." ("Hindustan Times," November 30, 1959).

The considered view of the Government of India towards China, was outlined in Prime Minister Nehru's reply to the three-day-long debate on the Sino-Indian border issue in the "Lok Sabha" on November 27.

Shri Nehru accused China of a "breach of faith" against India which had all along championed her cause. He emphasised that it was absurd for the Government of China to imagine, that it could sit on India or crush India as it was equally absurd for any one in India to think he was going to sit on China. He thought that the prospects of a future where the two giant nations of Asia were constantly "at each other's throat" was bad for the future, bad for China and for India, or for Asia, and a war between them would be a great tragedy.

Shri Nehru said that the Government of India realised even when it had recognised the Chinese Communist Government "that a strong China has been normally an expansionist China throughout history. That has been the case and we saw it and felt it." The extraordinarily rapid rate of population growth in China faced the world with an explosive situation, he said.

"People think," Mr. Nehru added, "that in spite of all that has happened on our borders and elsewhere it has made no great difference. That is not correct. It has made tremendous difference not only to the Government's present relations with China but also to what may happen in the future. That is something very obvious from the widespread and deep-seated reaction in India. There is no doubt about that."

Referring to the Indian reactions against China, the Indian Prime Minister said: "The reaction has been powerful, from children in a primary school to grown-up people. I have ventured sometimes to

#### INDIAN REACTIONS TO THE CHINESE BORDER INCURSIONS

ask people to be calm. But I might tell you that I was proud of that reaction."

He asked everybody to realize the gravity of the situation created by China: "If," he said, "unfortunately the situation worsens we shall have to become a nation in arms. Let there be no mistake. Every single activity and planning will have to be conditioned by the major fact that it is a struggle for life and death."

He had earlier indicated that an attack on Bhutan and Sikkim would be considered an attack on India. Now he extended that protection to the Himalayan State of Nepal as well with which India is tied with a treaty of friendship.<sup>44</sup>

"The Lead we waited for" is how the "Hindustan Times," the influential daily in the nation's capital greeted Mr. Nehru's speech of November 27. "The country has waited long enough for the kind of lead the Prime Minister gave in his reply to the debate on the Chinese threat on our northern borders. We now know where we stand and, rather more important, so do the Chinese." The newspaper which was a critic of Nehru's lenient policy towards China added: "We have been among those who have not appreciated Mr. Nehru's patient handling of the situation and we still claim that the Chinese did not deserve his infinite pains to understand them and to make them see reason. Nevertheless we are proud today that we have a Prime Minister in whom the people have so much basic trust that he can emerge from the cloud he has been under with his strength unimpaired, his popularity undimmed, his leadership unchallenged."<sup>45</sup>

Commenting upon the debate in Parliament, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" said that "though the debate took party lines, can it be denied that the Prime Minister has emerged with his hands much more strengthened than before."<sup>46</sup>

44. See "Amrita Bazar Patrika," Calcutta and "Hindustan Times," Delhi, November, 28, 1959.

45. Editorial article, November 28.

46. Editorial article, November 28, ("Basic Policy").

The "Hindu" referred to the "triune note of unity, self-reliance and determination" reflected in the speeches of members belonging to all parties and groups which revealed that they had really no quarrel with what the Prime Minister had characterised as the Government's basic policy—friendship with neighbouring states and non-alignment with any military bloc, "Our Prime Minister has spoken for our people," it said and warned that "China would be making a grave mistake if she believed that India was divided on any issue which affected her honour and integrity. Our country and our Parliament have witnessed such demonstrations of unity as should make her pause and ponder."<sup>47</sup>

Referring to Mr. Nehru's speech as the enunciation of a "Nehru Doctrine," the Times of India said that the extension of the protective wing of India to prevent any aggression upon Nepal, "is nothing more than recognition of physical imperatives and it was addressed as much to the people of India as to foreign powers."<sup>48</sup>

The Government of India all along indicated its willingness to discuss with the Chinese Government all reasonable points about the border but it understandably could not agree to give up substantial portion of Indian territory which belonged to her historically, politically and culturally, for no other reason than that the Chinese wanted that territory. Explaining India's stand Mr. Nehru said in his last letter (November 16) to Mr. Chou: "I should like to repeat what I have said in a previous communication, that this entire frontier was a peaceful one for a long time and there was no conflict or trouble there. It is only recently that conflicts and difficulties have arisen in regard to the frontier. These difficulties have not arisen because of any action that we have taken. The cause of the recent troubles is action taken from your side of the frontier." Expressing his desire for a peaceful settlement of the disputes he stressed the importance

47. Editorial article, November 29, ("Relations with China").

48. Editorial article, December 1, ("Nehru Doctrine").

39. Full text of the Meerut resolution, "Hindu", November 15, 1959.

40. "Free Press Journal," Bombay, December 2, 1959.

41. "Patrika," November 23, 1959.

42. "Ibid."

43. Reply to a question in the monthly Press Conference in New Delhi on December 3, "Statesman", December 4, 1959.



of avoiding border clashes and for adopting necessary measures to that end. He pointed out that there was disagreement even about the facts of possession which made the observance of "Status quo" exceedingly difficult. But to avoid entanglement on the definition of the "Status quo" the Indian Prime Minister suggested as an interim measure in the Ladak area that the Government of India would withdraw all personnel to the west of the line which the Chinese Government had shown as the international boundary in their 1956 maps while the Chinese Government should withdraw their personnel to the east of the international boundary which had been described by the Government of India in their earlier notes and correspondence and shown in their official maps. He was willing to meet the Chinese Premier but certain preliminary steps had to be taken before such a meeting could take place.

As of December 3, no reply was received from the Chinese Premier.

It may be pointed out in summing up that never before in the past twelve years was the country so angry and so united as it was against the offensive Chinese actions and pronouncements affecting India. People took the border incidents with China far more seriously than they had the earlier incidents on the India-Pakistan border which were undoubtedly of far smaller magnitude and was in an altogether different category. The Chinese outrages caused some—though they were in a minority—even to suggest a joint India-Pakistan defence arrangement against China, but that suggestion was categorically rejected by the Government.\*

\*Based on an article appearing in the "World To-day" (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London, January, 1960.

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## INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL YIELD AND CRAFTS FOR VILLAGES

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

### Possibilities and Difficulties

#### (1) Mixed cropping:

During the last few years cultivation of Egyptian cotton with Aus paddy followed by kalai has established profitable nature of such mixed cropping, in many unirrigated high lands in West Bengal, specially Nadia, Murshidabad, etc. Two crops as Aus paddy, followed by kalai are generally grown in such areas, which are not remunerative. Cultivators have to struggle hard for their maintainance, for want of work for major part of the year. Cases of suicides are not rare in such periods. They have mostly to depend on relief works, started in such areas. A comparative statement as follows, will show the advantage of such cultivation in a bigha (1/3rd. acre) of land.

### Cultivation of 2 crops.

|                                   |               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Aus paddy May-Sept. 3 mds. @ 11/- | Rs. 33        |
| Kalai Sept.-Dec 2 mds. „          | Rs. 22        |
| <b>Total</b>                      | <b>Rs. 55</b> |

### Mixed cultivation of 3 crops.

|                                                       |                |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| Aus paddy May-Sept. 7 mds.                            | Rs. 77         |
| Kalai Sept.-Dec. 3 mds.                               | Rs. 33         |
| Egyptian cotton May-Feb. 2 mds. @ Rs. 50/- per maund. | Rs. 100        |
| <b>Total</b>                                          | <b>Rs. 210</b> |

It may be noted that success in cotton cultivation depends on heavy manuring and clean cultivation during the whole period of its growth. These require timely harrowing, laddering and weeding which increase yield of Aus paddy and Kalai. If extra expenses

for manures @ Rs. 30/- and labour for cotton Rs. 20/- are deducted from Rs. 210/- the balance of Rs. 160/- is also more than double his usual income.

### (2) Crafts in villages:

Regarding work in unemployment period, production of cotton will facilitate working in Ambar Charkha. It is a known fact, that half the cost of yarns, spun in mills or Charkha, is spent in purchase of cotton. By working in Ambar Charkha one now earns by 8 hours work, nearly As. 12 to Re. 1/- after paying for cotton. If one can work with his own produce of cotton, he is able to earn 1/8 to Rs. 2/- daily. Besides, spinning with freshly ginned cotton facilitates easy, speedy, continuous spinning. These will fulfil the resolution of All India Congress Committee and other leaders to increase yield and finding crafts for villagers.

### (3) Importance of Egyptian cotton cultivation:

Though Egyptian cotton is being grown with success for the last 20 years and its superior quality highly praised by experts, nothing is being done by Government, to introduce this precious dollar-earning crop, among cultivators, which will positively improve their condition.

### (4) Cultivation in big areas indispensable to establish economic value of its cultivation:

The Deputy Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, when inspecting my Egyptian cotton cultivation in November 1955, accompanied by the Cotton Expert of the State, highly praised the quality of cotton. He advised to cultivate at least 5 acres, without which economic value of its cultivation, cannot be ascertained. On that day, he saw the Director of Agriculture and explained the importance of such cultivation, and assured him of his obligation to bear all expenses of such cultivation.

As advised by I.C.C.C., I submitted a scheme for such cultivation for 1956-57. It was scrutinised by an expert Scientific Committee, appointed by the Agricultural Department. Though the Committee unanimously recommended for its action, the Agricultural Department rejected the same

and gave no hope of its working for the next year also.

On this a scheme was prepared, to introduce the cultivation of Egyptian cotton among cultivators, as mixed crop with Aus paddy and Kalai in the beginning, in at least 10 acres, as never to intrude on the limited food crop area of the State.

### (5) Difficulties to introduce such cultivation among cultivators—remedies:

(a) Cultivators, here, are not interested in a new crop like cotton. Though they reap increased yield of Aus paddy, they take little care to preserve the cotton plants during ploughing and ladderings for sowing kalai in September, after harvesting Aus paddy.

(b) Offer of attractive prizes, has been found to be the most economical and effective means to enthuse them to work properly.

(c) It is difficult to find market for their produce of cotton, cotton mills though pay high price, purchase ginned cotton and that also not below 10 maunds. Khadi workers purchase ginned and seed cotton in small quantities, but pay price of ordinary cotton for the superior ones.

(d) Cotton occupies the field for longer period. As the plots are not protected by proper fencing, the crop is exposed to ravages by cattle and goats, when the neighbouring cultivators, after harvesting their own crops, allow cattle to graze in their own fields.

(e) Care should be taken, that they use 3 ft. long ladders in ladderings for Aus paddy and when sowing kalai. Such small ladders will move easily between cotton plants sown 4 ft., apart, without disturbing them.

(f) Spading and weeding the bases of cotton plants at regular intervals from sowing in May till December, conserves moisture in the soil and enables the cotton plants, to penetrate their roots deep into the soil, as to maintain vigour of the plants during dry months of December, January and February.

(g) Provisions for funds available for timely weeding of Aus paddy and sowing of cotton have to be made.

(h) Use of one bullock-driven ploughs and harrows and ladders once every fortnight, after harvesting kalai in December, will increase yield of cotton and prolong harvesting period. Irrigation is not indispensable, so this can be effectively introduced in the vast highland tracts of Nadia, Murshidabad, etc., where condition of cultivators is most miserable.

(i) Arrangement should be made to train villagers in Ambar Charkha, in areas where cultivation of cotton has been introduced.

(j) Attempts by individuals are difficult and cannot last long. Government can only make it successful, provided they have efficient officers, who feel for the cultivators.

(6) Funds for cultivation of superior cotton fully contributed by the Central Government:

To stop the heavy drainage of Indian money, spent to import quality cotton, there is a notification to the effect that all schemes for cultivation of cotton with 1½" staples above, will be financed in full by the Central Government through the Indian Central Cotton Committee, for 15 years from 1954. Vide letter No. F-1-14[55]11 dated 15/16 December, 1954 reiterated on 7-6-55 to the Secretary I.C.C.C. from the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi. As the staple length of Egyptian cotton is 1½", the I.C.C.C. if approached by the State Agricultural Department will surely finance its working, so far as cultivation of Egyptian cotton is concerned. Other States in India, even those who have no record of producing quality cotton, as Behar, Orissa, Assam, etc., are also working with the above help.

(7) Agricultural Department of the State biased against Egyptian cotton:

(a) Agricultural Department during British rule, though had been against Egyptian cotton, it is obvious, has not even now undertaken any work on its cultivation, though it has established its suitability for West Bengal.

(b) Padmabhusan Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee discussed in Parliament several

years till February 1958, about the necessity of cultivation of Egyptian cotton in the State, in praise of which much has been said by Experts, Cotton Mills and I.C.C.C. The State Agricultural Department reported to Parliament that (i) Sree Sarada Charan Chakraborty is the only grower of Egyptian cotton in West Bengal and (ii) his cultivation is a failure till 1952.

(c) Scheme to establish economic value of Egyptian cotton cultivation for 1956-57, strengthened by the recommendation of an expert scientific committee was, as stated before, rejected by the Minister of Agricultural Department.

(d) Success of Egyptian cotton cultivation as mixed crop with Aus paddy and kalai was visited by many experts and prominent persons, and Government officials. It was accepted by them, as a means to improve the extreme miserable condition of millions of suffering cultivators of high lands of West Bengal. As requested by them, a scheme to introduce such cultivation among cultivators for 1959-60, submitted to the Agricultural Department in April with the recommendation by A.D.M. Nadia. Late in September, long after the sowing time of cotton had expired, I was informed that the scheme could not be accepted for reasons as follows—(a) Dr. Harland, the world expert on cotton, is against suitability of Egyptian cotton in India.

(b) My cultivation is not a success.

I cannot imagine, from what source they collected news of my failure. It may be, that for their own continuous failure to grow such cotton irregularly from seeds, I supply almost every year, biased them against such cotton. Since 1952 till now 1959-60, I have been requesting them several times every year, to see my cultivation, in different periods of their growth. But they never favoured with inspection during these long years. In these days of progressive science, even if my failure is accepted as true, till 1952 or till present period, there cannot be any reason, to remain inactive in this matter, when it is pregnant with immense possibilities. The Agricultural Department has a well equipped Research Institute, staffed by eminent

scholars, and they can easily mend defects and improve quality of cotton and its cultivation.

It may be mentioned here, that my Egyptian cotton grown as mixed crop with Aus paddy and kalai for 1958-59, was sent by the Director of Agriculture, West Bengal, to the Indian Central Cotton Committee, for examination and report. Their remarks are as follows:

"The cotton is very good with 1½" staple. It is fit to spin 803 standard yarns."

Further, Aus paddy grown with Egyptian cotton for this year 1959-60, when harvested on 26-9-59, gave an yield of 10

maunds per bigha, instead of 7 maunds for last year.

The Agricultural Department cannot, from their very high position, even imagine and feel the great strain under which a poor helpless old man of the age of 79 has to continue cultivation of this precious strain. This I am strained to do every year to preserve seeds of this quality, I have succeeded in acclimatizing. I very much hope that before long, Government must improve, and appreciate importance of such cultivation. Organisations like the Calcutta University, Community Development, Abhoy Asram, etc., have already appreciated it.

## WHY THE TORIES WON

By DEEPANKAR GHOSE, Dip. in Journalism (London)

The British General Election held in October, 1959 will very probably and justifiably go down in history as one of those political happenings which reveal that it is unwise to foretell about politics. The fortunes of the Tories were never more uncertain than in 1957, when Sir Anthony Eden had to go, following the Suez crisis and a controversy that split the world. Yet, in 1959, they have won with almost a doubled majority.

In gauging why the Tories won it is absolutely imperative to keep in mind three things, namely that the British are the most class-conscious nation in the world, that the British electorate is concerned only about its standard of living and that they are indifferent to whether the standard to living is obtained by fair competition or by monopoly business. These three mass values with regard to life and politics spring from education received in school, traditional insularity and the subtle process of indoctrination that is going on all the time in the Press, Radio, or Television. Before returning home

this year this is the impression I have formed after a long stay in Britain.

It will probably now become easier for the reader to comprehend the broad general features of the British political set-up, which I will right away venture to throw light on. After this is done, specific phenomena like the pressing economic issues preceding the General election, the capability of the different parties to tackle such issues and the opinion of the electorate with regard to the same, and the presence or otherwise of the personality cult, so vital in crisis will be dealt with.

The British intelligentsia have never been dubious of the uses of chauvinism. Indeed, Hilaire Belloc in one of his essays found for chauvinism sterling elements that have led to solidarity and contentment among the electorate, while the Government feel themselves to be in a position to execute a vigorous foreign policy. In a country, where there is cent per cent literacy, only about twenty per cent are educated. The eighty per cent

belong to the very substantial fringe known as the working class, unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. The average man on the street in Britain, he could be any body from a railway porter at St. Pancras to a millhand in Lancashire, still beams with pride as he reads in Lord Beaverbrook's "Daily Express" and "Evening Standard" of some Governor-General in the East, Africa, or in the remote Bahamas and Bermuda doing his very best "to guide the indigenous people to self-rule and responsible government." It is true that fifty per cent of the labourers and factory workers vote for the Conservatives and not for the Labour Party. And the figure is increasing.

The second feature of the British political set-up is that the element of projection, a common malaise among people, who are inadequate, or subconsciously feel so, is very cleverly utilised by the Conservative Party Central Office in London, and psychological and sociological experts help in the work. The Labour Party's "Labour offers you Home, Job, and Medical care" is at best passable. The Conservative Party, "If you are interested, write To Lord Hailsham" clinches the issue. Letters addressed to Lord Hailsham, Conservative Party Chairman until very recently, poured in their thousands, to be opened by his secretaries. A standard reply is duly sent. The conservatives justly claim the credit for the rise in the value of the pound; and this factor augments the desire to rise in class, which to the British worker is synonymous with voting 'Tory' at the election. Diligent boys and girls from working-class homes are given state scholarships to go to universities, or recognised educational institutions. In a survey taken in 1958, it was found that at least sixty per cent of the undergraduates from workers' families turn Conservative by the second or third year in the universities. London School of Economics, the brainchild of Shaw, and the Webbs, Beatrice, and Sidney, does not command as good a Labour following as it did twenty years ago. Cambridge is frightfully Public

Schoolish and predominantly Conservative, while Labour still manages to have a stronghold at Oxford, with a large Grammar School contingent present. At a party in Chelsea, a most beautiful area by Thames, I asked a young lady, why she was a member of Chelsea's "Young Conservatives." The reply was earthy instead of being politically enlightening. "Because I want to get my man from among the young conservatives, who almost invariably have a Public School background and as such excellent prospects."

The third feature is the rule of the elite. It used to be closed and limited to the landed aristocracy. The strong English Commonsense decided to forestall sweeping changes in the socio-economic set-up by making the elite open thereby leaving the ranks of the less privileged permanently depleted. General Lord Montgomery is an Irishman, but I do not think that while he lunches at 'The Aethenium' or 'The Carlton' or 'The Turf Club,' the very 'it' of Old England, he thinks of Ireland. Not only Monty, in fact all the Non-Anglo-Saxon fringes of the British nation—the Northern Irish, the Welsh, and the Scots, have accepted the Anglo-Saxon supremacy in good grace. So with the have-nots and the down-trodden. When they cross the threshold and join the 'haves,' they never look back.

From what has been said in the preceding paragraphs it may be reasonably seen that the strong and effective Conservative machinery has been gnawing at the Labour strength for years, and since World War II guided and helped by the progressive mind of Richard Austen Butler, the Leader of Tories in the House of Commons. As the Tories struck at the roots of British Socialism, they accepted the principles of the Welfare State, vindicated Socialistic legislation and have given the people a better standard of living and have justly claimed the credit for a rise in the value of the pound, whenever they have been in office since World War II. Commercial and business interests in colonies and a wide trade chain throughout the world helped but the British worker is not

concerned by it, and the scope of this article does not comprehend a discussion of the ethics of capital investment and the maintenance of colonial pockets.

As against the direct, forthright approach and policy of the Conservatives on every major issue, the Labour Party did not have an effective alternative policy to offer. As democratic Socialists, they rightly recognised the importance of the private sector whose existence is a must if the independence of the judiciary is to be maintained, and if society intends to keep a way out for the individual in the event of victimisation and nepotism. Fabianism became shorn of its natural brilliance and in its zeal to unite the different wings and factions, the Trade Unionists and the Bevanites being rather conspicuous among them, the Labour Party curbed the tremendous personality of the most gifted and dynamic Labour Party figure since the War, Aneurin Bevan. Nye Bevan, the coal-miner's son, self-educated, a splendid orator and a spellbinder and a friend of India's only toes the party line, and is content withholding a position second to Gaitskell, The old familiar chant of women heard so often not so long ago at Labour Party conventions, "Nye, Nye, Nye, Nye, we want Nye Bevan to speak" has been missing lately.

The Suez crisis shook the Tory Party to its very economic foundations and for about a year and a half after that, as evidenced in bye-elections and gall-up polls the country was inclined to be anti-Tory. But

Harold Macmillan most capably steered them through very rough and hostile waters to safety with an aptitude for quick action, a brilliant mind, vigorous leadership, and exuding self-confidence as he went along with that famous phrase of his "We never had it so good." The father-figure of Macmillan was held up as the source from which the fountain runs or else dries up. The Suez Crisis was forgotten, the flow of oil from the Middle East appeared to have never been more assured and the Soviet rocket to the Moon at the moment seems to be only a compensation for the point lost by the Russian Bear in the Middle East to the Lion of England and the Eagle of the U.S.A. The subconscious inclination of a substantial fringe of the masses to rise in class and vote Tory was reinforced with the present economic prosperity of Britain. The Tories scored a point over Labour by having accepted the Welfare State, while Labour dithered over basic policies. And it was for the people of Britain to say on the 8th October, 1959, that they never "had it so good."

It has been enjoyable holding before the reader facets of the British political set-up. It is hoped that the article will not be construed as either a condemnation or a vindication of the British political system. It has only tried to recount in the spirit of Talleyrand's well-known statement "Je ne blame, ni, n'approuve: je raconte."



# Book Reviews

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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1526-1903 A.D.).** By A. L. Srivastava. Third Edition Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (Private) Ltd. Agra. 1959. Pp. 614. Rs. 10.00.

This monograph, which is a continuation of the author's well-written volume called *The Sultanate of Delhi*, is meant as a text-book for the use of advanced students preparing for University examinations as well as for all-India Service examinations in this country. The author's name is a guarantee of thorough and painstaking work based on first-hand examination of original sources as well as exhaustive study of secondary authorities. Chapters on administration, social and economic conditions, literature and art are aptly appended to the accounts of political history during the successive reigns. The fullest account, naturally enough, is reserved for the reign of Akbar (Ch. V). The concluding chapters (Chs. XII-XIV) sum up the author's estimate of the state of administration and of society and culture of the Mughal empire, as well as of its success and failure. An intermediate chapter (Ch. XI) deals, with chronological accuracy but with some violence to the title of the work, with the period of Maratha ascendancy between the years 1707 and 1761.

Without minimizing the usefulness of this work for those for whom it is intended, we propose to make a few remarks. The volume as a whole could have been condensed a good deal without losing its value. There is a certain amount of avoidable repetition almost in the same words in Ch. V on the one hand and Chs. XII and XIII on the other. In the complete absence of any direct evidence to that

effect, it is difficult to take the author's reference (pp. 202 and 517) to the continuance of self-governing village communities under the Mughals at its face value. Equally unfortunate is the author's contrast (p. 261) between the empire of Akbar knit together by a uniform system of administration and the empires of Chandragupta Maurya and Samudragupta with "an ill-cemented mass" of provinces "held together only by the common bond of allegiance to the emperor." It may again be doubted whether the author has not unconsciously laid himself open to the charge of historical anachronism when he speaks of the Mughal age from the time of Akbar as "an age of struggle between Indian nationalism and the reactionary Islamic attempt" at supremacy in the land (Preface, p. 5), and characterises Akbar as "truly a national king" (p. 260). He seems on the contrary to be on the right track when he at the end (p. 591) describes the Mughal period as "an age of conflict between the Indianisation of administration and the fanatical revival of the principles and practices of an Islamic state in this country."

The author has added to the usefulness of his work by adding a list of books for further reading at the end of each chapter as well as by including a few maps. The addition of an Index would have been welcome.

U. N. Ghoshal

**ASIA THROUGH ASIAN EYES:** Compiled by Baldoon Dhingra, Published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Price Rs. 17.50.

This book is an anthology in which examples of Asian life and thought from the earliest times have been compiled.

The anthology is divided into seven Sections—(1) Thought and Religion (2) The Arts (3) Language and Literature (4) The State (5) Society (6) Everyday life and (7) Science. It consists not only of select aphorisms but also of representative poems and parables. The passages have been carefully selected. For example, there is this passage from Kautilya (spelt incorrectly in the book): "the whole of the science of politics consists in mastery (of the temptations) of the five senses." Ideas on Kingship, Government of great Asian thinkers like Manu, Sukra, Vyasa, Kautilya, Vivekananda, Aurobinda, Tagore and Gandhi have been included in one passage; it would have been better if they were placed chronologically. Confucius said, Men cannot work together until they have similar principles, or, one might add, until they understand where their principles differ. This book will serve a very useful purpose. It will help this work. It deserves to be on every table.

D. B.

**CREATIVE EDUCATION:** By M. A. Payne, O.B.E., Ph.D., B.Sc. Published by William Maclellan, 240, Hope Street, Glasgow.

There is no dearth of books on Education or on the psychology of the child and the principle of his teaching. The book under review truly adds to the current thoughts on the subject. Thorough reading of the book, I am happy to say, will at once reveal that every word of this publication is the outcome of the author's keen observation and her personal experiences.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first half the author records her thoughts about the principles, special knowledge of the mind, code for parents and teachers, and the way of treatment with the pupil. The author is precise when she begins with the fundamental problem, "What are we educating—is it body or mind or something else? If we want to create free, happy able men and women then we must take into consideration the child himself apart from his physiological and psychological make-up." The main theme of the book is to throw light on this 'child himself' and suggesting ways to the teachers in knowing the child himself. Though all the chapters are relevant and important, some are worth mentioning. In the fifth chapter there are

mentions of some code for teachers. These are mainly regarding the way of imparting knowledge to the child and in allowing them to develop creative urge. Parent's code, dealt in the chapter nineteen with a suggestion that these codes will help not to frustrate the teaching in schools, on the contrary the latent energy in the child will find easy expression.

Miss Payne has observed the pernicious effects of the present system of education with its paraphernalia. The examination now prevalent in schools without being interesting to the students, rouses in them awe and abhorrence for it. She with some apt illustrations shows that the method can be more beneficial and inviting to the child. She denounces all sorts of competition in education saying it to be injurious. The manifestation of perfection already in child is more easily possible with games and exercises for which the child has an innate bent.

The second part consists of some practical methods to which the principles and axioms can be applied. The book is befitting its title. We highly commend it to those interested in child-education. The printing is neat and get-up decent.

ASHIM BHADRA

**THE HERITAGE OF INDIA ART SERIES (1959):** No. 1. Gupta Temple at Deogarh, No. 2. Pallava Temple at Tiruttani, No. 3. Nolamba Temples at Hemavati, No. 4. Chola Temple at Pullamangai. Edited by Douglas Barrett and Madhuri Desai. Sponsored by the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute. To be had of: N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. Price for the set Rs. 10; Sh. 20; \$4.

The four volumes contain ninety-six plates of excellent photograph-reproductions of India's valuable art treasures. Some of the plates present monuments and sites "off the beaten track but vital for the understanding and appreciation of Indian art." The introductions are well written; they point out the historical background and aesthetic import of these monuments.

D. N. Mookerjee

**STORM BURSTS ON THE PEASANTRY:** By Prof. N. G. Ranga, Pages 48. Price. 60nP.

**WHY RANGA RESIGNS:** Pages 87. Price Re. 1/-.

Both published by The Indian Peasant Institute, Nidubrolu, Andhra Pradesh.



Prof. Ranga's views on Joint Co-operative Farming as decided at Nagpur Congress is well-known. It was for a fundamental difference on the subject of peasant's ownership of land he cultivates and land 'Co-operativisation' that Prof. Ranga has resigned from the Congress. He stands for the peasant—his freedom and sincerely believes that if the decision of the Nagpur Congress is given effect, as such it will not lead to increased production and he quotes Soviet Russia to prove his case. The action of the Congress Government is likely to threaten the very existence of free, self-employed, non-exploiting and self-reliant multi-purpose producers.

In the first brochure the author lays down his thesis and examines the Nagpur resolution in the light of agricultural reforms and production of totalitarian countries like Russia and China and also in democracies like Japan and Scandinavian countries. He is for service co-operatives which do not interfere, rather help the peasant. In Parliament also he moved an amendment on 13th March, 1959; to that effect to clear his position as regards the Nagpur resolution of agrarian pattern.

In the second brochure Prof. Ranga's speeches, letters, etc., are published to show that his stand for the peasant has not undergone any change so far peasant proprietorship and peasant economy are concerned and his letters to Jawaharlalji clear his difference with the Congress views.

Those who are interested in this burning topic of the day, will find these brochures interesting although they deal in the same subject in different forms.

A. B. DUTTA

#### BENGALI

**BADARAYANA SUTRER PRAYOJANI-YATA:** Sri Basana Sen, M.A. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons., 14, Bankim Chatterjee street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 144+14. Price not mentioned.

Out of four famous *Siddhi* works on Advaita Vedanta entitled "Ishtasiddhi" of Vimuktatman, *Naishkarma Siddhi* of Sureshwaraacharya, *Advaita-Siddhi* of Madhusudan Saraswati and *Brahmasiddhi* of Mandan Mishra, the last named one was first published by Madras University several years ago with an editorial introduction of the late Mm. Kuppuswami Shastri. In the illuminating introduction, the learned editor blunderingly observes that though Mandan Mishra

was an orthodox Advaitist, yet he never supports anirvachaniya Khyati in his "Brahmasiddhi"; but on the other hand he establishes anyatha Khyati and nowhere in his great work anirvachaniya Khyati is mentioned. Pandit Kuppuswami ignorantly thinks that Mandan Mishra points out the knowledge of illusion as anyatha Khyati and supports it by refuting the akhyati. It is astonishing that an acknowledged authority on Advaita Vedanta like him should misunderstand Mandan Mishra and make such a wrong remark. In order to contradict this unfounded observation, Sri Vasana Sen was prompted to write this long learned essay on Advaita Vedanta which, for its logical treatment and sound judgment, was approved as a Doctorate thesis by Calcutta University.

At the end of the preface to her maiden work the erudite authoress remarks that Pandit Kuppuswami's observation is as absurd as a 'golden cup of stone' and concludes that to establish Advaita Vedanta and at the same time to support the anyatha Khyati, which is nothing but a kind of *Sat Khyati*, is as futile as a mad attempt.

Out of a variety of Khyatis advanced by different schools of Indian Philosophy as respective theories of epistemology, anirvachaniya Khyati, which means that illusory knowledge is inexplicable, is adopted by Advaitavada and the aphorisms of Badarayana were necessitated for the refutation of all other Khyatis and consequent establishment of anirvachaniya Khyati alone. It is only that Khyati, which is favourable to Advaitavada. All other kinds of anyatha Khyati are reduced to anirvachaniya Khyati by irresistible force of logical scrutiny of Sankaracharya in his celebrated commentary on the *Brahmasutras*. According to this immortal commentator, illusory Knowledge is nothing but the supremest super-imposition which means apparent presentation to consciousness, by way of remembrance, of something previously observed by some other thing. Its inexplicability or illusoriness is finally proved by subsequent falsification. In the opinion of Vachaspati Mishra, this is indeed the fundamental characteristic of super-imposition. Ramananda Saraswati, author of the tika named "Ratnaprabha" on the said Bhasya takes apparent presentation in some other thing as the distinguishing mark of Super-imposition or anirvachaniya Khyati. This seems to be more in keeping with Sankara who says elsewhere that super-imposition is the

apparent presentation of attributes of one thing in another thing.

In accordance with the anirvachaniya Khyati the substratum or the subject alone is real and all super-imposed objects are unreal or illusory: Whereas all advocates of anytha Khyati are *dvaitists* or realists since they admit that the substratum and the super-imposed both are real. Vimuktatman at the outset of his *Ishtasiddhi* has clearly shown how all knowledge of illusion are ultimately inexplicable or anirvachaniya. The knowledge of Brahman alone is absolute and all knowledge is relative or illusory. In order to refute diversity of knowledge Mandan Mishra has offered strong arguments which have all been quoted by Chitsukhacharya in his famous "Chitsukhi."

In the *Niyoga Kanda* of *Brahmasiddhi*, Mandan Mishra does support anyatha Khyati for the sake of refuting Mimamsaka Prabhakar's akhyati. Vimuktatman has observed in his *Ishtasiddhi* that once anyatha Khyati is accepted, one is forced to admit mysterious Maya the Mother of triple Sat Khyatis. Had Mandan Mishra supported anyatha Khyati, he would have certainly laid an axe at the root of his Advaita Siddhanta and the purpose of writing his *Brahmasiddhi* would have been frustrated. In fact he has not done so at all. This has been made crystal-clear by Sri Basana Sen in the course of her scholarly thesis with suitable quotations from as many as fifty-five outstanding works on Advaita Vedanta and other schools of Indian Philosophy.

The book, under review, has shown beyond a shade of doubt that Pandit Kuppuswami's statement is totally erroneous and unwarranted and should not have come out in an University publication. The language of the present book has been unavoidably somewhat stiff and technical on account of its philosophical dissertation. The book should have been much more detailed and developed like an original work. It is a very valuable addition to the growing philosophical literature in Bengali.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

#### Hindi

**PREMPANTH:** Compiled by V. G. Desai. Translated by Someswar Pundit. November, 1958. Navajiban Mandir. 64Pp. Price 40 nP.

Observations of different kinds and on various topics connected with the ways of love and non-violence compiled from Gandhiji's writings have been already published. This is the second in the series

and it follows the same pattern. The topic include khadi and non-violence, tobacco and drink and their pernicious effects, fear of death, etc.

**SARDARKI SEEKH.** Excerpts from Sardar Patel's letters. Published by Navajvan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad November 1958. 116Pp. Price, 80nP.

This is the Hindi version of the original Gujarati volume of the same name, the letters from which the excerpt had been made dating from 1924 to 1956. Naturally brief and to the point, they cover a wide field and breath comfort and cheer though at the same time they point to the need of leading down to the inevitable. But there is a deep and abiding faith in God's will. It is tempting to refer to a few statements: "Self and service may not go together; they cannot be mixed up. You want to mix them up; in doing so one is likely to forget the difference between what is pure and what is not." "Who can kill when Rama protects? I have, still something more to do; until that is completed, it is not possible to leave this world. Hence I have been saved from this accident." (Referring to an aeroplane accident.)

The last letter written in August 1956 says: The burden of work laid on me is growing beyond my capacity. I shall be shouldering it as long as God's kindness will permit it. We are unable to keep up the integrity of the State. We have to break through many barriers like provincialism, casteism, etc. One by one they present themselves before us. Still, if God wills, everything will be all right. If we can march together with all, we may complete this great work."

For adult education classes, this volume should prove a useful text, offering sage counsel to the youth of our country.

P. R. Sen

#### GUJARATI

**SHRIMAD RAJACHANDRANI DRISH-TANTAKATHAS:** Edited by Mukulbhai Kalarthi. Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad-14. April, 1959. Price Re. 1.25nP.

Anecdotes from Jaina Shashtra literature have been told by Rajchandra (born 1867) of Morvi, Saurashtra. He was a man of prodigious memory and great compre-

ension and also profound spirituality. Sandhiji has recorded his appreciation of Raichandbhai.

The anecdotes are suitable for both Jains and non-Jains. Vaishnav and Jaina cultures met in Raichandbhai through heredity. The anecdotes are never lengthy and they are told in a very easy style. The editor has rightly pointed out that such anecdotes belong to a special class of literature from Aesop's Fables to the anec-

dotes of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. In that perspective they gain a hold on men's attention and make a change of heart possible.

Sukhlalji's preface tunes the key to the placement of these anecdotes. An appendix is placed at the end of the book showing the names of the Jaina scriptures drawn upon.

P. R. Sen

#### ERRATUM

The Modern Review for January 1960: (Book Reviews), p. 77, Col. 1:

The book, Rashi Gyanadarpan is written in English. Hence, instead of Bengali it should go under the heading of English.

## GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

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Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose

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## Indian Periodicals

### New Year's Resolves

"Chowringhee" writes editorially :

It is customary, for all hypocrites, to take every advantage of changing circumstances, to give better and more elaborate shape to their pretensions; and, that is how Hebredeans take their vows of leading a better life on the last day of the year and Sassenachs on New Year's Day. On New Year's Day, all deserving men and women as also their colonial and other counterparts are honoured by their heads of State and such persons as are honoured assume a new dignity and description in Who's Who without actually adding to their financial, intellectual or spiritual outlook or dimensions. All honour to those who excel in swimming with the current and greasing their way to success; for, more often than not they do good only to themselves without interfering with the pattern of life of the greater masses of their own country or of other lands.

In an entirely different class fall those who have a mission in life or a commission from a political party to change the face of the earth and to egg humanity on to greater heights of folly, unwisdom or misconduct. Such men are known as the makers of history and when they stop making history, from time to time, humanity picks up the threads of civilisation and makes a bid for real progress. Verily has it been said that evil men thrive in good times and vice versa. For, when there is relative peace and good will on earth and a semblance of an easy affluence, the most evil among the makers of history get busy to take advantage of the somnolent gullibility of the masses. It is then that they, the makers of history, can display their goods to the greatest advantage, "See, how everyone can be a millionaire! See, how we plan to abolish poverty, disease and ignorance! Do vote for us!" say one group of history-makers. Another bunch say, "Look, we have made every man a multimillionaire in Ruritania by inflating the currency ten million times. We shall not only abolish poverty, disease and

ignorance; but also Death and Sorrow. We shall so hypnotise you with meaningless slogans that you shall never know when you are dying or suffering. We have invited foreign armies to invade this land, so that we can all be fully liberated."

On a New Year's Day, we can all take a vow to be anything but ourselves. For we are a poor, sick and ignorant nation. We are also mortal and victims of sorrow. The best way to get out of our difficulties, therefore, would be to change our identity. If we can cease to be ourselves and become a coolie in the wheel of a fake Socialism, we shall automatically shed our difficult and unsavoury personality. Or, again if we can become Puertoricans or Polynesians, rather than remain common garden Indians, we shall surely achieve true liberty. For who can be truly liberated while he is weighed down by his nationality, raciality and similar personal characteristics? If we can liberate ourselves from our bondage to our own past and to our own intellectual and spiritual aspirations, then and then only can we be truly free and elevated. A diet of lizards and snakes will also help.

All those who dare not look at their own image in the mirror for fear of a landslide in their ego, usually like to dress up and be made up so that they cease to look like themselves and look like some one from Peking, Moscow or Washington. Before 1947 they tried to look and behave like Pucca Sahibs; but since that fateful year they have adopted the ways and assumed the airs of peoples more in the lime-light. They have simulated the accent of one country and the sartorial mannerisms of another and they have learnt to talk familiarly of authors and thinkers about whose existence we had no knowledge half-a-dozen years ago. In the year 1960, let us swear to our utter devotion to everything that is not naturally our own. May we be most unlike ourselves in 1960 and may we succeed fully and well to deceive ourselves as to our own true wishes, desires and ideals!

1959 has given us some new illusions

and confirmed us in some of our more antiquated pet superstitions. We know now that some races are superior to all others, though, we do not believe that the Germans were the true *Herrenvolk* or that the British-American-Scandinavian Nordics were any better than the Australian Bushmen. The really superior men are those whose superiority is self-evident. Even if some of them live in the back lanes off Bowbazar Street of Calcutta and rank as world champions in dirt, filth and squalor. Breeding too many children had been a sign of backwardness for many generations; but in 1960, and thereafter, those races which bred the fastest should be considered the most progressive. We used to think before 1960 that the glory that was India or the greatness of the Chinese civilisation referred to be composers of the Vedas and Upanishads, the builders of Sarnath and Nalanda, the painters of Ajanta and perhaps to Kalidasa, Bhababhuti, Chandidasa, Rabindranath, or to Lao Tse, Confucius and to the master artists and craftsmen of the Han, Tan, Sung and Ming periods. But no; we have now realised that the 2"×4" master minds

of India and China, who parade the streets and back lanes of Calcutta and Peking to-day are the true repositories of that Glory and Greatness. For haven't they thought of "abolishing" everything and establishing nothing. And it is, after all, nothing that is the original fountain-head and source of everything.

The Chinese discovered in 1959 that Tibet was China and that much of India was Tibet and therefore China. The Chinese also discovered that the Indian frontier was not properly marked and therefore, any line could be the frontier of India and Tibet (China) and the more into India one could push the line that did not exist the nearer would Peking come to Calcutta. Our N. B. T. (National Brain Trust) Wallahs (also known as N. B. G.s to some) immediately knew that Chinese aggression really was an attempt on their part at coming closer to India. This friendly gesture so overwhelmed the N. B. G.s that they are still recovering from their bout of *Bhai-Bhai* which was more potent than even *Vodka*. President Rajendra Prasad who has been a strong believer in Bengali-Bihari *Bhai-Bhai* and in all



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attempts at bringing Bihar closer to Bengal over the territories of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Purnea, looked upon this Chinese gesture of friendship with great serenity and hoped for the best at all cost.

Our National Plans in 1960 will be more advanced than in 1959. We shall have more steel, more taxes and more V.I.P.s than ever before. Sri Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis has even thought of granting unemployment benefit to industrial workers, in case, they did not find employment in our fast growing industrial market. Statistically speaking our factory workers are about 5 per cent of our population and agriculturists vastly outnumber them. Yet the factory workers are more important, being essential and integral parts of our planned economy as opposed to our real economy. We believe in our new superstitions more ardently and devotedly than in the ancient *Bhakti* cults which induced us, in the past, to act in a manner not clearly logical in the eye of cold reason. Shri Tushar Kanti Ghosh will now remain as the last stronghold of *Bhakti* and things divine, in so far as Baghbazar has now come closer to the Chowringhee by virtue of the aggressive actions of the C.I.T. In 1960 we shall make our choice between Chow and Hot-Dogs and poor curry will stand in pitiful desolation at the door of our Assembly Halls like Tagore's beggar girl near the rich-man's Puja Pandal. Alas, India!

## Henri Bergson

Dr. L. J. Beck writes in *UNESCO Bulletin*:

Henri Bergson was born in Paris a hundred years ago, on 18 October, 1859. He died in 1941, also in Paris, probably the most famous philosopher of his time, having refused to be made an exception to the wearing of the yellow star which the occupation authorities imposed on all people of Jewish origin. His philosophy is contained mainly in four works, all of which have been translated into English: *Time and Free-Will*, which appeared originally in 1888, *Matter and Memory* (1896), *Creative Evolution* (1907), perhaps the best-known of his works, and the *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (1932). The earliest of these works set out clearly the distinctive principles of his strikingly original philosophy; the latter constitute a development of his thought applied to different types of problems.

Bergson is a profound thinker but his works appeal to a much wider public than a small circle of professional philosophers. He brought to philosophy a clearness of expression, a captivating charm of style and a great wealth of imagination and insight which make him the most readable of philosophers, and *Creative Evolution* is one of the great masterpieces of literature and philosophy which can be read by the ordinary cultivated person. Stripped of Bergson's own lucidity of expression and the wealth of detail which supports the ingenious argument, any summary of his philosophy must give a bare-bone and necessarily inadequate view of the immense richness of his work. In these days, however, when scientific methods and thinking have a tendency to carry all before them, it is refreshing to read a man whose aim was to shake off the over-oppressive chain of cause and effect and to assert the primacy of Free Will against mechanistic determinism.

Bergson does not set out to give an account of the ultimate nature of the universe. He does not elaborate a vast system of logical concepts. On the contrary, he believes that we cannot get at the nature of reality by elaborate constructions of thought. Concepts used by philosophers in the past, or by scientists, tend to hide the

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real nature of the world. Concepts, or the words we use to express them, may be useful for the practical purposes of life or for science, but they give us little or nothing of the pulsing life and continuous movement of the real: they are the dead ash of the living sparks and they tend to give us a patchwork of dead fragments, an artificial reconstruction which we take to be real and in which we find difficulties and insoluble dilemmas which are really figments of our own creation.

Reality is not a fixed solid bloc of objects: it is an active and continuously creative principle. Like the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, Bergson regards everything as in a state of flux. There is ceaseless change and flow, a creative impulse which proceeds always onwards. At certain points the flow is interrupted and broken but, like the recoil of a spring, it turns back on itself. It is, in Bergson's simile,

like a rocket whose extinguished remains fall to the ground and these ashes are the dead matter. Life is like a fountain which expands as it rises and partially breaks or delays the drops which fall back. The "elan vital", or vital activity, is the fountain, the living reality; the drops are the dissipation of this creative activity, they are the static remains which we call matter. To try to pin down and immobilize this active principle for the purpose of inspection and classification, for dissection by the scalpel of the intellect with its vocabulary of concepts, is to falsify the real. Matter is not a pure figment of the intellect. It is the vital-impulse arrested. Bernard Shaw, in *Back to Methuselah*, argues the same theme in stating that the Life-Force manifests itself in higher and lower potentials which conflict with each other for all the world, as if they were different and hostile forces of nature.

Instead then of attempting an intellectualist solution, Bergson calls upon his readers to ignore these broken static fragments of reality and immerse themselves in the living stream of consciousness, into "the continuous progress of the past which gnaws into the future." The chief task of philosophy is to do what science cannot do, grasp and comprehend life. Knowledge, he insists, is for life and not life for knowledge. Life is not a thing, nor the state of a thing. Its nature can be better grasped in many ways by the instinctive insight of the ordinary man, by the vision of the saint or even by the wisdom of the peasant, than by the abstract intellectual dissection of the scientist. Even great scientific discoveries seem to lie in the sudden conscious awareness of the deep significance of a familiar fact as the homely instances of Archimedes and the bath, Newton and the falling apple, Watt and the steaming kettle, and other examples. Because we are living beings, we belong ourselves to the stream of duration. If we pay sufficient attention to this living pulse of consciousness, we can penetrate to a reality which is hidden from us by our workaday concepts. This attention is called by Bergson "Intuition." "Instinct is sympathy. If this sympathy could extend its object and reflect upon itself, it would give us the key to vital operations." And intuition is instinct conscious of itself, capable of reflecting on its object, capable of grasping the ceaseless flow of reality.

The intellect, on the other hand, is evolved for purposes of a practical nature. It has been formed by a narrowing, a shrinking of consciousness. It cuts across

the living flow of reality and carves out of it objects, which we call material. It traces the lines of our own interests and selects those suitable for our practical purposes. Things, constant laws, separate states of consciousness, are views of reality which serve legitimately the purposes which we decide upon in order to act. This picture of the world, of a static, fragmentary piecemeal world, is a reality in one sense, but it is a limited reality. The intellect is cinematographical. It takes views of a moving scene, snapshot views. Each view represents a fixed position. If we were to arrange these snapshots in a film and screen them in rapid succession, we could create the appearance of a moving picture. We can only do this by restoring the movement which the fixed views destroyed. These snapshot views represent the physical objects with which science deals and the method of science is akin to the technique of films. This distortion of reality is necessary since it supplies us with a language and symbolism that serve the mind as tools serve the body. It allows us to articulate our past experience and plan our future activity. But we must not let ourselves be deceived by the constructions and transformations of our own practical means and ends.

For, as Bergson says, "Human life is a perpetual becoming" and human nature cannot find ultimate satisfaction in the static and material. The right of the individual to realize all that he has within himself constitutes one of the foundations of the claim to personal freedom. Bergson was one of the ablest defenders of this right.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The "Burst" of the Southwest Monsoon: the New Perspective

George Thambyahpillay writes in the *University of Ceylon Review*, January-April, 1959:

The onset or the more dramatic "burst" of the southwest monsoon (SW monsoon) may with justification be considered, perhaps the most outstanding and long-known meteorological phenomenon in the world. In the south-Asian region—India, Burma and Ceylon—the "burst" marks a meteorological event of tremendous significance, both from the climatic and economic standpoint. It initiates the major rainy period and hence also the most important agricultural season in this region. The dating of the "burst" has, therefore, accrued vital importance throughout the centuries that this phenomenon has been observed, and even to this day the Indian Meteorological Department attempts to 'forecast' or rather 'foreshadow' the onset of the monsoon.

Certain significant aspects of the meteorological circumstances must be taken into account in attempting to seek a solution to the *modus operandi* of the "burst" of the SW monsoon. It has been demonstrated that three sets of circumstances are involved, namely:

- (i) a westward displacement of an upper-air trough from about 90° E.L. (in winter) to about 75° to 80° E.L. (in summer).
- (ii) a northward migration of the Upper Westerlies and the Jet Stream, from south of the Himalayas to north of it;
- (iii) northward displacement of the NCZ (ECZ), from about 10° N.L. (in April-May) to about 23° N.L. since late May.

It has also been shown that these 'changes' are effected rapidly and take place, coinciding in time with the "burst" of the SW monsoon over India. It was also brought out that large-scale upper-air circulation patterns in the northern hemisphere exhibit remarkable 'changes' during the period between late May and early June. It may, therefore, be surmised that the SW monsoon does seem to be related to meteorological circumstance taking place as far north as the Siberian region. The question, however, still remains whether the large-scale readjustments in the Siberian region are the cause of the result of the adjustments that have been noticed to take place in the Indian environs. Or, are the Indian-area displacements in fact, readjustments effected to conform to the large-scale changes that have been found to take place in the Siberian region? It may even be justified to consider whether the total atmosphere of the earth itself is involved. The latter consideration is warranted in view of the concept of the Circumpolar Vortex Circulation (in some way related to the High- and Low-Index Circulation patterns), as providing the clue to climatic aberrations. If this new concept of the General Circulation of the Atmosphere may be accepted as an alternative to the tri-cellular concept first propounded in 1735 by Hadley, then it may be suggested that climatic 'singularities' like the SW monsoon must surely be related to the total atmospheric activity.

In the light of the evidence presented here, it may be claimed with justification that the new perspective does provide some of the answers that cannot be explained by the 'thermal' concept of the SW monsoon "burst." The Thar Low, therefore, while it must not be considered an uninvolved factor in respect of the "burst" characteristics, may be regarded to perform at most only a secondary role and not any

more the main role, in the onset of the SW monsoon.

While these suggestions are based on the findings of an investigation in respect of meteorological events of 1946, substantiation of the new perspective must be provided by analyses of other years. The sequence of the circumstances that preceded and followed the "burst" of the SW monsoon in 1946, have been resolved not merely in terms of statistical and time correlation, but also in the provision of a fairly tenable physical reasoning. Nevertheless, there yet remain a number of unresolved features relating to the "burst" of the SW monsoon. Hence, while an attempt has been here made to present the new perspective, it may be concluded that the providing of a completely satisfactory *raison d'être* for the "burst" of the Indian monsoon—the meteorological singularity *par excellence*—must needs await further research.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

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## America's New Image of Russia

Here are some of the excerpts of an article in *The New Leader*, August, 1959:

The post-sputnik wave of enthusiasm in U.S.A. for the Soviet Union is the product not of the intellectuals, but of the Babbitts. The Babbitts loathed the Soviet Union and Communism and backed McCarthy as long as they thought of the Russians as either primitive peasants, who cast an eager eye on American wealth, or degenerate intellectuals with a penchant for incomprehensible avantgarde art and free love—that is, as long as they felt contempt.

It is that the new admirers of things Russian are to be found in social groups that before felt nothing but revulsion at Soviet Russia: corporation directors, managers, engineers, practical politicians. Hence, too, the curious spectacle of the leaders of American industry welcoming warmly the Soviet leaders, while trade

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union representatives refuse even to meet with them, and American students risk their necks infiltrating the Communist Youth Festival in Vienna.

The evil of Communism is not that it is less productive than our system, or that, after 40 years of sacrifices it cannot create a decent standard of living, or even that it does not offer the individual the rights and liberties we in the West consider natural. It is, rather, that it denies all those elements of life which in every civilized society, Eastern and Western alike, have been viewed as essential: respect for truth, tradition, privacy, old age, good manners, taste. The striving to acquire the physical by-products of civilization—and only them—is just the quality which distinguishes the barbarian from primitive man on the one hand, and from civilized man on the other.

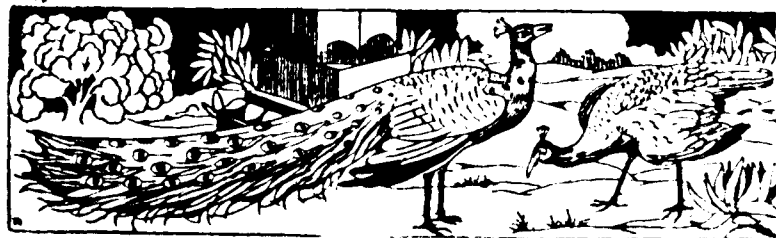
If the religious-rationalist ethos of American civilization were to suffer the fate of the socialist-ethical ethos of Marxism, and both yield to a race for greater productivity and faster economic development, then whichever side should win, mankind will certainly prove to be the loser.

### Slaves to Ideology

*German News Weekly* in its *Bulletin* of the Federal Republic of Germany, Nov 14, 1959 writes editorially:

According to a message from the NAFEN Agency, published in Indian newspapers, not only has a spokesman of the East German Government explained why his Government considers India to be the aggressor, but the *Neues Deutschland*, the foremost mouthpiece of the Communist (SED) Party, has published only the Chinese version of the clash in the Ladakh Region in which nine Indians were killed. This newspaper made no reference to any official statement from India on the subject. Even Mr. Khrushchev's recent speech on Indo-Chinese relations was so edited as to preserve the illusion that China is the victim. The East German spokesman said:

"We do not see any reason why we should doubt China's version of the border incidents. We firmly believe India committed aggression. Ideological and political unity between East Germany and China makes us believe the Indians wrong and the Chinese right."



Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1960

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## NOTES

### \* Promises and the Fulfilment

There is a most excellent and ancient Sanskrit saw regarding the test and proof of quality. It says "phalen paricheeyatey" which might be freely translated thus: "By results alone shall ye judge all things that have been promised or postulated."

It is about time that this test was applied to all promises and pretensions of those who hold the reins of our Union. Lest we be accused of generalisation in the abstract, let us give a concrete example.

We have before us an excellent bilingual journal, which has been published by the **Adimjati Sevak Sangh**, namely, the January 1960 issue of the illustrated quarterly **Vanyajati**, which carries the sainted memory of **Thakkar Bapa**, who dedicated his own life to the service of the downtrodden Harijan at the behest of the Father of the Nation and carried out his faith unto death.

On the back cover of this issue we find the following principles, captioned **Panch-shila for Tribal Development**, postulated by our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We hasten to add that this quarterly is published as a record of the plans, efforts and results, for the uplift of the forest-dwelling tribal peoples of India.

The principles are:

(1) People should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage, in every way, their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

There is the signature **Jawaharlal Nehru**, appended at the end, to authenticate the origin of these Five Principles.

Now in the same issue, No. 1 of Vol. VIII, we have an article by **Shri Dharmadeva Shastri** entitled **Makrai Ke Adimjati Kshetra**

Men, giving an account of a survey made by him in the tribal area of Makrai in Madhya Pradesh.

Shastriji is evidently an old-fashioned worker, of the sincere and plain-spoken type, with no ambitions for political advancement under the present set-up, which can be attained only by sycophants and boot-licking yes-men. He has given a factual account of his observations, therefore, describing the misery of the tribal people after the change-over. Indeed, we can only see the working of the noble principles enunciated by Pandit Nehru in the breach and negation thereof.

The article is in Hindi and therefore we give a translation of certain conclusions arrived at by the writer himself. He writes :

"At Makrai I met many Adibasi brethren, who told me of the multitude of difficulties they have to face. Of them the following three need special mention :"

(1) "There has been no change in the status of the Adibasis living in the so-called 'Forest villages,' after the attainment of Freedom. They are leading the life of slaves and serfs."

(2) "This slavery is brought about through the yoke of debts."

(3) "The condition of the landless Thalua Adibasis is pitiable in the extreme."

Of course, the paternal Government has made plans and arrangements to relieve the poverty and to liquidate the debts of these poor children of Nature. But the working of those plans and arrangements have been left in the hands of those that Pandit Nehru and his sycophants deem to be above reproach. And, therefore, the shape that they have taken have produced the results recorded by Shastriji, after twelve years of Freedom!

The tribals are reluctant to go in for Government "betterment loans" he says. And why? We give a translation of another part of his report.

"A Gond from the village of Chabora told me that 3 years ago he had taken a loan of Rs. 150/- from the (tribal) Development Fund. But he had to spend nearly fifty rupees in the following way to obtain it :"

"Rs. 5/- to the Patwari."

"Re. 1/- to the writer of the petition."

"Rs. 1.50 each to the cashier and paying clerk, at the time of getting the money."

"Rs. 10/- to the Munshi of the office of the B.D.O."

"Rs. 27/- in motor fares and expenses for witnesses in the several trips to the office from his village."

Now we have seen what this poor tribal has had to pay in the form of **bribes** and **extortion**. What is left to our imagination is what would have happened to him and his people if he had dared accuse those myrmidons of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of corruption, or Panditji himself of hypocrisy. The Hindi proverb "Rajaon ki bat, Hathi ki dant, Khaneka ek Dikhaneka aur" is undoubtedly appreciated by our poor miserable Adibasi brethren, for whom Pandit Nehru has enunciated the Five Principles as given above.

At the time of writing there is much debate and **halla** about the Third **Five-Year Plans**. The Second Five-Year Plans have advanced nearly half way. But has the misery of the Common Man—to say nothing of the unemployed or of the man with fixed income—been at all alleviated? We would like that a survey be made by independent persons with no eye for political advancement or of illicit gain. Can there be no formation of such groups in all the States, wherein the members are of the disinterested type of pure research workers? The Congress is as effete and tainted, with lust for power and gain as any group of gamblers. Could not there be an independent group of scholars, sponsored by learned societies, who could do this work?

#### China and India

China is a very large country with an area which is eight times bigger than India. China has 50 per cent more people. Per capita income and tax-paying capacity are more than proportionate in China, but generally speaking, India is proportionately more advanced in industry, science and economic development.

In point of military strength, China has a regular army, which is 10/15 times

larger than our regular army. China's militia is of 10 million men. India can always recruit regular army men in large enough numbers as and when necessary. The Territorial army can also be increased whenever required. India is not in a helpless position as compared to China, but she needs better adjustments in the industrial field to be entirely self-supporting. With a little effort India can have everything for the army and air force produced in India. The compactness of China's forces and their cohesion and mobility are of a doubtful nature. Chinese soldiers are also lacking in martial tradition. The fighting races and castes of India can produce 30 million men of the age group 18—36 whose ancestors have been fighters for 3,000

years. They provide a formidable war potential in view of the fact that under the Independent Republic of India they are not likely to be divided and conquered.

China is definitely planning a Himalayan expansion. India has no such plan. Though the Himalayas can provide homes in a cool and bracing climate to 100 million Indians, if the Government of India will only think and act wisely. Power generation can be easily carried out in the heart of the Himalayas. Industries can be developed in the mountains. Dairies, creameries, cattle breeding, sheep farming, poultry farming, piggeries, etc., etc., can be set up all along the Himalayas, and the entire length of the range populated within a few years.

The following facts will give proper dimensions to the vague ideas that people have about China and India :

|                                  | China                                             | India                                               | Remarks                                                                     |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Area                             | 9,736,000 sq. m.                                  | 1,269,640 sq. m.                                    | India (1951 Census)                                                         |
| Population                       | 601,938,035                                       | 356,891,624                                         | 574,205,940 in China proper (1953)                                          |
| Urban population                 | 77.3 million (13.3%)                              | 16.25 mill. in 360 municipal areas                  | There are more urban people in India                                        |
| Rural population                 | 505.3 " (86.7%)                                   |                                                     |                                                                             |
| Schools                          | 510,000 (Primary)<br>53.1 million students (1956) | 47,813 basic schools with 5,060,807 students (1956) | India also 239,118 primary and pre-primary schools with 21,000,000 students |
| Universities                     | 15 (1956)                                         | 36 (1956)                                           |                                                                             |
| Students sent abroad             | 10,100 (1953-1957)                                | 1,598 (1945—1951)                                   |                                                                             |
| Engineering and Technology       | 48 Engineering colleges                           | 14 Engineering and Technological institutions.      |                                                                             |
| Revenue (Central and Provincial) | 30,000,000,000 Yuans (1 yuan=2 rupees)            | 13,000,000,000 rupees                               |                                                                             |



|                     | China                                                                                                     | India                                                                                                                          | Remarks                                             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Defence expenditure | 7,960,000,000 Yuans<br>(of which a portion went for administration)                                       | 2,500,000,000 rupees                                                                                                           | China spends at least 3 to 4 times more on defence. |
| Army                | 35 infantry divisions, 10 armoured and 3 airborne divisions and militia. 3 mill. and 10 mill. men in all. | About 500,000 men                                                                                                              |                                                     |
| Navy                |                                                                                                           | 800 officers and 8,000 ratings                                                                                                 |                                                     |
| Air Force           | 2,500 front line aircraft mostly fighters (MIG--17s)                                                      | Not known                                                                                                                      |                                                     |
| Production          | Iron, steel, cement, paper, cotton yarn, power generation.                                                | Iron, steel, cement, paper, aluminium, locomotives, cars and trucks, cycles, aeroplanes, jute, cotton, sugar, arms, munitions. | China gets equipments and munitions from Russia     |

A. C.

### Kerala

It is quite clear that the leftists in Kerala acted in concert against the Communists out of fear and dislike of pro-Chinese-pro-Russian Communism and not on account of any love or admiration that they harboured for the Congress. The record of administration and management of public affairs of the Congress has been very poor during the last 13 years. The Congress has deliberately put persons of no merit and often of admitted demerit into positions of power; and these persons have blackened the face of the Congress by their unscrupulous, immoral and corrupt behaviour and by their total lack of ability and willingness to work for the good of the people. The Congress management has lost to the people of India thousands of crores of rupees, by extravagant, unnecessary and useless expenditure upon schemes which were thoughtless, whimsical, purely experimental and for the benefit of party men and their proteges. The plans and schemes were, in so far as industries or power generation schemes went, drawn up by foreigners who

could exploit and bluff into agreement their employers, the gullible and ill-instructed Congress leaders and their **sabjantawallah** flatterers. The Congress, therefore, cannot expect to rule the country any longer without a good deal of checking by the general public. The leftists of Kerala as well as the public of that province have no faith in the Congress (or in any political party) and they voted for these parties only to oust the Communists. **It was an awakening of the people to a greater consciousness of their Rights**, which were being usurped by the political parties in an organised and conspiratorial manner.

The difficulties which the Congress leaders are facing and have faced in Kerala in fighting the elections and for forming a ministry, have been caused by their deviation from the moral and social path. They have tried to build up a pattern of socialism without eschewing anti-social behaviour. They have tried to set up a moral code for the public, by sanctimonious recitals against drink, gambling, cow killing and meat eating; without having any moral code for their own guidance. Cornering the poor

man's food, allowing criminals to carry on their business of crime, allowing tradesmen and others to cheat the revenue and harassing those who willingly pay taxes in order to lay a red-herring across their trail of bribery and corruption. Contracts and commissions to "friends" in India and abroad and a general disregard of public good, public utilities, public health, public safety and public self-respect and honour have been the common characteristics of Congress Raj. If Pandit Nehru must continue to govern India by his fellow party men and his favourites, he should set up a special court of justice before which Congress-protected men could be denounced for apprehension and trial.

A. C.

### Hapless Kerala

Kerala is a portent and a pointer. We, therefore, consider it worthwhile to discuss it from another stand-point:

Under the Indian Constitution a Government is guaranteed a term of five years if it continues to command the majority. There is no direct reference to a situation as it obtained in Kerala, namely, that the ruling power enjoyed a majority within the Legislature but not, as the Central Government held, in the country. On the strength of this—doubtless a weighty consideration—a General Election was ordered. People of all shades of opinion responded with an enthusiasm, which is without a parallel in India. More than 80% of the electorate have committed themselves to a verdict one way or the other. In some constituencies as many as 90% went to the polls. Such a heavy voting proved the undoing of the Communists; and it is an unerring index that they had but touched the fringe of the nation.

Ballot box is a rough and ready method to test the hold of a party; but in the absence of anything yet devised to the country or as counterpart its validity goes unchallenged. The people of Kerala must, therefore, be presumed to have said a decisive 'No' to the Communist rule. If, however, it is a good policy to weigh the strength of the ruling party by a General

Election over the head of the Assembly whenever there is a loud, insistent cry against it or even 'a popular upsurge', if you so choose, others being equally within their rights to designate it as an organised lawlessness, the Congress Government of many a state would fare worse. In fact, it is difficult to combat the notion that the Congress Government at the Centre cared little for the niceties of constitutional propriety and would not resist the influence of their brothers-in-faith in Kerala. They were chafing at the deprivation of power. On their own admission they spent over fifty lakhs of rupees to rouse the people to such a frenzied height as to make it well-nigh impossible for the Government to function save by brute force; and this is how they paved the way for a General Election. All the same, no house can be set on flames save by its own inflammable materials. The Communists alienated a vast section of the people by their abrupt manner of doing things. They stampeded the people into legislation. They sought to travel days in the track of decades. Obviously, their one aim was to all intents and purposes, for quick returns to stand to their stead and their comrades outside to make the next General Election easy. They too were not free from plausible charges of corruption and nepotism—may not be to the extent as the Congress and P.S.P. Governments had to face. People at large are too much in a hurry to bother about difference in degree; what they care for is the difference in kind, if any. Both the Congress and the Communists have been guilty of moral transgressions in swelling their party-funds; and people know to their cost what flagrant abuses they lead to, telling upon their nerves and resources in day to day life. The Communists, however, brought to bear upon their task hard, unremitting toils; and duffers in the Cabinet were conspicuous by their absence. They were a disciplined lot and very little, if any, was heard of their internecine squabbles and what ugliness they connote. Except for some flirtations with a well-known capitalistic concern no sharp deviation from their professed creed could be spotted out. It is also

true that they made one genuine attempt to lighten the burdens of the poor—and Kerala is incredibly poor. But these good points were completely overshadowed by their conduct in the Sino-Indian border dispute. They have so behaved in this matter as to make them suspect and have been consigned to a sinister isolation.

The Congress—at least the West Bengal Congress has celebrated a day of deliverance. The one way the Congress, in our humble opinion, can celebrate the occasion is for their leaders to recall their plighted words to the nation and live in affirmation of the same. They would better reflect to what pass they have dragged down the Congress, such as to justify rubbing shoulders with the Muslim League—definitely not the Muslims—which, to quote the words of the late Mr. Jinnah, 'checked and held in abeyance the party that stood for complete independence'—First Round Table Conference. And all this to beat down the Communists, who, only some years back, were just a few trivial exotics.

J. B.

### Revenue and Expenditure

All governments have to incur expenses for running the administration and for providing against internal disorders and foreign incursions. The governments of civilised and progressive countries have to grant social security to nationals, spend fairly large amounts for the country's education, health, sanitation and for setting up such industries and carrying out such projects as private enterprise cannot or should not undertake on grounds of public well-being and safety. Contrary to what we find has been done in other countries which are now in very good position in point of progress and popular well-being, India has chosen to go in for a certain state monopolistic development of major industries and for social welfare and economic development measures, ignoring the essential priorities that other countries have granted to mass education, unemployment relief, old-age-pension, comprehensive medical aid and a general elevation of the standard of living. The Indian thesis has been that if the State

controlled the production of iron and steel, generated power on a large scale, developed the railways and bored for oil, the country would prosper and all people will be able to pay even more taxes by which the government will, later on, provide all those facilities of education, medical aid and social security which humanity associates with civilised politics. During their first and second plans the government have spent about Rs. 250 per capita on their own and exclusively thought-out schemes. Had these monies been spent in a businesslike manner on sound industrial and social progress schemes, there should have been some substantial return from these investments and the national income (Real, not Money) should have gone up noticeably. Employment and the development of other industries should also have followed at a faster pace. In fact, the increase in the national money income has been achieved mainly by inflation brought about by the government's policy of deficit financing.

The Budget that will be introduced while we shall be in the press will have for its main objectives, finding means for expanding expenses on further industrial and other projects and revenues for meeting increased expenses on National Defence. The attitude adopted by the Prime Minister in meeting the Chinese aggression appears to be mellow and soft and we may assume that he will give up territory to the Chinese rather than risk the use of force to safeguard our territorial integrity. We may, therefore, expect that Defence expenditure will not go up so much in the Budget, as we may expect in the face of foreign aggression. The Third Plan will loom large in the Budget and we shall be told how soon we shall be free from poverty and the other ills of material want. We may expect that the country will spend at least as much on these Plans as it has been spending so long. The increased taxes will be fairly heavy in order to yield 300/500 crores more per annum. These point definitely to indirect taxation which will fall mainly on the masses of India. For taxing the so-called wealthier classes has possibly reached its limits and increased income, capital gains,

wealth or expenditure taxes will not yield enough to meet the increased collection charges. If, on the other hand, indirect taxes are levied on essential articles of consumption the realisation will be less costly and the total gain in revenues appreciable. Assuming that the average person in India spent 70 per cent of his income on these essential commodities an extra 5 per cent realisation from these will give the exchequer about 400 crores more in revenue. The realisations may average even higher and one may collect as much as a 1,000 crores without destroying all life in this sub-continent. But that does not in way justify any extortion from a poverty-stricken people for fanciful purposes. A guarantee that every naia paisa paid will be spent for a high priority purpose must be there. The costs must be checked by independent persons of unchallengeable wisdom, knowledge and integrity all along the line. Dud projects and drone personnel must be cancelled and removed entirely from the Public Sector and Government Departments.

A. C.

### Increased Freights

The Black Market has established the fact that consumer goods for which the demand is highly inelastic will carry any amount of loading in price, if the suppliers act in concert and if their cornering of the particular article or articles has been effectively carried out. We have been made to pay absurd prices by our profiteers and black market dealers and one may judge from the following from the memory schedule what can happen in the field of loading prices (See Table Next Column).

With all this experience and knowledge at their disposal the Ministers of India and the Merchants should know that the increased freight rates will be shifted quite easily on to the poor consumers. The howls of protest set up by Chambers of Commerce were quite unconvincing. The merchants have loaded prices already by 5% of the entire value and not merely 5%

of that portion of the value which is for freight charges.

| Article            | Normal price      | High black market price |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Rice               | Rs. 16/- p. m.    | Rs. 35/- p.m.           |
| Flour              | Rs. 17.50 p. m.   | Rs. 30/- p. m.          |
| Sugar              | Re. 1.10 p. seer  | Re. 1.75 p. seer        |
| Butter (imported)  | Rs. 3.50 p lb.    | Rs. 7.50 p lb.          |
| Medicine (,)       | Rs. 2.50 p. unit  | Rs. 15/- p. u.          |
| Motor cars (,,)    | Rs. 16,000/- each | Rs. 48,000/- each       |
| Cosmetics (,,)     | Rs. 3.50 each     | Rs. 23.50 each          |
| Gold               |                   |                         |
| (State controlled) | Rs. 66/- p. tola  | Rs. 135/- p. tola       |
| Steel              | Rs. 700/- p. ton  | Rs. 1,300/- p. ton      |

A. C.

### Tibetan Gold

It is rumoured that Marwaris have already bought the stock of gold in question through Sikkim or some such party. If this is true the buying Marwaris must have paid the duty to the Government of India or carried out the transaction unlawfully. The Dalai Lama is not subject to Indian Law, but all Marwaris are. If the Marwaris have bought up the gold and kept it in Sikkim, Bhutan or Nepal, they should declare their profits to the Government of India for Income-Tax purposes. If they have not made any declarations, they should be prosecuted and fined heavily.

We are completely in the dark about this affair. The Government of India should make things clear to all and see that no private persons, other than His Holiness,

The Dalai Lama, make any profit out of this Tibetan gold.

If the Dalai Lama has brought to India a million tolas of gold, and it is very likely that he has, the Government of India will have certain difficulties in getting over the problem of all that gold going into the Indian market. The Dalai Lama has come in with all his entourage, his moveable wealth and that of his entourage, seeking asylum in India and the Indian Government have granted asylum to His Holiness and his followers. In the circumstances it would look odd if Indian Customs Officials charged the Dalai Lama either Customs duty on his possessions or prosecuted him for illicit import of precious metals and gems into India. If the Dalai Lama then sold his gold to the people of India at the inflated rate established by our Government, we shall be paying a tribute to the great dignitary which may amount to several crores of rupees. If the Government of India took over this gold on a duty-free basis and released it for sale at bazar rate, they would be making profits on the goods of a Theocratic Ruler to whom they have granted asylum. If on the other hand, they kept the gold in the vaults of the Reserve Bank of India and paid out several crores of rupees to the Dalai Lama, the effect will be inflationary. They can also ship the gold to America and obtain foreign currency for it; but, then, whose foreign currency will it be, the Government of India's or the Dalai Lama's?

A. C.

#### Bhilai Firing

The workers at Bhilai according to press reports felt and experienced that safety arrangements were insufficient in Bhilai and that workmen's compensation monies were not paid out to the sufferers or their heirs within a reasonable period. This led to a dispute, and, government and government officers having different standards of employer-employee relations for government-owned factories as against those owned privately; possibly ignored

the demands with an air of superiority and almightiness. This must have been the case at least to a great extent as it all led to a *satyagraha* by fasting on the part of one worker. The Bhilai officers supported by their fellow government servants evidently tried to break down this resistance. One officer tried to see the fasting man and the public got enraged and burnt down two government owned jeeps. The police started firing immediately and "brought the situation under control." We are not convinced ever that the government have any right to *create situations* and, then, bring them under control by use of brute force. They say (pedagogues) that children should not be beaten, for that teaches them to use violence. These firings teach our simple folk that violence is nothing very bad. For what is good for the *Rajah* is also good for the *Ryot*. In fact, the Bhilai situation is not quite so simple as has been made to appear in the first press reports. There are not only the matter of workmens' compensation and the lack of safety arrangements, but the workers of Bhilai have been feeling that they were not being treated fairly and humanely in many ways. Employment, promotions, increments, retrenchments and all those other factors which determine good relations between employers and their employees, must have been mishandled by doctrinaire personnel experts and those who worship Red Tape. Otherwise the workers are not inclined to indulge in rioting, sabotage and general lawlessness. They often make unreasonable demands, in the hope that the two sets of unreasons on the two sides, employers' and workers', will cross each other out and a settlement will be made which will be reasonable. In the present case, the unreason clouding the brain of government officers, apparently did not clear up and allow the light of reason to illuminate industrial relations in Bhilai. Government management of industrial relations have been far from satisfactory in more than one field since the 1920s. Our independent Government have been maintaining the British imperial tradition and that is why we have

trouble. In Britain itself industrial relations have developed and are very good and reasonable.

#### More Bhilai

If one were given some straw and bamboo instead of a house to live in, one might legitimately harbour a grievance. The more so if other people in the same locality lived in houses built by builders. It appears that Bhilai workers who were employed by the State for construction work were living in houses which they had built for themselves with material supplied to them by their employers. Contractor's labour in the same area lived in well-built houses put up by the contractors. This has been going on ever since Bhilai began and the State officials have been basking in the sun-shine of their own genius which enabled them to think out such a cheap solution for the housing problem at Bhilai! And, they paid them Rs. 48/- per month "in all" to build a steel factory! Considering that chappassis who sit and belch in Bombay in Calcutta in Mercantile houses receive about Rs. 150/- per month and that even women workers earn double of Rs. 48/- in Jamshedpur, we feel the Bhilai workers had a grievance. Now that the relations between workers and employers have been ruined by the bureaucrats we suppose they will try to spend more public money in the wrong places to "arrest any worsening of the situation". A lot of people also died of accidents in Bhilai due to their "negligence and intransigence". What about their superiors, who are now writing such illuminating "post mortem" reports? Did not they suffer from any physical or mental shortcomings? Or, why did they allow the poor workers to march to their lawless destiny along the path of unreason? A bad workman quarrels with his tools!

A. C.

#### Cost of Public Constructions

After a full "yuga" (12 years) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has suddenly woken up to the facts that public constructions are habitually carried out at such costs as are neither necessary (nor, perhaps, are really

and truly the genuine costs) nor supported by reasons of modern requirements of sound construction. He has not said, even now, that the Congress-sponsored contractors have been cheating the public of India or that they have been permitted to cheat because they purchased the silent connivance of Government servants. Nor has he said that he knows and surely suspects that a lot of Congressmen, including persons holding important posts have been guilty of participating in the "loot." Pandit Nehru likes to slur over things and to make things easy for criminals. In this he is an equal of the late lamented Count Leo Tolstoy who said, "Resist not evil," for evil will cure itself through an awakening of the soul. Poor Count Leo Tolstoy and his follower Pandit Nehru never realised that the only method by which the soul can be awakened is a generous and vigorous use of the rod. We may say at this point that public works all over India and the work done for the public sector in industry have enriched more thieves in 10 years than have been enriched through the laxness and willing co-operation of the Indian police during the last one hundred years.

A. C.

#### No Shirking Please

It looks very much like things moving in a vicious circle. The more Mr. Nehru opposes a tribunal to inquire into the charges of corruption, the materials of which Mr. C. D. Deshmukh claims to be in possession of, the more is the desire of the lay public tightened for one such. The moral authority, that belongs to Mr. Deshmukh, tips the scale in its favour. We do not feel happy to see how Mr. Nehru consistently shies at any tribunal. His observation with regard to the Chagla Commission going out of bounds, his lack of balance in respect of Mr. Krishnamachary's alleged part in Life Insurance investment scandal and his rather intemperate language against Justice Vivian Bose still rankle in public memory. He flares up at the suggestion of an investigation into mal-practices, imputed to his colleagues, nay, once even against a Secretary of his. All this, we have no hesi-

with us. And what that trade means? By this trade, he said, Britain provided for her old-age pension, unemployment relief, education grants and other allied state allowances as part of an automatic routine of existence. Nothing, in fact, has, therefore, been left undone by the Conservative Party to thwart, waylay and circumvent India's struggle for freedom. Sir Winston Churchill could ill-afford to conceal his chagrin even when the passing of the Indian Independence Act was a question of days. As the leader of the party he would not endorse it in the Parliament; Mr. Macmillan did it. It is not known to what extent he was in sympathy with it. But any way, he is one of those to acknowledge the value of dividends it yielded them. In his Indian tour in 1958, he felt overwhelmed with India's goodwill and said that England's trade position with India was better than it was in the British regime.

Mr. MacMillan's recent African tour has its one great significance if it is viewed in the light of this experience. He repudiated the shibboleth of the whiteman's burden and the theory of trusteeship. And what is so eloquently to the point, he told the white settlers of South Africa that England would not subscribe to the ideology of a master race. He spoke with utmost freedom despite his listener's reaction, he must have foreseen. Mr. MacMillan strikes us as the true Briton, whose gift of resilience with boundless capacity for adjustment has so enormously helped the British people to tide over crisis which confronted them from time to time. If what he avers now is followed up with some earnestness, England will add to her moral stature.

J. B.

#### More Make Believe

Food Control, Guest Control and all such Controls are mainly of a make believe variety. Some call these control hypocritical, sanctimonious and by other names. In fact the Guest Control rules are quite senseless. If 500 persons are fed on "pillao" and "parathas" by their host; those 500 persons forego their 500 meals at home, and no more rice or flour is consumed than would be if they ate at home. Rather less

rice or flour will be consumed as there will be other varieties of food at a banquet and people will also eat less out of considerations of good manners. Of course, no one appears to observe these rules and one may say that these orders are made to be violated. That is bad for National discipline.

A. C.

#### The One Shortage

The trite old saying 'Doctor, heal thyself' is no longer a retort with us. It has by the sheer force of circumstances acquired the ethical value of an adage. We are led to think like this, as we reflect that everybody who is anybody has taken to counselling the students of today on the virtue of obedience, discipline and character, etcetera. What, however, is fundamental and conveniently lost sight of is that those who deserve to be black-listed shout accusation the loudest.

We have passed through a great revolution, which ended by a chapter of untold misery for a vast section of the people inasmuch as the country was cleft into two. Revolution by itself is a disintegrating force. It induces loose ends and violently disturbs the psychological equilibrium of a country—it is a crime when it fails. As a matter of fact, freedom in all spheres of life is seedy and boisterous in its incipient stage. It becomes, therefore, the bounden duty of the protagonists of change to conduct themselves with utmost wariness and restraint. In fact, how the Congress leaders acted and made use of the new opportunities reacted as inevitably upon the country as a whole, the impressionable youth particularly.

As they assumed office, they felt no scruples whatsoever to go back upon the word of honour, they had pledged with the Nation in respect of their austerity programme. Barring some luminous exceptions, they thought of making hay while the sun shone and ere the day of reckoning and retribution overtook them. Entrenched in the new set-up, they billeted their own on Government institutions, commercial houses and places they could lay their hands on, let alone the maximum yield Licences and Permits gave them. And as some of them were literally floored in the General Election, they were brought in as meticulously

by the trap door of the ruling party's pocket boroughs for the Upper House in negation of the A B C of democracy. All these had a disastrous effect on the morale of young generation. No less shattering in their cumulative effect were the painful disclosures, made by Commissions, how some University authorities abused the trust and responsibility, reposed in them, in financial matters, examination results and, what is still more nauseating, in their behaviour with girl students. It may be said that they were dealt with. No; they should have been so dealt with as to deter others walking in their footsteps and their students to believe that their University is their sanctum and no emporium. In these circumstances, we refrain from spinning out, it is so unfortunate that student delinquency is diagnosed by Mr. Nehru, of all persons, as due to, what we rather consider an inspiring fact, that families which had hitherto no education are now sending their wards in increasing numbers to the University. We all the more regret that Mr. Nehru is being echoed. Such a way of thinking argues a mind, ill-fitted to accept without vital qualifications a socialistic pattern of government. On the point at issue, however, we are perfectly at one with those, who view with alarm the galloping deterioration of the students in their physical, moral and intellectual calibre. Things have gone far, but not yet far enough to be beyond redemption; and they have to be toned up with a sense of purpose in life and a back-to-the-wall resolution to start anew on an even keel. No further denunciation or pulpit lecture please! They are to be commiserated. They share in common with others the myriad shortages, the country is subject to. What, however, has proved fatal to their healthy growth is the appalling shortage in their surroundings of Noble Forms, which, to look on, make noble.

J. B.

#### The Four Faces of India

The *Hitavada* has given the following extract:

Manhattan, Kansas, Feb. 16.—The outcome of the cold war with Communism is being decided more surely in India today

than on the weapon testing sites of Cape Canaveral, according to Mr. James McCain, President of Kansas State University.

Addressing an allschool assembly of the University, he added 'whether India can solve her problems within the framework of her free institutions is a matter of vital importance to our own nation and the entire free world'.

Mr. McCain, who recently returned from a four-week tour of India, said India 'presents four faces to the world'.

The first face, he declared, was one of 'indescribable physical beauty and cultural charm,' but this contrasted with another face 'scarred by poverty, hunger and disease.'

One of the free world's pressing problems, he said, was whether India's food problem could be solved before her people rejected their free institutions and sought their salvation in Communism or some other form of absolute Government.

Mr. McCain said India's third face was that of a major battleground in the cold war, while the fourth was that of a show-place for democracy'.

#### Nehru and China

Mr. Nehru was replying to the debate on the President's address in the Rajya Sabha. The House adopted the motion of thanks.

Mr. Nehru said: "To say that we will not have anything to do and and will issue ultimatums to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible and mature countries."

Earlier, Mr. Nehru deprecated the tendency of people to think that a friendly settlement meant appeasement, and said: "I do not consider that it should be thought that there are only two policies open to us—one of ignoble submission and the other of flagrant aggression in word, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left, only weak surrender or the uncivilised approach of brawling and shouting."

Mr. Nehru said: "We feel, and the President has given expression to it that China has not behaved properly with us. We have been let down in many ways.



tation to say, is possibly for the reason that he is too refined a taste and is constitutionally averse to any dirty linen being washed in the public. Nonetheless, as the administrative head of this vast country, it is religiously incumbent upon him to track down the morally undesirables. They tend to make it inevitable to tar all with the same brush.

It is an unwritten Law, but which has the sanctity of one of the musts in a civilized set-up, that those who are at the helm of affairs must conduct themselves such as to justify the rank and file to believe that they are aboveboard. Nothing spreads so contagiously as corrupt deals invariably do from the top to the level below. This is why we are always for a thorough inquiry into all such charges. It is sheer petulance to stigmatise those who make the charges as bazaar people. We are, however, definitely of opinion that it is only when a prima facie case has been made out that there is room for a tribunal or commission of inquiry. A permanent tribunal is too ponderous a charge. Rather, we suggest, for what it is worth, that an all-India Standing Committee with a judicial leaven, functioning in circuit, be instituted. Pitted against Pakistan's relentless drive for a clean sweep of corrupt personnel in the administration, Minister downwards, judgement has gone against us in default. We certainly do not approve of any harshness or wholesale screening. It is sore against an enlightened rule, but the other unsavoury end is as much and a blot.

J. B.

#### Ceylon Measures Against Indians

Ceylon has about 2 million Indians who form 25 per cent of the population of the island. Of these half are born as Ceylonese subjects and the other half are immigrants who have gone over to Ceylon to work in their rubber, tea and coconut plantations. To the best of our knowledge the Ceylonese gained quite a lot by the labour that the Indians put in their soil. Now the Ceylonese want to get rid of the Indians. A very good way to get rid of workers who have enriched their country would be to

give the workers a share of that wealth (the values that were created by their effort but not given to them in the shape of wages) and to let them go. The people of Ceylon have been getting work done by Indians over a hundred years. Even if a hundred thousand men and women had put in work there on an average for 50 years in all, the surplus values of that work will be nothing less than Rs.  $500 \times 100,000 \times 50 =$  Rs. 25,000,000,000 (Two thousand and five hundred crores of rupees). Half of that will be 1,250 crores. This amount may be paid to the retiring workers or to the Indian Government who will then repatriate the immigrant Indians from Ceylon. Ceylon can also settle this for an annual payment of 125 crores for ever (10 per cent. on capital) which will be used to rehabilitate these workers who have helped to enrich Ceylon and are now required to be discarded on racial grounds.

But the Ceylonese wish to disclaim responsibility and want to forcibly eject these men without paying suitable compensation to them. They have even suggested that a lot of workers or their relations are still entering Ceylon without permission of the Ceylonese Government. If they are, there must be a good reason for it, viz., that the Ceylonese Government are not permitting them to enter Ceylon to visit their kith and kin. The Ceylon Government are also entertaining a proposal for legislation against such entrants which will permit the Ceylon police to **shoot such entrants at sight!** The clever proposer, of course, has not taken the trouble to describe the methods by which the Ceylon police will know **at sight** that a person has entered Ceylon without proper permit papers. Nor whether only Indians entering Ceylon unlawfully will be shot or the entire world will be informed by Ceylon that whosoever has the Temerity to violate the immigration laws of the mighty island government will be shot at sight! We had been worrying about the mental balance of Ceylonese politicians ever since the Bandaranaike incident, but we had no idea things had gone so far.

A. C.

#### "Unnatural"

The word "unnatural" has different meanings. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word came into use in the late middle English period (1350—1450 A.D.) and meant "not in accordance with the physical nature of persons or animals." In 1513 A.D., it was used in the sense "not in accordance with the usual course of nature." In 1516, it acquired the meaning "monstrous" or "abnormal." In 1746, it was used to mean "Devoid of natural qualities or characteristics; artificial." It also meant at different times "outraging natural feeling or moral standards, monstrously cruel or wicked (1529). At variance with what is natural, usual, or expected, unusual, strange (1586)."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave recently pronounced an opinion on ownership of land. He said, "Whenever I find people owning land, I do feel that they are committing an offence. Nobody takes away land with him after his death. The very idea of ownership of land is unnatural." He said ownership of land was not prevalent in ancient times in India and that it had been brought to India by the British rulers.

It will, of course, be unkind to criticise the opinion given by a good man; but we cannot agree with Acharya Bhave about his theory of unnaturalness of all ownership of land. It is not contrary to human or animal nature to own land. It is not monstrous or abnormal nor is it devoid of natural qualities and characteristics. It has perhaps "outraged" Acharya Bhave's "natural feeling and moral standards" but for that humanity at large cannot be held to be guilty of unnatural conduct. For, it has not been "monstrously cruel and wicked" in all or even in the majority of cases. Some ownership of land has been bad, cruel, anti-social and so forth; but that is true of all ownership as well as of lack of ownership. For, many have been the cases of ownership of houses, boats, rice, wheat, taxis, lorries, clothes, jewellery, knowledge, physical strength, political power and all else that can be owned, where the owners have used their material, intellectual, spiritual or moral possessions for the degradation, ex-

ploitation, persecution and harassment of fellow human beings. Religious teachers, faddists, politicians, scientists, generals, industrialists have all caused great sorrow to humanity; often without owning anything. We do not think that people must cultivate whatever land they own. Animals do not cultivate but they "own" their habitat lair, stable, kennel or wherever they stay. If one tried to push the lion out of his "home" or the bear out of its cave or even a bull-terrier out of its kennel, one would soon understand how natural it is for animals to own places, areas and domain. A man may own a large garden with magnificent non-fruit bearing trees or a large reservoir or pond. He may also graze his cattle, rear his stock, dig for stone, coal or other minerals or just build a sanctuary for birds, wild animals and trees in his own land. The **rishis** and **acharyas** can also build **ashramas** in their land. And there will be no question of cultivation of all such lands; nor can anyone, say that the ownership of all such land was "unnatural", **cruel, monstrous** and contrary to the nature of men and human beings.

A. C.

#### A Happy Augury

Britain in unexampled stress obeyed the signal of history and conceded India freedom. It was an act of statesmanship, which refused to line up with what Clive understood, as he instructed the Court of Directors of the East India Company to 'encourage', what he called, 'rivalship between the Gentoos and Mussalmen to obviate the danger of any cabal being formed': the statesmanship, Morley and Minto perfected to a logical finish by their Separate Electorate, gearing mediaeval fanaticism to make the common man act as a fuse for barbarous communal explosions. It involved them some loss no doubt, but it saved them their Indian commerce. Round about 1930, Viscount Rothermere, in collaboration with Sir Michael O' Dyer of the Punjab Martial Law fame and other diehard Tories, pressed home by an intensive propaganda the folly of slackening the grip of British rule in India, let alone her Independence, because it would mean the end of her trade

You may say our policies were such that we permitted them to do it, though I do not see how any policy we could have pursued could have made any major difference. But the major thing is, we feel we have been let down and injury has been caused to our principles and indeed to our frontiers. And we have to face this situation, facing it with the right policy and right strength, and facing it, as everyone says, with a measure of unity which comes as the result of the right policy. No doubt, so far as strength is concerned, we shall try to build up our strength and utilise it to defend our frontiers."

"When we say that we should always aim at a peaceful settlement, it does not mean appeasement or giving in to anything we consider wrong. I do not consider that it should be thought that there are only two policies open—one of ignoble submission and the other of flagrant aggression in words, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left. Only the weak surrender or the uncivilised resort to brawling and shouting. I hope we shall function in a more civilised manner, adhering to our principles and yet functioning in a civilised way."

Mr. Nehru said that very recently the Government of India had sent a communication to the Chinese Government in reply to their last letter and "in due course we will place it before this House."

"It will be unbecoming of me to talk rashly about the steps that we are going to take and what we are going to do. That is not normally the language of responsible people speaking for a Government. I need not repeat here what the President has said so well in his address. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did not like one or two phrases in it. What the President says, does not lack any firmness anywhere. It is a firm statement of India's position in this matter, at the same time laying stress on our desire for a friendly settlement. But it does not mean giving up a basic principle or basic interests. Nevertheless it is, and should be the function of every Government to try for a friendly settlement because there is no other alternative, in India, in Germany, France, Asia or elsewhere. Friendly settle-

ment may take a long time or it may be upset by the opposite party and war may begin. That is a different matter.

"The President has said about our deep sorrow about what we consider to be a breach of faith by a country we considered friendly and with whom, we laying down those very principles which are talked so much as Panch Sheel, nevertheless desire to have a friendly settlement.

"But let it be understood quite clearly when I talk of a friendly settlement, I see no ground whatever at the present moment, no bridge between the Chinese position and ours. That is, the present positions are such that there is no room for negotiations on that (Chinese) basis and, therefore, there is nothing to negotiate about. But to say that we will not have anything to do and we will issue ultimatums to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible and mature countries."

#### U. G. C. Recommendations

New Delhi, Feb. 23.—The University Grants Commission in its third report has stated that new colleges, each reasonably well-equipped and well-supported to look after a restricted number of students, will have to be established to meet the increasing demand for university education.

It points out that the number of students, at the 35 Indian universities, which has been increasing in the last few years at the rate of over 50,000 per annum, will touch the million mark very soon if this rate of increase is maintained.

The report points out that it is necessary to determine the principles on which the admissions are to be made into a university so that unnecessary wastage of national resources may be avoided. The university should not be treated, the Commission states as though it were some kind of "waiting room" in which young men and women collect before entering upon a wage-earning career.

It favours university education being restricted to those who, by any acceptable test, have the necessary aptitude and from amongst whom the nation may draw as

many as may be needed to fill the various professions.

Secondary education of a diversified nature as well as education of a technical character might be expanded and made easily available for ordinary students.

It is of the opinion that in the foreseeable future, the teaching and affiliating type of university shall have to be depended upon to carry on university education. While a unitary residential type of university may be the ideal, it is more expensive. Further, unitary universities cease to be academically satisfactory or administratively manageable when their student numbers increase appreciably beyond 5,000.

Recently experience has shown, says the Report, that some of the most difficult instances of student indiscipline have occurred in the unitary universities in the country.

The Commission urges that it should be seen to it that the numbers in the existing unitary universities are limited and high standards insisted on in admitting students.

The Commission feels that there should be widest possible consultation and careful examination of all aspects of the problems involved in the establishment of new colleges. The Commission states that several instances have been noticed of unplanned and hasty establishment of universities, largely as a result of improper or irrational pressures. In this connexion, the Commission draws attention to the establishment of a new institution at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh called "Indira Kala Visva Vidyalaya."

The Commission notes with satisfaction that some improvement has been brought about in a large majority of universities in the matter of giving higher scales of pay to teachers. Twenty State universities had participated in a scheme for upgrading, on a sharing basis, the salaries of their teachers.

Another national aspect of teachers' salaries, says the Commission, is that the pay scales of teachers compare unfavourably with pay scales in other walks of life. The point at which most men and women

enter the university teachers' profession is that of the lecturer. The Commission states that the basic time-scale of pay for university and college lecturers should compare favourably with that offered for Class I posts in the administrative services of the States and the Central Government.

The Commission points that the problem of general behaviour of students continues to be a serious one. It appeals to politicians and to parents to assist the university authorities in maintaining the right atmosphere in the universities.

The Commission states that it still adheres to the view that the changeover from English to an Indian language should be carefully prepared for and should be made only gradually having regard primarily to the effectiveness of teaching and learning. The Commission proposes to have the whole question examined thoroughly by a working group in the near future.

The Commission emphasises that the medium of instruction is an academic and not a political question and that any change that might be considered necessary should be introduced only after reaching full accord on the matter with the universities.

The Commission recommends the establishment of a convention, as in the U.K., by which the Government entrusts to the Commission the whole responsibility of determining the financial needs of universities without interference in matters of policy or in the detailed administration of university affairs. In order that the Commission may be truly responsible for co-ordination of standards of teaching and research in the universities, the Report says it is desirable that grants-in-aid should not be given by any of the Ministries of the Government to any university directly and without consultation with the Commission.

#### Nehru's Second Thoughts

The Statesman reports:

New Delhi, Feb. 24.—But for a firm declaration that the Congress would never form a Government in Kerala with the Muslim League's co-operation, "come what may," Mr. Nehru's monthly Press conference today was largely a repetition of his earlier statements in Parliament.

However, on the two major subjects of discussion—his invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai for talks in Delhi, and the demand for a permanent tribunal to combat corruption in high places—he reiterated his stand with greater emphasis than during the Lok Sabha debate.

He still adhered to his view, the Prime Minister said, that negotiations between India and China would be "fruitless" unless the Indian territory forcibly occupied by the Chinese was evacuated and preliminary steps taken to settle facts.

Yet he had agreed to a meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister because, he added, sometimes "discussions may not be fruitful and yet they may be desirable."

"Do you understand that"?, he inquired and some in his audience, at least said that they did not. A correspondent commented: "If negotiations are fruitless, then what are you going to talk about"?

Mr. Nehru pointed out that there were several difficult problems in Europe about which summit meetings took place, even though nobody expected any results from them.

While declining to anticipate the likely response of the Chinese Premier to his invitation to Delhi, Mr. Nehru told a questioner that he did not object to the meeting being held in Rangoon, although he would not like to go out of India.

Last time, he explained, he had refused to go to Rangoon chiefly because that invitation was against the background of a Chinese Note that he could not accept. Any meeting now would take place against the background of the Indian Note, even though the acceptance of this Note was by no means a precondition.

Rejecting the demand for a permanent tribunal to prevent corruption—"I will not be bullied into taking a wrong step," he said—Mr. Nehru argued that such a tribunal would be undemocratic and injurious to the country, because it was bound to foster authoritarianism.

He deplored "the constant, but vague," talk of corruption, and invited public men as well as newspapers to make specific

allegations and take the consequences. Meanwhile, he conceded, existing procedure for dealing with corruption could be improved. In special cases, he would consider appointing a special tribunal.

In this connection, Mr. Nehru blamed a Bombay weekly for making baseless allegations against "one of our most able and energetic Generals"—Lt.-Gen. B. M. Kaul.

About Kerala, the Prime Minister said that the triple alliance emerged from the tremendous feeling in the State against the previous Communist Government. Only after the elections did the Congress High Command see the manifesto of the Kerala Muslim League, which had several "objectionable" and communal features, he said. There was no question of co-operation with such a communal attitude, "whatever the risk."

He displayed an equally uncompromising attitude towards recent occurrences in Bhilai. He had no sympathy, he said, for anybody—whether students or workers—who wilfully destroyed public property.

Nor did the Prime Minister once conceal his irritation over questions relating to boundary disputes between States in the country. "It does not matter to me where the boundary of one State ends and that of the other begins, provided that the matter is settled with goodwill," he remarked.

He told another questioner that his views on the nature of the Western economic aid to India did not coincide with those of Mr. Khrushchev. He added, however, that in every country's policy there was an unavoidable element of enlightened self-interest.

P.T.I. adds: A correspondent asked if it was not a fact that the Muslim League manifesto was sent to the A.-I.C.C. before the election arrangement with the League and was discussed by the High Command. Mr. Nehru said the manifesto was shown to him and others in his presence for the first time about 10 days ago. He could not say whether it had been sent to the A.-I.C.C. When it was shown 10 ten days ago, great surprise was displayed by all present. It was more or less a repetition of the old Muslim League's programme. Separate electorates

had not been asked for in it, but the suggestion was made that such a thing might be necessary and desirable.

A correspondent pointed out that the Muslim League was supporting the Congress-PSP Government and asked how this was possible when there was a big difference in policies. Mr. Nehru said the differences were important, but on a distant plane.

In regard to the choice of a Speaker, Mr. Nehru said that so far as he was concerned it would be eminently desirable for a Muslim League candidate to take that office. A Speaker did not represent any governmental policy. If the candidate was a good man, he should be elected.

Referring to the trouble at Bhilai, Mr. Nehru said it was not the plant workers, but the construction workers who had been causing the disturbance.

A correspondent asked if the Prime Minister was aware that there had been 160 accidents in Bhilai (according to the workers). Mr. Nehru said he had absolutely no knowledge.

Referring to the charges made against Gen. Kaul by a Bombay weekly, Mr. Nehru said the main charge was that Gen. Kaul had been promoted to his present rank out of turn and that he had no experience of active service.

The Prime Minister said Gen. Kaul had put in a good deal of active service not only in Burma in the last war, but in the old N.-W.F.P. and later in Kashmir. "He was our Military Attache in Washington and when trouble in Kashmir began, he wanted to resign from a soft job and be sent to the front. We accepted his resignation and he went to the front."

It had to be realized that there was no "in turn" promotion in the higher ranks of the Army.

#### About Turn?

New Delhi, Feb. 15.—While repeatedly reiterating that there "is little ground for useful talks" between India and China, Mr. Nehru has invited Mr. Chou En-lai to Delhi "as an honoured guest"—at any time con-

venient to the Chinese Premier but preferably during the second half of March.

This invitation is contained in a letter by the Prime Minister to Mr. Chou, which was placed before Parliament today along with the Indian Government's reply to the Chinese Note of December 26. Both the Note and the Prime Minister's letter were handed over to the Chinese Government on Friday.

In his letter, the Indian Prime Minister has taken particular objection to the emphasis in the last Chinese Note on "our entire boundary never having been delimited." "That is a statement," he points out, "which appears to us to be wholly incorrect, and we cannot accept it. On that basis there can be no negotiations."

"Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible," Mr. Nehru adds, "still I think that it might be helpful for us to meet." Since he himself would be preoccupied with Parliament's Budget session for the next few months, Mr. Nehru suggests that Delhi would be a convenient place for the two Prime Ministers to meet.

Even though he has not made it a precondition for the proposed meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister, in March, Mr. Nehru has reiterated that "certain preliminary steps" suggested by him in a letter to Mr. Chou on November 16, and rejected by China, should at least be accepted now to ease the situation and facilitate discussion.

As is known, Mr. Nehru's letter of three months ago had suggested that to prevent the two Prime Ministers from being lost "in a forest of detail," officials on the two sides should meet earlier to lay the "foundation of our discussions."

Another point made in that letter was that India could not agree, even as an interim measure, to the continuation of China's "forcible occupation of Longju" and other Indian areas.

In his present letter Mr. Nehru dwells on two other points: the futility of "long distance correspondence" reaffirming irreconcilable views; and the tragic implications, not only for India and China but for the

to the difficult food position and the continuing increase in the population, there were powerful and well-nigh unassailable arguments in favour of giving priority to the production of food.

Notwithstanding the essential aim of planning to secure an orderly dispersal of industry throughout the country, it was inevitable, for the reason of the location of the natural resources, that the greatest complex of heavy industry should be centred on this region. With the natural and desirable evolution from the production of iron and steel to the manufacture of machinery, the vital importance of the social and economic stability of Eastern India, was, if anything, further enhanced.

When in addition it was borne in mind that virtually the whole of India's exports of jute goods and a large part of tea exports originated in West Bengal and Assam, the vital place of the region in the country's economy in today's circumstances of foreign exchange shortage was obvious.

Apart from those connected with the port and river there were other problems of communications which continued to demand attention. He mentioned the approach road to Calcutta from Dum Dum. He was interested to learn of the reactions of a prominent visitor connected with a very large American organization who had entered India via Calcutta. His first impression was bad, but he visited the other industrial and commercial centres as well as Delhi and was able to take with him a balanced view of India's investment potential.

Mr. Brown had met the representative of another large international group during a visit to Delhi and in the course of discussions discovered that they had set up their new organization in India around Bombay, after visiting Calcutta. They were now wondering whether they had been right in doing so.

The point was that they formed such a bad first impression of Calcutta that they admitted that it might have affected their judgement in the location of the industry.

When one considered the unemployment situation in West Bengal, one wondered how the authorities could permit this state of affairs to continue. He was not suggesting for a moment that Calcutta's and West Bengal's troubles would vanish with the completion of a fine new road between the city and Dum Dum. But he did suggest that it would have a tonic effect in other directions and would before long pay handsome dividends in terms of industrial expansion.

Calcutta was not alone among the great cities in the world today in having a traffic problem, but he had an uncomfortable feeling that, whatever thinking might have been done in regard to methods of dealing with it, not much had been achieved. A particular aspect of the road problem and one which demanded the urgent implementation of plans was the improvement of road communications between Calcutta and the developing industrial areas in other parts of the State and in Bihar.

#### A Friend of India

Lady Mountbatten, whose untimely death is mourned by all Indians, was a true friend of the peoples of India. During the days when India was torn by cliques, conspiracies and partisanship, she moved about to soothe and to bring peace. Her presence quietened the strong feelings that Indians harboured against the British. She had one quality which enabled her to establish civilised relations where passions surged. It was her general friendly and cultured outlook. She had undone much of the evil that several generations of cunning British politicians generated by their imperialistic actions. She used her power, position and talents to establish peace and friendship between India and Britain. And her success was due to her goodness and sincerity rather than to anything else. Her death has been a great loss to India.

A. C.

## THE HINDU SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre, New York, U.S.A.

Hinduism, which combines both religion and philosophy, has moulded the culture of India for the past five thousand years. It has influenced the lives of countless millions of people and given them strength and vitality, courage and vision, during their long and checkered history. Hinduism is not a congeries of fixed concepts, beliefs, and dogmas, but an organic growth. Faithful to its basic truths, which were discovered in prehistoric times through the spiritual insight of certain highly developed souls who lived on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, it has whenever necessary assimilated from alien cultures healthy ideas in order to preserve itself from inner decay and stagnation. India has thus made certain eternal and immutable principles the foundation of her cultural edifice but has left its windows open for fresh winds to come from outside; at the same time she has never allowed these winds to sweep the edifice off its foundation. India reveals a continuity in her cultural patterns almost without parallel in history.

Besides the spiritual insight contributed by ancient philosophers, mystics, and saints, two other influences—nature and geography—have helped India formulate and preserve her culture. India was isolated from the outside world by lofty mountains in the north and by great oceans in the three other directions. Her vast spaces were crisscrossed by swift-flowing rivers. She had a fertile soil and a mild climate, and nature was bounteous. All these factors gave people's minds a natural bent toward the infinite and the eternal and inclined them to contemplation. Society was not competitive, and men's bodies and minds were relaxed. Philosophical thought found easy expression through poems and songs. Though philosophy and religion absorbed people's interests, India did not lag behind other countries in the knowledge of the physical world. Scientific minds in India measur-

ed the land, mapped the heavens, traced the courses of the stars and planets, analysed matter, developed the decimal system and algebra, codified grammar and speculated about logic, contributed to the sciences of medicine and surgery, knew the use of steel and glass, and fairly kept the country abreast of the rest of the world till the beginning of the scientific era in modern Europe. The sciences in India were largely developed through observation and speculation; they were not, for the most part, based on the experimental method. Some of their achievements, nevertheless, have drawn praise from contemporary thinkers. It appears as if a strong wind of creative impulse arose from somewhere in the country itself, stirred the minds of the people, and then all but died down, ushering in a dark age. But that the life-force of the nation was not spent is now being demonstrated in the Indian people's struggle to build up their country after having attained political freedom. One need not cut open the bark of a living tree to see if the sap is running.

Whatever India achieved in the fields of art, literature, architecture, sociology, politics, or ethics was powerfully influenced by the Hindu religion and philosophy. As the subject of this paper is a vast one, I plan to give first a general outline of the Hindu systems of thought and follow it up with a discussion of social values in Hinduism. There prevails in the West a persistent belief that Hinduism, being otherworldly, is lacking in realism. If the world and individual souls are unreal, as it is alleged, then why bother about them? This attitude, it is contended, is responsible for India's poverty, illiteracy, and material backwardness.

Hinduism, also known as the Hindu dharma, is more of a way of life than a religion based upon revelations from God through a Prophet or Incarnation, which is



world, of the deterioration in the relations between the two countries.

The central theme of the Indian Note to Peking, which runs into 14 printed pages, is a complete and cogent repudiation of the Chinese claim that "the entire boundary between the two countries has never been delimited and is therefore yet to be settled through negotiations."

"It is clearly impracticable," says the latest Indian Note, "for the Government of India to accept this proposition which they consider unreasonable and against the facts of history, geography, custom, tradition and international agreement. The Government of India is anxious for a friendly settlement but it cannot possibly accept suggestions which gravely prejudice its basic position."

The Indian Note also points out that even though no border incidents have taken place recently, the need for an interim understanding to ease "present tensions" and prevent the situation from worsening is still paramount.

A copy of the letter was laid before Parliament today.

#### To Encourage Tourism

Madurai, Feb. 21.—Mr. Fredric March, American movie actor, his wife, Dr. Chrone, New York physician, who has diagnosed what is known after him as Chrone's Disease, and Dr. Chrone's wife were among the six persons arrested yesterday at Lower Camp about 100 miles from Madurai, for alleged technical breach of the State's prohibition law.

Mr. Fredric March, who left Madras today for Colombo, said in Madras that they had not committed any prohibition offence. A bottle of liquor found in the medicinal bag of the American doctor measured up only to "a few" ounces and was purely intended for medicinal purposes. It was normal practice for physicians to carry some liquor in their medical bags.

Mr. March said that the incident, which he characterized as "most unfortunate" in his one-month stay in India, occurred when the car in which they were travelling was stopped by the police on the ground that it had no permit to ply as a taxi. The tourists,

he added, had not known that it was an "illicit taxi" as stated by the police. The car had been arranged by a travel agency of Madurai. The car was searched and following the finding of the bottle of liquor, they were all arrested. The Sub-magistrate of Gudalur, 80 miles from Madurai, later ordered their release after they had signed bail papers.

#### De Gaulle's Inhibition:

Paris, Feb. 13.—France exploded her first nuclear bomb in the heart of the Sahara Desert today, it was announced in Paris this morning. The bomb was exploded successfully at 6 a.m. G.M.T. (11-30 a.m. I.S.T.).

So France entered the "atomic club," joining the U.S.A., Britain and the Soviet Union with the explosion of her first device from the top of a 100-metre high steel tower in the Sahara.

A communique from General de Gaulle's presidential office said: "The President of the French Republic and the Community makes it known that at 070 on February 13, taking account of very favourable meteorological conditions, the order was given to explode an atomic device in the Sahara desert of the Tanezrouft (the desert of thirst), south-west of Reggan. The explosion took place with the power and safety conditions envisaged."

"The device was placed at the top of a tower. The explosive used was plutonium.

"The safety of the populations of the Sahara and of neighbouring countries was completely assured."

The test site stretches for about 250 miles south-west of Reggan in the western Sahara and all civilian planes have been banned from flying over it since October 15.

M. Debre, the Premier, has said, however, that the Sahara tests are only a first step and that France is "even ahead of her programme."

French officials have often expressed the hope that France's entry into the "atomic club" would lead to a relaxation of the U. S. Macmahon Act barring the disclosure of atomic secrets to America's allies.

Such a move, and France's own proved military potential in the nuclear field, might

ease a solution of the N.A.T.O. defence problem posed by France's refusal to allow American atomic weapons on her soil unless she shares in their control.

The French bomb exploded early today is one in which fission reaction on heavy atoms takes place whereas in "H" or thermo-nuclear bombs the energy is obtained by the fusion of light atoms.

President de Gaulle today sent a telegram to M. Pierre Guillaumat, Minister-Delegate in charge of Atomic Affairs, who was present at Reggan, saying: "Hooray for France. Since this morning she is stronger and prouder. From the bottom of my heart, my thanks to you and to those who, for her, have achieved this magnificent success."

The Defence Ministry said later that there was no radioactive fallout from the French bomb over inhabited areas, according to first reports.

According to a Geneva message, Mr. James J. Wadsworth, U.S. delegate to the east-west nuclear test ban conference, said there today he did not think France's atom bomb explosion would affect the current negotiations here.

Mr. Tsarapkin, Soviet delegate to the conference, said the three-Power negotiations would continue despite the explosion. "The French explosion is quite outside the scope of our conference and I know nothing about the possibility of France joining our discussions. Any invitation to France or a request from France to join the three-Power negotiations is something for the Governments concerned to arrange."

Accra, Feb. 13.—Dr. Nkrumah, Ghana's Prime Minister, announced today that assets of all French firms in Ghana would be frozen from today "until such time as the effects on the population of Ghana of the present atomic explosion and future experiments referred to by the French Prime Minister become known."

Cairo, Feb. 13.—A wave of indignation swept across Africa today as news spread regarding the French atomic blast in the Algerian Sahara this morning. African leaders generally described the explosion as an "aggression" against the African people, and broadcasts from a number of

African capitals characterized it as a "crime against humanity" and "defiance of U.N. resolutions."

Observers believed the test explosion may lead to a fresh wave of popular demonstrations against the French in Cairo, Accra and other African and West Asian capitals.

#### Expert Opinion:

We quote from *The Statesman* the following extract from the speech of the retiring Chairman of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:

Mr. Brown specifically surveyed the problems of the jute, tea and coal industries and made pointed reference to the managing agency system and the Government policy in regard to it. According to him, the overall picture of the past year was one of expanding horizons, with a rate of increase in industrial production higher than hitherto achieved.

That this was possible, he said, despite the difficult foreign exchange situation which had confronted the country for over two years now, reflected credit on the Government of India and on the monetary authorities. Some praise, he added, was also due to the industry for the manner in which it had managed to adapt itself to conditions, particularly to local shortages of raw materials from time to time.

Regarding the Third Plan, he said he had no doubt that if the lessons of the First and Second Plans were absorbed, if the increasingly pragmatic approach of the authorities in Delhi to many of the difficulties continued to develop and if doctrinaire conceptions were not permitted to interfere with the economic development of the country's resources, it would take a big step forward to the point of take-off towards a self-sustaining economy. In this march of progress, the members of the Chamber and the interests they represented would not be found lagging.

Mr. Brown endorsed Dr. Roy's remark in introducing on Thursday the Budget Estimates for 1960-61. In referring to the shape of the Third Plan, the Chief Minister was stated to have said that, having regard

the usual connotation of the word **religion**. The Hindu dharma is designed to guide the embodied spirit in its different stages of evolution, from its first individualization through identification with matter to its final liberation through spiritual illumination. In the Hindu tradition both philosophy and religion cross each other's path. Philosophy, in the main, is the approach to reality through the intellect. It points out the distinction between what is real and what is unreal, and usually exercises a veto power over the unreal. Religion is mainly the approach through the heart, and urges the soul in its onward progress. Final liberation comes through the grace of God.

Hinduism has no historical founder. It is based upon truths which are eternal, without beginning, and not attributable to human intellect. As I have already mentioned, they were discovered for the Indian world through the introspection of rishis, or seers, who practised the spiritual disciplines of discrimination, non-attachment, control of the body and senses, and one-pointedness of mind. Among the rishis are found both men and women. Divine Incarnations like Krishna and Rama, who appeared later in Indian history, demonstrated the validity of these eternal truths. But even without them Hinduism would not lose its authenticity.

The eternal truths of Hinduism are recorded in the Vedas, the Hindu scriptures, which are the final authority of the Hindus pertaining to their religion and philosophy. But the Vedas themselves point out that they are merely indicators of a path. In the radiance of ultimate reality the scriptures fade away.

There are two main divisions of the Vedas: the one deals with hymns to the deities and rituals for their propitiation, and the other with such philosophical topics as the Godhead, creation, moral disciplines, and the nature of the soul, the hereafter, and the soul's ultimate destiny. The ritualistic part of the Vedas forms the basis of the Hindu religion, and the philosophical part, also known as the Upanishads or

Vedanta, forms the basis of the six classical systems of orthodox Hindu philosophy.

What do the Vedas teach? They deal with both physical happiness and the highest good. The desire for happiness is universal and is fulfilled through the enjoyment of such material objects as food, drink, wealth, children, grandchildren, cattle, and land. The happiness which righteous souls experience in various heavens is also material in nature, as these heavens too are a part of the phenomenal universe. Physical happiness can be meaningfully enjoyed if the enjoyer propitiates the deities, observes the laws of morality, and shows his fellowship with other human beings and subhuman creatures. The Vedic gods who were propitiated through sacrifices were the physical mediums for the manifestation of the supreme spirit. They were the controllers of men's earthly lives. Some of the more prominent Vedic deities are Prajapati (the Creator), Agni (Fire), Varuna (Water), Vayu (Wind), Dau (Sky), and Ritam (Moral Law). The Vedic gods and sacrifices have now been replaced by popular gods—some of whom are God-men and saints—and temple worship. The deities are generally worshipped, like the saints in the Roman Catholic Church, for the fulfilment of worldly desires. But they may also be propitiated for the deepening of the true spiritual life. The Vedas speak of the interdependence of gods, men, animals, and nature, which together form the seamless garment of the phenomenal universe.

But happiness on earth or in heaven is impermanent, because it is associated with material objects and also because it is controlled by the laws of time, space, and causation. The gods, too, die and return to earth. Even the fullest measure of human happiness cannot escape the inevitable suffering due to birth, disease, old age, and death. The soul's longing for freedom (moksha) and the highest good (nihsreyasha) cannot be stifled in spite of repeated disillusionments in heaven or on earth, because in its essential nature the soul is free and perfect. After going through the entire gamut of enjoyment (pravritti) through many a birth, it at last follows the path of return

or renunciation (nivritti). The disciplines for the attainment of freedom are described in the Upanishads.

Besides the Vedas, the primary scriptures, Hinduism recognizes certain secondary scriptures, which are known as the Puranas and the Smritis. The Puranas give popular interpretations of the philosophy of the Upanishads through stories of the gods and of legendary men. They include the two great Hindu epics, the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata**. The former, India's earliest epic poem, centers round the life and adventures of Rama, now worshipped as a divine Incarnation, and describes the penetration of the Aryan culture to the south and the gradual assimilation of the non-Aryans by the Aryans. It extols the Indian ideals of filial piety, the chastity of women, the value of friendship and loyalty, kingly duties, and the courtesy to which inferiors are entitled from their superiors. The **Mahabharata** is a "miscellany of history and mythology, politics and law, philosophy and theology." The **Bhagavad Gita**, which is a part of this great work, is designated as a moksha-sastra, a scripture showing the way to liberation. It deals with the different systems of yoga, or spiritual discipline, but emphasizes selfless love of God and non-attached action as suitable to the average seeker of the highest good. The Smritis prescribe the code of conduct and social ethics. Their injunctions change from time to time to suit the needs of the age. In contrast to the Vedas, the Puranas and the Smritis are ascribed to human authorship.

The Gayatri mantra, which is recorded in the Vedas, sums up the philosophy and religion of the Hindus. According to it, the reality is all-pervading, uncreated, self-luminous, omniscient, and almighty spirit. Religion enjoins upon us meditation on this spirit and the prayer that it may awaken our intellect and guide us along the path of virtue and righteousness. Hindu philosophy is non-dualistic, and the Hindu religion monotheistic.

Ultimate reality is called Brahman. It is the unattached cause of the creation, preservation, and dissolution of the universe.

Its existence is known from the evidence of the enlightened seers. In Brahman all the conflicts and contradictions of the phenomenal universe are resolved. Since the universe is perceived to exist, its cause must be an existing entity. Existence cannot be produced from non-existence. The cause of the universe cannot be inert matter, because we find a plan and purpose in the creation. Therefore the cause is intelligent. Illumined souls, who have renounced all worldly attachments, experience bliss from communion with Brahman, which therefore must be bliss. Furthermore, Brahman, which permeates the universe, is the cause of the attraction between different objects. Brahman is designated as existence-knowledge-bliss absolute (Satchidananda).

Brahman is described in the Vedas as both devoid of attributes and endowed with attributes. The attributeless Brahman, free from indicating marks or qualifying characteristics, is pure, undifferentiated spirit. It is an experience, and is often described by mystics as silence. Brahman is unknown and unknowable to the finite mind.

The same pure spirit, while creating, preserving, and destroying the universe, appears as Brahman with attributes—without, however, losing its essential nature. Brahman with attributes is the Personal God, worshipped as the Lord, the Saviour, and Providence. He is the Father in Heaven of the Christians, the Allah of the Mussalmans, and the Siva or Vishnu of the Hindus.

Another manifestation of Brahman is the Avatar or divine Incarnation. By His inscrutable power God assumes a human body whenever virtue declines in the world and wickedness prevails. According to Hinduism the divine Incarnation cannot be limited by time or place.

Creation is the manifestation of the names and forms lying in an unmanifested state in God's power, also called maya or prakriti. Without any compulsion or motive, He manifests them at the beginning of a cycle, and He withdraws them at the end of the cycle. Creation and disso-

lution are described as the breathing-out and breathing-in of the spirit. Under the spell of maya the diversity in the creation is taken to be real; so also the pairs of opposites, such as good and evil, pain and pleasure, and birth and death. All diversity disappears when one realizes the non-dual spirit. In Brahman, which is pure intelligence, neither good nor evil, nor the other pairs of opposites, are present.

Hinduism admits the multiplicity of souls in the world of phenomena, though it declares that in its essential nature the soul is pure spirit, one and without a second, eternal, pure, immortal, and without beginning or end. Multiplicity or embodiment is the result of maya. The embodied soul, on account of its attachment to the body, becomes a victim of birth and death, good and evil, hunger and thirst, pain and pleasure. It is entangled in the world and seeks deliverance. Even while the embodied soul passes through the various experiences of the phenomenal life, its real nature remains unaffected. The embodied soul, also known as the apparent soul, is endowed with sense-organs, mind, intellect, and ego. It experiences the states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep. Its suffering is due to desire and attachment. When free from desires, the embodied soul—in this very body or after death—becomes immortal or free. The free soul devotes himself to the welfare of the world.

For the attainment of perfection, Hinduism teaches spiritual disciplines called yoga. In general there are four kinds of yoga, suited to different temperaments. The active man practises the discipline of selfless action, or work for work's sake, expecting no return for himself. The philosophical man constantly discriminates between the real and the unreal, and renounces the unreal. The emotional man practises love of God without expectation of reward or fear of punishment; this love is for love's sake. The introspective man seeks to suppress the restlessness of his mind through control of the body and the senses. He practises concentration and ultimately realizes the soul's isolation from the body.

Ethical disciplines are the foundation of the spiritual life. One aspect of Hindu ethics emphasizes social service, and another aspect inner purification. Hindu ethics will presently be discussed.

Hindu seers constantly remind us that religion is not mere belief in certain dogmas or creeds: it is an experience. To know God is to become God or to cultivate god-like qualities. The goal of religion is the manifestation of the divinity lying hidden in all embodied creatures. Experience alone "destroys all doubts and severs the knots of the heart." As the soul is essentially one with God, every soul will attain perfection in course of time. As one cannot rid oneself of all limitations in one lifetime, Hinduism postulates the rebirth of the soul in many bodies.

The cardinal principles of the Hindu systems of thought may be summarized in four phrases, namely, the oneness of existence, the divinity of the soul, the non-duality of the Godhead, and the harmony of religions. Hinduism is thus endowed with several dimensions. Its extent includes the conception of Brahman or the universal spirit—transcending names, forms, and attributes—which is the foundation of the moral and spiritual laws that guide the universe and under whose control the stars and the planets move along their orbits. Hinduism's tremendous depth lies in its conception of the soul, "subtler than the subtle and greater than the great," guiding the activities of the body, sense-organs, and mind. Its breadth appears in its catholic attitude toward all systems of religious and philosophical thought and in its respect for those who differ from it. One may discover yet a fourth dimension in Hinduism in its realization of the all-embracing unity of animate and inanimate existence: of God, souls, and nature.

In the second part of my paper I shall briefly discuss Hindu ethics, which lays down disciplines for both self-improvement and social welfare. The disciplines for self-improvement may be called personal or subjective ethics, and the others social or objective ethics. The aim of personal ethics is to eliminate such mental impuri-

ties as "lust, anger, and greed," which the Bhagavad Gita calls the "gateways to hell," for the ultimate attainment of the highest good. It includes such disciplines as austerity, control of the body and mind, renunciation, non-attachment, and concentration. Patanjali, the author of the *Yoga Aphorisms*, adds to the list the virtues of non-injury, truthfulness, abstention from theft, and chastity. These disciplines are common to all the major religions of the world.

Austerity enables a man to curb his impulses for inordinate enjoyment of physical comforts, and also to acquire supernatural powers which exalt him far above the worlds of men and the gods. In the Upanishads, austerity (tapas) often denotes intense thinking, the same sort of thinking that precedes creative work, making a man indifferent about his personal comforts or discomforts. Self-control means control of the sense-organs, which are ordinarily inclined toward material objects and employed to seek only the pleasant. It creates that inner calmness without which profound spiritual truths cannot be grasped. The two most important factors in the practice of self-control are discrimination and will-power; it does not involve any weakening of the body or the organs. The spiritual seeker should possess a healthy body and vigorous organs, unerring discrimination, and a strong mind. His discrimination should guide his senses to choose only those objects which are helpful to the realization of his spiritual ideal.

Renunciation of the unreal and the impermanent leads directly to the experience of the real and the everlasting. Monks try to practise this virtue to the limit, and take a vow to give up the enjoyment of physical objects both here and hereafter.

Non-injury and truthfulness are sovereign virtues emphasized by all religious Hindus, from the Vedic seers to Mahatma Gandhi. The practice of non-injury also includes gentleness and abstention from harsh words. Truthfulness means the ascertainment of facts by such valid proofs as direct perception, correct inference, and reliable testimony. In addition, truthfulness demands that facts be described without any

intentional deceit or unnecessary verbiage. Half-truths and evasions are regarded as lies. Truthfulness must not unnecessarily hurt the feelings of others; otherwise it will not be effective. In such a case the wise remain silent. A Hindu injunction says: "Speak the truth; speak the pleasant, but not an unpleasant truth."

Abstention from theft requires not only that one should not appropriate another's property unlawfully, but also that one should abstain from greediness. What it really amounts to is indifference to the material advantages of life. The accumulation of physical goods beyond a certain limit is generally tainted by cruelty, greed, or similar blemishes. One cannot hoard great wealth without some sort of deceit or injury to others.

The practice of chastity includes abstention from lewdness in thought, speech, and action. Both the mind and the heart must be kept unsullied by a spiritual seeker, the body being the temple of God and the heart its inner shrine.

Social values are given an important place in the Hindu system of thought. Their fulfilment is a discipline for the enjoyment of happiness here and hereafter, which the Vedas recognize as a universal craving. The world must be regarded as real as long as one is a part of it. The knowledge of the universe and the knowledge of Brahman are the warp and woof which have built up Hindu philosophy. It is said in the Vedas that a person must cultivate both forms of knowledge. He who cultivates only the knowledge of the universe enters into darkness; but he who cultivates only the knowledge of the spirit enters into a greater darkness. The former creates a materially prosperous society but leaves the individual a victim of anxiety, tension, and suffering. The latter enables the individual to reach a lofty height of enlightenment, but society registers a low ebb of general backwardness. One should cultivate, the Vedas add, the knowledge of both science and superscience; by means of science one overcomes physical limitations, and by means of superscience one attains to immortality.

Prayers have been composed by the Vedic seers addressed to the cosmic order, ethical laws, and moral virtues. There are striking hymns about marriage, procreation, a woman's conduct in her husband's house, hospitality, harmony in a council, health, vigor, longevity, the duties of a householder, battles and the proper attitude toward enemies, and about general prosperity. The following are instances chosen at random:

About marriage: "Be not parted; dwell here; reach the full term of human life. With sons and grand-sons, sport and play, rejoice in your abode."

About procreation: "This woman has come like a fertile cornfield. There sow, O man, the seed of your future harvest. She from her teeming side shall bear you children and feed them from the fountain of her bosom."

About a woman's conduct in her husband's house: "Over your husband's father and your husband's mother bear full sway. Over the sister of your husband, over his brother, rule supreme."

About hospitality: "Now that man who eats before his guests, eats up the sacrifice and the merit of the house. He devours the milk and the sap and the vigor and the prosperity and the progeny and the cattle, and the fame and reputation, and the glory and understanding, of the house."

About longevity: "May we see a hundred years. May we live a hundred years. May we know a hundred years. May we prosper a hundred years. May we assert our existence a hundred years, yea, even more than a hundred years."

About general prosperity: "O Lord, may there be born in the kingdom brahmins distinguished for the knowledge of Brahman; heroic kshatriyas, skilled marksmen, piercing with their shafts mighty warriors; cows giving abundant milk, good at carrying heavy loads; swift horses and industrious women: may our fruit trees ripen; may we secure and preserve prosperity."

Thus it is evident that the Indo-Aryans of Vedic times lived a full and

happy life and did not repudiate the world. But it was not a purely materialistic happiness that they sought; for them worldly enjoyment was means to a higher end.

The Upanishads, which form the essence of the Vedas, aim to establish the sole reality of Brahman. They also emphasize the fact that the world of multiplicity is real for the vast majority of people, who are under the spell of maya. Such people should recognize social values and practise ethical laws.

The "Brihadarnyaka Upanishad" exhorts the rich and the powerful to cultivate the virtue of self-control, the average greedy man the virtue of charity, and the demoniacal person the virtue of compassion. The **Katha Upanishad** teaches that a seeker of self-knowledge must fulfil his duties to the gods and society before he aspires to knowledge. From the following statement of an enlightened king, one realizes the high standard of society in Upanishadic times: "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no wine-bibber, no man without a sacrificial fire, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less adulteress." The importance of moral conduct can be clearly recognized from the advice of a teacher to his students who have finished their education and are about to embrace the householder's life: "Speak the truth. Practise righteousness. Do not neglect the study of the Vedas. . . . Enter the householder's life and see that the line of progeny is not cut off. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from righteousness. Do not neglect personal welfare (refers to health and longevity). . . . Do not neglect your duties to the gods and the manes. Treat your mother as God. Treat your father as God. Treat your teacher as God. . . . A typical prayer for wealth and prosperity is the following: "Bring me, without delay, fortune which will always provide me with clothes and cattle, food and drink. . . . May I become famous among men. May I become richer than the rich." It may be noted that all the teachers of the major Upanishads were householders.

We have already stated that the people are clinging merely to its outer secondary scriptures of the Hindus teach forms.

how to apply the philosophy of the Upanishads, to the needs of the people which arise from time to time with the change of social conditions they speak of the householders as the basis and principal support of society. The three values most prized are righteousness, economic security, and sense pleasure. Both wealth and sense pleasure should be earned and enjoyed according to righteousness; otherwise they degenerate into greed and voluptuousness. The fulfilment of these three values leads to the realization of the highest value, namely, moksha or spiritual freedom. The caste system is based upon the admitted physical, intellectual, and spiritual inequalities of men at birth. In some is found a preponderance of spirituality and intellect, in some physical valor and heroism, in some the instinct to earn and accumulate wealth, and in some the virtue of rendering service to others. Each of the four castes has "its own hygiene, its own domain of labor, its own sentiment of perfection, and its own spiritual superiority." "It is a law of spiritual economics," said Mahatma Gandhi; "it has nothing to do with superiority and inferiority." The member of any caste is permitted to practise the spiritual disciplines which enable one to realize God, which realization alone decides a person's ultimate worth. According to the Hindu doctrine of rebirth, a member of a low caste, through the fulfilment of his social and religious duties, can be born in a higher caste and enjoy its amenities and privileges. As long as its original meaning was followed, the caste system promoted harmony and co-operation among the divergent members of society, eliminated friction and competition, and saved the weak from exploitation by the strong. It has helped Hindu society to absorb alien peoples according to their merits and aptitudes. Through it Hinduism recognized renunciation, self-control, service, and sacrifice as cardinal virtues. At the present time, however, the true spirit of the caste system has been practically forgotten;

During the dark ages of Indian history, lasting for about a thousand years, when India was ruled by foreigners, loyalty to dharma or social duties preserved Hindu society from total disintegration. The saints and religious leaders of that period were real lovers of men and dedicated themselves to improving the condition of the masses, especially of the untouchables.

During the British rule of one hundred and ninety years, India remained culturally sterile. But the introduction of English education brought educated Indians in contact with the national, aggressive, and dynamic West. Through the notable efforts of Western orientalists, British historians, and archaeologists, the Hindus again learnt the value of their own past cultural achievements, though many of those who received an English education became thoroughly Westernized in outlook. Christian missionaries also aroused the dormant social and religious consciousness of the Indians. Thus there took place a cultural revival with significant political and social implications.

There are three prominent religious movements in modern India which have emphasized social service. The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, which represent the national reaction against the social abuses of the past thousand years, have been advocating the abolition of the caste system, the remarriage of Hindu widows, the removal of early marriage, the emancipation of women, the spread of education, and other social reforms.

Unlike the founders of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, who were essentially social reformers. Ramakrishna, the inspirer of the Ramakrishna Mission, was man of God. In him the spiritual aspirations and experiences of the countless millions of Hindus of the past five thousand years found their fulfilment and expression. He realized the mysteries of the Godhead in both its personal and impersonal aspects and practised the disciplines of not only Hinduism, but Christian-



ity and Islam, and proclaimed that all religions ultimately lead to the experience of the same Godhead. He did not, however, allow himself to luxuriate in the bliss of solitude and meditation, but dedicated his body, mind and soul to the service of humanity. Ramakrishna's foremost disciple, Swami Vivekananda, proclaimed renunciation and service to be the national ideals of India and taught that service to men is the best worship of God. "You may," he said, "invent an image through which to worship God, but a living image already exists—the living man. You may build a temple to worship God, and that may be good, but a better one, a much higher one, already exists—the human body." On another occasion he said: "Him I call a noble soul whose heart bleeds for the poor; otherwise he is a wicked soul." The monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Vivekananda, take the twin vows of self-realization and service to humanity. To them work is a form of worship. Their lives alternate between meditation and social service. The major social activities of the Ramakrishna Mission consist in bringing education to the illiterate, food to the hungry, and medical relief to the sick.

Contrary to the belief of most Westerners, the enlightened saints of India have ministered to the physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs of the people. Whether active or inactive, they constantly pray for the welfare of all: "May the world be peaceful. May the wicked become gentle. May all creatures think of their mutual welfare. May their minds be engaged in what is auspicious. May our hearts be immersed in selfless love of the Lord." "May all be happy. May all be free from disease. May all realize what is good. May none be subject to misery."

I have tried to show in the brief space of this paper that the Hindu systems of thought combine both realism and spirituality and that there is no conflict between the spirit of religion and the ordinary values of life. Hinduism is by no means otherworldly and antisocial in the usual sense of these words. Indian thinkers have come to grips with reality, whose meaning, however, changes at different states in the development of the soul. They have reflected and bravely faced man's real problems, from his first wandering into the realm of phenomena to his final liberation, and exhorted him first to idealize the real and then to realize the ideal.



## D. P. I. IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

By PARIMAL ROY, M.A., Ph.D. (London)  
Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal (Retd.)

Scarcely is a public examination held anywhere in India today without yield of a bountiful crop of howlers. From time to time they have been gleaned and embodied in some enterprising examiner's reports but usually they lie buried in the examinees' answer papers and are soon cast into the limbo of oblivion. It is on rare occasions that the public has a glimpse of them when they get into headlines in the columns of a newspaper where they are publicised more perhaps to regale than to enlighten or instruct its readers.

However distressful on closer reflection, one cannot but feel terribly amused when one finds 'Eisenhower, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Marshall Tito' named as 'important steel producing countries,' 'wheat and rice' cited as examples of 'metals of every day use', 'Einstein' supposed as 'the cause of malaria' and 'hormone' as the 'inventor of the musical instrument harmonium' and so on ad nauseum. Parenthetically, but interestingly enough, no mention whatsoever is made of such ludicrous absurdities in any of the numerous examiners' reports of 1840's which recently I had the occasion to rummage. A bad guess such as ascribing a passage from Il Penseroso to Johnson was sufficient for the examinee to be held up to ridicule and scorn while the examiner emptied forth his vial of wrath upon one who being unable to give an example from Milton of such a simile as was contained in the passage set for the test had the temerity to answer 'I humbly beg to observe that I little thought that we are expected to have almost every line of Milton by heart'. One wonders how the examiners of those days would have reacted if they were told of our common experience about the authorship of Paradise Lost being attributed by the present generation of students to anyone from Shakespeare to Tagore.

I am afraid I have digressed a lot and must come straight to the point I have in view. In a recent public examination in Calcutta intended chiefly for the Matriculates but in which a sizable number of I.A's and I.Sc's and even graduates had appeared from all parts of India, a candidate designated a very well-known Cabinet Minister of India, who by the way does not belong to the State named, as the Animal Minister of Bihar; Morarji Desai was variedly described as 'Prime Minister of Russia or of Kathmandu', 'the old King', 'a spiritual or Harijan leader'; 'an adventurer of India' and Harold Macmillan was anybody's guess, not only Prime Minister or some such dignitary of every conceivable or inconceivable land under the sun but 'the greatest English poet', 'inventor of electric light', 'a line in Chapra District', a place 'situated in Delhi where Muslim is doing worship'. While there was no end of such outrageous nonsense among the answers, there was however one tiny little question which unsurprisingly nearly all had chosen and most had correctly answered. That was just to amplify the expression D.P.I. which a candidate had the option to pick out of a host of similar other commonly used abbreviations. Indeed no officer's name is so familiar in educational circles as Director of Public Instruction's. The new-fangled D.E., that is, Director of Education seems more fashionable now-a-days and is perhaps more apposite. But D.P.I. still holds the ground firmly. Even if the appellation is discarded eventually in official terminology, it will nevertheless stick for years in public memory and common parlance.

The office owes its origin to the recommendation of the famous Education Despatch of 1854, commonly known as Wood's Education Despatch, which for the first time laid down a definite educational policy and emphatically affirmed the responsibility of the Administration for extension and promotion of education in British India. To this end there was proposed the creation of an Education Department as a part of the machinery of Government with a person of "high character and fitting judgment as its head." Steps were promptly

taken on the publication of the Despatch to create Education Departments everywhere, except in the Centrally Administered areas. But the process covered a period of about 12 years from 1854-55 in the larger Provinces where the new system was fairly at work before the end of 1856—to 1866-67 in the smaller territorial divisions.

The functionary at the head of the Education Department was generally, though not invariably, designated, as Director of Public Instruction. In the Central Provinces, for instance, he was initially called Inspector-General of Education, and in Assam he had for long the nomenclature of a lower post, Inspector of Schools. The educational heads, however, even those having the same or similar designation, differed in status, pay, and powers assigned to them, and to a certain extent also, in the nature of duties they had to do. It was in Bengal, Bombay and Madras that the office was endowed with the highest salary and authority, and the position was hardly modified by lapse of time or its vicissitudes.

D.P.I. was to be immediately responsible to the Government for the conduct of education in the area under his control. He had direct access to the Head of the State and the facility of frequent consultations and conferences with him. His functions in the ordinary business of administration were defined as preparing the educational estimates, controlling the distribution of grant-in-aid allotments, making or recommending appointments and transfers of officers within the department, and generally taking such steps as might be needed for improvement and expansion of education. In these matters he acted as the agent of the Government whose approval he was required to take in affairs of special importance and on questions involving undecided points of educational policy. He was the "constituted adviser of Government" in all educational matters including policies to be adopted and pursued. He was in intimate contact with the University and had a notable share in its guidance and administration, firstly, due to his

presence ex-officio on its highest councils, but more importantly because he acted from behind the scene briefing and counselling Government in the exercise of its various powers over the University.

As circumstances then stood, it was fore-seen that the earliest educational chiefs would be members of civil service. For, among them would be found "the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty". The first Directors of Public Instruction were in fact mostly selected from covenanted civil servants. Nevertheless the Despatch clearly stated that the posts were not necessarily to be so filled without due regard to the claims of others, Europeans or Indians, who might be better fitted for them. It proved a mere pious wish. As a matter of deliberate policy, the Court of Directors encouraged the appointment of civil servants as educational heads. They desired the closest control over education so as to direct it according to their own views. It was certainly easier to do so "if the business were in the hands of covenanted civil servants than otherwise". In pursuance of this principle, civil, sometimes even military, officers were not infrequently drafted to man lower educational posts.

Against the fore-going practice, a revulsion of feeling soon set in. This was strongly voiced by Sir George Clarke in an official memorandum written in 1858. He accused the civil officers "in a transition state" as "eager for immediate distinction" in their temporary sphere while "looking for departments quite unconnected with education" and characterised their measures as "crudities and frivolities." He advocated recruitment of all educational officers, high and low, from qualified men in "scholastic institutions" from whom might be expected "honest zeal, patient labour, and indifference to personal distinction."

Partly owing to this change of view, but more especially on account of the reluctance of the civil servants themselves to hold educational posts, appointment of civil servants in education departments went altogether out of vogue. But there was no

attempt to fill the void by suitable personnel. On the contrary the terms and conditions of educational service were so reduced as were not likely to attract men of requisite calibre. "Educational service sprang up fortuitously, educational appointments were given neglectfully to political retainers or filled up at haphazard like other uncovenanted appointments."

Notwithstanding steady deterioration of educational service, there still remained at the helm of education, at any rate in the more important provinces, persons of outstanding ability and distinction. In 1867, for example, while Bombay Educational Service was "a very poor, precarious, and in fact, miserable sphere into which one can hardly dare to advise a young man of ability and cultivation to enter," it is significant to note that the D.P.I. who thus bewailed his lot was a person of the eminence of Sir Alexander Grant.

It was not long before the situation came under fresh review and was remedied. During the period 1870-82 there was established an equitable system of graded educational service all over British India with invidious inequalities of pay-scales between one province and another largely removed. The D.P.I.'s post was reserved *ceteris paribus* for members of this new service. The D.P.I. in each province, as also the high ranking educational officers, were for the most part appointed in England by the Secretary of State.

When the Hunter Commission was appointed in 1882 to survey educational progress, it was confronted with a body of opinion which questioned the fitness of the existing machinery for delivering the goods. The latter vigorously put forward a proposal which, though varying in detail, agreed in broad substance regarding the desirability of abolishing the D.P.I.'s post. Emanating from wide and diverse sources, both official and non-official, it also lacked unanimity as to whether the Director was to be replaced by a Board of Education or some other agency vested with his authority, or instead his powers and functions should be transferred to, and appropriately divided between, the University, the District

Boards, and other local bodies. As an alternative to this drastic suggestion, it was urged that at least a representative Consulting Board be associated with the Director to advise and assist him. The first proposition, far from finding any support, was not even deemed worthy of consideration, in the Commission. In fact, the Commission's recommendations were "based on the explicit assumption that the office and the independent position of the Provincial Directors will be maintained." As to the substitute proposal, the Commission after a careful appraisal of its pros and cons turned it down. It was regarded "essential to efficient administration that the responsibility of the Head of the Department to the Government should be absolute."

In 1896 in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1886, Educational Service was radically reorganised and brought into line with the system on which Judicial, Executive and other Public Services were based. The Indian Educational Service wholly recruited in England was its outcome. Originally it was conceived and formed as only one branch of Superior Education Service collateral and equal in status to its other half, the Provincial Education Service recruited by Local Government on lower pay-scales in India. Quite inevitably it assumed before long the character of the higher service to all intents and purposes till at last the position was given formal recognition in 1915 on the recommendation of the Islington Commission. Appointment of Indians to I.E.S., though not barred, was negligible until the service was thrown open to Indian recruitment on the recommendation of the above-named Commission and the policy was adopted from after 1917 of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration." Indians and Europeans became henceforward segregated in service which however was not true of the former graded service where Europeans and Indians were classed together.

The highest educational post, that is D.P.I.'s, was however kept outside the I.E.S.

cadre. The then Secretary of State, Viscount Cross, decided that the post was "one of very great importance" and the selection of its holder "should not be fettered by any rule or instruction to give a preferential claim to any officer of any particular department." The incumbency of Sir Alexander Pedler, Kt. F.R.S., as Bengal's Director from 1899 to 1906 was a case in point. The Quinquennial Review of Education, 1897-98 to 1901-2, however shows that "the D.P.I.s are at present all members of the Education Service."

Although directly subordinate to Government, the Director had to transact business with the latter through a branch of its Secretariat except in the Punjab where from the outset he had the rank of an Under-Secretary and in fact discharged the functions of a Secretary. There were two main reasons which led to the adoption of this procedure. The first was the "concentration in many provinces of all executive power in the Lieutenant Governor" who consequently needed the assistance of Secretaries to give him relief. The second was "the assumption that the D.P.I. would require reinforcement on the administrative and political side."

With the delegation of powers to Members of the Executive Council, the first reason ceased to exist, and the argument for political reinforcement lost its edge. Subsequent replacement of Members by popular Ministers wiped off the last vestige of the political ground. As far as the administrative convenience of the arrangement was concerned, it may in the first place be noted that practically all files went to the Finance Department at one stage or another for thorough scrutiny of every proposal so that the need for examination in the Secretariat's education branch was thereby diminished, if not altogether dispensed with; and, secondly, assuming such a need, the purpose was seldom, if ever, fulfilled. For, usually a member of the civil service which "have known little and cared less about education," the Secretary was besides a bird of passage. As Sir Charles de la Fosse pointed out in course

of his evidence before the Islington Commission that as D.P.I. of the United Provinces for seven years he had to work with six Secretaries in succession. Later on the Hartog Committee (1928-29) found more or less the same state of affairs, there being over a period of eight preceding years, as many as nine Education Secretaries in Madras, seven in Bombay, Bengal and Bihar, five in Assam, and four in the United Provinces. Again it was a travesty that education was not the Education Secretary's only or chief concern; a host of other subjects competed for his attention. It was truly though sarcastically observed by Mayhew that "The experienced Secretary after spending his morning energy on financial and judicial files, drafts with the sinking sun his educational resolution" indulging in nothing but saw-dustish platitudes. His tired brain was often inclined to put quietly on the shelf a difficult or inconvenient file, there to gather dust for Heaven only knew how long.

The consequence was that the Secretary served mostly as a mere channel of communication. The Director throughout occupied the centre of the educational stage. When, for example, Lord Curzon took in hand the problem of educational reform, he convened in 1901 a conference, the first of its kind, not however of Education Secretaries (as seems fashionable now-a-days) but of Directors and sought their advice and assistance. He provided for such periodical meetings of D.P.I.s as being of "great value" by his subsequent educational policy resolution of 1904. Again, when the Central Advisory Board of Education was first set up in 1920 to give the Governor-General "advice on questions of educational policy and practice" and to "assist" him "in the exercise of his functions," its constitution provided for inclusion of four Directors but no Secretary. In fact the office of the D.P.I. with its authority and accumulated traditions gradually took on the aspect more of an institution which inspired a feeling of deep impersonal respect for its incumbent. Men like Sir Alexander Grant and Sir Alexander Pedler whose names we just mentioned by the way,

were among not a few others who added lustre to it.

In the fore-going circumstances the super-imposition of a Secretary did not in the least affect the Director's position. But its incongruity was evident enough to bring periodically to the fore the question if the D.P.I. should be given the status of a Secretary. It was seriously debated with the turn of the century but was decided in the negative largely for fear lest the additional burden would handicap him in the discharge of his existing onerous duties. No doubt a Director's load of work was often excessive, and with acceleration of progress and pursuit of an increasingly active policy, it tended to grow more burdensome. But that was largely due to the fact that he was overburdened with petty details which unavoidably engaged his attention on account of "lamentably inadequate" staff of experienced officers at the headquarters. The remedy prescribed was therefore worse than the disease. For a Secretary interposed between him and Government could not of course afford him relief where it was needed but on the contrary might and often did add to his difficulty.

Amidst the far-reaching changes following the introduction of constitutional reforms, D.P.I. remained as before the administrative head of the education department and the technical adviser to Government on matters of educational policy. In many provinces, if not all, he still continued a member of the local legislative council taking his seat beside the Minister as an exponent and defender of educational policies. The Minister who was responsible to the legislature for conduct of education was given no freedom however to appoint a Director of his choice so long as an I.E.S. Officer was eligible for the post. Even within the confines of the I.E.S. his discretion to select one in preference to another was largely fettered. Diarchy as is well-known was generally worked by Ministers—in Bengal and C.P. there was for a fairly long period no Minister at all—who, thanks to political boycott and opposition, held their position more by official favour and

support than by popular backing, and they had for the most part short and uncertain tenures of office with the result that it was the Director who virtually controlled education, though nominally the Minister was at the top.

In the new situation which called for readjustment in so many ways, the old controversy about the relation of the D.P.I. vis-a-vis the Secretary was naturally renewed. As already observed, the case for a separate Secretary rested on grounds more assumed than real. Now economic distress and financial stringency served particularly to underline the extravagance of the system—and caused a certain amount of heart-searching. Nevertheless few provinces disturbed the old order which survived even the later onslaught of the worst economic blizzard of the thirties responsible otherwise for drastic cuts in educational budgets of the Central and local Governments. It was only C.P. which quite early after the introduction of the Reforms gave its Director the status of a Secretary and continued the arrangement till 1940, while in Bengal and the U.P. he was attached to the Secretariat entrusted practically with all the functions of the Secretary, though designated for technical reasons as Deputy Secretary. Bengal however had soon abandoned the experiment without giving it a fair trial and remained unmoved by the wise counsels of its own Retrenchment Committee (1923) which in no uncertain terms condemned the system as superfluous, wasteful and dilatory.

The educational scene unfolded above which showed the D.P.I. in a pivotal position and his office in glamour gradually changed, particularly with the coming-in of Provincial Autonomy in 1935. In a democracy where every action of a public servant, however high and mighty, was open to unrestricted criticism in the legislature, the halo surrounding the office and its awe-inspiring character was naturally and rightly gone. The Director equally justifiably lost his former pre-ponderance as the Minister-in-charge gained strength derived from his comfortable majority in the legis-



lature and popular backing outside. But this was not the whole story.

The Minister's tendency to interfere in administrative detail, though not altogether absent in the previous regime (vide Hartog Committee Report, pp. 343-4) from now on became more manifest and resolute. Education got more and more mixed up with politics, and continuing pressure was brought to bear upon administration, often successfully, to influence decisions, in communal, party, or individual interests. The subordinate staff, therefore, increasingly turned from the Director to the Minister for furtherance of their interests, legitimate and illegitimate, relying either upon an M.L.C. or a party boss, or some such extraneous support with consequent loss of discipline, efficiency and morale of the entire service.

The I.E.S. from which the Directors had for many years past come to be invariably chosen had no doubt "fine traditions of integrity and devotion to duty," and further in the ultimate guarantee of their service rights and privileges at the hands of the Secretary of State they possessed a strong armour against inroads on their liberty of action. But unfortunately it cannot be said of them that in the new milieu they were always able to keep the flag flying high. All this tended to undermine the Director's influence and authority in the department and lower his prestige in public eye. Of course the exact position varied between one province and another and greatly depended upon the personal equation between the parties concerned.

Meanwhile the I.E.S. had largely changed its initial complexion of a white bureaucracy and was now steadily approaching extinction, recruitment having been completely abandoned since 1924 in pursuance of the principle accepted on the recommendation of the Lee Commission that the authority responsible for any branch of administration should be fully free to organise its own services. The top-most positions, however, were still occupied by the British officers who by habits of mind and by circumstances were generally speaking objective and detached in their

outlook and action. Circumstances alluded to arose from the aloofness which as members of an alien ruling race they consistently maintained and which, though deplored for other reasons, helped them at any rate to maintain on the whole an impersonal administration. An ironical turn was given to the disappearance of the European element from positions of control and authority—a consummation devoutly to be wish'd—by the perceptible deterioration of the standard of administration in so far as it was influenced by parochial and personal considerations.

In 1940 or thereabout the Indian I.E.S. Officers came to be appointed as Directors, though in some important provinces which include Bengal the change-over was delayed till about the time of attainment of independence. By that time the I.E.S. was virtually liquidated everywhere—the last of them to hold the D.P.I.'s office finished his career early in 1949. The new batch of Directors, recruited provincially, sometimes by promotion from lower service, on comparatively less attractive salary scales, naturally, had not the stature and prestige of their predecessors, and, secondly being without the latter's special rights and privileges to which they were entitled as appointees of the Secretary of State, were more vulnerable to attacks on their delegated authority.

It may not be out of place to mention in the present context an incident which happened within my knowledge. The Chairman of an important Commission once compared the D.P.I.'s position (that was prior to the enactment of Hindu Divorce Law) to that of a Hindu wife. He made no secret of his belief that a D.P.I. would not dare to open his lips in the presence of the Education Secretary. The occasion for the remark arose when a certain D.P.I. appeared by direction of his Government to give evidence before the Commission along with the Secretary and was asked by some of its members to give his frank opinion on one or two specific questions. The Chairman, himself a veteran Education Minister, was apparently unacquainted with the past traditions of his own department. And

much to his chagrin he had to give way when his colleagues insisted on hearing the Director. May be he was eager to parry the latter's view as he was hard-pressed for time, or more probably because he had reason to suspect that its ventilation would not suit his end. Be that as it may, such a gibe from a former Education Minister—what a contrast it really was to earlier references to this high office which we saw in despatches, reports and communications previously quoted—was not only flabbergasting to everyone present in the forum where it was glibly uttered but it patently carried a sinister significance also. It was a pointer to the depth of degradation to which he may have dragged down the position of his Director in course of his administration. There were not perhaps many Education Ministers who thought and acted similarly, but the incident gives a clear indication of the direction in which the wind had a tendency to blow under changed climatic conditions.

The period of provincial autonomy was one of great stress and strain caused on the one hand by political turmoil and communal strife and on the other by the impact of the world war. The time was hardly propitious for concentration on educational problems, and for the matter of that, for any fundamental change in the structure of educational administration. But the ground was prepared for it towards the end of the period. The Report of the Central Advisory Board on Post-war Educational Development subjected the policy of dual control to strong criticism and recommended that the D.P.I. should be assigned the direct responsibility for the general administration of education with the Secretary's post totally abolished but in case a separate post of the kind be considered at all necessary, he should combine both. The recommendation was accepted by the Governor-General-in-Council in 1945 and their decision conveyed to the provinces early in 1946. The Central Ministry of Education set the example by following its own precept in its organisational set-up.

A new era dawned with the end of the British rule in 1947. And as expected there

was at once evinced abounding enthusiasm for educational reconstruction and reform. Indeed with the passage of time it became more and more of a fashion. But the good old advice previously referred to went practically unheeded. The organisational pattern inherited from the past like the weather was just taken for granted. Bihar was the only exception where in 1950-51 the Director's and the Secretary's offices were merged into a single unit, though a separate Secretary's post was still retained. In truncated Bengal the *status quo* was maintained as elsewhere but an educationist instead of an officer of administrative or civil service was soon appointed Secretary. The innovation defeated the very object of the dual system of control which was to get the purely departmental view of an expert Director re-examined not however by another professional expert but from a wider point of view free from pedagogical obsessions. Such an arrangement was therefore calculated to destroy the Director's responsibility as Government's professional adviser and add to his sense of frustration.

The fore-going recommendation has since been reiterated time and again by the Central Advisory Board of Education. The latest of the Commissions to endorse the view and urge its acceptance were the Secondary Education Commission of 1952-3, popularly known as Mudaliar Commission, and in West Bengal in particular the Dey Commission of 1954. But the obvious desideratum is no nearer realisation. On the contrary there is a swing back of the pendulum in the Punjab which went back upon its century-old tradition in 1958 and has fallen in line with the rest.

Of late, however, West Bengal Government have moved in the right direction by amalgamating the Secretary's post with the D.P.I.'s. But no corresponding step has been taken to merge and integrate the Directorate and the Secretariat offices. This seems a half-hearted measure. Nothing can be more anomalous for the Secretary than to see his own considered proposal submitted in his capacity as Director subjected to a fresh scrutiny in the Secretariat by his subordinates and then to have

second thoughts on the subject in the light of the latter's nothings and observations. It obviously makes no sense for him to play Jekyll and Hyde. But it is not yet clear if Government intend to follow up the step already taken. Rather the fact that budgetary provision is still being made for the D.P.I.'s post gives the present arrangement the impression of a make-shift. There seems to exist no point in halting or vacillating between two paths.

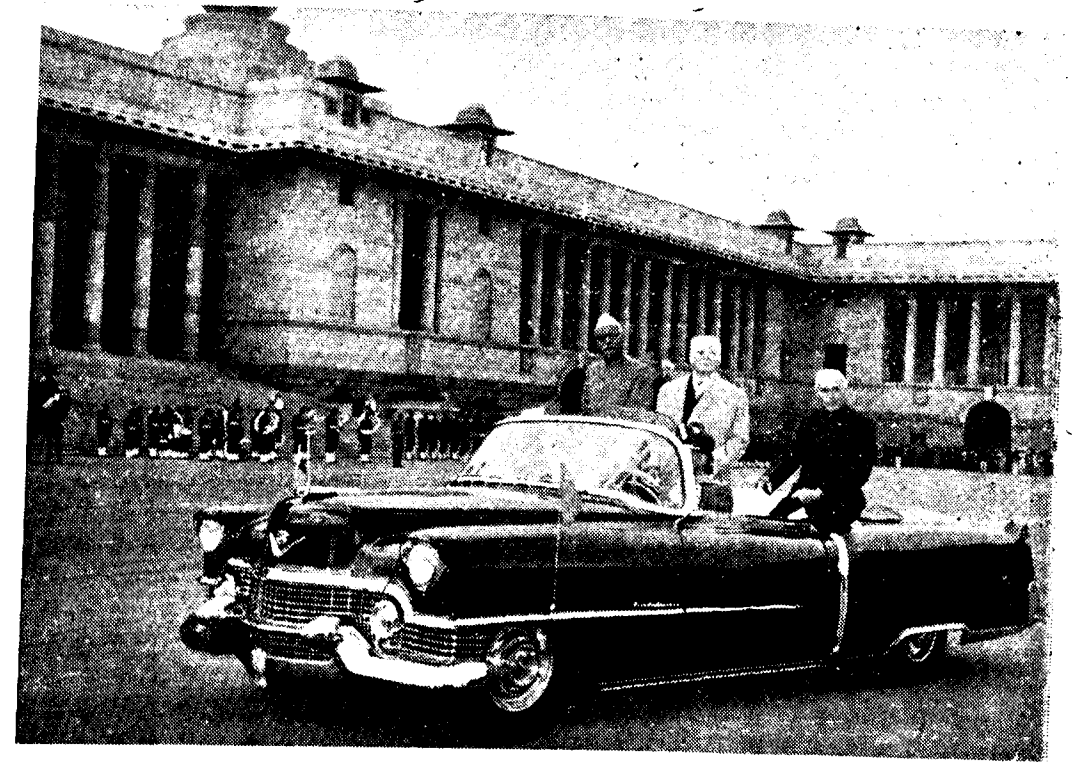
The inherent defect of the dual system is too well-recognised to need further elaboration beyond what incidentally has already been disclosed here. It has long been condemned as an expensive superfluity which hampers rather than helps business as much by its cumbrous and dilatory procedure in course of which the original proposal or scheme often gets distorted or misconstrued as by constant antagonism which characterises the relationship between the two offices. The persistence of its existence would therefore seem curious. A plausible explanation which is sometimes offered is the failure of a few past D.P.I.s who by virtue of seniority came to hold the responsible post from the teaching side without the requisite administrative experience. If it were at all true, the Secretary's post by parity of reasoning should have been done away with long ago, and with greater justification. It is not denied that the fore-going argument does pin-point a vital defect in the existing organisational basis of educational service carried over from the past. We do not dispute that there should be serious re-thinking about it, particularly as we find that a certain State Government, may be others too, is confronted with the difficulty of selecting a suitable Director from the long list of its senior officers.

But to resume the original thread of our discussion, the actual reason for the prolonged life of the dual system is to be found, as Sargent has observed, chiefly in "the traditional claim of the I.C.S. to be able to administer anything"—a claim which was consistently upheld even in later days when by and large it was said to have fallen off from its original high

standard. The I.A.S. which has now largely taken its place has no such pretensions. But that does not prevent its officers from being placed in positions of control and authority over D.P.I.'s irrespective of the latter's qualifications, experience and ability. It is "the habit of governmental organisations to be resistant to evolutionary changes."

Education now proceeds apace under successive five-year plans which by the way has reversed the process of decentralisation which was progressively achieved between 1870 and 1920. Today the centre of gravity of India's educational world has doubtless shifted back to Delhi. In Bengal, for instance, development expenditure in 1959-60, controlled in the main by the Centre, accounts for more than Rs. 9½ crores in a total budget of less than Rs. 13½ crores. Some welcome this trend while others regret it. It falls outside the limited scope of our subject to expatiate on it except just to note that as a consequence of this development, D.P.I.s nowadays find that part of their occupation which concerned initiation, formulation, and direction of policies as nearly gone.

An old-timer can hardly conceive of the never-ending streams of recommendations and resolutions, which today inundate the Central Ministry of Education from the innumerable meetings, conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops, etc., held all the year round under its direct or indirect auspices. In this huge accumulation of opinion and advice, any new idea or suggestion from an individual Director is like a pin in a bundle of hay. As in a free market economy, each individual firm has a negligible effect on the output of the industry as a whole and has to take the price of the industry's product as fixed and unalterable, so is the position of a D.P.I. in regard to the Central plan. He is now reduced to the position of a virtual executive officer who is responsible for carrying out, besides his normal routine duties, the policy of the Plan, adjusting it to local conditions and requirements. In the process of adjustment, how far the national plan can be cast in local moulds and how



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President Voroshilov and Prime Minister Nehru driving in an open car in front of the Rashtrapati Bhawan



Parliamentary Delegation from Czechoslovakia at the Palam Air Port



Mr. C. J. M. Alport, British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, with the Vice-President



Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Ambassador of Sweden in India, delivering her address on the occasion of the Foundation Day of the Central Institute of Education

far it has to end in make-believe is beside the point here. What however is relevant is that a policy in any case is not likely to be successfully executed, especially in the sphere of development activities, unless there is close and constant touch between policy-making and execution levels. It is equally important that the time-schedule laid down in the Plan should be as closely as possible adhered to. Neither is facilitated under the present dispensation due to the existence in between of the Secretary and his office as a bottleneck. Such considerations as above reinforce the argument for, and lend a special urgency to, the right solution of the vexed problem of dual system of control in the educational administration of a State.

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRAIN AND MIND

### The Hindu Concept

By S. R. DASGUPTA, M.B.B.S., D.Phil.

The people who settled in the valley of the great Sindhu (Indus) and in the course of history came to be known as the Hindus, developed the concept of mind and recognized its great influence on the body. Their concept of mind and its relationship to the body took discernible shape even in the days of the Upanishads, conservatively estimated to be 3,000 years ago. From then onwards the study of the mind has constituted and ultimately developed into a system of knowledge which can, in terms of modern language, be described as the science of psychology of the Hindus.

The Hindus developed their study of mind in the course of religious unfolding. The utilitarian aspect of this religious study was not completely lost on them; if, indeed, from their point of view, a distinction between the useful and the religious can be made. For hundreds of years they have been using their knowledge of psychology not only as a method for the unfolding of religious truth, as the basis of their deep philosophy, but also as an aid in the field of medicine and the key to health, poise and harmonized living. The central theme even in their medical science and social ethics, has always been an urge for the realization of the ultimate truth. In Hindu psychology we come across three (in reality, two) basic principles: (1) the Soul, which is consciousness and which is the manifestation of Atman—unchanging reality or ultimate truth; (2) the body which is, an aspect of objective

reality and (3) the mind (chitta)—the “Antaksharan” of Vedanta—which is a dynamic link between the Soul and the objective reality and which receives the objects of perception, assuming their form as a whole. “It is the Soul that desires knowledge and acts through the channel of mind.”

The mind is conceived to be comprised of two components, one of which appeared to be concerned with the objective world, when it acts in unison with the body—the mind-body complex. The other component, which seems to be the real concern of Hindu thought, is associated with consciousness. Consciousness is the “primary datum, the fundamental premise, equated with Reality.”

But it is not easy to draw a line of demarcation between the mind that is superconscious and the mind that is endowed with determinable attributes. The distinction, to say the least, is extremely subtle and the two compartments freely overlap to the utter confusion of the uninitiated like myself. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the examination of the determinate conscious, i.e., the mind, which along with the senses and the other subtle and gross elements, according to the “Sankhya-Yoga” philosophy, is thought to have originated from the union of the changeless, eternal, transcendental pure consciousness, the “Purusha” and the elemental, undifferentiated stuff of mind and matter, the “Prakriti.” It would do well to stress

again that in Hindu concept, mind or consciousness is not considered exactly opposed to matter. Rather, it is a product, a point in the evolutionary process, the concretized terminus of which is known as gross matter. In other words, mind and matter taken in the ordinary sense occupy different points on a spectrum that originally stemmed, whatever the mechanism, from that unknown principle, the supreme being of all different schools of Hindu philosophy.

This is very well illustrated by the Vedanta philosophy. According to this philosophy there is ultimate real, "Brahman." The expression of "Brahman" in an individual is called "Atman." They imply no duality. Atman and Brahman are one. According to the Vedanta the cosmos is made of Prakriti, the elemental, undifferentiated stuff of mind and matter.

Both Vedanta and Sankhya Yoga philosophy agree that Purusha or Brahman can be entirely liberated and isolated from Prakriti.

Prakriti is said to be composed of three forces "Swatta" (intelligence stuff), "Rajas" (energy stuff) and "Tamas" (mass stuff) which are known collectively as three "Gunas" which are in a state of dynamic equilibrium. As long as the Gunas maintain their equilibrium, Prakriti remains undifferentiated and the universe exists only in its potential state. The interaction of the Gunas provides the motive power for the creative process. In the Hindu system of thought, the first stage of evolution from undifferentiated Prakriti is called "Mahat" (the great cause). Mahat is the cosmic ego-sense, the first dawning of differentiated consciousness.

Thus, creation is an evolution outward from undifferentiated into differentiated consciousness, from mind to matter. Pure consciousness is, as it were, gradually covered by successive layers of "ignorance" or differentiation.

Bearing this in mind, we may now proceed to examine Hindu literature with a view to collecting evidence in support of an objective mind. Two sets of evidences are available: one, that provided by the

Indian system of medicine, the "Ayurveda"; the other, of course, that provided by the philosophy and religious texts of the Hindus. But the basic approach, even of the Hindu medical system, is not very dissimilar from that of their philosophies.

According to the medical or the Ayurvedic concept, life ("Prana") consists in the combination of the Soul and the Mind and its attributes. The mind ("Manah" or chitta) is a quality or power of the soul by which the person thinks and reasons. It is incomprehensible, and is known by its actions through the senses. The mind is described as situated in the head, between the eyebrows; and as resembling the light of a lamp by which a person knows, sees, hears, tastes and moves.

The Ayurveda describes the most vital parts of the body as the "Sirsa" the head, "Hridaya" the heart and the "Vasti" the pelvis. The Sirsa, i.e., the head, contains the "Mastiska," i.e., the brain. The pranas i.e., the vital energy and all the senses, are said to depend on the Mastiska or the brain. In one of the important commentaries (Chakrapani's) it has been explained that when the head is hurt all the senses are also hurt. According to authorities like Charaka all the senses are connected with the head. Bhela, a contemporary of Agnibesh, considers brain to be the centre of "Manas," the sensorium. Being here, it knows all the sense objects and the tastes which come near it. The original cause of manas and the energy of all the senses and the cause of all feelings and judgments ("buddhi"), however, is chitta, the mind. The chitta is also the cause of all motor functions and activities. Manas informs the chitta and then only action begins. The chitta is thus regarded as the cause of all activities, feelings and judgment. Buddhi, that is, the determinate understanding and judgement, is but a function of chitta. Manas has its seat in the brain, and is the cause of all cognition. Bhela says that "dosas" (afflictions) in the brain affect the manas, and as the result of this chitta is affected which in turn, involves understanding judgment (buddhi), thus result-

ing in madness. The seat of buddhi (determinate understanding and judgement) is also situated within the cranium. It is said to be located at a place between the eyebrows. According to Bhela, it being there holds together the subtle forms emanating from the atman, associates the data, integrates them with other similar known facts, remembers the past and after producing our knowledge in conceptual and judicious forms, wills for future deeds, generates instructive actions, and is the force which operates meditation and restraint of thought. It would appear then that Manas and Buddhi, both of which are located in the brain, together encompass the faculties of chitta the mind. Another important authority on Ayurveda, namely Drdhabala also associated sensory consciousness with the head, whereas Charaka refers to the Hridaya (translated by some as the heart, by others as the core of the brain) as the central seat of the soul and consciousness. Susruta, the other great available authority dealing mostly with Surgery and Obstetrics, does not have much to say about the mind consciousness though he describes in detail some of the cranial nerves.

Ayurveda, thus, furnishes evidence in support of the concept that chitta, or mind is intimately related with the brain.

We may now take a look into the numerous systems of Indian philosophy. Though every system of philosophy has had something to say about the soul, mind and body, it will be convenient for us to confine ourselves to those wherein the subject has been dealt with objectively. If judgement is made from this point of view, Patanjali's system of Hindu psychology should attract immediate attention, as well as the philosophy of "Tantra," both of which introduce a semblance of anatomical structure in their speculation of mind and soul.

But before going into these systems, it would do well to mention here and now that not all schools of Hindu thought recognised a superconscious role of the mind. For the 'Charvakas' or the 'Lokayatas' (Hindu materialists) maintained that con-

sciousness was a product of the body and perished with the body. As consciousness is perceived to exist in the perceptible living body composed of material elements, it must be, according to these original propounders of materialist thought among the Hindus, a quality of the body itself. Thought process, cognition and emotion are merely the products of nerve reactions, and the so-called mind is only a bundle of successive sensations dependent upon the nervous system and physical brain matter. Consciousness has no independent existence. These materialists were then in no doubt about the relationship between the mind and the brain.

Now to revert back to the orthodox philosophies: The study of mind, as has already been said, was undertaken and developed by the Hindus in the course of religious unfoldment. To them, mind as such was not opposed to matter. Moreover, the stabilization of mind necessary for the realization of the Atman or the Soul, it was appreciated, could be achieved through the matter, i.e., the body. The science of psychology was, therefore, mainly developed by the Hindus as they studied the methods by which reached the highest religious experience, the superconscious state.

The Hindu system of psychology has been described in the "Yoga Sutras" of Patanjali (C. 150 B.C.), though references to psychological principles and practices are to be met in many other ancient treatises, including the Upanishads. The Buddhist literature also gives many definite and practical ideas of applying psychology for the unification and the strengthening of the mind. It is, however, in the aphorisms of Patanjali that the most elaborate and systematic treatise on "Yoga" is available at present.

According to Patanjali, the mind (chitta) is made up of three components, manas, buddhi and ahamkar. Manas is the recording faculty which receive impressions gathered by the senses from the outside world and also the sensory perceptions from within the body. Buddhi is the discriminative faculty which classifies these impressions and reacts to them. Ahamkar



is the ego-sense. The mind appears to be intelligent and conscious. It is, in reality, not so according to "Yoga philosophy." It has only a borrowed intelligence. It merely reflects the consciousness and thus gives the appearance of being conscious.

Knowledge is a thought wave in the mind. All knowledge is, therefore, objective (except of course the "Prajna-knowledge" to be referred to later). Mind is not the seer but only an instrument of knowledge. The Atman (the real Self, the Purusha) is the real seer and remains unknown, i.e., does not belong to the objective world. The ego-sense is caused by the false identification of the Atman with the mind. Mind must be purified (stayed) for the realization of the Atman.

The word "yoga", which was formerly used in Vedic literature in the sense of restraint of the senses, is used by Patanjali in his "Yoga-sutra" in the sense of partial or full restraint or steadying of the state of chitta or mind. The word chitta has been used in the yoga aphorisms in contradistinction to manas to express the entity that is mind, whereas manas seems to be concerned with the reception and or perception of sensations both internal and external. The mind of ordinary people is unsteady, only short-lived concentration is usually possible with such a mind; that is, it flits from object to object.

The "Yoga" system aims for a stage in which the chitta processes are absolutely stopped, and the mind, thus freed from all cognizable attributes, achieves a stage when it comes into unison with the soul. This is the state of 'chittanirrodha' (cessation of mental processes). It should be stressed that it is considered a normal attribute of the chitta to sometimes tend towards liberation or soul consciousness and at other time to incline towards the 'Samsara' i.e., the objective world. "The teleology of Prakriti (the creative force) requires that it should produce in man the samsara as well as the liberation tendency." This point is rather important, for it gives the key of yoga ethics and shows that this desire of liberation is not activated by a hedonistic attraction, happiness or even re-

moval of pain, but by an innate tendency of the mind to follow the path of liberation.

Man has power stored up in his chitta and has to use it in such a way that this tendency may gradually grow stronger and stronger and ultimately uproot the other, i.e., the tendency towards Samsara. He must succeed in this because "Prakriti wants liberation for its final realization."

The existence of the mental states in potential forms in the subconscious is the root idea of yoga-psychology. The subconscious mental states resemble the conscious mental states so far as the substance or constituents of which they are made up are concerned, but still there is an essential difference between the two, viz., that one is unconscious while the other is conscious. Why, if their substance be the same, should the mental states at one time be conscious and at other times be unconscious? This seems to imply the association with some other element. According to yoga-philosophy this other element is the soul or Atman, the transcendent influence of which somehow electrifies the mental states into consciousness.

If this is considered from a psychological point of view, mind according to the Yoga system is a product of certain super-sensuous and super-subtle reals which are in essence characterized as feeling substances. Since feelings are not treated separately from cognitive acts, it appears that the whole mind-stuff is regarded more or less in the light of a matted mass of feeling stuff. These super-subtle substantive entities are cognition, volition and feelings.

The subconscious aspect of the mind is said to be the store-house of two-fold potencies: (1) those which are the results of the experiences of past lives, the "Vasanas," and which operate as innate tendencies or instincts of this life, and (2) those which are the results of repeated experience of this life.

But if in the perceptual state of our consciousness, we are determined by the influx of sensations, and in our thought processes, choice and volition with accu-

mulated experience of the past acts as tendencies, we seem in no way to be our own masters and to have no power for moral endeavour at our disposal at all. But yoga psychology maintains that we can by the exercise of our will and concentration attain final emancipation from the bond of all worldly experience and eventually free the soul from the bondage of the mind. The yogin seeks deliverance from every bondage even from the bondage of the mind. The attainment of perfect morality and self-control (by acquiring the virtues of universal non-injury, truthfulness, etc., technically known as "Yama" and "Niyama") are the indispensable preliminaries only. Thus when the yogin's mind has been sufficiently purified and is no longer disturbed by ordinary moral strivings, he endeavours to engage himself in a higher work, viz., that of staying the movements of the mind-states.

The mind has been conceived to be like the flame of a lamp, always changing. A man is, as it were, forever being tossed upon the crests of waves of thought. Therefore, he is in need of restraint and concentration which are brought about by the processes called 'dharana,' i.e., restraint of thought and 'dhyana,' i.e., concentration. By a process of continually presenting the same object to the mind, a habit is generated and a potency of fixation is acquired in the sub-conscious, and gradually the changeful character of the mind ceases and the mind becomes one with object. At this stage there are no fluctuations of mental states. The mind becomes one with object of thought absolutely still and motionless. This state is called 'samadhi'. When the mind becomes thus fixed on one object, it is said that immediate cognition of the real nature of the object dawns on the mind. This is called Prajna-knowledge. In its character as immediate and direct. Prajna-knowledge resembles perception, but it does not fluctuate, and so the nature of the reality of the object appears in one undisturbed flash. In this way, as the yogin progresses, new flashes of true wisdom are realized by him, the potencies and impressions of his old phenomenal know-

ledge are gradually destroyed and there comes a time when he is able to perceive the true nature of the atman as distinguished from the mind.

Thus four basic deductions come out of orthodox Hindu philosophy:

(1) That the mind has a physical existence, (2) that the changeful processes of the mind can at a certain state be brought to a standstill, (3) that such a state can give us a new grade or dimension of knowledge, (4) that as a culmination and highest level of this knowledge, the pure individual self as pure intelligence can be known.

The final outcome, therefore, is that the mind which was conceived at the beginning to be standing between the soul and the object can be completely freed from the object.

But before that could be even thought of, the mind itself has to be prepared, it has to be stayed, i.e., the state of complete chittanirrodha has to be established. This the 'yogin brings about by practicing "Raj-yoga." The processes of Rajyoga appear to be intimately connected with functioning of the central and autonomic nervous systems. The central theme of these practices seems to be the arousal of some dormant energy, "the kulakandalini," which in its turn ascends through the centre part of the spinal cord and in its ascent controls the various centres, the so called 'chakras'/'padmas' (analogous perhaps to the various nerve plexuses of the presentday anatomy), until it reaches the brain. In the brain itself, it comes in contact with a few more such chakras or centres, and after suitably controlling them the Kundalini reaches the 'Sahasrara', the thousand petalled lotus, situated in the cerebrum. Here the Kundalini is supposed to activate the Sahasrara, and that produces the state of 'Samadhi'.

It may be worthwhile to enumerate these chakras and their functions, as that will point towards a physiological basis for the phenomenal mind, but it will be more convenient to do so after the 'Tantrik' concept of mind has been briefly referred to, because in the Tantras also we come across a similar type of concept of

central nervous system and nerve plexuses.

The followers of the Tantrik philosophy also seek the union of 'Jivatma' (the atman in the living being with the 'Paramatma' the Supreme). One of the ways, the common way so to speak, is by the way of yoga practices wherein such a concentration of the mind is sought as will lead to the ultimate union. It is interesting to note that the Tantra view regarded the human body and mind, the microcosm, to be an exact parallel or counterpart of the macrocosm or the exterior universe. Tantrik processes were elaborated in order to help the yogi to narrow the field of his concentration to himself alone so that during his 'Sadhana' (Practices) he may find in himself a perfect finished universe. This was naturally calculated to help him to concentrate his attention on himself, for when he has known himself he has known the universe. The doctrine of "Sat-chakra-Veda" (the mastery of the Chakras) is a means to the ultimate goal of union of Jivatma and Paramatma, for here the 'Jiva' in the 'Kula-Kundalini' is roused up by yogic practices, and as it travels up and gradually identifies itself with different chakras, the seats of different forces that are associated with diverse passions, it establishes complete mastery of the chakras. In this way the yogin ultimately reaches to topmost centre, the 'Sahasrara'. As the 'Sadhaka' (yogi) identifies himself with each of these centres of force, the influence of these forces in binding him ceases and he passes from one centre of force to another until he identifies himself with the Paramatman and is liberated.

Both Raj-yoga and Tantra-yoga practices, are based on a concept of the central nervous system and nerve plexuses, which is almost empirical in nature. The central nervous system of both yogas consists of the intra-cranial portion and the spinal column. Situated in the spinal column is a nerve (nadi) called the "Susumna." The nerves "Ida" and "Pingala" are situated on the right and left respectively of the susumna in the spinal cord. All of them start from the root at the end of the central column (spinal column) and then proceed upwards to the highest cerebral plexus

called the "Sahasra" "Brahma chakra," the plexus of a thousand nerves.

It will be more to the point to omit a detailed description of the nerves and to consider the most important feature of Tantra school of Anatomy, the chakras, or the padmas (lotuses), the nerve plexuses/centres. Of these the first is the Adhara-chakra (Muladhara) generally translated as sacrococcygeal plexus. It is situated in the perineal region and is supposed to be the source of a massive pleasurable aesthesia, the voluminous organic sensation of repose. In the centre of the plexus there is an elevation. A fine threadlike fibre, spiral in its form, is attached to the central elevation on one side and to the Susumna on the other. "This spiral and coiled fibre is the Kula-kundalini, for it is by this potential energy as manifested in its movement of a downward pressure of the 'Apanavayu' and upward pressure of the 'Pranavayu' that the exhalation and inhalation are made possible and life functions operate."

Next comes the "Swadhisthana chakra," the sacral plexus, near the root of the genitalia, concerned with the excitation of sexual feelings. Next in order is the "manipura chakra," lumbar plexus in the region of the navel, concerned with the production of sleep and thirst and passions like jealousy, shame, fear and stupefaction. The "anahata chakra," which comes next, is connected by branches with the heart, the seat of egoistic sentiments, hope, anxiety, doubt, remorse, conceit, egoism, etc. The "bharatisthana," situated probably at the junction of the spinal cord with the medulla oblongata, regulates the larynx and other organs of articulation. The "Lalana chakra," which comes next, is opposite the uvula, the tract affected in the production of ego-altruistic sentiments and affections like self-regard, pride, affection, respect, reverence, etc.

The sensory motor tracts comprises of two chakras: (1) the "ajna chakra," the area of command (over movements) and is supposed to be situated in or related to with the cerebellum and also in the region between the eye-brows, (2) the "manas

chakra," the sensorium with its six lobes, five for special senses and one for centrally initiated sensations such as dreams and hallucinations, supposed to be situated near the "ajna chakra." The "soma-chakra" is the seat of altruistic sentiments and volitional control, e.g., compassion, gentleness, patience, renunciation, gravity, determination, etc. It is situated above the "ajna chakra" in the middle of the cerebrum.

The "sahasrara" (thousand lobes) chakra, the upper cerebrum, is the special and the highest seat of the soul. It is very significant that no objective function has been allocated to this Sahasrara. In fact, one of the most important Tantra's, the Shiva-Sanhita, maintains that "this lotus, giver of liberation, stands outside the body." It would appear, therefore, that the Sahasrara, is not essential for the ordinary functioning of the organism.

The process of yoga, both Tantrik and Raj-yogic, consists of rousing the potential energy located in the "Adharachakra" and carrying it upwards along the Susumna or any of its special parts, finally reaching Sahasrara. The Kula-kundalini is described as a lightning flash, which raises the question whether this is actually a physical nerve or merely a potential energy which is to be aroused.

According to the Tantra school of thought, 'manas chakra' is the seat of the mind. 'Vijnana Viksu' says, in his Yoga-varttika, that "one branch of the Susumna goes upwards from here, which is the Nadi for carrying the functions of manas and is called the 'manobaha nadi'." Others call it the 'Jnana-nadi,' i.e., the nerve of knowledge. "It seems, therefore, that it is through this nadi that connection is established between the soul, residing in the Sahasrara and the manas, residing in the manas chakra."

The various practices which are included in the "Kriya Yoga" chapter of the yoga aphorisms through which the mind is freed from all impurities, need not be considered in detail. These disciplines, numbering eight in all, are known as the eight limbs of yoga. They are as follows: 'Yama,' the various forms of abstention

from evil doings; 'Niyamas,' the various observances; 'Asana,' postures; 'Pranayama,' control of the Prana (in practice control of breathing to the extent of complete cessation); 'Pratyahara,' withdrawal of the perception of sense objects; 'Dharana,' concentration; and 'Samadhi' a state of supreme realisation.

A cursory view of the above will be enough to understand that step by step the practitioner is trying to establish the state of chittanirodha, in which state only the Prajna-knowledge is revealed. It appears that all the volitional, co-ordinated activities of the organism are carried out by centres or areas of the brain other than the area represented by Sahasrara, conceived to be situated most rostrally.

All functions, physiological and psychological, are under the control of one or more chakras which work in a co-ordinated manner. Broadly, the more psychical functions appear to be allocated to centres whose location are more rostral in the brain and seem to be contained in both subcortical and cortical areas, and in this, there does not appear to be much distinction in function between the cortical and subcortical areas.

More basic functions are associated with centres/plexuses down the axis, some apparently extracranially situated. By implication, it appears these lower centres are under the control of upper centres. Some of the lower centres may very well belong to the autonomic system, which is known to be well under central control. It will be seen then, that all the evidences whether of yoga aphorisms or of the Tantra intimately associate mental functions with various areas of the brain delineated as different chakras with their locations in cortical or subcortical regions. It is also evident that by activation of the Kula-kundalini these chakras or centres which control all the functions of the living organism, can be reoriented in such a way that no impulse can reach the upper centres or even those which reach them are not perceived at all.

Primarily, it looks as though this control is to be worked upwards from

below. Practitioners of 'Hathayoga' have convincingly demonstrated the cessation of function of pulse over a single artery and over a whole limb. They have even demonstrated the stoppage of the heart-beat, not to speak of breathing. But these do not give any convincing evidence in support of the idea that the cessation or stoppage is being done by purely peripheral action. It might be true that it is brought about in an ascending order.

It is not even clear whether "Kulakundalini" is a nerve at all, though some strived to establish that the Kundalini was nothing but the right vagus nerve. Others tend to believe that by Kundalini is meant some dormant energy which when roused can activate control of the various centers of the nervous system. With our present incomplete state of knowledge of neurophysiology, it may not be advisable to attempt any such equation.

Complete cessation of breathing processes seems to be of vital importance in the process of stabilization of the mind. How the physical brain can continue to function in the absence of breathing for any length of time is extremely difficult to understand particularly if it is to be considered from a temporo-spatial point of view. But, then, nobody knows the exact physiological state of the brain during a yogic Samadhi. Not even those who go through that wonderful experience, when the Prajna-knowledge is revealed to them, are capable of communicating in understandable language the nature of this Prajna. To quote Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, "This kind of knowledge will not, of course, be knowledge in the familiar sense, for all Samadhi-knowledge is said to be non-conceptual knowledge and so of a different order."

Therefore, the lack of oxygen may not "Kundalini." In the same vein, the silent be any impediment to the cortex as far as the yogic experience is concerned. The study of whether lowering of the oxygen to a critical subnormal level may lead to hyper-excitability of the cortical neurons or not may also provide some clue to this emphasis on complete stoppage of breathing by the practice of pranayam in the

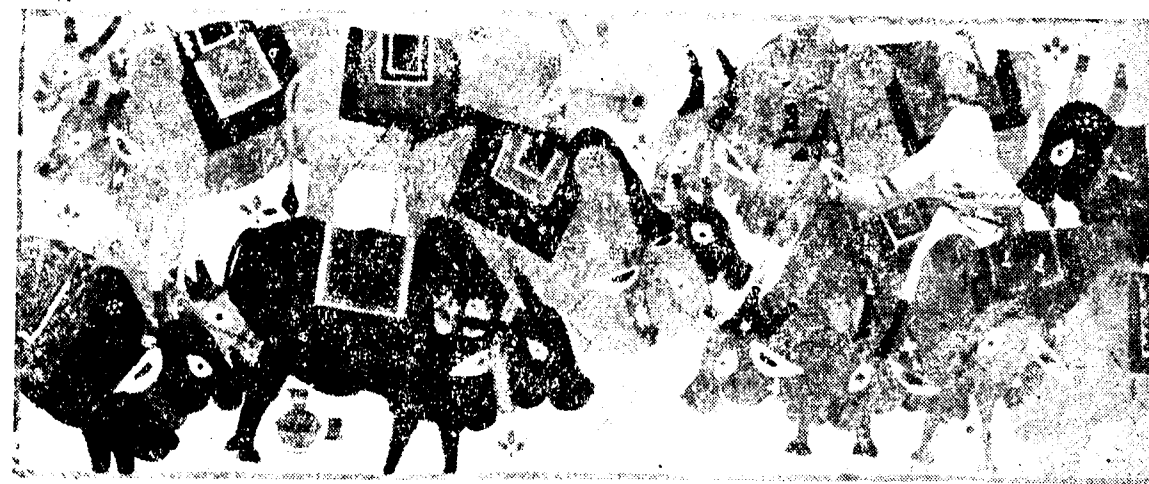
system of yoga. The high concentration of carbon dioxide that necessarily follows pranayam, and the consequent effect on the diencephalon and thus on the autonomic balance, should also be kept in mind. The concept of modern physiology that no area of the cortex is independent and that none is capable of any function without its corresponding portion of the old brain however is not acceptable to the yoga system; it is some sort of function of the Sahasrara (certain areas of the cerebral cortex) freed completely from any other influence internal or environmental which is envisaged in this Hindu system of psychology.

In the past decade the hitherto neglected brain stem reticular formation has shot into prominence following the observation of W. H. Magoun and his associates. The studies of Magoun "have brought to the fore the important role of the reticular formation of the brain stem in regulating the background activities of the remainder of the central nervous system."

In this vitally important integrating structure, nuclear masses and fibre tracts relay and convey neural influences basic to the state of consciousness which enable man to react appropriately to his environment. An entirely new approach to the understanding of the mechanism of mental activities, has thus been opened out.

Nothing similar to the brain stem formation through which "the new capacities of each part of the cortex is utilized," seems to have been specifically included in the anatomical descriptions of the yoga and Tantra system. One however, is tempted to speculate and seek to find any possible similarity of the central grey and the vitally important integrating structures, the centrencephalic reticular system with the "Kundalini." In the same vein, the silent areas of the neocortex would then appear to be the only area bearing the remotest resemblance to the Sahasrara of the yogic concept.\*

\*Abridged from a lecture delivered before the Lunatic Society, Los Angeles, sponsored by the faculty members, University of California, Los Angeles, California.



Cattle Market  
By M. Makwana

## REVIEW OF THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Winter show of the Academy of Fine Arts in Calcutta is a happy, hardy Annual, exhibition hitherto held in the borrowed corridors of the Indian Museum.

which, several weeks ahead, keeps busy Many people claim, and very right- three lively groups of our citizens, artists fully claim, that the Calcutta Academy has giving finishing touches to their pictures, built up in the course of its long career lovers and connoisseurs of pictures looking rich traditions in showmanship and patron- out for new aesthetic thrills, and keen age which in many respects surpass its critics and reviewers assiduously wiping counterpart at New Delhi. As an All-India show this assembly of painting and sculp- tures reflect all the new currents in Art and the novel experiments in plastic creations—contributed by all the distant art-Centres of India. This claim can be easily verified by a cursory glance at the exhibits which have come from all corners of India, Delhi, Bombay, Lucknow, Nagpur, Madras, Mysore and various others centres. Though the artists contributing from Bengal are very many, their numbers do not dis- count the All-India character of the show as a liberal forum for judging all contem- porary tendencies developing in all distant of many exhibitions instead of the single regional centres.

This year's show, the 24th Annual event of the Academy, is invested with a new halo, being set up on the walls of the spacious Hall of their new premises on Cathedral Road, opposite the Victoria Memorial. The New Buildings in a splendid setting provide a brilliant land- mark in the 25 years' bright career of the Academy which has year after year, illuminated the cultural life of Calcutta, permanent and happy home of the Academy it will be easy to hold a succession

It has been the fashion on the part of some critics to complain that the Academy's show does not provide sufficient emphasis on the products of the national Indian Schools of Painting, considering that this city is the birthplace of the New Renaissance in Indian Painting founded by Abanindra Nath Tagore. But for this, the Academy cannot be blamed. For though many of the great disciples of Tagore are still living, they are not contributing to any new development in the national phases of Indian Painting, and very few new devotees of the Indian manner have come forward to continue the movements begun by Tagore and his brilliant disciples.



Portrait of Rabindranath  
By Ram Kinkar

This is evident from the exhibits in the Indian Section. The pictures in this section do not maintain a very high level in spite of three contributions from Santi-Niketan. The honours of the Indian tradition have been sought to be maintained by Kalipada Ghoshal by his "Shiva Drinking the Poison" (114) and by a new recruit from Lucknow, Manahar Makwana, who

contributes two pulsating pieces—a "Marriage Party" (168) and a lively "Cattle Market Scene" (167). As in former years, A. Almelkar of Bombay contributes several stirring pieces—of which the best is his "Boat-Jetty" (2). Sudhanshu Basu Roy, a senior practitioner of Calcutta, who has made himself famous by his brilliant jungle scenes from Assam (illustrated in the Water-colour Section) has contributed two distinguished pieces to the Indian Section of which his "Lotus after the Rains" happily combines realism with romance. Kalyani Chakravarti's "Uma's toilette" (60), though a striking piece, does not sufficiently uphold her former reputation. Gouri Datta Roy's "Kavi" (111) is a striking effort in Rajput manners with considerable charm and originality. Radha Bagehi's "Sleeping Princess" (16), though honouring the correct atmosphere of the theme, falls short of a happy success. Narendranath Sarkar's "Hara-Parvati" (98) is a tiny masterpiece of lively originality, challenged by the lesser efforts of Tarapada Basu—with his "Ganesa-Janani" (48). Sunil Pal's "Damsel" (205) is a new courageous presentation of a familiar type deserving highest praises. The "Pet Queen" of Ganesh Pyne (215) and Ramendra Banerjee's "Pot-seller" (23) are sure to win many admirers. But on the whole, the Section is disappointing—and its standard is sought to be raised by introducing two pieces from the brush of the famous master Dr. Nanda Lal Bose "Fish in the current" (44) and "Evening" (34). But the shining high-light of the section is the silk kakemono of Radha Bagehi depicting "Kumar-Sambhava." In the Water-colour Section, magnificently painted and magnificently mounted, there are several distinguished pieces of which "Construction" by Anil Baran Shah elevates un-romantic subjects to romantic heights. In this section, there are several thrilling compositions in the most daring modernistic manners which will extort admiration from all sensitive critics. But many will prefer the quiet beauty and the astonishing technique of Gopal Ghose in his masterly presentation of six pieces of "Landscape" which high-light this Section in a charmingly low-key.

In the technique of the Tempera there are several striking exhibits, "Naga Dance" by Manahar Makwana, "Gopis and Krishna" by Almelkar, and "In the Doorway" by Prafulla Tana (277). The best piece in this section is a large picture of a "Devotee" by Sudhir Khastagir (154) who has at last freed himself from the monotonous formulas of his dancing figures to present a stately static figure vibrating with expressive emotion.

language of Indian National Schools of Painting. It must be conceded that the Modernists of India, many of them richly possessed of talent and vision, have successfully imitated the famous masters of Modernistic Art of Europe in all their many moods, tricks and inventions, sometimes applied to familiar Indian subjects with striking effects, produced by the disconcert-



Mother and Child  
By H. Shah



Kula-Badhu  
A. Almelkar

In the Oil Section—there are not many pictures to appeal. Of several portraits in oil, Atul Bose's ostentatious presentation of a "Gentleman in Masonic Robes" is successfully challenged by Kisory Rai's charming study of a little girl entitled "Green Ribbon" (230). Of other studies in oil, a beautiful study of a "Pot with a Flower" by Binode Shah (267) deserves special mention.

Undoubtedly—the back-bone of the exhibition is provided by the rows of pictures arrayed on opposite walls in a formidable battalion of about 100 pieces, painted in the challenging techniques and the modernistic manners of the Indian Post-Impressionists, Cubists, and Abstractionist painters, who have deliberately despised all academic traditions as well as the rich spiritual

ing and daring bravados of Brush-work imported from the French studios,—now famous throughout the world. But this borrowed brilliance of these Indian Modernists signally fail to impress on these products of the Indian Brush any manner of Indian-ness, or any flavour remotely suggestive of the smell of Indian Soil. Yet, in spite of all their faults and all their virtues, these brilliant essays will undoubtedly provide to the sensitive connoisseurs of the language of forms and colours, many surprising shocks and many new aesthetic thrills as in the enigmatic composition of S. S. Kadam which he calls the "Urge" (141), in the "Pot with a flower" painted by Binode Shah (267), in the lyrical interpretation of a "Message" by S. K. Shinde



(270) and in the imposing composition of a "Mother and Child" (137) by D. N. Joshi. In the Graphic Art Section there are interesting items none achieving a very high level. The series of Crayon studies of "Horses" (88-90) by Sunil Das provide striking high-lights to the Black and White Section. The Sculpture Section, though confined to 25 pieces, has many attractive items—of which the best is the study of Rabindranath Tagore—contributed by Ram Kinkar Baiz, "the Man and the Moon" by Kumar

Robin Roy and the "Dipa-Lakshmi" (53) excellently interpreted by Deva Vrata Chakravartty.

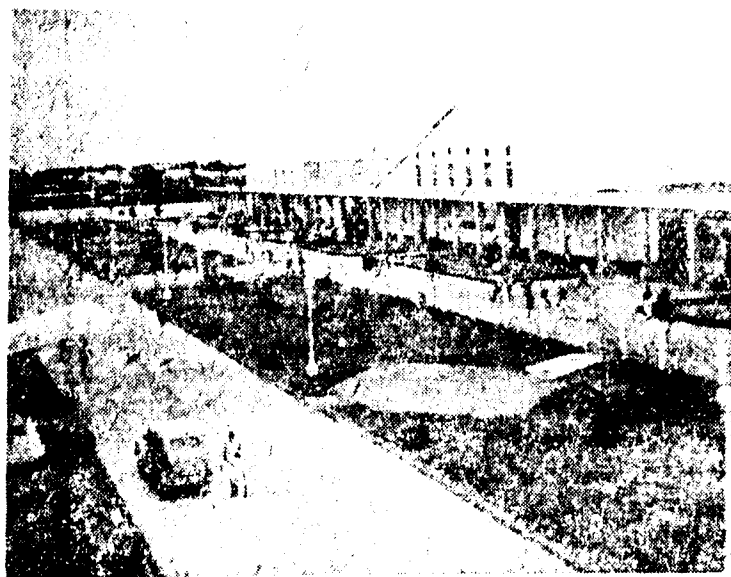
This distinguished array of about 300 exhibits rigorously selected from 3,000 pieces of submissions is a rich fair of aesthetic delights of diverse flavours and divergent tastes and will happily cater to all varieties of picture-lovers and devotees of the shrines of beauty.\*

\*By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Calcutta.

### HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY

**Production Level to Reach 1,000 Machines in 1960, 2,000 in 1963**

The Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore, is selling all the lathes, milling machines and radial drills it can make and order-books are already full for the current and the next year.



The neat lay-out of the Factory

The range of machines manufactured now includes 14 types of high precision lathes, six types of milling machines, 10 types of radial drills and 44 types of lathes

of the Batignolles types. Recently it has taken up a new line of production—of grinding machines. HMT has entered into a seven-year technical collaboration agreement with Messrs Olivetti, an Italian firm, for the manufacture of these machines.

With the signing of this agreement—the fourth technical collaboration agreement in three years—the Factory will be able to supply to the country a further 16 types of machine tools in addition to its existing range of 74 types.

In terms of diversification of production, HMT has, indeed, done exceedingly well. A little over three years back, it was producing only one standard lathe.

During the current year 1959-60, production will be above 700 machines valued at Rs. 2.5 crores. Production rate has substantially increased in the last four years. The Second Plan target of production was achieved three years ahead of schedule—

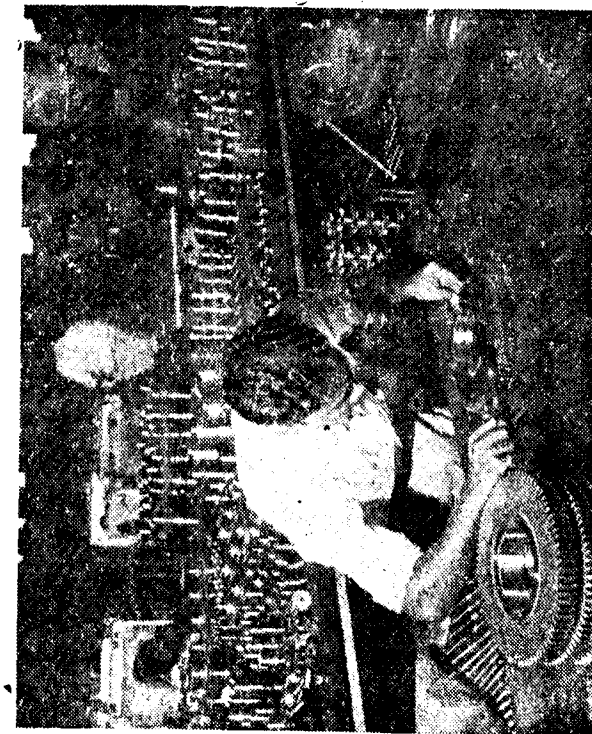
as early as 1957-58, when 402 machines valued at Rs. 1.4 crores were manufactured.

This was made possible by reorganisation and multiple-shift-working for fuller

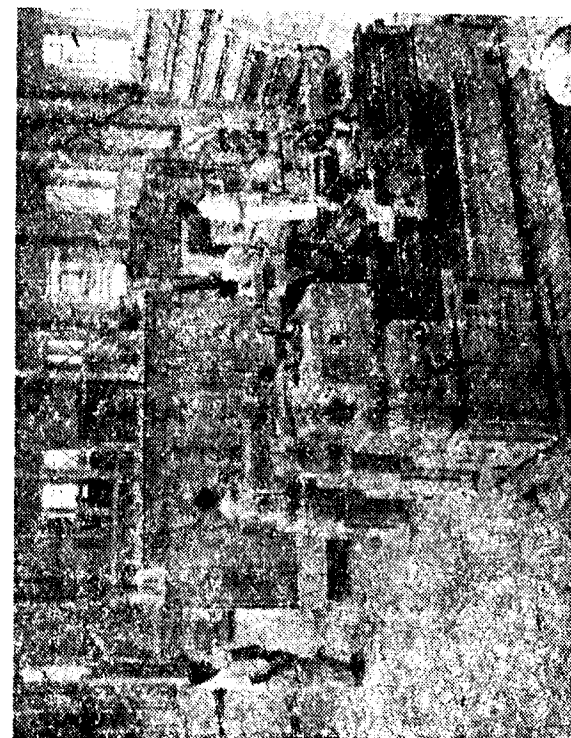
### HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY



Designers are busy in the Design Office



An Interior View of Workshop Shed



pansion in the number of quarters for all categories of staff—the Factory employs 2,600 workers—it has implemented a number of schemes such as (i) abolition of casual and daily-rated employment, (ii) increase in dearness allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 5 per month up to a salary range of Rs. 100 and Rs. 6 per month up to a salary range of Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 per month, (iii) increase in the employer's contribution to provident fund from 6½ per cent to 8½ per cent, (iv) incentive and production bonus at a flat rate of Rs. 5 with an attendance bonus of Rs. 4 per month, and (v) reduction of transport charges from Rs. 7 to 3.75 per month. These measures have meant an additional expenditure of Rs. 5.39 lakhs to the Company.

The machine tool industry is a 'must' for the industrial growth of a country. It is this industry which in a sense provides a key to the country's industrial growth by enabling it to produce all the plant and machinery needed for its factories. In the absence of a well-planned machine tool industry India had necessarily to depend upon foreign sources for such plant and equipment. This is obvious from the fact that most of the heavy plant and equipment which have gone to build India's industries have been largely obtained from foreign sources.

Judging from the number of import licences granted during the 15 months period, January 1957 to March 1958, India imported over 17,000 machine tools valued at a little over Rs. 19 crores.

Against this, the indigenous production in India during this period amounted to Rs. 3.25 crores (HMT's share being a little

over Rs. 1.75 crores during this period). This clearly indicates that the gap is big.

The import statistics further testify the fact that this gap has been increasing very considerably from the year 1951, when India implemented its First Five-Year Plan. At the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, the imports almost trebled, while in 1958 they were almost six times compared to 1951 figures.

#### Co-Ordination in Public and Private Sectors

Apart from the urgent need for stepping up production, one other vital question affecting the future of this key industry is adequate understanding and integration between the machine tool units in the private sector and the public sector. This, doubtless, does not appear to have been established from the beginning when the HMT was set up.

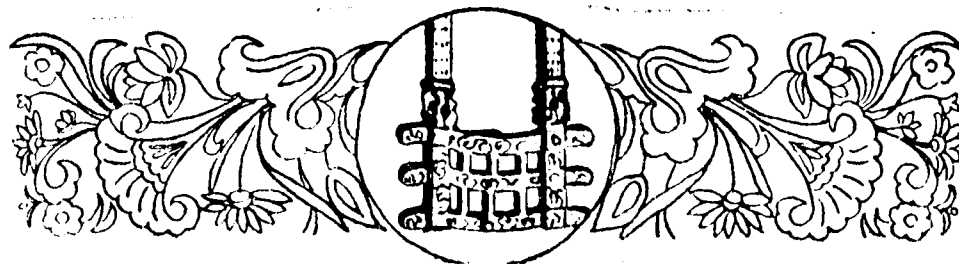
This anomaly was rectified by the appointment by the Union Government in early 1956 of the Machine Tool Committee representing both public and private sector industries as well as the consumer interests. This Committee, for the first time, attempted to estimate the demand for different categories of machine tools during the Second Plan period and also assessed the capacity of the existing industries. It recommended an integrated plan of development of the industry for the Second Plan period avoiding, as far as possible, overlapping and consequent wastage of productive effort. The Government accepted the recommendations of the Machine Tool Committee. These arrangements appear to have eliminated grounds for disputes and wasteful competition by the different units in the industry.—PIB.

#### "CHARLIE" GETS A NEW COMB

Nowadays it is often a matter of the bigger the job, the smaller the apparatus to do it. And certainly the modest size of "Charlie"—the nickname for the Automatic Programme Switching Unit in Bush House, The Strand, London, headquarters of the BBC External Services—is in striking contrast to the size of the job it has to do. "Charlie" automatically handles the distribution of seventeen or more programme sources to groups of transmitters all over Britain radiating BBC External Service broadcasts throughout the world. Governed by a master-clock linked to the



Automatic Programme Switching Unit



use of plant, intensive training of labour and judicious diversification of products.

Production is expected to reach 1,000 machines valued at Rs. 3.5 crores annually by the end of the Second Plan (1960-61). The present handicap is inadequate supply of quality castings and iron and steel. The Factory has no foundry of its own. However, construction of a modern foundry, as part of the Factory, is being taken up shortly. With the commissioning of this foundry, production of machine tools could proceed at an accelerated rate. Moreover, iron and steel in the right quantities is

crores, of which the foreign exchange component would be approximately Rs. 1.15 crores.

Within seven years of existence the Company has already started making profits. Even after providing for the payment of 4½ per cent interest on the loan of Rs. 1.67 crores which has been made available to the HMT by the Union Government, and after providing a fair return on the share capital (Rs. 5.31 crores) the Company will be able to finance a part of the capital cost of the expansion programme from its internal sources.

#### Production Costs Lowered

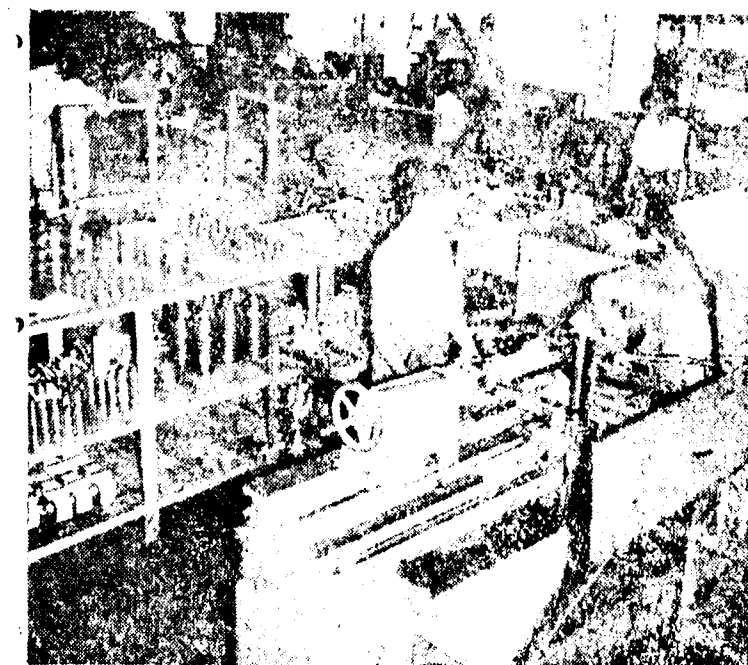
A significant feature of the working of the HMT is that substantial reduction has been achieved in production costs of HMT machines without any lowering of the high quality of the machines. The Company has passed on the benefit of this reduction to the buyer through reduction in sales price. The sale price of 1000 mm. lathe, for example, was first brought down from Rs. 39,000 to Rs. 36,000, and then, from June 1958, to Rs. 29,500. The landed cost of an equivalent machine of equivalent quality is around Rs. 40,000.

This has been achieved despite progressive high prices paid for iron and steel and inadequate supply of quality castings and two successive increases in wage levels in the last two years, which

have more than doubled the minimum earnings of the lowest-paid employees.

#### High Indigenous Content

Another interesting development, creditable to the Factory, is that indigenous content in the manufacture of lathes now stands at 95 per cent. For milling machines and radial drills this percentage has come up to 80 per cent now. For the milling machines this is the second year of production, while for the radial drills it is only the first year. Within a year the percentage of indigenous content for both



Machine tool parts under production at the Factory

expected to be available from Durgapur in the near future. Construction of more assembly hangers to cope with increasing rate of production is also being taken up. A new store shed has already been constructed.

The Government of India has approved a proposal of the HMT to double their capacity from 1,000 machines to 2,000 machines per annum. When it materialises in 1963, it will raise the value of the Factory's annual production to over Rs. 7 crores per year. The capital expenditure of the expansion programme will be Rs. 2.80

the radial drills and milling machines will be progressively stepped up to 95 per cent.

The quality of Hindustan machines has been maintained at very high levels and customers and experts continue to commend favourably on its quality. The British Heavy Engineering Mission, which visited the Factory in December 1958, reported: "The facts are that India now has a first class machine tool unit in the light medium range and should turn it to the maximum possible use."

A visitor to the Factory senses pride among the workers and management in their neat and clean plant and the quality of the machines turned out. The machines are thoroughly tested at the Factory. There is a Government testing officer at the Factory too. And finally, the customers are given all facilities to test the machines.

There are two other features in which the HMT has pioneered. One is that the former Works' Committee has been converted into a Joint Council of Management since June 1958 with an equal representation for management and labour. It is now a major factor in creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and partnership as between labour and management.

The Council has a right to receive information and discuss matters concerning the general economic situation of the Company, methods of work, the balance-sheet and the expansion programmes. It is entrusted, further, with the entire responsibility for administering welfare measures and work schedules. It does not, however, discuss matters relating to wages and bonus which are considered subjects for collective bargaining on a trade union basis.

Secondly, HMT has, in collaboration with the National Small Industries Corporation, pioneered in assisting enterprising

workers from its own plant with machine-tools on hire-purchase basis for establishing small ancillary units adjacent to the Factory. The Company has offered power, water facilities and technical guidance and placed orders for its smaller parts and components on the small producers and made technical guidance available to them.

Further, the HMT is contemplating establishment of an industrial estate so that a large number of component parts required in machine tools could be obtained



The workers dressing the jackets with excellent finish

from the units located in the proposed estate.

There has all along been a considerable emphasis on intensive training of HMT workers as a factor in greater productivity. The HMT training centre is now being utilised for training skilled workers and technicians both in the public and private sectors. The HMT continues to manage the centre on behalf of the Government of India which took it over recently.

#### Workers' Welfare

In terms of workers' welfare, the HMT has a creditable record. Apart from ex-



Greenwich Time Signal, "Charlie" carries out complicated programme-changes every quarter-hour, day and night, entirely unattended, for months on end. When programme schedules are changed a "comb" of a new colour is inserted by one of the technical operations staff to indicate each change.

The BBC External Services, comprising the European and Overseas Services, broadcast in English and thirty-nine other languages and are on the air for some eighty-two hours a day. The BBC General Overseas Service in English is heard all round the world.—BBC

### THE INDIAN ROPE TRICK

By P. C. SORCAR, Magician,  
President, All-India Magicians' Club

Among the much-talked-of feats of India, the Indian Rope Trick stands alone as the greatest of all.

A good deal of editorial ink has been wasted both in the West and the East on the possibility of "The Indian Rope Trick." Some say that this is India's marvel feat, while, on the contrary, there are sceptics who even deny its possibility. To superficial observers this curious mixture of contradictions leads to the belief that the Rope Trick stories are mere fantasies.

A few years ago we saw in the "London Listner":

"Lord Ampthill, former Governor of Madras, one time acting Viceroy of India, will preside tomorrow evening over one of the queerest meetings held in London.

"It is to investigate the evidence of the mysterious Indian Rope Trick. Magicians, Hypnotists and professional conjurors will rub shoulders at the Oxford Theatre, Marylebone Road, with English and Indian dignitaries bearing world-famous names.

"The meeting has been summoned by one of the most eminent British Ophthalmic Surgeons, Lieut. Colonel R. H. Elliot, formerly of the Indian Medical Service. He is Chairman of the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle, London."

After one day we again found in the "Listner": "Any modern magician who will come forward and perform the Indian

Rope Trick before the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle will receive an award of 500 guineas . . . We might have made the offer 5,000 or 50,000 guineas, for any chance there is yet of its being claimed.

Brief speeches followed from Dr. Edwin Smith and from Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who said that he had never seen the trick during his 35 years in India; Sir Leonard Rogers, Sir Francis Griffiths and several others, none of whom either believed in the trick, had seen it or had met anyone who had done so . . .

With the unanimous verdict 'Not Proven' the meeting closed."

Lt.-Col. R. H. Elliot is of opinion that, "The Great Rope Trick is a myth. It never has been performed and never it will be. It sprang Minerva-like, from the brain of an inventor of jovine proportions and Goddess-like it has lived on far too long."

But is it really a 'myth'? Has it never been done or never will it be? Is there no eyewitness of the trick at all to prove its existence?

If we make a historical survey of the trick we find that over a thousand years ago the trick was a common knowledge in India. The doctor of the Vedanta Philosophy, Sankaracharyya has referred to this feat in Sutra 17 of the Vedanta Sutras. There we find an explanation of this trick too in a round-about way . . . "The illusory juggler who climbs up the rope and dis-

appears differs from the real juggler who stands on the ground, etc., . . ." So far as I can remember, Patanjali also mentions it in his Sutras.

Next reference comes from China, from the Volume of Travels written by a traveller Ibn Batutah (Abu Abdullah Mahammad of Tanjiers) an Arab or Moorish Sheik, who journeyed through the East in the first part of the fourteenth century. He saw it in an entertainment at Hangchow.

Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller of the 14th Century, witnessed Rope Trick in China. The following translation is from Yue's Marco Polo:

"That same night a juggler made his appearance and the Amir said to him 'come and show us some of your marvels.' Upon this he took a wooden ball with several holes in it, through which long thongs were passed and, laying hold one of those slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the Conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to mount. He did so climbing by the thong and we lost sight of him. The conjuror then called to him but getting no answer, he snatched up a knife, laid hold of the thong and disappeared also. By and by he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand and foot, then the trunk, last of all head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting and with clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amir, said something in Chinese. He then took the lad's limbs, laid them together and gave a kick when, presto! the boy got up and stood before us. All this astonished me beyond measure and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial however, which cured the attack. The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, 'Allah!' it is my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down neither marring nor amending: 'it is all hocus-pocus'."

Then comes the description of the Rope

Trick in India in the beginning of the seventeenth century, at Delhi, performed by a Bengali Magician before Emperor Jehangir. We get an account in the "Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir" written by himself and translated from a Persian manuscript by Major David Price, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In a London Newspaper "Morning Post" Sir Ralph Pearson, formerly Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Frontier Province claims to have seen the trick carried out at Dondachia station on the then recently constructed Tapti Valley Railway in the west Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. This was in the spring of 1900. The writer describes how he happened to look out of his compartment window on hearing a man shouting and saw the usual village juggler, with snake baskets and a small lad for the edification of some passengers in the next compartment.

"After the necessary shouting and beating of his legs and chest, he threw up the rope some ten feet in the air, after which the boy swarmed to nearly the top." Sir Ralph Pearson remarks however in his letter that another man then shouted down the platform and beat a drum which made him look round. On turning back again he found the boy on the ground as also the rope. The only other details he recalls about it were that the rope was frayed at the top and when in the air was by no means taut, even when the boy was climbing up it. He mentions that his wife told him also sometime later that she had seen the trick done at another wayside station further down the same line.

Mr. V. Rebiere of Kirkee has also an interesting account: ". . . I did see the rope trick performed in the Portuguese Territory of Damann near Bombay . . . I watched the performance carefully and saw a fairly thin rope thrown up; the lid of an oblong basket lying near was then thrown open and a boy of about 10 or 12 darted from the basket up the rope and disappeared . . ."

Again we have from the "Morning Post" of 26-1-32 that Mrs. Pennel Williamson has



seen this trick performed in the year, 1907-8, at Mussorie.

From "Daily Telegraph" (16-6-32) we find that Mr. Prowse saw the trick performed in Secunderabad in 1915. His wife, Mrs. Prowse, had seen the same trick done in Ceylon years before.

Another European writes from Warangal in the "Times of India," 18-4-34: "... I was at that time in the military and stationed in one of the cantonments in the U.P. some 20 years back. One day one of the jugglers came along with his paraphernalia. During his performance he threw a thick rope in the air which stood erect without any visible sign of support; then a lad naked with the exception of a loin cloth climbed to the top of the rope and disappeared into thin air. After a few minutes he reappeared amongst the crowd.

"I am neither superstitious nor a believer in myths and I am ready to swear that this very clever trick was performed before my eyes ..."

Arthur Young writes from Kolhapur on 21-4-34: "... I have myself seen this trick performed in Assam ..."

Colonel H. Cornes saw the trick performed in Bombay Bazar.

"Chicago Tribune" prints an interesting account of this feat, seen by two American tourists in Northern India. In the book "Here, There and Everywhere" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1921, pages 51 to 53) Lord Frederic Hamilton relates the experience as told by Colonel Barnard. When Chief of Police in Calcutta, the Colonel had been invited with a subordinate officer to witness the feat. They saw the rope ascending, the boy climbing, the man after him but their camera revealed that these events had not occurred.

The "Statesman" of 19th June, 1934 contains a reference in which it is stated: "I believe Sir John Lambert, when Commissioner of Police at Calcutta, placed it on record that he had seen this trick performed in India. Also some other persons, whose names I forget for the moment, but whose positions I well remember, entitled them to be heard with respect. That this trick is still performed, at times, in other

countries is borne out by the letter of Mr. Ewan upward ..."

The following extract from a paper on Maxim Gorki, by Prof. Nicholas Roerich, published in the "Twentieth Century" reproduced in the "Statesman," Calcutta, on Oct. 5, 1936 is very interesting:

"... I also recollect how once at a friendly gathering Gorki revealed quite unexpectedly for many another interesting side of his character. We spoke about Yogis and various psychic phenomena whose home is in India. Some of the guests suspiciously looked at Gorki who kept silent and they apparently awaited his severe criticism. But his resume amazed many."

Kindled with an inner radiance he said: "The Hindus are a great people. I will tell you of my personal experience. Once in the Caucasus I met a Hindu about whom many remarkable stories were circulating. At that time I was rather inclined to doubt. At last we met and what I will tell you I saw with my own eyes. He took a long thread and threw it up into the air. And to my surprise it remained hanging up in the air."

So Gorki was contemporary witness to the much-talked-of Rope Trick or to be more accurate, to a part of the famous trick. The account of the brass album, as given by Gorki, is no less interesting because I doubt whether Magicians of Europe and America can ever do it! From the above (and from many other similar examples) it is clear that the Indian Rope Trick has been done in different countries in different forms. It was then performed by roadside jugglers, who generally gathered their crowd by showing a number of petty sleight of hand tricks. When they felt they had got sufficient number of spectators, they started this feat.

In volumes 28 of the "Magic Circular" (June 1934) we find a chapter under the very dogmatic heading Exit—The Indian Rope Trick. Lt. Col. R. H. Elliot, Chairman of the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle is of opinion that "It has never been done or never it will be." Many respectable gentlemen have, however, volunteer-

ed to prove its existence stating that they have actually seen it performed. But Col. Elliot rejects the testimony of all these eye-witnesses on the ground that (i) In all similar cases of abnormal phenomena the witnesses are "victims of trickery and deception." But my point is this—how can a man become a victim, until and unless he sees something of this sort actually "done." But Lt. Col. R. H. Elliot says that "the trick has never been 'done'". He cannot have the same thing both ways. Moreover, the Indian Rope Trick is a Trick—so it is nothing uncommon if there be any "trickery" in it. I turned my dictionary (Concise Oxford Dictionary, New Edition) to refresh my memory as to the precise meaning of the word "trick". My dictionary gives as the first two meanings: "Fraudulent device or stratagem, feats of skill or dexterity, knack, precise mode of doing or dealing with a thing." Many other shades of meaning are given, but nothing which lends the least colour to Colonel Elliot's curious insistence that the word "trick" implies something supernormal. On the contrary, it implies the very opposite. I am sure that it is a very clever trick and admits of a very simple explanation. It is not a "miracle". A trick is a trick so long as it is considered not to be a miracle but the Indian Rope Trick has been so bolstered up and misrepresented by the exaggerated accounts of unreliable and notoriety-hunting travellers that it has lost its real character and those who hear and read about it expect far more than it is possible for any human creature to perform. (ii) The trick "upsets all the laws of gravity." My reply to this is that we must "deal with the first thing first." First of all, we must prove whether the rope trick is a "fact" or a "myth"—then we should discuss how the roadside juggler upsets the Laws of Gravitation. Col. Elliot has referred to "defying the force of gravity" in all his letters. But what does he mean by it fundamentally? Should readers understand that a ladder "defies" the force of gravity when it keeps the weight of a man when he is climbing it, as it prevents the man from falling to the

ground? And is the surface of the Earth defying the force of gravity as it keeps him from sinking through it to what is below?

Col. Elliot tells us that the Rope Trick, or a 'belief' in the trick "implies the temporary suspension of the law which not merely determines the fall of an apple and the swing of the earth's vast oceans, but reaching far out into space enables us to weigh stars whose colossal distance can only be calculated in imaginable light years." Answer to this is that we should first of all settle the question as to whether the Rope Trick is a fact or not. "Miracles," as all theologians from St. Augustine onwards have said, "do not happen in contradiction to nature, they only transcend what is at present known to us of nature." The Indian Rope Trick is not a "miracle," it is only a clever trick and it admits of a quite simple explanation.

"Times of India," 19th May, 1934 states "A man who has actually seen the Indian Rope Trick performed has at last been found. He is Dr. Alexander Cannon, a psychiatrist, who described his experience in Indo-China at a London meeting of the British College of Psychic Science. Dr. Cannon said he was accompanied by a member of the French Consulate in Indo-China: "This is what we saw or thought we saw" said Dr. Cannon: "The scene is a market-place. In the centre of the place stands an ascetic, his eyes half open. He stands swaying his arms, gesticulating and uttering yogi incantations, meanwhile swaying gently to rhythm. In front of him is a coil of red-coloured rope lying on the ground. Over this he stretches out his hands periodically. On his right hand-side stands a youth who has a most noticeable far away expression in his eyes. At last the ascetic lifts up the end of the red rope and holds it at arm's length. The end of the rope then appears to rise higher and higher as if drawn heavenwards by an invisible force. This process continues until the other end of the rope is just free of the ground. The boy then climbs the rope remaining at the other end in midair. He comes down to the ground and then again climbs the rope and the yogi appears

to follow him up the rope with a knife clenched in his teeth. He gets hold of the boy, cuts him to pieces and appears to drop the different parts of the body to the ground where they lie quivering in the dust. The magician then descends the rope, puts the pieces of the body together and sends the youth up the rope again right to the top when he appears to vanish into thin air."

Now among those who actually claim to have solved the Indian Rope Trick, I should mention the name of Dr. Alexander Cannon, K. C. A., M.D., Ph.D., M.A., an official of the London County Council Mental Hospital Service, first. Dr. Cannon says that he has actually seen the Rope Trick performed and can actually do it. "I can produce the Rope Trick in the Albert Hall, London.....I shall require a large quantity of sand from a certain area, certain lighting, as it were from the sun, certain heating arrangements, and, under these circumstances, everyone can see the phenomenon."

A number of magicians in England wanted to see the trick done by Dr. Cannon, and, their willingness to help him in procuring the right conditions at the Albert Hall. To this offer Dr. Alexander Cannon said: "Providing you are willing to lay down enough money to bring over a shipload of special sand, to heat up the Albert Hall to tropical temperature, and to produce my own tropical lighting—and also to place with a bank £50,000 (250,000 dollars) to be handed over to me as soon as I have produced the phenomenon, I will do it."

After this the matter was dropped.

Among others who claim to have solved the Rope Trick the name of "Karachi"\* is mentionable. In the 'Listener' (London) of 30th January, 1935, Karachi states: "The secret of this trick I learnt many years ago from a Gurkha warrior, whose life I had been the means of saving. On his death-bed shortly after, he imparted

\*'Karachi' is not an Indian. It is the stage name of Arthur Claude Derby of Plymouth, his son's stage name being 'Kyder.'

to me the secret of this trick, at the same time adding his dying injunction that I should not perform it in public for profit except when driven to it by necessity. It is for this reason that the trick has not been performed for so many years, but now the time has come when I find it necessary to demonstrate its reality and convince a sceptical world that the secrets of the East have not entirely perished."

The way is now clear for our star witness. Horace Goldin the reputed president of London Magicians' club has himself stated that he has not only seen the trick but he has actually learnt it during his professional tour to India and the Far East. Horace Goldin has sent me one of his printed booklets in which he has frankly confessed that he is "the only white man in the world to discover the secret."

I have then had a press clipping from "Daily Sketch" dated October 21 1936 which states, "Indian Rope Trick Done At Last. At last—The Indian Rope Trick, which has been described by countless retired Anglo-Indians to sceptical English listeners, has been done in England by Mr. Horace Goldin, President of the Magicians' Club."

Well, that was definitely the stage-version of this world-famous item. Many stage-magicians have capitalized on the goodwill of the trick by offering the stage versions and immensely publicising the same. Servais LeRoy, Horace Goldin, Howard Thurston, Harry Blackstone, David Devant, Chang, Dante and Virgil are only a few of the magicians who have successfully done it in their stage shows.

Past President of the Society of American Magicians, my good friend, Milbourne Christopher in his article on "The Truth about the Rope Trick" in the Variety Magazine, January 5, 1955, gave a very funny description of one such stage magician, "a few years ago a Canadian magician announced he would present the feat during a stage performance with all the classic trimmings. His rope rose on schedule, his assistant climbed the rope and he climbed after his assistant. Soon the stage was littered with pieces of anatomy, which

dropped from above. The magician slid back down the rope, wiped the blade of his sword and gathered the pieces of his helper's body in a wicker basket. Hocus pocus, the boy jumped out intact. But instead of gasping with amazement, the audience howled with laughter. The magician was puzzled until he saw an extra arm, which he had forgotten to toss into the basket, on the side of the stage."

Joseph Dunninger, American magician and mind reader who has long served on a national committee to debunk fakers, popped into print with an offer to do the Indian rope trick in Madison Square Garden for only \$50.

However, when the News asked Dunninger to perform the trick in one of the News offices or on the roof of The News Building he declined with a laugh.

Instead, he offered to give \$10,000 to anybody who could do that trick on the roof or even in the open.

"The only place I can do the rope trick—and have done it is on a stage with backdrops. That preserves the illusion. At the Garden? Well, a stage could be thrown up there quickly enough."

"There are thirty-five different methods of creating the illusion of the rope trick. Many of them are impossible. There was one described in Science and Invention. It told of a rope which, when thrown into the air, stood rigid because of interlocking metal sockets within its coils. At the time the climber is to disappear a chemical in his hand belches forth smoke and a mechanism in the bottom end of the rope causes the upright coil to collapse. It's an idea—but it's not practical" Dunninger explains.

Richard Hodgson, L.L.D., wrote in the early 90's:

"I sought in vain for an eye-witness, European or native of the famous rope exploit of which we have heard so much in travellers' tales. About three years ago a story spread that this supposed trick was explicable by hypnotism, it was alleged that certain travellers proved this by means of a camera—that the cameraman saw the

trick but that the pictures showed no scenes of taut rope, disappearing boy, etc. The story turned out, by confession of its author, to be a yarn."

But Hereward Carrington, American spiritualist, feels that those who saw the trick might have been having an hallucination.

Fortunately—or perhaps unfortunately—none of these men was able to witness Robert Heger's efforts to do the trick on the stage of a St. Paul auditorium last November. The first night he did it all went well. But the second time!

In response to Heger's incantations the rope jerked from its coiled position into a straight vertical line. But the electricians turned on the wrong lights and the audience plainly saw the thin wire from which it was suspended. Next the boy pursued by the assassin, climbed the rope with no trouble.

But instead of vanishing into thin air the audience had the pleasure of seeing him leap away—because the stage hands bungled the curtain drop. They probably saw Heger's visible perspiration if they looked.

And last—and worst of all—before the game Heger finished up his act—before he had assembled all the arms and legs and feet and hands and head—the boy stepped out from the wings—too soon, too soon!

Maskelyne, a professional conjuror, says that the trick is frequently done in the open with the audience facing the brilliant tropical sun. When it was suggested that an illusion be done at an English exhibition, Maskelyne objected on the ground that the English sun was not powerful enough to obscure vision.

Noted American Magician-author, Walter B. Gibson, in his "Book of Secrets" (1927) writes:

"It is impossible to find a person who claims to have seen the 'Rope Trick'. There are those who know someone who saw it, or who have heard of some one who saw it; but actual witnesses are usually lacking.

The writer, however, has met three people who have described the trick, as

they have seen it themselves. They are all reliable persons—travellers of wide experience. One of them has studied magic for many years, and his description of the trick supports a theory that the trick has been performed, but that its effect has been exaggerated.

He states that the rope rose about fifteen feet in the air, moving upward very slowly. Instead of a boy, a small monkey climbed the rope and stood on the top. Then the rope fell, and the monkey dropped with it.

The rope used in the trick was of most peculiar construction, and the witness had an opportunity to examine it. It consisted of sections which could be made rigid or released by interior cords. The rope was coiled, and the fakir had an underground assistant who pushed up the rope, the joints being fixed together as the rope rose. When the monkey had ascended the rope, the master cord was pulled, and the rope collapsed, coiling as it fell to the ground."

World-famous American Magician and Magic historian, John Mulholland, in his article on The Great Rope Trick Mystery in "This Week" magazine (April 6, 1958) of the Pittsburgh Press writes:

"After 40 years of trailing the Indian rope trick, I have finally found what I was looking for; the reasons why the legend refuses to die.

"One answer is that after people have been fooled, they are incapable of giving an accurate description of what actually happened during a magician's performance. Given time, their descriptions often become fantastic. They confuse two or more tricks, and even describe something the magician hasn't done—and couldn't do.

"In co-operation with a professor of psychology I once made a series of tests on graduate students who didn't suspect what we were trying to discover. I actually did four tricks and described one which I did not perform: I talked about being able to make a \$20 gold piece travel instantly and invisibly a distance of five feet.

"A month after my 'Show', the class was called together and asked to write a

resume of the magic they had seen me perform. Eighty per cent 'saw' the gold piece which I had only mentioned.

"I am convinced now that the process by which people come to believe in the Indian rope trick is akin to brain-washing. I am also convinced that it will continue to fascinate each new generation born on earth. It's a towering legend, tough to chop down."

During my visits to U.S.A. I had long discussions about this trick with John Mulholland. I told him that 'such a trick is no longer possible, but that it once was. Modern man has lost the secret'.

This trick can easily be done on the stage where everything can be done with 'wires and mirrors'. All my predecessors as also my contemporaries who performed or still perform versions of the Indian Rope Trick on their theatrical stages done with common secrets. Will Goldston has done it in the Black Art scene. Harry Blackstone while gave me details of his version of the Rope Trick showed great ingenuity in the constructions of the stage settings. Howard Thurston in addition to pulling the thick Rope by invisible wires took help of cinematography and slide projections in the matter of the vanishment of the climbing lad. My friend the Great Virgil has taken wire principle for raising the thick rope upward then semi Black Art principle for making the boy disappear. I have seen Julian J. Pablo (Mighty Chang), Cecil Lyle (Great Lyle) and countless others performing the trick in the similar manner. Even Horace Goldin did it in the same principle. Karachi (Arthur Claude Derby) and the German magician performs in such a way that a stiff rope goes upward for a few feet and they cannot make the boy disappear in full view. Instead of being pulled from top in the above a stiff rope is pushed upwards from underneath. In the opinion of Mr. Nevil Maskelyne of England, Indian Rope Trick was done in India with "jointed bamboos covered with hemp" and "the glare of the sun dazzling the eyes" to assist in the operation.

Twenty-five years ago. early in my

career, I performed versions of the Rope Trick in the open field. I adopted the principle of the prepared rope, which could be recoiled and made to make stiff at will. Thanks to the bone-filled rope with the many special sockets inside. I performed this on the pavements of Chowringhee, Calcutta, and to make the place easily recognisable in front of The Statesman House, Calcutta. I got full-page publicity in the India's popularmost English daily "Amrita Bazar Patrika"; and many full-pages photographs of this trick in various stages of performances were published in the January 1937 issue of the "Modern Review." Some of these pictures were printed in the 'Orient' Illustrated Weekly Magazine. (April 23, 1944).

On the stage platform this item can very easily be done, as it has been done by other magicians. It is extremely difficult to produce this trick outdoors. I think Indian Rope Trick can be performed outdoors, at least the mystery can be solved to show how the Indian street jugglers performed it hundred years ago. This Trick was possible at that time but now it is very difficult and wellnigh impossible to do before the 'ultra modern' twentieth century audience.

If we track back into history we find that this trick was performed in India hundreds of years ago. At that time 'invisible thread,' electricity, etc., were not known. People were very much gullible. The best feats were the Mango Tree, Basket Trick, Cups and balls, diving ducks, levitation, etc. These all have stood the tests of time and has survived. Today to the modern theatre-goers these above-mentioned tricks are not so very appealing. They expect more glamour, colour, various appeals. Recently I performed the famous Oyster Shell Illusion invented and made famous by Chung Ling Soo in the early part of the present century. Chung Ling Soo used to show one huge empty oyster shell on the stage and from the same one living girl materialised. Now after about fifty years I have produced the same effect with the same trickery. But I had to use special 'sciopticon' effects-projector to show

the under sea waves with shoals of fish swimming, change over to the sea-weeds and corals with the help of the gauze screens and 'scrim' and then dissolved into gorgeous under sea-hue by ultra-violet lightings and fluorescent colourings. All these scientific are very recent inventions and these were like day-dreams at the time of Chung Ling Soo. Chung Ling Soo could easily fill his theatre without these special trimmings and settings, we modern magicians must go steps further to satisfy our modern spectators. They have seen Radio-Television programmes, big musicals, spectacular cinemascope—cinerama productions, it is hard to get their eyes bewildered by ordinary hocus pocus tricks. If we consider the time, place and situations of the early performers, we will find that this 'trick' was performed usually in hilly area and not in the desert country. So the Fakirs used to wear log flowing garments. In Indian sub-continent those who live in hot spots the inhabitants wear very scanty dress and thus the performer looks with loin cloths on. But in the hilly regions they wear 'loongi and askans', the flowing garments. The boy should be on loin cloths with one 'fatua' singlet on. They chose their site of performances by the side of two high hills or other lofty places. The secret was a horizontal thread stretching from one hill to another caught by two assistants at the either side. At that time invisible thread were not invented nor even the piano wires introduced. The Indian Fakirs made their invisible wires with the help of human hairs specially prepared. They could use catgut ropes on either ends because those portions are far off from the spectators. Time selected was evening before dusk. After showing several tricks and thus killing a good length of time, placing the spectators in magic mood already, and the dusk approaching the magician starts his Rope Trick. With the sound of weird Indian music associated with the Jaduwallahs, sound of tom toms, dholok, etc., the Rope Trick is started. Magician shows a coil of rope woven with soft cotton thread prepared by 'charka'—the spinning wheel now made

famous by Mahatma Gandhi. This rope is about forty feet long and has leaden weight with a knot at the extreme end. Magician throws the rope several times unsuccessfully, to create misdirection and then at a proper time throws the rope up in such a way that the end of the coil of rope engages with the horizontal suspension. They may add some small gimmicks to help this engagement with the horizontal cable. Now a days when we go to the villages and find the electric or telegraphic wirings across the country sides we find these wires are quite invisible to our eyes when they are against green background, say the trees and hills. So, the spectators cannot see the horizontal wire. Moreover, at those ages there were no such wiring systems to give them some sort of ideas. Human psychology is that a hole should be round, for pulling anything upward the tention must be vertical from the top. Even in these days of mechanisation people are wondered when they find a Ball floating in the air, or a Card suspended in the air, hat or handkerchief dancing on the stage, because they are not suspended from the top. We moderns even today perform it with horizontal support, while the audience always suspect or expect the vertical. The same was true in the case of those street magicians. Through the code of their weird music, the assistants from the two top rocky knolls start pulling their catgut rope-ends from either sides, just as we do for our Floating Ball or Dancing Handkerchiefs these days. The rope goes up and up. When it reaches about thirty feet or so, people think that it has gone up to the sky. In India they have not seen the sky-scrappers and all the dwelling places are not very high. To the eyes of the ordinary audience the rope seems to rise up and up to the sky defying the force of gravity. So the first part of the Indian Rope Trick is successfully done in the open field.

Now about the second part. One very small boy climb up the vertical rope, hand by hand and goes to the top of the rope and there he firmly engages his gimmick with the horizontal wire. Because after a

little by-play the Magician will also climb up with the sharp knife between his teeth. Words of abuse, shouts, murmuring, etc., are the well-known by-plays of the Indian Street magicians. They can easily misdirect their spectators through these. The magician goes up and up. As a rule these magicians and their boys are good circus players, at least rope climbers. When the magician goes up and reaches the boy, he throws parts of the boy's costume (similar costumes) smeared with blood (blood like colours) or some freshly butchered meat, may be part of goat, or monkey, one by one to the ground. The assistants starts picking them all up with very nice by-plays and acting. Where is the left arm Ostad?—and talks like that. The boy in the meantime takes shelter underneath the flowing garments of the magician. Magician is now free because all the pieces of cloth and meat he carried under cover of his costumes have been dropped down, and the same place has been occupied by the young boy. The boy clings to the former, just like the young monkeys do to their mother. More by-play and acting the magician climbs down thoroughly exhausted. The assistants have in the meantime collected the dismembered parts of the boy's body, including the missing parts that dropped here and there. The head was covered with the part of boy's turban all smeared with fresh blood. The magician comes near the basket into which the cut pieces of the boy was placed. More acting, more by-play and more misdirection, the boy slips out and enters the basket. Just as they do in the traditional basket trick. It is not difficult even for the moderners to perform the rest of it. At command the boy jumps out of the basket quite hale and hearty to receive 'baksheesh' prizes from his admiring spectators. By this time it is more dark. Ordinary naked lamps, mashals or kerosene or other oil lamps could not get the spot flood-lighted. At signal the long rope falls limp to the ground, thanks to the two assistants on the two lofty places, they simply untie their ends. Sometimes the story of fight between Indra, the King of

Heavens and his fight with the demons is alleged to be told. Rightly at that time they do enough incense burning, bonfire in the name of 'Homa' or 'Yajna' thus obscurity of vision is created by the smokes. In hilly regions due to cold atmosphere smoke does not go very high up because air is heavy and thus foggy atmosphere is created to facilitate the successful performance before the audience. In those days very ordinary tricks of the street magicians and medicine men were regarded as big feats of magic. To turn a silver rupee into a Gold Muhar was a very great feat, but today even school boys ignore it as mere trick of palming and passing. So the great Indian Rope Trick is not a myth. It was done outdoors by the street magicians. It was a great feat during those days. Added to it has been its legendary fame. Facts die but legends survive. It was feat of ordinary commonplace trickery, the name being 'Indian Rope Trick'. There were many limitations for these performances and required many persons for its successful operation. Income was not enough for the whole team, so they divided and formed their own smaller troupes. Slowly, the trick went out of fashion, out of repertoire. The question as to whether one person can be kept suspended with one wire can easily be answered. Do we not suspend full-sized ladies with one strand of No. 18 piano wire in the Amac Style Find the Lady Tricks? Do we not suspend girls with such wires in the Lady Levitation trick even nowadays? What about Kellar's Levitated Princess done with not only one wire, but many very fine wires. Can't we adapt the same principle in this illusion also? However, the great mystery is not a myth, the riddle is solved.\*

\*This thesis on the Indian Rope Trick has been prepared in reply to an enquiry made by "Selskabet for Psykisk Forskning" (The Danish Society for Psychical Research), Copenhagen, Denmark and the Institute of Para-Psychology, Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan.

## WOMEN AS TEACHERS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

Even after achieving independence 12 years ago the percentage of literacy in our country is still very low in comparison with other free countries of the world. In order to raise this percentage we are to improve the existing condition of education imparted to children at the very primary stages. In Western countries there are more women teachers in the beginners' classes than the male teachers. The reason is that women are more fond of little children with whom they are closely associated as sisters and mothers in their domestic environments. In order to provide better standard of education to our children we should also employ more and more women teachers in our schools. At present in our country women teachers are mainly engaged in girls' schools. In boys' schools generally male teachers are found to take classes of little boys, who are very often afraid of such teachers instead of loving them. The women teachers are more affectionate to the children and naturally they can win the hearts of children, who are placed under their charge for getting lessons. Over and above these an average girl teacher is more serious in her duties of teaching than a male teacher. So far as adult education is concerned in every locality, in a village or a town, suitably qualified girls are easily found, who can come forward to undertake this great task of increasing the percentage of literacy in our country more with the idea of rendering social service than with the object of earning money. In spite of our First and Second Five-



Year Plans we have not been able to employ an appreciably large number of educated young men and women. For men even in the existing fields of employment, which are becoming more and more overcrowded, there are certain jobs for which they are only suitable due to their physical strength, but for educated women the profession of teaching is perhaps the only profession, which is most suitable due to their inherent love for children. The economic condition of the middle class and the existing dowry system somehow compel the girls to earn their livelihood and to supplement the income of the families they belong to. They, however, find it difficult to secure employments as they swell the number of job-hunters, the majority of whom are men and who are already facing impossibility in finding suitable jobs. Therefore if the profession of teaching, which is eminently suitable for women, specially for junior classes of both boys and girls, is set apart mainly for educated women, the problem of providing jobs to women on completion of their education, can be solved to a great extent.

For the posts of teachers the girls of course require some special training and instead of a Degree course (B.T.) for training in teaching under modern methods, a special course of training can be arranged for the would-be teachers. Understanding of children's psychology and cultivating love for children can be taught in this course along with other kindred subjects. Those girls, who will come out successful after such a training course, say of one year's duration, can be attracted to the profession of teaching if they are offered a reasonably good scale of pay. Women teachers possessing love for children and a liking for the profession are sure to be successful in creating a true desire for knowledge in the minds of the little boys and girls placed under their charge. Some

of these boys and girls can one day hold very high positions in society or in politics for turning the wheel of destiny of our nation and therefore the role of these women teachers is no doubt very great so far as their power of producing the right type of future citizens in the country is concerned.

As regards adult education, the educated women in our country can do a lot of work for the spread of literacy amongst the unfortunate grown-up persons. There are many educated women, who can spare their leisure hours without expecting any remuneration, for organising classes, even once a week or on holidays, in which illiterate persons of the locality, both men and women, can assemble to take elementary lessons in reading and writing from them. Along with the learning of alphabets if these men and women are told the stories of the country's glorious past history and are kept informed in simple language about the modern developments that are taking place in our country in different spheres, it will generate in their minds a real love for knowledge, which will gradually remove from them the stigma of illiteracy.

The middle class women in our country are trying their utmost to utilise their education for earning their livelihood and they will assist the country's educational advancement to a considerable extent if they are given proper opportunities. When the women in Western countries have proved their efficiency as teachers and have considerably assisted in sending out from their schools more and more boys and girls fit for holding high positions in the country's administration, there is no reason why in our country educated women will not be able to show equal success as teachers if given similar encouragements and opportunities.

## A FEW ANECDOTES ABOUT KAMRUPA-KAMAKHYA

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

Assam may have been known upto now to the outside world as a land of jungles and tea gardens, of mighty "rhinos" and wild elephants, of the gushing oil wells, rushing rivers, of violent earthquakes and raging tornadoes, of dancing Lushais and hunting Nagas, but big chunk of it, known as Kamrupa has also evoked many and old wife's tale of absorbing interest.

From the days of dim antiquity it came to be known as the land of black magic and witchcraft. It leapt into fame more and more as its daughters attained the notoriety of vamps and sorceresses. They attained an uncanny aura not equalled by others. Do not go to Kamrupa-Kamakhya was the slogan. You would be enslaved by Circes. These wily women were not only shapely coquettes but possessed supernatural power. They could turn humans into animals. Fiery males would be turned into innocent lambs. Trees would be made to run and become carrier vehicles. They could twist and turn men. They were ever young, ever green and ever free. They were under the protecting wings of the great Goddess Kamakhya.

Tradition has it that when Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kashmir organised a military expedition against Kamrupa and attacked Pragjyotishpura, his soldiers came into contact with the principality of the Amazons nearby, ruled exclusively by womenfolk, and soon the conquerors became conquered. According to the 'Rajtarangini' another king, named Maghavahana, came from the distant Kashmir to attend the 'Swayambara' of Amritaprabha, a Kamrup princess. We hear of the Kamrup girl Rajyamati whose name is enshrined in a Licchavi inscription of Nepal. Dandi's "Dasa Kumar Charita" speaks of an exquisitely beautiful Kamrupa girl, Kalpasundari. Again, history has it that when after the debacle which Mirjumla

suffered in his attempted conquest of Assam, Aurangzib ordered Ram Singh, son of Jai Singh, to organise a fresh expedition against Assam, indirectly as a punishment as he was in disfavour of the Imperial Court for his alleged complicity with the flight of Sivaji from the Mogul clutches, Ram Singh brought with him the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur and five other holy men so that they could counteract the malign influence of the Kamrupa damsels on the body and mind of his soldiers and restore their mental equilibrium by equally potent incantations and amulets. But here was a land of contrast where diverse races, castes and creeds had met at different levels of civilization in different ages. Here each has brought its own in a common pool behind which lurk traditions of race memories. Even Nature joins in the diversity which is amazing. The first consolidation began in the Brahmaputra Valley, the rich alluvial tracts of which attracted newcomers. In Assam the first arrivals were probably the Austriacs, whose representatives are the present-day Khasis, Morans and Jaintias. Bihu and Nong-Kreim songs and dances are the relics of an old austriac tradition. Added to this, the matrilineal structure of society in the early evolution of the family in a socio-biological group is a great pointer to the women as the dominant partner who ruled and enslaved. Negroids, Kirats and Bodos apparently came subsequently. Some say that Bodos, i.e., the Mongoloids of Tibeto-Burma origin were the founders of Kamrupa. They even go so far as to claim that they were the first to introduce phallic worship which was ultimately absorbed in the Hindu thought and theology. The peculiar idea was, to quote Shri R. M. Nath, that "earth was likened to a woman, she was the mother earth, and the country was also a woman" and it was thought that all the



placed against the human figure builds up skillfully a very concentrated composition of a lyrical appeal with some memory of the Gopini pictures of Indian tradition. We are reminded of the great masterpiece of Prof. Bireswar Sen (Lucknow) which won high praise in a London Exhibition (London *Studio*, 1925).

The second prize-winner is a "Still-Life" essay—trying to weave out a picture out of several units on a breakfast table, a cup of tea, a wine bottle, a cylindrical glass, and some apology for vegetable pieces. The table cloth, hardly covering a fraction of the table, with its dotted design is intended to redeem a cheerless composition from an obvious disaster. Numerous successful masterpieces depicting this theme by Van Gogh, Matisse, and others put to shade this halting effort to imitate modern masters of Europe.

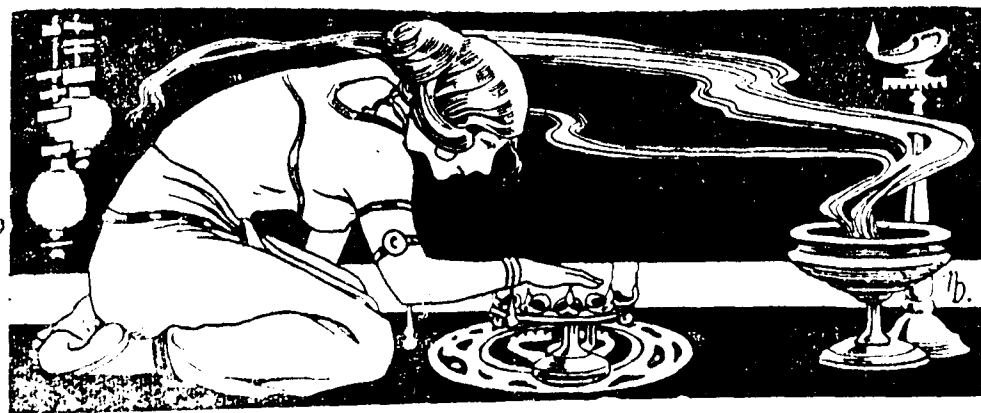
Three sculptural pieces which won prizes appear to be the best exhibits of the show.

"Family" a piece of cement sculpture by M. Dharmani is a very creditable composition of five haunting figures in a tense pose of highly emotional significance, crowned by the shadow of the mother of the family, carrying a child. Here, deliberate omission of irrelevant details and emphasis—expressed in the tall symbolistic figures—do not prevent the easy realization of the fundamental theme, inci-

dentally contradicting the modernistic canon that 'a work of art need not have a subject-matter.'

The second piece of sculpture in bronze, is the picture of a "Tonga", by R. R. Ponchal visualized in tall slim figures of the driver, the rider, and the horse, through skilful elimination and emphatic exaggeration. The trick is a well-known one—successfully practised by many modern masters whom our Indian imitator has copied to perfection.

But we have nothing but high praise for the last item "Figures" rendered in the medium of wood by Narendra K. Patel. It is a haunting study of a 'Man and Woman', the traditional Mithuna in Indian Art. The highly skilful and delicate manipulation of the muscles of the anatomy helps to catch the reflection of lights—in a dynamic series of waves—which impart a mystery and grandeur to the figures. Though lacking in the simplicity of Archipenko, the pair of wood echoes the monumental manners of Henry Moore. Incidentally, the composition illustrates another of the modernistic canons that 'an artist must not suppress or cover the fundamental nature of the stuff of his material.' Here the grains of the wood make a distinct contribution to the eloquence of the composition.



## HINDUSTAN ANTIBIOTICS LIMITED, PIMPRI

*Pimpri*: At a turn of the Bombay-Poona highway—110 miles from Bombay and nine miles from Poona—bright neon signs announce the location of the Penicillin Factory of the Hindustan Antibiotics Limited, a Government of India enterprise.

It is ideally located on 200 acres of rolling upland on both sides of the banyan-lined road. Pimpri is known for its salubrious climate, moderate rainfall, easy availability of rail and road transport, electricity and water.

Working round the clock in three shifts, the Factory—barring China the biggest in Asia—is producing penicillin at the rate of 40 million mega units per year since last July. This is more than four times the production rate during 1956-57, the first year of production. With the present demand in India estimated at 65 million mega units, the Hindustan Antibiotics is already in a position to meet about two-thirds of it.

For setting up of this Factory, UNICEF came forward with a generous help of 850,000 dollars for the purchase of plant and equipment. Similarly, the W.H.O. and later the United Nations Technical Assistance Board offered a further sum of 350,000 dollars for technical assistance in terms of furnishing technicians from other countries and for the training of Indian personnel abroad.

The foundation-stone was laid in March 1952, and most of the work was completed by August 1954. The Company was registered as a private limited company with an authorised share capital of Rs. 4 crores. All the shares are held in the name of the President of India and his nominees. The Company also took a loan of Rs. 70 lakhs from the Government of India at 4½ per cent rate of interest for working and other expenses. This loan was repayable in fourteen equal half-yearly instalments of Rs. 5 lakhs each. As a result of the excellent progress made, Rs. 40 lakhs out of the principal and Rs. 6.88 lakhs by way of interest were paid during 1958-59, and the balance cleared in May 1959.

The Factory was planned on the basis of an initial production of 3.6 million mega units and a target of 9 million mega units (one mega unit is equal to one million units). This rated capa-

city was subsequently revised to 25 million mega units with the same machines as a result of technological improvements carried out in the manufacturing processes.

Trial runs began in December 1954 and went on till March 1956. Therefore, very small quantities of finished penicillin were available for putting in the market during 1955-56. The first normal year of production was thus 1956-57, when 9.89 million mega units of penicillin were produced. Production increased by nearly 120 per cent in 1957-58 (21.43 m.m.u.). Production of 29.03 m.m.u. was achieved during 1958-59. The phenomenal increase in production during this year, even above the rated capacity, was due to the imports of certain quantities of first crystals of penicillin G to augment the penicillin supplies from indigenous sources.



A research worker busy in the laboratory

The demand for penicillin has gone up so rapidly that it is now a continuous race between demand and indigenous supplies. The Hindustan Antibiotics, therefore, planned further extension of its production capacity by 60 per cent. This involved erection and installation of more machinery as well as extension of buildings. This additional capacity went into production last July and the yearly production will now be 40 million mega units.

raja Chakravarti and Ananta Acharya. We have remarkable paintings also of this period—One of 'Durga Pujah' is the most famous.

This lady died early. King Siva Sinha married afterwards another lady called 'Madambika' and after her 'Sarbeswari.' Both these ladies also took part in the administration. In a quotation from a letter of Charles Rose to Lord Cornwallis we read—"The Assamese were a most war-like nation and had for a length of time successfully resisted all foreign invaders. Even Aurangzeb had failed. They never prospered more than when governed by females as was the case in the earlier part of the nineteenth century."

## MOBILISATION OF RESOURCES FOR THE THIRD PLAN

By PROF. A. K. PODDAR, M.A.

The economic realities of the last two years which manifested themselves in the forms of acute inflation and balance of payments disequilibrium have made it abundantly clear that the scope for using deficit financing as an instrument of financing economic development is highly limited in India. At the same time it has become more than evident that foreign capital cannot be relied upon to fill the gap between the actual needs of planned development and the meagre domestic resources to any great extent. This means that if the pace of development is not to be toned down, larger and more serious efforts have to be made to mobilise India's domestic resources.

The problem of resources will acquire, it seems certain, challenging dimensions during the Third Plan period. During the Third Plan period, not only the tempo of economic development initiated by the First and Second Plans has to be consistently maintained, but a sizeable amount has to be provided for towards the repayment of the foreign debt obligations. The aggregate investment outlay of the Third Plan has been tentatively put by the Planning Commission at Rs. 10,000 crores i.e. more than double the investment outlay of the Second Plan. This will raise a formidable problem of resources and needs a careful consideration of fresh ways

and means of realising resources of the envisaged order.

### Tax Evasion

It is the general consensus of opinion that there is not much scope for the imposition of any new major taxes. But it is paradoxical to find the direct tax revenue at the "near-stagnation level" (Rs. 220 crores in 1958-59 as compared to Rs. 188 crores in 1951-52) despite heavy investment expenditure, inflation and the introduction of a series of new taxes. This is to be explained, as has been borne out by the recent findings of the Direct Tax Administration Committee, by tax evasion on a substantial scale. From this point of view, the plugging of flaws and loopholes in the tax structure by appropriate legislations and strengthening the administration of tax collection are of primary significance.

### Rural Taxation

The proposal to impose fresh taxes upon the rural sector has been opposed recently in certain quarters on the ground that the tax system will weigh heavily upon the rural sector and this will encourage a movement of the population from rural to the urban areas. This apprehen-

sion is hardly justified. The rural sector, which accounts for over 60 per cent of the total national output, contributes less than 40 per cent of the total tax revenue according to the Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953-54). In recent times the co-operative movement and land reforms (particularly the scaling down of rents all round) have given rise to a well-to-do class of peasants. There has also been, it is believed, as a consequence of the community development projects, a shift of income in favour of the rural sector. It is desirable, therefore, that some new taxes like tax on agricultural rent, the incidence of which falls on the receiver should be imposed. The net of the capital gains tax should also be so widened as to cover the capital gains arising out of speculations in land.

There is not only scope for increasing the share of the rural sector to the total tax revenue, but also for making the tax system more progressive in this sector. According to the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, those in the expenditure group Rs. 1-50 per month in the rural sector, pay about 2.2 per cent of their total expenditure as indirect taxes; but those in the groups Rs. 101 to Rs. 150 and Rs. 151 to Rs. 300 per month pay only .5 and .6 per cent more respectively than this lowest group.

With further development of agriculture and greater monetisation of the rural economy this will become an important source of tax revenue.

### Rural Savings

The major part of resources for the Third Plan would, however, have to come from small savings and it is particularly important to mobilise the rural savings. It is a truism to suggest that rural savings are small because rural incomes are low. But there is a big chunk of "savings potential" which can be mobilised by designing appropriate institutions, propaganda and financial incentives. A large part of the rural income (estimated to be 10-12 per cent of the household expendi-

ture) is spent on religious and social ceremonies.

The reason why the villagers waste their savings in this way lies partly in their peculiarly fatalist attitude towards life and the security provided by the joint family system. But the reason is also to be found in the lack of savings facilities. It has been the experience of Japan that the peasants can and do save if the facilities for saving are pushed right under their nose.

The institution through which the rural savings can be mobilised are local post offices, local co-operatives, small-scale industries, and mobile savings banks. In designing the rural savings scheme the following considerations should be borne in mind.

1. Security for the hard-earned money would be the first consideration in the mind of the rural population. The scheme should therefore, bare the guarantee of the government.

2. As individual savings are likely to be small, the bonds should be graded in very small denominations.

3. Liquidity is particularly valued by the villagers and that is why they purchase land or gold whenever they have spare money. The bonds should therefore be liquid and marketable.

4. It is difficult to provide any further financial incentives in the rural sector as the rates of interest prevalent there are already very high. It may be suggested, however, that the existing rate should be scaled down by legislations and the Government bonds should carry a relatively high rate of interest.

The extension of savings facilities would be of little value if it is not accompanied by a widespread savings campaign. By propaganda and publicity, the horizon of life of the rural population has to be widened so as to stimulate in them the desire for independence and future improvement of the standard of living.

At the same time, the small savings movement should be intensified in the urban sector by popularising National

Savings Certificates, Post Office Savings, Treasury Savings Deposits, State Borrowing Schemes, Government Prize Bonds, Life Insurance and Provident Fund Schemes.

### State Trading

In order to increase government savings, the sphere of State Trading should be progressively widened and the profits otherwise going into the pockets of thousands of small traders and middlemen should be captured by the government and should be invested in the public enterprise. The price policy of the public sector should also be so designed as to generate large profits which should be reinvested. The public enterprise can provide a sizeable amount for capital formation if it is properly organised and administered; China and Soviet Russia are cases in point. In China and Soviet Russia, profits of the public enterprise constitute the major source of saving.

### Gold Hoards

The proposal to mobilise the gold hoards of the country deserve more serious consideration than it has so far received. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the total private stocks of gold in the country would be around 1.5 million ounces or Rs. 1750 crores in value. This gold is held in small quantities by thousands of

people in varying forms ranging from gold bar to ornaments and dinner sets.

The hope to mobilise these gold hoards by "a gold certificate scheme" as some have suggested is, however, futile. No amount of financial incentive or public appeal can remove the age-old habit of the Indians to store wealth in "yellow metal." It is desirable that a legislation of the kind prevalent in the USA which prohibits private ownership of gold above a certain quantity (that too in the form of ornaments of certain specifications) should be enforced. This would indeed mean State Trading in gold. If State Trading in food-grains is desirable, it is much more desirable in gold.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that in a backward community resources need not necessarily be in terms of money, they may also be in the form of idle manpower and unexploited technical opportunities. From this point of view, it is important to intensify the community development movement in the villages and to popularise the idea of 'Shramdan' among the educated masses.

To conclude, the problem of resources, it appears, is likely to remain in the economic horizon of the country as a challenging problem for quite sometime to come. Fundamentally, it is a problem of organisation and enterprise. It demands mobilisation and consolidation of organisational skill, leadership, technical ingenuity and co-operative enterprise of our countrymen.



## LABORATORY-INDUCED NEUROSES

By G. P. CHATTERJEE, M.A.

PECULIAR habits of great men easily attract attention and find place in writings about them. For example one who has read about Dr. Johnson would never forget that he had the habit of touching every lamp-post in the street whenever, he went out for a walk. Those who are not great men also may show evidences of such habits. These habits arouse momentary amusement to those who happen to observe their commission. One day while I was waiting for the bus near College Square, I saw a person counting each and every rod of the fence round the square. The peculiarity of habit is exactly like that of Dr. Johnson. Such behaviour readily catches our eyes simply because it is not generally seen. In a word it is abnormal.

Hence, the question is: What type of behaviour is to be stamped as abnormal in contrast with normal behaviour? The word normal is, however, used in different senses. In medicine, it is used to indicate the absence of physical pathological condition. But in Psychology, it is used in the sense of the average. When it is said that a man is normal in height, it means one whose height approximates to the statistical average. Normality thus is judged against its background. A Nepali, who is considered as of average height amongst the Nepalese, is regarded as abnormally short when he is in the midst of the Punjabis. This is true of physical features, qualities, behaviour, etc.

Abnormalities of behaviour may take various forms. One of the major varieties of abnormal behaviour is neurotic behaviour. Neuroses may be defined as inability to cope with the reality. It is the experience of the Psychologists that neurotic behaviour is due to unresolved conflicts in the human mind. Investigations in controlled circumstances have been made to see the effect of conflicts on animals with a particular emphasis on the appearance of abnormal behaviour.

Pavlov, the renowned physiologist, was first to produce neuroses in laboratory. He carried his experiments on a dog. The dog was repeatedly shown a luminous circle, immediately following which it was always fed. The dog be-

came conditioned to salivate at the sight of the circle. Then it was shown a luminous ellipse after which no food was given. The dog soon mastered the required discrimination learning to salivate whenever it saw the circle and not to salivate when the ellipse appeared. Then the second stimulus, i.e., the ellipse was made more and more similar to the circle. Eventually the difference between the first set of stimuli and that of the second became less and less. At one point of time the animal could not distinguish between the two, unable to react either to the circle or to the ellipse. Finally, the dog began to struggle, bark and bite. Even when it is taken out of the situation it reacted in the same way. Pavlov explained this by saying that the two processes, one of excitation and the other of inhibition, are occurring at the same time.

Anderson following the path of Pavlov made experiments on sheep. He also arrived at similar findings but noted some peculiar facts. He noted that the behaviour disturbance varies greatly in different sheep, some became too quiet, some restless and anxious.

Many Psychologists raised serious objections with regard to the application of these findings to human beings. They advocated that the conflict which has produced the neuroses is of a very simple type, it is a conflict between two simple responses, salivation and indifference. In case of human beings, the circumstances are so complex that there is hardly any similarity with the above-mentioned situation. Moreover, the animals under experiment usually were placed in very confining situations (animals were kept in chain) as a result of which their movements were greatly limited.

Messerman conducted experiments on cats keeping his eyes open over the errors committed by his predecessors. He performed experiments in a situation which closely resemble the conditions productive of human neuroses in the following way:

Conflict is produced between two strong motives, i.e., between fear and hunger.



secondly, conflict is based on factors other than an inability to respond.

He used a box the side-walls of which were glass, and its floor was an iron grid. In the middle of the floor, there was an escape platform. There were many other arrangements, such as arrangement for food, etc. The cats were conditioned to feeding response. After they learned to secure food in response to the feeding signals, they were subjected to a grid shock, air blast, or both at the moment of feeding. In almost every cat, one or two experience or experiences of this type were enough to produce some sort of neurotic behaviour. The symptoms shown by different animals varied differently, some showed changes in spontaneous activity, some other chronic anxiety, some phobic responses.

Thus in a conflict-producing situation, behaviour becomes abnormal. Messerman saw that there are some factors which accentuate neurotic behaviour in the cats. These are increase in hunger and restriction to a small space in the cage. This is obvious, because these two factors augmented stress and strain to which the animals were subjected.

Messerman was not satisfied to see the nature of situation that produces neuroses, he wanted to know how the neuroses of these neurotic cats can be cured, he conducted experiments and found that the following are very effective in alleviating neuroses:

(1) *Rest*: Prolonged rest, i.e., if the cats were taken out of cage for a long time and it resulted in some alleviation of the neurotic behaviour, cats became less afraid, and sometimes ate a little in the cage.

(2) *Reduction in hunger drive*: If the cat was fed just before being placed in the cage, it showed diminished abnormality of behaviour. The explanation lies in the fact that reduction of one of the antagonistic motives lessened the conflict.

(4) It has been found that the method of reassurance and persuasion is effective in eliminating the abnormality of behaviour. Cats when gently patted began to eat.

(4) Another method was that of the forced situation. The intensity of the cat's desire for food was increased to such an extent that the food-getting reactions came definitely

to prevail over the fear behaviour. The basis of it lies in the fact that the conflict will be intense when both the parties are of equal strength. The weaker will obviously be overpowered by the stronger.

(5) Another method is social example, that is seeing the normal feeding behaviour of non-neurotic cage mates, many neurotic cats began to take food.

(6) Messerman saw that a partial control of the situation by cats leads to decrease in abnormality of behaviour. This is due to the fact that this increases their self-confidence and with more self-confidence, they can easily resolve conflicts.

Many psychologists have conducted fascinating experiments on this line. It is not possible to include their findings in this article. The clinical experience of the Psychologists is that external frustration alone does not commonly produce 'mental' disorders; the human beings do not usually break down merely because external (environmental) obstacles block them from obtaining money, prestige, sexual satisfaction, etc., which they desire and that the goal-seeking behaviour must be blocked through internal sources, typically by some sort of internal conflicts. Thus if a young man's proposal of marriage meets with rejection, which is here the external obstacle, although he may be deeply affected, he does not develop neuroses but if his sexual desires are frustrated by an internal struggle between such desires and fear of the opposite sex, a break-down frequently results. Messerman's experiment is a successful one, because he produced internal conflicts in the cats, while Pavlov and Anderson in their experiments created external obstacles that were faced by their subjects. Among the methods suggested by Messerman for alleviating abnormality of behaviour, it has been found that in case of human beings the partial control of the situation is most effective. The subject in order to have control over the situation must understand the situation thoroughly. The method of partial control gives insight to the subject. This increases self-confidence. The subject not only resolves the conflict present before him but in future he can also use this technique in doing so.



## Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

### ENGLISH

THE STORY OF THE CULTURAL EMPIRE OF INDIA: By P. Thomas, Joseph Thomasons & Co. Ernakulam. Pp. 337. Rs. 11-50 nP.

The aim of this work as the author modestly informs us in his Preface, is to produce "a handbook for the layman" interested in the subject which is necessarily treated in "its bare outline" with the emphasis laid on "those developments that had an international appeal." The monograph accordingly divides itself into two parts, one called "Development of Indian Culture," and the other bearing the title "Indian Cultural Expansion." The first part covers the period from the earliest times down to the epoch of the Muslim conquest which practically stopped the cultural expansion of India. The second part deals with the spread of Indian influences to all the countries of South-East Asia and East Asia. The author condenses a large mass of valuable information written in an attractive style with remarkable sympathy and understanding. The work as such amply fulfils his aim of writing "a story intended to evoke interest rather than a sound work on history" (Preface). It is, however, the reviewer's painful duty to notice in this work a number of defects and shortcomings which, it is hoped, will be corrected in a new edition. Among mis-spellings of proper names may be mentioned "Mohan-jo-daro" (p. 7 and throughout the work), "Kapilavasthu" (p. 46), "Sarvakayana" (p. 116), "Garbha Graha" (p. 123); "Pradikshana Pathas" (p. 124), "Mricchakatida" (p. 146),

"Samstanaka" (p. 173), "Khudda Nikaya" and "Athakatha" (p. 175), "Prajnaparimita" (p. 177), "Mohammad Ghazni" (p. 197). Instances of repetition of outworn views are the Sudra origin of Chandragupta with the probable peacock-totem of his tribe (p. 75), the Indo-Parthian origin of the Pallavas who settled down in the Punjab and were afterwards driven to the south (p. 95), the story of the discovery of the monsoons by the Egyptian Hippaulus (sic) (p. 96). Among errors of fact may be mentioned the extent of Chandragupta Maurya's empire "from Kashmir to Mysore" (p. 78), the dates of "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" and of Ptolemy (pp. 99-100), the identification of "Udayana" (sic) with Afghanistan (p. 197) and of "Sonaparanta" with "Suvarnabhumi" which itself is identified with Burma (p. 259). On p. 167 the contents of "the Smritis proper" are said to be "the two epics, the 'Puranas,' the 'Tantras,' the 'Dharma Shastras,' the 'Smartha Sutras' (sic), the 'Vedangas' and the 'Niti Shastras'..." In the same context "Uddisa" and "Mantramahabodhi" are mentioned in a list of works on "Tantra," and the "Smartha Sutras" are said "generally to lay down rules for performance of domestic ceremonies, funeral rites, etc." The map of Indian cultural expansion by the end of the 8th century A.D. shows no details, while it mentions place-names with wrong transliterations, viz., "Udayana" and "Ramandesa." The bibliography omits a number of works of specialists while including some books of a general character. The Index is fairly complete.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**LOKAYATA (A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism):** By Debi Prosad Chattopadhyaya. Published by the People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price Rs. 27.50.

Indian philosophy is popularly believed to be as old as the Himalayas. It has many facets. Values pertaining to different categories emerged simultaneously and one claimed suzerainty over the rest in turn. Systems owing their allegiance to the Vedas moved in one direction while systems not owing such allegiance moved to another direction. Indians in an attitude of abject surrender to the Vedas and the idealistic view of life placed idealistic values above everything and wrecked all their material future in quest of an utopia hallowed by a value-pattern taking its roots in this idealistic philosophy. Eudemonistic philosophy, Altruistic ethics, the philosophy of renunciation and give away had the biggest following on the Indian soil. The poignant Upanisadic utterance 'Ten takten bhunjitha' was the beacon-light to many a moksha-loving soul. But that was not the last word on Indian wisdom. Epicureanism was not unknown to us. Materialism was not foreign to our thinking. We enunciated principles which stood for a thorough-going materialist's paradise where one could say that for butter for your bread you may beg, borrow or steal. Specially in a world as we find it to-day materialism stands in a good stead. After Karl Marx materialism has acquired a world-wide recognition and a new meaning. In this background the older Indian materialistic philosophy calls for our attention.

In the work under review Prof. Chattopadhyaya places before the interested readers a logically connected and well-documented study of the materialistic philosophy propounded by a school of thought noted for their outspokenness and unconventionality. Against the background of passionate idealism of the Upanishads and Brahmanas, our ancient materialistic philosophy is in striking contrast. Prof. Chattopadhyaya has dug in the hearts of forgotten centuries and resuscitated and brought back to life a trend of thinking, considered foreign to our culture by the orthodox pundits. In the book under review he has constructed a rational and intelligible account of our ancient philosophy of this worldliness or materialism as propounded by a particular school of

thought. The author claims that the beginning of a primitive proto-materialist view reflecting the consciousness of a pre-class society can be traced to a primordial complex of ritual practices and theories dating back to pre-Buddhist and pre-Upanisadic times. This theory might seem extravagant to many. But a careful and patient study will make one convinced that Prof. Chattopadhyaya's thesis has been ably and admirably reared up. It is well-documented and the polemics seem to be irrefutable. The ancient social facts as analysed by him corroborate his theory. But, we are sure, the claims put forward by Prof. Chattopadhyaya will spark off controversies and once it is done the book will serve its purpose. Because the place of materialism in the context of ancient Indian philosophy would then be refixed and the value of ancient Indian materialism reassessed. However, this volume does not present an exhaustive study of all the materialistic trends in ancient Indian philosophy. For example, no discussion has been incorporated of the atomism of the Vaisesikas and such other systems. Of course, this is evident from the very title of the book. Only the Lokayata philosophy has been singled out for the purpose of the book. The Lokayata texts are all lost and they are beyond redemption. That made Prof. Chattopadhyaya's task all the more difficult. He has taken much pains to present a connected account of the philosophy of the Lokayatikas, as he has been able to reconstruct such a system from the writings of the opponents of the Lokayata, who refuted and ridiculed the Lokayata philosophy. The author sets himself to a task which looks urgent in the present context and overwhelming by its very nature.

The volume contains eight chapters running to a length of nearly seven hundred pages. This big length is not a wasteful run and I must confess that when I finished the book and left it on the rack where it was a couple of months back I thought myself a better-equipped man so far as philosophical knowledge was concerned. The book is nicely got up and it seems that all care has been taken to ensure its decent production. The publishers deserve a word of praise for this big enterprise. We recommend this book to all lovers of philosophy, both idealistic and materialistic.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

**ESSENTIAL NOTES AND DOCUMENTS ON KASHMIR DISPUTE:** By P. L. Lakhanpal (International Publications, New Delhi)—Price Rs. 15/-.

Jammu and Kashmir with an area of 84,471 square miles and a population of about 4,700,000 is one of the principal bones of contention between India and Pakistan. Pakistan contends that as the majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir are Muslims, it should form a part of Pakistan. India, on the other hand, contends that Kashmir has, of its own free will, acceded to India and the accession stands. She is, moreover, no believer in the Muslim League's two-nation theory.

On the transfer of power to the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 14-15, 1947, the nearly 600 Princedom of India became sovereign states. They might or might not accede to either of the Dominions. The decision was to be taken by the ruling chiefs. Almost all the ruling chiefs decided on accession either to India or to Pakistan, the Nizam of Hyderabad in the South and the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in the North being the only two exceptions. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir at first played the dangerous game of sitting on the fence, which brought about his own undoing and terrible sufferings for his people. Kashmir was invaded by tribal hordes from across Pakistan. The raiders were actively aided by the Government of Pakistan. The Maharaja came to his senses and acceded to India, the accession being accepted by the Government of India on October 27, 1947. The Indian army was rushed to the rescue of Kashmir. The Pakistan inspired tide of invasion was halted. The Government of India accused Pakistan of aggression against Indian territory and referred the matter to the Security Council of the United Nations (January 1, 1948). The Government of Pakistan replied by a counter-complaint against India to the same august assembly (January 15, 1948). The Security Council resolution of April 21, 1948, created the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. The Commission's proposal for cease-fire (August 13, 1948) pending final solution was accepted by both India

and Pakistan. The subsequent history of the dispute is too well-known to need a narration.

Mr. Lakhanpal's treatise is a very well-documented study of the Kashmir problem. He has laboriously compiled all important document relating to Kashmir from the creation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by the treaty of Amritsar (1846). He has added notes where necessary and has given a bird's-eye view of the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the formation of the so-called First Azad Kashmir Government (October 3, 1947), which was soon replaced by a new Azad Kashmir Government (Oct. 24, 1947).

Students of current affairs will be benefitted by a perusal of the volume.

Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji.

**SINDHI SHORT STORIES:** Translated by Hashoo Kewal Ramani. Hasmat Publications. New Delhi. 1958. Pp. 78. Rs. 2.50n.P.

This collection of short stories by twelve modern Sindhi writers from India and Pakistan is a welcome addition to this continent's post-war literary endeavours. Selected and translated with care, the stories reveal interesting trends and nuances of the modern Sindhi writer's mind. It is to be hoped that with so many competent and enthusiastic young writers at work, the Sindhi short story will soon gain its merited place in post-war Indian literature.

Ramesh Ghoshal

#### 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. MOOKERJEE

## HINDI

**HAMARE YUG KA ITIHAS:** Published by Gayaprasad & Sons, Agra. 1958. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 5.

This purports to be a translation of the well-known book **History of our Time** by Dr. G. P. Gooch, relating to the years 1885-1914. Our times have changed, and changed very considerably during 1914-54. Two world wars and nuclear weapons and much quicker means of transport, and also rockets for the Moon and revolutionary, political and economic theories and practices—still there is no questioning the need of understanding the streams of life and analysing them as far as possible to grasp them, and Gooch's book is a suitable preparation. The translation is good, and when the medium of instruction in our colleges is undergoing a change, it should prove useful.

P. R. Sen

## GUJARATI

(1) **JADABHARAT:** By Vamanrao P. Patel. Pp. 50. Price 5 annas.

(2) **MANUSHYA DHARMA:** By —Do— Pp. 240. Price Rs. 2.

(3) **BALAKONI** (Ritbhat): By Somabhai Bhavsar. Pp. 30. Price 3 annas.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board.

Our country, Bharat, takes its name from King Bharat, whose various vicissitudes in life are described here in difficult prose and easy verse. He had become indifferent to life's difficulties and worldly matters. In four sections, the writer tells men what their duties (Dharma) are towards self and others in the words of the Shruti, the Smritis, the Puranas, Saints and lastly Gandhiji. Children are given, in the third book, lessons on correct behaviour, e.g., if by chance, one child gets knocked against another, he is advised to say, "My Mistake, Please Excuse." He is advised not to steal, nor to tell untruths, &c.

K. M. J.

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## Indian Periodicals

**Thomas Babington Macaulay**

October 25, 1800—December 28, 1859

Lord Macaulay was a great influence, along more than one channel, upon the India of two generations ago, besides being a force in English life and literature. Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in "The Aryan Path":

The "Eminent Victorians" were as a rule a race of long-lived men and women: Browning, Carlyle, Gladstone, Newman, Ruskin, Tennyson, Florence Nightingale. But there were exceptions. For example, Macaulay, as "eminent" and as "Victorian" as any of them, died on December 28th, 1859, soon after beginning the sixtieth year of his life. No inheritor of unfulfilled renown, surely; yet for a man of such great vitality, so abundantly gifted with the zest for life, his death was the only commonplace thing about his extraordinary career. "Commonplace" because it happens to all, and Macaulay proved no exception; but there was nothing commonplace about the way he met it. Nine days earlier he had recorded: "I feel as if I were twenty years older . . . as if I were dying of old age. I am perfectly ready, and shall never be readier." His last significant act was to dictate and sign a letter to a poor curate, with a gift of £25. The same evening Macaulay was dead. For sixty years he had worked the instrument of his body with an unwearying sense of dedication to high and worthy causes: of scholarship and letters; of Whig politics and Indian administration; of freedom within a framework of order; of education for enlightenment and citizenship; of sanity and purity in public and private life. At fifty he could write: "Well, I have had a happy life. I do not know that anybody, whom I have seen close, has had a happier." But the instrument was worn down at last, as the most efficient must be, and he died, as he had lived, upright and austere, clear-headed and articulate till the end.

His father, Zachary Macaulay the philanthropist, had been an enthusiastic campaigner against slavery, and had thereby almost ruined himself financially. This

was Thomas Babington Macaulay's school of idealism and austerity; it tested and tempered the fibre of his character, and settled him on the high and dignified course of his life. Although he never married himself, he willingly bore the burden of sustaining the family in its difficult days, and till the last he lent his protecting hand to his sisters and their families, and drew them into the unsullied, unselfish world of his love. His formal writings and speeches revealed only one side of the man, the "eminent Victorian." But the Victorian was also a man, and public eminence did not exclude private benefactions, the pieties appropriate to the son, or brotherly or avuncular tenderness or solicitude. Something of all this can be seen in Macaulay's Letters and Diaries, and in the testimonies of his near relations and close associates.

Tom Macaulay was a precocious child. He read with avidity, he wrote with fluency; he instructed himself, and was ready—even as a boy—to instruct others; in short, he took himself very seriously indeed. Entering Trinity College in 1818, he speedily distinguished himself there, won the Chancellor's Medal for Poetry, and was duly elected Fellow. In August 1825, his essay on Milton appeared in the "Edinburgh Review." "The effect on the author's reputation was instantaneous," writes his nephew and biographer, Sir Otto Trevelyan; "Like Lord Byron, he awoke one morning and found himself famous." To the discipline of letters he presently added the discipline of law, but soon a lucky turn in his life—the friendly interest of Lord Lansdowne—led him to politics. He entered Parliament in 1830, made notable contributions to the debates on Parliamentary Reform, and after the Reform Bill of 1832 became law he entered Government as Commissioner (and later Secretary) of the Board of Control. Being now offered the lucrative post of Member of the Supreme Council for India, he reached Madras on June 10th, 1834, and after a trip to Ootacamund to meet Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, he travelled to Calcutta and set up house with his sister, Hannah. To Macaulay

India meant financial independence for life; but it opened also a field for the full play of his talents. "I can scarcely conceive a nobler field than that which our Indian Empire now presents to a statesman," he wrote to Lord Lansdowne, and added: "I am afraid that I am aspiring too high for my qualifications. I sometimes feel . . . depressed and appalled by the immense responsibility which I have undertaken."

Macaulay was in India for less than four years, but these were a period of intense activity. Appointed President of the Committee of Public Instruction, he found that opinion was sharply and equally divided between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. He threw his weight unhesitatingly on the side of the latter, submitted his celebrated Minute to the Governor-General, and as good as gave an ultimatum. If the final decision was in favour of English, he would 'enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity,' if, on the contrary, the decision was in favour of Arabic and Sanskrit, he would 'retire from the chair of the Committee.' On March 7th, 1835, Government decided that the available funds should be expended on English education alone with a view to the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India. The die was cast; a new era in India's cultural and political history had begun.

Macaulay's Minute makes interesting reading even today. His conclusions were right enough, and his main reasoning was unexceptionable. In the speech he delivered in Parliament in July 1833, Macaulay had covered the whole ground of Indian administration, and had declared:

"It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill governed and subject to us . . . It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day

will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it."

It was this faith and this hope that inspired the Minute, and in fact all his activities in India. English education, he felt convinced, would train a class of enlightened citizens and able administrators; and the selected beneficiaries of this education would themselves refine and enrich the "vernacular dialects" of the country and make these "by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." Besides, far-sighted Indians were already clamouring for English education, and not a few had demonstrated their capacity "to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language." Where Macaulay erred was in falling foul of Sanskrit in his zeal for English. He knew nothing of Arabic or Sanskrit, or knew only by hearsay. Yet he would asseverate and dogmatize, and break the imaginary butterfly on the Juggernaut wheel of his rhetoric. A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia! Sanskrit and Arabic literature, forsooth! Was it anything more than false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, "and" false Religion? Macaulay was wrong, egregiously wrong, and he did not even suspect that he might possibly be wrong. Posterity, however, can readily forgive him his trespasses, because, after all, he meant well, and strove valiantly to do the right thing in the given circumstances.

Not less important than the gift of English education to the people of India was the gift of the Criminal Code. Again, in his 1833 speech in Parliament, Macaulay had affirmed:

"As I believe that India stands more in need of a code than any other country in the world, I believe also that there is no country on which that great benefit can more easily be conferred. A code is almost the only blessing, perhaps it is the only blessing, which absolute governments are better fitted to confer on a nation than popular governments . . . A quiet knot of two or three veteran jurists is an infinitely better machinery for such a purpose than a large popular assembly divided, as such assemblies almost always are, into adverse factions. This seems to me, therefore, to be precisely that point of time at which the

advantage of a complete written code of laws may most easily be conferred on India.

As Legal Member of the Council in India, Macaulay drafted the Criminal Code himself, with singular efficiency and despatch. It was largely derived from the British law, though shorn of much of its extravagance and ambiguity, and in essentials Macaulay's Code is also the Criminal Code of the present day. Although superlative clarity may sometimes be deemed a blemish in imaginative literature, in a Criminal Code it can only be a virtue beyond all praise. If only the draftsmen of our time could emulate Macaulay, how much wearisome litigation might not be avoided."

Returning to England in 1838, Macaulay started work on his "History of England from the Accession of James II." He had impressive qualifications for the task: he had read extensively and gathered with assiduity the materials for his "History"; he had in some measure the gift of historical imagination, the willingness to be possessed by the visions and vistas of the Past; and he had evolved a telling and apparently effortless narrative style. But politics diverted his energies more than once from the main direction of historical labours. He became Secretary for War; he became Paymaster-General. He was in and out of Parliament; he was in and out of office. At last, in 1848, the first two volumes of the "History" came out. Three thousand copies were sold in ten days. He was not merely a literary celebrity; he was also a prosperous man. He was elected Rector of Glasgow University. He was offered the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. He continued to visit the British Museum and take notes for the subsequent volumes of the "History". Two more of these appeared in 1855, and he felt gratified that the "History" sold better in the United States than almost any other book except the Bible. In the meantime, his "Lays of Ancient Rome" had appeared in 1842, his collected "Critical and Historical Essays" in 1843, and his "Speeches" in 1854. In 1857, Queen Victoria created him Baron Macaulay of Rotheley. It was the apotheosis of his career.

Although the "History" was the major preoccupation of the last twenty years of his life, his political affiliations—even when he was not actually in office—were neither

inexact nor ineffective. He made decisive, if occasional, contributions to Parliamentary debates; he made two classic speeches on the Copyright Law; and once, in 1853, he purposively intervened while the India Bill was being discussed. And always, whenever he rose to speak, it was, says Gladstone, "a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches." Macaulay was the great orator, speaking not for the sake of speaking, but being as it were driven by his high sense of responsibility and sustained by the authority that flowed from his immense knowledge and giant self-confidence. His prose style was his particular and peculiar fortune, and the style was the man. His "Essays" and even his "History" are defiantly oratorical, and his speeches—being always carefully fashioned with a sedulous elaboration and finish—were ever in his best essayist's manner. He was all of a piece: the man and his style, the writings and the speeches, the man of affairs and the man of letters—they were all of a piece. His great strength was also his principal weakness, but then his weakness was no denial of his strength. We have to take him all in all, strength and weakness together.

As a historian Macaulay was no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Clarendon or Gibbon; but even to be Macaulay was no mean achievement. There is here weight and amplitude; a vivid pictorial imagination is here surely at work; and reel after reel unrolls the pageantry of the past, and the reader is held in a trance of fascination. Clarendon often speaks from personal knowledge: he coins his own experiences, his own hopes, sufferings, vacillations, exultations; it is "his" dear King that is the tragic hero of the "History of the Rebellion." Gibbon's Rome was a distant Himalayas, he was charmed by the crowded canvas, the clash of men, the march of affairs, though he was not personally involved in Rome and her politics. But Macaulay was at once too far and too near his historical theme. He was a Whig, and William III was his idol; yet he could see his hero and the events of 1688 only through the spectacles of other men's memories. He had neither Clarendon's intimacy nor Gibbon's detachment, neither the marvellous intuitions of the one nor the perspicacious and shining intellect of the other. "Philistine": so Francis Thompson and Lytton Strachey called Macaulay. But an artist also, in his own right; and "elevated



to the Pantheon of literature by virtue of a quite supra-Philistine power."

Both as a historian and as a biographer, it was Macaulay's business to tell stories. And he was a vivid, even the supremely vivid, story-teller. The episode of the Seven Bishops; the Siege of Londonderry; the Massacre at Glencoe; the trial of Warren Hastings—these are packed with drama. Characters tend to pair off like duellists: Hastings and Francis, Newcastle and the elder Pitt, or Fox and the Younger. There is high tragedy, there is tantalizing pusillanimity, there is Plautine comedy; there is exhortation, there is thrilling eulogy, there is acid derogation. The reconstructions of bygone scenes in Parliament are magnificent, but the battles are somehow less than battles. Nevertheless one must read on and on, and one is not fatigued, and one is not disappointed. Macaulay's portraits, although they lack the final incandescent glow of life, are striking none the less; as pictures, if not also as life-likenesses, they are certainly recognizable and unforgettable. Whatever the real and the whole truth about them, to the vast majority, at any rate, Clive and Hastings, Chatham and Pitt, are what Macaulay has made of them.

Macaulay was so "cocksure" about the many things on life's macadamized road because he was content to ignore what lay off the thoroughfare—the bylanes, the moors, the marshes, the desert sands, the still deeps, the far heights. There are imponderables in life—the intimations and perturbations of the spirit, the insurrections in the heart and the obscure infinities of the soul. As a critic of poetry, Macaulay was conventional, and poetry seldom seems to have truly transported him; as a critic of life and letters, he suffered from imperfect sympathies and frozen susceptibilities, much as Dr. Johnson did; he was stone-deaf and blind to beauty other than the pedestrian; and he was prone to be loud and aggressive, rather than friendly and familiar. Strachey says that as Macaulay had not experienced the intense physical emotion and exhilaration of sexual love, his sentences "have no warmth and no curves; the embracing fluidity of love is lacking." He thus talks and writes straight on: the horses gallop at a regulated speed, the hoofs fall like hammer strokes, the carriage of the narrative or argument heaves forward with precipit-

ancy. The repetitions and the balance; the intrepid piston-movement with "which" or "of" or "when" or "while" or "with-out" or "less" or "above" or "leaving" for the start; the pat simile, the neat generalization; the ringing ding-dong; the epic catalogue, the adroit recapitulation; the disproportionate elaboration, the wild exaggeration: these many tricks of the Macaulayan style are familiar enough. In Macaulay's hands the tricks generally turn to overwhelming art, though they have also seduced to absurdity whole generations of writers, and especially Indian writers, of English. He wrote in his Diary on January 12th, 1850: "How little the all-important art of making meaning pellucid is studied now! Hardly any popular writer, except myself, thinks of it".... Four years later he wrote, after rearranging some chapters of his "History": "What labour it is to make a tolerable book, and how little readers know how much labour the ordering of the parts has cost the writer!"

Like Pope in his verse, Macaulay too painstakingly cultivated clarity and correctness in his prose. We may shake our heads; we may deplore the remorseless hammering, the persistent emphasis, the ceaseless glitter; we may miss the nuances, the meanderings, the "deep magics" of a Browne, a Lamb, a De Quincey; yet Macaulay triumphantly stands his ground with the weight and volume of his matter and the immediate power and sufficiency of his style. A century after his death, the Macaulayan edifice shows no signs of serious wear and tear.

There is his fabric (writes Professor Elton) with its great shining surface, its solid skilful grandiose architecture, its bold bright colouring, which must be judged, in fairness, from a little distance off; it has a pillar broken, a facade tarnished here and there; but the thing stands. "Eminent Victorian," without a doubt; "a miracle to his own generation," said Carlyle, and added that the memory of this "miracle" filled him "with a cheerful amazement." As we recapitulate Macaulay's life and re-read his "History" and his "Essays," as we turn back leaf after leaf of the great volume of his life, as we expose ourselves yet once again to the continual blaze of his rhetoric, like his contemporaries we too are dazzled by the miracle, and we too are filled with "a cheerful amazement."

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Public Funds and Birth Control

*Jewish Frontier*, December, 1959 comments editorially:

The survey of population growth in under-developed areas recently made public by the United States Government makes abundantly clear how dangerous to the welfare of mankind is the population explosion now taking place in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world such as Latin America. The report substantiates what has been suspected: the rapid increase is due not to a larger number of births but to a fewer number of deaths. Modern drugs, increased sanitation and a higher standard of living have increased life expectancy in previously disease-ridden areas to a dramatic degree. But this fruit of progress bears its own seed of destruction, as the survey indicates: "If birth rates remain at high levels, economic expansion must eventually be achieved or death rates will be forced up again. In the long run a country can have low death rates with all they imply in the way of economic and social well-being only if a reasonable balance is maintained between population growth and available resources."

The prognosis is clear. Unless the economic and industrial development of a country keeps pace with its rise in population the harvest of partial progress will be even greater misery for untold millions than before. The pressure of a rapidly growing population on the whole social structure of an emerging country impedes the potential rate of development so that the gap between the demand and the food supply becomes constantly wider. To narrow the gap, to enable an underdeveloped country to profit instead of suffer from twentieth century medicine and technology, the country requires a breathing spell. It needs time to exploit its resources and evolve adequate social institutions before it is swamped.

Small wonder that the ominous name of "population explosion" has been given by scientists to what is taking place in India or China. And small wonder, also, that the Catholic Church has reaffirmed its traditional stand in regard to birth control. In a recent statement the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States denounced

what they called a systematic campaign for birth control and particularly "the recently coined terror technique phrase 'population explosion'." The Bishops also opposed any Federal assistance to birth control programs anywhere in the world.

Like every other religious body the Catholic Church has the right to seek obedience to its tenets from its own flock in whatever measure it can; however, when the Catholic Church attempts to influence public policy in the light of its particular dogmas sharp rejoinders are in order. These have not been slow in forthcoming from Protestant clergy and private citizens. The question is not academic. What is at issue is the proper utilization of American foreign aid funds. It would be unfortunate if American financial assistance to countries like India (which are trying to implement an effective population control program) were to be modified or curtailed because of sectarian pressure.

The Draper Committee, appointed by President Eisenhower to study the United States Military Assistance Program, recommended to the President that the United States assist countries it aids economically in formulating programs for population control and in conducting studies to devise practical methods for the countries concerned. This proposal, with all that it implies, has been challenged by the declaration of the Roman Catholic Bishops.

An unhappy and inevitable aftermath of the Bishops' statement is the ensuing wrangle as to the intellectual freedom of a Catholic presidential candidate. Senator Kennedy, while affirming his opposition to birth control, has assured his questioners that if elected president he would act solely in terms of the United States' interest. There is no reason to doubt him. Nevertheless, anti-Catholic bigotry—as much to be deplored as Catholic bigotry—has no doubt received a new lease on life from the Church's intrusion into question of government policy. Those who remember the vicious campaign conducted against Al Smith will dread the recurrence of such a spirit.

Nor can we afford to forget that the social and economic blight of untrammelled population increase is not limited to dis-

ant continents. We have seen once proud sections of great American cities transformed into slum areas because underprivileged families have more children than they can care for or house. The social consequences, here and abroad, are of direct concern to every American.

#### Albert Camus

News from France, January, 1960 writes:

Albert Camus, who was killed in a motor-car accident on January 4, was one of leading French writers of his age. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1957 he was one of the youngest authors to receive this prize, being only forty-four. But he was famous already for something like twenty years. He sprang to fame as far back as 1937 with a volume of incisive essays called "Noces." This collection was first published in Algeria, and two years later in Metropolitan France by the wellknown publishing house of Gallimard, one of whose directors he was at one time.

He has written essays, novels, plays, and short stories.

Born in Algeria into a very modest

working class family, his childhood was spent in one of the poor quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the communist party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism, first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of Republican Spain and this was the first of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerite regime and against Stalinism.

During the war, despite very fragile health, he was militant in the Resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper "Combat." His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believes that a writer should always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that comes first of all; especially if what he creates

does not recoil before the problems of his own times"; but "in exceptional circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen." He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair-splitting or prudent reservation, and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian revolt.

This rigour, he thought, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckoned himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, conformism has fastened on the Left: "It is true that the Right is not brilliant," he said in an interview, "but the Left is in full decadence, a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws." "The role of the intellectual," he added, "lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing ecstatically his imaginary robes."

Although for many years an established writer and one of the foremost amongst his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus was always developing. With regard to him there was in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he had shown and to the power of his thought and produce in the future works which would be fully equal to his most outstanding successes.

#### Reception to Indian Cricket Team

The following are some portions of the reception address by the Chairman of the Council of the East India Association in honour of the members of the India Cricket Team at Overseas House last year and published by *Asian Review*, London, October, 1959:

We have never entertained a team of cricketers before and, if I may say so, it is a very fine precedent to have set. I hope that others will follow in years to come. But you ought to know, of course, that the team have travelled from Durham this morning and they are going off overseas on Thursday, so it is a real honour that they have found time to come here and meet us.

I want to express to them the immense pleasure I have had on something like eleven different days during this summer watching them playing cricket. I have enjoyed every moment of it. I am not going to say that I am altogether sorry that they did not defeat the British eleven. That would not be honest on my part if I said so, but I have enjoyed enormously the sporting spirit in which they have played the game under difficult circumstances in many cases, on ground after ground throughout the country and at the Test Matches. And let me add that I, like many others, not only have seen them with my own eyes but I have also watched them for hours on television.

Cricket is a desperately dangerous game. Nobody knows that better than myself, because my cricket came to an end—my proper cricket came to an end—when I was about sixteen, when some fearfully rough bowler, much rougher than anybody in this room, succeeded in breaking my jaw. Many people have had various kinds of damage done to them at cricket, but I believe that so far I am unique in having had my jaw broken. It might have been serious. Mercifully it did not stop me talking, and I was able to earn a living for life and maintain my family with my voice. I do want to express on behalf of all of you our real sorrow that some of these great cricketers have suffered quite serious injuries over here this summer, and I only hope that I and all of you—much more likely you than me—will live to see these injured cricketers over here again playing with the same dashing spirit which they displayed in the opening games.

We have enjoyed having our guests here this summer immensely. They have given pleasure to thousands and thousands of people in this country who will look back on those days in this glorious summer when they were watching them, with recollections which will never fade from their minds. We hope that we shall see them back again before many years have passed, we do want to thank them for coming here this afternoon, and we wish them a successful passage home to their own country. I would suggest that our guests should be kind enough to move round and introduce themselves to other people who wish to meet them.

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**THE MODERN REVIEW**

APRIL



1960

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**NOTES**

**The Northern Frontiers**

On Sunday, the twentyseventh of March, two South-East Asian Prime Ministers referred to the frontier areas along the Tibetan borders of the Himalayas. The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. B. P. Koirala, is reported to have been in a mood bordering on the exuberant. He considered that the Sino-Nepalese border problem was as good as settled for good and he hoped that "this provides a good background for the Nehru-Chou talks." He also remarked that he had noticed a conciliatory mood among the Chinese leaders. He made it clear, however, that the Sino-Indian border disputes were never mentioned in his talks with the Chinese leaders. The Chinese aid to Nepal, he said, had been "most willingly given and most thankfully accepted."

The other Prime Minister, our Mr. Nehru, was in a different mood altogether, when he referred to the border disputes in his address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi on March 27. According to the **Statesman** representative, he said that the Indo-China border dispute, which was a long-time problem, had brought about a basic change in the country's relationship with the world and had brought in its train obligations and responsibilities as well as a burden. He is reported to have said further, that he did not believe that a crisis of war was upon India, but the country's frontiers, which had long been quiet, were now "bristling with danger." He did not explain this basic change, but described the country's foreign policy as a "positive, definite and clear-thinking policy of the pre-

sent and, I hope, of the future." One of the objectives of this policy, he added, was "to avoid hatred."

All the same, since the frontiers were "bristling with danger" the country had to accelerate its economic advance and not slow it down. War, Mr. Nehru added, was a question of industrial might and the production potential of a country.

The difference in the moods of the two Prime Ministers might well be said to denote the conditions "before and after disillusionment." Pandit Nehru still insists that the country's foreign policy is "positive and clear-thinking" though judged by the events on the Himalayan frontiers, it was muddled in the extreme in the past and exceedingly nebulous where the future is concerned. We only hope that Pandit Nehru will take a few advices from those who differ with him, or at least give proper heed to their arguments. If he continues with the same "blind man's buff" method, we shall be placed in a bigger mess than ever. Frankly, we do not believe that our foreign policy has resulted in any positive results where we ourselves are concerned. As regards the indirect results of that policy on the world situation, we think we ought to wake up to the fact that the non-selective and total destructive effect of atomic weapons and the realisation that an atomic war will end in the extinction of friend and foe alike, has had far more effect than our sermons on **Ahimsa**.

As regards the Nepalese Prime Minister's optimism, we only hope that there would be no rude awakening in the future. We seem to observe a definite pattern in the Sino-Nepalese talks.

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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  2. Mrs. Agandhati Chatterji—  
120-2, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Rd., Cal.-9
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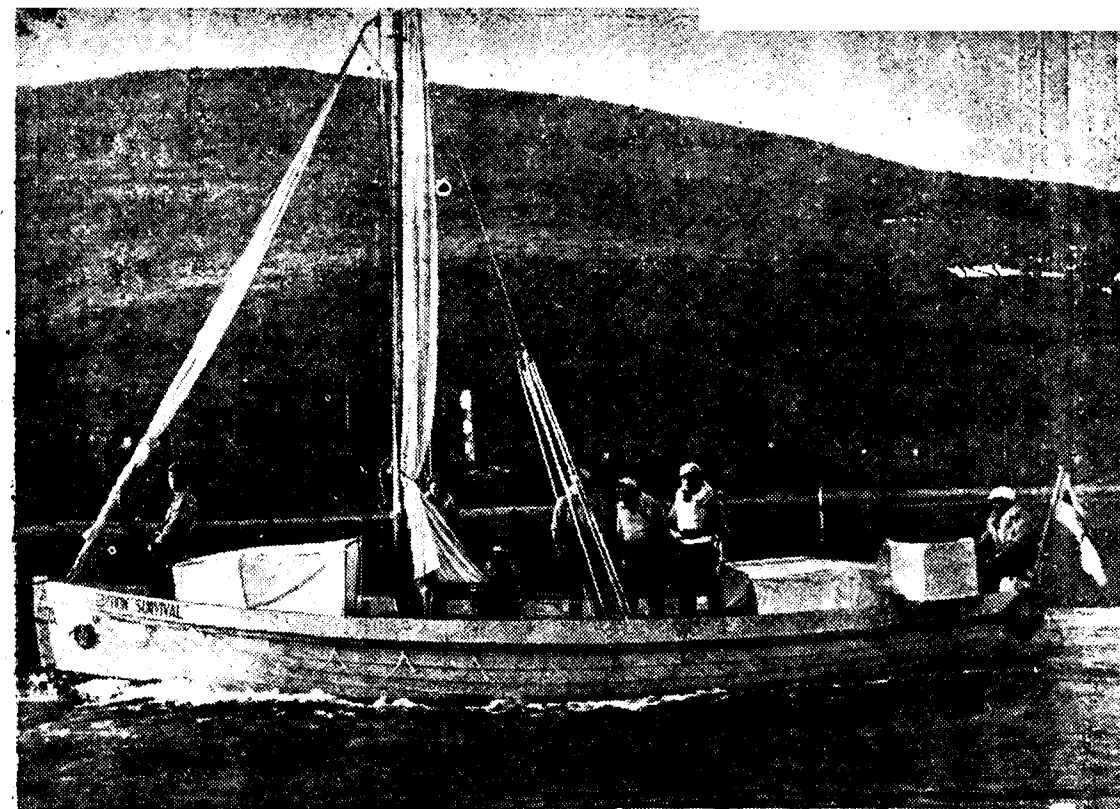
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The photograph, taken as the cutter left on the Expedition Survival organised by the Indian Navy, shows the seven-man crew led by Lieut. M. N. Samant



Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan is talking to some of the athletes participating in the XIX National Games



of what has happened in Assam, the consequences of which are likely to be far-reaching, judging by the frenzy in West Bengal. The events in Assam have shown to all thoughtful persons how futile are party organizations and policies and how puerile the principles enunciated by the leaders of all parties, when faced with the degraded animal instincts of racialism and parochialism, of which linguism is an offshoot. In Punjab, over 14,000 Akalis have been arrested, and in Assam an incompetent administration is wallowing in a helpless state in the mire of party politics.

#### The Dandakaranya Project

There seem to be some peculiar forces in action at New Delhi, putting out of gear the normal and efficient working of the administrative machinery. These forces are never seen in the open, their malevolent influences being apparent only after the mischief is done. The result has been felt for sometime through the crooked decisions and directives that are issued from time to time in certain departments, under a veil of secrecy. When the mischief is detected, it is either too late to determine who were the real culprits, or else the resultant damage is of such a magnitude as to make the ruling party or its active faction apprehensive about the safety of its hold on reins of Government. The outcome is the same, a smoke-screen of verbiage, behind which the whole affair is hidden. Public memory being what it is, all reactions to the evil such as demands for the punishment of the evil-doers and remedy for public losses, etc., die out, and the rats go on working in the dark with impunity.

The Statesman of August 18, carried a report on the reconstitution of the D.D.A., which seems to indicate that some such malignant influence is at work. The Prime Minister's formula for the better working of the project seems to have upset the plans of some powerful persons at present in control of the Dandakaranya project. It is a gigantic and long-term project, with plenty of scope for loot, waste and the placing of wasters, related to men at the top, in fat jobs.

The unusual haste in taking decisions

on vital matters, like the delegation of powers and "responsibilities" to different departmental heads, inclusive of the Chief Administrator and Chief Engineer, as reported by the staff reporter, seems to indicate that some parties are trying to cut out secret channels for malpractices before a capable Administrator can take preventive measures.

#### Nagaland

The Lok Sabha debated, on August 18, the recent decision of the Centre to create a separate Naga State. The question of granting autonomy for Manipur and Tripura was raised but was not given any mention in Pandit Nehru's speech on behalf of the Congress Ministry. The points made by Pandit Nehru in reply to the criticisms were fairly conclusive otherwise. Most of the speakers from the opposition welcomed this decision, the principal critic being a Jana Sangh member. The criticisms were about the name, "Nagaland" as well which, Pandit Nehru himself admitted, was not quite happy, but hardly important enough to be made an issue of during the discussions with the Naga leaders.

Pandit Nehru made it clear that Law and Order would be a reserved subject, directly under the Governor, until normal conditions were restored. In particular the Tuensang area would be directly administered by the Governor for the next ten years as expressly requested by the representatives from that locality and agreed upon therefore by the Centre. There would be an elected body, comprising representatives of all Naga tribes, to advise the Governor on administrative matters but the Governor's authority will not be curtailed in any way thereby.

The main criticisms were that the decision amounted, virtually, to a surrender to rebellion, that the State was too small to be viable and finally that it was doubtful whether it would bring peace to the locality.

The decision is certainly worthwhile in our opinion, if only to strengthen the determination of the Naga leaders, who represent the majority, by far, of the Naga tribes, to restore peace in that unhappy

area. It will further demonstrate the absurdity of the stand taken by those who are trying to hold up Phizo's claims.

THE EDITOR

#### India Belongs to All Indians

So said President Rajendra Prasad recently somewhere in non-Hindi India. We are afraid, nevertheless, that the idea of an Indian Nation is slowly undergoing disintegration. We are all becoming overconscious of our sub-nationalities and very soon India will have no Indians, but only Assamese, Bengalis, Biharis and so on and so forth. The ease with which the sub-nationalities of India have attained "sovereignty" in their respective states under Congress rule, has given India a premonition of total break up. If Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru spends more of his time in giving his views on the Congo or Sweden with a view to enable the world to gain by his wisdom, and allows the self-seekers of different States to gain in power and importance by maligning and attacking other Indians in their own States or elsewhere; Pandit Nehru may very soon have to migrate to Sweden or to the Congo as he is only a Kashmiri and not entitled to make his home in Delhi, Lucknow or Patna. Nor can he stay in Kashmir as he was born in Uttar Pradesh and possibly did not learn to speak in the Kashmiri language or dialect. President Rajendra Prasad too comes from Bihar and though the whole of India may belong to Bihar, Bihar will never belong to any but the *Bhumihars* and *Kayasthas* of Bhojpur, Mithila or Magadh. The President had said that India was one and indivisible and it belonged to everyone of them (Indians) no matter what their differences were. Very encouraging words but does any Congressman or Communist really believe in them? For India and the Indians are now guided by Congressmen and Communists, and they think India belongs to them or to the Chinese. Indians as such do not exist any longer. The Congress has converted them to State or language groups and the Communists to brain and soul washed servants of a new faith which tolerates no nationalities (with the honourable exception of Russian and Chinese). Our regional and linguistic groups are now beginning to be expansionists. *Jiska danda uska raj* in *Rastrabhasa* means, India belongs to the strongest wielders of the big stick. And, so, all groups are out to establish their "rights" by exercising

might. The break up of India is not very far off if this state of affairs continues any longer and we may even visualise the Congolese taking police action in India in order to protect the lives of the shintos of nowhere. If such thing happened then Indian history would have a chance to apportion credit to the various groups jockeying for power in India and decide whether Bihar or Assam came first in point of causing the disintegration of India. President Prasad's words perhaps have little adhesive quality and will not keep India together; for, against his words are the disruptive activities of his immediate followers and admirers who put their own advantages above all considerations of national solidarity. The Congressmen of Bihar and Assam are good examples of nation-breakers and unless India breaks them, they will surely break India.

A. C.

#### Old and New : Educated-Uneducated

President Prasad said at Coimbatore that we must learn to mix the new with the old in order that our knowledge did not estrange us from our own people, who being uneducated stuck to their ancient traditions. We have not understood quite clearly what our President meant when he said all this; but history teaches us that a total break from the past is impossible psychologically unless one is removed at birth from his regional environment. We find too that however much one may educate certain people, they never truly modify their ways or outlook. Once a so and so, always a so and so, as the saying goes. President Rajendra Prasad continued this dissertation by telling the South Indian graduates that many uneducated people were in fact more educated than the educated and that it was good to learn to be educated in the uneducated manner(?). We would say, many educated people were more uneducated than the uneducated and that they were therefore more educated than the educated. . . . . When we were College Students we were taught logic and we used to quote, "Epaminondas said all Cretans are liars. Epaminondas is a Cretan. Therefore, he is a liar. Therefore what he says is a lie. Therefore all Cretans are not liars. Therefore what Epaminondas said was not a lie. Therefore all Cretans were liars . . . . . The old and the new and the educated and the uneducated open out a similar vista.

A. C.

to looking after their creature comforts. We may expect the credit squeeze will do something to reduce the inflation of currency that the Government of India have been carrying on. A cleaner state at the close of the financial year will be a good thing for the Government. Of course, a Government with such high principles never does anything to hide its own indiscretions. So the moral upliftment of the people with special reference to their sinful habit of gambling must be their main target; and if the Government could redeem its prestige incidentally as a by-product of their missionary work, all glory to the Government.

A. C.

### Bank Workers and Strikes

Fabian Economists did not believe in wholesale nationalisation of industries. They wanted control over all industries so that none went off the straight and narrow path of social virtue; and they wanted to own nationally certain key organisations and essentially monopolistic industries for reasons of national safety and as a wise precaution against private enterprise growing too big for its own or the nation's good. These "principles" of "socialism" have been studied by other nations and many have introduced these ideas in their own economy. India has been no exception. Her pattern of socialism contain many random pieces collected from various pictures and the result has not been either creative in point of economic art or useful for the general well-being of the people. Banking is an essential part of modern economy. No one can paralyse the banks of the nation without damaging all economic institutions to some extent. The Government of India have gone a good way towards total control of all banking and have also attempted to set up the State Bank of India as the greatest bank of the country. These actions of the Government have no doubt been taken for the general progress of banking in India and for the good of the national economy. But the Government of India did not take full cognisance of the fact that bank workers were an integral part of the

institution of banking; and, while the Government thought out in minutest detail all the controls, checks, probes, etc., that would enable them to act as the moral preceptors and fathers confessors of the people who kept their accounts with the bank or dealt with it for business; they never thought of putting themselves in *statu parentis* with the people who worked in the bank. The result has been that the State Bank of India has been a great source of loss and suffering to its clientele and the general public. And all for the unintelligent and lumbering methods followed by the bureaucrats who run the Government of India. Why cannot the Government do anything without delaying over it inordinately and long? Why cannot the Government prevent wasteful and injurious strikes in essential institution? Why cannot the Government remove from positions of power and responsibility persons who take a week to do what can be done in one hour by a wide awake and efficient man? And why do they take such delight in carrying out *Post Mortem* enquiries only? Is it not of greater advantage to conserve values than to make enquiries after they have been lost? The Government of India have a genius for preserving unwise and wasteful customs and for selecting lines of advancement and progress which, inevitably, land them in trouble!

A. C.

### Government by Bullets

The South African Government is one of those throwbacks to the barbarous periods of history, when the rulers could do anything to the ruled and no questions were asked nor protests tolerated. The patri-cians, the nobility and the king or his agents could do anything without considering the rights or wrongs of their actions; for it was admitted by everybody, on pain of death, that they could do no wrong. Much as the tyrants of the world dislike any curbs on their predatory urges and recognition of the rights of the common people who toil and struggle mainly for the benefit of privileged persons; the barbarian institutions of unlimited autocracy and unquestioned superiority of the few, have

been dying a natural and universally welcomed death. Of the few exceptional countries in which a handful of privileged persons could dominate over entire populations, South Africa stands out as the rarest of all relics of the age of tyranny. In South Africa, the people have no souls to call their own; for only the descendants of European peasants, artisans and soldiers who rule the country, have any political rights. They can order entire communities to demolish their homes and to get out; or they can order the whole population to carry on their persons at all times special licence tokens which they could produce on demand to prove their *bona fides* as the slaves of the white minority. This sort of obnoxious interference with the freedom of the people should cause upheavals and revolutions, and the South African Government would sooner or later get flung out on the dung heap. The preliminaries of this highly desirable consummation are, however, causing uneasy feelings among the civilised peoples of the earth, who do not like to read at breakfast time, about mass murders or sadistic orgies of a statutory variety even when the perpetrators of these are the South African whites. The South Africans have a strange mentality. They are so conscious of the inviolate and totally domestic and private nature of their crimes against race and humanity that they resent any criticism from other nations. They are so full of their own rights that they cannot find any room for human obligations in their mental make up. And they destroy with a heavy hand the rights of their own countrymen while they gibber against external criticism of their tyrannical conduct. If psychiatrists could cure whole groups of evil men of their sinful obsessions, we could do something with the White Savages of South Africa. They would probably engage in cannibalism after this to prove their rights and nobody would be permitted to challenge them for fear of interfering with the domestic affairs of a friendly nation. What the world should realise and admit is that the South African whites are suffering from something akin to mass rabies and that they are diseased in mind and dangerous.

A. C.

### Khrushchev Works for Peace

He who forges the sword usually dies on it. But if all people forge swords in abundance they may begin to think that they have overdone things. All people cannot relish the idea of nor agree to die on their respective swords just to fulfil a prophecy. They may, therefore, begin to think of a way out. Could swords be used for some other purpose than dying upon? Could they, perhaps, be converted to plough shares of which there might be a shortage? Such thoughts may arise in the heart of sword makers in the natural course of contemplation of follies.

Mr. Khrushchev has now become an apostle of peace and he is touring the world quite frequently to gain more adherents to his point of view. The latest contact is General De Gaulle, who would make a valuable convert; for he had been a lover of combat and, if he renounced war, there would be one less to contend with in case the world swung over and away from Peace at any time. We have now many war-like nations among us which can no longer think of bloodshed. All over the world, soldiers are swearing that they believe in nothing but *ahimsa*. M. Khrushchev has therefore chosen a most opportune moment in which he could liquidate the war-like organisations like NATO and the rest of them. If France made a separate treaty with the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. would have to think out new solutions for man's old problem of military alignment. M. Khrushchev has however ignored a very ancient piece of wisdom which he helped many missionary in the past to achieve success. It is about charity beginning at home. As far as we know Russia has a number of well-armed nations with her who are her brothers in faith and who have a sort of understanding about common action in case of a *Zihad* (holy war). M. Khrushchev should have first approached M. Mao Tse-Tung to renounce war; for he is the greatest War Lord that China has ever produced. All his arms or a major and essential part are supplied by M. Khrushchev.

A. C.

### Family Planning

The Government of India have plans about reducing the population of India. This they wish to achieve by inducing people to have less children. In the Second Plan they had a sanction for 5 crores for organising and arranging family planning. But the money could not be spent due to lack of ideas perhaps about the heads of expenditure. The organisers did not know whether to spend the money on wages of blacksmiths or for keeping carrier pigeons. They also did not know where to go to find a solution to the population problem and their travelling bills therefore were not considerable. Delegations could not be sent as no one knew where to send them. A sad state of affairs! In the Third Plan they have been sanctioned 100 crores of rupees and one cannot contemplate the possibilities of this extravagant gesture without experiencing a strange feeling of impending fall. A Neo-malthusian extravaganza in *Rastrabhasa* slowly unfold itself upon our imagination. Ladies and Gentlemen of Chapra and Gorukhpur articulating awful words and phrases to explain the position to the apothecaries. And some Shakespearian Scholar declares: "The cry is still they come!" We think the real foundation of family planning is in education and a higher standard of living. The 100 crores should be spent on education and on propaganda against child marriage. For the people are quite ignorant still and they marry very early as they did before.

A. C.

### Rowdies in Examination Halls

Students sometimes go off the handle and behave like rowdies. This is nothing very serious, unless it becomes a habit and is taken advantage of by persons who attain their selfish ends by making use of the foolish young persons who appear in examinations. It has now become an established fact that these rowdy students break up examinations according to plans made in a cold-blooded fashion by others, who force issues like selection of text-books in this manner. The examination papers are also given in advance to selected students

in whom persons in possession of previous knowledge of the papers are interested. The whole thing stinks and the Governor should pass an ordinance and appoint some high-power investigators for the prosecution of persons who carry on the dirty work. Some men are behind all this and unless some of them are sent to jail for long stretches education in W. Bengal will be a tragic farce. There must be discipline among students and they must attend classes, read their text-books, take tutorials and sit for examinations in an orderly manner. If they act as the dupes of grown-up persons, such persons must be removed. We often hear that nobody can do anything to improve conditions in this field. We do not believe this. There are solutions to all problems and, also, persons who can get things done. Of course no one can do anything if useless persons are put in power. To get anything done, first we must remove the people who have definitely proved to be failures or collaborators with anti-social forces. We would suggest that the guardians should combine and demand re-organisation of the Education Department and removal of undesirable text-book writers and publishers, paper-setters, examiners, controllers, printers of examination papers and all others who have made education in West Bengal a pernicious make believe.

A. C.

### Employment of Local People

All over the world, businessmen give employment to local people in preference to imported persons for the reason that the locals are cheaper to employ. They also do not require housing, long leave and higher wages on grounds of leaving their homes and separation from their families. In Bengal since the days of the East India Company the Bengalis have got employment in business houses and industries in spite of the fact that many employers have been non-Bengalis in Bengal. During the last few decades however the British took up an anti-Bengali attitude on account of the political activities of the Bengalis. After the British came a number of Indian employers who continued to follow the

policy introduced by the British on account of their dislike of Bengalis and because they liked to find employment for their own people whom they imported from other parts of India. This policy has not only aggravated unemployment among Bengalis but has made the housing and food position very bad. It is believed that the imported workers are no better than the Bengalis and that they cost more to their employers who do not mind paying them high salaries out of savings from income tax. These friendly employees of the non-Bengali employers are often the relations of the latter and monies paid to them are often monies earned by the sagacious employers. A discrete probe from the income-tax department into what goes on in the name of payment of high salaries to employees in many firms, may disclose a well thought-out plan of tax evasion. But our Government do not like to interfere with the personal freedoms of tax evaders. Some firms over which the W. Bengal Government have considerable influence by reason of business relations, also carry on an anti-Bengali policy of employment. There are some Bengali managed companies too which curry favour with Delhi by employing non-Bengalis and by placing fairly inefficient types in responsible posts to please high ranking "nepots" and their close associates. The position is bad and beyond control.

A. C.

### Dandakaranya

The rehabilitation of Bengali refugees in the wilds of Dandakaranya is still a source of annoyance to the refugees, the State Government, the Central Rehabilitation Ministry and the general public, who pay for all projects in the long run. The Indian Government believe in the maintenance of *Maya*. They do not like reality to take over and disperse the clouds in which untruth and false values have a permanent home.

When the Hindus were pushed out of East and West Pakistan the Government of India should have done one of two things. They could have sent all Muslims out of India into Pakistan and made room for the refugees. Or, they could have occupied by

force contiguous areas in Pakistan in which the extra population could settle. But the Government of India would never face facts. They also refused to give back to Bengal the districts that the British had detached from Bengal and joined with Bihar, Assam and Orissa. For that would have reduced the size of Hindi-India. So, they went on to settle Bengalis in the worst possible spots in India where nobody lived before and gave powers to carry out these plans to persons who were not particularly gifted with insight, imagination and the emotional ability to establish workable human relations. Mr. Khanna has the mentality of a Sergeant Major of the old school and he likes to thump around in a heavy-footed manner. His Bengali counterpart, Mr. P. C. Sen, is suave and polished, but for a purpose which people say is not rehabilitation of refugees. And so about 200 crores of rupees go down the drain. The Indian Government have a genius for picking out and appointing persons to do things, who are usually unfit for the jobs they are expected to do. In the particular work of refugee rehabilitation they not only give power to the wrong men, but also remove from power such persons as are found capable.

A. C.

### A New Party

Was it a new Party that India required to put right her ills? Or was it abolition of all parties or the strict limitation of party activities that might have effected a clean up of the accumulated evils of bureaucratic excesses and idealistic adventures that obstruct good Government and social progress everywhere in India. If the people could be made conscious of their rights and obligations and if they insisted that their representatives would not be permitted to put any party interests above the interests of the people whom they represent, the Congress, the Communist and the other political parties would soon have no occupation and would wind up. Those who want to serve the people would then be free to work for the people wholeheartedly and without any question of party discipline and directives. We agree

with some of the views expressed by those who want to form a new party; but we do not think new parties will solve our problems. Rather a new outlook in the people might change the political climate and enable us to put a stop to the exploitation of the people by political parties.

A. C.

### Facts Accumulate

The Prime Minister of India must be in a singularly embarrassing position with regard to China. Such observation that she has let us down and has committed a breach of faith does not exonerate him a whit of the loopholes left in dealing with her. To begin with, he tells us that Mr. Chou En-lai gave him to understand when he was at Delhi that China had accepted the McMahon line as the boundary between the two countries. At least it, therefore, establishes beyond doubt that Mr. Nehru felt that there was room for clarification or confirmation on the point. And since it was no talk regarding their domestic affairs nor in the nature of afterdinner pleasantries, there should have been notes signed by either to indicate what subjects were discussed and conclusions reached. It appears that there is not a scrap of paper in support of Mr. Nehru's view-point. Secondly, as India's Military Intelligence Service reported that China was making a broad metalled road parallel to the McMahon line, whereas India, as before, is left severely to negotiate the most difficult terrain on the Indian side of McMahon line it should have prompted Mr. Nehru to reflect what China was about. The inclusion of large tracts of India as Chinese possession in their map and putting off the promised correction should have, as well, added to the uneasiness of the situation. The meaning became obvious to the poorest understanding when China seized the Tibetan tableland, from where she is now far better posted to mount military operations. It is only when China had gone ahead in her aggression against India—our twenty thousand square miles are already in their possession—that Mr. Nehru told his people how things stood. And then also in tune with his traditional 'but', he sought to mitigate the enormities of the occasion by saying that these were places, where the Government could not function normally and the military operate with any measure of

efficiency. The latter assumption is a gratuitous insult to our military, pitted against the Chinese army carrying on their vandalism in the locality. Therefore, the crux of the question, which should under no circumstance be glossed over, is, 'For whose faults, particularly, things happened in the manner they did to the loss of our territory and prestige?'

It is increasingly difficult to push out of thought in this connection, as Mr. Nehru is now being suspected of a move to surrender at least a portion of Indian territory in Chinese occupation, how for his idealistic gesture Kashmir continues to be a powder keg. It should have been nobody's business to commit unsought that Kashmir's accession would follow a different pattern; and not the ruler, as elsewhere, but the people would decide the question by a plebiscite. Then worse still, as Pakistan was being beaten back pell-mell and 'Indians', says Robert Turnbull in his *As I See India*, 'appeared about to take the last narrow sliver of territory held by Pakistan at the western end of the State's southern half' that Mr. Nehru ordered cease-fire; and India 'had to stop fighting with victory apparently in its grasp.' Even after these two events of great significance, India betrayed a lack of wariness and resolution. It is the indelible print that despite warnings repeatedly given by the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee, and for which he was placed under duress, Mr. Nehru's over-trustful nature and a flaccid way of thinking drove us very near losing Kashmir altogether. Thanks to the memory of the late Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai—he stepped in between in the nick of time and saved us Kashmir. Pakistan, however, learnt too well to bank upon Mr. Nehru's constitutional 'To be or not to be', when face to face with the necessity for a swift, decisive measure. In fact, she took to sniping at us every now and then with results, we forbear to discuss in view of the prospect of an improved relation, envisaged by either Government. As we say this of Mr. Nehru vis-a-vis Pakistan, we must say without the slightest equivocation that we are far from opposing any of his humanitarian actions towards that state. And it is our abiding possession that during the carnage of September-October 1947, when the spirit of brute reciprocity was at its apex, Mr. Nehru, as epidemics began exacting their due

penalty, flew to Pakistan large stocks of cholera vaccines. But to China as we were discussing.

Mr. Nehru's last letter to Mr. Chou En-lai, dated 4th March, is suggestive of some cogent thoughts. He thanks the Chinese Premier for accepting his invitation to visit Delhi, 'so that we can have talks about our problems and explore avenues which may lead to a peaceful settlement of these problems'. Too much of a gentleman, a sense of delicacy possibly stands in the way of Mr. Nehru using the word 'aggression', to resolve which Mr. Chou En-lai was being invited. The expression peaceful settlement is however reminiscent of India's application to U.N.O. against Pakistan. Dr. Josef Korbel of a Commission, U.N.O. at one stage sent to India, Pakistan and Kashmir for an on-the-spot study, notes a rather important point in his *Danger in Kashmir*, namely, that were Pakistan's aggression the heart of dispute, India would have made the application under Chapter VII which deals with 'Aggression' and not under Chapter VI, which is concerned with 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes'. The gist of Dr. Korbel's contention is that since India sought settlement and no thrashing out of the question whether Pakistan committed aggression or not; and since peaceful settlement pre-supposes consent of both, Kashmir hangs. We feel certain, by the way, that the question shall hang on so long there are astute powers in the U.N.O. to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. But notwithstanding the sophistry, implicit in arguing a matter, on which hinge the moral values of a nation, in such a legalistic way, since the point made some noise and induced a belief abroad that India proved slack and inefficient in putting forward her case, Mr. Nehru needs being very careful, nay, unrelenting.

J. B.

### Frankenstein Resurrected

To say, as Mr. Nehru has said, that the Congress High Command became aware of the communal flare of the Muslim League's election manifesto in Kerala only after the election was over is more clumsy than fantastic. In fact, he stands inextricably compromised, as Mr. K. M. Seethi Sahib, the Secretary of the Indian Union Muslim League, countered, immediately after, the

implications of the above by asserting that the Congress President Mr. Reddy and Congress leaders like Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Patil were fully at one with him to inspire a belief in the local Moslems that they were being invited to participate in the Coalition Ministry in making. He deliberately trod on a tender spot by emphasizing his re-espousal of separate electorate as 'a legitimate and essential device for adequate and proper representation of the Muslim Community'. Representation in terms of a community is a challenge to the basic principle of the Constitution of India and is in line with what led to her dismemberment. The most piquant touch in Mr. Sahib's statement is where he pinpoints that in the last General Election Mr. Nehru complained of inadequate representation of the Moslems in the selection of candidates for the Andhra Assembly by the Congress Committee of the State. It may, after all, be a faulty and no communal selection. There might have been no competent candidates or those otherwise worthy of selection from the Moslem Community. It might, as well, be—we wish it were really so—that they ruled out any selection community-wise. In a delicate matter like this Mr. Nehru could well have given a bit of his mind to the Selection Committee without justifying publicity. Had he exercised a little imagination he would have foreseen what sinister use it could be made of. It is too early to forget how such slipshod utterances were clutched by the Muslim League to constitute the sheetanchor of their demand for Pakistan. And at the Lahore Conference in 1940, the late Mr. Jinnah ripped up the foundations of the old nationalist in him to say that it was a dream for the Hindus and Moslems to evolve a common plank of nationhood. In fact, since now the History of India was at the crucial parting of ways; and the Moslems were led to live, move and had their whole being pitilessly bent on the hard bitter core of this new revelation. Irritating dissensions glided in the course of events into sanguinary debacles. And as Britain left India after breaking her by a chain of Ulsters, it is noble and manly on the part of India to live down the shattering past of a long-drawn pogrom in order to start anew with Hindus and Moslems of India as one people. It is, therefore, absolutely incumbent upon every one, who owes allegiance to India, to stand



loyally by the creedal enforcement of one Nation. To do otherwise is an act of treason.

The naivety and levity with which Mr. Seethy Sahib has sponsored separate electorate once again leads us to scan if he has at all realised how the Separate Electorate proved the seed-bed for the fratricidal division of India, and what colossal misery and complications it has brought in its trail. That question is finally laid to rest by His Highness the late Aga Khan himself, who led the deputation for separate electorate in 1906. "These were critical years", says he in his *Memoirs*, "in that vast complex process, which brought about in little more than forty years the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two separate states Bharat and Pakistan." In the circumstances, it deserves to be critically examined whether the Congress have wittingly, unwittingly or in spite of themselves have given a fillip to the Muslim League to stage a come-back with the same old destructive Separate Electorate. In West Bengal it has already made a leeway for a foothold and forum. It has, in fact, put up a powerful plea and looks pretty well successful in luring the Moslems that since the Congress had, without qualification, made use of the Indian Union Muslim League to win Muslim support in the Kerala election, why should it not be reared up on sure foundations? Mr. Seethy Sahib, for all it means, has been elected Speaker of the Kerala Assembly.

J. B.

### Uneasy Co-existence

A former Chief Minister of East Pakistan is being prosecuted for corruption before a special tribunal at Dacca. To prove the charge, the Government has adduced evidence to establish his weakness for power and what he did to placate parties supporting his Ministry. In the concrete, he allowed the sale of rice from Government stocks at Rs. 10/- against the prevailing rate of Rs. 15/- per maund in September-November 1955, even if it was done with the consent of the Central Government. He also expanded his Cabinet from ten to eighteen members not strictly in public interest but to sustain his majority. As an alternative to the trial, the Chief Minister was given the choice to retire from public life and live in tongueless obscurity

for six years. Assuming that the prime motive of the present Pakistan Government is to weed out potential rivals, there is no getting away for any Rule now or hereafter from the healthy robust principle the people are being imbued with there. It is bound to make for a clean public life. All decent folk shall have reasons to feel grateful to those anywhere in the world, who have the boldness to enunciate them and translate them into practice.

What, however, worries us is the term of co-existence for any democracy if affinity of purpose and outlook is a necessary condition of such. We have no precise idea of other countries. But we do not feel happy to think of our own in contrast at the present moment, when charges of corruption against the high-ups of administration are the rage of the day. As we are at these reflections, we are somewhat taken back by what our daily contemporary the *Jugantar*, with which so vitally associated is a Minister of West Bengal, says in its editorial of 15th March, under the caption Food Adulteration. We gather that a few years back, the Municipal Magistrate of Calcutta fined two merchants for adulterated mustard oil brought from U.P. and, what to some extent is the only deterrent, ordered the destruction of the large stock seized; and that Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, at the intercession of the Chief Minister of U.P. Mr. G. B. Pant, now the Home Minister of Indian Union, had the stock released for the owner. It is too shocking to be true. We believe that there must be some links missing somewhere. But since a rather ministerial paper rakes up the matter at a time, when the atmosphere is suffocating with the charges of corruption, it behoves all concerned to explain what it is.

J. B.

### The Voice of Africa

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's broadcast to the nation at Accra, Ghana, on March 7th, this year wherein he stated that the keynote of the proposed Republican Constitution of Ghana was 'one man, one vote,' and the unity of Africa; should be looked upon as a forecast of the shape of things to come. For the face of Africa is changing rapidly, and even the most confirmed Imperialist cannot deny that the "easy" days of Colonialism

are over. Dr. Nkrumah's advocacy of a Federation of States in Africa is not anything new, even in Africa, because some plan of federation has always been afoot in Colonial Africa—only these have been piecemeal. The greatest champion of Imperialism, Cecil Rhodes, dreamt of a closely federated South and Central African territories, under a benevolent British jurisdiction of course. In fact all the British Colonies, comprising 22 territories, are grouped under 6 Administrative units (this included Ghana prior to Self-Government).

In spite of this logical growth of federated units, however, critics of African nationalism, and hangers on to thoughts of Empires, maintain a solid scepticism regarding this obvious solution to African problems. The age-old Colonial attitude of condescension to the incapable and inefficient Native is of course the bulwark of Imperialists, while the traders and businessmen who made hay while the sun shone, could not even dream of co-operating with a free Africa. In this Century, after two Great wars, the thoughts of all right-thinking men are in favour of giving freedom to all oppressed races. Many Empires have fallen, and some have gone with goodwill being maintained on the sides of the ruler and the ruled. India is the greatest example of this, and probably there is more business going on here today than previously.

Why then should Africa be an exception in this changing world of ours? No true democrat will dispute the right any nation or people have, to govern themselves, even if that government is not fool-proof, for which government today, whether white, black, yellow, or brown, is completely free of fools? So "Fool" Africa has a right to make her own economic, social, and political messes, because in any case, the white men have borne their "burden" of enlightenment and efficiency so well there, that it is difficult indeed for anyone to beat their solutions to humanitarian, economic, or political problems. As far as the first consideration goes, which African can inflict greater barbarity than those suffered under Leopold of Belgium's regime of "red rubber," and even the great economists of Great Britain weren't proof against "mere scheming groundnuts"! Philosophically of course, the new concepts of Apartheid of white South Africa, are beyond the understanding of all coloured races,

particularly Africans, to whom after all Africa belongs. Since we find thus that "superior" brains and ability have not always guaranteed success or rightness of action in Africa, we cannot understand the reluctance to let the poor African paddle his own canoe.

A further objection forwarded against federation is that the varied races of Africa cannot pull on together. Why should it be impossible for various types of Africans only to federate when all types of Europeans and Asiatics have succeeded in doing so? The U.S.A. consists of 50 states and 6 territories with peoples of all countries—English, Continentals, Chinese, Japanese with a few Red Indians thrown in, while the U.S.S.R. has 15 constituent republics of peoples of varied European and Asiatic races. As for India, numerically she has 14 states and 7 territories with one of the largest populations in the world, and a very varied population it is too, comprising as it does, Aborigines, head-hunters, Baniyas, Pundits, Harijans, Dravidakhazagam and Panjab Subas galore.

So let those advocates of *Divide et Impera* be warned by the voice of Africa, Nkrumah, when he said, that "The Government realises that the present frontiers of Ghana like so many others on the African Continent, were drawn merely to suit the convenience of the Colonial Powers who divided Africa between themselves during the last century. For the object of this draft Constitution is to provide firm, stable and popular Government in Ghana, so that Ghana can assist in achieving a union of African States and territories." (The *Statesman's* report of Nkrumah's speech. 7-3-'60)

L. C.

### On the War-path

Mr. Rajagopalachari has all along distinguished himself in Indian politics by his acumen and sharp individuality. He is ideologically non-ideological. He was the spearhead of the orthodox non-co-operators opposing stalwarts like C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru and had them foiled at the 1922 Gaya Congress. He pressed Gandhijee to concede Pakistan and felt no compunction to suggest leaving Bengal and Punjab in the lurch. There have been people to say

that were he listened to, India would have been spared the orgies of cannibalism, sublimely forgetful of the fact that she would have thereby lost the whole of Punjab and Bengal. And is not the blood spilled worth what India was able to retain? His truculent opposition to Desha-bandhu C. R. Das and Netajee Subhas Bose, which made him a *bete noire* to a section of our people, is at the same time to be viewed with the vast tribute he paid to Surendranath Banerjea, so much as to say that 'in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea'. It underlines his make-up and is to some extent an indication that revolutionary politics is not his forte. His attitude to the 1942 Quit India Resolution is definitely apathetic. All the same the Congress, as India wrought her Freedom, gave him his dues in full ample measure. The Governorship of West Bengal, Governor-Generalship of India, Chief Ministership of Madras, Ministership at the Centre and the blue ribbon **Bharat Ratna** were his in succession with a pension to boot. Discretion as the better part of valour, all these years he never criticised the Congress or spoke anything in disparagement of the head of the Congress Government. But now that he has retired from service—Is there anything in it which has fermented?—either has become vicious and he must fight it tooth and nail, for otherwise, there is no chance of a 'good government' in the country.

Mr. Nehru is a socialist since when he entered politics. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, tires of him and his socialism, only since when some vested interests have taken charge of the powder behind the shots of private sector in Industry. It is, by the way, for the Prime Minister of India to reflect to what extent this support of his following in the Cabinet is contingent on his capacity to distribute purse and patronage. It is no pleasure, but we have to say by way of warning that the mass of people have taken Mr. Rajagopalachari's change of front in this light. With a clarity of outlook which once marked him, he is now

generating more heat than light; and we sincerely hope that such embarrassing panegyric as to call him 'Our Bernard Shaw' is no incentive to spend his dynamism in bellicosity.

Within the brief compass of this Note, we cannot discuss his new-fangled political philosophy, for which he has developed, a Messiah complex. This much, however, will suffice that with regard to his tirades against Communism, his 'enemy No. 1,' he is making the late Mr. Foster Dulles green with envy in his grave. Let us, however, remind him how Gandhijee viewed the matter. "I would," he said, "be a hundred per cent Communist myself—if Marx's final stage were the first stage and if Lenin's economic ideals were put immediately into practice." In other words, he contemplates the beginning of Marxist millennium in the State withering away not by blood-bath but as the *raison d'être* of a new order; and secondly, by putting into practice, without much mincing of the matter, Lenin's economic ideal, 'From every man according to his capacity to every man according to his needs.' Gandhijee was academically thin, but dowered with a transcendental gift of realisation; and it is our great misfortune that he had not had the time to elaborate his thesis.

J. B.

### The Yearly Fiasco

We do not know if it is shame, sorrow or humiliation which afflicts us the most as we have to see year after year what we should call fiasco in University Examinations. A good number of things have combined to bring about such a state of things. It is not peculiar to any particular University but is growing fast into a festering sore in the social life of India. No remedy is possible of being thought out without a thorough grasp of the contributory factors. A probe is urgently called for.

Confining for the present to the uproar arising out of Civics 2nd paper and Physics 2nd paper in the Intermediate Examination of the Calcutta University, let us coolly and dispassionately apply ourselves to the

question whether the questions have been set beyond the syllabus. If the charge has no legs to stand upon nor the questions are unusually stiff as to be incapable of justice being done to all of them during the time limit, it is well and good; the entire blame in that case is to be laid at the door of the students and is to be tackled under the category of student indiscipline. If, on the other hand, the limitations of the syllabus have not been respected by the paper-setters, nothing more callous, more perverse can be imagined. Whoever is found guilty of this first wrong must be dealt with suitably as also being guilty of all consequential wrongs. As for the system of setting questions to test the intelligence of the students, it is to be observed to what extent it is a departure from what was all along in vogue. Any violent departure entails complications and is bound to be resented. The next point with regard to the testing of intelligence of an examinee in the course of three hectic hours, it must have to bear a close relation to the teaching in colleges. Let there be a remorseless searching of hearts. A student of the 2nd Year Class, particularly, can have the benefit of his teachers for hardly ninety days for the year, during which he has to complete the left-over courses. How many colleges do at all complete the courses? What if any is the scope and opportunity for a teacher, in such circumstances, to discuss lessons in their various aspects such as to be able to rouse his students' deep interest in the subject, so that he is inspired with a sense to pursue it in his own way? It is atrocious to teach them in one way and examine them in a diametrically opposite way. Chagrin and discontent in such conditions is inevitable. It will be a mistake to take the outburst as any cutaneous eruption. It needs being treated deep down the skin.

J. B.

### Short Memory

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, merits appreciation for intending to bring out short bio-

graphical sketches of our patriots. That the public should have an opportunity of purchasing such books at a comparatively cheap price is welcome. The names, possibly tentatively published for the first thirteen, leave however, room for speculation as to what precisely has prompted him to give them the priority. Anyway, the subject is a very delicate one and we forbear to spin it out to any length. All the same, we must say that we shall very much regret to see Surendranath Banerjea omitted in the first selection for, amongst the following reasons, the principle, first come, first served.

In a nutshell, Surendranath's was the initiative and lead to found the Indian Association in Calcutta. Early as 1876, he refused to christen it the Bengal Association, as pressed by some of the then stalwarts, because, as he said, they would work for an all-India federation. His all-India tours over the Civil Service regulations contain in them, as Sir Henry Cotton observes in his *New India*, 'the seed of the Indian National Congress.' In 1883, he convened in Calcutta the National Conference to emphasize the need of a forum for representative Indians to chalk out a line of action in matters that concern the people vis-a-vis the Government. Wilfred S. Blunt says in *India Under Ripon* that this conference is the first stage towards a National Parliament. In the second session of the Indian National Congress in 1886—Lord Dufferin-sponsored first Congress of 1885 did not so much as even invite him to attend—he declared from the Congress platform, "Self-Government is the ordering of Nature; and it is not new to us." He raised the Congress from the stage of prayer to one of Demand and he signalled his first presidentship at Poona by protesting against 'anything', that would 'steriotype on political servitude'; and warned, 'We cannot afford to palter with our birth-right or sell it for a pottage.' In the 1897, Amraoti Congress, because of some of the very influential leaders of Western India, there would be no resolution on Tilak's incarceration. But Surendranath made ample compensation when speaking on the detention of Natu brothers, "The Nation," he

said, "is in tears for Tilak"; and struck his note of manly challenge to say, "Though I am here physically, my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's." The house rose to a man in one spontaneous outburst—"Tilak Maharaj Ki Jai." With regard to his contributions to the making of the Congress a power to reckon with, it is enough to say that Sir Narayan G. Chandravarker said, in reference to this controversy as to whom its fatherhood is to be assigned, "If a father be found out, we must not hesitate to say that Surendranath is the grandfather—he is the father of our national consciousness." In confirmation of the above it is as worthwhile to recall what Sree Rajagopalachari said in the first lap of our freedom on the floor of the Calcutta Senate Hall, November, 1948—"In the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea." At all events, there need be absolutely not a breath of demur to the fact that he dauntlessly spanned its teething period and this how the leaders of today started with a bank balance. It is, again, the epic leadership that ushered in the political renaissance in Bengal, the magnitude of which made Gopal K. Gokhale, the true gentleman he was, say, 'What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow.' The evening of his life was strewn with heated controversy and passions ran high. But sixteen years after his death, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was unveiling his statue at the Calcutta Esplanade, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said, "There is not a single weapon we (non-co-operators) have used which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea." Popularity in politics is too frail a reed to lean upon; and it is a blunder to assess a man's place in history by counting how many tongues cheered him or jeered him. Possibly, the point that counts is what factor he was in the changes of his country. Judged from this standard, there is hardly, in point of time, a more striking figure in Indian politics. And it behoves our countrymen to read, reread and inwardly digest what Gandhijee meant by his tribute,

remarkable for its depth and serenity. It was 1926—the days of Non-co-operation's stress and strain; from the southern end of Bhawanipur, Calcutta, he walked 16 miles to pay Surendranath a visit. Pressed hard to take a car, he said, "I am on my pilgrimage—a car is a misfit."

In our last December, January and February issues, we have discussed by thumbnail sketches Tilak, Gandhi and Banerjea to emphasize their distinctive contributions, all coalescing to constitute the lifeline of our national endeavours for Freedom. We should deem it our religious duty to utter this note of warning that nothing of party or province or the particular views of this or that man should even in a remote manner taint the selection and presentation of our subjects of memoir. Dr. Keshkar's is a very very solemn responsibility. He has to prove equal to the occasion.

J. B.

### Algeria

While the rest of the world is in a state of uneasy speculation where the cold war is concerned, something far more ominous is looming over Africa. The following extract from the *New York Times* of March 6 will illustrate our point. We do not know why General de Gaulle has thus veered away from the path of peace, but it bodes evil, both for France and for Algeria:

The French army command in Algeria has bitterly opposed any settlement of the nationalist rebellion short of full military victory over the nationalists. In 1958, when the army put General de Gaulle in power in France, it looked to him for that victory. De Gaulle has been unable to produce it. The war, under way for more than five years, has cost France 13,000 soldiers and military victory is still not in sight.

Six months ago de Gaulle proposed a solution based upon a cease-fire and self-determination for the Algerian population of 9,000,000 Moslems and 1,000,000 Europeans. Since then many of de Gaulle's officers have turned against him. The cli-

max came five weeks ago when army units openly sympathized with the Rightist insurrection against de Gaulle.

Last week de Gaulle went to Algeria to mend relations with the army and reassert his control over his officers. In three days of closed sessions at army command posts, the French President made a series of speeches which caused considerable confusion in Paris and other Western capitals.

On Thursday, de Gaulle was quoted as saying that "there will be no Dienbienphu in Algeria"—a reference to the defeat that brought about France's evacuation from Indo-China. He was also reported to have said France would remain in Algeria and the Algerians would be asked to choose the form of her continued presence: "France must not leave. She has a right to be in Algeria. She shall stay." In other words, de Gaulle seemed to be saying, his policy of self-determination does not mean that France will accept Algerian independence. His statements brought rejoicing among the army and the European settlers who want to keep Algeria French, and consternation among the Algerian Moslems.

But on Friday de Gaulle let it be known that he also opposes the "integration" of Algeria and France—the course which the army favors as a means of submerging the Algerian Moslems in a French majority. He was quoted as saying: "Separated from France, Algeria would not be able to live; on the other hand, the Algerian Moslems cannot be Frenchmen from Provence or Brittany." De Gaulle has indicated he favors the establishment of some kind of federated Algeria with local autonomy and continued close links with France.

On the other hand, de Gaulle evidently realizes that such a solution is not now in prospect. Again and again he was quoted as telling his officers last week that "the Algerian problem will not be solved for a long time" and that the Algerian nationalists were not likely to accept a cease-fire but would have to be defeated in the field.

His tour of Algeria and the statements he made came on the heels of a new statement by the nationalists. On Monday, Ferhat Abbas, President of the Algerian Provi-

sional Government which was set up by the nationalists, announced that they would negotiate a cease-fire only on condition that "the French Government . . . agree to talks on the guarantees of a free referendum."

In effect, M. Abbas was saying France would have to discuss political conditions with his regime—a step de Gaulle had long since barred on the ground that negotiating with it "would be tantamount to building it up as the only valid representative (of the Algerians) and to elevating it in advance to being the Government of the country."

Taken together, the statements of de Gaulle and M. Abbas last week appeared to foreshadow a long war. The prospect of continued fighting contains little hope for either side since neither appears to be able to win a decisive military victory.

In Paris, the developments came as a shock to many circles which had been hoping for a negotiated settlement with the nationalists. French officials insisted that de Gaulle had not altered his basic policy of self-determination. But members of the National Assembly took a different view. Rightist circles claimed de Gaulle was finally coming around to their view—that there can be no peace until the French army has crushed the nationalists and that an independent Algeria is out of the question. Center and Leftist circles expressed concern that de Gaulle had, at the very least, changed the emphasis of his policy. Correspondents expressed frank perplexity over where de Gaulle's statements left the situation.

### Sino-Nepalese Agreement

The *Statesman* reports as follows:

Kathmandu, March 25.—Nepal and China have agreed to demarcate their border scientifically along the traditional line, says P.T.I. To do this, they have agreed to set up a joint commission to which will be referred any differences that may exist now.

This was agreed to by the Prime Minis-

ters of the two countries, who signed an agreement in Peking on March 21.

Both countries would demilitarize their common frontier to a depth of 20 kilometres on either side.

Talks for a treaty of friendship and peace will be held in Kathmandu when Mr. Chou En-lai comes here.

The two Prime Ministers agreed that there were no Sino-Nepalese border disputes except a few slight differences which should be settled in a friendly manner.

Their joint communique disclosed an agreement to open diplomatic missions in each other's capitals.

The economic agreement gives Nepal Chinese aid of Rs. 10 crores in addition to the aid China gave in 1956.

The border agreement declared that the contracting parties have decided to determine concretely the boundary between the two countries in the following manner:

1—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is identical, "the boundary line shall be fixed according to the identical delineation on the maps of the two sides."

The joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct on-the-spot surveys and erect boundary markers. The territory north of the boundary line in these sections "will conclusively belong to China, while the territory south of the line will conclusively belong to Nepal, and neither contracting party will any longer lay claim to certain areas within the territory of the other party."

2—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical, whereas the state of actual jurisdiction by each side is undisputed, the joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons

from each side to conduct surveys on the spot, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections in accordance with concrete terrain features (watersheds, valleys, passes, etc.), and the actual jurisdiction by each side.

3—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical and the two sides differ in their understanding of the state of actual jurisdiction, the joint committee will send out joint teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to ascertain on the spot the state of actual jurisdiction in these sections, make adjustments in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections.

The aid grant will include equipment, machinery and materials, and other commodities, adds **Reuter** from Hongkong.

Chinese technicians and experts will be sent to Nepal to help "in the construction of the items of aid to be specified under the present agreement." Nepalese students will also be trained in China.

The communique said the Chinese aid would not include the remaining £3 million, provided under the 1956 agreement, which has not yet been used by Nepal.

It said: "The two sides held frank and free discussions on matters of common interest, in particular the question of consolidating and further developing friendly relations."

Mr. Koirala, who also saw Mr. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, during his stay, invited Mr. Chou to visit Nepal.

Mr. Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure, the communique said. "The two sides agreed that they would discuss and sign the treaty of peace and friendship between the two countries during Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to Nepal."

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By M. C. CHAGLA,  
Ambassador of India to USA

A Constitution of a country does not spring ready-made like Minerva from the head of Jove. It is either the result of a revolution or a part of the continuity of its history. If it is the result of a revolution, the Constitution bears traces of the revolutionary ideals of the people. If it is the result of mere evolution, then it gives indications of its past history. In the case of India, whose Constitution was enacted in 1949, it was the result both of a peaceful revolution led by Mahatma Gandhi and also the result of transfer of power by Great Britain which meant that there was no break in the continuity of its history.

A Constitution also embodies the aims and aspirations a people seek to achieve and the mechanism by which that can be done. Our Constitution graphically and eloquently in its preamble lays down the objectives for which the Constitution was enacted and these are:

To constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic; to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

Our Constitution sets up a Democratic State. The democratic form of Government requires that ultimately the popular will must prevail. It is impossible for people directly to govern themselves and, therefore, the system of representative Government is devised and our representative institutions are based upon adult suffrage. Every adult, man and woman, in India has the vote and they elect their representatives to Parliament. In our last elections millions of people in India (out of total electorate of 193 million, 121 million voted in the General Elections in 1956) went to the polling booths and recorded their votes and hundreds of observers from foreign countries paid a tribute to India that the

elections held were completely free. How free they were you can judge from this instance that in the small State of Kerala, the Communist Party was elected to power in the teeth of the opposition of the Congress Party which is in power and which governs the country through our Parliament in Delhi. The Congress Party could have easily prevented a Communist victory if it had 'rigged' the elections, but to its credit it refused to do so.

### American and British Models

We had to decide whether we should adopt the American or the British model of representative Government. In the British model, the Government is a part of the Legislature and is responsible to the Legislature and continues in power only so long as it has its confidence. In the United States, there is a separation of powers and the Executive is an irremovable Executive. Your President is elected by the people and he continues in office for four years irrespective of whether he has the confidence of the Congress or not. As you know, today, although the President was elected by the Republican Party, the Democratic Party is in a majority both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

In another important respect, we followed the American example and not the British. In this country and in India the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. All authorities must function under it and must be loyal to it. Under the British Constitution, Parliament is sovereign and can pass any law, the only limits to its sovereignty being those of practicability and reasonableness. An important consequence follows from the Constitution being supreme. If the Constitution is supreme, the Executive and the Legislature must be kept within constitutional bounds and must not be permitted to transgress the limits set by the Constitution. In India, as in the United States, this function has been



assigned to the Judiciary. In England, a *laissez faire* policy, the individual was however important the Judiciary may be left alone to pursue his own path and to and however high its traditions, it must manage his own affairs, but in the modern bow before the Sovereign Parliament. It State which is a Welfare State and which has no right to consider the competence of looks after the welfare of its citizens, Parliament to pass any law or to consider there is inevitably more and more encroachment the constitutionality of any law. In the upon the rights and activities of the United States and in India, the position is individual. The most difficult problem of today is to draw the proper line between entirely different. The Judiciary in America the conflicting claims of the State and the and in our country have been armed with individual and to secure that the all-powerful the powerful weapon of judicial review. It State does not overstep this line. It can scrutinise every law passed by Parliament may be said that in every case the rights of its constitutionality and, if the Legislature of the individual must be subordinated to the has exceeded its powers or overstepped its limit, the law can be declared void and be equally cogently argued that the social good is determined by the State and that inoperative.

Another important respect in which we have followed the American model is in writing into our Constitution a Bill of Rights similar to the provisions of your Constitution. Our Constitution calls them Fundamental Rights. These are rights guaranteed to all citizens and, in some cases, even to those who are not citizens. These rights are to be looked upon as inalienable rights of an individual which every human being is entitled to enjoy if he is to maintain his human dignity. They deal with equality before law, prohibition against discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, right of freedom of speech and expression, right to form associations or unions, right to acquire, hold or dispose of property, right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business, right not to be deprived of life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, right to freedom of conscience and to freely profess and practise religion, right to one's own culture and to study in any educational institution, right to be paid compensation for compulsory acquisition of property.

#### Rights of the Individual

In the modern complex society, conflict always arises between the rights of the individual and the security and interests of the State. When the State pursued

the individual was left alone to pursue his own path and to manage his own affairs, but in the modern State which is a Welfare State and which looks after the welfare of its citizens, there is inevitably more and more encroachment upon the rights and activities of the individual. The most difficult problem of today is to draw the proper line between the conflicting claims of the State and the individual and to secure that the all-powerful State does not overstep this line. It may be said that in every case the rights of the individual must be subordinated to the social good. On the other hand, it may be equally cogently argued that the social good is determined by the State and that what the State thinks to be the social good may not necessarily be the social good envisaged by all the individuals inhabiting the State. It may also be argued that there are certain individual rights which are so fundamental and on which depends the very dignity of the human soul that no interests of the State or even the security of the State can be permitted to violate these rights.

Our Constitution has tried to solve this difficult problem in a very practical and, on the whole, satisfactory manner. The Legislature has been given the power to make laws which may contravene these fundamental rights if the contravention is in the interests of the public order, security of the State, public morality or maintenance of friendly relations with a foreign State. The Judiciary are constituted the custodians of these fundamental rights. Whether the restrictions imposed by the Legislature upon fundamental rights are reasonable restrictions or not is made a justiciable issue and by making it justiciable, the Constitution has placed in the hands of the Judiciary tremendous powers. It is not possible to deprive the citizens of any of their fundamental rights by a majority in the Legislature. The Legislature is controlled by the Judiciary and every citizen has been given the right to challenge any legislation or any act of Government or its officials which tends to deprive him of any of these rights and it is for the

Judiciary to determine whether the challenge is justified or not.

It has been urged with considerable force that this power of judicial review may act as a serious impediment to important social and economic legislation which India may desire to carry through in order to fight poverty, in order to do social justice, in order to raise the standards of its people and to achieve economic independence. It has been pointed out that the Courts of Law tend to be technical and may invalidate legislation on narrow theoretical grounds overlooking the larger public good and, therefore, regret has been expressed in certain quarters that our Constitution did not establish the sovereignty of Parliament and make Parliament the custodian of fundamental rights rather than the Judiciary; because it is urged that Parliament is the best judge of what legislation is necessary and to what extent legislation should trespass upon individual rights. But, our Constitution makers felt and quite rightly felt that it would be dangerous at the very inception of the new State to give uncontrolled power of legislation to the Legislature. It was realised that for a long time to come only one party would be in power with hardly any opposition and that democracy in India might have been imperilled if a single party was given the power to ride roughshod over individual rights and to ignore the protests of those who did not belong to that party. Therefore, even at the risk of slowing down the progress of the country, in the interests of freedom and democracy, an independent impartial authority was constituted to act as the arbitrator between the individual and the State and to adjudicate upon the rights and liberties of the former and the security and the interests of the latter. It is, therefore, that you find in India today that although we have launched upon a great adventure of industrialising our country and of bringing prosperity to our people, we are doing it democratically through democratic processes without regimenting our people and without sacrificing the freedom of the individual.

The people of the United States can well understand and appreciate the importance of the Judiciary and the power of judicial review given to the Judges. The Supreme Court here exercises that power and every citizen here feels that the Supreme Court is the protector of his rights and liberties and that the Congress cannot pass any law and the Government here cannot do anything which would in any way curtail those rights of the American citizens which are safeguarded by the American Constitution. The citizen of India has the same feeling with regard to the Judges and the Courts in India. It is essential that if the Judges are to play this important role satisfactorily, they should be completely independent of the Legislature and the Executive and that its integrity and impartiality should be beyond question and should be accepted as such by the public. Therefore, under our Constitution, the Judges are irremovable and are, in no way, controlled by the Legislature or the Executive.

#### Centre and the States

The American Constitution is a federal Constitution and there is a clear demarcation between the powers of the States and of the Federation. You have here what I might call a dual citizenship, citizenship of the State and citizenship of the Federation. You have also a dual Judiciary, one set of Judges enforcing State laws and the other the federal laws. In our country it was realised that it was necessary to have a strong Central Government to avoid the danger of fissiparous tendencies among the different States. Therefore, in India, the citizen owes his allegiance only to the Union of India and although there are High Courts in different States and a Supreme Court in Delhi, the Judiciary is one and integrated. It enforces both State and Union laws or what you would call federal laws. The Supreme Court in Delhi is the apex of the different Courts in the country and it is not only the highest federal court, it is also the highest Court of Appeal.

One difficulty which is always felt in a federation and you often felt it here is the demarcation of subjects on which the State Legislature can legislate and the Federal Legislature can legislate. The American Constitution naturally owes its characteristics to its past history. You had here independent States which decided to federate into the United States of America and, therefore, we have vestiges both in the American Constitution and in the Constitution of different States of important powers reserved to the States. In India, we have devised a rather novel machinery. There is a Union or federal list consisting of subjects in respect of which the Indian Parliament can legislate. There is a State list of subjects on which the State Legislature can legislate and we have a third list which is called the Concurrent List in respect of which both the Parliament and the State Legislatures can legislate. But, what makes our Union Parliament strong is the provision that all residuary powers of legislation are with the Union Parliament. In the United States, it is the contrary and residual powers are left to the State Legislatures. The device of the Concurrent List helps the Union Legislature to bring about uniformity even in matters where the State Legislature has legislative power. Under that list, both the State Legislature and the Union Legislature may cover the same legislative field but the legislation passed by the Union Legislature prevails over the State legislation. Here different States have different laws sometime in important matters like criminal or divorce law, etc. and the Congress has no power to bring about uniformity.

An important feature of every federal Constitution is the bicameral legislature; the lower chamber represents the people and the upper chamber represents the constituent States. In India, we have adopted the bicameral system but not with the federal characteristics. The House of the People which corresponds to the Chamber of Representatives in the Congress is elected on the basis of adult suffrage. In the Council of States which corresponds to the Senate here, the States are not equally

represented as here but according to their population.

In bringing about the Indian Union and consolidating the different parts of India into one, we had considerable difficulties after independence. As you know, under the British rule, there were many independent Indian princes who ruled their own States as dictators. If you look at a map of India in British times, you will find parts of India which were ruled by the British painted red and the States of the Princes shown yellow and there were hundreds of these yellow dots all over the map, some large and some small. After independence, we liquidated these Princes not by violence or coercion but with their consent and we repainted the map of India in one colour.

#### Secular State

I should like to draw your attention to one aspect of our Constitution and that is that it sets up what we call a secular State. To translate it into American parlance, it means that we have a complete separation of Church and State. In our country, we have no official religion. In our country every man and every woman irrespective of class, community and race can look forward to any office and can enjoy the same right as anybody does. We have no two classes of citizenship, a higher and a lower one. We have no ghettos in our country where we shut up people and deny them the rights of citizenship. India was cursed for centuries by the existence of what were known as 'untouchables' or people of the lower caste who were segregated. Mahatma Gandhi carried on a powerful fight against untouchability and today under our Constitution untouchability has been abolished and even made an offence and untouchables have been given the same rights as people of higher castes. Only a few days back, an untouchable was appointed as Chief Minister of one of our States. It is like appointing a Negro as a Governor of one of the southern States. I agree that we cannot bring about social equality by law. You have the same problem here. Here also Negroes have equal rights under the Constitution but unfortunately social discrimi-

nation is still practised against them. It takes time for people to change their attitude of mind. It is only when we realise that all men are not only equal before the law but also in the eye of God that we will have both in this country and our country a completely casteless society. Things have improved a great deal here and so have they in India.

#### Directive Principles

The Constitution of a country is only a machinery through which the country achieves its goal or what Socrates called 'the good life.' A Constitution may contain all the trappings of democracy; it may have a Legislature elected through adult suffrage; it may have Ministers responsible to that Legislature; it may have a strong Judiciary and even so, the Constitution may achieve nothing if it is not worked for a definite purpose and in order to achieve a specific goal. The goal of our country is set out in unmistakable terms in the Preamble to the Constitution to which I have referred.

But, these goals can only be achieved by laws passed by Parliament and by State Legislatures and, for that purpose, in the Constitution we have a chapter on Directive Principles which are intended as clear unmistakable guidance to the Legislatures even though they have no legal force. They contain more or less precepts and impose a moral, if not, a legal duty upon the country to apply the principles contained in this part in making laws. It is interesting to see what some of these Directive Principles contain. They lay down that the citizens have the right to adequate means of livelihood; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women. They also provide that the country shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing right

to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want. They also lay down that the country shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities. They also lay down a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution within which the State shall provide for free and compulsory education for all citizens until they complete the age of 14 years. These are the Directive Principles which in the last ten years we have been trying to give effect to by the laws that we have passed. This is the socialistic pattern of society towards which we are aiming. May I say one word about our socialism? There is a great deal of misunderstanding in this country as to what socialism in the context of Indian society means. Our socialism is not a doctrinaire socialism. It is a pragmatic one, but what we are trying to do is what I have just pointed out to you as embodied in our Directive Principles. You will find on a close study of these Directive Principles that you in this country have already successfully carried out most of them and, where you have not, you are working to give effect to them. I think this country is more socialistic than India, but unfortunately people here do not realise how socialistic they are.

In the last ten years, we have also brought about a social revolution again giving effect to these Directive Principles. We have passed laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance under which we have given greater rights to women in India. Today, the women in India occupy the same position as men. There are women holding high positions in every walk of life. We have women as Governors, as Ambassadors, as Judges and as Ministers.

In the ultimate analysis, a Constitution must be judged by what it helps the country to achieve and applying that test,

I think our Constitution has helped the country, Parliament and Government to achieve many of the goals which the people of India solemnly resolved to do when they enacted the Constitution.

Justice Holmes, a very wise man, one of the wisest your country has produced, once said that like all life a Constitution was an experiment. You have been experimenting with your Constitution for nearly two centuries and during that period it has helped you to create a free and prosperous society. We have been experimenting with ours only for the last ten years—

and we also hope, especially because our Constitution so closely and strikingly resembles yours,—to achieve a free and prosperous society. Our society is already free. We need your help and co-operation to make it a prosperous one.\*

\*Text of the Mary Keatinge Das and Taraknath Das Memorial Lecture delivered by Mr. M. C. Chagla, Ambassador of India, under the auspices of Columbia University at the McMillin Theater, Broadway and West 116th Street, New York City, on Monday, February 1, 1960.

## UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

### A Historical Analysis

By BELA BOSE, M.A.,

Professor of Economics, Hooghly Women's College, West Bengal

The problem of unemployment in India can be traced back to the end of the 18th Century when our own system of industrial production was gradually destroyed through coercive measures adopted by the East India Company and the competition of products manufactured by the large industrial establishments of Great Britain. It is well known that the principal feature of ancient Indian village community was that each one of the village groups had its own occupation either principal or subsidiary to agriculture and such occupational groups were placed within the village community in such a manner that production and consumption were well balanced and the employment for nearly all was ensured. Agriculture was no doubt the main source of livelihood but the village communities did not depend on agriculture alone. There were always other means of livelihood either integrated with agriculture or followed independently. Such industries met not only the internal demand but had also built up a wide and profitable export market.

Evidence of export of the products of

these artisans till the Industrial Revolution, is available. The Periplus of the Eritrean Sea gives definite information of India's external trade in industrial goods. The artisans were organised in units similar to the European guilds of the middle ages. The entrance to a trade, the wages, sales, prices and conditions of work were all carefully regulated. Wages were paid in money or in kind. The artisan sometimes worked as an independent unit with or without apprentices or for a dealer. The dealer might either simply advance money to him, have a lien on his product which he purchased at a settled price as soon as it was complete after deducting the advances made, or he might himself act as the employer making the artisan work for wages. The employer provided the raw materials in turn to spinners, weavers, and dyers. Separate Royal Workshops were also in existence where a certain number of artisans were collected together and made to work for wages. This type of organisation existed generally for highgrade articles for the Courts, the wealthy classes and for export. The

position of the middle men or dealers was generally better than the artisans. The dealers mostly acted as bankers, traders and in many cases as promoters of industrial enterprises.

The East India Company on their arrival found Indian Industry and trade in this condition. The Company's agents appeared first as dealers. Their main concern was with trade and especially with the external trade. The East India Company introduced a new encouragement to manufacture by extending the scope and market of Indian merchandise. Within a short time, there was a great increase in industrial activities. This is evident from the Report of Mr. Brown on the Commerce of British India in 1802-03, when he remarked that "Previous to the year 1798, a ship arriving in the Bengal river with funds to the extent of thirty thousand, (30,000) and in want of bale goods, was compelled to remain until they could be manufactured at the different aurangs; whereas at the present period there are seldom less than one million sterling in value of cloths belonging to native merchants deposited in Calcutta for sale and of every other species of merchandise in equal proportion."<sup>1</sup>

They bought goods, mainly cotton and silk manufactures through the native dealers and thus began to come into direct contact with the industrial producers.

The Company established factories in important centres for collecting merchandise. These were more of the nature of purchasing agencies rather than producing centres. The commercial residents of the Company were in their charge. They followed the traditional system of placing orders and making advances to the actual handicrafts-men and collect the goods from them direct as soon as the manufacture was complete. In Bengal the products were collected from craftsmen at the centres of production. In Madras attempt was made to attract workmen to particular centres and

employ them in a manner comparable with the old Royal Workshops. In this way the Company's agents came into direct competition with the local dealers.

Their rivalry at this stage was not with the actual producers or artisans but with the traders.<sup>2</sup> Their first attack was on the commerce or on the tertiary sector of employment. The Company by virtue of their charter had a monopoly of the trade of India and private traders of the land were practically at their mercy. Before the Industrial Revolution, therefore, the policy of the East India Company was a danger to the trade both internal and external but it did not affect the productive system which was rather encouraged by their activities. The employment position thus remained more or less intact.

Before European manufactures began to flood the Indian market, it was India that had built up an extensive export trade in many European countries. In a letter to Robert Dundas, the Court of Directors of the East India Company pointed out, "The articles of first necessity their (Indians') own country furnished more abundantly and more cheaply than it is possible for Europe to supply them. .... Except woollens and metals .... hardly any of our staple commodities find a vent among the Indians. The Chief commodities suited to the European market..... which India had hitherto been found to produce are spices, pepper, drugs, sugar, silk, saltpetre, indigo, raw cotton and above all cotton manufactures of singular beauty and endless variety. These last have formed from time immemorial the grand staple of India."

It was this cotton industry that was first affected by the influx of the British goods. Cotton Industry was established at Manchester at the beginning of the 18th Century but goods produced were inferior to Indian goods. The Industrial Revolution enabled England by the beginning of the 19th Century to manufacture industrial goods on a mass scale and export them to foreign markets. After the Industrial Revo-

1. Extract from Mr. Brown's Report on the Commerce of British India in 1802-03 (R. N. Chaudhury. P. 19).

2. Vera Anstey: Economic Development of India, p. 105.

lution many of the Indian artistic products exported to England began to be undercut in the British market, by the English factory products. The impact of the cheaper and less artistic factory products indirectly helped to bring down the quality of the products of handicrafts in India. The products which suffered most were cotton textiles, silk textiles, and silken-embroidered goods, woollen textiles including carpets, carved stone and wood, silver, copper and brass ware, carved ivory and lacquer work.

This impact had a serious repercussion in India. So long the Company's agents bought goods in India at the Indian market price. When due to the British factory competition they found that the prices of the commodities would have to be reduced, in order to compete with factory goods in British market they began to adopt coercive measures in India for a reduction in their cost price, mere decline in quality was not sufficient to bring the price to such a level that competition with the factory product would become possible. Therefore great pressure was now brought to bear upon the producers of the goods in India. As a first step towards reduction in cost the local dealers were eliminated and the Company's agents established direct contact with the producers through their factories. Full advantage was taken of the poverty of the people. A system of advances was introduced and the producers under the circumstances then existing were compelled to accept the advances. The Company's agents forced them to part with their goods at a dictated price because the producers accepted an advance which he could not refund. Penal measures against artisans unwilling to work for the company at the dictated price began to be frequently adopted. There was physical violence as well. Such was the Indian artisans' relation with the British agents. They could get better price from Dutch and Portuguese traders even for their inferior goods. The following extract from Dr. Buchanan's comment is illustrative. Buchanan says, "Each man on becoming bound (Asami) to the Company received Rs. 2/- and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as much as the Company required and no

other advance has ever been made by the Commercial Residents. The agents ordered each man to make a certain number of pieces of such or such goods and he is paid for each on its delivery according to the price stated in the tables."<sup>3</sup> In this way the artisan was deprived of the right to sell his commodity in the open market at a competitive price. He was bought over for Rs. 2/- and was compelled to deliver all his goods at a dictated price to the Company's agents. Employment remained but the remuneration was drastically reduced. A study of the decline of industries under the Company's coercive measures brings out this fact that the artisans became completely desperate and demoralised and left their hereditary occupations. These men adopted agriculture as their only means of livelihood. Thus the pressure on land increased and with the decline in industries agriculture became the only means of livelihood and employment. The tertiary sector of employment, i.e., dealership in goods was already reduced by the infiltration of Company's agents in this sector and the consequent elimination of the local dealers. The destruction of the industries as a result of the Company's agents' eagerness to reduce the purchase price drove away a large number of people from the secondary sector of employment. Only the primary sector remained and this was absolutely insufficient to provide adequate employment and fair income. In this way there was a complete change in the pattern of employment and the scope for employment also became reduced. The maladjustment between man and material created at this stage got no opportunity of being removed. The problem of unemployment in its real sense originated at this point.

Dr. Buchanan made a survey of economic condition of Eastern and Southern India during the period 1804 to 1814. The records left by him give a good picture of Indian village life, its economic conditions and the employment position. From his accounts as well as from other narratives it is found that a large proportion of the Indian popu-

3. Montgomery Martin : *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 355.

lation was engaged in various industries besides their principal occupation, namely, agriculture, down to the middle of the second decade of the 19th Century. Weaving was still the national industry of the people. Millions of women increased the family income by their earnings from spinning, dyeing, tanning, metal working, and numerous other small industries provided employment to millions. Thus even fairly long after the Industrial Revolution Buchanan found Indian industries in a flourishing condition.

The Charter of 1813 introduced a change in the commercial policy which accentuated the decline of the Indian industries. Merely a change in the motive power brought about by the Industrial Revolution was not the only cause of the decline of Indian Industries. Indian goods were not only fine and artistic but were articles of everyday use. These goods produced by manual labour continued to compete with British products manufactured with steam power. Dr. Buchanan's survey indicates that unequal motive power was not enough to kill the hereditary skill and dexterity of the Indian artisans. The commercial policy of Britain had to be altered and political pressure had to be applied in order to establish British machine products in Britain's own market and also in the Indian market by ousting the handicrafts of the Indian artisans. Dr. Buchanan's survey has left an account of the period till the Charter of 1813 and is thus very important from this standpoint. In Dr. Buchanan's survey of Patna City and Bihar districts with a population of 3,364,420 the number of spinners were estimated at 330,426 and all the spinners were women, i.e., one tenth of the total population of the province were employed in one industry alone. Greater part of these women spun only a few hours in the afternoon. According to Buchanan's calculation the value of the thread spun by each spinner was nearly Rs. 7½ pias per year out of which the profit was nearly 50 per cent. Although the total earning for the year might look incredibly low at the present time it can reasonably be believed that at the then current

prices this earning represented substantial income. It represented the output of only a few hours in the afternoon. Had the needs been greater the high percentage of profit would certainly have attracted them to work longer hours.

In Shahabad spinning and weaving were the great national industries. Each woman made Rs. 18/- a year through spinning. It was added to the income of the families to which the women belonged. Each loom made an annual income of Rs. 20½/- a year and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. Dr. Buchanan suspected that as a family could not be supported for less than Rs. 48/- a year, the income of each loom was understated. But he did not say that the weavers had no land. Rather in his statement we find that half of the district was under Rice cultivation. If we take into consideration the fact that the weavers had some land which provided them for their food for the year, the income from the loom might have been quite sufficient.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1813—when the Company's monopoly trade in India was taken away and private trade was allowed in the Indian market. A Parliamentary Enquiry Committee, was set up in that year to inquire into the conditions of the Company's trade.<sup>4</sup> In respect of Indian manufactures the House of Commons sought to discover how they could be replaced by British manufactures and how British industries could be promoted at the expense of Indian industries. The real object of this Parliamentary Enquiry was to promote the interest of the British manufactures which had been excluded by Napoleon from the Continental Ports. An outlet for British manufactures was therefore desperately needed, and this Committee was appointed to eke out a solution.

In this Committee of Enquiry there was a great divergence of opinion about the commercial potentiality of Indian

4. R. C. Dutt—*Economic History of India*, pp. 242, 245, 249.



manufactures. The excellence of Indian products of small and cottage industries was however asserted by Sir Thomas Munro before this Committee. Sir Thomas Munro had spent twenty-seven years in India and spoke from his own experience. The unequal competition of British goods enjoying steam power and also greater political backing against Indian goods was explained by John Rankin, a merchant examined by the Commons Committee of 1813.

John Rankin made no hesitation to disclose the objectionable nature of such prohibitive duties and thus he said, "I took upon it as a protective duty to encourage our own manufacture." Henry St. George Tucker was in India for a long time and became a director of the East India Company. Writing in 1823, i.e., ten years after the date of the Parliamentary Enquiry referred to above, he condemned England's commercial policy towards India. The way in which Indian Industries were forced to go down has been fully illustrated in his statement. He wrote, "What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent; but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this Country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possession. India is thus reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country". It was stated in evidence in the Commons Committee of 1813, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to that period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price 50 to 60 per cent lower than those manufactured in England in mechanised factories. It therefore became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition.

H. H. Wilson said that the mills of

Paisle and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufactures. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms. The vitality of the Indian Cottage Industries which provided independent and subsidiary employment to millions was proved.

R. C. Dutt traced the Commercial policy of Great Britain towards India in the 18th and earlier years of the 19th centuries. He said, "Endeavours were made which were fatally successful to repress Indian manufacturers and to extend British manufactures. The import of Indian goods to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties; the export of British goods to India was encouraged by almost nominal duties. The production of raw material in India for British industries and the consumption of British manufactures in India, were the two-fold objects of the early commercial policy of England."

Montgomery told a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1840: "I do not agree that India is an agricultural country; India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilization. I do not suppose that India is to become the agriculture farm of England; she is a manufacturing country; her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages, and have never been able to be competed with/by any nation wherever fair play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca Muslins and her Cashmir Shawls, but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the World. To reduce her now

5. R. C. Dutt—Economic History of

India, Vol. II, p. vii.

to an agricultural Country would be an injustice to India." per cent lower than the price of the British product in its home market.

It is, therefore, clear that even by the middle of the 19th Century a man like Montgomery Martin who had personal and extensive knowledge about India believed that the Indian manufacture could compete with the products of any country in the world if the competition was fair. Martin further said, "The cry that has taken play for free trade with India, has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country.....The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures had been carried on is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade. I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker." Most of the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1840 had much to say about the displacement of Indian labour by the introduction of English manufactures—clothing, tools and implements, glassware and brass articles. The people of India deprived of their occupations, turned to agriculture chiefly. India instead of exporting manufactured goods began to export raw materials in large volume. But here also differential treatment was made in regard to Indian products. Indian sugar had to pay a higher duty than the Dutch Indies Sugar when imported in England. Similar distinction was made between Indian and American cotton. It was thus political pressure and political discrimination which drove up the largest source of employment and threw the people entirely on land.

The following facts therefore emerge prominently:

(1) In spite of organisational difference, i.e., small Indian Industry against large British Industry the former continued to compete with the latter. The price of the product of the small Indian industries in its export market in England was 50 to 60

(2) In spite of the great difference in motive power, i.e., manual power in India and steam power in England, the Indian industry maintained its superiority.

(3) It was political injustice which ultimately succeeded in strangling Britain's Indian competitors. The closure of India's export market in England through prohibitive duties, dumping of British products in India under political pressure and a planned discouragement of Indian industries were the causes of the final decline. The export market was lost; the home market in India contracted to a large extent but in spite of such heavy discouragements the industries were not totally killed. The strength of the small industry against so many odds had been demonstrated. Although it was declining, it maintained its existence.

After private trade was permitted in 1813 a new development in India had taken place. There was a change in the pattern of industrialisation and consequently in the sphere of employment as well. More emphasis was now laid on production even at the cost of employment. The only objective became maximum production at minimum cost. British traders came to India and began to start large-scale industries. Greater reliance was placed on mechanisation. This new phase in industrialisation may be divided into three sections, namely, plantation, mining and manufacturing industries. Indigo was the first plantation industry introduced in Bengal. About the middle of the 18th Century Europe's requirements of Indigo was supplied from St. Domingo. In an insurrection in St. Domingo the Indigo factories there were destroyed. India about the year 1779-80 became the source of indigo. The French and Spaniards manufactured indigo in St. Domingo but in India the British took up the trade. Bengal, Behar, Madras, North-Western Provinces became the principal areas for the cultivation of indigo and this new industry became a source of considerable wealth to

6. R. C. Dutt—Economic History of India, Vol. II, p. 112.

them. The ryots were very much oppressed and the people of India did not get the full benefit of this new industry. During the period of indigo prosperity this industry employed a considerable number of workers both in cultivation and in manufacture. The introduction of synthetic indigo in 1897 dealt a serious blow to this industry. In spite of this early in the Twentieth Century the industry still supported about 2½ lakhs of people but the number began to decline gradually.<sup>7</sup>

Although the possibility of tea cultivation was being suggested as early as 1788 but actual plantation was not undertaken until 1851. After some rise and fall the industry became more or less firmly established in 1869. Acreage production and export of tea began to increase rapidly with the expansion of foreign markets. The leading province in tea cultivation became Assam followed by Bengal. Assam and Bengal together cultivated 80 per cent of the total area under tea and raised 84 per cent of the total production. The tableland of Assam with its two contiguous districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in Bengal and the region over the Malabar Coast in South India including the Nilgiris and Travancore produced together 98 per cent of India's tea crop. In 1905, the earliest year for which records of the garden workers are available the average daily number of workers in this industry all over India was 5,53,821. This number rose to 9,73,352 in 1918, the highest figure ever reached in this industry till 1928. In 1928 the total number of workers in tea was 9,06,787 or 57 per cent of all plantation industry. The total number of plantation labourers in all three plantations namely, tea, coffee, and rubber was 10,53,944.

These plantation industries may thus be considered to have supplied additional employment to more than 10 lakhs of people. It was a net addition and it did not displace any other industry.

Similar is the case with mining industry. Existence of coal in Bengal has been

traced, as far back as 1774. In 1775 the mining industry started but the quality of coal was not satisfactory. The year 1820 might be recorded as the date of first regular operation of the coal industry in the Ranigange Coal Field. The industry showed signs of development only in the second half of the 19th Century and specially after the construction of the E. I. Railway, which passed through the Ranigange Coal Field and served not only as a carrier but as a large consumer of coal. The foundation of cotton and jute mills provided further stimulus to the coal industry, the progress of which became rapid. This industry had provided employment to 150,000 people which is also a net addition to employment. Most of the coal mine labourers have been recruited from the neighbouring cultivating class. They had still maintained their link with the land: they went to attend their village twice a year during the sowing and harvesting seasons. Thus for many of them the coal industry came as an additional source of employment.

Plantation and mining industry instead of displacing industrial labour had introduced new sources of employment.

The development of sources of power both thermal and electrical has not come into conflict with the small industry but on the other hand these have stimulated the development of small industries providing for further employment in the secondary sector. Similarly the development of basic raw materials like iron and aluminium has helped in the growth of other industries and stimulated employment. This has not been the case with the development of large-scale industries for the manufacture of consumers' goods.

The industries that first attracted the English Capitalists were cotton and jute. In 1878 the first cotton mill, the Bowreah Cotton Mills Co., Ltd., was established at Fort Gloster near Calcutta and for the first time in India steam power was used in spinning and weaving of cotton fabrics. The outposts of industrial revolution being first planted by the cotton industry gradually spread to other industries, such as sugar,

7. Imperial Gazetteer, 1908. p. 374.

rice husking and grinding, oil milling and others.

This rise of modern industries was a new source of danger to the wide-spread Indian small industries. Large-scale factories were established by the British agency houses. Although they provided immediate employment in these factories, the employment pattern ultimately suffered a very serious change. For example, cotton spinning was the main source of employment to the women next probably to paddy husking till the first quarter of the 19th Century. The introduction of power spinning in the large textile factories deprived the village women-folk one of their principal sources of income. Instead of helping the family to some extent even with this small earning they became totally dependent on the male members. When the factory milling of rice came, it made them absolutely helpless. The appearance of the husking machine made a large section totally unemployed, namely, the village women-folk.

Although the first cotton mill was established in Bengal, it was not before 1854 that the real beginning of the industry was made. The first successful cotton mill was started in 1854 in Bombay by C. N. Davar. Since then a large number of mills were erected in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Madras and other places and rapid expansion of the industry was evident. From the beginning this industry was financed and controlled by Indians although European managers were often employed. Production of yarn and cloth by steam power in India had its foundation firmly laid.

By the beginning of 1875 there were 48 cotton mills in India with looms and spindles estimated at 10,000 and 10,00,000 respectively (Ref. Pillai 189). The growth of the mill industry together with the expansion of employment between 1877 and 1939 may be seen from the following table:<sup>8</sup>

8. Indian Year Book, 1940-41, p. 762 and Report of the Cotton Millowners' Association, 1939, p. 389.

| Year | No. of Mills | No. of Spindles | No. of looms | Average No. of hands employed | Not stated |
|------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1877 | 51           | 1,244,206       | 10,385       | 10,385                        | 161,189    |
| 1900 | 193          | 4,945,783       | 40,124       | 40,124                        | 260,276    |
| 1914 | 271          | 6,778,895       | 104,179      | 104,179                       | 282,227    |
| 1918 | 262          | 6,653,871       | 116,484      | 116,484                       | 343,723    |
| 1922 | 298          | 7,331,219       | 134,620      | 134,620                       | 384,623    |
| 1927 | 336          | 8,702,760       | 161,952      | 161,952                       | 384,022    |
| 1930 | 348          | 9,124,768       | 179,250      | 179,250                       | 403,226    |
| 1932 | 339          | 9,506,083       | 186,341      | 186,341                       | 417,803    |
| 1936 | 379          | 9,856,658       | 200,062      | 200,062                       | 441,949    |
| 1939 | 389          | 10,059,370      | 202,464      | 202,464                       |            |

From this table it is found that since 1877 the increase in the number of mills has been about eight times, the increase in the number of spindles about ten times, increase in the number of looms twenty times, but increase in employment has been less than three times. This shows that there has been greater mechanisation and greater utilisation of power in the spinning section than in the weaving department and the progressive mechanisation of the mills made it possible for them to be run with less than proportionate number of men. The net result was that employment lagged behind while the number of mills went on increasing rapidly. Thus the balance between production and consumption could hardly be maintained. Employment lagged behind and the total purchasing power of the people did not increase. At every state of advancement of big industries there was some increase in employment but there was a corresponding and more than proportionate decline in employment because the new big industries wiped out the smaller competitors which employed larger number of people.

The production of the mills increased to such an extent by the Second World War that imports were very much reduced. The

handloom production, however, continued to maintain itself, even against this dual competition of imports and mill production. The greatest difficulty for the handloom was (and still is) the price and availability of yarn. Even with this serious difficulty as regards its only raw material, handloom production remained almost constant.

Due to the elimination of different industrial sources of employment and the increasing dependence on agriculture as the sole means of livelihood poverty began to increase. Attempts from non-official quarters were made to discover the cause of this increase in national poverty. Justice Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, R. C. Dutt, Digby and others began to write on this subject. All of them said that the main cause of poverty was foreign exploitation, drainage of national wealth and the ruin of Indian trade and industries. Although the number of people depending on agriculture increased heavily, the methods of cultivation remained the same and productivity did not increase. Therefore productivity being low and dependence on agriculture being greater, per capita earning from agriculture which was already low declined still further. Agriculture provided employment only for five months a year and for the rest of the year there was all-round idleness. With greater number of people falling upon agriculture fragmentation of land increased with a consequent increase in number of uneconomic holdings. As a result the number of landless people in the rural sector with a chance of employment only during the five months of the agricultural season began to increase. The establishment of modern factories therefore failed to bring any substantial benefit to the poverty-stricken people of India. It gave them cheap products, it brought wealth to the richer section, enriched the treasury of the Government through high revenue, it imported a new tempo to the dull economic life of the country, but it did little to give relief to the people who had been deprived of their traditional profession by the power-driven factories of modern age. Large-scale factory opened new avenues of

employment no doubt but that was too scanty to provide the large labour force.

The industrial development in India was not commensurate with the need of the country. British capitalists developed those industries only where they were certain of maximum profit. They had no intention to improve the condition of the people or to make arrangements for the profitable employment of those who had been driven out of their village handicrafts. Only the consumption goods industries were established while the basic and key industries remained quite undeveloped. No balance between production and consumption was maintained. Capital formation was very low and the country depended exclusively on foreign capital for all essential requirements of the industry. The condition became so precarious that towards the end of the 19th Century, a series of desolating famines occurred to endanger the very foundation of the economic life. It was no longer feasible on the part of the government to adhere to the policy of *Laissez faire* and to shirk off their responsibility of maintaining economic stability. Consequently the Government was obliged to appoint in 1880 a Famine Commission to investigate into the cause of the recurrence of famine and to suggest remedial measures. The Famine Commission found in the introduction of a diversity of occupations the most important remedy and made detailed recommendations regarding the directions in which the Government might usefully aid in the fostering of new industries. As to the cause of famine, the Commission said, "At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupation, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments." The Commission hit the right nail on the head and made the

accurate diagnosis but unfortunately it failed to prescribe the remedy suitable to India. Industrialisation was its recommendation but the Commission had no concrete idea of the form and actual working of the industrial organisation which would be appropriate to make provision of employment for the surplus population. The Commission could not penetrate into the root of the economic system of India. They took India as they found her at the time of the Commission and had no eyes to her past history when full employment to the people was accorded by the organised village industries. Although the Commission failed to realise that industrialisation on British model was absolutely inadequate for a vast country like India with such a huge population, it acknowledged the intimate relations between famine, industrialisation and employment.

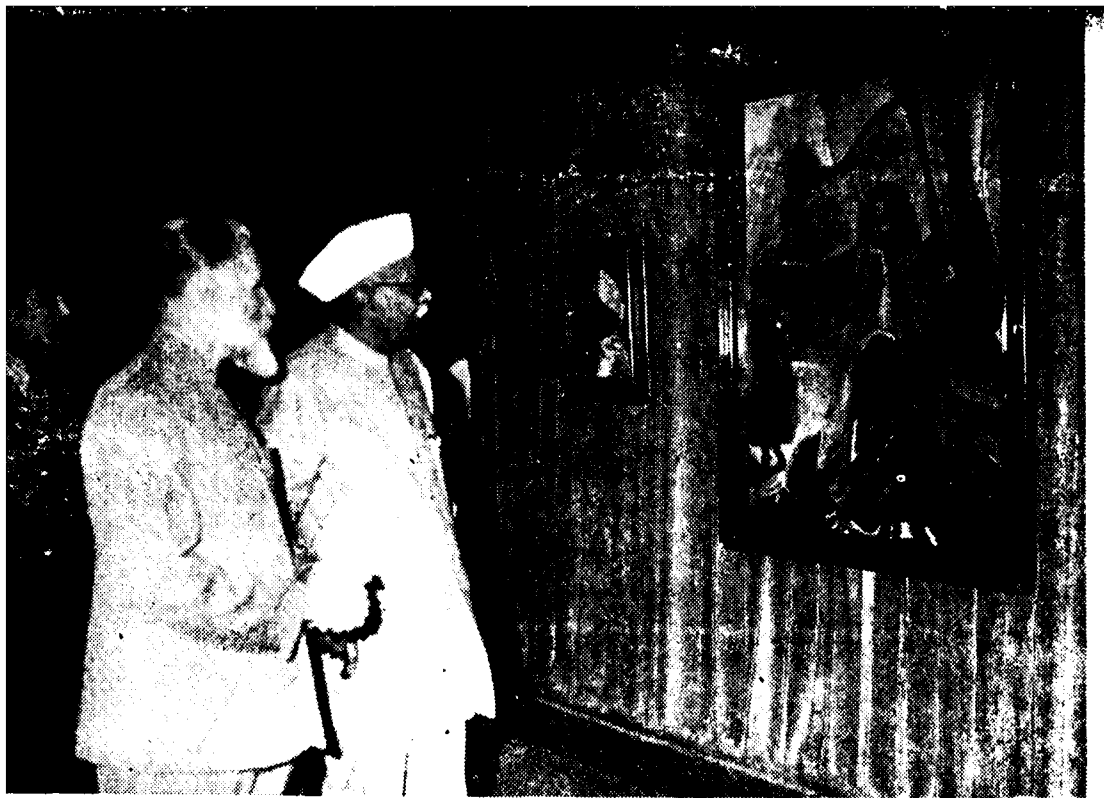
The only practical outcome of the recommendations of the Commission was that the Government issued an order to its officers in 1883 asking them to confine their indents on the European markets to those articles that could not be obtained in the country. An Industrial Exhibition was organised in Calcutta in 1884-85 and this led to the foundation of Calcutta Commercial Museum. Provision, although inadequate, was made in certain parts of the country to impart technical and industrial education.

Towards the end of the century the evils of dependence on foreign capital for economic development was realised. The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 brought about a psychological change. The economic demand was merged into the larger and more comprehensive demand for *Swaraj*.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report said, "The Swadeshi Movement was the positive and the boycott the negative expression of the same purpose." Inspired by the ideals of the movement, a great wave of industrial enthusiasm spread all over the country. A number of factories depending on modern technology were established for the manufacture of textiles, hosiery, pencils, cutlery, matches, glass, etc. A revival of old cottage industries were also made along with

modern mechanical industries. But most of these enterprises collapsed shortly after their inception. Lack of practical training on the part of the workers and even more at the lack of experience of their promoters, in combination with the apathetic attitude of the Government brought about their destruction and ruin. Instead of helping these new infant industries, the Government deliberately pursued a policy to hamper their progress. Differential railway rates were allowed to continue to the prejudice of Indian manufacturers. Competition from imported goods were permitted. Most of the Indian industries therefore died a natural death. The experience of this endeavour however emphasised the fact that without strong and vigorous backing of the Government at least in the initial stage, industries in India had no chance to establish firmly. Thus in the period before the First World War, Indian industries were very poorly developed. The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave for the first time in the annals of British regime in India, a real impetus to industrial development. Industrialisation so far was only piecemeal in its development. The war brought a new orientation. The demand for Indian manufactured goods increased enormously, partly because imports were completely eliminated from Indian market and partly on account of the new War demand from Indian troops in Mesopotamia and other Eastern War Centres and from England and the Allies. India was therefore in a favourable position for incurring a great industrial stimulus.

With the outbreak of the War the problem that worried the Government of India most was how to secure huge War materials from the undeveloped industrial units. The difficulty of securing import threatened to jeopardise Indian economic life. Hence there was urgent need for a new constructive economic policy. In their despatch of the 26th November, 1915, Lord Hardinge's Government put this question to the India office. Consequently the Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916, to investigate whether existing industries would be able to supply War demand and also to find out the actual industrial potentiality of



Dr. Rajendra Prasad being conducted round the Exhibition of Svetoslav Roerich's paintings by the artist



The Finland Prime Minister Dr. Sukselainen and party being taken round the Panch Rathas, rock-cut temples at Mahabalipuram, during their recent visit to Madras

ing. In addition to this over one crore a month was paid for hides and leather almost entirely to Indian firms.

The Board has paid special attention to the development of what may be called 'key' industries, so far as this has been possible in India. For instance, attention has been focussed on the accessories used by the milling industries in this country, such as roller skins, pickers, etc. Other industries, to which considerable attention has been paid are the manufacture of anti-friction metal, ferro-manganese glass, pottery, refractory bricks, disinfecting fluids, tea pruning knives, tea chests, asbestos boiler composition, glucose, articles, and graphite crucibles. In most of these, considerable success was obtained by manufacturers. Ferro-manganese was even exported on a large scale. The development of the glass industry had been considerable, and such articles as bottles and phials, which were imported previously entirely from abroad, used to be manufactured in the country on a commercial scale. Refractory materials, suitable for lining the hottest furnaces, were made in India and it was hoped that the country would soon be independent of foreign imports of these articles. On an analysis of the list of industries developed show that a number of small industries increased their production under this stimulus of encouragement. Pruning knives were being made in numbers practically sufficient to supply the entire demands of the tea industry. About 2 lakhs of such knives are required every year. They began to be manufactured by Aspinwal & Co. in Southern India, Johnson & Co. of Aligarh and by local blacksmiths and manufacturers in Darjeeling, Manbhum and Shillong. Although one of the main difficulties was in the supply of steel, "some of these local products are quite satisfactory and the makers do make a fairly large trade in them. .... The first knife made from Tata Steel was produced by Batacristo Pal & Co., Calcutta and as a result of the experiment, Tatas have offered to supply steel of the quality required," hoes, digging fox, kodadies, etc., required by the tea industry were also manufactured.

In the jute industry practically all the consumable stores and all the machinery were, before the War, imported from the United Kingdom. Bobbins, plane tree rollers, pickers, roller skins, belting porcelain thread guides, etc., all came from England. Careful examination has shown that all these stores and many others can be successfully produced in this country, and they are now being produced successfully on a commercial scale. Bobbins of excellent quality were made by A. T. Mookerjee, while plane tree rollers have been made by Davenport & Co.'s saw mills in South India. Porcelain guides were made by the Calcutta Pottery Works.

In Bengal, attempts had been made to organise the hand weavers, and for the manufacture of dosuti for tents, and tapes and khaki webbing were manufactured by hand on a large scale in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, Howrah, Hooghly, Nadia and Bankura. Buttons were also made for the army by the Home Industries Association and by other firms.

The cutlery industry made a great headway. Munition Board Report says that the making of knives of various kinds has always been an indigenous industry especially in the Punjab where it has been in the hands of the small artisans. Manufacture of cutlery by the small artisans has been done in other places as well like Aligarh, Nezamabad, Wazirabad, Kanchannagar, etc. During the First World War military purchase of knives in large numbers gave a great encouragement to this industry. Clasp knives were required for the equipment of the individual soldier and were purchased from the village artisans. After some trouble the wooden handle was made by them. Collins says that "these knives were manufactured for the most part without machinery and the work of the artisans were organised by manufacturing firms like Johnson & Co. of Aligarh, by small capitalists or by blacksmiths of more than average intelligence with capital of their own. Knives and spoons were also purchased in large numbers. Many of the class knives produced were not only of excellent quality but compare very favourably in price with the imported



India. The Commission was instructed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit recommendations for a permanent policy of industrial stimulation. The object was to relieve the United Kingdom from the necessity of supplying extraneous demands. Accordingly steps were taken to develop Indian resources for the supply of the forces in India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt.

In 1917 the Indian Munitions Board was created. The Board's primary function was the utilisation to the utmost extent of Indian resources in materials of all kinds, except food and fodder, required for the prosecution of the War. The Board had to meet civil as well as military demands for stores.<sup>9</sup>

The ability of the Board to develop industries in India had been strictly limited by the concentration of its energies on its primary object, namely, the immediate supply but within those limits it had been able to foster the growth of indigenous industries in many ways, the most important of which were—

(1) the direct purchase in India of articles and materials of all kinds needed for the army and civil departments and the railways,

(2) the diversion, whenever practicable, by means of the priority system and its control over Home indents, of all orders for articles and materials from the United Kingdom and elsewhere to manufacturers in India,

(3) the giving of assistance to individuals and firms who desired to import plant or to engage chemical and technical experts and skilled labour from Home or elsewhere, in order to establish new industries or develop old ones.

(4) the dissemination of information and expert advice and the giving of other direct or indirect economic management to persons prepared to establish new industries in India.

With the exception of foodstuffs, medi-

cal stores, and certain technical stores such as mechanical transport, for the provision of which there already existed special organisations, the Indian Munitions Board became responsible for the supply of all articles required by the armies stationed in and based on India, by Government departments and by State Railways, as well as for certain materials needed by the British Government.

The following list of articles among others which the Board repeatedly refused to recommend priority, on the ground that they, on a suitable substitute, could be manufactured in India, show that opportunities have been afforded to Indian manufacturers by the War—carbolic, sulphuric and hydrochloric acids, caustic soda, magnesium chloride, zinc chloride, felt bag sheaths, brushes and brooms of all kinds, leather and cotton beltings, boiler composition, bolts, nuts and rivets, locks and padlock, galvanised buckets, buttons, buffer straps and buffers, buffer jute pickers, cast iron piping, lamp chimneys and gloves, chrome leather, disinfecting fluids, firebricks, soldering fluid, glass dishes and jars, various surgical instruments, penknives and pruning knives, scissors, leather washers, manilla rope leather articles, linseed oils, anti-friction ocheres, metal and metal polish, red and yellow paints and varnishes, roller skin, soap, tallow, tea chests and tea lead, twine, paraffin wax, cotton webbing, ship fittings, sheepskins for rice mills, gears, cast iron wheels, wooden handles for tools, hand tools and machinery spares of all descriptions.<sup>10</sup>

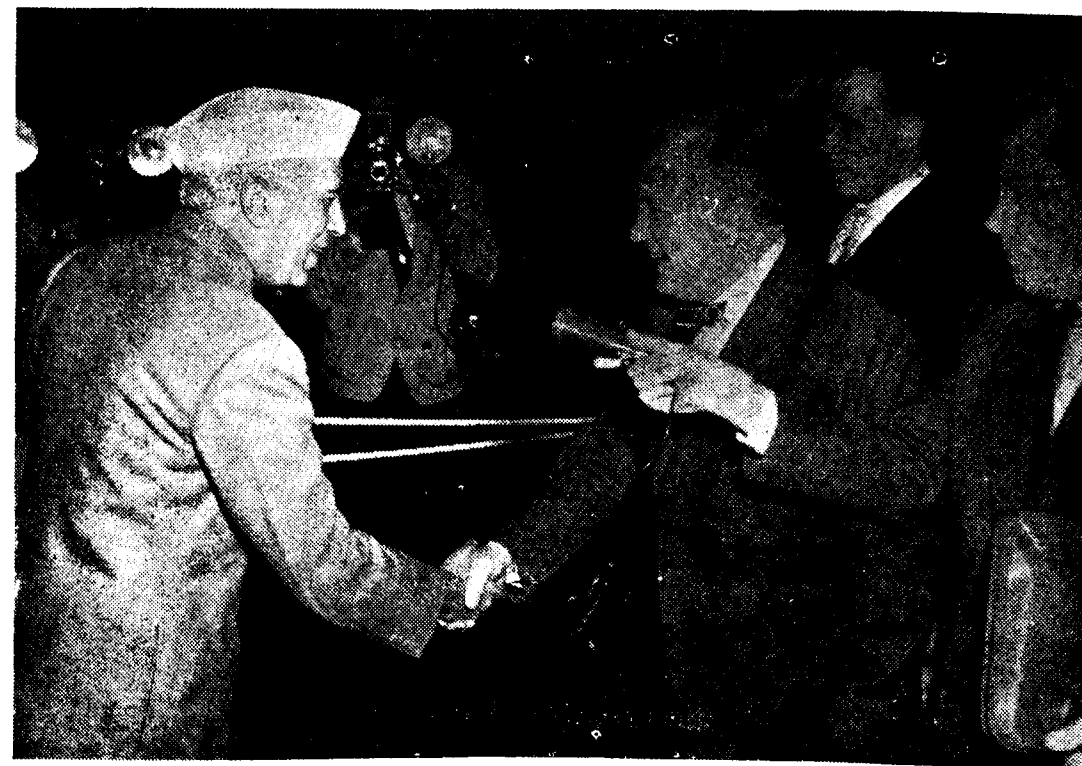
The Board's policy led to the simultaneous development of Indian industries in all the three sectors, namely, large medium and cottage. In order to encourage industries the Board's policy was to deal with the manufacturers direct wherever possible. During Sept. 1918, store worth Rs. 3½ crores were purchased. Of this amount 47 per cent was paid to purely Indian firms; 26 per cent to purely European firms, and the rest to firms European in management but composite in share hold-

9. Munition Board Report, p. 2.

10. Munition Board Report, p. 13.



Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, being introduced to Prime Minister Mr. N. S. Khrushchev of the U.S.S.R. at a lunch given to the latter by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru



The Prime Minister of Finland, Dr. V. J. Sukselainen was received at the Palam Airport by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru

acute with the educated middle class people. The scope for white-collar technicians in large factories was still restricted. Small industries could have absorbed them. But it was neglected because the absorption of man-power in gainful employment was not the objective of the State policy. The unemployment problem in independent India was left as a legacy of the British Rule.

The economic history of India for the last two centuries shows that the small industries can thrive well and provide employment, either through independent units or through subsidiary occupations in addition to agriculture, in very large numbers, only when one primary condition is satisfied, viz., the market is assured. When market is assured, the producing units spontaneously grow up. They find their own finance even by pawning the jewellery of their womenfolk. They secure their own raw materials. When production expands, competition starts and equality begins to improve. The industries can continue either as ancillaries or as producers of complete products.

In the 20th Century, the Indian small industries have found assured market during the two World Wars. After Independence some industries have benefited through a change in the Government's stores purchase policy. Purchase of small industry products is being encouraged. Some

industries are taking advantage of the restriction of imports while some of them who depend on imported raw materials are suffering.

The biggest difficulty of our small industries lies in the dual competition, i.e., competition from imported goods and competition from national big industries. India adopted the policy of protection against imported goods for the development of her industries. As a result, industries thrived, production increased, the country became independent of the imported products, but it did not solve the problem of employment. If the policy of protection is extended to the small industries against these two competitors, it is certain that they will quickly develop and provide employment in an ever increasing manner. Even if there be some rise in price as a result of such protection, it will be offset by a rise in employment and creation of fresh purchasing power. The sacrifice will be temporary and will not be higher than that which had to be rendered during the period of protection of big industries against foreign competition. The suggestion of the Mahalanobis Plan Frame in this respect was a sound one. Development of small industries by spoonfeeding through subsidies cannot place them on a secure and permanent foundation. Modern researches have proved that small industries can have both the virtues of economy, efficiency and lower cost.



## FORESTS AND FOREST RESOURCES OF INDIA

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

With a fast-growing population at the rate of roughly five million a year, India needs more and more land for the production of more food, for housing, erection of factories, roads and railways, research and educational institutions, universities, hospitals, sanatoria, national parks and garden cities, industrial centres, creation of lakes of huge dimensions, etc., from year to year. Moreover, the land needed for each class is inadequate for the present population inasmuch as under foreign rule no attention worth the name was bestowed on what are deemed essential for all-round healthy growth of a civilized nation. With the attainment of Independence the nation is trying to make up lee-way for what is found lacking and has suddenly been brought to a sense of deficiency in respect of land accentuated by the unfortunate partition of the country.

Of the various uses the most important is the land for cultivation that presently grows food, or land capable of producing food such as current fallows, other fallow lands and culturable wastes, i.e., "(i) all lands which have once been cultivated but were later abandoned due to one reason or the other, and (ii) areas definitely known to be culturable provided both these types of land can be reclaimed at a reasonable cost and with a reasonable effort. Such land may either be fallow or covered with shrubs and jungles which are not put to any use."

The next important group directly concerned with the growing of alternative diets (milk, etc.) and other field crops are (i) permanent pastures and other grazing grounds and (ii) land under miscellaneous tree crops, etc., i.e., "cultivated land which is not included in 'net area sown' but is put to some agricultural use, such as 'land under Casurina trees, thatching grasses, bamboo bushes and other groves for fuel, etc., which are not included under orchards.'"

In order of importance regarding use of land as stated above, the essentiality of

forests in human existence is most undervalued and is most undervalued. Before man had learnt the use of even the most crude implements for growing food and had completely to depend on the bounties of nature, forests provided him with all his wants: it was so simple to collect or pluck fruits to allay his hunger. The shadow of forests and the mountain caves served for him his shelter to rest his limbs. In forests, made habitable and comparatively safe, the highest summit of human thought and spiritual life were attained.

The importance of forests is fully realised when it comes to the assessment of influence they had exercised on the distribution of human race. Centres of human habitation grew up on the fringes of forests that could supply the want of food, be it fruits or small animals including birds, without much risk and effort to himself. The march of man from his original home has been directed and diverted by natural barriers of which the forest is the most important.

The forest lost some of its all-pervading influence when the question of food and clothing materials was relegated to the domain of agriculture. It can be easily surmised that it took thousands of years before man reached such a high stage of economic development. Still man had to depend on forests to a very large extent for meeting his other needs such as materials for house and boat building and fuel for heating and cooking. For many centuries timber has successfully withstood the onslaughts of other building materials such as brick, stone, steel and the like. But regarding its supremacy in the field of fuel it had considerably to give place to coal (a product of wood), oil, natural gas and water as a source of heat and motive power. What it has lost in this respect, it has gained as a raw material of great industrial significance.

Forests have yielded lands for cultivation and gradually for other purposes through deforestation which had proceeded without any regard to its baneful consequences. The welfare of human society, it

articles." Pruning knives were also manufactured from waste steel, which was also encouraged by the Munitions Board.

Development during the War was hindered for:

(a) the great difficulty under war conditions of obtaining essential machinery and materials such as cannot be made in India,

(b) the shortage of coal and coking plant, coupled with a shortage of railway wagons and coasting vessels,

(c) the difficulty of procuring from abroad chemical and technical experts, who were all needed in their own countries,

(d) the shortage of skilled labour.

This account shows that when there was a keen desire to develop modern industries in India, under pressure of War, with Indian resources, want of funds and want of skilled personnel did not hinder the progress although difficulties were felt. Dependence of Indian industries on foreign machinery was another handicap but even that did not retard the progress of industrialisation. Granted only adequate protection, it has been proved that India can develop her industries to a very large extent with her own resources. The shortness of time during which this was done indicates her great potentiality in industrial development. Where the structure of industry was smaller, the progress was more rapid. This progress increased employment in the country to a very substantial extent.

The Munitions Board depended on the medium and small industries which could come into production with small capital, indigenous experts and ready-made tools and implements. The Board did not approach the small industries with any object of encouraging cottage or small industries but had approached them only in their own interest. These industries supplied the Board with articles which before the War had almost ceased production in the country and were imported. For the period of War imports were stopped and competition between big and small industries was eliminated. Opportunity of the

additional demand created due to heavy Government purchase was so great that all the types of factories, big, medium and small, were able to take the fullest advantage. Production increased because demand increased. No doubt it was a War demand. The Government was the purchaser and the goods purchased were required mostly for destruction in the war. It has, however, been proved that if the direction of demand be changed and the demand comes from the people during peace time and due to an increase in their purchasing power, production can keep pace with the growing demand. Even when the demand is sudden and very large such increase in production through small units has the additional advantage of a large increase in employment. The co-ordination between large and small industries that came about under stress of War may also be effected during the peace time under a definite plan. If the small industries with their slender resources could supply such a huge demand, i.e., a War demand and the civil demand of the people enjoying additional purchasing power that came into circulation, there is no reason why they should not do the same under normal conditions. The Munitions Board and the Industrial Commission were critical about the products of the large industries but they have generally appreciated the quality of the products of the small factories. From the comments of the Board and the Commission it appears that although a good deal of rust had accumulated on the Indian products, culture will remove the rust and bring them out again in their old shining golden light.

The Munitions Board and the Industrial Commission's Report both admitted the potentiality of Indian small industries. The maximum employability in this sector was admitted.

The anxiety of the Government of India during the last decades of the 19th Century about the economic distress of the Indian people had made them think about plans for the elimination of such appalling poverty. Such poverty was eliminated to a very large extent under pressure of War

through a revival of cottage industries. This fact might have struck the Industrial Commission when they recognised, in their Report, the labour-absorbing capacity of the small industries and said that this was a necessity for a large and highly populated country like India. During the War years when the twofold competition, namely from imports and large factory products, was eliminated the smallest assistance brought about a rapid and widespread expansion of the small industry. That is, it was proved that the Indian small industries can stand on their own legs even when only one difficulty was removed, i.e., they got an assured market. It was also proved that they had almost indefinite capacity to produce more and to employ more men.

In 1939 on the outbreak of the Second World War it was again demonstrated that Indian industries have ample potentialities and may flourish with proper assistance. The small industries were again called upon to undertake war supplies and again they responded in a splendid manner.

Overseas orders exceeding Rs. 160 crores were placed in India during the first two years of the War. These orders covered a wide range of manufactured goods. It has been estimated that as many as 20,000 articles required by a modern army had been manufactured in this Country. The change brought in the economic structure as the Historian of the Supply Department, Government of India, has put it was as follows:<sup>11</sup>

(a) From the point of view of agricultural production, there has not been much change except a slight shift from the production of raw materials and non-good crops to the production of good crops like rice and wheat.

(b) As far as the main pre-war industries like cotton textiles, jute, coal, tea, sugar and matches are concerned, the change in production is practically negli-

gible. Some other industries like iron and steel, cement, paper, etc., have however achieved some increase in output, while there has been an appreciable increase in the number of small engineering establishments in the variety and volume of works done by them. Ordnance Factories have increased in large number, and production of munitions and army equipment has risen many times over their pre-War levels

(c) The cessation or curtailment of imports brought about a rise in the output of certain industries, viz., glass, electric bulbs and fans, canned goods, biscuits and confectionary, pharmaceuticals and drugs, surgical instruments and appliances, heavy and fine chemicals.

In this huge production the cottage and small industries played a very important part. As a consequence, the Historian of the Supply Department remarked that employment has increased substantially since the outbreak of the war.

It was not for the Second World War alone. Four other factors also encouraged this industrial advancement, viz., (1) Government gave an assurance of extending protection against unfair foreign competition to industries, created to meet War requirements, after the War; (2) Government of India started a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research; (3) it also tried to solve the shortage of technicians by launching technical training scheme and (4) the establishment of Post War Reconstruction Committees helped a smooth transition from War to peace economy.

But it should be remembered that whatever steps the Government had taken in respect of industrial development were taken with the object of expansion of production only. The question of employment was not the issue before them and hence it was totally neglected.

It is for this reason that the need and effectiveness of a dispersal of industries was not realised and our greatest problem namely unemployment and consequent idleness of a very large number of people was left unsolved. The problem however was

11. Oversea Economic Series, India, 1949.





on the basis of six paramount needs of the country, viz.,

(1) The need for evolving a system of balanced and complementary land-use, under which each type of land is allotted to that form of use under which it would produce most and deteriorate least;

(2) The need for checking:

(a) denudation in mountainous regions, on which depends the perennial water supply of the river system whose basins constitute the fertile core of the country,

(b) the erosion progressing apace along the treeless banks of the great rivers leading to ravine formation, and on vast stretches of undulating wastelands depriving the adjoining fields of their fertility,

(c) the invasion of sea-sands on coastal tracts and the shifting of sand dunes, more particularly the Rajputana desert;

(3) The need for establishing tree-lands, wherever possible, for amelioration of physical and climatic conditions promoting the general well-being of the people;

(4) The need for ensuring progressively increasing supplies of grazing, small wood for agricultural implements, and in particular of firewood to release the cattle-dung for manure to step up food production;

(5) The need for sustained supply of timber and other forest produce required for defence, communications and industry;

(6) The need for the realisation of the maximum annual revenue in perpetuity consistent with the fulfilment of the needs enumerated above.

The vital needs indicate the functions forests are to fulfil, and provide the fundamental basis of the policy governing the future.

## WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Agricultural fairs date back to the dawn of civilisation. These take place periodically in different countries to demonstrate their own harvests. But no such fair has been organised on an international scale. The World Agriculture Fair now on display in Delhi is therefore not only a novel affair, but it is also a grand spectacle of the astonishing changes that have occurred from the time man learnt to upturn the virgin soil to the present day when atomic power is in our service.

In this process of revolutionary changes, while some of the countries like the USA and the USSR are in the front line other countries like our own are very much behind them. The result is obvious. For food, shelter and almost all branches of human activities we have to include our name in all conceivable foreign-aid schemes. Not only circumstances but we ourselves are also responsible for that.

The initiative of the Bharat Krishak Samaj to organise the present World Agriculture Fair deserves congratulations. Fourteen different countries and two inter-

national organisations have taken part in the Fair. In the national sector there are the different states of India. In addition there are pavilions representing (1) Agriculture; (2) Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Science; (3) Horticulture; (4) Forestry, Soil Conservation, Forest Industries, and Wild Life; (5) Agricultural Extension, Publicity and Publications; (6) Marketing, Warehousing; (7) Plant Protection; (8) Fertilizer; (9) Agricultural Machinery; (10) Indian Herbs and Medicine; (11) Food; (12) Rural Housing; (13) Irrigation and Power; and (14) Atomic Energy.

In addition, the Rural Industries Pavilion set up by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission represents the different States of India. In this pavilion one can see the villages of India with the characteristics brought out in bold relief.

The biggest and the grandest show has been presented by the Government of the U.S.A. Its covered halls with beautiful golden domes and open spaces occupy about two and a half lakh square feet of space. It has been built at a legendary cost of 12.5

million rupees. This Mela USA or popularly known as Amriki Mela has been opened by no less a personality than President Eisenhower himself. In his message issued from the White House welcoming the Mela USA he states, "The values and goals highlighted in Mela USA—Food, Family, Friendship, and Freedom are among those shared by our two great democracies." After seeing the Mela one can come out not only with the knowledge of America's farms—yesterday and today, their land and its resources, how science and scientific instruments are wielded by the farmers, but also a complete cycle of their progress. In addition there are free joy-rides for the children which they claim to be a feature of every American County Fair.



A general view of the Fair

There are the Mela Moving Picture Theatre where a constantly changing programme of films is shown on a regular schedule. Special mention must be made of the displays demonstrating the wonders of the atomic energy. The exhibit is introduced by a three-minute colour motion picture, projected on a unique hemispherical screen, in which the spectator can see many of the agricultural benefits of atomic research. These are some of the highlights of the USA pavilion.

Side by side stands the spectacular pavilion of the USSR. Facing the pavilion on the open grounds, one can see the sky-high column displaying the model of the Lunik. In addition to the various achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of Agriculture, general information about their industry may also be obtained. Models of the celebrated Sputniks are also there. Quite interesting is their electric map of the USSR. It also speaks. Should a visitor desire, a recorded voice will tell you in English or in Hindi about the various changes that have taken place and also narrate the corrections that will have to be made when the seven-year plan is fulfilled.

year, inasmuch as gamma radiation treatment renders it immune to disease and destroys pests.

As you move round, you will come across thousands of exhibits and a mass of figures. Supplementary to these are the cinema shows bringing to the visitor the fact that in the USSR amenities in the villages are at a level with the cities. This has been possible, they claim, by free collective and co-operative work amongst all categories of people, cities co-operating with villages.

Adjacent to this is the imposing structure of the Chinese pavilion built in their own fashion and depicting the latest achievements made by them in the field of Agriculture.

Then comes the pavilion of the German Democratic Republic, displaying amongst many other things a full-size glass cow demonstrating the complete mechanism of the production of milk in the body of the animal.

Poland has brought prefabricated structure for their pavilion. Like all other foreign pavilions they also display their

charming. The working model, life-size and life-like, of a paddy husking device (Dheki) with three ladies' models in operation is bound to make an indelible impression.

Apart from so many countries and different States of India, there are other organisations, a brief mention of which has already been made in the beginning.

In spite of everything, the entire thing could have been boring had there been no attractive shopping centre and free entertainment by way of open-air dances and cinema shows of feature films and documentaries. Miniature trains and motor coaches frequently encircling the Fair make it more attractive.

The arrangements made to facilitate farmers to come and see for themselves are praiseworthy. They are aided by so many seminars and discussions. They must be initiated into the advanced techniques and methods without which they will never become self-reliant and will never be in a position to fill up the gap between the ever-increasing population and food production. This of course has to be done suiting their genius and tradition so that their acceptance may be spontaneous. On return to their respective places they should be organised and encouraged to tell all around them as to what they have seen

and how they must apply henceforward to drive away the menace of hunger for good.

Another commonplace problem which troubles many is the problem of food and vegetable preservation. The Central Food and Technological Research Institute has done it well to organise in the Science pavilion of the Fair a two-week course programme in food and vegetable preservation by way of lectures and practicals.

What has been stated above is only very a small fraction of the information that you can gather from the Fair. To put it in the words of President Eisenhower, the Fair as organised shows that "Today, we have the scientific capacity to abolish from the world scene at least this one evil, both tragic and inhuman, hunger that emaciates the bodies of the children, that scars the souls of their parents, that stirs the passion of those who toil endlessly and earn only scraps. Men, right now, possess the knowledge and the resource for a successful worldwide war against hunger—the sort of war that dignifies and exalts human beings."

If we are not spurred to action, the Fair will go down in history as a colossal waste. We should not allow history to blame us.

(Photos: By the author).



## CORBETT NATIONAL PARK

### Ideal Resort for Wild Life Study

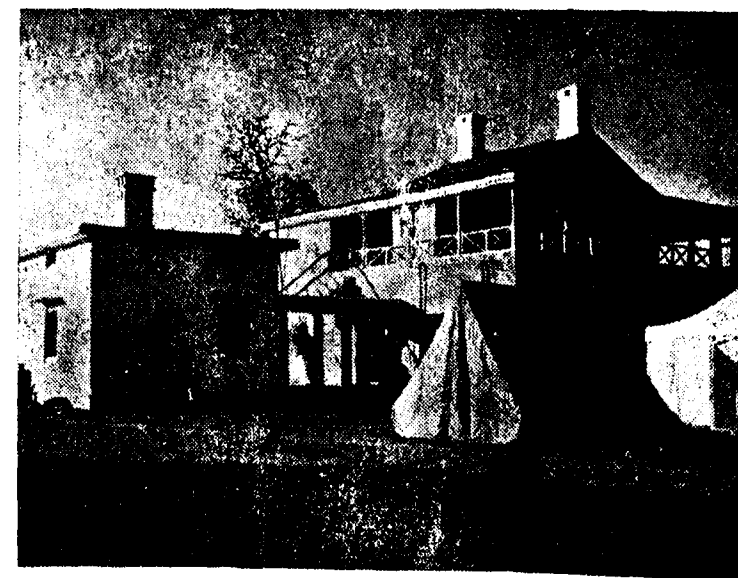
Situated in the foothills of the Hima- to see wild life in its natural, undisturbed layas, partly in Garhwal District and state.



A view of the Ramganga which surrounds the Corbett National Park on two sides

partly in Nainital District of Uttar Pradesh, One can see tiger, elephant, leopard, the Corbett National Park is only 182 sloth-bear, sambhar, spotted deer, hog miles from Delhi by road. In this wild life preserve spread over 125 sq. miles of thickly-wooded hills and grass-covered valleys almost every type of Himalayan foot-hill flora abounds.

It is ideally located. It has thickly-wooded hills of 'Sal' and 'Haldu' trees providing good cover for the wild animals. It has a number of grass-covered valleys which provide feeding grounds for the herbivora. And it has plenty of fresh water from a number of streams which join the Ramganga river. The river itself surrounds the Park on two sides. The Park is a quiet resort for visitors who wish



The Dhikala Forest Rest House in the Corbett National Park

latest advances in machinery to increase their agricultural production.

Although Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Pakistan, U.A.R., Iran, Iraq, and



The Madras Pavilion  
Gopuram—Rameswaram Temple

the Republic of Vietnam, are not specially described here, every one of them, without any exception, has shown their own achievements clearly indicating the gap that exists between them and our country in agricultural field. In fact, a move through the foreign pavilions makes an impression on the visitors about the great care they take about their cattle and poultry farming in contrast to the care we take of them in spite of the theoretical sacredness we have for cattle in general and cow in particular.

No less interesting is the States' Wing of the Fair, as all the different States of India are there with all the pomp and show befitting the occasion.

The Punjab has put up a massive stream-lined pavilion. The replica of the temple of Ramewsaram with its imposing

Gopuram erected by Madras is wonderful. The Sanchi Stupa is reproduced by the M.P. The Bihar pavilion as presented in the Buddhist style, the Vidhan Saudha of Mysore, Kashmir with its enchanting Dal Lakes, the typically built Rajasthan pavilion, the Andaman House, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala, and Andhra, all of them beckon you and remind the visitors that they are the sons and daughters of the same soil which they must nourish with the greatest possible care to get the optimum result.

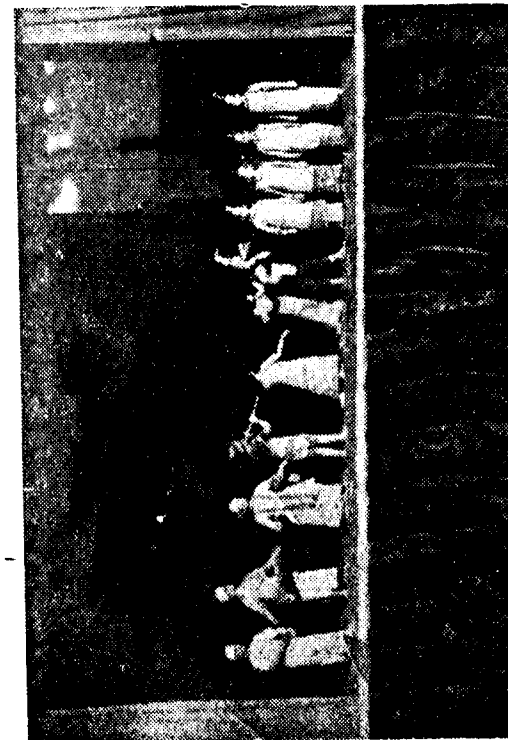
The West Bengal pavilion deserves special mention. In the introductory hall one comes across a wall-painting repre-



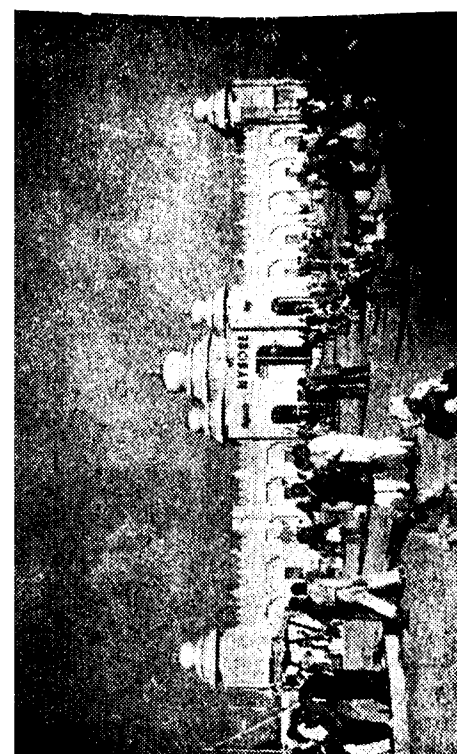
Leaders of Tomorrow—Assam Pavilion  
senting our great forefathers and the panorama of our land. The green level meadows, the flora and fauna of the land, the royal Bengal of the Sunderbans, are



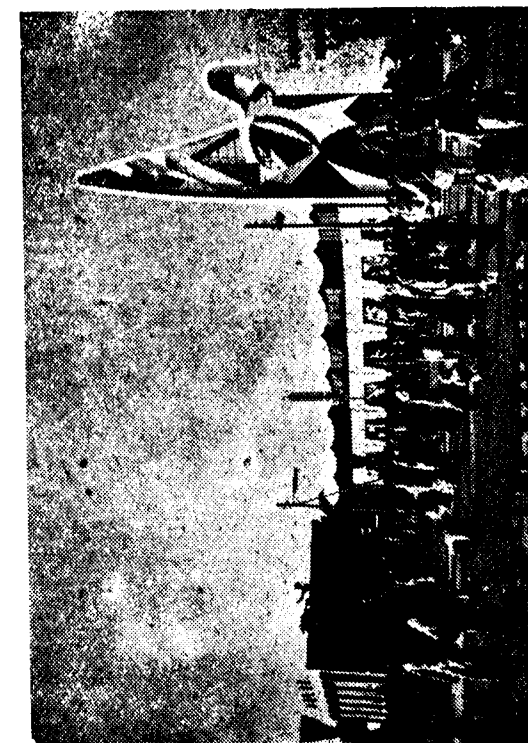
India lives in her village



Manipuris and others living in regions bordering Assam



Mysore Pavilion



Streamlined Punjab Pavilion





A scene of a tiger prowling in the high reeds and grass in the Corbett National Park

deer, wild pig, porcupine, flying squirrel and goral among animals; python and crocodile among reptiles; and among birds, jungle fowl, pheasant, black partridge, green and rock pigeon, dove, hornbill, egret, heron, kingfisher, blue-jay, mynah and parakeets. In the Ramganga mahaseer, some weighing 80 lbs., and goonch fish are in plenty. The best season is from February to the end of May. Monsoon rains cut off the Park from outside till the end of November.



An observation tower near Paterpani Forest Rest House in the Corbett National Park

There are a number of forest rest-houses in the Park area. Commanding a beautiful view of the Ramganga river and the high ranges of the Himalayas, Dhikala in the Patli Dun, a broad flat valley, has a furnished doubled-storeyed forest rest-house, a tourist hutment and students' dormitory. For visitors crockery, cutlery, cooking utensils, light and running water are available. A cook's services are available too.

Eight watch towers and machans have been set up in the Park for study and photography of wild life. Two trained elephants are stationed at Dhikala to take tourists round the Park, and an officer from the Forest Department is posted there to guide and help them.—P.I.B.

## THE GIFT OF GORDON BATTELLE

Battelle Memorial Institute

By WILLIAM A. ARTER

Because a watch manufacturer wanted a durable watch spring, a housewife of Detroit, Michigan, today leads a normal life instead of the dreary existence of an invalid afflicted with heart disease. Connecting these seemingly disparate items are 12 years of research at the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio, to produce a special alloy, and another year of research and testing to fashion a spring from it. It is such a spring which enables the defective mitral valve of Mrs. Mabel Streeter's heart to close firmly at each heartbeat, preventing blood from leaking back into her lungs.

The story is a dramatic example of how industrial research serves the cause of human welfare.

Dr. James Wible, of Wayne University Medical School in Detroit, had long pondered the possibility of repairing defective heart valves such as Mrs. Streeter's in this fashion. But he knew of no spring material which would combine all the necessary properties and give unfailing service for many years, free from rust and corrosion and compatible with body fluids.

One day, as he passed a jeweller's shop, a wristwatch display caught his eye: "The Heart That Never Breaks," a slogan said of the watch's spring. Dr. Wible went inside, and learned that the Elgin Watch Company had so much confidence in its Elgiloy spring that it guaranteed the spring for the life of the watch. Dr. Wible decided to pursue the matter further. He visited Elgin and discussed his problem with technical director Thomas Green, who co-operated eagerly, fabricating Elgiloy springs to Dr. Wible's specifications. Over 75 of them were used by Wayne University doctors in experiments with dogs, to perfect surgical techniques.

Finally, they were ready for Mrs.

Streeter. A diamond-shaped spring, sheathed in nylon, was attached to her heart. Soon the spring would be covered with new flesh by endothelium action, and would restore the mitral valve to proper functioning.

Thirteen months after the spring went into action the doctors reported the operation and its results in a medical journal. Once chronically ill and bedridden as a result of an attack of rheumatic fever, Mrs. Streeter had made a dramatic recovery. She was doing housework, shopping for her family, climbing stairs. X-rays showed



Experiments for economical factory production of palatable protein foods at the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio

that her greatly enlarged heart had returned to practically normal size. At the time the paper was prepared the tiny spring had flexed over 38 million times, and was expected to continue for a normal lifetime.

Such a miracle of prosthetic surgery was possible only because there happened to be a metal like Elgiloy. But **happened** is not quite the word. This remarkable alloy was brought into being through 12 years of diligent research and careful experimentation at the Battelle Memorial Institute. At the request of the Elgin



Company, concerned with the problem of spring breakage, a team of metallurgists, metallographers, chemists, and other technical experts tackled the problem systematically. They tested a number of materials, including stainless steel, copper-beryllium alloys, molybdenum, and tungsten, carefully noting both advantages and weaknesses. They found that some combination of cobalt, chromium, and molybdenum gave strength and corrosion resistance. Nickel, iron, and manganese were added for workability. Carbon and beryllium improved the alloy's recoil power.



The Library staff of the Battelle Memorial Institute informs the scientists of the recent experiments

Battelle scientists prepared and tested many combinations of these metals, and finally found one that met all requirements perfectly. Elgiloy began its useful career in watches; later came its use in toaster pop-up mechanisms, reed valves, drawing instruments—and, eventually, in the human heart.

Son of a dynamic industrialist who had risen from a humble clerkship to the presidency of an iron and steel works and to great wealth, Gordon Battelle became a metallurgist and started working in his father's enterprises. In 1914, he struck out on his own and began developing lead mining and smelting operations in the State of Missouri. There Battelle met an old

friend, W. George Waring, a former professor of his who was trying to "make something out of nothing"—working to recover valuable materials from mine tailings and mine water. Battelle lent a hand by building a small laboratory for Waring.

Watching with fascination the successful development of Waring's project, Battelle was deeply impressed. The commercial value of the recovery process may not have been too significant, but in the idea behind it he saw a genuine service to humanity: the use of science for the recovery of valuable material from former

waste products. While Battelle spoke and wrote little on this subjects, he started acting. He spent a year visiting laboratories throughout the United States, gathering ideas, studying ways to further applied research not only as a means of making industry more efficient and productive but as a positive contribution to people's welfare.

Gordon Battelle died suddenly at 40, following an operation, but his dream took concrete shape in the Battelle Memorial Institute "for the encouragement of creative research . . . and the making of discoveries and inventions in connection with . . .

industries." To the Institute he left the bulk of his wealth, and the endowment was more than doubled two years later when his mother willed most of her estate to the Institute.

Dr. Horace W. Gillett, former chief of the metallurgy division of the U.S. Bureau of Standards, was the Institute's first director. His passion for accuracy, incisive reasoning, and scientific integrity was balanced by natural warmth and friendliness, and from the beginning an informal, friendly atmosphere characterized the Institute. Co-operation was a key word at Battelle, then as today, and the idea of "team research," relatively new when the

Institute opened in 1929, was its cornerstone.

An example of team research shows how effective it can be, and how it can save both money and labor: Some years ago a group of oil-well drillers commissioned the Institute to find a remedy for excessive underground breakage of drilling pipe. Battelle Institute put together a team of metallurgists, metallographers, physicists, corrosion chemists, and experts in materials engineering. The team attacked the problem on several fronts simultaneously, and in 10 months had identified the many factors contributing to pipe breakage. No single cause or cure existed, but the team found a solution through a many-faceted remedy. The solution saved enormous amounts, while the cost of the research was only a fraction of what was often lost in drilling a single well.

The growth of Battelle Institute parallels that of industrial research as a whole, which accounts for over half the current production of many businesses. When Dr. Clyde Williams became director of the Institute in 1934, expenditures for its research totalled \$126,000. By 1940 the figure was \$500,000 and the growth since has been a phenomenal 4,500 per cent, making Battelle the nation's largest not-for-profit, independent research institute. Its staff has grown from 20 to over 3,000, and its plant has more than 22½ acres (9 hectares) of floor space.

Notwithstanding these staggering statistics, the Institute's projects are not all huge and costly. There are many such, of course, but also many small ones: Two years ago, there were 643 separate research studies in progress. Some minor ones requiring only standard laboratory equipment may cost \$1,000 or less, so that even small companies can and do use the enormous facilities of the Institute. The statistically "average" project currently costs less than \$30,000 per year's work. Comparing such costs with the expense of building, outfitting, and staffing a private research laboratory, one sees what a boon the Institute is to small companies, which can buy from it as much research as they need, when they

need it, without costly permanent overhead.

Very large companies, often with vast research facilities of their own, turn to the Institute for other reasons. It may be that their specialized laboratories lack the equipment for a certain project, or that a Battelle Institute scientist or team has already done promising work in a certain field. Or it may be that the company needs additional facilities and manpower for a temporary overflow volume of research. The Institute is on call for any project, large or small, serving all industry on the same basis.



Workers in the experimental foundry for testing different types of furnaces and sand molds

Serving industry, however, was only the first step in Gordon Battelle's plan. He wanted research ultimately to benefit everyone. And that often is the result of research at the Institute, as well as at the many other research organizations throughout the country. A few examples from the

Institute's current files suggest the extent of its contribution.

Factory production of palatable protein foods is a case in point. Promising results have been obtained with rapid-growth algae, but these, though nutritious, are not tasty. The Institute's pilot experiments with factory-grown morel mushrooms have produced a high-protein food with full consumer acceptance by an easy, economical, and rapid new process.



This tiny spring, made of an alloy developed for watches, can withstand 70 tons of pressure

In another field, several groups of Battelle scientists are studying different methods of food preservation. Least radical of those under development is an "electronic refrigerator" which does away with the need for a compressor. The principle being employed was discovered by the French physicist Jean Peltier more than a hundred years ago: that when current flows in a certain way across the boundary between two dissimilar metals, heat is absorbed from the surrounding medium. A new material

developed by solid-state physicists at Battelle Institute makes it possible to exploit this process and produce cold with less expenditure of electric energy than that of a standard compressor-type system. People may soon be able to have absolutely silent refrigeration at less cost.

Pure water supply, so often taken for granted, is becoming a matter of first concern in many communities, and Battelle Institute has tackled this problem by conducting several studies on ways to demineralize sea water, the one inexhaustible source. One promising method literally freezes out salts in a continuous process that may be set up on a huge scale. Another experiment employs the sun's energy in a continuously operating solar still.

Most research seeks a material to satisfy a need. Battelle Institute, on occasion, is asked to reverse the process and find new needs for an existing material. A group of copper producers, for instance, were interested in finding new, non-metallurgical uses for copper. Battelle scientists went to work, with most interesting and beneficial results. Added to the fertilizer ordinarily used in some tobacco-growing areas, copper increased yields by as much as one-third—bringing the farmer \$40 for every dollar he spent on the new copper compound. Properly used, copper could also be useful in ship-hull paints to reduce barnacle infestation, which can add as much as a hundred tons to the weight of a vessel, increasing fuel consumption and requiring unproductive dry-dock time while barnacles are being removed. Still another use of copper exploits its fungicidal properties; added to concrete mixtures, it gives protection against athlete's foot in shower rooms, bath houses, and swimming pools.

Even the briefest mention of the Institute's recent and current studies would take pages; they range from the use of nuclear energy in manufacturing to the development of improved eyeglass frames, washing machines, and a host of other consumer products; from the welding of many "unweldable" metals to producing plastic materials for dozens of uses, and to developing improved pharmaceuticals.

The Battelle Institute is well aware of its debt to science at large, and strives to be a good citizen in the community of scientists by sharing its findings and contributing to the common fund of knowledge. The monthly Battelle Technical Review carries two comprehensive staff-written articles and some 1,500 abstracts, and Battelle staff members publish hundreds of technical papers, articles and reports; they also prepare, in whole or in part, a number of technical books. In a year, the Institute's information service distributes over a hundred thousand reprints of technical papers and other literature, and gives scientific technological help to thousands of people. Gordon Battelle's dream of wedding scientific theory and research with industrial practice has indeed brought significant benefits to people everywhere.—USIS.

## JADUNATH SARKAR'S COLLECTION

### FOR NATIONAL LIBRARY

An eminent historian's treasure of books changed hands on March 19, and became the nation's property.

Built up over a period of 60 years, by the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, the invaluable collection has been donated by his heirs to the National Library.

The historian's wife, Shrimati Kadambini Sarkar, formally handed over two volumes of manuscripts from the collection, signifying the transfer, to the Librarian, Shri B. S. Kesavan, at a ceremony at her residence here.

The two manuscripts are of *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai*, a history of Shah Shuja, and *Ibrat Namah*, a history of Shah Alam II. Both are in Persian.

Students of history have always regarded Dr. Sarkar's collection as a mine of source materials for the study of the Mughal and the British periods of Indian history.

Besides their intrinsic value, many books in the collection acquire a special significance from the marginal notes made by the historian. These will be an important guide to the future generations using the books.

The collection consists of printed books, journals, pamphlets, off-prints from journals, manuscripts, photo-copies of rare manuscripts and maps totalling about 2,500. It includes some unpublished writings of Dr. Sarkar, mainly

translation into English of extremely rare documents in Persian and other languages.

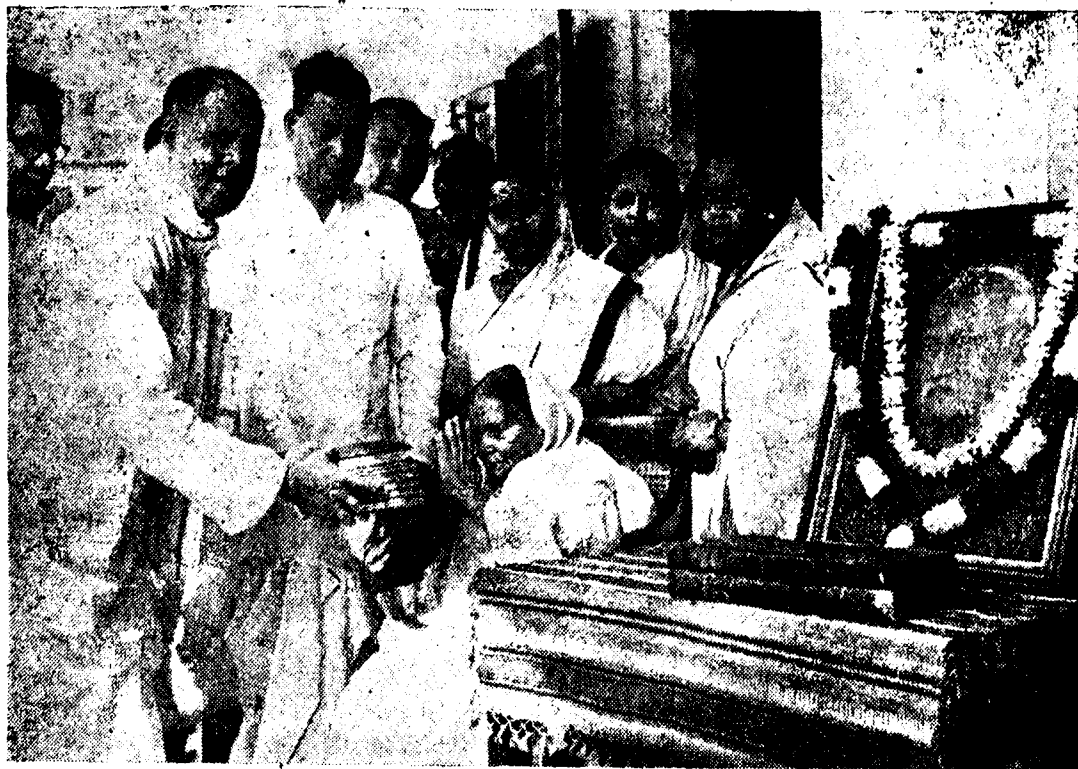
Books on the Mughal and British periods of Indian history form a major part of the collection and reflect Dr. Sarkar's special field of study. His interest in other branches of study is illustrated in the existence of a fine nucleus of books on Napoleon Bonaparte, on Burma (Kingdom of Ava) and on Sanskrit and English literature.

Dr. Sarkar became keenly interested in military strategy in his early youth and he maintained the interest till the end of his life. Some rare publications on the subject offer testimony to this interest.

Almost all the major works on Shivaji and the Marathas, Rajput kingdoms and the Revolt of 1857 are available in the collection. A large number of manuscripts, some copied from rare originals, cover the histories of the Mughals and Marathas. Most of these manuscripts are in Persian and some in Marathi and Hindi.

There are books on Portuguese and French India. The history of Portuguese India is rounded up by almost all of Panduranga Pissurlencar's publications in Portuguese.

The collection includes many typed copies of French works on India and translations of Persian works into English by Dr. Sarkar himself. Some of the translations are from originals



Shri B. S. Kesavan, the librarian, accepting the gift, two volumes of manuscripts of the late Shri Jadunath Sarkar, from Shrimati Kadambini Sarkar seated by the side of her late husband's portrait

preserved in the British Museum and the national libraries of other countries.

There are also a number of books in Bengali and Marathi. The Marathi books are indispensable for the study of Maratha history. The Bengali publications include biographies of some 19th century Bengali leaders and regional histories of Bengal.

The maps in the collection are extremely rare and are of great importance for a proper appreciation of the geographical basis of the late Mughal and early British period of Indian history.

This is what Dr. Sarkar himself wrote of his collection in January 1958, a few months before his death: "Today my collection of Persian manuscripts and Marathi printed sources is indispensable to the students of our mediaeval history as it has brought together in one place the necessary works which are scattered in many towns of India and the famous public libraries of Europe."

As soon as it is processed, the collection will be open for use by scholars. The listing of Persian manuscripts has already been taken up.—*PIB*.

## THE ART OF ADVERTISEMENT—ITS HISTORY

By ASHIM BHADRA, M.A., D.J.

Display of oneself is an instinct of animality. What, however, distinguishes a man from other animals in this respect is that he has developed it into an art to palm off his wares as well. In other words, from the urge of enhancing his own value, he sets to evaluate his goods for a commercial purpose. This profit motive has evolved into a pattern called advertisement. Advertisement, generally speaking, has come to mean attracting public notice for an enterprise. It is a form of human intercourse whereby the advertiser communicates with the people at large.

In ancient days, when barter was the rule of exchange, the mode of advertisement was rather crude. It was more or less confined to the disposal of surplus commodities.

### Signs and Street Criers

The earliest—possibly the earliest—media of publicity are signs and street criers. Before the people were acquainted with newspapers, magazines or any other media, they constituted the only modes of advertisements.

"Signs over shops and stalls seem naturally to have been the first efforts in the direction of advertisement and they go back to the remotest portions of World's History."—(History of Advertising—Henry Sampson).

These early signs were mainly made of either stone or terra-cotta and they were symbolic in character. As the people could hardly read, the message, the signs carried, had to be expressed in pictures instead of letters. The main function of these signs was to identify a merchant's place of business. Some thinkers are of opinion that the sign was "in a sense the visual expression of the name and likewise served to identify a seller of goods and services." To them it was the second step in the evolution of advertising media. They opine that "the earliest function of advertising was to identify"—and that was done by erasing the surname and putting there instead the

professional designations such as "John—the blacksmith." It was, no doubt, a very good identity and served also the purpose of publicity. But with the availability of several specialists of the same kind, the name was not adequate enough to serve the purpose of identification and hence the signs.

The Street criers supplemented the signs as the first means of advertising media. In ancient Greece and Rome they used to announce the affairs of the State and news of Commercial interest such as the news of outgoing and incoming ships, commodities for sale and the names of the merchants, who owned them or carried their trade in them.

In later period, announcement through Street criers was more popular in France than in any other country. "The criers had charters from the government and were often organised in a kind of union. Their numbers were usually restricted. In the province of Berry, France, in the year 1141 twelve criers organised a company and obtained a charter from Louis VII giving them the exclusive privilege of town crying in the province."—(The History and Development of Advertising—Frank Presbrey).

The ruler of land helped these criers enforcing the shopkeepers to employ those criers. But with the growth of printing advertisements the system was totally abolished.

### Display

The later development that we find in the realm of advertisement was the display of goods. In by-gone days the cities were walled up and merchants assembled at the gate-ways, which were, by and large, the most conspicuous places with a view to display their commodities. This system of exhibition has not been totally abolished even today, rather we find now-a-days a more refined and artistic window-display. Sometimes, instead of showing actual things for sale display of some symbol was used to catch consumers' attention easily.

### Written Advertisement

The first written advertisement can be dated to 1000 B.C.—preserved in the British Museum. It was written on a papyrus containing an announcement of an Egyptian Slave-owner for the come-back of a runaway slave.

Written advertisement was not popular before the middle of the 15th Century, naturally, as the people could not read and write. The invention of printing type paved the way for newspaper advertisement, leaflets, bulletins. These advertisements were mainly devoted to the sale of books. But advertisements for other commodities were not altogether unknown. It is interesting to note that, John Milton's essays were those of the first books, advertised in London Papers.

The following is the first printed English advertisement written by William Caxton in the year 1477 in a form of a Poster announcement.

"If anyone, cleric or layman, wants to buy some copies of two or three service books arranged according to the usage of Salisbury Cathedral, and printed in the same desirable type in which this ad: is set, let him come to the place in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, where alms are distributed, which can be recognised by a shield with a red central strip (from top to bottom) and he shall have those books cheap. Please don't tear down this notice." (Translated into modern English by Dr. Edward Pousland of Worcestor Junior College).

Here are some specimens of advertisements that reveal the peculiar characteristics of early-printing period.

"This is to certify, that my child being almost reduced to the very Grave, from the extreme Agony he underwent by violent Breeding of Teeth, was thro' God's Goodness restored to perfect Ease and Safety, upon the use of that truly Noble Medicine, prepared for those cases, by Mr. Perronet Surgeon in Doyt Street, near Blooms Bury, witness my Hand, S. Warburton Raisormaker in Grays-Inn-Passage, by Red Lyon-Square. This medicine is sold at 2s. 7d. the Vial, by the Author aforesaid Mr. Alcraft at the Blew-

Coat-Boy Against the Royal Exchange, Cornhill and by Mr. Watkins Tobacconist against the Market, in King-St. Westminster."—(From the *Spectator*, 1711).

"That excellent and by all Physicians approved China Drink, called by the Chinese, Tcha, and by nations, Tay, alias Tee is sold at the Sultaness Head, a Cophee-house in Sweeting Rent by the Royal Exchange, London." This was printed in September 1658 without display type.

By the middle of the 19th Century the art of advertisement made a great progress both in variety and volume. The main development was made in the field of the psychology of advertisement. The mode of presentation and its artistic layouts reacted on the peoples' mind in such a way that they felt for buying the commodities.

The increased power of advertisement gave impetus to the producers to augment their production and competition was obviously the result. Market expanded and the installation of long distance transport-system helped the producers.

It is quite relevant to think that the transport facilities had a tremendous influence on the growth of widely distributed publications and widely circulated newspapers, magazines helped to increase the volume of advertisement.

In modern period, another development was due to the invention of Radio. The advantage of advertising through Radio over other written advertisements is that the listener does not take the trouble to read. So the appeal is direct and almost personal.

It is quite true that the art was taking a complex shape gradually. The advertisements did not end in an announcement only. Its enlarged volume added to other complications and gave birth to some agencies, whose business it was to deal with the ever-growing complexities of advertisement. The first advertising agency was established in England in 1800 A.D. In U.S.A. it was organised by Volney B. Palmer in 1840-41.

With the advent of 20th Century, advertisement has come to be associated with the term science. Advertisement is a

part of selling and that to be successful all thought must be given to the product to be advertised, the character of the prospective buyer, their purchasing powers, their place of abode."—(Advertising: Theory and Practice—C. H. Sandage, Ph.D.). These were the criteria of perfect advertisement. "Not merely is a consideration of the former 'all-important' factors of art, copy, layout and typography, but period.

### INDIA'S NEIGHBOUR : BHUTAN

By HEM CHANDRA HALDER

So long the lofty peaks of the Himalayas guarding the northern frontiers of India used to put us in a state of perpetual peace and tranquillity. But the recent Sino-Indian dispute over territories in the heart of Himalayas has given us a jolt and an awareness that we must fix our look a bit more attentively into the happenings of the inner recess of these lofty peaks.

In the cloister of these Himalayan peaks are situated three other smaller States—Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, each having its borders with India and China. So a discussion about one of these States—Bhutan, its past and present, and our relations with that State is likely to be useful.

#### The Country

The tract of the country to which the name of Bhutan is generally applied, but which in the ancient Hindu writings is called Madra, extends from the southern declivities of the great central ridge of the Himalayan mountains to the foot of the inferior heights constituting the natural boundaries of Bengal and Assam. It is bounded on the North by Tibet, on the West by Sikkim, on the South and East by India.

Bhutan is about 220 miles long and 90 miles broad and presents a succession of the most lofty and rugged mountains on the surface of the globe. Their stupendous size normally precludes the possibility of obtaining a general view of their direction and

course. Intercepted between the high peaks are narrow beds of roaring torrents which rush with restless violence. The normal elevation varies from two to seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, while some of the ridges extend from twelve to twenty thousand feet which remain snow-capped during a greater part of the year.

The general character of extreme ruggedness is hardly at all interrupted save by some basins between the retiring flanks of the ranges. Of these, the most remarkable are found in the more central parts of the country. These valleys have been formed by the fluctuating and impetuous course of the rivers which rush through them. The valleys of Boomdungtung, Jugur and Jaccessah, Paro and Punakha are amongst the most lofty in the world; and far exceed in elevation to any in other parts of southern Himalayas.

#### Land and People

The natural beauty, productivity of the soil, the healthy and bracing climate of these hilly regions have been testified to by many who have visited the country since long past. Speaking of Dumsong, Ashley Eden who visited the country in 1864, observed:

"The view from this place was magnificent; the snows of the Choolah, Nitai, and Yaklah Passes were all quite close; on



negotiating some border disputes with Bhutan. But how far these Missions were despatched with such a simple purpose, and having nothing secret behind them, will be revealed from the following.

Most of their reports were secret and confidential, but their real motive could not be left hidden even in the open reports that some of them left. Thus Capt. Pemberton, in the opening paragraph of his report, could not keep secret the imperialist jingoism characteristic of these agents and boasted thus:

"Bhutan was as little known as the more lofty and inaccessible region beyond it, and would probably have continued so had not her rulers, in ignorance of the real character of those by whom the conquest of Bengal was effected, been guilty of aggressions upon those bordering States."

He could not therefore keep secret that what the British did in relation to Bengal would be repeated in the case of Bhutan also, the border issue remaining.

Ashley Eden was more outspoken. Though he went to negotiate some border dispute, yet what he looked more carefully, and what was behind his mind will be revealed from the following. After his arrival in Darling and seeing the country, he remarks:

"It was impossible to avoid contrasting the present state of this portion of the country with what it would be under our rule" (para 28).

How the question of 'under our rule' comes, one can easily see for himself. Here the intention has been put in only, but on reaching Paro, one of the important Provincial headquarters, and seeing the Fort there, he could not remain secret. He observes:

"It would be necessary to bear in mind, in the event of our having at any future time to attack the Fort, that shot directed anywhere lower than the verandahs would not find its way into the court, but would go through the store-rooms and be stopped by the rock" (para 33).

After reaching Poonakha, the capital, and noting meticulously the conditions there, and of the Fort, he writes:

"There is a bridge at the Fort, and a force marching on Poonakh should divide here, and marching up either bank of the river, take the Palace at Poonakh in front and rear and cut off all chance of escape." Moreover,

"The Palace of Poonakh is entirely commanded by a height on the West Bank, and it would be difficult to conceive a place so ill adopted for defence. One round of shell would set the whole place in a blaze, and the bridges being held, and a force posted to the North of the Fort, not a man could escape" (para 38).

These remarks are very significant. Perhaps anything more is not needed to reveal the real intentions of those innocent-looking Missions.

The Eden Mission ended in failure. The rulers of Bhutan had full knowledge how such earlier British Missions in the case of India led eventually to her subjugation. Eden was even kept in confinement, and he was able to escape with great difficulty.

Next year, in 1865, what was behind these Missions became manifest. Bhutan was invaded, but the British could not carry out their objective to subjugate the country. The sturdy people with the hills serving as natural fortifications defeated an English garrison with losses of men and guns, and a Treaty was subsequently signed with Bhutan.

This fact alone would not have saved the independence of Bhutan, but developments inside India and the experience of the Great Rebellion of 1857 stayed the hands of the British towards further expansion, and the independence of Bhutan was saved.

The eventual relations of the British with regard to Bhutan was guided by a Treaty signed in 1910 in which the Bhutanese Government agreed to be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to external affairs, while the subsidy to the Bhutan Government was raised.

#### Indo-Bhutan relations

After India had attained independence, she became busy in adjusting her relations with neighbouring countries on a new

basis. The three Himalayan States including Bhutan have three types of distinct relation with India depending on the degree of internal development in each country. India renewed the old Treaty that existed with Bhutan by a fresh Treaty signed on 8th August, 1949. By this Treaty:

(1) The defence of Bhutan remains India's responsibility and Bhutan agreed to be guided by India in her foreign relations.

(2) Dewangiri which formerly belonged to Bhutan was restored to her.

(3) The subsidy which Bhutan enjoyed from India was increased to Rs. 5 lakhs.

This Treaty worked well so long, and there were friendly ties of Bhutan with India.

But since 1949 a new element has been introduced in the politics of the high hills—the emergence of the People's Republic of China. Tibet has been forced to become a part of this Republic where Chinese rule has been extended.

Bhutan has a long border with China and the people on the northern side belongs to the same ethnic, religious and cultural groups as with Tibetans. The communication and business intercourse of this region are also linked up with Tibet. So long the old status-quo in Tibet was maintained, but after the departure of Dalai Lama, China has launched a programme of sweeping reforms in Tibet. Road and Air communications are being opened up on an extensive scale. Far-reaching changes in social structure and religious practices are taking place. The face of Tibet is being rapidly changed.

This is bound to have serious repercussions in Bhutan. The Ruler cannot remain a silent spectator to this changing scene in the heart of the Himalayas. The position of the State of Bhutan as a buffer

between China and India will give the Ruler a sense of a greater bargaining power in relation to India.

This position has already begun to manifest itself. So what was Rs. 5 lakhs as India's subsidy to Bhutan has suddenly jumped up during last month (after the Sino-India border dispute) to a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs. This subsidy had in the past also worked as a weak link in the chain of India's relation with Bhutan, and it has always tended to increase in Bhutan's favour as will be seen from the following table:

| Year | Subsidy increased to |
|------|----------------------|
| 1841 | Rs. 1000/-           |
| 1865 | Rs. 50,000/-         |
| 1910 | Rs. 1,00,000/-       |
| 1942 | Rs. 1,00,000/-       |
| 1949 | Rs. 5,00,000/-       |
| 1959 | Rs. 12,00,000/-      |

The increase from 5 lakhs in 1949 to 12 lakhs in 1959, a big increase, is very significant.

Not only the subsidy has thus increased, India, in order to fulfil her responsibility of the defence of Bhutan, has agreed to grant a credit of Rs. 15 crores to Bhutan for building of roads.

Roads and communications when opened up, will cut through the isolation of the Country, internally and externally with India. Development of communication will give rise to a development of consciousness of the people, and popular demands including a form of representative government will increase. So out of the dark, misty, snow-capped feudal Bhutan, a new country will emerge demanding greater attention from India for maintenance of friendly relation.



three sides of us were the different snowy ranges of Bootan, Sikkim and Nepal; we could see within a space of sixteen miles the four countries of Thibet, Sikkim, Bootan and British Sikkim. The place would make a magnificent Sanatorium" (para 27).

Dr. Griffith, who accompanied Capt. Pemberton in 1837, described the land as follows:

"In Bootan, the grand forests which have excited the admiration of all travellers in the Himalayas make their appearance. At such, oaks, magnolias, rhododendrons and several species of firs attain to great perfection. On the borders of the woods, patches of swards, adorned in the spring with beautiful herbaceous plants, are frequently met with and form the prettiest objects in the whole scenery of Bootan."

Capt. Pemberton observed as follows:

"There are probably few spots on the globe presenting more favourable conditions to longevity than the lofty mountains and bracing air of Bootan" (para 26).

The early origin of the people in this land of beauty and fascination is still obscure. Apparently the Bhoteahs have not possessed Bhutan for more than a few centuries. There are many versions of which the most dependable is that it formerly belonged to a tribe called by the Bhoteahs Tephoo; they are generally believed to have been people of Cooch Behar. About 300 years ago some Tibetan sepoys were sent from Khampa by the orders of the Lhasa Government to look upon the country, a fight ensued, the Tephoos gave way and went down to the plains with the exception of a few who remained with the Bhoteahs. The Khampa, and later on, the Wang tribes from Tibet took fancy to the country and remained there forming a little community without organisation and government. Gradually the country began to be inhabited by people from Tibet and Sikkim in the northern region, and from Bengal and Assam in the southern region.

According to present statistics the population is estimated at 7 lakhs with a mixture of 137,700 Nepalese, 9,000

Tibetans and 30,000 Lepchas. The density is 38 per square mile. The language spoken is a dialect of the Tibetan, more or less blended with words and idioms from the surrounding countries. In dress, religious ceremonies and other habits of life the people resemble closely to the Tibetans.

#### Social, Religious and State structures

The State and religious structures have undergone changes since 1907. Formerly Bhutan was under the dual control of a Dhurma Raja, the religious head and a Deb Raja, the temporal head. It would be interesting to note how in early times these two institutions originated and developed and influenced the life of the people.

#### Dhurma Raja

Since the occupation of the country by the Khampa tribes, it is said that they were visited by a travelling Lama from Lhasa named Shepton La-pha. He acquired great influence over the people of the little colony, and they eventually made him their King under the title of Dhurma Raja. He was succeeded by another Lama from Tibet, named Farchoo Doopgein Shepton. He was a very religious man and was much respected by the people. His followers who entered the country along with him were subsequently named as the Wang tribe—and the ruling caste of Bhutan has since been drawn from this tribe. When he died he said that if his body was preserved, he would re-appear again in Bhutan. Three years after his death, his incarnation is said to have re-appeared at Lhasa in the person of a little child, who announced himself as the Dhurma Raja of Bhutan. He was brought to Bhutan, and when the late Raja's cooking utensils and other articles were put before him, he identified them, thus establishing his identity as the promised re-incarnation. Hence originated the system of the Dhurma re-appearing by successive transmigration from one corporeal frame to another. During the interval between the death of a Dhurma Raja and his re-appearance, or until he arrived at the age of maturity after his last birth, the office

was held by a spiritual chief named Lama Thepoo.

The Dhurma Raja was regarded as the supreme head of the Monasteries and exercised control over other Lamas scattered all over the country. His administration was carried on with the help of a Council composed of twelve principal Gylongs or priests who habitually lived in the Palace and who controlled the religious pursuits of the people. The Gylongs were numerous. They were regarded as a privileged class. In the Castles of Poonakh and Tassisudon alone their numbers were estimated as several thousands. They formed a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the country; the most lofty and favoured sites were studded with their monasteries and houses. They used to lead a life of idleness and were fed on the toil of others and general revenues of the State.

#### Deb Raja

The institution of the Deb Raja developed after the Dhurma Raja. When it was found that administration of religious and temporal powers in one hand was difficult, the Dhurma Raja appointed a Dewan which ultimately led to the system of Deb Raja.

The secular administration of the country was vested in the Deb Raja. He was assisted by a Council, called the Lenchen, composed of the following:

- (1) Lam Zimpen (Chief Secy. to Dhurma Raja), (2) Donnai Zimpen (the Dewan), (3) Timpoo Jungpen (Governor of Tassishujung), (4) Poonakh Jungpen (Governor of Poonakh), (5) Angdu Forung Jungpen (Governor of Angdu Forung), (6) Deb Zimpen (Chief Secretary to Deb Raja), (7) Joom Kalling (Chief Judge).

Besides these, the Penlows or Governors of the three Provinces into which Bhutan was divided, viz., the Paro Penlow, the Tongso Penlow and the Daka Penlow, when at headquarters, used to attend the meeting of the Council. These Penlows and their subordinates, the Jungpens, or the district administrators used to exercise supreme powers in their jurisdiction. These Jungpens were appointed by the Penlows.

As a natural consequence, every change of Penlow was immediately followed by a change in the person of the Jungpen. But as everyone of these Jungpens were not prepared so easily to part with power, there was a constant fight for power among these persons. So also among the Penlows for supremacy at the Durbar and the Deb Raja was virtually a puppet in their hands.

#### Present position

This system of Dhurma and Deb Raja has undergone revision in the present days.

In 1885, the Tongso Penlow, Ugyen Wang-chuk overcame his rivals in a civil war and became predominant. The Dhurma Raja died, and no re-incarnation was found to replace him and the Deb Raja continued to administer the spiritual needs also of the people.

In 1907, Ugyen Wang-chuk was elected hereditary Maharaja of Bhutan by the Lamas, Councillors and the people. His grandson is the present Maharaja—Jigme Dorji Wang-chuk. He was installed in October, 1952. He is a young man in early thirties, well-versed in Hindi and English besides Tibetan literature over which he has great mastery.

#### British Missions and British relations

This brings us to a brief consideration of the long relation which the British, holding sovereign power in India, exercised with the neighbourly State of Bhutan.

As can be anticipated, Imperialism does not rest content with occupying a particular country, however coveted the prize may be. British relation with Bhutan was characterised by the same policy; but what was achieved in India could not, by historical conditions, be achieved in full in the case of Bhutan.

In order to fulfil British designs in relation to Bhutan, several Missions were despatched to that country. Thus Bogle Mission to Tibet (1774) and Capt. Turner's Mission to Tibet (1783) passed through Bhutan. The other Missions, viz., Kishen Kanta Bose's (1815), Capt. Pemberton's (1837) and Ashley Eden's (1864) were despatched with the obvious intention of

By DR. SUDHIR NANDI

It was a chilly winter night. We reached Cuttack while it was still dark and dazed. There were volunteers to receive us at the station. My old friend Prof. Roy was there to greet us from amongst a host of unknown faces. They were all kind and hospitable. We drove to the famed parties of the Ravenshaw College in a luxury car and we were taken immediately upstairs to our allotted room. The delegates' camp was housed in the college hostel. The hostel and the college in all its departments were housed in a very large red-brick building ramifying over a large area. We were all struck by the extension of this majestic building. Of course, Sri Mihir Sen, the channel swimmer, when he came to Krishnanagar a few months back gave me an idea of the bigness of the Ravenshaw College building and claimed that his Alma Mater was unique in this regard. On visiting 'Yarrow' I had no occasion to ask 'Is this Yarrow?' I was happy to find that Sri Sen was cent per cent correct in his estimate. Our room was situated on the eastern flank of this massive building. Myself, my wife and Dhriti, my tiny daughter, all agreed that the room was awfully nice. My wife started on her domestic business as soon as we were left alone and soon I found myself completely in an atmosphere of ease and comfort. The deputy superintendent of the Hostel, Mr. Patnaik repeatedly called on us to know whether he could be of any service to us. We received with thanks all the service that he and his staff offered us.

Life for us started there on the morning of 26th December, 1959. We were a bit early for the philosophical congress as we were scheduled to attend a conference on parapsychology and religion, organised by Seth Sohan Lal Memorial Institute of Parapsychology of Rajasthan. Dr. A. C. Das, president-elect of this conference on parapsychology and religion was already there and the conference opened with a welcome address from Dr. P. Parija, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University. Dr. A. C. Das read out his learned address and it was appreciated by

all present. Dr. Das is too well-known to need any introduction. His recent publication **A Modern Incarnation of God** has been well received here and abroad. The morning session broke up with a vote of thanks. The afternoon session was devoted to symposium papers and discussion. The evening session saw the summing up of the day's proceedings and the future programme was discussed at length. The energetic Secretary of the Sohan Lal Institute, Mr. H. N. Banerjee, was all attention to every one of us and we liked his dynamic personality very much. Parapsychology in India is in very deft hands and we could well see its big future.

Twenty-seventh of December was a sabbath day for us. With a hectic day of meetings and tiresome discussions at the rear and with four days pregnant with the germs of discussions, meetings and exchange of ideas ahead of us, we liked this day of rest. We had outings and enjoyed the time mostly in sight-seeing and doing a little shopping here and there. Orissa is famous for her art and craft. She had a hoary past in art and architecture and her present does resemble her past in matters of excellent executions on cotton, silver and leather. The centres of filigree work took away much of our time. It was a pleasure to witness the traditional skill at work. We must say in all fairness that a more active publicity machinery would have secured a wider market for these delicate wares of which Orissa has been justly proud for centuries. From the market place we moved to Barabati Stadium. It was a mammoth structure symbolising the zeal and energy of young Orissa. Within a stone's throw from the Stadium you have the ancient ruins of Barabati Fort and the Palace. The hoary past and the resurgent present embrace each other on the horse's saddle back span of space. The Mahanadi offered us splendid sights. On the shadowy river-banks the sun kissed the earth a parting kiss and the coy maiden, as the earth is, had a blush which spread over the entire sky and permeated the whole atmosphere. As we stood on the brittle banks

of the mighty river we were all red. The last rays, a deep crimson in a blazing trail, said us "good-bye." My wife chanted a few lines from Tagore:

"O thou unnamed,  
Please tell us  
Where is thy abode?  
Is it where  
The pyre of the day is lit  
On the shores of restful night?"\*

Next day was the 28th December. After breakfast we moved up to the pandal where the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Parija welcomed us to the thirty-fourth session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. Sri Y. N. Sukhtankar, Governor of Orissa, read out his inaugural address. The Governor bore a dignity equal to the high office he holds. He was a charming personality and we had a taste of his simple manners on two subsequent occasions. The At Home at Raj Bhavan and the Vice-Chancellor's tea party in the college botanical gardens gave us good opportunities to see a lot of this gentleman who has been enthroned in the gubernatorial office of Orissa. 'This erudite Sanskrit scholar,' as Dr. Parija described him, left an indelible impression on everybody present. We thoroughly liked this august personage. The opening session was marked by the learned presidential address from a distinguished philosopher of to-day. He is Dr. N. V. Banerjee of the Delhi University. 'The Fragments of Philosophical Investigation,' his presidential address, made a tremendous impact on the delegates both Indian and foreign. Prof. N. A. Nikam, the General Secretary of the Congress, in one of his addresses rightly characterised Prof. Banerjee's address as a 'monument of scholarship and philosophical analysis.' That is also the impression we carried home and that is something abiding.

The sectional meetings and symposia spread over all the four days. Forty papers on different aspects of Indian and Western philosophy were selected for being read at the sectional meetings. Eleven of these selected papers were from Bengal. The rest came from the rest of India. Of all the

\* Translation by Sm. Leena Nandi.

symposia held the one on G. E. Moore proved to be the most interesting. The veteran Prof. G. C. Chatterjee, lately Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, read out a paper of abiding interest. It bore colourful touches of a personal nature. His paper 'G. E. Moore as I knew him' certainly was a departure from the drab monotony of abstract philosophical discussion. Prof. Nikam's address on Moore, because of its personal flavour was also very interesting. Prof. K. K. Banerjee's paper was appreciated for his academic sincerity. Two public lectures were organised—one by Prof. Clarence Shuta and the other by Prof. Humayun Kabir. Prof. Shuta is not much known to the public of our country though the academic circle knew him quite well. What I could gather was that his absolutely foreign accent did not help a wider appreciation of his thought-provoking address. However the delegates liked this lanky venerable professor with a wide cultural background. Prof. Kabir was absolutely at ease and he drew repeated applause from the vast audience. He dwelt at length on the problems of education and unemployment and educated unemployment. Examples from the history of education of Russia and America were copiously cited to show the soundness of our present education policy. It was a neat speech with sparks and flares here and there. He was greatly appreciated on all hands. The interesting 'Round Table' on traditional values in Indian and American life gave rise to a lively discussion. We took it easy and the discussion rose to a pitch not quite agreeable to the conventional standards of philosophical discussion. Here again Prof. Kabir intervened to wind up the debate and discussion and he did it squarely. The assembly dispersed at the prospect of a sumptuous dinner.

This year, the sectional presidents were Prof. V. V. Akolkar for the Psychology section, Dr. A. G. Javadekar for the Logic and Metaphysics section, Prof. G. Misra for the History of Philosophy section and Mr. A. S. Ayyub for the Ethics and Social Philosophy section. All these sectional presidents are noted scholars in their fields of study. They discussed the different problems of value

and existence, both individual and social in their addresses. The huge mass of delegates who came from all over India and even from beyond the seas listened to these addresses with unfailing attention and interest. Mr. Ayub was in failing health. At times he had to call for assistance while reading out his address. Occasionally Prof. Swamidasan came to his help. Prof. Akolkar's paper on Psychology upheld the reputation he enjoys in the academic circle. His printed address was so much in demand that we could not secure a copy as we were a bit late in coming in. Prof. Misra is a stout scholar who has given rise to much of expectation in the knowledgeable circles. The world of philosophy has pinned much faith in him and we are sure, in course of time, he would live up to the expectation of all concerned. My paper was placed in Prof. Misra's section. He did his job quite satisfactorily. We must remember that the task of a sectional president was really tough as he had to manage the reading of and discussion on quite a number of papers within a time limit of, say, five hours altogether. So many people were eager to discuss the issues involved and the president had to gently quell their zeal for participation in the deliberations. It was not an easy task to perform. The sectional presidents did their job splendidly well. The sectional meetings ran smoothly. Apart from these usual sectional meetings, a special meeting was organised to discuss 'Philosophical Developments in Orissa.' This session was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of the State, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab and presided over by the noted Orissa scholar Pandit Nilakantha Das. The president dwelt at length on the development of religious and philosophical thoughts in Orissa. In a fifteen-page address he not only traced the growth and development of philosophical and religious thought in Orissa but also offered a well-documented comparative study. This year Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan delivered the Pratap Seth Annual Lecture while Prof. T. R. V. Murti delivered the Buddha Jayanti Lecture. These lectures are usual features of the Congress. Two endowments make provision for these two lectureships. We were happy

to know that Professor Kalidas Bhattacharya of the Visva-Bharati University has been elected to a lectureship and he is expected to deliver his lectures at the next session at Waltair.

Thanks to the local Secretaries. Man does not live by mere abstract discussions and deliberations. The local Secretaries knew this to be an axiom. That is why they arranged for the programmes of dance and music. Folk songs and folk dances displayed a very high standard. At places influence of classical music and dance was discernible. Of course, it is only natural that folk songs and folk dances will be inspired and sustained by the classical. We thoroughly enjoyed them. The organisers, wise as they were, made lavish arrangements not only for the head and the heart but also for the stomach. Right royal menu overwhelmed and in many cases upset the stomachs, accustomed to middle-class food. The Chief Minister Dr. Mahtab's dinner would long linger in our memory not so much for the richness of the food served (as we got accustomed to rich food in the mean time) as for the awful simplicity of our distinguished host. He spent hours together with a host of poor philosophers who had nothing to offer to this illustrious leader but a mouthful of dry dissertation concerning the various problems of life and existence. He moved freely amongst his guests and made them feel that he was really interested in them. His warm-heartedness drew many eminent scholars round this astute politician who held gubernatorial office and the office of a Central Cabinet Minister not long ago. He won us all by his unassuming manners and unostentatious behaviour. Modesty was writ large on his whole bearing. We felt that this modest servant of the people was destined to make history.

We saw the last sunset of the year 1959. The red ball took a dip in the sanctum of the Mahanadi. The old year rolled out. Next morning it was the new year. The old was rung out and the new was rung in. There was breakfast served, a good breakfast to start with a full new year lying bright before us. We packed up and got

ready for the trip to Konarak. The luxury buses were ready. We boarded them and they steamed off. The dark pitch coat of the streets looked bright with the morning glow. The new year sun kissed the fringe of the coat and the dusty frills quivered at the morning breeze. We moved up. Our destination was Konarak, the Sun Temple.

## THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

By Dr. VIJAY SEN, M.A., Ph.D (U.S.A.)

In fourteen years of negotiations both in and outside the United Nations on the subject of disarmament, the United States and the USSR have just agreed that ban on nuclear testing and reduction of armaments are necessary and "highly desirable." In spite of world-wide pressure against the introduction of further radioactivity into the atmosphere, the three nuclear powers—Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union—have fallen short of full agreement on the suspension of nuclear testing, though the three-power conference on this subject is in continuous session in Geneva since October 31, 1958. Thus discouraged and facing deadlock after deadlock at disarmament conferences, the world wonders whether anything effective can still be done to escape the vicious circle of the arms race.

As a matter of fact the problem of disarmament has a long history. The Treaty of Versailles stipulated a "general limitation of the armaments of all nations." To translate this part of the Treaty into action, several attempts were made at various levels during the inter-war period in and outside the League of Nations, but the powers concerned failed to end the race for armaments. As far as these efforts towards disarmament are concerned, Salvador de Madariaga dramatically summed up the proceedings of various disarmament conferences in this way:

"The animals had met to disarm. The lion looking sideways at the bull

1. Part V of the Treaty of Versailles and Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

declared: 'Horns must be abolished.' The eagle, looking at the tiger, said: 'Paws and especially claws must be abolished'. The bear, in his turn, said: 'All arms must be abolished; all that is necessary is a universal embrace'."

We had the same situation after the Second World War. As the War ended the United States and Soviet Russia became rivals instead of partners in the successful working of the U.N. system. Their continued suspicion of one another has resulted in their efforts to put each other at a disadvantage in the race for armaments as was the case with the powers during the inter-war period; for the disarmament talks conducted under the auspices of the United Nations do not differ in the least from previous efforts in this respect. To illustrate this point, let us study here the efforts made towards banning the use of atomic weapons and their testing since the end of World War II.

Early in 1946 the United Nations Assembly resolved to establish a U.N. Commission on Atomic Energy. The United States government, the only power in possession of atomic weapons at that time, in its report on the international control of atomic energy proposed the establishment of a U.N. Atomic Development Authority under the direction of the Security Council. All major states were to be members of this Authority which was to take decisions by a majority vote. The Authority was to (1) own and operate all uranium and thorium mines, (2) conduct atomic research and (3) control inspection, licensing and leasing of atomic plants throughout the world. In short, the main



task of the Authority was to make impossible the production of atomic bombs and to make available atomic power and its by-products for peaceful uses.

Though the United States government came forward with this plan to internationalize the production facilities and mineral deposits of atomic energy (both of its allies and potential enemies), it was not prepared to give an assurance that it would stop manufacturing atomic bombs or destroy its stockpile of atomic weapons. The United States announced that it would agree to placing itself under the U.N. Atomic Development Authority not until the mechanism of the proposed plan had been exposed to view in all its aspects for a period of time and found perfect.

The Soviet Union rejected the American plan to control atomic power in the world minus the United States. In its counter-proposal, the Soviet government proposed that all states should renounce the use of atomic weapons and should destroy all stockpiles within three months. At the same time the Soviet government vehemently opposed the internationalization of production facilities and mineral deposits of atomic energy or the inspection of mining deposits by an international body.

This stalemate, recorded in June 1946 in the first session of the Atomic Energy Commission, still continues, though the Commission and its sub-committee have met several times since then and though negotiations on the suspension of nuclear-bomb tests have taken place many times at various levels.

To further illustrate the earlier statement, let us consider the reaction of the United States statesmen when it became clear that the Soviet Union had stolen a march over the United States in the production of destructive weapons. In 1957 the USSR announced the perfection of the inter-continental ballistic missile. This meant that Soviet Russia could deliver atomic warheads anywhere in the world from the Soviet land by using outer space. At that time the West was sceptical of Russian claim. When a few weeks later, on October 4, 1957, the Soviet scientists

successfully launched the first earth satellite, it became obvious that the USSR was in possession of inter-continental ballistic missiles and that the United States was much behind the Soviet Union in the race for the exploration and conquest of outer space. While congratulating the Soviet scientists on their achievements in nuclear physics, President Eisenhower proposed that all powers should agree to use outer space for peaceful purposes only. It is obvious that this proposal of the President was in no way different from the Soviet proposal in 1946, when the United States had the sole monopoly of atomic weapons, calling for renunciation of the use and destruction of atomic weapons.

Some observers point out that the very fact that the powers in possession of nuclear weapons know that nuclear war means mutual destruction provides a framework of insurance for peace in the world, or because of this nuclear weapons will not be used in any future war. In other words, to use Churchill's expression, the balance of terror is as much instrumental in maintaining peace as the balance of power was in the nineteenth century. Even so, considering the deadly weapons in possession of nuclear powers, the speed with which they are being improved and manufactured, and the strained relations of the United States and the USSR, it is essential that this stalemate should be resolved immediately. The problem is not only that of an agreement between the nuclear powers on the banning of nuclear weapons and their further testing, but that of mutual understanding and resolving the present tension that exists between the two blocs. For, as has been pointed out by Bertrand Russell,<sup>2</sup> even if the powers agree to renounce nuclear weapons, they, in the event of a serious war, would not consider themselves bound by former agreements. Thus there is no safety to be found even in banning nuclear weapons; we cannot unlearn our techniques, and a bomb once invented can be manufactured again as soon as a war

2. In his recent book: "Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare;" London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959.

breaks out. After all man has been progressing in the production of more and more destructive weapons in war as well as in peace. It may be recalled that the first atomic bomb was manufactured in the course of the last World War. Thus until the relations between East and West become less strained than they are at present, the problem of saving mankind from nuclear extinction will remain.

While present policies continue, there will not only be a constant increase in propaganda of hate and terror among the big powers against one another but with every year that passes, technical advances will make war, when it breaks out, more and more disastrous. Moreover, present preparedness makes it possible for some wholly accidental misfortune. A meteor exploding a hydrogen bomb can be mistaken for enemy action. A mechanical defect in radar or a sudden nervous breakdown of some important officer entrusted with the control of nuclear weapons can be other possibilities of an accidental action. Or order from higher authorities can be misunderstood. There have been such examples in recent history. For instance, several thousand Polish army officials are said to have been shot dead during the Second World War due to the misunderstanding of a telephoned order from the Kremlin to a Soviet army official to "liquidate" the camp of Polish war prisoners at Katyn, Poland. Instead of liquidating, that is, dissolving the camp, the officer who received the order "liquidated" its inmates.<sup>3</sup> Finally, when more countries have nuclear weapons, a country with an irresponsible, chauvinistic government can launch a nuclear attack which may lead to World War before it is discovered that none of the major powers was responsible for the action.

Under these circumstances one might say that the states should renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. But is it possible to practise non-violence in world politics? Mahatma Gandhi, while suggest-

ing this method, once remarked: "If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself . . . . In a society based on non-violence the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be wholly obliterated." However, the Mahatma himself thought that it would be a miracle if the great powers accepted his ideas. Though he added that the miracles had happened before and might occur again, with due deference to the Mahatma, a student of international relations cannot look for miracles to take place while the powers are engaged to destroy one another. He has to see whether any plan meets the empirical test which has to be applied: Will the nation states agree to such a proposal?

The question arises: Why do they not agree to disarm themselves? It may be helpful here to study briefly some of the important issues that have come up before disarmament conferences in the past. During the inter-war period and also ever since the end of the Second World War the subject of disarmament has been closely linked with security. The states spend huge amounts on armaments in the interest of their security and defence. Whenever the question of disarmament came up before the League of Nations, some of the powers—specially, France and Poland—declared that adequate arrangements for the security of the members should be made first. The question of security is equally important today.

The second problem before the League of Nations in respect of disarmament was that of international supervision. The French delegates viewed with distrust any proposal for disarmament without any provision for effective international supervision. Britain held that the community of nations could rely on the good faith of its members; Italy and the United States refused to accept any kind of international supervision. We have the same problem today. At the last summit conference held in 1955, President Eisenhower proposed that the powers should agree to international aerial supervision; the Soviet government has resisted all attempts to establish an

3. Samuel L. Sharp: "Poland—White Eagle on a Red Field," Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 293.

effective, foolproof and "free" system of inspection the West considers essential to assure adherence to disarmament agreements until now.

The bogey of national interests has also been raised quite often. The major signatories to the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), while renouncing war, declared that it (the Pact) did not rule out war in self-defence or any war to safeguard their "special and vital interests." Even today nations advocate the use of force to defend their vital interests. What are these rights and interests? They still remain ill-defined. They range from the defence of national territory to the satisfaction of chauvinistic claims for territorial adjustments at the cost of other sovereign states or the protection of life lines of big empires.

It follows from this that if the states are to disarm themselves, the problem of security should be solved, a machinery for international supervision of armies and weapons should be set up and there should be a system for securing definition, adjustment and protection of national rights and interests without resort to force. Differences do arise among nations as they arise among human beings. There should be a machinery to solve these differences peacefully.

This suggests that the deficiencies of international government are the chief cause of huge armaments. Various international organizations have made several inroads on the sovereignty of states. Every attempt should be made to accelerate this process of erosion of the current concept of sovereignty in order to strengthen the world or-

ganization which may define and protect national rights and interests, and also solve the problem of security and international supervision. This will also help in easing the tension that exists between the two blocs. Only then we can have a state of mind in the nations conducive to disarmament.

In any approach towards the strengthening of the world organization the opposition between Communism and Capitalism appear to be the most evident obstacle at the present time. However, the two sides seem to have realized the danger of "nuclear brinkmanship" and its economic, political and military consequences. Commenting on Chairman Khrushchev's visit to the United States, the "New York Times" (Weekly Review) stated:

Both sides feel the economic weight of the arms race and would like to devote to more constructive ends the resources now going into armaments.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, both capitalism and communism have been undergoing changes ever since they began to be seriously advocated. They have been interpreted and re-interpreted to meet the changing needs and situations. In this process they have taken certain ideas from one another. These two systems have existed side by side for quite some time and can continue to co-exist in the future as well. Man is not only capable of fear, hate and terror, but also of hope and benevolence. In this spirit we should do our utmost to strengthen the world organization.

4. September 27, 1959.



## LENIN IN LITERATURE

By SERGEI ASENIN

The books, folk legends and songs inspired by V. I. Lenin, great revolutionary genius and thinker, the founder of the world's first socialist state, run into many volumes. Years in no way diminish the greatness of this modest and wise man, and time is powerless to divert the thoughts and feelings of peoples from him. Quite the contrary, with the years, and in historical perspective, his image, near and dear to the heart of the ordinary man, grows in its significance and beauty, the titanic feat of his life, completely dedicated to the freedom, happiness and bright future of humanity, looms greater than ever before in the eyes of the whole world.

Lenin's work, his far-seeing, ever active mind, the amazing personality of this greatest political leader and kind man of warm heart and unusual charm, naturally were and still are a source of inspiration to writers of various lands and peoples. To create an artistic portrait of Lenin, the leader and the man, to show his versatile and rich personality, is a tremendous and noble task confronting, in all its magnitude, the writers of our time. All the more valuable and precious are the inspired pages devoted to Lenin by many talented prose writers and poets. The first to be mentioned among them is Maxim Gorky, stormy petrel of the revolution, ardent singer of the working class, who in his reminiscences depicted the living features of Lenin's genius, and in graphic and forceful descriptions succeeded in conveying Lenin's inimitable language, manner of speaking, facial expression and gestures.

As is known, the writer was a close friend of Lenin and often had long conversations with him. Their copious correspondence, a new edition of which has recently come out in a separate volume, speaks of their deep spiritual affinity, of the great philosophical and purely human influence which Lenin exercised on Gorky.

In his article, to which the writer devoted much of his time and which has become a remarkable literary document of the epoch, Gorky, with great artistic mastery, tells of his many encounters with Lenin, and of the exceptionally strong impression Lenin produced on him in

1907 at the Party Congress in London. Unlike other political leaders, Gorky tells us, Lenin "did not try to invent beautiful phrases, but made every word stand out as clearly as can be, bringing home its precise meaning with amazing facility."

"It was the first time," says the writer, "that I heard one speak so simply of the most complicated political questions." Simplicity, modesty, naturalness, integrity and at the same time the amazing completeness, force and conviction of thought, were first and foremost noted by Gorky as the salient characteristics of Lenin.

In Gorky's reminiscences Lenin is not only a far-seeing leader and politician, and an orator captivating human minds. He is a man with a big and pure heart, extremely sociable and witty. A highly-infectious gaiety and a lively, untiring interest in all that surrounds him, particularly people, are typical of him. Amazing versatility and great humaneness make up the charming and forceful image of Vladimir Lenin as depicted by Gorky.

In his article written with great ardour, the writer describes with particular affection the episodes testifying to Lenin's broad literary knowledge and interests, the poignancy and aptness of his appraisals, Lenin's ability deeply to analyse art and his subtle feeling for music.

Gorky also speaks with admiration of such a characteristic trait of Lenin, as pride in his people, its creative talent, and the great spiritual values it has contributed to the treasure-store of humanity.

The force and impact of Gorky's portrayal is in the writer's being able to show how Lenin's tireless and purposeful thought, taking impetus from what seem to be insignificant trifles of every-day life, arrives at great generalizations, reveals life's phenomena in all the complexity of their contradictions, in development and perspective.

"Lenin is more of a man than any of my contemporaries," said Gorky in 1920. "..... I am certain," he continued, "that in rare moments of rest his militant thought carries him away to the beautiful future much farther and sees more than I can imagine. The principal aim of all of

Lenin's life is the common good of all humanity. . . ."

Soviet literature emerged and took shape as an art asserting the principles of the new world, and the new social relations; it set before the world the ideal of the citizen fighter, the builder of communism, a person of great convictions and crystal-pure heart. It was natural that the initiators of the literature of socialist realism—Maxim Gorky and Vladimir Mayakovsky—should see in Lenin the most harmonious and striking expression of the ideal man whom they so craved to embody in literature.

Many poems written by Mayakovsky in the early years of the revolution were what might be termed the "approaches" to the Lenin theme, a source of constant inspiration to the poet, revealed with such force and mastery in his most significant work—the poem "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin."

The poet has created a deeply emotional and elating work, in which epic grandeur is combined with lyrical fervour, and we see Lenin's image as inseparably associated with the history of mankind, in deep affinity with the destinies of the people and its future. In this titanic image the features of Lenin the leader and Lenin the man are indivisibly blended. And although Mayakovsky wrote this poem soon after Lenin's death, at a time when the entire nation was stricken by grief, it is pervaded with a bright feeling of optimism and faith in the triumph of Lenin's cause and the immortality of Lenin's ideas!

Among the most interesting and significant works of Soviet literature, in which Lenin's personality is embodied, it is impossible not to mention Nikolai Pogodin's dramatic trilogy. The dramatist had worked on it for more than twenty years, making a thorough study of Lenin's life and works, of the numerous reminiscences of his contemporaries, of Lenin's characteristic traits as a polemicist and public speaker.

The first play of this trilogy "The Man with the Gun" was completed in 1937. During the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution the first performance of the role of Lenin was given on the stage of the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow by the outstanding Soviet actor Boris Shchukin.

The scene of Lenin's meeting in the corridor in Smolny with the soldier Ivan Shadrin, "the

man with the gun," who had come to the revolution right from the trenches of World War I, has become one of the most vivid episodes in the history of Soviet drama. The key scene and the tensest moment of the play, it is invested with great content. In a casual conversation that is struck up in this scene, such issues of vital interest to the broad masses as peace and land are discussed. Shadrin does not at all suspect that the friendly man he speaks to and who knows so well the life of the ordinary people is Lenin. He finds this out later, but the heart-to-heart talk he has with Lenin reveals to him the true significance of the revolution, and the wisdom of the leader steering the course of events.

"The Kremlin Chimes," the second play of the trilogy, was completed by Pogodin in 1941. In a series of striking, historically true episodes the dramatist tells the story of how Lenin's plan for the electrification of Russia came into being, how under the influence of Lenin and thanks to the tremendous constructive effort of the Communist Party he headed, the best representatives of the old Russian intelligentsia began to serve the people, giving all of their brain power to the people, and themselves deriving meaning and an aim in life.

Lenin's idea that it is necessary to dream, to live and work for the sake of the happy future of the people, and by one's efforts to bring closer that future, is the keynote of the play. Its finale is symbolic: the Kremlin chimes, which on Lenin's instructions had been repaired by an old watchmaker, resonantly and confidently strike the hour, telling us, as it were, that the time is drawing nearer when Lenin's bold dreams will be a reality.

"The Kremlin Chimes" has now been showing for many years in the Moscow Art Theatre. And the same theatre has staged the last play of the trilogy, "The Third Pathétique." In it Lenin is portrayed at the close of his life. Pogodin calls his play "a tragic presentation," and it has much that calls to mind Mayakovsky's poem about Lenin. In it the optimistic, life-affirming theme of the immortality of Lenin's truth, Lenin's faith in the creative genius of the people, in the Communist future to which Lenin had dedicated his life is reverberated with great force.

Lenin's personality, and his work of the

great strategist of the revolution, politician and philosopher, and the true leader of the people, have also captivated the imagination of many talented writers of other lands.

Particularly worthy of mention among these is the American writer John Reed and his wonderful book about the Great October Revolution—"Ten Days That Shook the World." This is the only work of fiction to which Lenin himself wrote a preface. Appraising John Reed's book very highly, Lenin underlined that "it gives a truthful and an unusually lively written account of events, so important for the understanding of what is a proletarian revolution, what is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The revolutionary people are the principal hero of this work in which documentary, publicist and fiction writing are closely interwoven. John Reed's fiery pen recreated the greatest historic events and has shown Lenin in the centre of them. In 1919-1920 John Reed met Lenin, and had long talks with him which gave him greater and deeper insight into Lenin's wisdom, far-sightedness and humanism.

In his book John Reed showed Lenin's unity and deep spiritual affinity with the people, told of the inflexible will of the leader of revolutionary struggle, who in the most trying times "stood indomitable as a rock." John Reed in describing Lenin as a public speaker had faithfully shown that he could speak simply and graphically to the people about the biggest and most important things. For example in his description of Lenin's address to the Second Congress of Soviets, he wrote: "Dressed in shabby clothes, with trousers much too long for him. Unimpressive to be the idol of the mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colourless, humourless, uncompromising and detached, without picturesque idiosyncrasies but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness the greatest intellectual audacity." John Reed tells us that thousands of ordinary people gazed intently at him, filled with admiration; his words breathed serenity and force deeply penetrating into human hearts, and it was perfectly clear why the people always believed what Lenin said.

Lenin's image, vivid and expressive, rises from the pages of John Reed's stirring book, illumined by the glow of the Great October Revolution.

It is well-known that Herbert Wells, who visited Soviet Russia in 1920, was first among the prominent West-European writers to meet and talk with Lenin. Herbert Wells has recorded his impressions in a book which he called "Russia in the Shadows." With sincere admiration Wells speaks of Lenin in this book. The Bolsheviks, in his opinion, are the sole foundation on which a reborn Russia can be built.

However, there was a good deal that Wells did not understand. He called Lenin the "Kremlin dreamer" and did not believe in the possibility of carrying into life his plan for the electrification of Russia. But Lenin's ideas and the constructive enthusiasm of the people who put them into life proved more bold and daring than the imagination of this celebrated writer of fantastic stories.

History had indeed played a trick on Wells. When fourteen years later he again visited the Soviet Union he was compelled to admit that his positions which he knew, he begins to understand. In his new autobiographical book where he sums up his career as writer Wells again speaks of Lenin.

He says that in looking back on the book he had written fourteen years ago, reconstructing in his memory the impressions of those days, and comparing Lenin with other men in key positions which he knew, he begins to understand what an outstanding and significant historical figure Lenin was. Wells writes that he by no means supports the theory of the exceptional role of "great men" in the life of mankind, but if we are to speak of the great representatives of the human race, he must admit that at any rate Lenin was indeed a great man.

Bernard Shaw, another outstanding English writer, sending his book to Lenin in June, 1921, wrote that Lenin alone among Europe's statesmen possessed the gifts, character and knowledge, essential for a man in such a responsible post.

Ten years later, during his visit to the USSR, Shaw, then seventy-five years old, again turned his thoughts to Lenin. He proclaimed Lenin to be a man superior to all others, a man



who could be placed in the same row with only a few, and in the row of those few was a head higher than the rest.

And, consonant with Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, France's great writer and humanist, wrote the following in his article in 1934 "Lenin, Art and Action":

"I know of no more powerful personality in contemporary Europe . . . . His spiritual image in his lifetime was entrenched in the hearts of people and it shall remain untading in the ages."

Romain Rolland regarded Lenin's activity as a remarkable unity of dream and action, he spoke of him as of a fighter, all in motion, in struggle and battle in all the moments of his life.

Henri Barbusse, another courageous French writer and democrat, saw in Lenin the embodiment of the greatest humanism of the socialist revolution. "To Lenin the words 'politics' and

'humaneness' have become synonyms," said Barbusse in his article devoted to Lenin and written in connection with the publication of a volume of Lenin's correspondence in France.

Such talented poets of our times as Alexander Tvardovsky and Emi Hsiao, Louis Aragon and Berthold Brecht, Johannes Becher and Nikolas Gilien, Nazim Hikmet and Ludmil Stojanov have written poems devoted to Lenin.

To all these eminent men of letters and public figures Lenin's ideas, his dream of the future, represent not only the throbbing present but also the new socialist humanism on the highroad to the morrow of history. New ages in literature will produce more works about Lenin of still greater impact and expressiveness. And Lenin's immortal name will live forever in people's hearts as a symbol of the best hopes and greatest accomplishments of mankind.

### THE ONE WITHOUT A SECOND\*

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

The ego or intellect or what they call  
Mind and the senses—none of these am I:  
I am not the eyes nor nose nor tongue

nor ears,  
The earth, nor winds nor fire nor even  
the sky:

I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is  
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Hate and attachment, greed and fond  
illusion,  
Envy and pride's vainglory I disclaim:  
I bow to no moral codes or legislation,  
To wealth nor idol nor even salvation's  
name:

I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is  
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Virtue nor sin, sorrow nor happiness,  
The sacred mantras nor the holiest shrine:  
The Vedas nor to rituals I belong,  
No eater am I—no pabulum is mine:

I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is  
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

I know no fear—even of doom or death,  
Father nor mother nor barriers of caste:  
I am uncreate—have neither friend nor foe,  
Guru and disciple I have overpassed:

I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is  
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Beyond all Name and Form and Time  
I stay

As the Vast Formless overarching Space:  
Untrammelled still by life, I overspread  
All all that is—alone and fathomless:

I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is  
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

New York, April, 1953

\* Translated from Sankaracharya's Shiva Stotra.



## Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

### ENGLISH

EDUCATIONAL SPEECHES: By Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co. (Private) Ltd., Calcutta. 1959. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 2-50.

The many-sided activities of the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee during his eventful career which was cut short prematurely by a tragic close are now matters of history. As Dr. Radhakrishnan says neatly in his appreciative Foreword, he was "an educator, humanist and politician." The present publication of the Syamaprasad Foundation (an institution founded in 1954 for perpetuating his memory) contains a list of nineteen speeches and addresses delivered by him at various University convocations and educational conferences in our country. They cover for the most part the period between 1933 and 1938, only three being brought down to the forties of this century, and another which has been described as "the last testament on educational reforms" by Dr. Mookerjee taking us down as far as 1952, a little more than a year before his fatal journey to Kashmir. The addresses give us not only luminous review of the activities of the contemporary educational institutions, but they also contain sound and practical suggestions for solution of the problems then (and often even now) facing higher education in this country. Some of these suggestions have since been vindicated by the lapse of time. The addresses breathe throughout a spirit of lofty patriotism born of appreciation of our cultural ideals combined with a liberal and dynamic outlook characteristic of a man of vision. The paper, print and get-up are commendable, while it

seems to be completely free from printing mistakes. We wish it a wide circulation among all interested in the advancement of education in our country.

U. N. Ghoshal

THE RUNAWAY AND OTHER STORIES: By Rabindranath Tagore. Edited by Prof. Somnath Maitra and published by the Visvabharati in anticipation of the Centenary Celebrations in 1961. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 5-00.

It is a collection of the English Translation of nine short stories in Bengali written by the poet at different times covering a period of nearly fifty years. The translations are the work of some very eminent people, Indian and English. They include Andrews, Pearson and Jadunath Sarkar.

Some critics think that Tagore has been ill served by his translators. Bengali readers turn their noses up because they miss the things they are familiar with in the translations and Europeans find fault with them because the poet's Bengali cannot easily be cast into their idioms.

Tagore himself was against translating his works into another language. He likened translations to the skin of a dead calf stuffed with straw to deceive its mother and insisted that those who wanted to enjoy his writings must approach them in the original. That however is not an easy task. The world has been enriched by translations of the great writers of foreign lands. The effigy of the calf serves its purpose by luring the cow to yield her milk and generations of people have drawn their nourishment through translations. One

of population faster than increase in the production of food is not tenable and is disproved by the facts of present-day scientific improvements in food articles and other discoveries. According to him, it is a cry of Asian nations who are responding to a false cry of the progressive West. The neo-Malthusian theory is a myth. America, Russia and even England (in spite of Malthus) never took to birth-control seriously and, in fact, they increased their population and thereby gained economic supremacy. The only European nation that took to population-control was France, and as a result she is decaying. As a matter of fact, the increase of population brings its own check not by disease, hunger and any other cause of destruction but by nature's way of lesser increase due to changes in the standard of living in civilized society. Artificial methods are derogatory and harmful and in Gandhiji's word "immoral."

The author quotes extensively from Mahatmaji and Mr. Colin Clark, an economist, in support of his thesis.

The book deserves to be widely read and the subject thoroughly discussed by the educated people who are likely to be the first victims of artificial birth-control.

A. B. Dutta

**THUS SPAKE THE BUDDHA**: Edited by P. Ramaswamy. Published by The Hilal Publishing House, Tirunelveli, Madras. Price Re. 1.50nP.

Selected sayings of the Buddha rendered into English. These are words of eternal value and shall always be heard with respect all over the world.

**DAWN OR DARKNESS**: R. K. Karanjia, Jaico Publishing House. 125 Mahatma Gandhi Road. Bombay-1. Price Rs. 3/- net.

"When West Asian tensions were at their peak" Mr. Karanjia undertook a press-mission and met Nasser, Khrushchev and Kassim. The present volume is made up of his diary. His impressions of the important personalities and close study of the contemporary political trend in the East deserve attention.

**A CRITICAL GUIDE TO POETRY**: Prof. N. M. Kulkarni, M.A. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2/-.

**A CRITICAL STUDY OF FRANCIS BACON**: Prof. T. K. Dutt, M.A. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.25nP.

Both are help books meant for college students. As such they are likely to be popular.

**POEMS ON INDIAN NATURE**: By Srinivas Murthy: Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh. Price Re. 1/-.

There are signs more of toil than of success in these verses.

D. N. Mookerjee

#### SANSKRIT

1. **TRIKAM**, 2. **PURNAPATRAM**: By Siromani Sannidhana Suryanarayana Shastri, P.O.L., Samskritacharya Venkatarama Reddi Mahilakalasala, Hyderabad. To be had of the author, 44, Zeera Compound, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh. Price Rs. 1.50 and Re. 1 respectively.

We have here the author's own translations in Sanskrit of some of his writings in Telugu. **Trika** is a collection of three poems, **Kira-sandesha**, **Vipravira** and **Madhukosha**. The first of these is based on the mythological story of Krishna and Rukmini, the second deals with the story of a quasi-historical General of Andhra. The third is a selection of about one hundred erotic verses from the author's Telugu poem **Smaragita** consisting of six hundred verses. The **Purnapatra** is a collection of verses on miscellaneous topics: religion, nature and mysticism. Under the first category we have translations of 'twenty parables of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.' The learned author writes elegant Sanskrit which will be read with interest and relish by all lovers of the language. Students of Andhra will be benefited by a comparison of the translation with the original.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

#### HINDI

**PREMPANTH**: Compiled by V. G. Desai. Translated by Someswar Purohit. Navajiban Mandir. November, 1958. Pp. 64. Price 40nP.

Observations of different kinds and on various topics connected with the ways of Love and Non-violence compiled from Gandhiji's writings have been already published. This is the second in the series, and it follows the same pattern. The topics include khadi and non-violence, tobacco and drink and their pernicious effects, fear of death, etc.

P. R. Sen

#### MARATHI

**RAMBHAU MANDALIK YANCHE JIVANACHARITRA**: By M. K. Sahasrabuddhe. Published by S. N. Agashe, 1445 Sadasiva, Poona-2. Price Rs. 3/-.

A great waker for the cause of Independence, Rambhau Mandalik (1881-1958) has had a capable biographer in Shri Sahasrabuddhe who has not delayed in completing his task at the earliest opportunity possible—with love and admiration for his subject. Born of a distinguished family, he passed the B.A. examination of his University in 1904 but then politics claimed him. Tilak's stand in politics attracted him and he took a leading part in Colaba District Congress Committee during 1923-33, being also a member of the Maharashtra P.C.C. and of the A.I.C.C., coming in direct contact with Gandhian ideology and practice. And then he came face to face with the Hindu Mahasabha. His life was an instance of the forces which worked during the stormy nineteenth-twentieth century in India, and this was a receptive soul.

Rambhau Mandalik's life will prove of interest to the reading public outside Maharashtra also.

P. R. Sen

#### GUJARATI

(1) **RUSSIA**: By Pranjivan Doshi Pp. 190. Price Rs. 1-8.

(2) **AMERICA**: By Pranjivan Doshi Pp. 239. Price Rs. 1-8.

(3) **THE STORY OF THE EARTH**: By Chandrabhai K. Bhatt. Pp. 120. Price As. 12.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. Map. Illustrated. 1957. Card-board covers.

America and Russia are, at present, on the lips of every person in India, politically, financially, and partly culturally. We must know ultimately, therefore, what they are in these respects. Mr. Doshi has carried out the task successfully and in a short compass has set out all that is required to be known about these two vast countries dominating in these days the politics and the fate of the world. In "The Story of the Earth," Mr. Bhatt traces in popular language, the origin and development of the Globe on which we live as well as of those who inhabit it. It is a fascinating story.

K. M. J.

## GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors: Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Introduction: Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design: Acharya Nandalal Bose

".....It is a unique production. The collection of such valuable material about our outstanding women from remote antiquity to the end of the 19th century who led illustrious lives, each in her own distinctive way, is a great task that has been worthily accomplished. There is a balance of judgement maintained throughout. Adequate praise is given but in restraint. Brevity is kept in view. There is no want in clarity of expression. In the general conclusions at the end of each chapter, the main thesis is repeated in a few well-chosen words.....

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wonders if Tagore himself would have been known to the outside world without this aid. He himself has translated many of his works.

Tagore is not easy to translate. As a highly imaginative poet, he cannot think in the abstract. His mind is peopled with images. Even while he argues, his mind teems with figures and his thought clothes itself into vivid pictures. He draws his images from the familiar objects, scenes, fancies and legends of Bengal. When he goes farther afield in search of them, they are nearly always from the India of the Classical poets. This particular diction has an intimate setting and cannot be easily transferred to another medium. Besides his humour, subtle and illusive, with which his writings are strewn all over, proves baffling to the translator.

This apology however is not very necessary in reviewing the present volume. As stated before, the translations are the work of persons who are at home in both the languages. One or two anomalies might be pointed out where the editor might have taken some liberties with the language but probably he stayed his hand in consideration of the eminence of the translators. But these are so few that the readers' pleasure will never be impaired.

Tagore's reputation as a story-teller is so firmly established that a rehearsal of his greatness is hardly necessary. Some critics who have unfortunately not the privilege of reading his works in the original go so far as to assert that his real genius is to be found in his stories and that he is a story-teller first and a poet by grace. Such view of course is ridiculous and betrays the lamentable ignorance of the people who hold it. As a matter of fact we cannot have proper appreciation of the poet's art as a story-teller unless we know what it is in his poetry, particularly his lyrics. The same revealing flash of light, the same thrilling surprises, the same economy and concentration in expressions and thought, the same reticence and consequent loftiness of sentiment are to be met with in his story as in his poetry. We cannot forget what success he achieved by his verse romances enshrined in his *Katha O Kahini*.

Whether in poetry or in prose, one quality of his art as a story-teller makes itself felt. He takes a character at a psychological moment when it begins to open

up under the impact of events and begins to unfold itself as a flower at the touch of the morning light. We watch fascinated its changing shades and subtle nuances as we do the iridescence of the petals. He of course takes us through action and situations to the inevitable goal. But he is more interested in the study of character than in action. The latter offers an angle from where to observe the development of character. Action to him is very often the psychic action. The physical one is the unconscious expression of the inner one.

This aspect of his art is conspicuous in the stories before us. *The Runaway*, *Trespass*, *The Conclusion* and *Cloud and Sun* are, if anything, primarily studies in character. The external action stops when the veil that hides the faces of his heroes and heroines drops off and the characters stand revealed before our gaze. Our mind then asks, like a child, what's next? But the creator has ceased to take interest in them. *The Runaway* is not a homing bird. Nothing can hold him in a cage though it be golden. His truant nature makes him a perpetual fugitive and the open road lures him from love and comfort. But more interesting is the character of the girl Charu spoilt by her parents' solicitude for her. The poet unfolds her character link by link and portrays with rare subtlety how her perversity and seeming contempt for the waif Tara is only the inverse side of her admiration for him which gradually ripens into love. These were the days of child marriage and the poet shows with unerring skill the gradual but unconscious maturity of those girl brides. Like Charu of the *Runaway*, Giribala of *Cloud and Sun* and Mrinmayi of the *Conclusion* represent different facades of the same type of character, the girl unconscious of her growing attachment for the man, strange and awkward, whom he torments either with her scorn or pranks only to discover that life is impossible without him. *The Hidden Treasure* is a fairy tale in which the lure of buried treasure infatuates the hero so much that he finds himself on the brink of death during his quest, but he realizes in a sudden flash that life and the gifts of nature are far more precious than all the gold mines of Pluto. *Mahamaya* is again the study of a character, stern and awful, silhouetted against the flame of pyre burning a *suttee* with the stormy sky thundering

above. The whole panorama of history of the bygone days spreads before our eyes in all its grimness. *Cloud and Sun*, apart from its delightful love episode, introduces us to a chapter of our history in recent times giving us an insight into the familiar picture of how the upholders of the white man's burden were conducting themselves in this country. We also see how political martyrs were made out of timid and retiring people like young Sashibhushan, a briefless pleader. *False Hopes* is a beautiful fantasy conjured up by the Darjeeling fog, the echo of a glorious day which has departed for ever. *The Judge* is the picture of a dissolute man turning into a stern moralist, whereas *Trespass* depicts with delicate humour a childless widow suffering from the untouchability mania. She will not permit her own nephew, brought up as her child, to enter her templeyard for fear of defilement but will not give up to the sweepers of the village the dirty pig which has fled into the temple bush for fear of life. The last story *The Stolen Treasure*, more modern in theme and environment, is the delightful account of the love of an elderly couple with a grown up daughter of marriageable age, renewing everyday their ritual of courtship. Their prolonged romance leaves an unforgettable impression.

Rabindranath is great and is unrivalled in his own field anywhere.

Saroj N. Ray

**WHISPERS FROM ETERNITY:** By Paramhansa Yogananda. Seventh Edition. With a foreword by Amelita Galli-Curci. Published by Self-Realization Fellowship, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. Pp 266 +XXII. Price not mentioned.

The book, under review, is attractively cloth-bound and tastefully got-up and has already undergone seven editions in the course of twenty-four years. Its author Yogananda Swami is an immortal monk of Bengal who proceeded to America in 1920 and remained in the West for over thirty years. In hundreds of Western cities he taught the largest Yoga classes in the world and personally initiated about a lakh of aspirants into Yogic practice. He passed away in Los Angeles in March, 1952 after concluding his impressive address at a banquet held in honour of H.E. B. R. Sen, the then ambassador of India to U.S.A. His Autobiography of a Yogi, Science of

Religion, Cosmic Chants and other excellent books have been highly appreciated and widely circulated throughout the cultural World.

The present book is divided into four sections entitled Prayers and Soul Thought, Invocations to the world's great spiritual teachers, Children's Prayers and Experiences in Super-consciousness. In all there are 236 poems in four Sections. Most of these mystical verses were composed extempore in an inspired mood during the Yoga classes in various cities. They are spontaneous outpourings of a mystic mind and at once touch the heart of a devout reader. Simplicity of thought, lucidity of language and spiritual fervour are notable features of these poetical compositions. The book is illustrated with superb portraits of Saraswati, Sri Krishna and the author. The likeness of Saraswati is drawn by Ranoda Ukil of Delhi and attached with a nice caption.

Amelita Galli-Curci in her short foreword rightly remarks, "In this sacred Book the Lord is portrayed in His immanent aspect: the Cosmic Mother—a grand conception of the Infinite and Invisible. Swami Yogananda's writings give profound answers to questions of modern scientific mind seeking God intelligently."

The book is destined to rank as a sacred classic and pass into the hands of devoted aspirants for repeated perusals. Cheap Indian edition of Swami Yogananda's works should be brought out for sake of wider circulation by the institutions started by him in India and U.S.A.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

**POPULATION CONTROL (A Modern Shibboleth):** By M. P. Desai. Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pages 53. Price .50 nP.

This book contains a few articles by Sri M. P. Desai, ex-editor of the "Harijan." The question of population is particularly important today in view of India's teeming and ever-increasing millions. More so because the Government of India has made birth-control a matter of State policy and is using people's money for a cause which is controversial. Thus it has become a party question.

The author has discussed the subject from different angles in eight chapters and has tried to prove that the theory of increase

# Indian Periodicals

## The Liberating Function of Education

Dr. John E. Owen writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is the theme of this article that a mature education, a liberal education in the best sense, would have the function of freeing the human mind from the all-pervasive cultural pressures that perpetuate the psychologically stultifying forces of every age.

It is admittedly very difficult to acquire a mental detachment from one's own culture, since the climate of opinion and the psychological ethos are as real as the air one breathes.

In all cultures and epochs, the majority of men have been ethnocentric, so emotionally bound by the narrow loyalties of their own tribe, clan or nation-state as to be indifferent to the achievements and sometimes even the existence of other cultures. The effect of World War II, of aviation, of the UN and Unesco, has broken down the pre-war parochialism. Race prejudice is harder to eradicate, since it is an emotional reaction that cannot be solved merely by pointing out the scientific facts of race. But no liberal education is complete if it leaves an individual with the same intolerant or hostile racial attitudes that he acquired in his early childhood or community conditioning.

Similarly, a mature education would liberate its participants from the compulsive egoism of which race hatred is one expression. Significantly, the prophets of all the world religions have spoken of the necessity of transcending the self. Aldous Huxley has written of the blight of egoism from which man needs to be released, and a prominent American theologian defines sin as the collective selfishness of large groups.

This suggests a related area in which vital education would function to liberate the individual mind. It would relieve the burden of inflexible attitudes that cling to religious dogma and superstition.

A liberal education, in any country, would also awaken the realization that

value inheres in other religions than its own, and that other cultures with different traditions have produced their own prophets who perceived various sides of the prism of truth. This type of education would instil the sense of participating in the religions of mankind, transcending localisms and provincial fixations of doctrine ("the one true faith" dogma) through the knowledge that the ultimate values and goals of all faiths are fundamentally identical.

A further sphere for the functioning of the educative process is that of ensuring liberation from mediocrity, from the cult of the average and from the pressure of "the herd mind."

A mature education would also create attitudes of mind free from cynicism and defeatism. It would instil the belief that problems can be solved or alleviated; it would make the world safe for intelligence and the application of intelligence to the pressing tensions of the age.

In actuality, the **world-outlook** is the only realistic one to take at the present time.

## Corruption at High Level

**Chowringhee** writes editorially:

Mr. Nehru had summarily rejected Sri Chintaman Deshmukh's demand for the appointment of a permanent tribunal to investigate charges of corruption and abuse of power against people in high positions during the last plenary session of the Indian National Congress. This, in the face of definite undertaking by a personage of Sri Deshmukh's position and integrity, to place evidence relating to several such cases of which he had personal knowledge, before such a Tribunal when appointed. The matter was further ventilated later in both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the current session but Mr. Nehru remained obdurate in his refusal to accept such a proposition. It was also ventilated in a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party and although

Mr. Nehru carried the day, it was obvious that all within his own party were not quite satisfied with the attitude taken up by him.

Mr. Nehru's reason for such a stand seems to be that all sorts of wild accusations are made from time to time against officials, both high and low, but seldom any substantiable evidence is adduced in support of such charges. The ordinary laws of the land have ample authority to deal with proved cases of nepotism and corruption and the appointment of such a Tribunal, as demanded, would only have the effect of demoralising the public services. Mr. Nehru's justifications, for they are hardly anything more, do not unfortunately convince anyone except, perhaps, himself. On the contrary, the impression has gained added force that the goliath of corruption and nepotism has so enveloped the public services of the country, especially at the highest levels, that he feels himself quite impotent to deal with it. More. He is afraid of the reckoning that any close and fearless inquiry into charges would be bound to eventually lead to, and he is neither courageous nor honest enough, to agree to face such a probability. In fact it is quite probable that he may feel that in the event of his agreeing to accept such a demand, he himself would not be left quite uninvolved from what would be likely to follow and it is but natural for any man, however powerful he may be, to wish to put off such an evil day.

Mr. Nehru, it must be clearly realised, has reinforced his present power not only by the intrinsic quality of his political sagacity—if that has at all played any part in the process—but primarily by the broadcast distribution of patronage which his high position has enabled him to do. Indeed, this is what has been holding the Congress Party together so far, and anything calculated to upset the process or designed to break it up would, it is reasonable to fear, have the most devastating effect upon the structure on which this power has been built up. It is no use shutting one's eyes to this very obvious fact and the time for holding one's tongue has been long past. All this has, no doubt, been useful in maintaining Mr. Nehru and his minions in power, even strengthening it, but the cost at which it has been done would be beyond any material computation. The cost, indeed, has been

terrific in terms of breakdown of character, almost in every department of public and private life, and it is impossible to forecast to-day with any degree of sureness as to how many decades, even centuries, it might take the country as a whole to grow the courage and strength necessary to recover from its insidious, but nevertheless, disintegrating force.

But to accuse Mr. Nehru and his Party adherents alone for such a state of affairs would not be quite fair. The Parties in opposition are hardly less responsible.

Indian politics since Independence, it is necessary to clearly understand, has degenerated into a happy hunting ground for all kinds of adventurers, most of whom are out to get what they can out of it for themselves. If there are a few here and there who have been able to stand apart, theirs are like lone voices in a howling wilderness, feeble and futile. The result has been, as it was bound to be, that Mr. Nehru and his Party have been able to develop monolithic and, therefore, absolute power within an apparently democratic form, without the need to respect or even care of an effective Opposition.

What might have integrated into an Opposition, and quite an effective one at that, had from the very beginning of the establishment of India's so-called democratic sovereignty, had presented itself as a melee of self-seeking adventurers. This, if anything, had helped to deliver absolute power into the hands of Mr. Nehru and his Party and, as absolute power always must, it has corrupted what might otherwise have developed traditions of healthy and honest democratic practice into a totalitarian hegemony.

Where Mr. Nehru and his Party has gained over all their opponents in present Indian politics has been, firstly, that they profess to stand for an economic system—although in actual effects the results may have been of a contrary character—which, by name at least, has a measure of large popularity and, secondly, that they have been able to exploit the Mahatma's technique of mass contacts to their own ends.

What, therefore, is needed is a more vigorous and far broader-based political endeavour which is, at the same time, guided by principles of rigid rectitude and honesty. It will not be an easy task to



successfully float such a political machinery,—it never is. It will mean almost heart-breaking self-denial and hard work against which results, at the early stages, will be bound to be almost negative.

### Nobel Prizes

The following is taken from an article in *The Social Service Quarterly*:

Alfred Bernhard Nobel, a Swedish scientist, who had made a vast fortune from the explosive factories in Sweden and several other countries, made his will in 1896 leaving a sum of one crore dollars for these five prizes which are known as the Nobel Prizes. According to this will, he left the whole of his realizable estate to be invested in a capital fund of securities, the interest of which was to be given away every year in five prizes to five different persons. These are to be given for work to those persons, who do work of an outstanding nature during the last preceding year. The work for which the prizes are to be given away should be such as is calculated to confer the utmost good upon mankind. The interest of the invested securities should be divided into five equal parts which shall be as follows: One part shall be given to a person, who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the field of Physics. One part to the person, who shall have made the most important chemical discovery or invention. One part shall be given to the person, who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the field of Physiology or Medicine. The fourth part shall be given to the person, who shall have done the most outstanding work of an idealistic character and the fifth part shall be given to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity among nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for holding and promoting of peace conferences.

Different committees were appointed for determining the award of these prizes.

According to the will of Mr. Nobel, the Swedish Academy for Science is to decide the award of the prizes in Physics and Chemistry. The Caroline Medico Chirurgical Institute shall select the winner of the prize for Physiology or Medicine. The prizes for literature shall be decided by the Swedish Academy and the choice of the prizeman for the Nobel Peace Prize is left to the decision of the Committee of five persons elected by the Norwegian Parliament. Mr. Nobel's keen desire was to make the selection of prize winners on the principle of merit alone. He, therefore, specially mentioned in his will that outstanding achievements alone should be the criterion for selecting prizemen and the considerations of nationality or race should have no scope in these decisions. The will was not made in consultation with legal opinion and hence many difficulties arose in the execution of the document. A number of loopholes were left out. No provision was made about the agency who was to carry out the behests of Mr. Nobel. Similarly the work of deciding the choice of prize winners was left to the bodies, which were not consulted as to whether they were willing to undertake the responsibility. The relatives of the testator Mr. Nobel questioned the validity of the will. For some time after his death it seemed that the liberal ideal of the great benefactor was likely to be frustrated, but ultimately good opinion prevailed and in 1899 all difficulties were removed and there was general agreement among the relatives of Mr. Nobel, the government and the Academies and they adopted the wise policy of administering the fund according to the conditions of the will. The creation of an organization called the Nobel Foundation was decided and a Royal Proclamation was made in 1900. Since then these prizes have been awarded to persons who have worked hard for good to mankind. The different committees appointed to do the difficult work of selecting prize winners have been doing their work in a spirit of impartiality.

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Avanindranath Tagore's Concept of Aesthetic Universality

Dr. S. K. Nandi writes in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, December, 1959, printed in U.S.A.:

Art is a matter of desubjectification of the artist's subjective feelings and it raises the most controversial issue of its acceptance by one and all objectively. If it is demanded of art that it must conform to the various tastes of a living generation or to the varying tastes in different periods of time, we are expecting the absurd. Art never caters to the needs of a generation of men at any one time, and it is idle to expect that it should live through the ages as a living force. Paradoxically enough, sometimes we find good specimens of art surviving the onslaught of time. How does it happen? What is the true meaning of universality in art? If there be any such universality in art, how is it effected? All these are baffling questions indeed. It is quite difficult to explain and account for the universality that good specimens of art enjoy. This universality has a limited application and as such it stimulated the formulation of *Adhikarvada* in the field of aesthetics by the Indian *Alamkarikas*. Art, according to them, cannot be looked upon as a rendezvous for all. It is meant for those who are gifted with that rare capacity for appreciating art proper. Education and training are aids to such art-appreciation. However, universality in art does not mean its democratization. If art is to be democratized, it can be effected through mass education and regimentation. This type of regimentation is harmful, for, in course of time it would encourage one particular form of art and art would lose its varied forms and colors. The art movement of a country would reveal one pattern, and it would ultimately spell disaster for art.

Avanindranath Tagore is the father of a modern renaissance in the field of Indian art. It is interesting to note how this

master mind understood the problem and solved it. Art, as a matter of fact, is expected to bear the impress of the individual mind, for it is the response of an individual. It is not a creation of the social mind but an individual creation stamped with the hallmark of an individual's peculiar way of seeing things. Rabindranath Tagore considered art to be the response of man's creative soul to the call of the real. Avanindranath also considered this subjective element in art to be of paramount importance. The stream of objects is there outside me and independent of me. A relation between this objective world and the world of art is undeniable. But the objective stream is viewed by the artist through his own glasses, and his way of permutation and combination of factual events and phenomena of nature produces a world of make-believe for him and for other people as well. This is the world of art. This claims universality. It bears an impress of eternity. It is temporal, and at the same time its bid for transcending the time-category cannot be lightly brushed aside. The panel paintings at Ellora and Ajanta and the murals of the Tunhuang caves defied time in the sense that they lived through time and weathered all its travails. All such works of art are the creation of an individual mind and at the same time they become universal in a sense. How this happens is beyond human comprehension. This mysterious character of art has led some people to dub it *Maya*. Our Tantras liken his process of artistic creation to the flight of a bird from one tree to another, leaving no trace whatsoever of its trail of flight across the blue. This mystery has enlivened aesthetics, and we think of academic art, foreign art, and adapted art in order to explain and understand the diversified art traditions of the world. An artist worth the name must liquidate his individualistic preoccupations by the constant hammering of a universalistic bias. The deindividualizing is necessary for making the work of art acceptable



to other minds. If it is to be made palatable to others, it must not absolutely conform to the taste of its creator. In order to explain this phenomenon Tagore cites the example of a community dinner. When we invite a few of our friends of similar likings and taste, we may insist upon a specialized menu exclusively suited to our tastes. But when those invited are large in number and come from far and near, the menu must be broad-based. Our peculiar individual bias and likes and dislikes must be disregarded in order to accommodate the varying tastes of a vast number of men and women. The individual taste must be so curbed as to accommodate the tastes of the wider public. As it is in a symphony, so it is in a work of art. In a symphony all the notes must harmonize, and the process of harmonization may only take place when the different notes agree in accommodating one another. None of the notes could be so struck as to destroy the total effect. The toy instruments employed in *Toy Symphony*, for example, are a cuckoo, a trumpet, a drum, a whistle, a triangle, and a quail. They respect each other's right to exist in the whole, and the resultant effect is the symphony.

Thus Tagore contends that in the case of all good art the artist must not allow his individualistic bias to influence his creations too much. If it is so allowed, art appreciation on a wide scale becomes an impossibility. That is why Tagore prescribes the liquidation of individualistic tendencies in the field of art by the sledgehammering of a universalistic outlook. We must remember, Tagore points out, that the work of art is the meeting ground for the artist and art lovers. In *Gharo* Tagore tells us that art is a three-storeyed building, and craft has been accommodated in the ground floor. The first floor is the rendezvous of the artist and the lovers of art. That is where the communion is accomplished. There they meet and the art work is reviewed. Herein we find art—an expression of the artist's inner art work is reviewed. Herein we find true images brought forth and wrought in an external medium. The top floor is exclusive to the artist: there he is in his sequestered vale. There he is busy with his creation. It is a land forbidden to the lovers of art. The psychologists may have

a peep in that LHASA of the artist's mind, or the artist himself may be conscious of this inner working of his creativity. Where art is a finished product and awaits appreciation, the artist must admit the appreciator. Absolute subjectivity on the part of the artist will make him obscure and unintelligible. That is why the artist comes down from his ivory tower of pure subjectivity; from the top floor, to the first floor where other people can share the artist's joys and sorrows through his successful desubjectification. The top floor is a mystic's home. There he is unintelligible to the common man. If from there he looks for his self-realization, either he becomes a full-fledged Christian mystic or, if he cares to take recourse to expression instead, he becomes an artist. This expression is meant to be acceptable to others.

The artist must remember this basic fact, and it will help him lend tone and color to his paintings which will live through time. This process of desubjectification of the artistic image from the pure subjectivity of the artist was believed to be the corner stone of all good art by the Japanese painters. Tagore agreed with them in understanding the meaning of universality by a process of desubjectification of the artist's feelings. Tagore elsewhere tells us of the assumption of the form and shape of the object by the appreciating mind. This phenomenon also presupposes the fact of desubjectification by the artist of his absolutely subjective feelings. Without this, art appreciation or communion in art becomes a myth. This universalization, conscious or otherwise, is the prerequisite of all good art. But this process varies in its extent and depth, and that is why some arts are greeted with acclamation by contemporaneous people and some by posterity; and why some art works belong to the age of the artist and some to all ages.

#### Indians of British Columbia

The following are some of the excerpts of an article by Mildred Valley Thornton published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, London, February, 1960:

On considering the Indians of British Columbia, it must be noted that tribes in

different parts of this huge province vary greatly in language, customs and traditions. Since it is impossible to deal with all of them in the limited space available I shall concentrate mainly on the Northern Pacific Coast, where there existed not so long ago an exotic native culture for which there is no counterpart in all the world.

No one knows how long the Indians have been there, but excavations in the great Fraser Midden near Vancouver testify that there was a flourishing community on that site 2,000 years ago—at the time of Christ, think of it—and no one knows how long before that. Remains of vast community houses were found, also skeletons, ornaments, weapons, tools, utensils and the like. This great camp site (for that is what a midden is) covered an area of 4½ acres, the largest yet discovered. Clam shells to a depth of 15 feet indicate a large population and a bountiful food supply. More recent explorations in the interior of the province have established Indian habitation 6,500 years ago.

Anthropologists, archaeologists and students from many parts of the world have come to study the ancient customs and traditions of our Coast Tribes, and to carry away with them priceless examples of their skilled craftsmanship. Nearly all anthropologists believe that Indians of British Columbia are Mongolian in origin; that in ages long past spasmodic migrations of primitive people came across the Bering Strait from Siberia, and found their way by degrees down through Alaska and into the more congenial climate of British Columbia.

Nature was kind to the Coast Tribes. For Indians on the Plains, life was an unending struggle for existence under the rigours of a harsh climate, with great extremes of heat and cold, and very little natural vegetation. Winter and summer they had to follow the buffalo and win by their own exertions the necessities of life.

In contrast, how different was the lot of their brothers on the Pacific Coast. With a moderate climate, in the midst of the greatest spawning grounds in the world, these Indians had access to an inexhaustible food supply, obtainable with ease. Many materials were readily acces-

sible for their use. The all-important cedar tree, spruce, mountain-goat wool, shells, stone, jade, horn and argillite were utilized with marvellous skill and ingenuity. With prudent foresight they laid by vast stores of food for the winter months, which was a season for feasting and social enjoyment. Using stone axes and wedges, they cut down the mighty cedar tree to build their enormous houses sheltering many families under one roof. Also from the cedar tree they made their stout dugout canoes, which gave them great mobility of action. Cedar trees of tremendous height and girth were used for their gigantic war canoes. Some of these, handsomely carved and painted, were capable of holding up to sixty warriors. In war canoes, the proud fierce Haidas from the Queen Charlotte Islands roamed the entire coastline for hundreds of miles, the envy and terror of all other tribes.

From the cedar tree Coast Indians made their totem poles, grave boxes, masks, food boxes, utensils and innumerable other things. The inner bark of the cedar, pounded and shredded, was woven into fine material for clothing, hats, mats, and for ceremonial purposes. Beautiful baskets, decorated with native designs in wild cherry bark, were made from the roots of the cedar tree.

There were no nails, of course, in their great houses. They were fastened securely together with cedar rope but could easily be dismantled and transported to other places for the seasonal run of fish or gathering of berries. Later, they would be taken back again to their permanent location for the winter ceremonies.

Theirs was a highly competitive society, where rank, wealth and prestige were of primary importance. Family crests as portrayed by natural symbols were carved on the massive totem poles to proclaim the greatness of the owners.

Among the Kwakiutl were three rigidly defined classes: the nobles, the commoners and the slaves. In early days there were frequent intertribal raids to obtain booty and to carry away captives into slavery. A 'high person', as the aristocrats were called, was expected to maintain a dignified, aloof manner, to keep

his own counsel and deport himself in a manner befitting his exalted station.

The Indians had powerful secret societies to which only the nobles belonged. Only the nobles took part in the elaborate dance ceremonies and secret rituals, and only they could wear the richly carved masks and traditional blankets.

Names, songs and dances were personal property of great value, and were not transferable without the owner's permission. Family crests depicting the raven, blackfish, grizzly bear, thunderbird, eagle and other creatures were jealously guarded and passed from generation to generation with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto. In some tribes this was through matrilineal descent, in others through the male side of the family. Additional crests could only be obtained through marriage, and no one was permitted to marry beneath his or her rank.

Women had great power 'behind the Throne.' Some of them were chieftainesses in their own right.

A man could not carve his own totem pole, even if he had the talent to do so. Someone from a different clan must do it for him. This interdict was to guard against the wrongful use of crests.

Though the Indians of British Columbia undoubtedly did some carving long ago with their crude native implements, their work received tremendous impetus when they came into possession of white men's tools. It is thought that the most prolific period of their carving does not extend over a period of more than 150 years. The art is almost non-existent today, but impressive remains of fabulous images may still be found in remote villages long since abandoned for more profitable locations.

Artists were highly regarded in the old days. Only they were capable of preserving in visible form the symbols on which the native society was established. The artist worked in constant collaboration with the song-maker, the dancer and the story-teller.

The potlatch was the focal point of social activity among all coast tribes. It was a 'giving away ceremony.' The more a man gave away the higher he rose in his own estimation and in that of his fellows.

Sometimes called 'the gift feast', the potlatch was usually held to celebrate an important event. A man might work for years to accumulate enough money and goods to hold a potlatch, then 'call' the people of neighbouring tribes to witness his wealth and generosity. The ceremonies lasted for days, perhaps weeks, the giver of the potlatch providing food for all the people. Often his relatives would help him, if need be.

Treasured above all else was a chief's copper. In the early days raw copper was obtained from natives of Alaska through barter. This was then hammered out into a flat shield-like form on which was etched the chief's most important crest and other insignia. The most valuable coppers had names of their own and legends about them. The incontestable proof of a chief's opulence and superiority was confirmed in the breaking of a copper.

Long ago the potlatch was forbidden by law, the Government contending that it impoverished the Indians. It undoubtedly did so, but at the same time it was a powerful stimulus to industry and it was the fertile soil out of which their astonishing native art emerged. Moreover, it was a guarantee of future welfare. Each recipient of a gift was in honour bound to return at least double the value received to the donor or his heirs, at some future day when he also could give a potlatch. No written records were kept, but everyone knew who owed whom and how much.

Read

**PRABASI**

Oldest, Illustrated &  
Cultural Bengali Monthly

There were things in the old Indian way of life that were most admirable. They had many sterling qualities that we would do well to remember. To our shame it must be admitted that too often we have taken to them our vice and our weaknesses instead of our strength and our probity. Far too often they have been the victims of cunning and exploitation by unscrupulous white men, until it is no wonder that they learned to copy our devices.

We face many a challenge today in endeavouring to preserve an ancient culture, while at the same time we are working to break down the very things out of which that culture grew. The Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa is doing much to aid the Indian in the process of assimilation. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that this is the future which awaits him. He cannot remain for ever on the reservation, an oasis of stagnation in the midst of a rapidly advancing civilization.

All this comes about not only through improved medical services, but also because of greater co-operation from the Indians themselves. In the beginning, Medicine men and Medicine women were highly resentful of Government interference in what they regarded as their rightful domain. Indians were suspicious and afraid to let their loved ones be taken many miles away to hospital under the care of white people. Slowly the old prejudice was broken down, giving way to confidence and co-operation, as the Indians began to see for themselves the results of sustained professional treatment.

Now Indian girls take up nursing and home care. Indian boys come back from the schools with new ideas. Gradually the process of transition is being wrought.

More Indian young people go to university every year, many more attend high school. We have to-day Indian lawyers, doctors, ministers and successful business men.

Eventually more responsibility must be placed on the Indians themselves.

Paternalism has serious weaknesses and this is a very grave problem that the Indians themselves must consider and solve in due course. Until recently it was unlaw-

ful for Indians to buy or be given spirituous liquor. They were denied this doubtful privilege in early times to protect them from avaricious white men who sought to debauch and exploit them by depriving them of their senses. Times have changed and Indians have changed too. Where restrictions on the sale of liquor have been removed, the results have been disastrous in some cases. Other Indians have stood up splendidly under this new test of character. Some of the wise old chiefs will not allow strong drink of any kind on their reservations. Probably they handle the situation quite as well as white people would do under the same circumstances.

In British Columbia, Indians may vote in provincial elections. All Indians in the provincial elections. All Indians in the armed services (and many of them fought bravely in two world wars) automatically have the franchise. An increasing number of ambitious younger men have voluntarily foresworn their aboriginal rights in order to vote in full equality with their white brothers.

Financially, Indians of British Columbia are better off than they have ever been. In the interior of the province, some make a fair living at trapping, which is a diminishing occupation. Others do very well raising cattle, logging, working in lumber

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mills and canneries. In the Chilcotin, Indians periodically harvest Christmas trees in quantity that are shipped all over the Continent. Along the coast monetary conditions changed radically during the last war. When Japanese fishermen were removed from the coast as a security measure, Indians resumed an ancestral occupation from which they had long been excluded by Japanese monopoly. Working hard for long hours, they gradually paid for their own boats. Today many coast Indians are very well to do indeed, with fine homes, good cars and many of the comforts of life.

One must not discount the influence of the powerful 'Native Brotherhood' representing Indians from all parts of the pro-

vince and the 'Native Sisterhood' to a lesser degree.

Intermarriage with whites is becoming a commonplace, to the mutual benefit of both races.

Able and educated Indian men and women are working hand in hand with interested white people for the betterment of their race. In British Columbia, an Indian university graduate, Mr. Frank Calder, gave a good account of himself as an elected member of the legislature. Dr. Peter Kelly, a full-blooded Haida Indian, was the distinguished president of the United Church Conference in British Columbia. An Indian man from Alberta, Mr. James Gladstone, is the first native to be appointed to the Senate at Ottawa.

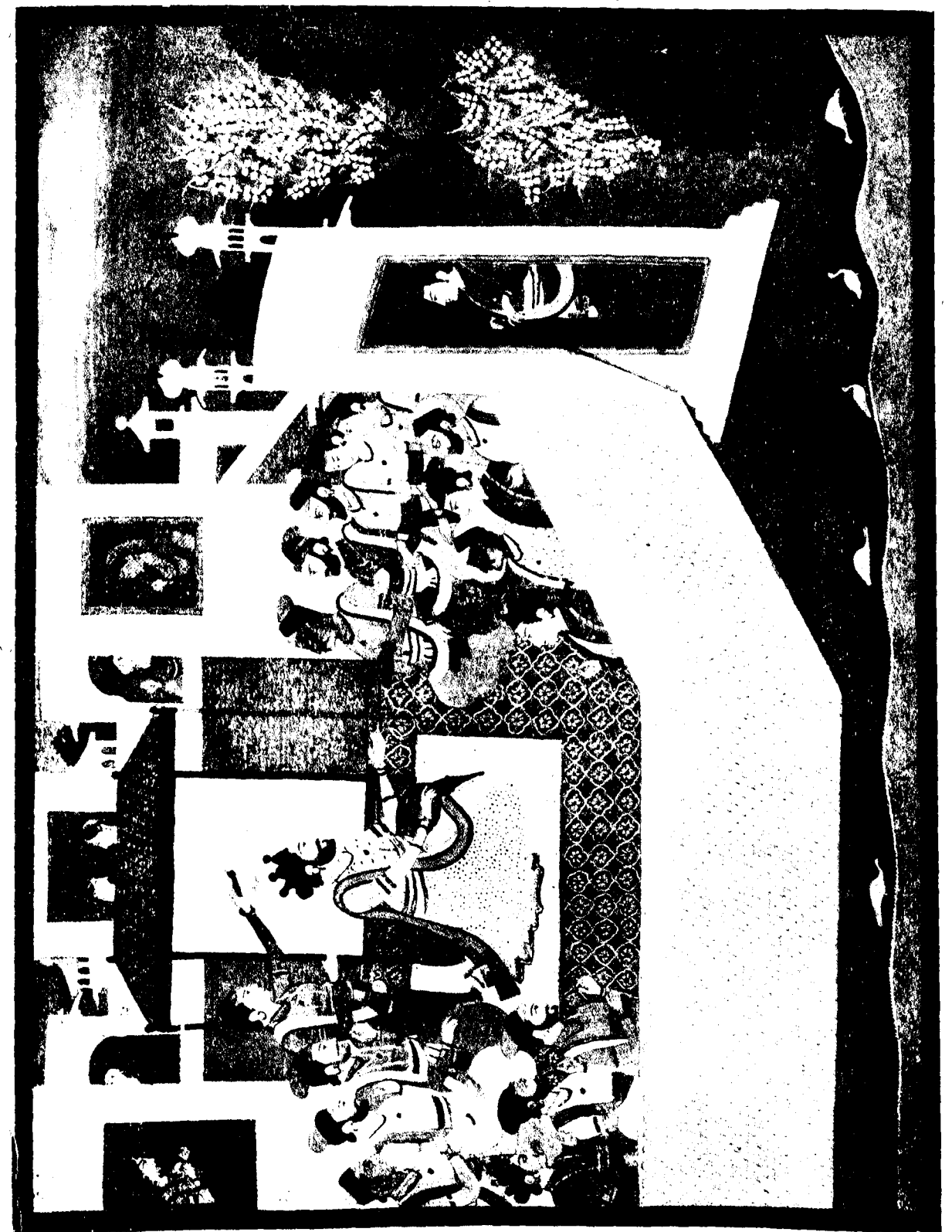
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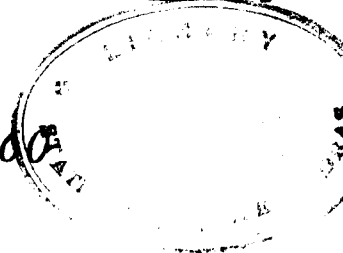


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## NOTES

### The World

World forces are under a curious and unstable State of equilibrium. Perhaps there are contrary forces in action, the resultant or resultants of which are indeterminate, both with regards to direction as well as to metempsychosis.

In Europe the Stalinist policy of unqualified expansionism, through a policy of slow infiltration followed by disruption and open aggression, has been called to a halt, and it has been replaced by an apparently open and dynamic programme of Peace and Disarmament. This programme is being publicized by no less a person than Nikita Khrushchev, the puissant arbiter of the policies dominant in the U.S.S.R.

Khrushchev's programme is being accepted with reservations in Britain and France, and with open distrust by West Germany. Further West, the U.S.A. is viewing these peace moves with thinly veiled suspicion, because of the dual role played by the U.S.S.R. in the Latin Americas and the Caribbean, and in the newly-formed Union of Arab Republics.

In the Americas, Fidel Castro's Cuba is in the powerful grip of a dictator who is veering towards Communism, in the search of aid for his campaign of hate against the United States. Elsewhere there is stability, with a distinct lean towards the Right. The reasons for the distrust, with which the Total Disarmament Programme of Khrushchev is being viewed by the West, has to be sought in the actions of the Far-Eastern partner of the U.S.S.R., the China of Mao Tse-tung and of Chou En-lai.

But if the actions of the Totalitarian forces of World Communism are holding back the

advent of the Peaceful Millenium, no less disturbing are the frenzies and antics of the democratic allies and dependencies of the U.S.A. The entire civilized world has been shocked by the bestial orgy of blood into which the policy of apartheid has led the South African Government. In the Far-East too there has been bloodshed—this time of the children of the State—because of a revolt against the unscrupulous and authoritarian actions of an aged autocrat, Syngman Rhee.

Rhee has long outlived his usefulness, and as he was totally dependent on U.S.A. aid, his undemocratic actions did not add to the lustre of the Democratic West.

In Asia too we have an autocracy, as blatantly authoritarian as any Communist State, that is flourishing because of aid on a lavish scale by the U.S.A., we mean that of Turkey. The latest news speak of student demonstrations in Istanbul and Ankara followed by the imposition of Martial Law on those two cities. The demonstrations followed the expulsion of Mr. Ismet Inonu, the old Turkish patriot and associate of Kamal Atatürk, and twelve of his party from the Turkish National Assembly because of a speech in which he openly condemned the suppression of the liberty of the Turkish press.

Algeria is another smouldering brand lying loose in the democratic barnyard. And the nuclear explosions in the Sahara have by no means alleviated the incendiary possibilities in North Africa, nor have they added to the prestige of France in the democratic world.

Despotism dies hard in a world filled with the frailties and vanities of the human mind. Look at the antics of our own tinsel gods when they bask in the rosy lime-light of adulation

directed on them by their crafty sycophants, and look at the consequences, in internal plans and External Affairs!

#### Why Mr. Chou?

It is a matter for speculation to discover the true reasons for Mr. Chou En Lai's visit to India. China has taken upon herself the unenviable, unpleasant and dangerous task of an arrogant, aggressive and unprincipled empire builder, no matter what she may say about liberating, civilising or improving the fortunes of other nations. The Europeans had, similarly, invaded other countries for spreading and establishing civilisation, Christianity and modern institutions in those unenlightened zones of the earth. China can say what she likes; but the non-Communist peoples of the world will call her invasions and aggressions attempts at military conquest of other countries for the purpose of expansion of Chinese-controlled territories.

Knowing that public opinion throughout the "free" world is anti-Chinese, why, has Mr. Chou En Lai come to discuss Chinese incursions with the Indian Prime Minister? Does he really expect to convince any one that China is not an aggressor but an aggrieved country? Firstly, no one really and truly believes that Tibet is China and that China has any justification for her invasion and conquest of Tibet. Pandit Nehru may have agreed to call this blatant act of aggression a purely internal affair of China; but that has not carried conviction to any but the profoundly ignorant. Secondly, China resented the Indian action of granting asylum to the Dalai Lama and his followers. She, therefore, pressed forward in search of Tibetan "rebel" centres and entered Indian territory at many points. She also kept quite a lot of Indian territory in the possession of the Chinese army, for reasons of strategy or defence and began to spin tall stories about political geography and what the Hans, Tans, Sung, Mings or Manchus might have done or undone. China forgot that her Communist faith automatically cancelled all her imperial past and that she could no more claim anything by reference to her self-destroyed institutions than she could by citing the

American Constitution. Justice, fair play, truth and the freedom of the people are the alleged guiding principles of Communism and China cannot justify her invasion and conquest of Tibet by any sophistry that will convince impartial onlookers.

Why has then Mr. Chou En Lai come to Delhi? Is it to study the situation? Is or is not India going to strike back? If India will fight to regain her lost territories will she also try to put the Dalai Lama back on his godly throne? How far is India prepared to fight? These and other questions will be studied and Mr. Chou En Lai will smile broadly and go back to China to report to his party about the wisdom or unwisdom of continuing with their aggression. If Mr. Chou En Lai finds India unprepared and unwilling to fight the result may be more aggression by China. She may try to occupy more Himalayan territories; for, she is in the mood for defying the world and throwing her weight about. Rights and wrongs will not tone down very much her power-intoxication and she will go on in search of loot and expansion until she is pulled up by force.

Mr. Chou En Lai's visit, therefore, is exploratory and he will go back to China without, in any manner, committing China to any particular policy or line of action. His report may urge caution or the adoption of a do-what-you-like attitude, according to what he finds in India. Generally speaking, we believe, India will not agree to yield any territory to China. But will India display any strong determination to take back by force what she has lost. If this is done, and if Mr. Chou En Lai's informers tell him at what speed India is preparing for war and if he thinks the position is not very good for China, then China may withdraw. If, on the other hand, he thinks China should call India's "bluff", there may be further trouble. India, therefore, should show the fullest dimensions of her anger to Mr. Chou En Lai.

The news about the inconclusive end of the talks, which was given out after this note was written, are given elsewhere in these notes.

A. C.

#### A New Concept Of Privilege

Not so very long ago we had third class compartments in Indian Railway Trains which were "For Europeans only." We also had in certain other Provinces restaurants which were for Brahmins only and Temples in which untouchables could not enter. Under the British Imperial Government of India, white criminals could not be tried by Indians and many places were not open to Indians. Jobs were given to persons belonging to "loyal" families and contracts, commissions, agencies and various other gainful assignments were reserved for the collaborators of the British. Those were the days when privilege was spelt shamelessly in capital letters only and the purpose behind it was the maintenance of the white man's overlordship in India and in other lands too with the help and assistance of Indian soldiers and Indian money.

We have abolished all privilege, at least on paper, and all Indians today are supposed to live, thrive and prosper under conditions which are entirely just, fair, lawful, constitutional and so forth. But if one saunters along the roads of a big city or goes into the offices of a large factory or a Government department, one finds many instances of a new kind of privilege which is not so spectacular, nor so orderly and well established as the privilege of other days. The persons who grant these privileges and the persons who benefit by the same, are not so clearly of a class, caste or race, and the whole business has at its apex clear-cut privileges and only corrupt preferences at its expansive base. The privileges attach to party leaders, their business friends, their relations and henchmen and to a fairly wide-spread network of connections, contacts, persons for whom a V.I.P. has put in a word and to those who are in charge of selections, elections and what not. It is felt and known everywhere in India that qualifying and being selected for advantageous appointments, assignments and commissions, etc., can be arranged and are managed through influence and approach. The granting of licences, permits, quotas and, all the rest of them are also "planned and

managed". The nation's planned and managed economy is organised with this shadow of corruption looming strongly in the background, and much of the failure and waste attending upon National ventures are directly linked up with the conduct of privileged persons.

Looking at the daily papers one comes across various news items many of which tell a story of privilege or corrupt preferences. Not all of these have their basis in political party or official conduct. Some are distinctly traceable to the fears, lack of principles and opportunism of private capitalists and their Indian and foreign "planners and managers." When, in the Calcutta Corporation, the Councillors assembled for a Mayoral Election and proceeded about it in the manner of rowdy school boys, ignoring all laws and rules of procedure; the shameful affair could be traced to the incompetence, unscrupulousness and general want of character and a sense of discipline and social ethics in the different partymen who staged the riotous scenes. There are many political party leaders today in India, who never had any proper background of discipline and orderly behaviour. They had courage and energy which brought them to the fore-front of a political struggle. But those qualities cannot serve them or their motherland after independence has been achieved, unless they changed their mental and physical manners to suit the changed circumstances. The top leaders should now begin to screen their active followers and supporters and replace the row-makers by those who agree to behave like civilised persons working solely for the good of the country.

Coming down to factories, offices and the streets and bye-lanes of big cities, we find these privileged persons everywhere who are benefiting by the corrupt preferences that surround them like an evil aura of social decadence. In the industrial setting the demand for engaging "relations" is expressed through strikes, rowdism and even murders. In Government service appointment of relations is more or less barred. Why it should be otherwise in industry is not known to us. The same

foreign officers who often make agreements with Trade Unions to engage the "relations" of workers, know very well that in modern industry there is no room for such corrupt preferences. And they also know that most of those "relations" are false and are mere paper declarations for which the candidates pay cash to the important members of the Trade Unions. This business of engaging "relations" is destroying the moral foundations of Trade Unions in India. It is also reducing efficiency and productivity. The managers of industrial establishments agree to create this atmosphere of corruption because they themselves make appointments, grant increments and effect promotions on a similar basis of favouritism or corrupt references. If all the Managers' Trusted Assistants were examined throughout Industrial India, it would become very clear how the Managers made their choice. In a city like Calcutta, the footpaths are occupied by loiterers and idlers or vendors of infected food, and the pedestrians march along the roadways meant for vehicular traffic. They cross the roads at all points and the car drivers find it very difficult to avoid pedestrians everywhere. In the areas, where cars do not go in large numbers, the pedestrians expect cars to pull up so that they can finish their conversations with fellow pedestrians in the middle of the road. If any altercations arise the car drivers, as well as the passengers, are assaulted by the pedestrians and the loiterers. The police allow all this benignly and also allow riskshaws and hand carts to violate traffic rules everywhere. Only, private car owners receive police warnings and are occasionally prosecuted to justify the payments that are made to the thousands of policemen in the city. The pedestrians, the rickshaw pullers, the hand cart pushers, the loiterers, the idlers and the vendors are the privileged parties and the tax-paying vehicle owners are made to suffer iniquity, because the police choose the line of least resistance and greatest gain. On the Chowringhee, Park Street and Dalhousie Square traffic signs abound and sergeants move around officiously. But on Netaji

Subhas Road where the car owners are the businessmen of Calcutta who never hesitate to placate the police, cars remain parked in the middle of the road without let or hindrance.

We do not expect Pandit Nehru to stop his discussions with Mr. Chou En Lai to consider such low-level matters, nor do we wish to disturb Dr. B. C. Roy to look into traffic control in Calcutta. But the public, who are the real rulers of India, should wake up and make fuller use of their political rights. It is only the people of India who can make India a great, prosperous and powerful country. Not political parties and their indifferent leaders.

A.C.

#### Education in Top Personnel

A maker of articles before modern industry came into existence was an individual craftsman who procured his own raw materials, melted, cast or hammered into shape the various components, filed, cut, drilled, finished and assembled with his own hands, using the tools and instruments which his grandfather had used and eventually carried the finished articles to market or bartered them for other goods which he required. At a later stage the individual master craftsman probably employed some learners and workers who worked under his direction and, in this manner, he organised and ran what might be called a small shop for a productive purpose. In the earlier days of the industrial revolution, these places of work sometimes installed machines for a limited purpose and hand-craft combined with machine work for production.

When the factories came to be organised in which machinery progressively replaced manual work division of labour and a certain degree of specialisation began to creep into the planning of production. But no great brain power nor intensive training and education were required in those days to organise and run industry. Fairly illiterate and half-educated men could easily control the processes of manufacture and education and training were rudimentary and slow to impart. This sort of arrangement continued to pay a dividend and sufficed to fulfil its purpose for many decades and only yielded place to a new order when big

factories began to be set up for mass production and required the backing of ancillaries and departments which aided and helped by controlling procurement, transport and storage of materials and finished goods. Financing also became a bigger problem than it had ever been before and Industry slowly attained a size which had many branches, and was interlinked with other kinds of organisation for smooth and efficient operation. The illiterate and half-educated workers and managers began to be replaced by others who were better placed in point of education and training. But industry still had a trade purpose and a limited objective, and though great minds studied the economics of industry, and tried to sort out the fundamentals from the incidentals, no great analytical or synthesising mental powers were as yet mobilised by industries for actual management. The occasion which demanded the services of persons with vision, outlook, general education and intensive specialised knowledge for better management of industries, arose when ideas of planned economy replaced the older principles guiding production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. In modern national economies, planning inter-relating, balancing and fulfilling overall purposes take precedence over trade purposes and, men of outstanding ability and education are required in top places in all organisations for the proper co-ordination of all factors which have to be considered in doing anything whatsoever in any sphere of work.

Mr. J. R. D. Tata addressing the General Assembly of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, on the 26th March 1960, laid great stress on the urgent need for fuller co-operation among scientists, technologists and people responsible for the defence of the country. Among technologists he included all highly trained personnel who assisted in increasing the defence potential of the country. We presume he was thinking of personnel engaged in accountancy, planning, designing, maintaining industrial and human relations, general administration and all other work which conditioned the creation of a proper climate for a Total Effort for the defence of the country. In this connection Mr. Tata described how West Germany and Japan surmounted their economic difficulties after the

destruction of their economic structure in the Second World War. Japan particularly had always been outstanding for her great enterprise, spirit of self reliance, sense of realities, unity, co-operation, scientific outlook, industriousness, skill and technical ability. Japan borrowed from the West, but had no slavish or helpless angle in her outlook.

In India we need scientists, technologists and other highly trained personnel, including industrial administrators of great ability. In India, the Private Capitalists as well as the Government lack those qualities of justice, fair dealing and attachment to true values which are essential for building up the talent and ability of the people of the country. The Government believe in borrowing from foreigners and the foreigners, naturally, impose their own terms, personnel and institutional evils on the Indian nation. Indian genius and talent can never flourish in an atmosphere in which very common and, may be, average foreign workers take up positions which they have never dreamt of at home. High pay, affluent set-up and *Salams* soon demoralise these men, who thereafter only look for slaves and sycophants among Indians to maintain themselves in their inflated position. Such technical and administrative leadership, aided and abetted by a corrupt Governmental and political set-up soon reduces all chances of self-sufficiency to nothing. Among private employers, some employ people for gaining indirect advantages and others for finding employment for persons belonging to their own community. Such conditions also make things difficult for ability and talent to come to the top. The foreigners who agree to work with our Private Capitalists are seldom men of real ability and knowledge. They are mostly of the "yes man" type and they retain their power and position by flattery and by assisting their employers in achieving unworthy objectives. That scientific knowledge and technological excellence which Mr. J. R. D. Tata is looking for will not be found among the foreign types who choose to travel east-ward for fortune-hunting. Nor will he find these qualities among the "nephews" of party leaders, Ministers and Directors of Companies. If the Government wish to help Indian genius and talent to find their own place, steps must be taken to remove

the various obstacles that stand in the way of realising this dream.

### Forces of Disorder

A great Greek dramatist of the 5th or 6th Century B.C., wrote, "In times of trouble bad men rise to fame." Things must have been pretty bad in the land of the Hellens two thousand five hundred years ago, to produce such thoughts in the mind of a great thinker. We have no time to go into the details of Greek history of the period to find out why and how bad men rose to fame and disturbed the atmosphere of culture that prevailed in those days. Did any new political parties gain victory over the established order or were there any foreign powers which sought to conquer Greece by fifth column activities? It is true that whenever and wherever the established order yields to a new order, values and weightages vanish for the time being and everybody makes a bid for prominence, power and prosperity. And bad men drive out good men by reason of their greater unscrupulousness and ability to collect the forces of evil round them, so, until *dharma* is re-established by an incarnated god or a military distatorship, bad men run the show. Fifth columns, that is the organised agents of foreign enemies, also try to create disorder by preaching false moral principles and by coaxing, cajoling and tempting such people as can be won over to be disloyal, traitorous and adventurous. We do not know if the Greeks of those days had any clever enough foreign enemies to organise fifth columns in Greece; but the idea would not be impossible, for *Kautilya* in his *Arthashastra* described at length the ways and means of conquest of other lands, which included the methods adopted by fifth column workers.

The forces of disorder that are now dominating Indian public life are comparable to whatever forces activated the mind of the Greek thinkers of the fifth Century B.C. For there are too many bad men in circulation at high level in India today. They belong to the party in power and are among their henchmen, dealers, agents, contractors, (foreign and local), advisers and general hangers-on who pick up whatever comes. The foreign enemy agents are also organised and camouflaged cleverly and care-

fully. Who the actual agents are cannot be precisely pointed out, for they have collected large numbers of sincere followers of their false faith in order to hide their own identity. But, those who act in a disorderly fashion, break up meetings, throw about furniture and make smooth running impossible in any field of social life; are connected with that fifth column somehow or other. How do we make such an assertion? Because they are the people who stand to gain by such disorder. Whenever there are any crimes committed anywhere look for the beneficiaries of the crimes. For they are the people most likely to have committed, aided or abetted the commission of the crimes. Where there are too many crimes; far too many to have just happened by chance; the finger of detection points to the secret enemies of the nation. The Indian Nation must be awake and watchful now; for bad men are at large and must be put down for Public Safety.

### Executive vs. Judiciary

There are many upright men among those who administer justice in India. Not all of them are however courageous enough to challenge the Government of India's self-willed, self-important and corrupt *Emirs* and *Umraos* who constantly try to grant protection from the law to their favourites and, perhaps, to others who can influence them. Administration of law and order and the actual trial and punishment of criminals have become a farce in India. To begin with, most crimes go undetected. This is largely due to the inefficiency of the men who are paid for prevention and detection of crimes and partly to bribery and corruption. It is well-known and generally believed in by everyone that one can escape the lawful consequences of crime in India by placating some person or persons in Government service. This has been going on from the Muslim period, through the British imperial regime and after independence. But such low-level bribery and corruption has now been supported by interference with justice by men highly placed in Government. The recent pronouncements by top-ranking lawyers and members of the judiciary are clear cut and unequivocal. Pandit Nehru cannot say that he has not been able to interpret their true meaning. He has many men in responsible posi-

tions who are interfering with the smooth and free administration of justice in India. What is he going to do to put a stop to this?

### Dandakaranya A "National" Scheme

Mr. Khanna and his supporters from Orissa had expressed certain thoughts which they harboured deep down in the secret corners of their hearts, during the debate in the Lok Sabha on April 12, 1960. Mr. Khanna began his defence by saying, that the problem of refugee rehabilitation could not be allowed to go on indefinitely. The problem should be resolved within a definite period for which a physical target must be fixed. Mr. Khanna likes to treat the refugees as a body of persons with whom the Government of India has certain understandings of a contractual nature. The fact of the case is that the refugees have been created by the Congress Government's acceptance of the Muslim League-sponsored Two-nation theory and the partition of India. The Congress did this unilaterally and without consulting the people of India. It is, therefore, their obligation to do everything in reason to settle and rehabilitate the refugees. Orissan politicians who thought they could get the undeveloped areas of their State developed at the cost of the Centre for their own advantage, should remember that they have handed over those territories for the benefit of the refugees. If these territories are being developed for a national project, (a) Orissa should not have any control over it and (b) the Nation should say so and not use refugee rehabilitation funds for it and (c) the nation should clearly state how the refugees are going to be rehabilitated. The Orissan reference to the "parochial approach" of West Bengal people to a national project can also be resented by the West Bengal people. They must remember that the people of West Bengal are not the refugees, nor the Congress nor members of any political parties which mishandle public funds and misuse the powers that they acquire from the public by making false promises. There are several hundred thousand Orissans in West Bengal too who earn

money in this State and, if they went back to Orissa, they would become refugees who will then demand rehabilitation from the Congress or the *Ganatantra Parishad*, as the case may be. Mr. Khanna and his friends should learn to stick to their own jobs and not digress and delve into national problems or into the problems of the people as against the advantages that political parties gain by depriving the people. The Dandakaranya project has been started with a set purpose and, now that money is flowing in that direction, there are definite movements towards Dandakaranya from various sides. Indian politicians have earned a reputation for dishonesty and corruption in many fields. Let them not add another example to their list of misdeeds.

A. C.

### Racial Implications of Dandakaranya

All Indians are members of one nation. By this is meant that all Indians have certain common features in this physical, mental, moral, aesthetic, economic and political make up and outlook which enable them to live and work together and to have some strongly defined common aspirations which give rise to similar emotions in all Indian hearts in response to environmental forces affecting their lives in common. These facts of a common nationality do not however do away with the physical, intellectual, cultural, economic and political differentials which exist and separate various groups of Indians from one another. These differentials are of language, dress, manners and customs, diet, moral outlook, economic habits, cultural ways and the general frame of mind in point of progressiveness, love of freedom, willingness to appreciate and learn what is worthwhile and in the overall intellectual sense of values. Some of these differences are so very clear-cut, that, but for the powerful common national attributes, the Indians can quite easily divide up into mutually exclusive racial groups. Some of these groups are rigidly bound by manners and customs of the middle ages while others are free-thinking and adhere not too



closely to rules of caste, child marriage, untouchability, vegetarianism, segregation of women and so forth. Some of these groups have their ways too of remaining ignorant and inhibited in anti-social activities; and, these groups can never really co-exist with their more progressive brethren without clashing. In some groups the women have a very subordinate place and are kept even more ignorant than the men. People avoid intercaste contacts and it is quite common in such settings to see utterly ignorant and obnoxious types assuming superior airs on account of the achievements of their alleged ancestors in the second or third millennium B.C. Rituals and festivals are at times quite overpowering in some groups, and, where the majority of the people have a deep attachment to disquieting customs considered religious, enjoyable and good for everybody; any minorities who think and feel differently will have a very thin time.

In the Dandakaranya area where the Government of India desire to settle large numbers of Bengali refugees a clash of cultures has already developed for reasons not very clearly understood. Some of these reasons fall in the orbit of nepotism and corruption and have little to do with the Socio-anthropological considerations that we are dealing with Bengalis, as a rule, are casual in their dress and personal appearance which facts often misguide rule of thumb thinkers about their intellectual attainments and cultural excellence. Alexander the Great discovered to his utter discomfiture that in India *gymnosophs* could be mentally and spiritually far above their fellow men and, yet, they would present a poor personality in point of clothing. The "personality" cult that the Government of India is now propagating in order to recruit their pre-selected "nephews" according to procedure has no basis in science or truth. In the Dandakaranya project—too, we believe, men with a ready-made personality are trying to dominate those who have preferred not to put on an act and to stick to more fundamental values. This is a clash

of outlook and is based on the aforementioned differences of a racial nature.

The Bengalis have been a well-knit racial group for long centuries. They have their own outlook and strength of culture. This has been proved in East Pakistan where the Bengali members of the Muslim Nation of the Indian sub-continent fought for their separateness as Bengalis, against the Muslims from the Pathan, Baluch, Panjabi, Sindhi, Delhi-Agra-Patna and other areas. The Bengalis have lost more than half of their motherland to Pakistan in order to enable the Congress to succeed to the Gaddi in the present attenuated India. They have lost some more territory to Bihar, Orissa and Assam. It would have been honest and moral for the Congress if they had kept their promises, regarding return of lost territories, to Bengal. The Dandakaranya area might have been allotted to others and the districts detached from Bengal by the British punitively and maliciously, should have been re-attached to West Bengal. That would have prevented any major clashes which might now occur over fundamental issues.

A. C.

#### Foreign Tourists

India wants foreign tourists to visit this ancient and historically important country. The tombs, temples, palaces, forts, art, architecture and crafts of India have been wonder-inspiring to foreigners since the days of the Great Romans or even before that. Foreign tourists, therefore, would visit India in very large numbers if they could do so without incurring prohibitive expenses and encountering discomfort and unknown hazards. The Indian Government have a department for encouraging tourism in India but this organisation only carries out such propaganda and publishes such informative literature as can be managed by anybody with authority and funds at his disposal. We cannot say that the work of this department is visible to tourists anywhere, or that they have done much to help tourism. Indian Railways are quite good, but their inability to provide reservations from intermediate stations is a fault. Rest rooms should

be more numerous and managed by men experienced in hotel management. These rest rooms should be open to motorists too. The food and drinks should be as foreigners are used to and no sanctimonious regulations should be permitted to interfere with the comforts of tourists. The department of the Government handling tourism should be reorganised and staffed by men and women who have travelled and do travel by rail, air and road. Itineraries should be provided during season which should be all found and reasonably priced. The present system of writing letters to the Sub-Deputy Collector or Sub-Assistant Surgeon or Jt. District Engineer should be abolished and reservations in circuit houses, guest houses, Dak Bungalows, etc., made easy and convenient.

A. C.

#### Mica Workers of Bihar

For quite a long time the Mica Trade of Bihar has been at a standstill due to stoppage of work caused by the Sales Tax policy of the Government of Bihar. This has reduced India's foreign exchange earning by several crores. We have no information as to how this could happen, but we presume that a number of sales and purchases are effected in the Mica trade because the goods are stock-piled for actual export. And, we presume, that Government of Bihar have been trying to realise sales tax at each step of these transactions. This sort of multiple taxation happens in other fields too. A *Darzi* buying material pays sales tax on his purchases. If he has a shop, he pays sales tax again on the sale of his finished goods. In the field of trade, there are often a number of steps before any final sale to consumers takes place. The sales tax is a tax on consumption and, as such, it should be levied only when a sale is effected directly for consumption. If traders in the back woods collect quantities of Mica from smaller dealers and then sell the same to bigger merchants who, in their turn, sell their mica to exporters; then it would be a question of paying sales tax at least three times before the mica is shipped. Surely Government officers receiving salaries from public funds should have seen through the iniquity of this sort of thing. Or did, they see it and allowed things to slide in the best tradition of bureau-

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cratic management of problems of trade and industry?

A. C.

#### The Problem

Mr. D. P. Karmakar, the Union Health Minister, recently told the Central Family Planning Board that they would receive high priority in the Third Five-Year Plan. He further gave the encouraging assurance that their work would on no account suffer from any shortage of funds. Mr. Nehru, in defining the aims and the main content of the Government policy in a communication to the Committee, not only stressed on the lowering in the rate of population increase but on a fuller life to the family, mothers and children particularly. What shape it may take in the concrete does not admit of a blue-print. Almost everything depends on the spirit in which those who would operate the scheme are inspired to take to their job. They will have to tread delicate and sensitive grounds; and all they need is to enter into its soul. What, above everything else, they need is to spiritualise their endeavours. Prejudice dies hard; a socio-religious prejudice in this vital aspect of life, hardened by habits and customs from time immemorial, is much worse to tackle.

What alarming proportion the problem of population has assumed in our country is clearly borne out by the fact that U.S.A., which is three times our area, has less than half our people on the present estimate of India's 360 million—and by 1960 we are bound to be 400 million. Its terrible impact on the living space, and on the yield of the soil is clear, as we consider that in India there are 280 people to the square mile, but in U.S.A. it is less than fifty. The net result is that whatever we might be seeking to achieve by 5-Year Plans, with all the hardship and austerity they entail, runs the risk of being set at naught, unless something substantial is effected to control the rising tide. Steadily and devoutly we have to live on what, by now, is an accepted rule that gradually as the living standard of a nation is stepped up, the population bids fair automatically to stabilise itself.

J. B.

### Need for Vigilance

Mr. Nehru, in one of his earliest pronouncements regarding Chinese aggression, offered, as of instinct, to stand by Nepal in case she was ever attacked by China. The reaction of the Nepalese Prime Minister Mr. Koirala was far from complimentary. It was truly tantamount to saying—'We are a sovereign independent State; and we have disyoked ourselves from the ties by which we were bound to British India'. It was so unseemly that Mr. Nehru hastened to say that he never intended to attribute to Nepal any status of protectorate or vassalage. Mr. Koirala has now concluded a Pact with China and assumed the role of a buffer state between India and China. It is significant that he does not look much worried by the claims Mr. Chou En-lai has set upon Everest and other parts of Nepal. Mr. Bharat Shamsheer, the leader of Gurkha Parishad, sought in vain on the floor of Nepal's House of Representatives to bring out from their Prime Minister what these parts are. At first he welcomed the clause, by which both Nepal and China were to refrain from sending armed personnel within 20 kilometres of the border line each way. On a second thought he made no secret that this demilitarization to the depth of 20 kilometres was no advantage to Nepal militarily. He took pretty good care to remind the House that he was not at any time thinking seriously of a frontal attack by China, but most deeply and anxiously of her acts of subversion and infiltration. It has a meaning all its own in view of what Dalai Lama has pathetically described how they were stampeded into shattering extremes. 'China,' he summed up, 'first tried subversion without open violence.' In fact, it is by now common knowledge that China has within a surprisingly short time become an adept in subterranean methods to soften up the poor, the ignorant and the unwary for the final kill. Does Mr. Shamsheer, by the way, suspect Mr. Koirala confusing duplicity with diplomacy so far as India is concerned? Almost categorically he is charged of omitting with an ungracious persistence to

underline Chinese aggression of India. We have to beware. It is observable in retrospect that Mr. Koirala does hardly conceal his chuckle that China has agreed to respect the 'traditional border line' between Nepal and China, whereas in the case of India she has broken open the traditional border line. It is history that she has done this with a ruthless precipitancy as to constitute a coup of treachery. The sense of Brutus' stab abides.

As things stand, it is time for the people of India of all stations of life to have a precise understanding as to what points were yielded by independent India to Nepal. And in return for what? And whether the promises made are being strictly fulfilled? The best security for a nation is to be religiously on guard and know where exactly she stands. Besides, we claim to be ruled by Democracy. The touchstone of relation between the ruling party and the rest of people in a democratic set-up is the consciousness on either side that what touches all is being shouldered by all.

J. B.

### Test of Capacity

Round about the close of the last century, when our civic and national consciousness was yet in the embryo, twentyeight brave souls of the Calcutta Corporation stood up against what is known as the Mackenzie Bill. By this the Government of the day sought to control to an irreducible minimum the elective system, lest all sorts of people came in and corrupted the administration. Surendranath Banerjee led the opposition to the Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council. In his old age he recalled with proud satisfaction that he used to sit up till the early hours of the morning in order to prepare to fight the Bill next day. It was passed with the help of the official majority. We have it on the authority of Lord Ronaldshay that Mr.—later on Sir Edward-Baker, who was in charge of the Bill, urged Surendranath not to commit himself to an absolute refusal to take part in the reconstituted body. 'Impossible' said Surendranath; and he and twentyseven other members of the Calcutta Corporation resigned in protest

against the underlying assumption of the Act that the integrity of the Calcutta Corporation was not safe in the hands of the elected members. The invisible Hand so decreed that it was left to Surendranath to scotch this official measure in toto and nationalise the Calcutta Corporation lock, stock and barrel. This paved the way for the Congress to come into the picture. Round about 1924, when the Congress was in full possession of the Corporation, Surendranath Banerjee was constrained to issue, editorially in *The Bengalee*, notes of solemn warning against the 'Tammany Hall' methods of the Congress Swaraj Party in the Corporation. We forbear treading on sensitive corns. This much, however, will suffice to say that the Corporation under Congress influence came to such a loathsome mess that one of the early acts of the Congress rule after Independence was to take over the Calcutta Corporation in order to satisfy the elementary needs of administration.

This year's Mayoral election on 11th April ended with the so-called election of two Mayors with a Deputy for each and such ugly scenes that we have to hang down our head in shame. The episode looks very much like a repeat performance of 1934, when a Congressite of the Swarajist brand late Nalini Ranjan Sarker and an Independent, Moulvi Fazlul Huq both tried to capture the Mayoral chair and there was an exhibition of physical force. But there is one major difference. This time Mr. Banerjee and Mr. Bose, each claiming to be elected Mayor, are Congress members; the Congress is the decisive majority in the Corporation. The whole of the blame, therefore, is to be laid at the door of the West Bengal Congress potentates—their mean selfishness and hunger for power and profits and administrative incapacity. The trouble this year started with an uncalled-for reflection on the Mayor by the West Bengal Congress Vice-President, not in any party meeting but in an open public meeting at the Calcutta maidan. Since then, however, a unanimous vote of confidence was officially registered in a meeting of the Corporation, but vulgarisation continued unabated. Such newspaper reports of calculated slight to the Mayor, while Mr. Krushchev was being received at the Dum Dum Air-port, all but betoken a break-

down of Congress morale. Even then, how-so exasperating the occasion we are not in favour of superseding the Corporation. Is, however, the leadership of the West Bengal Congress, we cannot but ask, in such a low plight that it can no longer make its members conduct themselves with any sense of propriety? Would it yet wake up to the rude realisation that by their bungling and mismanagement of the Calcutta Corporation they supply one other proof of the failure of the Congress in the responsible conduct of administration? It is of utmost necessity for those at the top to so behave that the rank and file may feel ashamed to do an unworthy act. The opposition members as much need to realise that they too have as tremendous responsibility to the tax-payers, to whom they owe the priority consideration. They will better serve the cause of Opposition by a sense of discipline and a determination not to break loose from restraint by acts and utterance.

J. B.

### Rack and Ruin

Mr. H. N. Chaudhury, Education Minister, West Bengal, is reported to have said on the 12th April in the Assembly that the Calcutta University is going to rack and ruin. Such a stinging condemnation of the premier University of India in the context of the Minister's plea in justification of Kalyani University, in the offing, calls for an urgent probe. In any case, it is up to the Vice-Chancellor and the Senate to see to it as to what particularly were the factors, that the accredited spokesman of the Government had in his view when he delivered such a condemnation on them. What little light we are vouchsafed indicates the Minister's charge that among members of the Senate there were men who had little sincerity of purpose. Where trouble lies is further indicated, as he says, that they make impossible demands on the Government and carry on propaganda against it. We sincerely wish that at least the Education Minister were sufficiently considerate and balanced as not to let out, possibly, accumulated steam in childish outburst. Nobody will claim for the Calcutta University an immunity from criti-

cism for one hundred and one lapses. But would Mr. Chaudhury subject himself to a remorseless searching, why he, the Education Minister, did not at any time in the course of this long post-independence period bestir himself to bring home to the University authorities what ills they were afflicted with and help to solve them? The real fact, however, is that one corrupt body cannot muster courage to point their finger of scorn on the ulcerations of the other corrupt body. If the Education Minister is to be credited with a 'sincerity of purpose,' whose dearth he laments in the members of the Senate, we wish him come forward and institute an enquiry into the workings of the Calcutta University for the last fifty years on major heads—such as the integrity of examination, appointments, selection of text books, general administration and allied subjects. Fifty years back, the Calcutta University was esteemed as verily a sanctum sanctorum. Today its cleanliness is in question.

J. B.

### A Fake That Deceives No Fool

It is with sheer despondence that we contemplate the unconcern with which the prime Minister of India has chosen to draw the curtain over what has come to be known as the 'jeep scandal'. Whoever is at fault, the net result is that we have had to write off Rs. 31,36,474 and besides to pay a large amount as litigation cost. This settlement out of court has become inevitable, because our Government has realised after about ten years that even if we had won the case there was no chance of getting any damages from the party concerned; and, therefore, by withdrawing the case further legal expenses were saved. Nothing seems so distressing as for Mr. Nehru to argue in Parliament that the fact that the other party's capital was small had no relevance since they acted as middlemen. Middlemen, agents or principals whatever they were whenever money was advanced to them—possibly it was the paltry amount of 40 lakhs of rupees—did they or did they not offer security to back up the promise

to make good any default? It now transpires that their assets at no time covered what redemption we might have obtained from court. What man of ordinary prudence would ever venture into such an affair?

J. B.

### The Chou-Nehru Parleys

We append below the reports, from the *Statesman* of April 26, about the end of the talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En lai.

New Delhi, April 25.—A joint communique issued late this evening states that the border talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai "did not result in resolving the differences" between the two countries.

Apparently it was not considered desirable to disclose the details at this stage because the efforts to reach a settlement have not come to an end.

The Prime Ministers have decided that officials of the two Governments should meet to examine "factual material" relating to the boundary issue. They will meet from June to September this year alternately in Peking and Delhi and submit their report by the end of September.

There is also a hint that the Minister-level talks may be resumed at a later date. The communique, says the officials' report, "should prove helpful towards further consideration of these problems by the two Governments."

A heartening feature of the outcome of the Premiers' talks is the agreement that while the factual material is being examined, the parties should make every effort "to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas." What measures are proposed to be taken to avoid conflict is, however, not explained.

Even though the border problem was complicated and of a pressing nature, the Premiers found time to discuss other issues. The communique welcomes the forthcoming summit conference and hopes that "it would help in lessening international tension,

banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament."

The joint statement was released half an hour before Mr. Chou En-lai met the Press at a hurriedly convened conference. On present indications, Mr. Nehru will make a statement in Parliament tomorrow on his talks with the Chinese leader.

P.T.I. adds: The following is the text of the joint communique issued on talks between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai:

"At the invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, arrived in Delhi on April 19 to discuss certain differences relating to the border areas which have arisen between the Government of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China. His Excellency Mr. Chou En-lai was accompanied by His Excellency Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Chang Han-fu, Vice-Foreign Minister of China, and other officials of the Chinese Government. His Excellency the Premier and his party concluded their visit to India on the morning of April 26.

"The two Prime Ministers had several long, frank and friendly talks between themselves. Their Excellencies the Premier of the Chinese People's Republic and the Vice-Premier also had long talks with the President, the Vice-President and several senior Ministers of the Government of India.

"The two Prime Ministers explained fully their respective stands on the problems affecting the border areas. This led to greater understanding of the views of the two Governments but the talks did not result in resolving the differences that had arisen. The two Prime Ministers were of opinion that further examination should take place by officials of the two sides of the factual material in the possession of both the Governments.

"The two Prime Ministers, therefore, agreed that officials of the two Governments should meet and examine, check and study all historical documents, records, ac-

counts, maps and other material relevant to the boundary question, on which each side relied in support of its stand, and draw up a report for submission to the two Governments. This report would list the points on which there was agreement and the points on which there was disagreement or which should be examined more fully and clarified. This report should prove helpful towards further consideration of these problems by the two Governments.

"It was further agreed that the officials should meet from June to September, 1960, alternately in the capitals of the two countries. The first meeting should take place in Peking and the officials would report to the two Governments by the end of September, 1960. During the period of further examination of the factual material, every effort should be made by the parties to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas.

"Advantage was taken of the meeting by the two Prime Ministers to discuss certain other important problems in world affairs. The two Prime Ministers welcome the forthcoming conference in Paris of the Heads of Governments and expressed the hope that this conference would help in lessening international tension, banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and promoting disarmament."

### The Press Conference

New Delhi, April 25.—Mr. Chou En-lai revealed here today that he had invited Mr. Nehru to visit China at a time convenient to him.

He told a Press conference late tonight that Mr. Nehru had said he would take a decision on this after seeing the results of the work done by the officials of the two sides (as envisaged in today's joint communique of the two Prime Ministers).

Mr. Chou En-lai reiterated that the McMahon Line was absolutely unacceptable to China. Nevertheless "we are willing to maintain the present state of that sector of the boundary. We will not cross that line and in our negotiation with the Indian Government we have never put

# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## A Century of Evolution

In an article under the above caption in *Unity*, March-April 1960, John M. Morris writes :

A century has gone by since Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace developed the first clear, consistent, and complete explanation of the process of organic evolution. In America, and to a lesser extent in England, the theory of evolution has been attacked, ridiculed, and scorned by a vocal minority in the Christian churches, giving the impression that evolution is somehow anti-religious. Attacks like these have largely been given up, however, as a growing majority insisted that the truth can never be anti-religious.

We may turn to some of the deeper and more permanent questions upon which a century of evolution has cast some light. Under the influence of Darwin, men have discovered not only their kinship with the animals, but a new sense of their relationship with nature. They have also found some justification for their long-cherished belief that they are not tied helplessly to the past. And they have come to believe that they can build structures of thought, of art, of society, of religion, and of human relationships that are truly new under the sun.

First, then, evolution showed man his relationship with nature. Although he has evolved from animal origins, man's body is an animal body. His anatomy is like that of the great apes. His eyes (by a coincidence) are like the eyes of the octopus; they are animal eyes. The tides of the sea run in his veins, recalling an even older inheritance—the fluids of man's body are salt solutions of approximately the same concentration as the oceans in which he once lived. The human embryo, bathed in a memory of the primordial ocean, with curling tail and slits for gills, is an heirloom a billion years old.

Man is, of course, also different from the other animals, because of the way he thinks. For example, a human child can learn to talk, while a chimpanzee, even though it is raised in pre-

cisely the same way, will never learn articulate speech. Somewhere in the course of evolution, there was a basic change in the kind of brains possessed by our simian ancestors.

Man has, however, tended to over-emphasize his differences from the animals, cutting himself off from the rest of nature. This is part of what the psychologists call "alienation." Just as the alien has no roots in the country into which he emigrates, the alienated person has few connections of love, of sympathy, or of mutual support with his society or with the natural world. He drifts as helplessly as an unguided missile—and as destructively, too.

The concept of evolution showed that man is a member of the family of nature. His life has meaning in its relationship to the life around it. One author, Leslie Reid, puts it this way : "(There is a) fundamental unity which is the very essence of the natural world. Only (when we realize this) can we begin to apprehend the fact that each single phenomenon of nature has no meaning, no existence, except by virtue of its relationship with all the other phenomena . . ."

There is no doubt that man shares with all living things a unity of origin and a unity of ultimate destiny. There is, as we shall see, a fundamental principle of mutual aid, for which the word "love" might be a weak but indicative term, giving a partial unity to life. The principle of evolution, by reasserting man's fundamental unity with nature, has given a new and broader meaning to John Donne's familiar words, "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. . . ."

Under the name of Darwinism a somewhat different doctrine has been claimed as scientific "fact." According to this view, all of life is engaged in a fight to the finish. Nature is a vast battleground, in which "survival of the fittest" is the rule. Those animals which cannot compete in the struggle for existence are eliminated. Through this process, which Darwin called "natural selection," certain characteristics are

preserved and passed on to succeeding generations.

If Darwin was inclined to overemphasize the element of competition in nature, it was only because he was so familiar with it in human society. Victorian England was a place where the "law of the jungle" often prevailed. Karl Marx developed his theories of the class struggle as he watched the operation of the same society; he was so impressed with the similarities between his own and Darwin's theories that he almost dedicated the first volume of *Das Kapital* to him. Fascist writers, too, have found inspiration in Darwin's writings, which might be interpreted in such a way as to justify the elimination of "inferior" races.

Darwin, however, was not a Darwinist. He took some trouble to point out that man is a social animal, and that mutual aid and compassion are essential if man is going to survive as a species upon this planet.

It remained, however, for another man to give the full answer to those who held that nature is "red in tooth and claw." That man was Peter Kropotkin, a Russian prince, a philosopher, and a refugee from the Czars, whose authority he despised and denounced.

In a series of articles published in England under the title "Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution," Prince Kropotkin supplied the element that the Darwinists had forgotten. In great detail, he showed that it was not necessarily the most vicious animal, or the one with the best defences, that was preserved in the struggle for existence. It was rather those that could best learn the principle of mutual aid. Thus do ants band together in the nest; thus do birds gather in flocks for their migratory flights. Often, it is not the animals that compete, but those that refuse to compete, that are preserved. When snow covers the ground, the bears and certain rodents simply go to sleep, instead of fighting for their life; when the food is exhausted in one place, the herd of deer or buffalo migrates to another place.

Happily enough (Kropotkin concludes) competition is not the rule either in the animal world or in mankind. It is limited among animals to exceptional periods. . . . Better conditions are created by the elimination of competition by means of mutual aid and mutual support. In the great struggle for life—for the greatest possible fullness and intensity of life with the least waste of energy—natural selection continually seeks out the ways precisely for avoiding competition as much as possible. . . .

Although Kropotkin's work only slowly

gained recognition by the professional biologists, it is generally admitted today that competition is only one of many factors affecting the process of evolution, which is not nearly so bloodthirsty as the Darwinists supposed. We are slowly coming to the recognition that, in the words of the poet W. H. Auden, "We must love one another or die."

To reach this level of social existence requires a basic, radical change in man—both as an individual and in society. No implication of evolution is more important than its proof that such radical changes *do* happen. There are new things under the sun, and we can point to the whole history of life on this earth to prove it.

Evolution turned Christian theology upside down. It said that man is *not* an inferior kind of angel, but a more complex kind of animal. It said that life on this earth is not a series of imperfect copies of heavenly patterns. It said that higher and higher levels of organization and consciousness had appeared. The amoeba gave birth to the sponge, and the sponge to the fish, and so on, up to the highest mammals, insects, composite flowers. In short, *man has risen not fallen*.

Man has, with characteristic conceit, placed himself at the summit of the evolutionary process. To do so ignores the fact that many other forms of life have come through an equally long evolution. The ant, the cockroach, the rat, the daisy—all these are admirably endowed with qualities man cannot match. We might even argue that the insects are superior to man upon two counts: They are better able to survive the effects of a hydrogen-bomb war; and they are not known to be planning one.

But whether or not we think of man as the highest thing that life has produced, we are forced to recognize that it has produced him. For the first time, Darwin showed that we have to see the life-process as truly creative.

The theory of evolution has given birth to the recognition of *emergence*. According to this view, new or novel structures *emerge* in the course of time, which not even the most observant investigators could have predicted. If you study the gases hydrogen and oxygen separately, you will never be able to predict what will happen when they are combined to form water. We say that the characteristics of water *emerge* out of the chemical combination of the two gases. In the same way, life emerged out of certain chemical combinations in the early history of the planet; and at length human consciousness emerged out of the thought-processes of certain ape-like creatures.

The essence of emergence is surprise; it is



Mr. Chou En-lai: The Chinese map prepared according to the situation which had prevailed throughout history. We have frankly said a number of times that there might be some minor divergences between our maps and the actual situation of administration. There are differences not only between Chinese maps and Indian maps but between Chinese maps and maps of other countries too. We have told Mr. Nehru several times that after a survey is made and after the boundary is delimited through negotiations between the two sides the maps of our two countries will have to be revised according to whatever agreement is reached between the two countries.

"Before a survey is made, before a boundary is delimited through negotiations, neither side should impose its maps on the other side. Neither side should ask the other side to follow its wishes and revise its maps. If such a demand is made it is unfriendly and inequitable."

#### Lakshmiswar Vilas Palace

The Maharaja of Darbhanga's Lakshmiswar Vilas Palace has been given away by the Maharaja to house a Sanskrit University of Bihar. This is a very generous move on the part of the Maharaja and we hope Bihar will try to make the fullest use of this gift. Bihar is one of the less educated States of India and requires educational facilities for its uneducated masses very urgently. Whether there is good enough scope in Darbhanga to run a Sanskrit University is a question which we cannot answer with any degree of certainty. But a Sanskrit University anywhere in India may attract students from all over India and the outside world, provided it is run and managed properly to fulfil its declared purpose. Bihar may with advantage arrange to propagate the study of Maithili too in this University, as well as the other languages of Bihar. For, the eager-

ness to become Hindi speaking has so deeply agitated the mind of Bihar leaders that it has completely over-ruled all sense of realities. The Bihar people do not speak Hindi and yet, they have to be the greatest sponsors of Hindi in India. This is neither good for the people of Bihar nor for the Hindi language. The new University can be used profitably to stimulate the study of local languages, viz., Bhojpuri, Maghdi, Ardhamaghdi, Maithili, Bengali, etc., with reference to their points of contact with Sanskrit. This may increase the importance of the new University.

A. C.

#### Rajshekhar Bose

We deeply regret to have to announce the demise of one of our oldest associates in the literary world, Sri Rajshekhar Bose, who passed away in his sleep on Wednesday April 27th, which happened to be his 81st birthday. He was having a nap after the mid-day meal, as had become customary latterly with him, when his health began to fail.

Rajshekhar Bose was a man of unassuming but distinguished personality. He had a brilliant intellect which enabled him to throw lustre on all the fields that came within its scope. The Bengali literary world he enriched equally by his stories of peerless humour, and by the elegant prose of his abbreviated translations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata from the Sanskrit texts.

In the business world of Calcutta he was known as the man whose safe hands steered the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., through many a tempest to its present state.

He was one of the last of the elder generation Bengali litterateurs, punctiliously correct, courteous and friendly to all. By his passing there would be a grievous void in Bengal's literary sphere.

## SOCIAL CO-OPERATION, FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

BY PROF. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, M. SC. (Cantab), F.N.I.,

*University Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta*

### I

BEFORE saying anything on the topic noted, it is essential to define progress. Broadly speaking, it may be described as an advance in the plane of material culture and mental outlook. The two planes—of material objects and of mental processes—cannot be kept apart in a definition of progress. There is a story in our ancient sacred literature, of some seers who thought that the body, i.e., the material side of life was unimportant. An experiment conducted by them, of not adequately nourishing the body, speedily convinced them, through enfeeblement of mental powers, of their error. At this stage, the question may be raised as to what is meant by advance. This question can be answered on the basis of facts only by referring to what we believe to be the highest product of that series of changes in living beings through ages which we term evolution. We believe Man to be that product. It may be held to be human vanity, biassed by our own viewpoint resulting from our power over other living beings and over many forces of nature. But it is a fact that the particular quality that characterises animal life—awareness of existence and of the environment—is developed in the most complex form in man. The unicellular organisms like Amoeba that constitute a very lowly step in the upward rise of living forms, is capable of only simple movements either towards that which is pleasant or away from that which is unpleasant. It is a total massive reaction, not discriminating in details, so far as we can judge from observation. Awareness in a more developed form is found in multicellular creatures; this again is to be judged from observation. Vegetative continuation of life through gemmation or budding (or through fission) which is in a sense physical immortality is here replaced by sex division and by clear

demarcation of the individual from his progeny that carries on the stream of life. In the mammals, the organs of movement and perception are far more highly developed; nevertheless the richness of life that comes to us through our senses and our organs of higher correlation is not available to our nearest relations among mammals, the Primates. Progress in the biological sense, is therefore accompanied by very great integration of a vast number of cells of which certain groups perform different specialised functions and thus divide the work of the entire organism among themselves.

Social structure differs from a biological organism, in that the units composing the structure of society remain separate entities capable within limits of independent and similar existence. It is true that in certain well-knit societies of lower forms of life, for example among insects, the division of social function is accompanied by specific changes of bodily structure. Thus the worker bees differ in bodily structure from the Queen Bee and also from the male drones. Similar differences are found also in the highly organised societies of Ants and Termites. Such a differentiation, and it must be said such close-knit organisation, is lacking among ordinary mammals, although some co-operation in food quest and in other matters can be observed. As there are monographs dealing with mutual aid in animal society more details on this aspect is unnecessary.

In the society of human beings, we have various kinds of organisation. Since the prime necessity of man is to get food to keep alive and in health, the social structures are to some extent influenced by modes of obtaining this essential of life. Some tribes who follow different methods for supply of food will be studied in this connection. It should be stated here that the

various practices mentioned really refer to conditions prevailing in the previous century or at most in the earlier part of the present century. Modern technology and the spread of European people has obliterated many of these customs and sometimes also the folk who practised them.

## II

The Australian aboriginals (using the term for earlier folk of this continent) live at a very low level of material culture. The details noted are of one particular tribe but the pattern is similar for others. The men hunt game; the women collect roots, tubers and fruits and also the grub of insects. They do not wear any kind of clothing. Habitations are rudimentary. Usually break winds are set up in a place where they stay for some days, until they move off elsewhere. Tribal territory is open to all members for their foodgathering, although the local group, which is the smaller spatial unit, normally keeps within certain limits defined as its area. The food that the women of a family collect, apart from fishing with traps, constitutes a fairly steady though small supply. This food is never shared but consumed by the family. The quantity collected, it may be added does not leave a surplus for sharing. The flesh of game hunted by men of a family, by itself is irregular in supply. But the custom in a local group is that when a large animal like the Kangaroo is hunted and killed, there is practically sharing of the meat in the entire local group. A man lives with his wife and children; but his wife is usually his mother's brother's daughter. The father, his brothers, and the brothers of the mother all stay in the same local group. Of the big game killed, the hunter who has taken the main part gets the largest share of meat. The helpers usually get one foreleg each. But each man on return gives the major part of this food to his father and to his wife's father, who in their turn share it with their brothers. In this way all the families share in the flesh of the large animal killed, and no part of it is wasted. A good deal of controversy has centered round these customs which are held to be examples of primitive communism by some and criticised as not as by others. Although the Australians are really in a very primitive stage of culture, this fact has also been ques-

tioned in the heat of a controversy coloured by modern political considerations. The practice appears however to be nothing more than socio-economic co-operation at a very humble stage of human culture. To judge from examples of various primates, it is not unlikely that in a very early stage of human culture, the loose family group or band consisting of a male head, his women and children did not actually share vegetable food or the flesh of game with other such units who may have remained on friendly terms and lived in a loose larger unit. But the need of helpers to hunt big game would inevitably have led to co-operation of at least two such units in this respect. This would be more likely if one had no grown up sons and the other had such men. Such closer contact would lead to the development of mating behaviour between youngmen of the one group and grown up girls of the other. Certain Australian tribal customs suggest that at one time the men of what is now an exogamous group, used to have sex relations inside their group. In the interest of food supply, on which life depended, sex jealousy between men of the two groups would have to be avoided. This would require abjuring of sexual rights inside the extended family group, discouraged even earlier by needs of co-operation inside the family. At a lower level of life, among carnivorous animals like the wolf or tiger which hunt game, two individuals are drawn together by the mating impulse in the breeding season. But the association thus formed continues even later when this biological factor—of sex desire—has died down and ceased. Another biological factor hunger and the urge to live, leads the two creatures to work together. Among primates and human beings, the sex impulse operates throughout the year and helps to bind the male and female together. Jealousy at first separates the mating unit of the male and female of the carnivore from others. In the food quest even when the seasonal sex impulse is dead the separate unit persists under the drive of hunger, due to the organised hunting habits established during the mating period. In human beings, the need of food overrides the jealousy bred of sex and leads to extinction of mating rights inside the family groups. Here we have the beginnings of surrender of individual rights in the interest of welfare of the group.

It is not suggested that all the early human family groups in this area deliberately sought such co-operation after discussion among themselves. It is known that Australia formerly had greater rainfall and more plentiful fauna and flora than in recent times. If at first food was very easy to get, socio-economic co-operation may not be firmly established. It may not even develop. But as the climate changed for the worse the need for such co-operation would be emphasised. A social or economic necessity may be present but it is not every one who can recognise it and suggest a solution. There are in all societies individuals with a more sensitive brain. If such individuals are also not socially conditioned to think and behave within rigidly determined channels, the reappraisal of facts on original lines will be carried out by them for the necessary innovation. It is likely that such a person, drawing upon experience of work together in some other sphere in the loose hand, hit upon the idea to extend or introduce such co-operation to food quest. There might be other groups who did not accept such an innovation. But those family units which thus took up co-operation in the food quest would have a far more regular supply of flesh food than others. Their health would be better, more children would survive and the habit of working together in chase and sharing of products would help them much better to withstand attacks by enemy groups. These units would thus have a biological advantage in the rate of survival over other groups and inexorably replace those loose units which did not adopt co-operation. It is probable that these traits of culture were borrowed by others when their advantage became very obvious and the disadvantage of their absence was realised. It cannot be proved that the co-operation developed in situ in Australia itself; it may have come about in the course of migration through Indonesia earlier. In any case this seems to have been the likely manner of development of socio-economic co-operation.

Among another people, the maritime hunters, the Eskimos of polar regions, such co-operation is found to an even greater degree, in winter when the conditions of life are extremely difficult. In summer, the climate is mild compared to the dark winter months. The creeks and inlets become icefree and allow fishing to be

carried out. During this period, each Eskimo family lives in a separate tent, pitched by some inlet and the principal source of food is fish, supplemented by such scanty roots and berries that may be available. During this period stores of flesh of game hunted and marine animals killed are laid by for use in winter. Part of these are buried in pits in the winter hunting ground or other places and the caches indicated by suitable marks. The summer fishing waters are not the private property of any family but if any such unit has pitched its tent by any inlet, no other family goes to fish there. There is no competition; food is to be had in plenty, and there is also no community sharing. But there is scarcity in the matter of fishing tackle and of materials for making traps and harpoons. If any one has a spare trap or harpoon, a neighbour of the winter settlement which is fixed, can have it for the asking. Also if a whale is killed the entire settlement shares in flesh and blubber. But the hunters keep the precious whale bone needed for tools and weapons. In winter, a man killing fresh game shares it with neighbours who have not had fresh meat for a few days. A hunter lost in a snow storm can use, without need of return, the caches of meat stored earlier by any man of the settlement in the hunting territory. In the bitterly cold climate of the Polar regions, lack of food will kill a man in a few days due to lack of warmth. Again going without fresh meat in winter, when no fresh vegetable food is available, leads to sickness and death. It should be apparent that the Eskimo has been able to survive and to build up his really advanced culture, as compared to his surroundings and the limited material resources available, only because of the very great degree of socio-economic co-operation practised in their society. Here also, it need hardly be pointed out that all Eskimo units probably did not discover this great secret of progress. But that particular group of them which did so must have flourished and spread, and also diffused this feature of their culture to some of the other units who by adopting these traits also ensured survival and progress.

## III

In our country there are tribal people who lived until recently by shifting cultivation. The

Khasis of Assam are one such people. They are democratic in their societal pattern, and the so-called political chiefs or Siems have no greater rights to the land of the Khasi states than other Khasi members. For the duties the chiefs perform for the State, however, they are allowed to draw the income from tolls on fairs and markets in their area. Uncultivated land belongs to the village and also to sib groups which are like our gotras. Cultivated land belongs to the family of which the members brought it under tillage after clearing the forest. The right is however of usufruct and does not continue (at least until recently it did not) if abandoned for a number of years. Similar practices in the matter of rights in land are known to have been operative among other shifting cultivators prior to contact with more advanced cultures. To clear land of virgin forest, and keep it free of in-road of wild vegetation is not a one man job in primitive conditions. Here again co-operation made tillage possible. (Here again the description applies to conditions of fifty years ago or more).

Among tribes like the Munda, who have settled agriculture with irrigation of terraced rice lands, we meet with traditions of community rights in village lands in former times. Barely a century ago, villagers still remembered when land allotted to a family for tillage reverted to the village if the members of it left it fallow for several years due to inability to cultivate it. Such land used to be made over to other families who needed more land. It was this practice of community co-operation that enabled the Mundas to work together to guide the water of upland springs to their terraced fields through channels, over great distance. The organisation of a large number of villages into bigger political units with a larger corporate life went hand in hand with such co-operation in the realm of material culture.

In this connection two important facts should be noted. One is that community co-operation continued so long as adequate hunting and fishing territory for food gathering and land to clear for cultivation for food growers was available for all members of the group. Where due to conquest or inroad of people of advanced culture, such land became scarce, and each

family had to struggle for its own existence, community co-operation tended to break down. Among the Veddahs of Ceylon, the inroad of the advanced folk from India from before the Christian era, gradually limited their hunting territory. In the beginning of this century, anthropologists observed that each Veddah jealously guarded his hunting territory. Nevertheless some part of the earlier community co-operation persisted in residence in a common shelter and cooking food together. Honey was also collected and shared communally by men of the local group. In the United States, the Amerindians have lost their land to the European settlers. In California, we find that in the plains areas the Amerindian tribes have sharply defined family lands for hunting and fishing. But in the hill area where contact and encroachment has been less, communal rights in these respects, being survivals of community co-operation still persist. In our country, in the Khasi hills, the changes brought about by modern conditions have led to a scarcity of good cultivable land near villages, and also of building sites in villages. The present writer in the course of two visits to the central Mawphlang village in Khasi hills observed changes from community rights previously described to persistence of individual rights in land even when the owner no longer utilises it himself. In all these cases, scarcity of the source from which food supply came, along with observations of absence of community rights in this respect among the advanced people with whom they came in contact, has led to breakdown of the earlier community co-operation. Among the Mundas, formerly villages used to be of a single sib, and each family cleared and cultivated such land as it could with its own man-power. But later as good cultivable land became less available in some areas, families from villages in those parts went to settle in places where more of such land was to be had, although not for the asking in one's own village. Here in the new area they were asked to bear a larger share of the burden of the total rent paid to the Raja of Chotanagpore. They were also not entitled to the rights of the original brotherhood of settlers to reversionary right of families that became extinct. Here was the beginning of class-division at a very simple level of culture, and it created a certain amount of

difference in interest which weakened community co-operation.

#### IV

This factor of class-division, with difference of interests, hampers progress as the welfare of the community as a whole is not perceived by that section of it which may be dominant for the time being. Examples illustrating how such conditions block the forward march of knowledge and culture are available from higher civilizations.

The ancient Egyptians and Greeks and the ancient Hindus had made some progress in mathematics and natural science. They produced also beautiful sculptures and magnificent architecture, as well as systems of philosophy. But progress in science was poor and came to an end at little beyond the elementary stage. Among all three people, the dominant class in society who had leisure to think, did not practise the common arts and crafts. Adequate food supply and other wherewithals came to them from the labour of others. In Egypt and in Greece, manual work with various materials was left to slaves. In India, the twice-born abstained from such material productive work. For these aristocrats in all three lands, what mattered to them was different. Administrative needs felt by the heads of state in ancient Babylon seem to have led to study of shapes of cultivated fields and methods of computation of their areas. A Greek in Alexandria had systematised such knowledge, with no doubt additions of his own and of Post-Babylonian discoveries in Egypt and Asia minor. The Indians had gone as far as to discover the rotation of the earth, and a theory of fluxions which was the beginning of differential calculus. Probably, the early culture-bringers of India among whom were seafarers had thus been impelled to take up studies of the position of stars and this brought about such discoveries. Agricultural seasons could also be determined in this way and this had assumed importance in Egypt owing to the need of predicting when the Nile would be in flood. The dominant group in their own interest had to devote their mind to such studies. But careful observation of properties of different materials and how heat and light affected them, the

making of apparatus to judge such effects, did not concern them. The Muslim Arabs who in the beginning had a democratic tradition derived from the teaching of the Prophet of Islam, carried forward scientific studies in certain fields. But the powerful socio-religious conditioning that Islam imposed, and also the delegation of manual arts to a lower rank of society soon after the Arab Empire arose, set a limit to such progress. The formal practice of a craft like sewing a cap by some of the Muslim rulers in imitation of what their Prophet had done, at one period in his life time, does not go against the above facts, inasmuch as such actions were mere gestures. In Italy, the need of the merchants and merchant rulers of the Renaissance, led to some important discoveries in science, for example by Galileo. But here also the crushing weight of socio-religious conditioning stopped original thinking in science. The burning of Bruno at the stake and the imprisonment of Galileo in his old age were not the proper incentives to independent scientific thinking. There was no social co-operation between the artisans and the ruling class who patronised the Universities. The men who contributed to the intellectual output of the ancient lands did not consider the problems of the people who worked with their hands on various materials. Their interest was about the eternal problem of death and what remains after it and how life arose. Hence the flowering of systems of philosophies. Sculpture of the human face and figure in Egypt developed from the desire to live, after the body had died. The innate drive to feel the ego, and the drive of love that impels such leisured aristocrats, led to the creation of the magnificent as well as the beautiful in the fields of architecture and art.

It was only in Western Europe, especially in Holland and England, after the Reformation that this co-operation between the thinkers who worked mainly with their brain, the dealers in goods and the craftsmen who worked with the hands occurred. The sons of the classes that had need of study of properties of materials went to universities and built up institutions for such researches. The Royal Society of England was founded by these men. The much greater freedom of thought enjoyed in the western parts of

Europe at the time also enabled the sensitive minds to carry forward their investigations without fear of social disapproval involving deterrent punishment.

## V

It is well-known that the Renaissance began with the impact of Hellenic and other ancient contributions to knowledge on European thought reaching through the University of Cordova in Spain and also through the men of learning who came away when the Muslims conquered Constantinople. It was in a sense co-operation in the world of thought on an international scale. Normally, the words "culture contact" are used for this type of non-deliberate co-operation. It is to be noted that the systematisation of the discoveries of properties of triangles, squares, circles and other geometrical forms occurred in a land where more than one culture had then commingled. Still earlier, in Asia Minor, where there were Mesolithic cultures of folk who certainly cut and gathered graniferous grass that grew wild in this region, there is clear evidence of inter-communication between different folk early in the next stage of culture, that of grain growing. It seems likely that the observation needed to grow grain from the seeds of grasses already collected and utilised as food, arose out of the intellectual stirring up that occurs when different cultures meet. It is a well-known psychological fact that when social conditioning or habitation leads a person or group of persons to respond to perception of certain facts always in a particular way, this kind of response tends to attain a degree of unawareness almost like that of reflex action. At any rate, there remains little likelihood of the stimuli being turned over in mind for alternative conative action and the response being made through other channels. This is why crisis in a culture, when the set patterns of behaviour explicit as well as implicit prove inadequate, starts new creative activity in it, to realign the structure in harmony with the new conditions. Culture contact or impact is usually one of the principal reasons for changed conditions in mental outlook as well as in material life. This form of non-deliberate co-operation, as I have

termed it, is one of the fruitful sources of original discoveries and inventions.

From the facts and reasons noted so far it will be apparent that the factors essential for progress are (a) social co-operation inside the group; (b) co-operation in the realm of mental and material culture with other groups, deliberate or non-deliberate, and (c) freedom from undue social conditioning.

In the hoary antiquity of human culture, the conditions of life were extremely hard. Food supply from gathering was limited and precarious. Man's control over nature existed mainly in magical beliefs with little reality behind them. In these circumstances, any particular set of rules of social behaviour binding a group together and enabling them to survive tended to be clung to with extreme tenacity by the grown up members of such folk through fear of extinction. It is this rigidity in outer behaviour and inner thought that made new discoveries and inventions to come about at such a slow rate in early times. This is also the reason why tribal folk living in isolation originated very few new traits of value to mankind in general. It is the desire to live, and the fear of death that drove these early human societies to rigidity in behaviour. But as one of our *darsanas* state, *Prakriti* displays the same pattern of dance but once. A social group that clings to the same way of life in a changing world will eventually find the minor variants of that pattern exhausted, and face that extinction the fear of which drove them along this path. Progress came, as noted, when the rigidity broke down through culture contact.

## VI

In all modern States it is recognised that a substantial portion of the national income that comes into the State Exchequer should be spent for welfare of the citizens. This is one form of social co-operation. The emphasis on such spending for welfare may be of greater or less degree but the principle is accepted whether the State is Capitalist or Communist. As examples I shall mention some of the welfare arrangements in the United Kingdom, in Sweden and in U.S.S.R. In England primary

education and a good deal of post-primary education of the type termed secondary, is free. There are also secondary schools which charge fees, but the sons and daughters of poor and lower middle-class families who do not want to go to such expensive institutions, can receive quite good instruction in free secondary schools. Stipends to cover fees and maintenance are awarded to a very large proportion of the University students, if they happen to come from needy families. There is also an excellent National Health Service. Some of these measures were taken up early in this century; expansion of amenities came later. But although the party in power has changed from Liberals in the earlier part of this century to Conservatives, with a limited period of Labour Government, such amenities have not ceased to expand, except to a limited extent after the recent World War. Although the dominant section of this State is not of the working class, a large portion of the national income controlled by the ruling group goes to meet the welfare needs of those who do not hold power. In Sweden, again, which is a capitalist country, education is free as in England. There are sanatoria for sickly children of the free schools and free lunch is supplied in winter at School if the parent of the child notifies the School authorities that he cannot arrange it. No means test is applied; on enquiry I learnt that this is considered unnecessary as the privilege is rarely abused or not at all. I have mentioned this particular arrangement as an example of co-operation between the State and the Citizens in proper distribution of amenities. In the U.S.S.R., education is free up to the secondary level everywhere. University education of students is also largely financed by the State. The State also looks after the health of its citizens. Workers in Schools as well as factories get free holiday at health resorts. Obviously the dominant sections of the people in all three States see to it that a large portion of the national income goes to promote welfare of the entire community. The proportion of the total so spent is much larger in U.S.S.R., than in the United Kingdom and the Soviet Government believe that the arrangements they have for election to legislature and for control and management of farms and factories best promote

deliberate co-operation of their citizens in the control and distribution of the national wealth for common welfare. The Government of the United Kingdom consider their system of Parliamentary Government to be superior and hold that it is democratic. They criticise the Soviet system as being based in their view on dictatorship. It is to be noted that in both countries there is nationalisation of industries—very limited in the U.K., and almost complete in the U.S.S.R. In our own country the party in power, the Congress, has expressed its objective to be to build up a Socialist Pattern of Society. A few industries and organisations have been nationalised and the State has taken over Zemindaries from the landlords. Two Five-Year Plans have been operated and a third is in preparation. It is an important question for our citizens as to what is the best way of ensuring progress through co-operation between all sections of our people and those who run the machinery of Government.

It is well-known that in the U.K., at the beginning of the last century, Parliament was controlled by the landed aristocracy and big businessmen. The lower middle class and working class who constituted the majority of the citizens had practically no franchise. The organised agitation of these two sections of the British populace secured limited reforms in 1832. The needs of colonial administration, and the rising power of organised labour slowly secured concessions in the way of amenities. At present, although there has been once a fairly long-lived Labour Ministry (ignoring brief interludes earlier), a limited number of rich families control the greater part of the vast wealth in the private sector of industry and commerce. There is little likelihood of voluntary relinquishment of such wealth and power on the part of their owners.

In England the power of the landed aristocracy and the king had been broken much earlier at first through civil war between Yorkists and Lancastrians, and later through the Revolution of 1648. The common people, who had joined the party against the king in the war, had tried to abolish all titles, privileges and class distinctions. But in the absence of large-scale concentration of labour which occurred when Britain was industrialised, these Levellers



as they were called failed in their objective and were ruthlessly suppressed. Later when Britain had a large empire, the revolt of the subject people as in Jamaica or India were mercilessly crushed. The motive force of these steps was not fear of insecurity such as impelled early primitive folk but the securing of and maintaining wealth and power in a limited group. The type of concerted action by which a particular class in society secures its rights, or enlarges its wealth and power leaves its impress, like social conditioning, on their behavioural attitude to other people. This accounts for the kind of cruelty mentioned in the preceding portion of this article. The ruthlessness which marks elimination of politically opposed coteries in the U.S.S.R. is a similar heritage of the bitter and savage fighting during the Revolution of 1917, the long war of Intervention that followed it, the terrible visitation of German Nazi armies in 1940-45 and the cold war that has since then been operative. Here also fear of losing the gains in socialist economy and in some cases fear of loss of personal or group power has been the driving force.

## VII

Political independence has come to our country without much violence, although this has not been entirely absent. The winning over of Indian army men in the Azad Hind foudj of Netaji Subhaschandra, and their participation in the fight in Burma and Assam, the naval rising in Bombay and the restiveness of the mass of our population with the threat of breaking out into violence were factors in securing the liberation of India as much as the organised peaceful non-violent non-cooperation and political awareness of the masses built up under the leadership of Gandhiji. Success came when the British rulers realised that all sections of the community, were working together for a common goal. There was one important dissentience. The Muslim leadership were not prepared to work together with the other political fighters. They had secured concessions for their upper class through co-operation with the foreign rulers. But their conscious rank and file men also wanted independence. The foreign rulers

encouraged the demand for a separate Muslim state. The result was the partition of India which weakened our country. If it had been possible by sufficient foresight and long-term work to secure co-operation with the dissident section of the Muslims, this tragedy could have been averted. Details on this point have been discussed in another paper, on national integration. I have brought up this case in this paper also, as there are forces still operative which stand seriously in the way of co-operation of our people at all levels leading to national integration. In dealing with the various problems that face us, the different States take measures which make the people who form minority language and culture groups in them feel that they are aliens. If a young man finds that in securing employment the language culture area from which he comes or to put it bluntly, the fact whether he is a Bihari or a U.P. man or a Tamil counts for more than other qualifications; if in securing admission to Professional Colleges, the same considerations apply, he will be driven to conclude that there is little co-operation between different regions of India in these vital matters which concern training for life and employment thereafter. This discrimination operates not merely in the sphere of employment of educated youth but of unskilled labour, as a matter of deliberate policy on the part of employers. Actions of this type inevitably bring their reaction. There is also a trend in political electioneering to emphasise caste disparateness. The consciousness of caste has been present in our country from old times. The older caste panchayets were however weakening under modern conditions. But a wider caste feeling is growing up under deliberate encouragement of political organisations. Social and economic co-operation of all sections of our people which is essential for progress is bound to be seriously hampered by these trends against integration.

Another danger against which we have to guard in our own country in the interest of progress is that of blind and indiscriminate acceptance of propaganda and directives. Our country has a tradition of bold, clear and logical thinking, unfettered by fear. It was possible for one of our *darsanas* to proclaim that the existence of Isvara was not proved due

to absence of evidence in support. Nevertheless, this freedom has been limited to advanced thinkers. For the common people blind obedience to the Guru and acceptance of his utterances, as also faith in the overlord as their ma-bap (mother and father) has been preached over centuries. Such a mental and behavioural outlook circumscribes that freedom of thought and action that alone can promote discoveries, inventions and innovations. Reverence for the Guru who is the teacher, not necessarily in the academic field does not imply lack of discrimination. In fact the teacher who fails to instil this virtue in the student or disciple has proved his inability to discharge his duty. Here also our traditional view is that a preceptor does not desire victory over a disciple. The disciple should therefore be able to examine the teacher's pronouncements critically.

In modern conditions, the persistence of this type of limited mental outlook in our country will lead to the development of Personality cult and will retard the growth of awareness of democratic rights and responsibilities on the part of the common folk which alone can promote democratic co-operation. Indoctrination of any kind, whether ancient or modern, has such an effect. The older tradition of looking up to the Czar of all Russia as "little father", has under influence of somewhat rigid indoctrination in a particular system of socio-economic theory developed Personality cult in the U.S.S.R. As Marxism and its revised version Leninism is iconoclastic in its outlook, so feudal and bourgeois society and its ideals, mediaeval practices have no room for revival in the Soviet land. Widespread higher education and teaching of Science and encouragement of young students in top forms of schools as also entrants to Universities to go in for exploration and experiments on their own, along with leisure to think tend to correct this mental imitation.

We are vulnerable to a much greater degree in this respect in our country, as mediaeval views and practices here live side by side with our loftiest ancient truths and advanced modern attitudes. Also our facilities for secondary education and learning of science have not reached more than a small proportion

of our masses. The credulity with which people flock to utter frauds who claim to work miracles, and the case with which separate political groups form round various individuals with little difference in ideology are signs of the danger already mentioned. The economic insecurity of large section of our people—extending in most cases to inadequate means for purchase of enough food and for other essential amenities of life—leaves little room in the mind of these persons, to observe facts, to weigh up evidence and judge whether a panacea suggested is workable or useful. The position has been aggravated by the attitude of the Governmental organisation. Under British Rule, the Executive were mainly persons trained to a narrow view of problems—of maintaining the empire, and ensuring high pay for administrators and large profits for British businessmen. Arrogance, and avoidance of contact with the common folk were hall marks of the top bureaucrats of those days. At present, unfortunately, the old indifference to the general public remains. Co-operation is limited to influential sections of the electors. Also that class of our people—the rich businessmen—who kept in the good graces of the foreign Government prior to independence, while contributing also to Congress funds to be on the safe side, have at present a far greater control over the machinery of Government than the common people, in spite of adult franchise. This particular section of a nation has in all ages shown greater care to ensure its own profit than for national welfare. In ancient Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, the rich traders welcomed Persian victories in the interest of their business. In modern America, President Roosevelt's administration discovered that research work on production of artificial rubber essential for national security in war time had been held up under an agreement with a big industrial firm of chemical goods in another country, in the interest of mutual profit. In our country picketing and boycott of British goods in Bengal in 1931-32 was hampered by business interest by contributing money to a Congress organisation on condition that the limited fighting forces were diverted to some other objective.

The difficulties are aggravated by some of the conditions under which work has to be

carried out for successful economic development of our nation. The first requisite is to solve the problem of rapidly banishing scarcity of food and other essentials of life and of arranging for supply of more amenities. Planning for the whole country in all sectors is essential for success. And planning means curtailment of the freedom of the Producer, the Distributor and the Consumer and the placing of enormous power in the hands of the State Executive. In a backward country, the combination of forces enumerated may lay the foundations of dictatorships. If however, such limitation of freedom in favour of the Executive is voluntarily accepted by those concerned, with the awareness that it is essential for the welfare of our nation as a whole, the danger of mental subservience to leadership and eventual setting up of totalitarian rule can be avoided. If such awareness leads to scrutiny of progress of the implementation of the plans, it will minimise slackness and dishonesty at the top as well as at the bottom and in the middle, which is at present rendering many of the planned projects in our country less effective. In a land with an ancient tradition of acceptance of the word of the Guru and of looking up to the Ruler as a beneficent parent, initiative in respect of these changes can come only if the men at top in all avenues of life including political organisations, set an example of honest, selfless work, surrendering personal profit, prestige and prerogative for common welfare of all. It is also essential that dishonesty and corruption be put

down with exemplary and deterrent punishment. Slackness in this respect, enabling offenders to get a way with illgotten gains, will have a demoralising effect. It is a matter of regret that such anti-social acts are increasing in frequency and are being openly defended. Certificates of honesty and freedom from nepotism are granted where facts palpably contradict the labels so fixed. The association of representatives of local workers and of people of known integrity with officials to promote co-operation at all levels is essential in these circumstances. Apart from making democracy and professions of aiming at a socialist pattern of society somewhat more real, such steps will help in reducing dishonesty among officials and their superiors and also be a curb on their autocratic actions. If all these corrective steps are taken and co-operation is promoted between those who hold power and those who have voted them to power, the men in humbler walks of life will be inspired to keep alive the idealistic urge that they must have felt in their younger days, and will devote themselves to work, not merely of personal gain but also in the wider interest of the nation as a whole. Since officials and ministers are drawn from such higher as well as lower sections of the people, they will also come under the influence of these community welfare promoting forces.\*

\*Based on a talk given at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture in May 1959.



## THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE\*

By ITRAT H. ZUBERI,

Visiting Professor in the Department of English, State University of Iowa†

Rabindranath Tagore is a philosophical poet in the true sense of the word. The two great philosophical poets of Europe are Lucretius and Dante; Lucretius followed the philosophy of Epicurus and Dante that of St. Thomas Aquinas. Their poetry in a way is the product of their learning transfigured by imagination and we cannot fully understand them today without some study of their thought and knowledge. In a similar manner the poetry of Tagore cannot be truly appreciated without reference to the philosophy of the Upanishads. The Upanishads were composed between 1000 B.C. to 300 B.C. Some of the later Upanishads on which the great commentator Sankaracharya has commented are post-Buddhistic and belong to about 400 to 300 B.C. The Upanishads present a comprehensive philosophy of life, and thus there is a close relationship between the Vedas and the Upanishads and there has always been a tradition in Indian philosophy to study them together; the significant point is that the ten classical Upanishads are treated philosophically as coming at the end of the Vedas, and therefore the philosophy of the Upanishads is called Vedanta, meaning the philosophy which is the end and consummation of the teaching of Vedas.

The theme of Vedas concerns the domain of Karma or action; the Upanishads mainly

deal with the problem of Jnana or knowledge; and action and knowledge constitute a single harmony which is the aim of Indian philosophy to explain and expound.

I think Tagore found the philosophy of the Upanishads congenial as he belonged to the Brahmo-Samaj sect which under the influence of Vedantic as well as Christian thought had renounced idol-worship; this was one of the cardinal tenets of the Brahmo-Samaj teaching. The Upanishads aim at the religion of the spirit and they therefore try to discard the polytheistic conception of the Vedas and recognize only One Spirit, infinite, eternal, and self-existent. The Upanishads are therefore critical of the Vedic religion of ritual and sacrifice as means to salvation. The central question is asked in Mundaka Upanishad:

"What is that by which all else is known?" The reply is given by the teacher and seer in clear terms:

"Those who know Brahman, say that there are two kinds of knowledge, the higher and the lower. The lower knowledge is of the Vedas and also of ceremonies. . . . The higher knowledge is of that by which one knows the changeless reality. By this is fully revealed to the wise that which transcends the senses, which is uncaused, which is indefinable, . . . which is all-pervading, subtler than the subtlest—the everlasting, the source of all."

(Mundaka. 1. 1. 45)

The Upanishads have, in fact, tried to raise the religion of Sacrifice to a symbolic significance. Spiritual self-discipline is conceived as the highest form of sacrifice and such a life of sacrifice has been called "the bath of purification." The highest form of sacrifice is therefore purification of the self. When Tagore talks of 'sacrifice,' he is not using the term in its modern sense, but in the religious sense of the Upanishads:

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† Formerly Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta, till 1947, Fellow of the Calcutta University (1940-47), Taught in the post-graduate, English Department (1940-47), Member of the Senate of the Calcutta University (1940-47), Vice-Chancellor, Rajshahi University, East Bengal (1953-57), Educational Adviser to Government of Pakistan, Karachi (1957-59); now Visiting Professor in English, State University of Iowa.

Tagore has given a new significance to this concept of **sacrifice**, sacrifice for the sake of the illumination of the self, and sacrifice for the sake of humanity. This is what he says:

"The chicken within the egg has rudimentary wings, rudimentary eyesight and legs. These are of no use while the chicken is still in the shell. But some chicks, let us suppose, even while these might feel that there must be a realm beyond, where they can make full use of their potential faculties. Other chicks, again, being rationalists or logicians, argue that there is no life beyond the shell. Human beings are likewise divided into those who have faith in the life beyond the shell and those who have not; those who believe that they have faculties which are not to be accounted for by the intellect alone and those who do not.

"We cannot fully understand the outer world; we are within the shell. The loss entailed in breaking the shell, in self-sacrifice, is not an absolute loss; the gain is far greater. All religions have dwelt upon this point of gaining by sacrifice."—Tyaktena Bhunjitha.

This is the self-sacrifice which leads to the illumination of self, to the apprehension of reality. Tagore also conceived another form of sacrifice of the self which shows his concept of human society. Tagore takes an evolutionary view of the social front in relation to "power," power in the modern political sense.

"Think of evolution; first the earth, then the animals. It was dark; then it was light; then there came intellect; and physical life found its highest strength through mind. It extended its arms into weapons enlarging the domain of physical power and man became master over other animals."

What Tagore is trying to say is that the source of the extension of the power of Man over other men and over Nature is mind and not the body. He further develops his idea that the survival of the fittest in fact means the survival of the better mind. It is the intellect which is the controlling and determining factor in the process of evolution; Tagore, therefore, points out that

evolution did not end with the instinct of 'self-preservation';

"But evolution did not stop here. Here is another instinct evolving in human beings which is not to gain but to give—the spirit of sacrifice."

This larger concept of the 'spirit of sacrifice' is fundamental to the philosophy of Tagore. What does it signify for Tagore? He thinks that it is natural that life in its determination to survive always resists against those forces that are antagonistic to it. No animal encounters danger for another animal. In the evolutionary process of life this is the law of Nature. Man alone is not subject to this law. He goes quite against the laws of Nature by sacrificing his happiness and even life for the sake of an ideal, sometimes for what he conceives his duty, sometimes for posterity, sometimes for the sake of a remote and distant future, where he will never be. He, therefore, acts against the instinct of self-preservation and sometimes even rises to the height when he can say "Forgive thine enemy."

Tagore tries to explain this paradox through a philosophical concept; he maintains that the spirit of sacrifice which prompts a man to sacrifice his life is possible only because man has faith in the existence of a universal human spirit; he knows within himself that he is a part of a great connected existence and that in separation and isolation his individual entity loses its significance. Tagore, therefore, holds that true internationalism can only be achieved when we realise that nothing in the universe is separate or disconnected; and thus he projects before our mind's eye the concept of a **universal personality**, not in opposition, but as an extension of individual or group personality. In referring to the isolation of Man in a mechanized society, Tagore has made a significant observation:

"Upon the loss of this sense of a universal personality, which is religion, the reign of the machine and of method has been firmly established, and man, humanly speaking, has been made a homeless tramp. As nomads, ravenous and restless, the men from the West

have come to us. They have exploited our Eastern humanity for sheer gain of power. This modern meeting of men has not yet received the blessing of God. For it has kept us apart, though railway lines are laid far and wide, and ships are plying from shore to shore to bring us together."

Tagore then quotes a famous verse from the Upanishads: "He who sees all things in atma, in the infinite spirit, and the infinite spirit in all things, remains no longer unrevealed."

Tagore then points out that the arrival of machine in the midst of human society has led to devastating wars for it has upset the inner balance of human society.

"In the modern civilization, for which an enormous number of men are used as materials, and human relationships have in a large measure become utilitarian, man is imperfectly revealed. For man's revelation does not lie in the fact that he is a power, but that he is a spirit."

When Man has been thus 'revealed,' harmonious human relationship can be established within a given society which is a nation and between other societies which constitute an international society.

From this point of essential human relationship, Tagore develops a unique idea of what he called the World-Worker. He holds that a worldwide human relationship can only be established if we accept the idea of the World-Worker, that is, we must work for all. When Tagore asks us to work for all, he is not asking us to work for the greatest number of persons, for he holds that all "work that is morally good, however small in extent, is universal in character."

It is in this sense that work becomes selfless and assumes the character of universality. The idea is again derived from the Upanishads which teach us that we should strive to become one with that which is to be realized: "Tam Vedyam purusham Vedah." The Upanishads further clarify the idea when they assert: "This is the divine being, the World-Worker, who is the great soul, ever dwelling inherent in the hearts of the people."

The three important elements, namely, the emergence of universal personality, the realization of the concept of selfless work as an expression of moral order, and the development of the idea of World-Worker as a form of the divine being give to the philosophy of Tagore a social dynamism which is quite unique in Indian thought. In my view Tagore's philosophy is that of affirmation and not of withdrawal from life, and what is still more significant, Tagore has declared in an unambiguous way that man's highest creative impulses have found expression in the organization of Society:

"True creation is realization of truth, through the translation of it into our own symbols.

"For man, the best opportunity for such a realization has been in men's Society. It is a collective creation of his, through which his social being tries to find itself in its truth and beauty. Had that society merely manifested its usefulness, it would be inarticulate like a dark star. But, unless it degenerates, it ever suggests in its concerted movements a living truth as its soul, which has personality.

"In this large life of Social Communion man feels the mystery of Unity, as he does in music. From the sense of that Unity, men came to the sense of their God. And therefore every religion began with its tribal God."

Tagore thus sees Society as 'Collective Creation' in Truth of Man's Will, and therefore he does not advocate our withdrawal from its activity; he moreover gives a philosophical importance to right action in his concept of the 'World-Worker.'

The central theme of the Upanishads is the eternal problem of philosophy, man's search for reality which is Truth. The main theme of the philosophy of Tagore is his concept of the **Infinite** and **Finite** to which he has given a comprehensive expression, with many variations, in his poetry.

I will now try to show how the concept of reality in the philosophy of Tagore is derived from the Upanishads. The Upanishads conceive reality under three aspects as infinite existence (*sat*), absolute truth

(chit) and pure delight (ananda). The Upanishadic conception is that of one reality (Ekam sat) which realizes itself in all the variety of existence. This conclusion is strengthened by a philosophical analysis of the nature of the self which is called Atman. In the Chandogya Upanishad, we find the self being examined under four stages of the bodily self, the empirical self, the transcendental self, and the absolute self. We have no time to examine the intricate psychological and metaphysical patterns of self as explained in the classical Upanishads, but as according to Vedantic philosophy, the relation of the Infinite and Finite can be understood in relation to the self alone, I would very briefly describe the relation of the self to the Infinite.

The central idea is that the self of man consists in the truly subjective, which can never become an object. It is the person that sees, not the object seen. It is the I which remains beyond and behind, inspecting all qualities. It is the subject in the truest sense, and it can never become the object. This argument assumes that whatever becomes an object belongs to the not-self.

The Upanishads then postulate two important aspects of the self; the body is only an instrument used by consciousness, while consciousness is not the product of the body, and that the continuity of experience requires us to admit a permanent self underlying all contents of consciousness, thus we realize that the self is the subject of all experience. Without the self there can be no knowledge, no art or morality. We are, therefore, told (in Brihadaranyaka Upanishad):

"Brahman can be apprehended only as Knowledge itself—Knowledge that is one with reality, inseparable from it. For he is beyond all proof, beyond all instruments of thought. The eternal Brahman is pure, unborn, subtler than the subtlest, greater than the greatest."

Having realized the reality of the flux of experience, and having affirmed the reality of knowledge, the Upanishads affirm the reality of the universe as an expression of the Supreme being, Brahma, in the

created universe is Maya. The Upanishads even go so far as to assert that one who denies the life outside his self destroys the self within. The infinite self is, therefore, not the opposite of finite for it includes it; the self is not an abstract formal principle but an active universal consciousness.

The true infinite self is none of the limited things, yet the basis of them all. It is universal self which is immanent as well as transcendent. And once this truth has been realized, through meditation and in knowledge, one knows the self as Brahman. Therefore the Upanishads teach us:

"It (the self) is within all, and it is without all. He who sees all beings in the self, and the self in all beings, hates none. To the illumined soul, the self is all. For him who sees everywhere oneness, how can there be delusion or grief."—(Isha Upanishad).

The question is asked in a straightforward manner and answered simply:

"Of what nature is this self? Is he the self by which we see form, hear sound, smell odor, speak words, and taste the sweet or the bitter? Is he the heart and the mind by which we perceive, command, discriminate, know, think, remember, will, feel, desire, breathe, love, and perform other like acts?"

Nay, these are but adjuncts to the self, who is pure Consciousness. And this self, who is pure Consciousness is Brahman. He is God, all gods; the five elements—earth, air, fire, water, ether; all things, great or small, born of eggs, born of the womb, born from heat, born from soil; horses, cows, men, elephants, birds; everything that breathes, the beings that walk and the beings that walk not. The reality behind all these is Brahman, who is pure Consciousness.

"All these, while they live, and after they have ceased to live, exist in him."—(Aitareya-Upanishad.)

Brahman is, therefore, all: from Brahman came appearances, sensations, desires, deeds. In order to know Brahman one must experience the identity between him and the self.

Tagore's vision of creation is saturated with the Upanishadic philosophy of the relation of the Self to Brahman as the Supreme Being and the world of creation as an expression of the divine self. But Tagore expresses the Upanishadic concepts in his unique way, which is the way of a great poet.

I had said in the beginning that in the Upanishads, Reality is viewed under the three-fold aspect as infinite existence, as absolute truth and as pure delight (ananda). It was the concept of Ananda that caught the imagination of Tagore as a poet. Tagore says:

"In the Upanishads we find the note of certainty about the spiritual meaning of existence . . . . They aver that through our joy we know the reality that is infinite, for the test by which reality is apprehended is joy. Therefore, in the Upanishads Satyam and Anandam are one. Does not this idea harmonize with our everyday experience?"

Western critics have found Tagore's poetry rather vague and lacking in tension. They have often complained that there was "no deep-seated conflict in his nature," as if tension and conflict are pre-requisites of poetry. I think the reason is that Tagore's poetry has not been studied in the context of the philosophy of Upanishads and its interpretation by Tagore in his own poems and plays.

In the philosophy of Upanishads there is no concept of The Fall, and thus there is no problem of inherent sinfulness of Man; the presence of evil is recognized in Upanishads, but the tension between sin and redemption is absent, and the lack of tension is not due to the fact that there is no complexity in the thought and poetry of Tagore, but that his poetry represents that state of mind and experience in which all inner tension and contradictions have been resolved. What I mean is that Tagore's poetry is based on his own mystical experience which revealed to him the unity between his self, the world of Nature around him and he expressed this experience in terms of the philosophy of Upanishads.

When Tagore uses such terms as 'joy', 'delight', 'Nature revealing itself', the King passing through a small village and gazing, as if by chance, on the face of an unknown and humble villager, he is talking in terms of symbolism the origin and significance of which we can only find in Upanishads. For instance, listen to this poem from Gitanjali.

"Thus it is that thy joy in me is so full. Thus it is that thou hast come down to me.

O thou Lord of all heavens, where would be thy love if I were not? In my heart is the endless play of thy delight.

In my life thy will is ever taking shape. And for this, thou who art the King of Kings hast decked thy self in beauty to captivate my heart. And for this thy love loses itself in the love of thy love, And there art thou seen in the perfect union of two."

This is one of the simpler poems of Tagore; but here delight or joy is not what we understand by these words, today, but an aspect of reality (Ananda) as taught in Upanishads.

The 'play of thy delight' signifies the mystical concept of life as the dance of Shiva, the creator delighting in rhythm of life, of his own creation. The basis of the beauty of the world is the self of man (Atman); the poet asks, "if I were not," if the self was not-existent, who would know the richness of thy love?

And the poet affirms that 'union' in the mystical sense can only be achieved through love the intensity of which is revealed in 'joy'. What I am trying to say is that like Traherne or Richard Crashaw, Tagore can only be understood in terms of his own poetic idiom which he has created out of the philosophy of Upanishads.

If Tagore discovered that the religion of Man consists not in the formalism of ritual and ceremonies but in perceiving in one's own soul the union of spirit that is everywhere, he was rediscovering in his own personal mystical experience the ancient truth of Upanishads: Aham eva idam Sarvo'smi: "I indeed am this whole Universe." This mystical form of religion is





Troops patrolling the snow-bound Indian border somewhere in the Himalayas



Indonesian President, Dr. Soekarno, with President Dr. Rajendra Prasad; Vice-President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at Palam Airport in New Delhi

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

civilization, on account of the sharp antagonism of its intellectual direction. . . . . The same thing is happening in India. The European culture has come to us, not only with its knowledge, but with its velocity."

In order to realize his concept of humanistic culture in the true tradition Tagore founded the famous University in the enchanting rural surroundings of Santiniketan. Like all humanists Tagore had great faith in the transforming power of Education. He realized the importance of intellectual training but he thought a University should go beyond it. He said:

"The Western universities have not yet truly recognized that fulness of expression is fulness of life. And a large part of man can never find its experience in the mere language of words. It must therefore seek for its other languages—lines and colours, sounds and movements. Through our mastery of these we not only make our whole nature articulate, but also understand man in all his attempts to reveal his innermost being in every age and clime.

The great use of Education is not merely to collect facts, but to know man and make oneself known to man. It is the duty of every human being to master, at least to some extent, not only the language of intellect, but also that personality which is the language of Art. It is a great world of reality for man—vast and profound—this growing world of his creative nature. This is the world of Art."

And so at his University Tagore tried to create a world of universal understanding, he invited scholars from both the East and the West to live and teach there, he revived the village crafts, the ancient folk music and classical dancing. He tried to translate with reality his humanistic dictum that "The spirit of beauty is the vision of the Infinite." Tagore's humanistic philosophy is a bridge between Asia and Europe, and he believed that separation and alienation between nations was wholly untenable in our century:

"Each nation has arrived at its goal by a different path which has given a special significance to its civilization, but the fruits of it are offered to all. When nations come together as they have done now, our education must enable every child to grasp this purpose of the age, not to defeat it by acquiring the habit of division, of cherishing national prejudices. There are, of course, natural differences in human races which should be respected and preserved, but our education should be such as to make us realize our unity in spite of them and discover truth through the wilderness of contradictions."

Tagore was a true humanist and the variations and contradictions which today exist between the cultures of the world did not baffle him. He believed that through a religious humanism these could be resolved into a harmony of thought and action. Tagore gave this process a significant expression; he called it "redeeming the Contraries." Even his sense of intense patriotism did not cloud his vision and I will end by reciting a poem he wrote about India which he loved and interpreted so well:

"Where the mind is without fear,  
And the head is held high,  
Where knowledge is free;  
Where the world has not been broken  
Up into fragments by narrow domestic  
walls;  
Where words come out from the depth  
of truth;  
Where the clear stream of reason  
Has not lost its way into the dreary  
desert sand of dead habit;  
Where the mind is led forward  
By thee into the ever-widening  
thought and action—  
Into that heaven of freedom,  
My father,  
Let my Country awake."

the basis of the philosophy of Tagore whether expressed in his poetry, prose or dramas.

The philosophy of Upanishads found its most eloquent and complex expression in Tagore's poetry but was in the process re-interpreted in terms of the poet's vision. I will only refer to one aspect, Tagore's idea of Renunciation which is an important theme of Indian philosophy.

In one of his famous poems, Tagore made a significant statement or rather affirmation which I think is the central idea in his mystical poetry:

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation.

I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.  
Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine  
Of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim.  
My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flame,  
And place them before the altar of thy temple.  
No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of  
Sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.  
Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy  
And all my desires ripen into fruits of love."

Tagore affirmed in clear terms that for him Salvation could not be achieved through renunciation as he saw the Supreme Being revealed in the multiplicity of form and colour; and thus in ananda Tagore discovered Reality:

Tagore in a letter to a friend explained what he meant when he said: "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation."

"Nature with its form, colour, and fragrance, man with his intellect and mind, his love and attachment, have enchanted me. I do not despise these bonds, they are not tying me; they are helping me to free my mind and spreading me out from the bondage of my own self. . . . Like the love that surpasses the object of love, the light that shows

not only the things we are in search of, but illumines the whole universe, so through the beauties of the world. . . . it is God who is attracting us. No one else has power to attract."

It is not only Nature with its variation of form and colour but also the self of man that is leading us to God. Whenever Tagore talked of love, humanity was always in his mind. His religion was not the flight of the alone to the alone, for he said:

"Religion inevitably concentrates itself on humanity, which illumines our reason, inspires our wisdom, stimulates our love, and claims our intelligent service."

Tagore therefore came to the conclusion that it is in joy and love which are conditions of bliss (ananda) in the philosophical sense that man discovers himself and in such a discovery he not only finds his own self but discovers unity between himself and the divine creation. He himself said:

"When our self is illuminated with the light of love, then the negative aspect of its separateness with others loses its finality."

When this finality of separation has been overcome, Man can see things in their true aspect which to Tagore was their universality.

Out of his philosophy of beholding the infinite in finite, developed the humanistic element in the philosophy of Tagore. He gave to his humanism a cultural and intensely practical shape. The great contemporary even in contemporary India was the intrusion of Western European thought. Let me briefly quote Tagore on this theme:

"Let me say clearly that I have no distrust of any culture because of its foreign character. On the contrary I believe, that the shock of such extraneous forces is necessary for the vitality of our intellectual nature. It is admitted that much of the spirit of Christianity runs counter to the classical culture of Europe. . . . And yet this alien movement of ideas, constantly running against the natural mental current of Europe, has been a most important factor in strengthening and enriching her



The President of the United Arab Republic, Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser, was received at the Palam Airport by President Dr. Raiendra Prasad; Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan; Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Cabinet Ministers



The President Mr. Gamal Abdel Nasser and party visited Fatehpur Sikri, built by Akbar, 25 miles from Agra

## FORESTS AND FOREST RESOURCES OF INDIA

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

## II

Before any other sense of wealth had dawned on man he came to realise the significance of forest in his life as part of his own existence. (i) Reserved, (ii) Protected, and (iii) Un-forest in his life as part of his own existence. classed.

Up to this day, with a multitude of different sources of wealth, forests are vitally important to human society not only as a source of timber, firewood, naval stores and other products, but also as a factor protecting land against erosion and ensuring a regular turnover of water. They possess their own grandeur and are a source of delight. They provide home for the rich and varied wild life. In all civilized countries having sizeable stretches of forests, the flora and fauna of these tracts contribute a goodly share in the creation of national wealth.

These facts are not disputed and that is why it is necessary for retaining an adequate proportion of the land surface under permanent forests which are properly distributed and assured of freedom from encroachment, abuse and over-use. It was the aim of the Second Five-Year Plan to keep a close watch over the matter. According to various estimates the forests of India account for an area between 17.4 to 22.3 per cent of the total land surface. It is certainly much below what is aimed at. But the problem is accentuated by the reason that the timber value of the areas classed as forests falls far short of their potential which is itself substantially below the yield per acre of forests in Western countries. "A considerable proportion of Indian forests are such only in name and are subject to various forms of mal-treatment."

All forest areas in India irrespective of their capacity of yielding economic products are divided into various sections according to their contents or the purpose they serve. The most common, and accepted throughout the better part of the world, is their division on the basis of the major vegetation or trees growing in a particular area. By this method forests are divided into (i) Coniferous (soft wood) and (ii) Broad-leaved (hard or soft wood). From the point of view of out-turn they are known as (i) Mer-

chantable and (ii) Inaccessible. By legal status: (i) Reserved, (ii) Protected, and (iii) Un-forest in his life as part of his own existence. classed.

But, for easy comprehension and the services rendered by or expected of forests, the National Forest Policy differentiates one from the other class in the following manner: (A) Protection forests, i.e., those forests which must be preserved or created for physical and climatic considerations;

(B) National forests, i.e., those which have to be maintained and managed to meet the needs of defence, communications, industry and other general purposes of public importance;

(C) Village forests, i.e., those which have to be maintained to provide firewood to release cowdung for manure, and to yield small timber for agricultural implements and other forest produce for local requirements and to provide grazing for cattle;

(D) Tree-lands, i.e., those areas which though outside the scope of the ordinary forest management are essential for the amelioration of the physical conditions of the country."

Even a casual glance over the foregoing classification would reveal that there has been considerable over-lapping of functions of a particular type of forest. From the very nature of things it would be evident that one class meets the needs of different nature and the aim should be both for the private and Government forests to derive the highest benefit with the minimum loss or damage to them whether temporary or permanent.

The Indian forests are predominantly broad-leaved, 96.6 per cent, while the coniferous forests constitute only 3.4 per cent. By area the former is 271,373 sq. miles out of a total 280,896 (1954-55) and coniferous cover 9,523 sq. miles. The non-coniferous or broad-leaved forests have 41,018 sq. miles given to sal and 22,391 to teak and the rest 207,964 sq. miles have miscellaneous trees. The volume of standing timber (in, 1954-

55) has been assessed at 5,663,666,000 coniferous and 70,635,951,999 cubic feet broad-leaved (hard and soft wood).

From the out-turn point of view the merchantable forest represent 81.9 per cent (229,949 sq. miles in 1954-55) and inaccessible, 18.1 per cent (50,947 sq. miles) in a total of 280,896 sq. miles. A little over half of the total area, i.e., 167,049 sq. miles is primarily given to the production of timber.

The outturn of different kinds of wood and timber was of the following order (1954-55):

|                      | Quantity<br>(000-cft.) | Value<br>(000-Rs.) |
|----------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Timber and Firewood: |                        |                    |
| Coniferous           | 15,554                 | 1,27,88            |
| Broadleaved          | 91,500                 | 14,54,92           |
| Total                | 1,07,054               | 15,82,80           |
| Roundwood:           |                        |                    |
| Coniferous           | 2,357                  | 11,23              |
| Broadleaved          | 21,793                 | 1,30,84            |
| Total                | 24,150                 | 1,42,07            |
| Pulp and Matchwood:  |                        |                    |
| Coniferous           | ....                   | ....               |
| Broadleaved          | 1,238                  | 13,87              |
| Total                | 1,238                  | 13,87              |
| Firewood:            |                        |                    |
| Coniferous           | 7,391                  | 15,00              |
| Broadleaved          | 3,00,955               | 3,41,91            |
| Total                | 3,08,346               | 3,56,91            |
| Charcoal-wood:       |                        |                    |
| Coniferous           | ....                   | ....               |
| Broadleaved          | 67,213                 | 72,91              |
| Total                | 67,213                 | 72,91              |
| Total Coniferous     | 25,302                 | 1,54,11            |
| Total Broadleaved    | 4,82,699               | 20,13,73           |
| Grand Total          | 5,08,011               | 21,67,84           |

The supply of coniferous (soft) wood is just below five per cent of the total of the wood and timber exploited annually from the forests of India. Particularly in respect of Pulp and Matchwood as also of Charcoal-wood, coniferous (soft wood) is absolutely unsuitable for the purpose and is therefore not used at all.

Amongst a very large number of trees that come into the use of a civilized man, and growing abundantly in the Indian forest, mention may be made of a few that supply the various needs of timber and wood:

Teak and Sal are the most important of the Indian timbers. Teak (*Sagun: Tectona grandis*) is widely distributed and is found to grow in Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bengal, etc. Sal (*Shorea robusta*) is plentiful at the foothills of the Himalayas, Sonthal Parganas (Chota-Nagpur), Madhya Pradesh and the North-Bengal hills. Chikrassy (*Chukrasia tabularis*) largely occurs in Assam, West Bengal, Madras, Mysore; Toon (*Cedrela toona*) in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, West Bengal, Bombay, Madras, etc.; Haldu (*Adina cordifolia*) in Uttar Pradesh, principally in Gonda and Bahraich, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, etc.; Gamari (*Gumhar: Gmelina arborea*) in West Bengal, Assam and several other parts of India; Siris (*Khirich: Albizzia lebbek*) in West Bengal, Assam, Bombay, Madras, Uttar Pradesh, etc.; Jaman (*Eugenia jambolana*) is found in almost in every State; Indian Rosewood (*Sissoo: Dalbergia latifolia* or *Dalbergia sissoo*) occurs at the foothills of Nepal, Bombay, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, U.P., West Bengal, Assam, etc.; Gurjan (*Dipterocarpus turbinatus*) in Assam, Bengal and the Andamans; Kapok (*Semul: Bombax malabricum*) in almost all parts of India; Salai (*Boswellia serrata*) mostly in Bihar, Vindhya Pradesh, Madras, Bombay, etc.; Chir (*Pinus longifolia*) in U.P., Punjab, (Nepal); Mango (*Magnifera indica*) distributed over almost all the States; Chaplash (*Artocarpus chaplasha*) in West Bengal, Assam, the Andamans; Champ (*Michelia champaca*) in Assam, Bengal (Nepal eastwards), Deodara (*Cedrus deodara*) in the outer Himalayas, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, U.P., etc.; Kanju (*Holoptelia integrifolia*) in U.P., West coastal regions, Bihar, Orissa, etc.; Neem (*Melia indica*, *Margosa*) in almost all the drier parts of India; Tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*) is found in almost every part of India, particularly in West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, etc.

There are a host of others used for various purposes and it is wellnigh impossible to exhaust the list. Moreover wood is "one of the world's versatile raw material." It is the chief

building material and is necessary for boat and ship building, and finds its way into manufacture of agricultural implements, cart parts, railway carriage bodies, sleepers and crossties, packing cases, plywood, tea boxes, furniture, pit props, poles, tent pegs and tool handles. It is still the most widespread and easily available fuel and is the source of wood charcoal that has a multiple of uses. Nearly 90 per cent of paper is derived from wood and bamboo. It also forms an essential ingredient in the production of rayon fibre. New uses of wood are appearing in the horizon in the shape of plastics and fabricated building materials. Alcohol obtained from wood and saw dust is now a common industrial product. In the language of the Second Five-Year Plan it may be said that "it is well to remember that every advance in industrialisation will be reflected in an increased demand on the produce of the forest" and that "it is not an accident that the most advanced countries in the world are precisely those with the highest per capita consumption of wood."

Wood barks serve mankind in a modest way. In caulking boats and as protection of ends of planks on wooden bridges, cordage and as a source of tanning material from some of them, barks have proved their worth.

But there are a number of minor products without which it is difficult to think of modern civilization. Because of their importance some of these are now finding place in plantations; but it would be wrong to forget all about their original home.

The minor forest produce though so named occupies a very important position in Indian economy and it finds its way into different industries of more or less significance. The total estimated value of such products was to the tune of nearly Rs. 8 crores and comprised the following (1954-55):

| Produce                      | '000-Rs. |
|------------------------------|----------|
| Bamboos and canes .. ..      | 1,28,77  |
| Fibres and flosses .. ..     | 55       |
| Gums and resins .. ..        | 90,99    |
| Other sorts of produce .. .. | 5,53,56  |

Total .. .. 7,73,87

(Source: Indian Forest Statistics: 1954-55 Vol. 1)

The articles coming under this head in some detail are bamboos, canes, drugs, spices, fibres and flosses, fodder and grazing grasses, grass other than fodder, gums and resins, rubber and latex, incense and perfume woods, dyeing and tanning materials, vegetable oil and oilseeds, essential oils (excluding sandalwood oil), sandalwood, sandalwood oil, bibi leaves, charcoal and others. Some of the animal products such as lac, ivory, honey and beeswax come under the category of 'minor forest products'.

From the report Forestry in India, 1953-54, it is learnt that the value of charcoal alone was estimated at Rs. 3.10 crores. Fodder and grazing grasses yielded Rs. 1.34 crores and bamboos, Rs. 1.09 crores; gums and resins Rs. 72.13 lakhs and bidi leaves: Rs. 68.07 lakhs. Others fetched lesser amount.

Bamboos may be called an all-purpose wood and something more. One can think of man living without timber but not without bamboo. Town is the one place where one may think that bamboo is out of court, but without scaffoldings of bamboo no Indian town could grow. It is found throughout India. Moreover it is extensively used in the manufacture of paper. Cane and rattan (*Calamus*) grows plentifully in Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, the Western Ghats, etc., and has use in the manufacture of household furniture of various types and designs. The other shapes in which it appears are handles and sticks, towing ropes and binding strings, sporting goods, etc. Bidi leaves are obtained from a genus of arbore-scent or scandent plants, *Bauhinia*, diffused throughout the tropics. The two particular species of *Bauhinia* that are suitable for yielding bidi leaves are *B. racemosa*, a small crooked tree met with in the Sub-Himalayan tract from the Ravi eastwards, in Oudh, (undivided) Bengal, Central and South India and *B. variegata*, growing throughout the forests of India particularly in the Sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus eastward.

Dyeing and tanning stuff is derived from a number of forest trees and plants the most important of which are *Myrobalans* (*Terminalia chebula*), *Babul* (*Acacia arabica*), *Wattle*, black and silver (*Acacia mollissima* and *A. dealbata*),

Mangrove (*Ceriops Roxburghiana* and *Rhizophora mucronata*), *Cutch* (*Acacia catechu*), *Dammar* (*Canarium resiniferum* and *C. strictum*), *Madder* and *Munjeet* (*Rubia cordifolia*), *Safflower* (*Carthamus tinctorius*), *Gab* (*Diospyros embryopteris* or *D. peregrina*), *Gambier*, etc., etc.

Gums and resins of economic value are secured from *Karaya* (*Sterculia urens*), *pine* (*Pinus longifolia*), *Gum arabic* (*Arabic Senegal*), *Asafoetida* (*Ferula foetida*), etc.

The chief sources of drugs are *Nux vomica* (*Strychnos nux vomica*), *Senna* (*Cassia augustifolia*), *Vasaka* (*Adhatoda vasica*) and a multitude of other plants such as *Ajuna* (*Terminalia arjuna*), *Ananta-mool* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), *Asoka* (*Saraca indica*), *Kalamegha* (*Andrographis paniculata*), *Gulanha* (*Tinospora cordifolia*), etc., etc.

Sandalwood (*Santalum album* and *Petrocarpus santalinus*), *Lemon grass* (*Cymbopogon* spp.), *Palmarosa* (*Cymbopogon martini*), etc. are the sources of scented oils. It is no longer possible to go into further details regarding the forest wealth of India; it may be said that it is inexhaustible and as Woytinsky says, "In contrast to other natural resources . . . all that is needed to make them last for ever is a clear understanding of the nature of forests and the care necessary to enable them to renew and perpetuate themselves,—to treat forests as a crop, not as a mine."

With the adoption of a National Policy concerning forests attempts are being made to derive as much of useful products as is possible without injuring the interests of the 'goose that lays the golden eggs.' The First Five-Year

Plan provided Rs. 9.6 crores for forest development. The total provision for the same purpose in the Second Plan is Rs. 27 crores. "The programme followed during the operation of the Second Plan is (i) afforestation and improvement of poorer areas in the forests and extension forestry, (ii) formation of plantations of species of commercial and industrial value, (iii) promotion of methods for increased production and availability of timber and other forest produce in the immediate future, (iv) conservation of wild life, . . . (viii) central co-ordination and guidance in the implementation of forest development schemes all over the country."

The employment potential of forest is very large inasmuch as on an average there were 90,399 and 219,757 persons engaged permanently and temporarily each day in 1954-55. With the development and expansion of forests more people would be required to look after forests and in exploiting forest products. When census is taken of men engaged in industries based on forest products, such as, to name only a few, paper, rubber, lac, rayon, alcohol, plastics, etc., the tremendous influence of forests can be gauged about the magnitude of its importance.

The amount of revenue (1954-55) is estimated at Rs. 27.12 crores and expenditure Rs. 12.59 crores leaving a surplus balance of Rs. 14.53 crores. This is the value of raw materials obtained directly from forests but the total value of the industrial products based on forest products would run into many crores of rupees. It is for the specialists to assess the annual contribution of the forests to the National Income of India. This must be a very decent amount demanding more attention to the forests than what had hitherto been paid.





## MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN KERALA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

## I

## The Background

Kerala is the smallest among the States of India. It represents the merger of the two ex-princely States of Travancore and Cochin and the Malabar district and part of the South Kanara district which formerly belonged to the State of Madras. During the brief period of twelve years since independence (of India) this State has had three spells of Presidential rule and four general elections the last time in February, 1960. The first popular ministry in Travancore was formed in 1948 by the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai. When Travancore was merged with Cochin in June 1949 the Congress continued to run the Government though the leadership had in the meanwhile been changed, Mr. Thanu Pillai having resigned. The strength of the different political parties in the legislature was Congress 44, Communists and allies 32, Socialists (later on PSP) 12, other parties 9 and Independents 11. After the general elections in 1952 the Congress succeeded in forming a Government which however fell to a vote of no-confidence in September, 1953. The legislature was dissolved and the State was under the direct rule of the President of India until fresh elections were held in February, 1954. In that election no party was able to secure an absolute majority of seats and the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), though securing only 19 of the 117 seats formed a minority government under the leadership of Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai, who in the meanwhile had joined PSP with the support of the Congress party. This government also fell to a vote of no-confidence in February, 1955, when a new government was formed by the Congress party under the leadership of Mr. Panampilli Govinda Menon. This Congress-run Government

also fell to a vote of no-confidence in March, 1956, necessitating the proclamation of a second term of Presidential rule.

In November, 1956, the States of Indian Union were reorganised on a linguistic basis and some portion of Madras State was given to Kerala in exchange of some Talukas from the Trivandrum district. Consequently there was an increase in the number of representatives to the State Legislature to 125. In the general elections held in 1957, the Communists emerged as the strongest political force in the legislature of the reorganised Kerala State, having secured 65 seats including five Independents. A Communist-led ministry took office on April 5, 1957, and remained at the head of the government until it was superseded by the Central Government on July 31, 1959. This time, however, the Presidential rule did not follow a vote of no-confidence against the ministry in the legislature but the virtual paralysis of the governmental machinery in the State by a mass movement. The third spell of rule by Presidential decree lasted for 205 days until the formation of a new Congress-Praja-Socialist coalition ministry on February 22, 1960, headed by Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillai, the PSP leader.

## Triple Alliance

The President of India's proclamation of July 31, 1959, dissolving the Communist ministry and the legislature, and taking over the Government of Kerala stated that general elections for constituting a new legislative assembly for Kerala would be held "as soon as possible." No sooner had it been understood that the elections would be held in February,<sup>1</sup> political elements in

1. Hindu, Madras, 14 September; 15 December, 1959.

Kerala became active in making manoeuvres and counter-manoevres. As the downfall of the Communist ministry in Kerala was brought about by an anti-Communist mass movement conducted jointly by almost all the political parties except the Communist Party of India (CPI), naturally there was a move to put up a joint electoral battle against the Communists. The formation of the Congress Praja-Socialist Party-Muslim League electoral alliance (Triple Alliance) to fight the mid-term elections in Kerala was announced in Ernakulam on September 11, 1959, by Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri who had been deputed by the President of the Indian National Congress (then Mrs. Indira Gandhi) to advise the Kerala Pradesh Congress on electoral arrangements. He disclosed that the Alliance would present a united front of opposition to the Communists in the elections and that the parties would conduct a joint election campaign. On the agreed basis for the allocation of seats to the different political parties the Praja-Socialist Party (P.S.P.) and the Muslim League (M.L.) were originally allotted 35 and 12 seats respectively. The distribution of the remaining 79 seats was left to be settled between the Congress and other non-Communist parties such as the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.) and the Kerala Socialist Party (K.S.P.).

Eventually, however, both the R.S.P. and the K.S.P. were left out of the Alliance. The R.S.P. wanted to contest ten seats but the Congress and the other two parties in the Alliance wanted to allocate only eight seats (six sacrificed by the Congress and two by the P.S.P.) to it. So the R.S.P. decided on November 7, 1959 to keep aloof from the non-Communist alliance and contest 20 seats as an independent political party. This decision was embodied in a resolution adopted by a convention of party-men in Quillon on November 7 which was attended by five hundred delegates, and was finally confirmed on November 23. The R.S.P. leader, Mr. Sreekantan Nair interpreted the Congress-P.S.P. offer as a Congress bluff, to which the

P.S.P. had fallen a victim. "The whole offer was pre-planned by the Congress so that it may not lose any seat and at the same time, the P.S.P. may have to lose heavily," Mr. Nair said while rejecting the offer made by Mr. U. N. Dhebar (Congress) and Mr. Asoka Mehta (P.S.P.).<sup>2</sup> Eventually the R.S.P. put up only 18 candidates.

As if to counter this charge Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Mehta issued a joint statement on the following day (November 24) announcing that "total agreement" had been reached between the Congress and P.S.P. on the strategy of organizing the ensuing Kerala elections and for establishing necessary liaison at all levels for effective co-operation. "Democracy after a period of instability has found a strong anchorage in Kerala," it said.<sup>3</sup>

On the breakdown of the talks with the R.S.P. the 600-word joint statement said: "We regret that the R.S.P. has not responded to our appeal to share in a new vision and participate in a common adventure. We have no quarrel with them. We hope the pressure of public opinion will ultimately bring them close to democratic forces." The demands of the R.S.P., it added, were "peremptory and excessive."<sup>4</sup>

The strength of the K.S.P. was dwindling and it was never seriously regarded as a contending political force. The Progressive Communist Party which was formed on October 20, 1959 by a group of ex-Communists was also far from being in any way an influential force. The ultimate allocation of seats within the Alliance was thus: Congress 81 (two more than originally agreed upon), P.S.P. 33 (of the 35 seats originally agreed upon two were subsequently renounced in favour of the Congress) and the M.L. 12. The Congress however officially put up 80 candidates and supported one Independent candidate.

The parties in the Alliance issued separate election manifestoes though they conducted a joint election campaign. The

2. Times of India, Bombay, 24 November, 1959.

3. Ibid, November 25, 1959.

4. Ibid.

Indian National Congress was the first to issue a manifesto which ran to 5,000 words. The Congress promised to honour and respect the unity of the people, which had emerged out of the "ordeal of fire, blood and tears" during the twenty-eight months of Communist rule in the State, and to usher in a stable and good administration for peace and prosperity. To return the communists back to power, the manifesto said, "will be to hamper the planned development of the country through peaceful and democratic means." The defeat of the communists was important and indispensable. On the economic front the Congress promised nationalization of private forests which the communists had originally decided upon but had subsequently given up and the gradual taking over of all private road transport routes, implementation of the declared land reform policies of the Congress and the extension of co-operative farming, a "big and bold" Third Five-Year Plan for the State with a better share of Central Government Schemes and industrial truce benefiting both the industrialists and the workers. The Congress further promised a reform of the Education Act and Rules (which had been the immediate cause of the Communists' downfall) and the restoration of the civil service (which, it held, had been subverted by the Communist Government) as a "strong, independent and fearless unit" of the democratic system.<sup>5</sup>

The election manifesto of the Praja Socialist Party, which was issued on December 16, 1959, said that the party would "widen and deepen the democratic unity" and "translate it into honest and efficient government on the principles and practices of democracy." Communism "which in power in Kerala became a menace to freedom and to justice," it said, "becomes the more sinister in the context of Communist China's invasion of India and equivocation indulged in by the Communist party of India." Indicating the Communist rule in Kerala the manifesto pointed out that during the last sixteen months of

5. Summary of the Congress election manifesto in *Hindu*, Madras, 17 December, 1959.

Communist rule the price of rice had gone up by 75 per cent and more, unemployment had gone up from 1.5 million to 1.9 million, bonus had dwindled from year to year, the State's finances had been wrecked and taxes to the tune of Rs. 40 million had been imposed on the poor and middle classes, corruption had multiplied and the rule of law had been set at naught with the Communist Party being equated with the state. The 13-point programme embodied in the manifesto agreed in many respects with that of the Congress. It registered its general support to the Agrarian Relations Bill introduced by the Communist Ministry but said that it needed to be amended in certain respects; and called for the implementation of the provisions of the Education Act which were beneficial to teachers and non-teaching staff but were not implemented by the Communist Ministry. It called for the extension of the scope of co-operatives, import of food and its subsidised sale and the gradual establishment of a Grain Bank to meet sudden food shortages, greater Central Government industrial investment in Kerala, industrial truce on the basis of justice and rising standards of life for labour and the protection of the rights of linguistic and communal minorities.<sup>6</sup>

The Muslim League manifesto was openly communal demanding many safeguards and amenities exclusively for the Muslims though in several other respects it more or less resembled the programmes of other parties in the Alliance.<sup>(6a)</sup> The main unifying factor was, of course, its fanatic anti-Communism. There was a strong under-current of criticism in the Congress ranks at the electoral alliance with an openly communal body like the Muslim League but eventually the latter was admitted into the Alliance.

How did the Alliance conduct its electioneering campaign? According to a press

6. Summary of the P.S.P. election manifesto in the *Hindu*, Madras, 19 December, 1959.

6a. Summary of the M.L. manifesto in *Hindu*, 19 December, 1959. See also *ibid* 31 December, 1959. (FOC report from Calicut.)

report of January 14 from Trivandrum, though in many constituencies, individual candidates asked for votes for themselves and their parties, common posters and appeals were used to seek votes for the Alliance. "Campaign cars and other vehicles always fly Congress, P.S.P. and Muslim League flags together on their bonnets. The election offices are called united election offices and they display all the three flags everywhere. District Committees and leaders of the parties arrange common campaign meetings and demonstrations. Leaders of one party address the election meetings of a candidate belonging to another political party." It may be truly said that such united campaigning on the part of members belonging to different political parties was never witnessed in Kerala or in any other part of India during the post-independence period.

#### Non-aligned Parties

Though not forming a part of the anti-Communist Alliance, the R.S.P. was avowedly more anti-Communist than it was anti-Alliance. On January 3, Mr. Sreekantan Nair, the R.S.P. leader, declared at a public meeting in Quillon that his party had decided to withdraw its candidates from four constituencies to facilitate the success of non-Communist candidates in those constituencies.<sup>7</sup> In its election manifesto released on January 3 the R.S.P. pledged itself to strive for the establishment of a "toiling people's democracy" in Kerala which would be based on the sanction and organised strength of the workers, peasants, impoverished middle classes and progressive intelligentsia. The members of the R.S.P. if elected would function as a non-Communist and progressive opposition in the Legislature.<sup>8</sup>

Ultimately four political parties remained out of the anti-Communist alliance. They were, besides the R.S.P., the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Indian Socialist Party and the Kerala Socialist Party.

7. *Times of India*, Bombay, 15 January, 1960.

8. *Ibid*, 6 January, 1960 (PTI report from Quillon, dated January 4).

9. *Ibid*, 4 January, 1960.

6

#### Communist Party

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India passed a resolution on August 8, 1959 characterising the promulgation of the President's rule as a "partisan and deliberate act." A little later on the leadership sobered on a little and adopted a resolution on October 19, 1959 to the effect that there had been "mistakes, weaknesses and omissions" on the part of the Communist Ministry, though, the defects were attributable to "inexperience as well as negligence." There were only two paths before the people of Kerala, the resolution said, "either to support the Communist Party and thus defend the real interests of the country and the people, or endanger the true interests of the country and the people for political and governmental instability" by supporting an anti-Communist platform. The Communist Party was vehemently opposed<sup>10</sup> to holding the elections early in February 1960.

The Communist election manifesto called upon the people of Kerala to vote the CPI back to power and thereby provide a clear condemnation of the Union Government's actions leading to the dismissal of the ministry and also of the activities of the non-Communist parties in Kerala. The Party would strive for "carrying forward the task of building a new and prosperous Kerala," and would press for the acceptance by the Central Government of a Rs. 2,500 million Third Five-Year Plan for Kerala with 75 per cent of it as Central assistance, it said.<sup>11</sup>

At a six-day conference ending on November 29, 1959 at Trichur the Kerala State unit of the Communist Party of India decided to contest all the 126 seats of the Legislative Assembly. Originally it was decided to put up 40 independent candidates and 86 official party candidates. But ultimately the party put up 103 official party candidates and 23 independents nine among

10. *Ibid*, 5 November, 1959 (Resolution of the Kerala State Council—of C.P.I. on November 3); *Times of India*, 18 December, 1959.

11. Summary of the C.P.I. manifesto in *Hindu*, 19 December, 1959.

whom adopted the Communist Party's election symbol. All the eleven members of the dismissed Communist Cabinet were nominated to contest the election though one or two (the former Education Minister, Mr. Joseph Mundassery, for example) were averse to stand for election.<sup>12</sup>

Inaugurating the party's election campaign at a meeting in Ernakulam on January 5, Mr. P. Ramamurthy, member of the C.E.C., C.P.I., said that it was a sorry spectacle to see the Congress aligning itself with communal forces. It was ironical that to fight the Communists Mr. Nehru's own party had to enter into an alliance with the Muslim League which had been described by Mr. Nehru himself as "a dead horse and a relic of the past" and had been discredited even in Pakistan, he said.<sup>13</sup> The State Council of the Kerala Communist Party in a statement on January 14 charged the Triple Alliance with displaying what it described as "fascist tendencies under the leadership of the Congress." It further accused the alliance parties of having violated the spirit and letter of the understanding reached between the political parties and the Adviser to the Governor of Kerala for maintaining peaceful conditions. The Party made a special appeal to the linguistic minorities particularly the Tamils.

#### Party Functionaries

Both the Communists and the Triple Alliance (Congress-P.S.P.-M.L.) had about 400,000 workers each in the field. Each party set up district election offices to guide the work of the constituency offices which generally had 2,000 to 3,000 workers each at their disposal. These workers were organised into sector or panchayet committees, ward committees and polling booth committees. On both sides more stress was laid on door to door canvassing than on big public meetings and processions. Both sides spent a

lot of money which would come to about 12 million rupees on each side.

#### Polling Arrangements

There were about 8700 polling stations which meant that there was one polling station roughly for every 900 voters. Although the electorate increased, the number of stations was reduced through rationalisation. Each polling station was manned by five persons—the presiding officer, three polling officers and a polling assistant. On that basis about 44,000 persons would be required. Adequate police arrangements were made to protect the polling booths and the Chief Election Commissioner had secured the assistance of nearly 4,000 policemen from the neighbouring States of Madras, Mysore and Andhra to assist the local police numbering more than 17,000. At two booths one at Adoor in the Kunathur constituency, Central Travancore and another at Ulloor in Trivandrum, polling had to be suspended for a short time in the morning of February 1 as the voters crowded near the booths and refused to form queues.<sup>14</sup>

With a view to ensuring an orderly and peaceful election, the Kerala Administration had suggested that the political parties should adopt a "useful six-point convention." The convention said that (1) political parties should inform the police in advance of their processions and meetings; (2) while there would be no interference from the police the political parties would not mind receiving "advice" from the police for readjustment of their programmes where rival meetings and demonstrations were proposed to be held at places in close proximity of each other; (3) political parties would advise their followers to attend meetings without arms of any kind; (4) there should be no interference with traffic by processionists; (5) the parties should refrain from hoisting flags on public property or even on private properties should their owners object and they should not hoist flags within 50 yards of the flags of another party; and (6) proper restraint

14. *Times of India*, Bombay, 2 February, 1960.

12. *Statesman*, Calcutta, 2 December, 1959.

13. This criticism was upheld by Mr. Nehru himself although indirectly in his monthly press conference in New Delhi on February 24.

should be observed in writing slogans and pasting placards in public places and no political party should allow its supporters to tamper with the slogans written by its rivals.<sup>15</sup>

All the principal political parties assured their fullest co-operation to ensure a free and fair election. What was the practical result? There were 4 murders in the campaign months of December and January. There were 92 campaign incidents in January in which the number of accused was 371. Fifteen of these incidents<sup>16</sup> were of a serious nature involving more than minor hurt.

In this connection it may be recalled that an earlier appeal by the Governor of Kerala suggesting that the political parties should sign a joint appeal against political violence had been turned down by all the political parties except the Communist Party of India.<sup>17</sup>

#### Constituencies and the Electorate

There were 114 constituencies to elect 126 members. The strength of the electorate was 8.1 million against about 7.6 million in the 1957 elections. A number of double-member constituencies, actually twelve, in which the scheduled caste voters exercised two votes each accounted for the actual polling exceeding the number of electors. The Government of India had allocated a sum of Rs. 1.5 million for organizing the elections.

#### The Campaign

All the political parties called upon the services of their most prominent leaders in fighting the elections. The Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru and the newly elected President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Union Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. U. N. Dhebar, a former Congress President were some of the national leaders who participated in the election campaign on behalf of the Congress and the Triple Alliance. The Prime

15. *Ibid*, 5 January, 1960.

16. *Ibid*, 31 January, 1960.

17. *Ibid*, 4 September, 1959.

Minister severely castigated the Indian Communists but warned Congress workers not to link the Chinese aggression on Indian territory with international Communism. The Praja-Socialist Party enlisted the support of the national chairman Mr. Asoka Mehta and Acharya J. B. Kripalani. The Communist Party's election campaign was conducted by Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair, the Acting General Secretary of the Party, Mr. E. M. S. Nanboudiripad also an all-India leader who had been Chief Minister in the Ministry. As both of them happened to come from Kerala, other nationally famous leaders such as Mr. S. A. Dange, leader of the Communist group in Parliament, Mr. Ramamurti and Prof. Hiren Mukherji, Deputy leader of the Communist group in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) were also requisitioned by the Kerala unit. Replying to Mr. Nehru's charges against the Communist Party, Mr. Dange said in a mass meeting in Ernakulam on January 22 that Mr. Nehru represented the 'pathos' of Indian politics. Therefore Mr. Nehru had to go to Kerala to preach principles to the Communist Party after having given up his own principle in relation to the PSP and the Muslim League for the sake of an electoral alliance against the Communist Party.

#### Issues Put up Before the Electorate

The Alliance advanced anti-Communist slogans specifically mentioning some of the actions of the dissolved ministry such as the Education Bill curtailing the freedom of Catholics and the Nairs in the management of educational institutions. The Catholic Church and the Muslim Mollahs strongly urged their followers to vote against the Communists on religious grounds. The Chinese incursions into the Indian borders were also played upon by the anti-Communists. The Communists were obviously on the defensive on all these matters. Indeed, the elections were fought as one between the anti-Communists versus the Communists while heretofore all elections were contests between the anti-Congress elements versus the Congress.

**The Results**

The results of the elections were a crushing defeat for the Communists so far as successes in securing seats were concerned. The Triple Alliance secured 76.6 per cent of the total seats and 43.37 per cent of the total votes polled while the Communist Party and allies though securing 43.33 per cent of the votes polled, got only a little over 23 per cent of the seats.

(To be continued)

**PATNAIK, THE PORTRAIT PAINTER**

By G. N. DAS

For the last decade or two, particularly since the attainment of freedom, there has been a vigorous activity in the realm of art. Several young artists with claims to recognition have entered the field in different parts of the country. Nevertheless, as remarked by the judges of the National Exhibition of Art for 1958, "the But it is a good augury of the future that efforts are being made in this direction and Indian artists are trying hard to come into their own. One of the talented young artists to take up this challenge is C. S. N. Patnaik. While shaking off the dead weight of tradition and the blind copying of Western masters, he



Armed Constable

Head Study  
Sculpture: Terracotta

impact of the various trends of modern world art on the sensibilities of our artists has not led to a proper synthesis between the surviving ideas and techniques of our country with those foreign techniques which are significant for us and which could be assimilated without exposing our artists to the charge of imitationism." has developed into an individual artist with a distinct vision. He admits that he was earlier influenced by great artists like Cezanne and Van Gogh but has since found his own idiom.

Patnaik is a brilliant product of the Government School of Arts and Crafts in Among contemporary Indian artists of the younger generation, Patnaik has a manifest personality of his own. His works reflect considerable life and feeling and are imbued with much sincerity. He has a good knowledge of composition and is restrained in using colours. His skill in the expression of feeling and tone is of a high order. He is an expert draftsman and the figures which he introduces to fill up spaces show great ingenuity. On the whole he possesses a sense of composition as well as a knowledge of the mutual relations of colours and there is no doubt that his highly personal art is a most delightful treat to the eye.



Gipsy Girl

Patnaik has painted a few landscapes and sea-scapes and he confesses that he is interested in Nature but not to the extent to which he is interested in man. His focus is on the drama of man—in oils, in water colours, in pencil, in crayon, in pen and pastel and through sculpture. Like most of the modern portrait painters, the portrait in his hands is not a mere likeness. On the other hand, it is interpretative and non-objective or subjective. His main concern is with colour and design and comparatively less with the subject which is only one of the con-

Madras. He is now an Art Teacher at the Government Post-Graduate Basic Training College, Pentapadu, Andhra Pradesh. He has already held two one-man exhibitions and his paintings have been included in many All-India shows, in the modern Indian collections exhibited in recent years in China, Japan, Australia, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Germany, etc., and in the National Art Gallery, Madras. In addition to painting, he is also proficient in the Jaipur technique of frescoes which he learnt at the Banasthali Vidyapith in Rajasthan. For some time now he has been drawn with promising results into the field of sculpture in the course of his ceaseless quest for new forms and an effective transmutation of ideas. But he is primarily a painter and excels in portraits in oils in which medium he has a definite message to impart.



Sketch

stituents of the painting. Similarly, in his self-portraits, of which he has produced more than one, he tries a highly individualistic image of himself and not any representational portraiture. As remarked by D. P. Roy Chowdhury,





The Artist

the famous Indian sculptor and painter, "as an artist he is rather a dreamer than a realist."

About the future role of art, Patnaik thinks that with the phenomenal progress of science and technology, the problem of the artist is one of social relevance and of producing new cultural form, for beauty is a vital part of our existence and cannot flourish in isolation. But while he should shed the tendency to retire within himself and live in an ivory tower, the creative artist should also resist any attempts to reach down to the masses and rationalize "the organic sources of life". On the other hand, his responsibility at the present time is to try "to find in himself the real nature of his personal vision and then to be true to it."

### CHILD WELFARE—A SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Children's Day is celebrated every year on November 14—Prime Minister Shri Nehru's birthday—to remind the nation of its obligations towards the child. These obligations are described in the Declaration of the Rights of Child, made at Geneva nearly 35 years ago. It says, among other things, that the child must be protected beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed. He must be cared for with due respect for the family as an entity. He must be given the means, requisite for his normal development, materially, morally and spiritually.

The ultimate aim of child welfare should be to remove or eliminate from the child's path all natural as well as man-made obstacles which impede the development of his personality and to secure his physical, mental and moral well-being. This means providing him with unfailing services in health, education, recreation and culture.

Care of the child as a special citizen is a comparatively new concept. In India, particularly, there has been lack of interest in welfare work for children beyond that of family responsibility. The last decade, however, has seen a growing awareness of the need to promote the physical, mental, moral, emotional and cultural growth of the child.



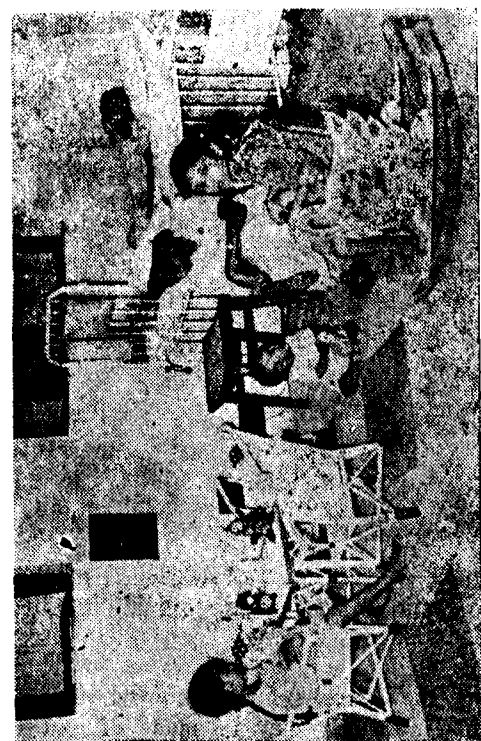
An under-training Nurse teaching habits in cleanliness to children of the rural areas



A woman social worker is helping children play on a rocking plank at a village recreation centre in the Punjab



The children in foreground of their school in the Bilara Community Development Block in Rajasthan



Children in a hospital ward playing with toys



School children of a village near Karnal (Punjab)

Child welfare programmes have been accorded their rightful place in the Five-Year Plan. This was inevitable because to be socially useful the child welfare programmes have to be Plan. Bal Bhavans are being established to serve as multi-purpose education-cum-recreation centres aiming at widening the scope of education through modern audio-visual techniques.



A child taking a psychological test at the child guidance clinic at the Nursing College, New Delhi

regarded as an integral part of the entire social reconstruction programme. Work in this field cannot be limited to any particular class or community nor can it be concentrated in particular areas.

In all welfare States, the initial responsibility for child welfare rests entirely with Government. In India, however, much work is being done by voluntary organisations. Both, Governmental and non-Governmental efforts are directed towards the betterment of the health and education of the children—protecting them from diseases like malaria and smallpox, and providing free distribution of milk, mid-day meals and recreation facilities.

The Government are trying to implement their decision to introduce universal, free and compulsory primary education for all children of the age group 6-11 by the end of the Third



A children's class in progress at a refugee unattached women's vocational centre at Agartala in Tripura State

Among the schemes for which the Board gives grants, mention may be made of after care homes, creches for the children of working mothers in industrial areas, nursery schools for

### Central Social Welfare Board

Central Social Welfare Board, set up in 1953, made it possible to provide child welfare services on an organised, planned basis and on an extensive scale. The Board has set up welfare extension projects in the rural areas in which welfare work for children constitutes an important item of programme. It gives grants to voluntary welfare institutions engaged in child welfare work. It also formulates and assists other schemes in which child welfare work forms an important aspect of the programme and which are to be implemented through voluntary agencies.

children, education and upbringing of orphans, construction and maintenance of parks and playgrounds, children's libraries, homes for the physically handicapped children and holiday homes in various hill stations for children.

A leading voluntary organisation in the field of child welfare is the Indian Council for Child Welfare, which was established in 1952. It has now set up State Councils in almost all the States and Union Territories. These Councils are independent units having their own constitutions, elected committees, finance and district branches.

A significant step is the setting up of a Children's Bureau by the Indian Council for Child Welfare. It serves as the national clearing house of information exchange in all aspects of the theory and practice of child welfare work in India and abroad. Statistics, information on institutions for children, services for children in different parts of the country, laws relating to children, blue-prints on how to set up recreational centres and specific studies and research projects form part of the work undertaken by the Bureau.—*PIB*.

### CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S ASIAN STUDIES PROGRAM

In the Department of Far Eastern Studies, undergraduate students can make that area their major study, with emphasis on the area and the language of India, China, or any one of the countries of South-east Asia.

The three graduate programs, on India, China, or South-east Asia, have one characteristic in common—they offer co-ordinated area study. A specialized knowledge of a number of academic disciplines, such as anthropology, literature or history, is focused on the peoples and cultures of the particular area. The student does his major work on the academic discipline of his choice and elects as a minor field the area study of India, China or South-east Asia.

In addition to requirements on study of the Asian area in general, a candidate for the doctor of philosophy degree must be able to carry on research in the Asian language of his specialty, whether it is Chinese, an important language of India, or one of the major South-east Asia languages. Candidates in the South-east Asia Program also must gain a specialized knowledge of one country and a reading knowledge of a major Asian language.

The Asian Program offers a variety of research activities on the campus and opportu-



The Library Clock Tower can be seen for miles across the lake and through the surrounding valleys

# CORNELL UNIVERSITY'S ASIAN STUDIES PROGRAM



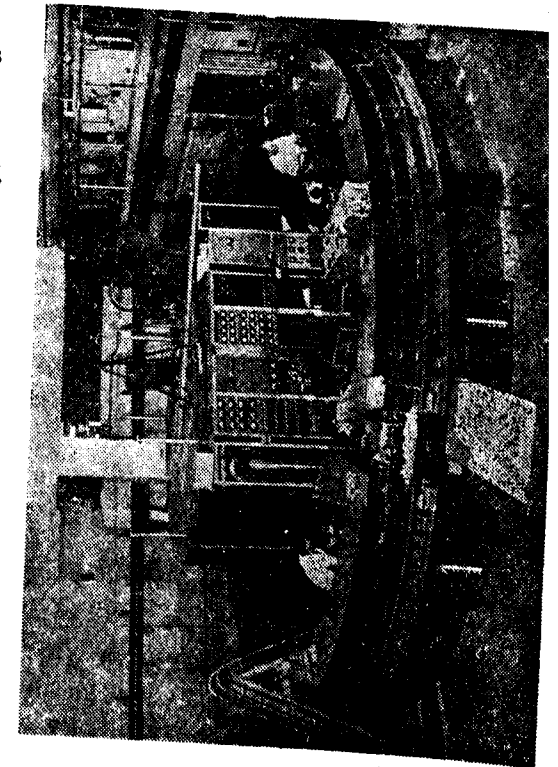
Students work on the giant radio-telescope for the study of radio signals originating in outer space



Students of different nationalities make a test on plants in the Department of Floriculture Greenhouse at Cornell University



Eight post-graduate students are selected to plan a redevelopment for the city of Gary, Indiana



A group of geology students and their instructor conduct an exploration in Fall Creek Gorge



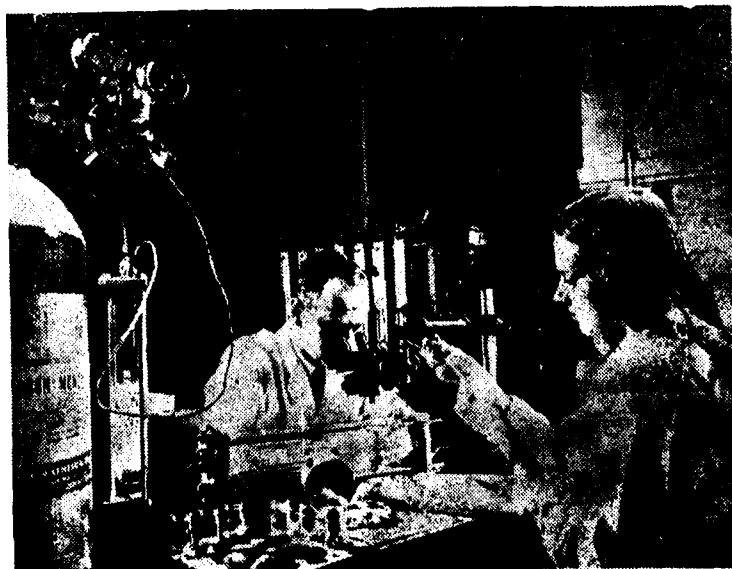
Statues of the Cornell University's founder, Ezra Cornell and the first President, Andrew Dickson White, face each other



Cornell University's Mann Library for the Colleges of Agriculture and Home Economics







Two Cornell students study the effects of carbon monoxide on the growth of silkworms

At least one number of the Cornell staff is from Asian countries, from several faculty in India each year to guide students conducting members who were born in Asia, and from the field research there, and the staffs of Indian thirty or forty visiting faculty members from universities and research agencies aid the Cornell Asia at Cornell each year.

Cornell students working in the South-east Asian countries, whether on a particular country or on Chinese civilization, receive help from the University staff at the Cornell Research Center, established in Bangkok, Thailand, in 1951.

Students remaining on the Cornell campus have guidance from the many visiting students

Cornell's library resources on Asia are outstanding. The Wason Collection includes one of the largest existing holdings of books and periodicals on China written in English or European languages, and some 50,000 volumes in Chinese. There is an excellent collection of India, and comprehensive materials on every South-east Asian country.—*USIS*.



## TO JAVA

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.,  
Gadjah Mada State University, Indonesia

September 9, 1959. I sailed for Singapore enroute to Djakarta, the capital of the Indonesian Republic. My final destination was Jogjakarta (Ayodhya) in Central Java. Jogjakarta along with Solo (Surakarta) constitutes the cultural heart of Java.

The tiny motor vessel Siao—a 2,200-ton cargo boat of the Dutch K.P.M. line—weighed anchor at day-break from the Outram Ghat, Calcutta. The Siao has accommodation for 12 first class passengers and carried four passengers on this trip. My wife, daughter, myself and a young Tamil-Malayan student were the only passengers on board.

Two officials of the Sea Customs Department took leave after wishing bon voyage. The ship moved to the south. The Ganga became wider and wider. Calcutta receded farther and farther till it went below the horizon at last. At sundown we reached the estuary of the Bhagirathi, the point at which she enters the sea. The coast-lines of the river still dimly visible went out of sight before long. A sense of loneliness and helplessness overwhelmed me. The fast-approaching night and the prospect of floating on endless waters for days ahead had a depressing effect on me. Man was created to live on land, not on water. High waves lashed the flanks of the Siao. She trembled, rolled and rocked. My wife and daughter had their first attack of sea-sickness. Our fellow-passenger Pooneah too was down.

We encountered a rough sea for the two days following. The sea calmed down on the third. Those afflicted with sea-sickness came round. The 'sickness' had, however, left its marks—sunken eyes with black patches beneath—on all its victims. At about eight in the evening we saw a light-house far away to our left. The Burma coast obviously could not be very far. The following morning the sea was as placid as

a river in the winter. The colour of the water had changed overnight from dark blue into light green. The sky was overcast with clouds. A faint glimpse of the Burmese coast came in view.

Our ship cast anchor at Rangoon shortly after mid-day. Health certificates and passports were examined by Burmese Government officials. Some police officials came aboard. Police officials everywhere seem to be rough and impolite in their dealings with others. The fault is perhaps not so much theirs as of their profession. Hunting crimes and criminals deaden their natural human qualities.

September is Burma's wettest month and it rained incessantly during the period of our stay—five days—in Rangoon. We had a mind of going ashore. But the idea had to be abandoned and we spent long hours everyday looking at the Irawaddy and the country-boats (*sampans*), sea-going vessels, small steamers and launches moving up and down the river. Everyday the Irawaddy awoke to life long before day-break when the whole world slept. Crafts—large, small and medium-sized—of all types began to move up and down and to cross and recross the river. Some were very fast, some very slow. They danced with waves. The boatmen plying the country-boats are almost all of them Mohammedans from Chittagong in East Pakistan. They take to water as naturally and with as much ease as the duckling. Each plies two oars and controls the rudder with a leg.

Man is perhaps fundamentally good and helpful to fellow-beings. Environments made him otherwise. I have, I think, quite good reasons in support of this opinion. At Rangoon I needed some local postage for letters I wanted to send home. But I had no Burmese currency (*Kyat*). I talked of my difficulty to Mr. Alfred Degois of the



Burmese Excise Service. He got the necessary postage for me. I offered to pay him in Indian currency. Repeated requests notwithstanding, he refused to accept any payment.

My daughter had a slight rise of temperature and the ship had no doctor. I consulted the Captain as to what to do. He at once called the Chief Officer of the ship and instructed him to send some medicine from the ship's stock which was meant exclusively for the ship's crew and officers. The Captain assured me at the same time that if the medicine did not produce the desired effect, a doctor would be called. It is certainly the Captain's duty to look to the comfort and well-being of the passengers aboard. How few, alas, do their duties without a demur!

One day during our stay at Rangoon I went after break to the Captain's Cabin on the top deck. He took me to the Map Room and showed me the route we had followed from Calcutta to Rangoon and also the route we would follow from Rangoon to Singapore. Rangoon is 810 knots (1 nautical mile or knot=6080 ft.) from Calcutta. Rangoon to Penang is 770 knots and Singapore 1150 knots from Penang. The Siao runs on diesel oil and can make a maximum of 12-13 knots per hour. Sailors in general have a bad reputation. But Captain Groenhof—the Captain of the Siao—is quite unlike average sailors. He is fond of reading, loves books and is well-informed.

The Siao weighed anchor at about 1-30 P.M. on September 17 and made for Penang. The Burmese flag that had been flying on the main mast of the vessel during her stay in Rangoon was taken down. By evening we were again in the Sea. The dinner was served at 7 and I went to bed rather early. After a good sleep I awoke at 5 in the morning and went to the ship's lounge. But for patches of light cloud here and there, the sky was clear. Light clouds were veiling the moon again and again. She was coming out again and again. The moon and the clouds seemed to be playing a game of hide and seek. Whenever the veil of cloud was lifted, moonlight

sparkled like molten silver on the placid sea. It quaked and quivered.

September 19. The Sea was in an ugly mood. The frightened sky had put on a veil of thick cloud. High waves lashed the ship. She rolled and so did the handful of human beings aboard. The sky cleared up after a fairly heavy shower. Following an alarm signal from the lower deck at about 11 in the morning, the ship's crew began to move up and down in an apparently excited mood. We had a real fight. Normalcy, was, however, restored before long and we learnt that it was a false alarm to keep the crew fit and to test its efficiency. For about two hours after the lunch the sea was very rough. A strong wind made the sea restive. It was pretty hot. The Equator, which passes through the island of Sumatra in Indonesia a little to the south of Singapore, was not very far.

September 20. The Penang coast was sighted at day-break. Penang, a tiny island of the Malayan coast, is in the Union of Malaya. With green trees fringing its coast on all sides, Penang looks like an emerald bower from the sea. The English occupied and colonised the island towards the close of the 18th Century. They built a port on the island and named it the Prince of Wales Island. The new name was, however, hardly used except in official maps and files. The old name Penang proved to be more popular. 'Penang' or 'Pinang' in Malayan means the betelnut. The island is known to the Malaysians as Pulo Penang (Pulo=Island) or the Betelnut Island as it closely resembles a betelnut in appearance. Penang is a cosmopolitan town with a population running into lacs and includes Chinese, Malaysians, Indians (mostly Tamils), English and Eurasians among its inhabitants. The Chinese, it may be noted, are more numerous than any other group.

The Siao cast anchor at Penang at about 9 A.M. Mr. Pooneah, the only fellow-passenger we had, got down at Penang. He would take train from here for his home in Perak. Our Ship weighed anchor at 3 in the afternoon and headed for Singapore. Penang on one side and Malaya proper on the other looked picturesque from the Sea.

But for mountains in the back-ground the landscape might remind one of Bengal. I was reminded again and again of the Poet's beautiful line "This land my eyes have liked" (*E desh legechche bhalo nayane*).

Thick masses of dark cloud enveloped the sky towards the evening. A strong wind began to blow. The sea, which seemed to have gone to sleep, woke up agitated, restless.

From September 21, i.e., the day before we reached Singapore, the ship's crew were busy most of the time dusting the carpets, scrubbing the decks and painting parts of the ship. We too began to pack up. Lots of boxes and bundles had to be opened to put back clothes and various other things in that had been brought out for use during the last two weeks. Truth to tell, my wife did practically everything. I was but a passive spectator like Brahman of the Vedantist conception.

September 22. The Siao was in anchor in the harbour of Singapore since early morning. Mr. P. S. Harahap of the Indonesian Consulate-General at Singapore met us on board the ship shortly after the breakfast. He took us to the Victoria Hotel on the Victoria Street where our accommodation had been booked beforehand. The Victoria Hotel is one of the largest and most respectable hotels of Singapore. All its rooms are air-conditioned. Each room has attached bath and toilet. Each has radio and telephone. The rent—18 dollars a day (1 Straits dollar=Rs. 1.62 approx.)—is quite moderate. The hotel, however has no catering arrangement. Lodgers make their own arrangements.

Singapore is a large city with more than a million people of all nations and countries. The Chinese far outnumber others. Business is mostly in Chinese hands. Singapore has been recently granted self-Government. The Chinese are in a majority in the legislature. The Prime Minister Mr. Lim Yew Hock is of Chinese origin.

Singapore has been a meeting ground of races and cultures for centuries. Many a nation has used it for 2,000 years as a foot-hold for commercial and colonial ex-

pansion. Hindu colonists from India showed the way. Towards the beginning of the Christian era, Hindu missionaries and Hindu traders would stop at Singapore on their way to Java, Cambodia and other places. The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius sent a mission to China in the Second Century A.D. to open diplomatic relations with that country. The mission went by way of Singapore. So far as we know, no European had visited Singapore before this. Arabian and Persian sailors spread their influence farther afield in this region by way of Singapore. They were followed by adventurers and fortune-seekers from the West. An English adventurer Stamford Raffles laid the foundation of modern Singapore in 1819.

Singapore was originally known as Tumsik. According to some, Javanese colonists founded Singapore in the 13th or 14th Century when the Majapahit Hindu Emperors ruled in Java. Some says that Singapore is a compound word of Malayan origin—"Singga" (To stay)+ "Pora pora" (To pretend). Javanese colonists on their way to Malacca are said to have broken journey at Singapore before they proceeded farther to the north (See "Bharat-O-Indo-Cheen" by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchee, pp. 5-7). Singapore itself is, however, much older than the 13th or 14th Century. A fourth Century stone-inscription discovered at Singapore proves that the Hindu colonisation of Singapore had started long before the 13th Century. It was from here that the Hindu colonisation of South-East Asia began, probably in the 1st Century of the Christian era. Modern Singapore has a sizeable Indian community. Most of them are from Sind, Southern India and the Punjab. There are a handful of Bengalis too. They number about 50 and are, almost all of them, doctors or lawyers. The Ramakrishna Mission is one of the most remarkable organisations of Singapore. Founded in 1928, the Mission has been carrying on educational and humanitarian work among the local population for more than 30 years. Three schools—the Vivekananda Tamil School for boys, the Sarada Devi Tamil School for girls and a night

school for adults—are run by it. The Mission's library has about 5,000 Volumes in various languages. The attached Reading Room receives quite a few dailies and periodicals and is quite popular. The Boys' Home of the Mission was started during World War II in 1940 primarily to take care of war-waifs. It has 50 inmates at present. Their maintenance and educational expenses are all borne by the Mission. The Home is absolutely non-communal and non sectarian in character and its doors are open to orphans and indigent boys of all communities and castes. We actually saw Indian Sikh and Malayan Muslim orphans being brought up and educated by the Home. They seemed to be no less happy than the other inmates. Swami Srikananda and Brahmachari Gour Chaitanya were in charge of the Ramakrishna Mission and the allied institutions in September, 1959.

Singapore is a glamorous modern city. It is a popular tourist resort and attracts thousands of tourists. Vices flourish almost inevitably. Within easy reach of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean and situated in the very heart of South-East Asia Singapore is a vital life-line of world commerce and is destined to play an important role in future global conflicts. Endless convoys of shining motor cars run up and down the streets from the small hours of the morning till late at night. The clean roads and the orderly crowds of pedestrians strike the Indian visitor as something quite extraordinary. Motor cars, taxi-cabs, buses, trolley-buses, tram cars, cycles and trishaws (a version of cycle-rickshaws so well-known in India) provide the means of transport. We saw no horse-carriage, nor any bullock or buffalo cart in Singapore. Judged by

Indian standards, the standard of living is quite high. Necessaries of life are more expensive than they are in India.

We left Singapore on September 26 by the S. S. Darvel of the Straits Steamship Company. We almost missed the bond. Thanks to the Indonesian Consulate-General at Singapore and the local agents of the Straits Steamship Company! We got on board literally at the last moment and the ship was under way before we had settled down in our cabins. The Darvel reached Tanjon Perak (Port of Djakarta) shortly after night-fall on September 28. We disembarked between 10 and 11 A.M. on the following day. A representative of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture received us and took charge of the luggage. Mr. Pritam Singh, a well-to-do business man of Djakarta took us to his house. The luggage was taken to the guest-house of the Education Ministry (Asrama Grafika P. P. and K.). Mr. Pritam Singh was our host during our stay of nearly two weeks at Djakarta. He and his family took every care of us and did not let us feel that we were in a foreign land more than 2,000 miles away from home. Mr. Singh was an important worker of the I. N. A. movement and almost worships Netajee Bose. He is the finest Indian I have so far met in Indonesia.

We left Djakarta by the Djakarta-Surabaya Express Train at 6 A.M. on October 10 and reached Jogjakarta a little before 5 P.M. the same evening. We were received at the Station by a representative of Jogjakarta Indian Association and two representatives of the Gadjah Mada State University where I am posted.

## THE FRENCH EXECUTIVE UNDER THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

By MIRA GANGULY, M.A.,

Lecturer, Dum Dum Motijheel College

The recent assumption of special powers by the French Government has made it clear that the position of the French executive is no longer pitiable. France today has a very strong executive. Gone are the days when it could be said that the President of France neither reigned nor governed. The President under the Fifth Republic is much more powerful than his predecessors under the Fourth and even the Third Republic. In fact, for a long time, there have been repeated attempts for installing a strong executive in France. That was the reason behind the election of Louis Napoleon as President in 1848, his coup d'etat in 1851 and his successful establishment of the Second Empire in 1852. The Boulanger plot is another example. The same urge was behind the installation of the peculiar system of *droit administratif* under which the administrative branch of the government is freed from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts and left the sole judge of its own actions. The Constitution offered to the nation by the first National Constituent Assembly in 1946, however, tried to place the executive in a decidedly inferior position in comparison with Parliament—the Presidency had barely survived at all. But that Constitution was rejected. The Constitution drafted by the Second Constituent Assembly made for a stronger executive. The President was still weak, probably weaker than under the Third Republic. But the Prime Minister was placed in a pivotal position. And this Constitution was adopted in 1946. But the fight for a truly strong executive was not yet abandoned. After resigning the premiership in January, 1946, General de Gaulle campaigned vigorously for a constitution characterised by a strong executive. It was with this aim that he initiated the movement known as the "Rally of the French People" in 1947. This campaign was taken up recently by the Gaullist Party, Union Pour la Nouvelle Republique, and it stated specifically that the aim of the Party is to "unite the French nation in a republican framework round General de Gaulle." In his first radio and television broadcast as the Prime Minister on June 13, 1958, General de Gaulle outlined his Government's task as to drawing up constitutional reforms which would give the Republic "political institutions strong, stable and effective enough to enable us to realize our destiny." That he was thinking mainly in terms of a strong executive was subsequently made clear when the new Constitution was published.<sup>1</sup> In order to realize the true position of this executive it may be studied under the following heads: (1) The President, (2) The President and his Cabinet, (3) The Executive and Parliament.

### The President

The President of France is the supreme executive head. He is entrusted with the job of ensuring respect for the Constitution, national independence, integrity of territory and regular functioning of the public powers. He makes all civil and military state appointments, accredits ambassadors and envoys to foreign countries, accepts the credential from foreign envoys, acts as the commander of the armed forces and presides over the higher councils and committees of national defence.<sup>2</sup> He negotiates and ratifies treaties.<sup>3</sup> All these powers,

1. The new Constitution was drawn up by a Consultative Committee which submitted its report to the Government on 14th August, 1958. The text of the draft Constitution was published on September 4, 1958.

2. Articles 5, 13, 14, and 15 of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic of France, 1958.

3. Article 52.



popularly known as "executive powers" cabinet. It is not a case of the cabinet are usually enjoyed by heads of States in different countries. But when it comes to legislative powers it is often felt that the executive head should not be given much of it. If the doctrine of Separation of Powers were applied strictly it would leave him with the minimum of legislative functions. But though the new Constitution of France is said to be based on "a separation of executive and legislative powers" the President has been invested with wide legislative functions.

He promulgates the laws within fifteen days from the date the finally adopted law has been transmitted to the government. Within this time-limit he may ask, or perhaps it is more appropriate to say that he may command, Parliament for a reconsideration of the law. This request may not be refused.<sup>5</sup>

He may communicate with the two Assemblies of Parliament by means of messages which he shall cause to be read. The Parliament may be specially convened for this purpose.<sup>6</sup> In itself this method of communication does not indicate any real power. The Queen of Great Britain sends messages to Parliament. So does the President of India. But in Britain and in India, as under any parliamentary form of government, the nominal head serves only as the mouthpiece of the cabinet, and these messages are nothing but cabinet-statements. What sets the French President apart in this matter is the fact that he himself wields the real power. The Queen of Britain or the President of India would never dream of sending a message that has not been prepared by the cabinet. But the Constitution of France specially mentions that these messages are not to be countersigned by the Prime Minister<sup>7</sup> and consequently need not be approved by the

4. Constitutional Reform Act, June 3, 1958. General de Gaulle had mentioned earlier in his investiture speech on June 1, that such a separation was one of the aims of his government.

5. Article 10, French Constitution, 1958.

6. Article 18.

7. Article 19.

communicating with Parliament through the President but a case of the President himself communicating directly. The second significant point is that these messages cannot be debated by Parliament. In a truly democratic State, the messages of the supreme executive should be debated by Parliament, because Parliament is composed of the representatives of the people and the people can use its sovereignty through its representatives.<sup>8</sup> But though the national sovereignty in France (under Article 3 of the Constitution) resides in the people, the representatives of the people can but listen in silence to the messages of the head of the executive.

The subordinate position of Parliament in relation to the President is once again emphasised by the President's power to submit bills to a national referendum. He may so submit bills dealing with the organisation of the public powers, entailing approval of a Community agreement, or providing for authorization to ratify a treaty that might affect the functioning of the institutions.<sup>9</sup> It is true that Parliament itself may request the President to arrange for such a referendum. But the President may also do so merely on the proposal of the government, even without consulting Parliament. And this power also is used by the President himself and not by the cabinet.<sup>10</sup>

The President of France has also been empowered to dissolve the National Assembly.<sup>11</sup> This is a powerful weapon in the hands of the President because the

8. When the President of India addresses Parliament his address is debated. When he sends messages under Article 86(2) of the Constitution of India, the Speaker "shall read the message to the House and give necessary directions in regard to the procedure that shall be followed for the consideration of matters referred to in the message." (Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, India, 1957, Rule 23.)

9. Article 11, French Constitution, 1958.

10. Article 19.

11. Article 12.

### The Commonwealth Communique

The following is the text of the communique issued after the end of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference. We append it below as it might be the last Commonwealth Conference with an unbroken facade. It should be noted that the main topic, where the communique is concerned, is the economic aspect of International affairs and that *apartheid* was barely touched upon—and that by indirect reference only:

"The meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers ended today. Pakistan was represented by its President. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ghana, the Federation of Malaya and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were represented by their Prime Ministers. South Africa was represented by the Minister of External Affairs and Ceylon by the Minister of Justice.

"This was the tenth of these meetings to have been held since the war, the first taking place at a time of great significance to the Commonwealth and the world.

"The continuing growth of the membership of the Commonwealth was marked by the attendance at this meeting of the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, which achieved independence in August 1957. The representatives of the other Commonwealth countries welcomed the presence of the Federation at the conference.

"The Commonwealth is an association of independent sovereign States, each responsible for its own policies: but the primary objective of all is world peace and security. It is their declared purpose to do everything in their power to achieve that objective, and to continue to co-operate to that end with all the peace-loving nations of the world.

"In this spirit, the Commonwealth Ministers have reviewed the major international problems of the day, on the eve of the impending Summit Conference which is to be attended by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. They expressed their sincere hopes for a successful outcome of that conference as a further step in the relaxation of international tension.

"They discussed, in particular, the problem of disarmament and they welcomed the progress

made at the Geneva Conference on the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests.

"They hoped that, on the basis of the preliminary work already done, the Summit Conference would be able to make some significant progress towards an eventual settlement under international control, of the problem of disarmament. An advance towards a solution of that problem, linked with a progressive lessening of political tensions, would afford a firm basis for strengthening confidence between nations and promoting world security.

"The Commonwealth Ministers also discussed the problems of Africa, the Middle-East, the Far-East and South-East Asia. They recognised that economic and social progress are essential for political stability. They welcomed the continuing contribution which mutual assistance under the Colombo Plan affords, throughout South-East Asia to these aims: and they agreed that there and elsewhere throughout the less developed areas of the world the best hope of peace, stability and political freedom lies in practical international co-operation of this kind.

"The Ministers reviewed the world economic situation, they noted that while in general the outlook was favourable, the economic expansion which had taken place since their last meeting had been greater in the industrialised countries of the Commonwealth than in the primary producing countries.

"They agreed that an important condition of the prosperity of these countries was their ability to develop their export trade. They also recognised the urgent need to maintain and, where possible, increase the flow of economic assistance to the less developed countries. They welcomed the decision to establish an International Development Association.

"The Ministers discussed European trade problems. They expressed concern at the prospect of any economic division in Europe and its possible political implications. The countries of Europe form an important market for Commonwealth exports.

"The Ministers expressed their hope that these countries would follow trade policies in accordance with the principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and thus avoid damage to the economies of the primary produc-

ing countries and those that are also developing exports of manufactured goods.

"In addition, European countries have an important contribution to make in assisting the economic development of the less advanced countries. The Ministers hoped that these problems could be speedily and satisfactorily resolved, with due regard to the interests of countries outside Europe.

"The Commonwealth Ministers reviewed the economic development of Commonwealth countries in Africa which have recently attained or are approaching independence. They agreed that consideration should be given to the possibility of cooperative action among members of the Commonwealth in assisting the economic development of these countries. This possibility will be studied in the first instance by officials of Commonwealth Governments, and the Commonwealth economic consultative council will examine it at its next meeting.

"The Ministers also re-affirmed their belief in the value of exchanges between Commonwealth countries of persons with specialised skills and experience. They agreed that further efforts should be made to foster and encourage these exchanges, whether on a regional or other basis and that the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council should take this question into urgent consideration.

"They trusted that employers in Commonwealth countries—whether Government, statutory bodies or private companies—would be ready, wherever possible, to encourage members of their staffs to undertake a period of public service abroad and would do their best to ensure that their prospects in their home countries would not thereby be prejudiced.

"The Ministers reviewed the constitutional development of the Commonwealth, with particular reference to the future of the smaller dependent territories. They agreed that a detailed study of this subject should be made for consideration by Commonwealth Governments.

They noted that the Federation of Nigeria would attain independence on October 1. They extended to the Federation their good wishes for its future and looked forward to welcoming an independent Nigeria as a member of the

Commonwealth on the completion of the necessary constitutional processes.

"The meeting was informed that in pursuance of the recent plebiscite, the Constituent Assembly in Ghana had resolved that the necessary constitutional steps should be taken to introduce a republican form of constitution in Ghana by July 1.

"In notifying this forthcoming constitutional change, the Prime Minister of Ghana assured the meeting of his country's desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth and her acceptance of the Queen as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

"The heads of delegations of the other member countries of the Commonwealth assured the Prime Minister of Ghana that the present relations between their countries and Ghana would remain unaffected by this constitutional change and they declared that their Governments would accept and recognise Ghana's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

"The meeting noted a statement by the South African Minister of External Affairs that the Union Government intended to hold a referendum on the subject of South Africa becoming a republic. The meeting affirmed the view that the choice between a monarchy and a republic was entirely the responsibility of the country concerned.

"In the event of South Africa deciding to become a republic and if the desire was subsequently expressed to remain a member of the Commonwealth, the meeting suggested that the South African Government should then ask for the consent of the other Commonwealth Governments either at a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers or if this were not practicable by correspondence.

"Whilst re-affirming the traditional practice that Commonwealth conferences do not discuss the internal affairs of member countries, Ministers availed themselves of Mr. Louw's presence in London to have informal discussions with him about the racial situation in South Africa. During these informal discussions Mr. Louw gave information and answered questions on the Union's policies and the other Ministers

conveyed to him their views on the South African problem.

"The Ministers emphasised that the Commonwealth itself is a multi-racial association and expressed the need to ensure good relations between all member States and peoples of the Commonwealth."

### Linguistic Nationalism

The bifurcation of the State of Bombay into its linguistic components, Maharashtra and Mahaguzrat, is an act of balkanisation in India. It is unfortunately not the last of its kind. The East Punjab is heading for a partition into Punjabi and Hindi-speaking areas. Assam might be following suit. And for an equitable redistribution, it needs being split up into (1) Bengali-speaking Cachar, (2) the Assamese-speaking low lands of the Brahmaputra valley, and (3) the multi-lingual hill tracts, bordering on Burma. Here the people are mostly Christians and, led by foreign missionaries, they would prefer English as their official language. The attempted imposition of the Assamese language on the Bengalis and the hill tribes will be like Hindi on non-Hindi people. We do not certainly feel happy to see India cut down to bits. All the same, the re-organisation of States on sound lines is a necessity. The Central Government, as usual, has betrayed a woeful lack of courage, foresight and statesmanship in tackling it. It as much constitutes a melancholy chapter of their rule that after indulging in a game of bluff and bluster, not excluding idle threats and a resolve to administer the city of Bombay from Delhi, they yielded, as in the case of Andhra, to violence and bloodshed.

There is every likelihood of the Sikhs now intensifying their demand for a Punjabi subah. It bodes ill, inasmuch as there is a pronounced religio-political pull in their nationalism. It is an accepted rule that when sectarian religion gets mixed up with organised politics it results into a highly emotional, explosive communalism. In fact, we must not mince matters to say that we have been noticing an affinity between the current religio-linguistic com-

munalism of East Punjab with its bent for sub-division and the fratricidal division of India by the two-nation communalism. The promoters of Pakistan and Partition sought to carve out India, not merely on socio-religious grounds, but on the basis of two rival linguistic cultures—the Indo-Saracene culture using Urdu as its inter-lingua and Hindustan espousing Hindi as its national language. Likewise, in the controversy over the national language of East Punjab, it is, oddly enough, not the Punjabi-speaking Hindus but the Punjabi-speaking Sikhs, who are pressing for the installation of the Punjabi language and subah. An additional factor in this religio-political complex is the matter of rival scripts—Devnagri being regarded as a symbol of renaissance Hinduism, Urdu as the Muslim script and Gurumukhi as the outward and visible sign, among others, of Sikhism.

One must, in the circumstances, reflect whether or not to halt the stupid confusion. India should accept the Nehru formula as the one way-out and allow English to continue as an associate language for purpose of State business. It is for the Prime Minister of India to clarify and energise his outlook once for all and save the country from the Hindi fanatics, seeking to steal a march over others in order to dominate them.

J. B.

### The Akali Arrests

The Statesman's special representative sent the following report. The Punjabi Suba move thus enters on a critical phase:

Chandigarh, May 25.—The Akali Dal office at Amritsar said this morning that over 500 people had been arrested, including Master Tara Singh's son, Mohan Singh, the junior Vice-President of the Akali Dal, Sardar Harbans Singh, and the Editor of the Akali, one of the newspapers of the party.

An unknown number of Akali workers and leaders, including some M.L.A.s, could not be traced. The warrants for their arrest have not been executed so far.



Notices have been served on five newspapers asking them not to publish anything for or against the demand for a further division of Punjab. The newspapers are: the Prabhat, the Akali, the Pratap, the Vir Pratap and the Hind Samachar.

The Chief Minister, Sardar Kairon, said here this morning that similar action would be taken against any newspaper which tried to create tension between Hindus and Sikhs.

The Government has so far imposed no general ban on meetings or processions connected with the Punjabi Suba agitation but has left it to the discretion of the local authorities to take such action whenever they find it necessary. There is no intention at present to ban the Akali Dal.

Only Master Tara Singh, it is learnt, has been arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. Other arrests have been made under powers to meet apprehension of a breach of peace.

Master Tara Singh, who was examined by a Civil Surgeon before he was arrested, was reported to be in good health. He is being held at the sub-jail at Dharamsala. His case will be brought before an advisory board as required under the Preventive Detention Act.

The Chief Minister said: "No leniency will be shown to people who want to create tension between Hindus and Sikhs."

A communique issued this morning on Master Tara Singh's arrest contains the warning that the "Government would like everyone to note that any action on the part of any section likely to disturb peace and order will not be tolerated and the Government will adopt firm measures to deal with the situation effectively."

Explaining why the Akali leader was arrested, the communique says his "wild propaganda" and threats to launch a Punjabi Suba morcha "even by violence has greatly excited his followers and his utterances have resulted in a very provocative situation."

### Student Indiscipline

The Hindusthan Standard gave the following report on May 28th. There had been serious attempts by some rowdy elements amongst students to prevent the holding of B. Com. examination in the Calcutta University buildings, on the previous day. We hope there would be some proposal at the Khadakvasla meeting, to set up a long-term investigation, to examine all aspects of student indiscipline, as we have reasons to believe that it is a far more complicated affair than what the officials think:

How to check indiscipline among students will be the main topic of discussion at the conference of Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities to be held at the Indian Defence Academy at Khadakvasla, about seven miles from Poona, on June 15 and 16, it is learnt.

It is likely that a draft plan to curb students' indiscipline would be placed before the conference by the Union Education Minister, Dr. Srimali, who will inaugurate the proceedings. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission, Dr. Chintaman Deshmukh, will preside.

Discussing the method of curbing students' indiscipline the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Prof. N. K. Siddhanta, told me on Friday the present system of public examination needed drastic reforms. The number of examinees specially in Calcutta University had increased to unmanageable proportions and sooner the present system of examination was changed, the better. Prof. Siddhanta was in favour of partly depending on college records of students concerned, partly on objective tests and partly on essay type of examination.

It would not be possible to continue the elaborate essay-type of examination, as was prevalent now-a-days, he said. Instead of a three-hour examination on a paper one hour, if not half-an-hour, should be allotted for each paper, he added.

### C. P. I. Council Resolution

We append below the significant portions of the lengthy resolutions adopted at the end of the concluding session of the Communist Party's National Council at Calcutta. Coming as it did after a bye-election in Calcutta, in which the Lok Sabha seat was presented on a silver plate to the C. P. I. candidate by the local Congress caucus, it shows that the C. P. I. is getting back to its stand as an extension to foreign affairs departments of the Communist World

National Assembly is always under the threat of dissolution if it fails to see eye to eye with the President. Generally this power belongs to the executive under the Parliamentary form of Government only and is used solely on the advice of the cabinet. But not so in France. It is true that the President has to consult the Premier and the Presidents of the Assemblies before dissolving the National Assembly. But the Constitution again states specifically that the decision in this matter is not to be countersigned by the Premier and thereby places it outside ministerial jurisdiction. In this the French President is more powerful than the Queen of Britain, the President of India and even the President of America. The American President has absolutely no power regarding the dissolution of the Congress.

While it is true that the executive head should not wield much of legislative functions, it is even more true as regards his judicial functions. Generally the judicial power of the executive head begins and ends with the right of granting pardon, for it is an age-long stipulation that the judiciary must be separate from and independent of the executive. Without that there can be no liberty for the individual. The Constitution of France still begins with the call of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."<sup>12</sup> It is also supposed to be based on the principle of independence of the judiciary.<sup>13</sup> But the President of France enjoys not only the right of pardon but also the unheard of privilege of presiding over the High Council of Judiciary<sup>14</sup> which is the supreme body of judicial authority in the state. Under the Fourth Republic also the President had enjoyed this position. But in those days the Council had consisted mainly of elected members. Now, under the Fifth Republic, it is wholly a nominated body. Besides the President, the Minister of Justice is there as the Vice-President, and there are nine members appointed by the President.

12. Article 2.

13. Constitutional Reform Act, June, 1958.

14. Article 65, French Constitution, 1958.

But all these powers, however important they may appear, pale into insignificance when we come to Article 16 which invests the President with special powers. The President is empowered to take any "measures required by the circumstances when the institution of the Republic, the independence of the nation, the integrity of its territory or the fulfilment of its international commitments are threatened and the regular functioning of the constitutional public powers is interrupted." And the President is the supreme judge of the fact whether the necessity for the assumption of these powers has arisen or not. We should bear in mind that even the Consultative Committee set up by the French Government for drawing up the Constitution had not been quite happy about such wide discretionary powers. General de Gaulle himself had to appear before the Committee to answer the objections raised. He insisted on these special powers on the ground that "the events of the past 30 years and the difficulties facing all nations today" made them imperative. He held that it was impossible to "imagine a modern constitution omitting this rare but essential responsibility." This power is indeed rare. Whether it is essential is, of course, a matter of discussion. In England the executive has no emergency powers except under parliamentary authority. In India the President has been given extensive emergency power.<sup>15</sup> And this is the point on which the constitution of India has been criticised most vehemently. Such special powers naturally remind one of Article 48 of Weimar Constitution: "The Reich President may, if the public safety and order in the German Reich are considerably disturbed or endangered, take such measures as are necessary to restore public safety and order."<sup>17</sup> This was the embodi-

15. General de Gaulle's speech before the Consultative Committee on August 8, 1958.

16. Articles 352-360, Constitution of India, 1950.

17. From the translation of the Constitution by M. Wolff appended to H. Kraus: "The Crisis of German Democracy."

ment of what has been aptly called "Constitutional dictatorship." The Reich President could resort to these emergency powers regardless of whether the Reichstag was in session or not. So can the French President. The Reich President was under the obligation to inform the Reichstag without delay of the measures taken. The French President is under no such restriction. It is enough for him to inform the nation in a message. Each and every decree of the Reich President, that means the decree of the assumption of special powers as well, had to be countersigned by the Chancellor or the competent minister. But the French President is specifically freed from this restriction in the matter of emergency powers. He has only to consult the Premier, the Presidents of the Assemblies and the Constitutional Council. But he need not necessarily accept their advice. Once the consultation is over he is free to do whatever he likes. Such a situation naturally gives rise to questionings and misgivings. It is impossible for the man in the street to enjoy liberty or equality or fraternity if the President can, at his sweet will, take whatever measures he likes. The concept of emergency powers in the hands of the executive in peace-time runs contrary to all fundamental maxims of liberty and democracy. And if the Reich Executive, in spite of certain restrictions, could use the special powers in such a way that led to dictatorship and the rise of Hitler, the unrestricted powers in the hands of the French President may very well lead to something equally terrible.

### The President and his Cabinet

The possibility of the French President acting as a dictator becomes all the more obvious if the position of the cabinet is taken into account. An executive head may be invested with all the power in the world and yet he may remain a mere cipher. The Queen of Britain and the President of India are the best examples. Under the parliamentary form of government the power nominally enjoyed by the supreme executive is in fact wielded by the cabinet

which is responsible to and removable by Parliament. The supreme executive serves more or less an ornamental purpose. Under the Fourth Republic also, the President was the figurehead and it was the cabinet that really ruled. But now it is the other way round. The French President wields the real power and his cabinet acts merely as a body of advisers. An attempt has, of course, been made to place the President under apparent ministerial supervision by stating that the acts of the President of the Republic shall be countersigned by the Premier and should circumstances so require by the appropriate ministers (Article 19). But the same article states that the acts of the President under Articles 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 54 and 56 are not to be countersigned. That means, among other things, the submission of a bill to referendum, the dissolution of the National Assembly, the adoption of emergency measures, the communication of messages to Parliament and the composition of the Constitutional Council are outside the sphere of ministerial responsibility. So ministerial restrictions are applicable merely in minor matters. In the more important issues the President is free to act as he pleases.

Even in the minor matters the cabinet cannot decide by itself. The meetings of the cabinet are presided over not by the Premier but by the President. Thus the President takes over the leadership of the cabinet. In England, the Queen cannot even attend the cabinet meetings. In India, the same practice prevails. And that is the natural procedure under a parliamentary form of government.

But, perhaps, it would not be wrong to say that the French system is neither parliamentary nor presidential. If it were parliamentary the cabinet would have been the real ruler and the members of the cabinet would have been members of Parliament. In France, as we have seen, the real power is wielded by the President. Moreover, the cabinet members cannot remain members of Parliament. Once they join the government they have to resign

from Parliament.<sup>18</sup> It is, of course, natural that under a Constitution aiming at "the separation of executive and legislative powers" the parliamentary system has not been adopted. Nor has the presidential system been installed in France. Under the presidential form the cabinet would have had nothing to do with the legislature. In France, however, the Government "shall be responsible to Parliament" (Article 21). And the Council of Ministers is removable by the National Assembly on a motion of censure.

It may be argued that the French system has been built on the Swiss model. In Switzerland also the Federal Executive which is known as the Federal Council is not a cabinet in the strict sense of the term. It is elected by the Federal Assembly and the members of the Council participate in the meetings of the Assembly. But the members of the Council cannot remain members of the Assembly. They have to resign from the Assembly. And the meetings of the Federal Council is also presided over by the President. The analogy, however, would be fallacious. The Federal Council is not removable by the Assembly, nor can it dissolve the Assembly. In France, as we have already seen, the cabinet is removable by Parliament and the National Assembly may be dissolved by the President. As to the position of the President in relation to the cabinet the picture in France is completely different from that in Switzerland. In Switzerland, the executive is collegial and the President is a member of that council, elected just for one year to head the Council. He is elected by Parliament. But, in France, the President is elected by an electoral college and that for a term of seven years. He is not a part of the cabinet, he controls it. The French Constitution, in fact, does not aim at the executive and the legislature working side by side in harmony and equality. It aims at building up everything around the central figure of the President.

### The Executive and Parliament

While the President is stronger than

the cabinet, the government, as a whole, is much stronger than Parliament. Parliament is ordinarily invested with the power of making laws. But "the government may, in order to carry out its programme, ask Parliament for authorisation to take, through ordinances, during a limited period, measures that are normally within the domain of law." (Article 38). It was by means of this that the French Government assumed special powers for one year recently.<sup>19</sup>

But even when such powers have not been assumed by the government, even in ordinary times, the government has the upper hand. The discussion of the bills filed or agreed upon by the government has priority on the agenda of the Assemblies in the order determined by the government.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, a supervisory body, known as the Constitutional Council has been installed over Parliament. All organic laws and regulations of the parliamentary assemblies, before their promulgation, have to be submitted to the Constitutional Council which shall give its ruling on their constitutionality.<sup>21</sup> Other laws may also be submitted, before their promulgation, by the President of the Republic or the Premier or the President of the one or the other Assembly. A provision declared to be unconstitutional cannot be promulgated. The decisions of the Constitutional Council are not subject to appeal to any jurisdiction whatsoever.<sup>22</sup> And the composition of

19. Act granting special powers, February, 1960:

Section 1: The Government is authorised to take by decree in the conditions provided for in Art. 38 of the Constitution measures necessary to ensure the maintenance of order, the safeguarding of the State, the pacification and administration of Algeria.

Section 2: The authorisation provided for in the preceding section is valid for the period of one year from the day of the promulgation of the present law.

20. Article 48, French Constitution, 1958.

21. Article 61.

22. Article 62.

18. Article 23, French Constitution, 1958.

this Council reveals quite clearly that this body, if not a part of the executive, is its accessory. It has nine members, three of whom are appointed by the President of the Republic. The President of the Council is also appointed by him. In addition to the nine members, all former Presidents of the Republic shall be ex-officio members for the life of the Council.<sup>23</sup>

Thus Parliament remains a body for deliberation, with the controlling power in the hands of the executive and its nominees.

#### Legal Dictatorship

The constitutional pattern in which the executive, specially the President, emerges as the leading force is disturbing many democratic-minded Frenchmen. The "Mendesians Radicals," the Communists, the Poujadists, the Union des Forces Democratiques and a minority of Socialists opposed the Constitution at the very beginning. M. Mendes-France, leader of the non-Communist campaign against the new Constitution told a press conference on September 5, 1958 that the President would have almost sovereign powers under the new Constitution, and could promulgate a "legal dictatorship" in an emergency. His fears were echoed by M. Edouard Depreux, Socialist deputy for a Paris Constituency in the last Parliament of the Fourth Republic, when he spoke at the Socialist Party's Congress at Issy-les-Moulineaux in September, 1958. He said that the Constitution was likely to lead to a dictatorship, a "neo-Boulangism."

The working of the Constitution seems to have confirmed their fears. Because, even those who supported the Constitution at the beginning and are still supporting the Government have been forced to criticise the concentration of powers in the hands of the executive. The Radical Party and the Socialist Party supported not only the new Constitution but also the Special Powers Bill.<sup>24</sup> Yet at its Congress at Pau on June

13-15, 1959, the Radical Party adopted a resolution on "the Defence of Democracy" which denounced the "growing influence of a technocracy which despises the judgment of universal suffrage." The same resolution referred to a dispute over the parliamentary rules and stated that the Government had "interpreted the constitution in a way which amputates the constitutional rights of Parliament." At the annual congress of the Socialist Party (July, 1959), a resolution proposed by the Party-leadership opposed the Debre Government's interpretation of the Constitution.

It would be correct to say that though France now has a strong executive headed by an extremely strong President, forces aiming at bringing about a true balance of powers and the supremacy of the people's will are also at work. Which proves to be stronger yet remains to be seen.

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24. At the time of voting on the Special Powers Bill on February 3, 1960, the Radicals and the Socialists (except two Socialists) voted in favour of the Bill.



## POPULATION IN SOUTH EASTERN INDIA: MOST LIKELY YES

By J. M. DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (London).

1. King Kapilendra Deva (crowned in 1435, died in 1470), grandfather of Gajapati Prataprudra Deva of Orissa, who was a contemporary of Lord Gauranga, ruled over a vast empire from Triveni on the banks of the sacred Bhagirathi or the Ganges—the Hooghly of European cartographers to Trichinopoly on the Cauvery. Triveni is in the Hooghly district of West Bengal, and Trichinopoly in Madras. He is said to have ruled over 9 crores (=90 millions) of human beings.

2. The late Rakhaldas Banerjea (the actual discoverer of Mohenjo Daro) in his opus magnum the *History of Orissa* says that "He (Kapilendra) succeeded in conquering the entire eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal from Hooghly in Bengal to Trichinopoly in Madras," and that one of the titles of the Emperor "Nava-Koti-Karnata-Kalavarageswara" (see Vol. I, pp. 304, 302). He goes on to say: "Kapilendra certainly possessed the right to call himself the master of ninety millions of people of Karnata, as he had conquered the eastern coast as far as Tanjore and Trichinopoly." A sketch map of Kapilendra's empire is given at p. 296 of Vol. I of the *History of Orissa*.

3. The present (1931) population of his empire, we estimate thus:

We assume that he ruled over all the Oriya-speaking population, and all the Telegu speaking population and half of the Tamil speakers and two-thirds of the total population of the Burdwan Division of Bengal. The result is:

|                         |                  |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| All the Oriya speakers  | 112 lakhs.       |
| All the Telegu speakers | 264 "            |
| ½ of Tamil speakers     | 102 "            |
| ⅔ of Burdwan Division   | 57 "             |
|                         | <hr/> 535 lakhs. |

An estimate, if anything, errs on the side of including doubtful areas in Kapilendra's empire.

4. The increase of population of the several areas more or less corresponding to Kapilendra's Empire during the fifty years 1881-1931 is given below:

| Area               | Pop., in 1931 in lakhs | Percentage of increase+, or decrease during 1881-1931 |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| Burdwan Division   | 86.5                   | +16.9                                                 |
| Orissa             | 42.0                   | +15.8                                                 |
| Orissa States      | 46.5                   | +93.0                                                 |
| Madras—            |                        |                                                       |
| Agency             | 1.7                    | +33.6                                                 |
| East Coast North   | 121.7                  | +38.5                                                 |
| East Coast Central | 133.5                  | +34.7                                                 |
| East Coast South   | 103.8                  | +24.0                                                 |
| Telingana          |                        |                                                       |
| (Hyderabad State)  | 75.5                   | +69.4                                                 |
|                    | <hr/> 611.2            | <hr/> +39.3                                           |

We have included Telingana, but surely Kapilendra did not rule over entire Telingana; there was the Bahamani Kingdom.

5. At this rate of increase, the population about 1480 would be 309.5 lakhs. Whatever the rate of increase, even if we assume it to be zero, which cannot be the case, the population of Kapilendra's time cannot exceed 61 millions. About 1881 the population would be about 44 millions.

6. Is Kapilendra's claim to have ruled over 90 millions a mere poetic exaggeration? Some inaccuracy in his figures is quite natural. The traditional method of estimating population in medieval times was to get from each householder a cowrie marked with red vermillion mark; tie them up in bundles village by village; send them to a central place for being counted. After ascertaining the number of cowries to multiply it by a certain factor, the average number of persons per house.

As this average was found by enumerating persons per house round about the local capitals, where people live more huddled together than elsewhere, it introduces an error towards exaggeration. There is also sampling error.

The nomadic and the forest people possibly escaped enumeration, because they had no fixed homes or houses.

The demand of a *courie* from each household is an additional taxation. Its

matter whether he is calculating the needs for additional accommodation in schools or extra teachers and equipment, feels like a man trying to race up the down staircase of an escalator, or of Alice and the Red Queen who must run as fast as they can to remain in the same place, let alone make any progress.

The highlights of educational achievement in Britain during the last 50-55 years have been (1) the measures taken by the Ministry of Education and the Local Authorities to raise the number of teachers by attracting the best educational material available each year into the training colleges through salary and other inducements, and developing a sense of freedom in the mind of every teacher through encouragement and initiatives; (2) the linking of primary education with an expanding system of secondary education through the award of scholarships and fees; (3) the concurrent creation of alternatives to grammar school education through secondary technical schools and specialist courses at the top of secondary modern schools; (4) the policy of enlarging and elaborating the "educational plant" through construction of new buildings and supply of books, apparatus, lantern slides, and livestock, pets, clothing, apparatus for visual education, games and modern physical training, etc.; (5) the extra care taken by all Local Education Authorities in dealing with delicate, tubercular, crippled or mentally defective children, those handicapped by blindness or deafness, and also those unable to get the full benefit of school attendance for want of food, dress, etc., due to poverty; (6) the equal treatment of all schools, primary or secondary, by the Local Education Authorities and other school bodies.

Within and beyond the four walls of this "brick and mortar" picture the matter-of-fact achievements of the Education Department and the educational institutions of the country, are to be looked for,—achievements of 50-55 years distinctive and outstanding enough to be termed a "silent social revolution." A visitor, for example, who had inspected several schools in Britain in 1904-1905 would encounter many surpris-

ing changes and improvements in any school of today. He would, for instance, notice that (1) the classes are considerably smaller but the teachers are of better physical and intellectual stature; (2) there is hardly a pupil poorly clad or bare-footed or weak in health or intellect; the speech and appearance of the pupils have also improved; (3) every pupil in many class-rooms is occupied either in small groups or individually in some pursuit, and is often far too engrossed in his work to look up; (4) an engaging friendliness between the teacher and pupil has replaced the rather stiff formal relationship of the past. Our visitor would also observe to his surprise that there are more unoccupied class-rooms during school hours due to the fact that a far larger number of pupils than before are engaged in practical work, games and sports, visits to swimming baths, public libraries, docks, museums, etc., and even are away from school for a fortnight, enjoying a school camp in the country or travelling on the Continent in a school party. He would also come across classes engaged in a debate, rehearsing a play, watching an educational film, constructing a historical or geographical model, repairing a machine, assembling the parts of an instrument, or drinking their mid-morning milk. He would encounter the school orchestras at practice, work in progress in school workshops and gymnasia and vigorous games of football, net ball, etc., between teams clad in light dress who enjoy a shower bath after the game. He would also observe that, as a part of the social security programme, kitchens and dining rooms have been provided in the school for the pupils' daily dinner.

Achievements in the field of primary education have been no less spectacular or revolutionary. The British primary school is trying to synthesise all the results of recent research on the nature and growth of children into a properly conceived educational plan. It has, for example, been realised that childhood is a very important part of man's life and it is every child's birthright to get the right chances in the proper way and stage of

life for his mental and physical development. It is now well-known that children educate themselves and, as with students in general, knowledge is to be acquired and not given. It is the duty and responsibility of teachers, parents and guardians to help this process of self-development and divert it patiently and intelligently into the channel of the three "R's" of primary education. The present-day primary teacher no longer "tortures" pupils over grammar or the six-times table, for he has learnt that these lessons can wait, and if it is true that at some stage of his career a student has got to cut his teeth on hard subjects like grammar and arithmetic, it is equally true and human to see that his milk-teeth are not cut on these.

As a result of all these findings children now begin their geography lessons with excursions to the zoo and other places, history lessons with seeing an ancient monument, church or tower, and their arithmetic through the counting they do in connection with their games. They are given sufficient scope to be "busy little workmen in search of work to do," and thus learn manual dexterity. They are encouraged to find and collect things, by using their eyes. Infant and nursery schools nowadays provide young children with many pet animals to encourage their feeling of kinship with animals. Thus their world of make-believe recedes and they see and understand a bit more of the world around them. Soon after the first World War, Margaret McMillan and other nursery school pioneers established in an English setting and with an English twist, Madame Montessori's principle that the child will grow naturally and educate himself spontaneously impelled by forces within himself—if he is given an environment suitable for his developmental needs.

This break with past beliefs, however, is not very much to the liking of the grandparents of a child and they express their anxiety over the matter to their daughter or daughter-in-law (the child's mother) about Peter's poor progress in the eight-times table or spelling. Bewildered parents raise the issue in the next Parent Teacher Association and come back con-

vinced of the efficiency of the modern methods in general and about the poor progress of their child in particular.

Britain is almost the only country where all children are required to begin their schooldays at 5 years instead of 6, and also one of the very few countries where the birth of every child is recorded with great care. Ninety four per cent of the children here start their school life in a State Primary School at five or just before that age and the other 6 per cent find their way to preparatory schools of various kinds conducted by private individuals. In rare cases children are kept at home for a while if a parent can show that they are receiving an education from their mother, aunt or governess fully appropriate to their age. To deprive a fit and healthy child of his birthright of mixing with his fellows in the same age group in the hope of better training at home is a very questionable expedient in Britain.

Two and a half million students in Britain join the Technical Colleges and Universities after their secondary education. The Technical Colleges are run by the Local Education Authorities under the "Technological and Further Education" scheme and accommodate students in full-time day courses or on a part-time day or evening class basis. They train young men and women for the posts of Technical assistants, designers, draughtsmen, foremen, craftsmen, etc., and thus equip them more satisfactorily for life. The subjects taught and the special lines of study in these colleges are as varied as life itself. National Diploma, National Certificate and General Certificate courses exist for mining, metallurgy, engineering, agriculture, horticulture, poultry and dairying, bee-keeping, rearing of birds and animals, business administration, training in sea-going yachts, ship-building, millinery and dressmaking, cake-making and confectionery, knitting, ballroom dancing, etc. Study for a University degree through these technical colleges can also be arranged.

There are 25 Universities in Britain,—quite a large number for a population of 500 millions,—and most of them are only



amount may be guessed; in Bengal rice sold at 2 annas a maund about 1670. In Orissa and Madras, two centuries earlier it was perhaps cheaper. A *courie* is thus equivalent to a *seer* of rice. This the very poor may not have been able to pay or to collect. They may have pooled together several householders into one unit.

On the whole exaggeration and under-enumeration neutralised each other to some extent. But there is the tendency to under-enumeration.

7. We think his claim is not a mere poetic exaggeration. Had he claimed to be the over-lord of 10 crores or 10 lakhs, or 10 crores 10 lakhs we may have taken it to be a mere poetic way of saying a large number, Nine is not an auspicious number. So we are of opinion that there must be some justification for his claim in facts, however crudely arrived at.

8. On the other hand Moreland's estimate for the population of entire South India a century or so later is 30 millions. For the area under Kapilendra's Empire it would be something like half that figure.

Although Mr. Moreland's total for India is more or less vindicated the factual basis for his estimate for South India is very slender. The Census Commissioner of India for 1921 at p. 56 in a foot-note observes:

"Mr. Moreland estimates the population of India between Multan and Monghyr at something over 30 millions. His method of calculation for this tract (population=cultivated acres $\times$ labour necessary to cultivate an acre) inspires more confidence than that for Southern India, for which the alleged size of armies—with a large discount for exaggeration—is the basis used. The *Seir-ul-Mutakharin* and the works of Herodotus suggest that the alleged size of oriental armies cannot be used as evidence at all, because the unknown discount may be anything up to 95 per cent of the known allegation. An arguable co-efficient for the Xerxes Expeditionary Force, for instance, would be alleged thousands=actual hundreds. But alleged thousands actual hundreds

2 2 would be equally arguable. The numbers of a massed body can only be known by count-

ing ocular estimates even when made by educated persons are, as is well known, of the wildest description."

9. Even if Kapilendra's claim is halved to 45 millions, it is strange that there would be no growth of population over so large an area for over four centuries. This is against all experience. So we are forced to conclude that there has been de-growth of population in this region since Kapilendra's time.

10. What the reasons for de-growth are have not been investigated. Too frequent wars and consequent devastation, slaughter on mass scale by the Muhammadan Sultans of the early days, the invasions of Orissa by Muhammadan rulers of Bengal and destruction and slaughter, the oppressive misrule of the Marathas for over fifty years in Orissa, too frequent devastating famines, floods and consequent changes in the river courses of the rivers, pestilence seem to be the cause. A list of famines in Madras is given below from Ramesh Dutt's "Famines in India," Chapter I:

1783—due to wars; 1792; 1807—"a severe and disolating famine"; 1823; 1833—"the northern districts of the Province suffered most from this famine specially the district of Guntur, in which the mortality was so great that this was known as Guntur famine. 'It was estimated that 200,000 persons died in Guntur out of a population of 500,000.' Groups of people died in the streets of Madras, numbers perished in Masulipatam; in Nellore 'the roads were strewn with dead bodies.'"; 1854—"a famine visited the northern part of the Madras Presidency \* \* \* the census taken in 1856-57 showed that the growth of population had received a serious set-back"; 1866—Orissa famine—there was a famine in some parts of the Madras Presidency, death increased by 450,000; "one-third of the population of Orissa, or nearly a million persons died"; 1877—there were 5 million deaths.

Between 1872-1881 the population of the Madras Presidency showed a decline of 1.2 per cent.

There are very good evidences to show that the mouths of the several branches of the Mahanadi have choked within the last 500 years. The Chandrabhaga have become a dry bed of sand.

## EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Dr. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.Sc., D.Phil. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

Education in Great Britain is an off-shoot of the democratic life of the country; it owes its origin and growth to the care and protection of Parliament. There has always been a popular demand for a system of education in Britain capable of serving a classless democracy and of developing political consciousness and a spirit of independence in the individual adequate for firmly establishing such a democratic life. The country had the wisdom to realise in time that its future depends on school power as well as sea power, and that only trained and qualified men, whose minds have been unlocked by proper education, and not merely stored with uncorrelated knowledge, can help to maintain and improve the cultural standard of the British nation. The attitude of Britain towards education has been well-expressed by Sir Winston Churchill in the words, "I believe that if we are to survive and prosper as a nation it is going to be very important that we shall be a well-educated nation."

There are strong and concrete material considerations as well behind such an urge for education. A small island with a teeming population not capable of supporting itself from its own agricultural production, Great Britain needs the maximum possible supply of highly skilled workers and technologists from its secondary schools, technical colleges and Universities. The supply of scientists and technologists should be of such a quantity and calibre as is capable of exploring the industrial possibilities of nuclear energy, radio isotopes, ultrasonics electronics, etc., and also of exploiting fully the geographical position of the country at the hub of the air routes linking the greatest centres of world population.

The problems of education in Great Britain are perhaps no less numerous or formidable, than in any other country.

The school-going population of the country is 6½ millions and the annual birth rate of about 800,000. Each individual in this vast army of students must be given the individual attention of trained teachers every day. Besides, the Education Act of 1944 has provided for (1) raising the school-leaving age to 15 years, (2) reducing the size of classes to a maximum of 30 for secondary schools and senior classes and 40 for primary schools and junior classes, and (3) eliminating unqualified teachers. Classes in primary and secondary schools should be of a proper size so that education, as distinct from formal instruction, becomes possible, and the teacher's job of catering for the intellectual, moral, social and physical development of every child becomes easier.

Work in this line was started even before the War and the Education Act. A total of 1,800 new primary and senior elementary schools and 120 secondary grammar schools were built and opened during 1926-1930, and the even better figure of 10,235 schools, representing just half the number then in existence in England and Wales, were enlarged, remodelled or improved. The total teaching force of the country has been raised by 70,000 in the course of eight years from 1945 to 1953, a prodigious feat by any standard and one without any parallel in British history. Various hurdles and impediments however are still standing in the way of a substantial realisation of the educational ideals of the country. The War has affected its national economy and constructive capacity in all their facets, and has thereby retarded educational progress by at least twenty years. The sudden and overwhelming increase in the birth rate during the postwar period, combined with a reduction in infant mortality rate is making havoc of educational planning in Great Britain. The educational administrator, no

next to Oxford and Cambridge in rank and standard. In the matter of the subject discussed, interest taken in the different branches of human activity and the high standard maintained in teaching and research, the Universities of Britain are unique indeed. The fact that only one student in 32 out of the school-going population wins through to the University shows the rigorousness and efforts of the education authorities to maintain standard and quality. Three-quarters of the University students are assisted by Scholarships and allowances for their maintenance on a sufficiently liberal scale to render it unnecessary for them to seek part-time job. University professors are mostly outstanding personalities in their lines who have reached eminence by their ability to absorb, analyse and build upon the findings and thoughts of scientists and philosophers. Fundamental contributions to the stock of human knowledge are almost matter-of-course affairs to these Universities with their traditions of professors like Clerk Maxwell, J. J. Thomson, E. Rutherford, Lord Raleigh, Lawrence Bragg, Alexander Fleming, Huxley, Arnold Toynbee, to mention only a few among the endless galaxy of British scientists. In fact it has been claimed that each square yard floor of the Cavendish Laboratory of Cambridge University has contributed more to science than many countries of the world.

Students from all progressive and underdeveloped countries rush to Oxford, Cambridge, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, etc., for training, degrees and diploma in various physical and biological sciences, engineering, medicine, surgery, mining, metallurgy, agriculture, horticulture and a host of other subjects. About ten per cent of the University students in Britain are from overseas countries. More than ever before, India is getting a very large number of its scientists and technicians trained from this country in connection with national development and the Five-Year Plans.

Confidence in the "raw materials" of educational machinery and in the performance of that machinery has time and again

been expressed by teachers and patriots in their speeches, e.g.,

(1) "There are boys and girls going out from the schools today worthy of the very best this country has ever produced. There are schools that are slums and where conditions are overcrowded and appalling but where teachers are doing a real job of work and, by their skill and devotion, are giving the children a really first class education."—Miss Florence Horsburgh, 1954.

(2) "The people of this country can regard themselves as having been paid back every penny they ever spent on their education rate by what happened in the skies of Britain between June and September, 1940."—Member of the House of Commons, during the passage of the Education Act, 1954.

There is therefore a determination in the minds of the educational architects to see that every new school turns out to be an emblem of fitness for the purpose rather than a municipal monument. The national expenditure on education was £600 millions in 1958 and will rise to £1000 millions by the time the Education Act of 1944 is fully implemented. An average family in Britain pays £160-180 to their Local Education Authority as education "rate" for the house or flat they live in and £400-425 as tax for the cigarettes and beer they consume in course of 12 years, and these amounts are more than realised when their son or daughter gets education for 12 years in primary and secondary schools. A rich family, however, have to provide, in addition to spending the price of a Rolls Royce car on the education of their son and daughter, the rate-borne cost of nearly two class rooms full of children attending the local school from 5 to 15 years of age. A teacher's basic salary is £520-1000 per annum with additions for special responsibilities.

As education here amounts to the integral welfare of the future generation, children are periodically examined by the School Medical Officers, provided with milk as a mid-morning drink, and looked

after in all respects of health. Diseases among children are therefore fast declining.

The limitations of examinations in education are well appreciated in Britain, it is, for example, held that no examination can be devised to reveal the future saint or mystic, a person's sense of humour, capacity to get on with people, or the quality of leadership. As Sir Winston Churchill remarked about his examination at Harrow, the good candidate may be asked all the questions to which he does not know the answers and none of those in which he could excel.

As in most other phases of national life, complacency over past achievements or present position is least likely to affect the future of British education. Teachers from this country are going to teach in America, Canada, Soviet Russia, France and Western Germany on exchange basis. It has been observed that a University entrant in America is academically behind one in Britain by at least two years, and the overall standard in West Germany or France is by no means better than in Britain. Yet alertness against unfavourable competition from Russia, America or re-equipped Europe in the field of education in general and technical and scientific development in particular can always be felt here through the report of "Precy" Committee and similar other activities.

The sensible admixture of school work, physical training and games, dramatic work, school societies, educational visits and school journeys and lastly, the friendly relation between teachers and students are in high appreciation among the teachers and experts on education in America and the Continent. Britain was shown in 1950 to be easily the most literate of the 36 countries examined by UNESCO in the matter of production of books and the

number of newspapers read per head of the population. Libraries are maintained throughout the country by the County Councils and they stock books on all subjects from mountaineering and sea yachting to practice of Yoga. The librarians and assistants are very helpful to the readers in their problems and subjects of interest.

The British conception of education is quite unique. Training here is defined as "The collection and collation of facts, the correlation of sources of knowledge, the interpretation of evidence, the establishment of principles from particular examples, the analysis and synthesis involved in the realisation that the requirements of an investigation demand at some stage the mastery of a technique before further progress can be made—all these are first-rate training; and the fact that heterogeneous material is being used rather than the more homogeneous material of a particular subject is an advantage rather than a disadvantage." Acid tests of students here are: "How far are they in serious pursuit of seasoned knowledge?" "What is the sum they are going to contribute to the nation's life or livelihood?"

An educated man in Britain is, therefore, "the fully integrated and balanced individual," "the cultural personality in whose presence others will weigh their words before they speak," "the mind liberalised by the discipline of its faculties," "one who is enlightened in his interests, impersonal in his judgements, ready in his sympathy for whatever is just and right effective in the work he sets himself to do and willing to lend a hand to anyone who is in need of it." No wonder, then, that an Englishman should be a gentleman in the truest sense of the term, and the position of Britain should be so high in the ladder of civilization.





# Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**JONATHAN DUNCAN & VARANASI:** By V. A. Narain. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1959. Pp. 240. Rs. 12-50.

Jonathan Duncan was one of the ablest of the East India Company's administrators in the period of the real foundation of its rule in our country which covered the Governor-Generalships of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis. Especially valuable were Duncan's services in ending in his capacity as British Resident at the Court of the Raja of Varanasi the shocking misgovernment prevailing in that territory for some time past. The history of Varanasi in this respect was but a faint echo of that of Bengal in the years of disgraceful oppression under the dual rule of the Nawab and the Company and its slow termination in the period following the assumption of the Dewani by the Company. The full story of Varanasi during these eventful years has been told very fully and adequately in the learned monograph under notice which won for its author the distinction of Doctoral degree of the London University. The relevant chapters (Chs. III-VI) forming the core of this work are entitled 'The condition of Benares at the time of Duncan's appointment; Duncan's economic policy, 1787-1795; Justice and law and order, 1787-1795; and lastly, Duncan and Indian society. The outstanding part played throughout by Duncan with the fortunate support of successive Governors-General and the Board of Directors in combating the incredible evils that had crept into the society and government of Benares at that time has been brought out with a great wealth of detail based upon

first-hand studies of original State papers, both published and unpublished as well as a number of secondary sources. The high standard of scholarship displayed by the author will assure for his work an abiding value for students of Indian history in the early period of British rule. The value of the work has been enhanced by a bibliography (with a somewhat prolix list of secondary sources), a glossary of technical terms, and an index. The addition of a map would have been very welcome.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

**INDIA TODAY:** By Frank Moraes. Published by The MacMillan Co., New York-11. March, 1960. Pp. 242. Price \$1.50 (paper bound), \$4.00 (cloth bound).

Frank Moraes is one of those newspapermen of note and standing who have taken a live interest in the growth and rise of the Indian Republic. He has already made a name by his eminently readable biography of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. The book under review is a delightful study of independent India with glances on the salient features of its background, depicting the meandering course of her evolution; and he is at once informative and illuminative. With his gift of kindlier discernment he enters into the soul of Gandhi's leadership and there is a ring of genuine sympathy, when he says that his 'reputation is not enhanced or embellished by the behaviour of the average Congressman of today.' He highlights Gandhi's contribution in making the mass politically conscious; in switching off the mind of the British-made middle class from Western thoughts and methods to the potentials of India's own Satyagraha giving an entirely moral stamp to the

nationalist movement; and, in inspiring this vast sub-continent end to end with a faith that he could deliver the goods. The author credits Gandhi, early as 1931 and reiterating it as well after independence, with the forecast of the moral deterioration of the Congress party by its acceptance of office and thus making a body, dedicated to selfless service, turn into people 'primarily interested in privilege, power and perquisites,' as the author says. It is, however, no justification, as we should opine, for the author to say, 'posterity will probably rate Gandhi as one of history's magnificent failures,' for the simple truth that a Christ or Gandhi lives eternally by their eternal crucifixion. As an indication of the author's painstaking, neutral mind it may be mentioned that he does not omit to say how a bad negotiator Gandhi was by a reference to the Poona Pact, which, as he says, was at the cost of the higher castes of Bengal Hindus. Again, in our opinion, the author should have as well stated the other view-point that Gandhi saved the Hindu society the threatened split and saved India a further vivisection. The author disabuses the notion of people outside India and among a section in India that Gandhi is the architect of Swadeshi and Swaraj. Certainly they owe their genesis to Bengal and Mrs. Sarojinee Naidu is very correct historically to say that there is not a single weapon the non-co-operators have used which does not originally belong to Bengal. It will, however, be a violence on history to omit to say that Gandhi operated this mighty explosive on all-India scale and has acquitted himself so creditably as to justify Einstein to say that he confronted the brutality of Europe by the dignity of a single individual. On the debit side of Gandhi's leadership, the author cites the deepening of the rift between the Hindus and the Moslems of India. On the point of India fighting her war by Non-violent Non-co-operation, we do not share the author's smug assessment that we were fortunate in having 'British as rulers, who observed the rules of the game.' We rather stand by the verdict of Tagore and Gandhi that there was nothing which Britain did not and would not do and abandon the basic principle of civilized being to retain her grip on India. Leave alone Jallianwalla-bag and its miniature replicas all over India, leave alone the policy of steel whips and iron bars to stamp out the national upsurge,

India will take long to forget the most ingeniously, stringently organised gearing of medieval fanaticism in order to make the common man act as fuse for barbarous communal explosions, culminating into the division of India. It is not suggested that Hindu-Moslem relation was all sweetness, but what it ultimately became is the result of the policy Britain unrelentingly pursued ever since Clive instructed the Board of Directors of the East India Company 'to encourage rivalry between the Gentoos and the Mussalmen.' In fact, what Louis Fischer says is deadly to the point that if Britain willed she could have a working compromise in the course of 24 hours. It is a long-past history, but the author of such political study cannot afford to pass it by so cheaply. It is also in our opinion a serious omission to black out Netajee Subhas Bose, who rendered it impossible any further for Britain to rest her guns on Indian shoulders in order to sustain her hold on India and about whom India to a man shares Dr. K. N. Katju's verdict that 'he dealt the final decisive blow to the British Raj.'

We have spoken in the above strain because what we consider to be so excellent a production might be free from what strikes us as omissions. Any way, *India Today* is an exceedingly desirable addition to literature relating to Indian politics. For the materials embodied, it may well be treated as a book of reference. Its one other merit is the scientific precision with which conflicting ideologies and tendencies have been analysed, the author's economy of expression—a rare point amongst political writers—adding no less to its impact.

Joges C. Bose

**INDIA OF MY DREAMS:** By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Pp. 339. Price Rs. 2.50nP.

**TRUTH IS GOD:** By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Pp. 168. Price. Rs. 2.

**WOMEN:** By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1/-

**PANCHAYAT RAJ:** By M. K. Gandhi. Compiled by R. K. Prabhu. Pp. 41. Price. 30nP.

All published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

A new India is in the making. Gandhi which dependence is a necessity." Make had his own ideas about a new India. Sri no mistake. The Gram Panchayats are no R. K. Prabhu has compiled with studious answer to what Gandhi visualized by care and placed before the reading public. Panchayat Raj. Gandhi envisaged that in this handy volume Gandhi's ideas about people in a Panchayat Raj would be men the India of his conception. The book of sturdy independence managing their would help the reader appreciate what own affairs free from the apron-strings of Gandhi lived and worked for, and how either the State or Central Government. things are shaping. Every nation has its But what a picture of the Gram Panchayats own peculiar genius. Progress to be true emerges from the following: must accord with that genius. Blind imita- "Some 200 trucks brought 10,000 villagers tion would do more harm than good. from rural Delhi. Many more came in Gandhi wanted a prosperous India but he bullock carts. The villagers were led by did not picture it 'as a third class or even their panches and had come carrying the first class copy of the dying civilization of banners of their village panchayats'— the West.' The book deserves to be widely Eisenhower's welcome in Delhi as reported read. From it the reader may find direc- by the Statesman of 10-12-59. tion and correctives. Birendranath Guha

To know Gandhi and all that he stood for one must know the source he derived his great strength from. Truth as God was the source from which he derived all his strength. And what that truth was like? He says:

"I claim to know my millions. All the hours of the day I am with Him. They are my first care and last because I recognize no God except that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize His presence; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions."

The book shows how he lived for them and died for them. They were his living God.

Indian women owe their emancipation to Gandhi. The present volume is a condensation of and a successor to Women and Social Injustice. In editing care has been taken that it loses none of the essentials of its predecessors. The inequality the women of India suffered from was galling to Gandhi, and his pain found expression in passages like this: "...as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, so long we should know that India is suffering from partial paralysis."

Gandhi's Panchayat Raj was synonymous with Gram Raj. Here it is in his own words: "My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in

Now that India is independent and is esteemed as a great country of the world, educated Indians should be equipped with more than one occidental language. English has become almost a second language to us. Something more is required. Along with that language German or French or Russian should be studied. The author, Arnold Keyserling, came to India as a Visiting Professor of Philosophy in Santiniketan and later as a Lecturer, Birla Education Trust, Pilani, Rajasthan. He thus came into contact with Indian students and became interested in their welfare. The book is a joint production. The author and the authoress are now Lecturers, German Language Class, Sarat Bose Academy, Calcutta. The book is dedicated to this Institute of National and International Affairs. A Grammar written in the German language is not suitable for students who have no knowledge of German. For the convenience of English-knowing students the Synopsis is written in English. The book is thus written by experienced Professors engaged in teaching Indian students, who are thoroughly conversant with their needs. It is the only book of its kind. The Synopsis sets forth, along with apt examples, all the essential rules of German Grammar, and is written in a clear and precise lan-

#### ENGLISH-GERMAN

A SYNOPSIS OF GERMAN GRAMMAR: By Arnold and Wilhelmine Keyserling. Published by Valmik. 8-1 B, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 6 or sh. 8 net.

guage. Students will have no difficulty in understanding the rules of German Grammar as incorporated in this book. In some ways the treatment is unique. In order to become well-versed in a language the study of grammar is indispensable, and the Synopsis affords such opportunity. Even those who are conversant with German will find the original way of treatment very interesting. S. Law.

#### SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARATA (Fascicule 33, Volume 19): Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1959.

The Bhandarkar Institute was founded in 1919 and soon began working on the Mahabharata critical edition. Dr. Vishnu Sukthankar, the first Editor, worked on it from August, 1925, till his death in 1943 when his colleague Dr. S. K. Belvalkar took up the onerous duty in April, 1943. He completed the last four Parvans in his 80th year and we offer him our joyous felicitations. He interviewed in Bonn Prof. H. Jacobi on 31st August 1914, and escaped the trials of the First World War. He recounted the past history in his final Editorial Notes (31-3-1959). He watched the growth of the first critical edition of the Mahabharata, for nearly 40 years, out of which 20 years he spent over the Edition: of the Bhishmaparvan (1935-47), giving us the new text of the Bhagavad-Gita. He edited also the four volumes of the Santiparvan (1947-56) and completed (1956-59) the last four Parvans (under review) of the Great Epic: the Ashrama-vasiki and the Mansala, the Maha-prasthanika and the Svarg-arohana cantos.

The collation and critical restitution of the text have been done, as usual, on scientific lines; and the printing also does great credit to the Editor's staff (one dying after full 30 years service) as well as to the printer of the Institute Press. The complete set of 24 volumes (including Harivamsa and the Epilogue) is reasonably priced at Rs. 500 (paper-bound) or Rs. 600 (cloth-bound) edition. We urge all Orientalists and specially our Indian fellow-citizens to buy the copies on a large scale. Only six more volumes wait for release from the press and we hope to write a detailed appreciation of the volume, when the Great Epic is fully in our hand.

Kalidas Nag

#### BENGALI

BHAGAVATA TATTWA-JIGNASA: By Manishinath Basu Saraswati. Published by the author from 6, Mohan Bagan Lane, Calcutta-4. Pp. 90. Price Rs. 3.

The small book, under review, may be called the historical and higher criticism of Srimad Bhagavatam. In it, the learned author has recorded the astounding results of his penetrative perusal and critical analysis of this popular Mahapurana in the original.

The Bhagavatam being one of the eighteen Mahapuranas, there must have been eighteen thousand slokas in it. But the present form of the Bhagavatam with twelve skandas contains 14239 slokas only. Where are its remaining 3761 slokas to be found? An untiring search for them is incumbent on the scholars. The extant size of the Bhagavatam, therefore, is deformed and diminished.

The probable date of the origin of the Bhagavatam has also been properly discussed by the present author. He is definitely of opinion that it was composed in the seventh century A.D. The Manu Samhita being quoted in the Bhagavatam, the latter must have been originated after the former. The date of the Manu Samhita is ascertained by the scholars to be first or second century B.C. The two savants of the West, Winternitz and A. B. Keith observe that Bhagavatam came into existence in the tenth century of the Christian era. Sri C. V. Vaidya of Bombay proves with facts that it was composed after Sankaracharya, but before Jayadeva, the last Sanskrit poet of Bengal. In the works of Sankaracharya Bhagavatam is never quoted; but in those of Ramanuja, it is often mentioned. This leads several scholars to the conclusion that the Bhagavatam was composed in the twelfth Century A.D. before Ramanuja.

In the Bhagavatam (2.7.36) Vyasa is called an Avatara. Had he himself been the author of this Mahapurana, he would never have called himself an avatara. From this fact, it is concluded by the present author that Vyasa is neither the author nor compiler of the Bhagavatam.

These are some of the astonishing but undeniable conclusions arrived at by the scholarly author. A searching enquiry into



the place of its origin and scrutinising analysis of the various subjects treated in it are the special features of the book. The kind attention of the Bengali scholars in particular should be drawn to it and the students of the Bhagavatam will be amply benefited by it.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

#### GUJARATI

**RABINDRA-SAURABH :** Translator and commentator, Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakashan, Mandir, Ahmedabad. February, 1959. Price Rs. 2-50.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar has done very valuable service to the cause of Indian unity by popularising Rabindranath's works among Gujarati and Marathi-speaking public. Prachin Sahitya and Swadeshi Samaj had been translated by Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parikh and

Nagindas Parekh. Kakasaheb has introduced two publications, (1) *Achalayatan* and (2) *Chitrangada and Viday-abhishap*. Readers of *Mangal Prabhat* will remember with pleasure Kakasaheb's interest in Rabindra literature and his enthusiasm in giving them publicity.

The volume under review is a translation of Tagore's *Lipika*, each piece of which is translated and the translation is followed by an appreciation. The translation has been done from Bengali to Marathi by Kakasaheb and the Gujarati version is due to Sarojini Nanavati, so well-known for her spirit of service and devotion to the cause of culture. So, in the Gujarati version, as Kakasaheb notes in the preface, there has been Triveni-Sangam, the streams of Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati have mingled. A fine piece of work.

P. R. Sen

## GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors : Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose

".....It is a unique production. The collection of such valuable material about our outstanding women from remote antiquity to the end of the 19th century who led illustrious lives, each in her own distinctive way, is a great task that has been worthily accomplished. There is a balance of judgement maintained throughout. Adequate praise is given but in restraint. Brevity is kept in view. There is no want in clarity of expression. In the general conclusions at the end of each chapter, the main thesis is repeated in a few well-chosen words....."

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## Indian Periodicals

James Elroy Flecker

Poet of the Sun

Herbert Bluen writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The poet's voice was never more needed than in this twentieth century when rampant materialism threatens to stifle all that is best in life. Yet little poetry is read today despite the fact that many thinking people are not content to live by bread alone and are hungry for spiritual sustenance. Poetry is the quintessence of literature. It expresses man's loftiest thoughts. It can satisfy spiritual hunger; but if a poet wishes to gain a wide audience he must be intelligible. Unfortunately much modern poetry is arid. Its authors have little ear for the music of words. Their symbolism is private and beyond the comprehension of ordinary readers. They make no attempt to please, uplift or solace, but are cynically aloof. It would appear that so long as the poet can purge his mind of the bitterness that corrodes it by expressing his thoughts on paper he has fulfilled his mission. It is difficult to see what purpose there is in such poetry which is usually tainted with a complete lack of humility. Fine poetry, on the other hand, is never just an exercise in morbid introspection. It has universality. Great poets have been essentially humble men with a love of humanity, an understanding of its joys and sorrows, a belief in a Supreme Being.

It may be true that the general public is so obsessed with material matters that it has little time to spare for poetry. Yet the popularity of such poets as John Masefield, W. H. Davies and Walter de la Mare suggests that the general public does enjoy poetry when it is reasonably intelligible. The poetry of James Elroy Flecker is not so widely known as that of the three poets just mentioned. He is nevertheless a fine poet. His poetry is musical and exotic. It is quite different from the work of any other English poet. Occasionally, however, it is reminiscent of Charles Baudelaire, also a lover of exotic Oriental imagery. Flecker is a passionate poet. His inspiration has all the warmth and brilliance of the summer sun at noonday.

When the whole sky is vested silken blue  
With not one fleece to view.

To those weary of the drabness and regimentation of modern life Flecker's poetry is a fountain of refreshment. Only occasionally is it introspective. He regards the miracles of nature with eyes of wonder and gratitude. Occasionally he is witty. He has no message, no political axe to grind. He is not a great but a fine minor poet. To appreciate him it is not necessary to have received a higher education although some knowledge of ancient mythology will help. Most of his poems are short. His short life gave him no opportunity for a massive contribution to literature. Lack of quantity is, however, amply recompensed by quality and originality. Each of his poems has been "meticulously jarred," to quote the Chief Grocer in *Hassan* when praising his jams. It represents the triumph of genius over ill-health.

James Elroy Flecker was the son of the Reverend W. H. Flecker. He was born on November 5th, 1884, and educated at Uppingham and Oxford. He entered the Consular Service and served in his official capacity at Constantinople and Beirut. In 1910 he married Helle Skiadaressi, a Greek lady. He had already produced two books of poems, *The Bridge of Fire* and *Thirty-Six Poems*. He died of consumption at Davos on January 3rd, 1915, aged thirty.

In spite of his religious upbringing Flecker became an agnostic but was reconverted to Christianity on his death-bed. His friends considered him an optimist, yet some of his poetry is tinged with sadness. He is assured of a permanent place among the English poets.

Apart from his gifts as a lyric poet, Flecker proved in his play *Hassan* that he possessed considerable dramatic power. He wrote one other play, *Don Juan*, which is of less importance. *Hassan* was successfully produced at His Majesty's Theatre in 1923. It is not the purpose of this article to deal with this play as a whole, but to consider Flecker from the aspect of his lyric poetry. Nevertheless, it must be said that in addition to its dramatic power *Hassan* sparkles with poetry even though most of it is written in prose. It tells the story of the rather ludicrous love of Hassan, a fat middle-aged confectioner of Bagdad, for Yasmin, a beautiful young widow, and the tragic love of Rafi, King



## Nepal, India and China

*Chowringhee* writes editorially :

Before Mr. Koirala went to China he visited Delhi and possibly consulted somebody or other about the policy he should follow regarding Nepal's relations with China. Again, he might not have consulted anyone and when he signed his agreement with China regarding the boundary line separating Tibet from Nepal, he might have acted entirely on his own. The right of Nepal to settle such an important matter without any discussion with India may be technically correct, but, when the Prime Minister of India could affirm that any aggression upon Nepal would be an aggression on India, there should be some reciprocal considerations favouring India in Nepal's foreign policy too. But were there any? Or was Pandit Nehru entertaining various Prime Ministers of various lukewarm-friendly countries and of potential enemies too at the tax-payer's expense as a normal expression of his love of foreigners, without any reference to the advantages he could secure for India by being Bhai-Bhai with anybody or everybody?

The Nepalese have gone on to China quite easily, in exercise of their sovereign rights and we have nothing to say about that. But Nepal is so closely associated with India in so many ways that if she gets too friendly with the potential enemies of India she could create trouble for India. India should, therefore, have a clearer understanding with Nepal about mutual obligations in fixing the details of the foreign policy of the two countries.

What will happen if China does not vacate her aggression upon India? What will Nepal say if India wanted to make a defensive alliance with the sovereign states bordering India? Would Nepal side with India or would she bargain for advantages?

If Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim started visiting Peking in order to sign boundary, trade and economic aid agreements with China, India should take note of the principle of the thing. India is supposed to provide a lot of facilities for these countries and also guarantee military protection to them against aggression by other foreign powers. In the circumstances India may rightfully expect that these countries will have a common policy with India, about their relations with other foreign powers. Nepal's agreement with China regarding her border

line with Tibet could have settled one or more of three problems. One will be the existing border line as considered right by custom and by whatever documents there may be. China and Nepal could have acknowledged this border line to be the correct line of demarcation between Tibet and Nepal. The second probability might have been that Nepal ceded certain territories to Tibet and the last that Nepal could have been given some bits and pieces of Tibet to make her frontier more practically maintainable. This giving and taking of territory would be a dangerous game for Mr. Koirala, for, his government is constitutionally run and he has no lawful rights to give away his nation's territory, nor perhaps, to exchange territory with another country.

The problem in the background of all these transactions is the nature of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. China is not the same country as Tibet and the Chinese are quite different from the Tibetans in every known way. Yet China has grabbed Tibet in a manner suggesting that she did not consider the Tibetan people to be separate in any manner from the Chinese. There are also accusations from the Tibetans that the Chinese are replacing the Tibetan population of Tibet by Chinese substitutes. They have also destroyed the Theocratic Government of Tibet, abolished its religious and cultural institutions and, generally speaking, man-handled the Tibetan people and their national character in the manner of conquerors.

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If, therefore, China has conquered Tibet or has forcibly destroyed the political rights of the Tibetans, even though such rights were of a limited kind, and has imposed a new type of government upon the Tibetans, then the moral position of China in Tibet can be questioned by the Tibetans. Those victims of the Chinese invasion of Tibet, who had to fly from the country had among them the Dalai Lama who and whose predecessors had been the rulers of Tibet for long centuries. The Chinese manner of liberating the Tibetan peoples was moulded on the principle that the Mighty can do no wrong. So that, if at any time the Chinese ceased to be quite so mighty, the Tibetans could reliberate themselves and become a separate nation from China as they have been always. In such an eventuality the Burmese, the Nepalese and any other powers that deal with China for settling

matters of Tibetan interest, may find themselves in an awkward position.

To sum up, we feel that all nations and States bordering Tibet should act together and follow a common policy regarding frontiers, trade, economic contacts, etc., while dealing with China as the owner, conqueror, ruler or overlord of Tibet. For all settlements, agreements, treaties and open understandings inevitably lead to the formulation of principles and, such principles may be contradictory if too many people rushed around and did things independently. Secondly, we feel that China is wrongfully in possession of Tibet and that the Chinese conquest of Tibet or the rebellion of the Tibetans against their suzerain power China has not yet reached a final historical conclusion. So, caution should be our watchword in dealing with Chinese Tibet or Tibetan China.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Agonizing Question

*World Veteran*, January, 1960 writes editorially :

Authors of science-fiction novels are tempted to describe mankind of the future as living comfortably in a sort of "Never-never-land", travelling with ease from one planet to other, while all the work is done by perfect machines. No need to worry about the daily bread: it has disappeared in this new world, and a little pill takes care of the necessary vitamins and calories that sustain life.

But before the age of the powerful pill comes along, Man will have to eat. And as long as the pill has not been invented, mankind will rely upon the good Earth to produce the food that is needed every day. This leads to the agonizing question: is there enough food for everybody and will there be enough in the near future?

At this very moment, in the world we live in, two human beings out of three go to sleep every night without having had enough to eat—if anything at all.

At least, mankind has become aware of the problem. It realizes that more food produced does not mean more food is eaten by each person; it knows that the technically advanced countries are becoming richer while the poor ones can hardly keep up their present miserably low standards.

Nowadays it seems certain that, without an effort by one and all the present conditions will get progressively worse. But in an age which boasts of its technical achievements, nobody should fail to understand that, even on a purely economic basis, hunger does not pay.

The problem of hunger and malnutrition arises mainly from:

(1) an imbalance between the natural increase of population and the increase in production of foodstuffs;

(2) the relationship between income and purchasing power;

(3) the problem of distribution of goods which, in turn, depends on economic and commercial factors.

Latest statistics show that the world population is increasing at the rate of 86 human beings every minute. Even if this rate were to remain stationary, the estimate of a population of 5 to 7 billion for the year 2000 is no exaggeration.

The question will then arise of whether the Earth can still feed all its inhabitants. But until then, the problem can be solved. The means exist, as is shown in the article written by Dr. B. R. Sen, Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, who stresses that available technical means for producing foodstuffs are markedly higher than those actually used.

We are happy to publish Dr. Sen's article in the following pages, as a most interesting contribution to one of the outstanding problems of our time.

The present answer to the question "how to increase food production" is therefore a technical one. It is possible to grow more food through improved productivity which can be obtained by the appropriate use of chemical fertilizers in order to make the soil richer, of insecticides in order to destroy its enemies, and of chemicals against crop diseases. It is possible to grow better food—in terms of nutritive value—through the use of the right seed. It is possible to make better use of natural resources through land settlement in large areas insufficiently exploited. It is also possible to improve the breeding of birds and to protect cattle from diseases by exploiting medical discoveries which can help animals just as they help humans.

It is in this field that the task of the FAO, and particularly its world-wide "Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign", is found.

The other two aspects of the problem may overlap the "Food and Agriculture" approach, but they are no less important. If more food is produced without its reaching those who need it most, just because they are too poor to buy it or because the system of distribution is inadequate, nothing has been achieved. In a world where two thirds of the population do not eat enough, it would be criminal to work for the benefit of those who, on the contrary, eat too much, as doctors have long maintained.

The fight against poverty is a social problem. The poor distribution of existing reserves in some parts of the world is a commercial and economic one. The question of "too much here, too little there" has been described rightly as "the paradox of our time". In this respect much remains to be done.

Information and education, research and national action programs are the main topics of the campaign, which aims at making the entire world conscious of the huge problems and stimu-

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

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lating action by Governments towards increased food production, more efficient distribution and better nutrition.

The estimated cost will be some \$ 750,000 per year over five to six years, to be borne mainly by voluntary contributions from Governments. But the betterment of social and human conditions is worth an effort, all the more since humanity will be on the losing side of the terrifying race between Population and Food, unless it mobilizes all its resources.

It has to recognize the simple truth that, in our world, hunger and malnutrition have ceased to be a private matter. It is now as much the concern of the rich as of the poor to ensure that everyone has enough to eat.

But there is no time to lose.

### Upper Silesia

In course of an article in *Polish Press Agency*, January, 1960 Tadeusz Derlatka writes:

On January 28th, 1945 the Soviet troops took the capital of Upper Silesia—Katowice, and on January 29th the whole of Upper Silesia had been liberated. The most important industrial region in Poland had been saved.

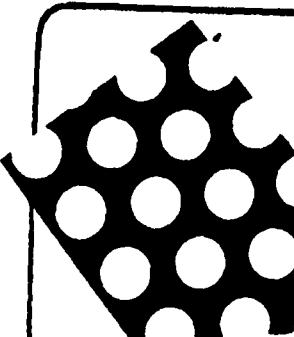
The rich deposits of high quality coal, zinc and iron ores accounted for the speedy

development of industry in Upper Silesia in the 19th century. Somewhat earlier, however, as a result of the Prussian expansion policy almost the whole of this region was within the frontiers of the Prussian state. In this area the class division closely corresponded to the nationality division: the propertied and ruling classes were Germans—the workers and peasants were Poles.

Situated far away from the chief economic regions of Germany, Upper Silesia did not have favourable conditions for development before World War I. This accounted for the fact that the Silesian coal mining industry, which had excellent natural conditions for development and outstripped the Ruhr Basin at the beginning of the 19th century, gave 60 per cent of the Ruhr coal production in 1840 and only 40 per cent in 1913.

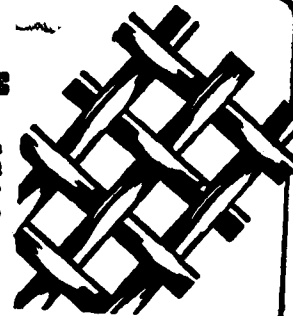
Similarly, the share of Upper Silesia in the total German production of iron and steel diminished as compared to the years before 1914. The division of Upper Silesia after the first war made the situation even more complicated.

When, however, 15 years ago the Soviet troops liberated Upper Silesia a new era of flourishing development opened before the "Polish Ruhr."



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When we speak of industrial Upper Silesia, usually in an administrative sense, we think of it as the Katowice Voivodship. There are four industrial regions in that voivodship: the Upper Silesian, Rybnik, Czerwona and Bielsko-Biala regions.

The biggest is undoubtedly the Upper Silesian industrial region, situated in the centre of Katowice voivodship. Here, one beside the other are the biggest towns: Katowice—the capital of the voivodship Zabrze, Gliwice, Chorzow, Sosnowiec and Bytom. Over half of the urban population of the voivodship is concentrated in the triangle between Dabrowa a Gornicza, Gliwice and Tarnowskie Gory. Iron and zinc metallurgical establishments, collieries, zinc ore mines coking plants, power stations, chemical works and engineering works are concentrated over an area of several score kilometres.

To the south of the Upper Silesian industrial region, the Rybnik industrial region is developing and in the near future it will become the main coking coal centre. For several years now intensive work has been carried on her building new mines.

Further to the south, in the Bielsko-Biala region, there is a big textile industry centre, producing mainly woollen fabrics. The products of these mills are famed for their high quality both at home and abroad.

The Czerwona industrial region, in the north part of the voivodship, sprung up in post-war year. Here iron ore mining is concentrated and a big iron metallurgical works has been built which is to be still further expanded.

Katowice Voivodship occupies the first place in the whole country in industrial production; during the last 15 years Poland located 1/3 of her investments in the development of Silesian industry.

This region of the country, which before the war was divided by the Polish-German state frontier, is developing in an allround way within the framework of the whole Polish economy. The excessive density of industry in the centre of Katowice Voivodship brought in its wake the speedy development of neighbouring regions, both in Katowice Voivodship itself and in the Cracow and Opole voivodships.

### Freedom vs. Bread: An Asian Viewpoint

In course of an article in *Problems of Communism*, Jan-Feb, 1960 published from Washington, Asoka Mehta writes:

We live in an age of ever-increasing developments. The governing principle is that of acceleration. In the past ten years, great strides have been taken in economic development and socio-political change. Over 800 million people have regained their national freedom. Massive efforts are being made, irrespective of ideologies, to rehabilitate humanity submerged in want. Mass welfare is no longer a subversive concept or an utopian dream, but the characteristic dimension of modern society.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union has made spectacular advances. Perhaps under any ideology substantial advances would have been made because the rate of growth in Russia on the eve of World War I was already high and also because it is a vast country with enormous resources. Such a development of productive forces cannot be used all the time to further the ends of political power. Sooner or later the claims of the people overtake the aims of the rulers.

Percolation of the gains of economic development to the people was inevitable; it seems Khrushchev has been under political pressure to accelerate this process. We welcome the accent on welfare because to that extent, the old postures get changed.

Westerners have often emphasized that conditions in the Soviet Union are hard and its standard of living low. They are perhaps insufficiently aware that levels that appear low to them happen to be much higher than the ones prevalent in Asia. That indictment therefore fails to register with our people. There is, however, an increasing realization that denial of freedom can be a cumulative process and that tyrannical fear can be an epidemic; the rulers fear their subjects, the subjects fear one another and the rulers as well, and the action taken against such dangers and fears finally culminates in terror. Forty years of communism has made even the unsophisticated Asian somewhat aware of the dialectical movement by which tyranny grows more tyrannical.

There is a surprising commitment to democracy in this ancient continent. Even when democracy fails, when generals disperse parliaments and disband political parties, the myth of democracy remains sovereign, the strivings of the people continue to be graced with that alluring goal. No one in Asia dare describe democracy as a "putrid corpse," as the autho-

ritarians in Europe were wont to do during the inter-war years.

In Asia, therefore, there is an allegiance to freedom as well as to development. Political freedom is compromised when a threat to national freedom emerges because that risk the newly liberated countries are not willing to take. The Asians, however, dislike to be impaled on the horns of a dilemma of freedom vs. bread. They believe that it is possible to reconcile the two; and in the difficult conditions of Asia, with its immense population and pressure on soil, to separate the two is to frustrate advance in either direction.

The most depressed parts of the world are in South and Southeast Asia. Here success lies in planning extensively and executing intensively: one must conceive like a giant and finish like a jeweller. Take the State of Kerala in India, where 15 million people live in an area that gives a density of 1,000 persons per square mile. As a third of the state is full of mountains, lakes and forests and as the overwhelming proportion of the people live by agriculture, pressure on soil is 1,500 or more per square mile. Sixty-one per cent of all holdings of land are below one acre each. Any development here demands conscious co-operation of the people. How the Communist methods break down in such a social milieu was dramatically shown recently when 2 per cent of the adult population courted imprisonment and many more supported the Liberation Movement that pushed the Communist government out of power in the state. In India experience has taught us that freedom is both the fulfilment as well as the function of economic development: at once the cornerstone and the coping edifice.

The population of India is a third of the underdeveloped world. And yet all that India asks from the developed world is a billion dollars a year. Of the 7.5 billion needed for the underdeveloped world, India thus surrenders two-thirds of her possible claim. Just that small is the size of the catalyst that India needs from abroad to open up her sluices of production. The rest she can do on her own.

We in India with our modest demand, with our proven record of devotion to democracy, with our modicum of administrative efficiency, are often surprised at the persistent questioning about our ability to withstand Communist blandishments. Is it any wonder, then, that Indians are dismayed by the fact that their friends have thus far been insufficiently helpful in granting them the modest aid India needs in order to surprise the world with its

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democratic development, just as it was privileged to do with its adherence to non-violence in the national liberation movement? As ideological edges on both the sides get blunted, perhaps India's pragmatic plea will receive more attention and her stubborn self-confidence greater recognition.

We believe that recent experiences of all countries, again irrespective of ideologies, has shown that resources are never fixed, that there is a considerable flexibility inherent in them, and that their complementarity allows for significant excess capacity. If capitalism has meant blind movement forward, if it has meant the sway of the hidden hand, Communists have always believed that the people must be put in blinkers and have depended on the hidden fist. We, on the other hand, believe that with the balance-sheets of capitalism and communism open before us we can evoke conscious understanding about the process of development and rely in place of any hidden hand—or fist—on the open hand of mutual friendship and co-operation.

#### South Africa's Policy of Apartheid

We quote from *The American Embassy News Letter*, April 6, 1960 the following excerpt:

America's official attitude on racial discrimination was clearly reaffirmed this week when the United Nations Security Council held its discussions on South Africa's policy of "apartheid".

Under the Chairmanship of U.S. delegate Henry Cabot Lodge, the Council met to see what could be done about bringing about greater racial harmony in South Africa.

The situation, long smoldering, came to a head two weeks ago when, in various parts of the Union of South Africa, people of African origin carried out mass demonstrations against regulations which require them to carry passes. According to figures made public by the South African Mission to the U.N., at least 68 Africans were killed and over 220 were injured by police attacks against the demonstrators.

Those grim happenings, and others that followed, "have caused shock and distress beyond the border of South Africa," Ambassador Lodge said during the Council's discussion.

"It is clear," he added, "that the source of the conflict from which the recent tragic events have flowed is the policy of apartheid followed by the Government of the Union of South Africa. . . . We acknowledge that the prob-

lem of creating a stable society of diverse racial groups anywhere is difficult. It takes many decades, indeed many generations, to allay anxieties and remove tensions. But it is not too late, we think, to reverse the tide in South Africa. . . ."

Earlier, the delegate from Ecuador had submitted a draft resolution which reflected many of the views and much of the concern that most Council members had expressed.

This resolution calls upon the Government of South Africa to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality, and also provides that Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, through his skill and resourcefulness, should make arrangements which will "help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter."

Many of the Council members agreed with Mr. Lodge when he said, in announcing the U.S. support of the plan, that "it seeks to build a bridge and not a wall."

This followed closely the thought voiced by President Eisenhower in his news conference last week. At that time the President said: "Naturally, when we see things of this kind, where people are killed and there is violence, so much violence—we deplore it. But it is a very touchy thing; I think that in that country there are probably a lot of people of understanding, human understanding, who want to get a better condition brought about. I'd like to see them do it."

Late last Friday, after three days' debate, the Council acted. The vote was 9-0 in favour, Britain and France abstaining. These two countries had, from the outset, expressed doubts about the Council's legal rights to handle the South African issue, but they did not try to block discussion of it nor did they use their veto power to kill the resolution.

The case was remarkable in U.N. history in several ways. It was taken to the Security Council by the largest number of nations ever to join in such a move—29, the entire Asian and African membership of the U.N. The final resolution, incidentally, was acceptable to them.

In addition, more non-members of the Council participated in the debate without vote than had ever done so before. Now the next step is up to Secretary-General Hammarskjöld—and the Government of South Africa. We hope, with many other people of goodwill, that the Council's action will indeed prove to be "a bridge and not a wall."

Editor—Kedar Nath Chatterji

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# THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



1960

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## NOTES

### Stormy Weather ?

The month of May saw the stream of World Affairs being disturbed by a series of storms, major and minor, which were unpredictable both in their sudden outburst as well as in their consequences viewed from a long-term survey.

The first was, of course, the student-led disturbances that led to the downfall of the Old Man of South Korea. Syngman Rhee had his battle-torn territory in his absolute control, so far as the outer world knew, because of the manifold factors that were at his credit. Apart from his heroic defiance of the vastly superior forces of Soviet equipped Communism, trained and let loose on Korean soil by Red China, which led to the war and the final division of his country which gave him a legendary status, he had the economic control over the country and its peoples through the medium of U.S. aid on a gigantic scale. He had the tacit support of the United States in all his moves, for, even in his defiance of World opinion, where he was palpably wrong, there was no open protest forthcoming from the U.S. This led the crusty old dictator into many acts that crossed the limits of modern concept of democracy. He rigged elections, suppressed the liberty of the press, imprisoned opponents without any semblance of a judicial trial and finally started murdering outspoken opponents.

One such murder led to a violent student demonstration, which he attempted to put down with a blood-bath. Unfortunately for

him the army did not approve of his action, though the police carried out his orders. When the people came to realize the attitude of the army, the demonstrations became a revolt. His apologists in the U.S. could no longer whitewash his misdeeds and the reaction set in. He had to abdicate and at the time of writing the news has come that he is fleeing the country and seeking asylum in the U.S.

Then came the news of the U-2 that had been shot down over Sverdlovsk in the Urals. This was followed by the raging denunciation of the U.S. and President Eisenhower by Premier Khrushchev, first at Moscow and later at Paris. The latest news indicate that the storm is abating, but it is doubtful whether the wreck of the Summit can be salvaged and refloated.

Immediately after, came the news from Turkey about the military coup d'etat that ended the tyrannical misrule of Premier Menderes. As yet the bare details have come in about the coup. But as in South Korea, here also is the reassuring news that a democratic rule will follow as soon as fresh elections can be held.

At home we have had minor political happenings over the last few months, that have emboldened the forces of reaction and disruption within the country. The Communist Party is again trying on its old moves, as is apparent in the resolutions passed by its Council, the significant portions of which are given elsewhere, in its seven-day session at Calcutta. Master Tara-

STORMY WEATHER  
By Chitrani Chaudhuri

Singh's Akali Dal has come in open conflict with the Government of East Punjab.

There is stormy weather ahead, there is no doubt, at home and abroad and we have to be prepared for it, for mere shibboleths may not suffice. Is it not about time that a realistic view is taken of the situation and the country's safety properly looked after? The enemy has been allowed to entrench himself on our northern frontiers—thanks to Pandit Nehru's obsessions—and we have forces within trying their best to weaken the country at the behest of our "friendly" neighbours.

#### The Congress President in West Bengal

Following the Communist victory in the Lok Sabha bye-election in South-West Calcutta, there have been a whole host of Communist wins in the urban elections to the Upper House of the West Bengal legislature, particularly from the Teachers and the Registered Graduates constituencies. In all these elections the only real fight given to the Communist candidate by a Congress nominee was in the West Bengal Graduates Constituency where the Congress nominee was defeated by the narrow margin of 120 votes only in a total poll of almost 8,000 votes. The Congress has lost three seats, one to an independent and two to Communists. The independent candidate is an ex-Congressman who was denied the Congress ticket—for reasons best known to the Congress "authorities." That there was no enthusiasm for the candidates set-up by the W.B.P.C.C. was as apparent in the voting as in the results.

The Congress President, during his Calcutta visit, remarked about the Communist win in one of his public speeches. As usual he totally missed the significance of this apparently distinct turn towards the Communists by the urban electorates of West Bengal. The reason for this lapse is not far to seek—and, indeed, it is about time that the Congress President was told about it in clear language. The reason is that the corrupt Congressmen of most States have converted the Congress President into a ventriloquist's puppet. He is garlanded and made much of in public,

much after the fashion of the dressmaker's or tailor's dummy in a window display, and public meetings are arranged for him—with due precautions against the incursion of Truth, in the shape of public complaints or public opinion. The Congress President is not allowed to come in contact with anyone who might be against the caucus of corrupt officials and Congress satellites, and he is made to swallow all kinds of perverse answers to embarrassing questions, as for example, the reason for the veering away of the common citizen in those electorates of West Bengal where there is a high degree of literacy and political awareness.

This unfortunate state of affairs is not confined to West Bengal, nor is it limited to the Congress circles. The higher authorities are almost sealed off from contact with the public—and this sealing off is voluntary, ostensibly to prevent the minister or the official being pestered by the importunities of undesirable people. The reason is justifiable without doubt, as the number of job-seekers, favour seekers and plain beggars is legion all over India. But in reality it is the public-spirited person who asks for no favour, or the person who wants to carry some valuable information to the chief executive of the State, who is barred from the right of entry, and it is the foul intriguer or the blood-sucking parasite who has free access to all the seats of the mighty. The Congress President is no longer mighty, as the most formidable weapon in the armoury of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, which was Truth, has been cast aside on the dung-heap by those who have cashed-in on the heritage of his sainted memory. But all the same, the Congress President goes about in a sealed capsule, handed from State to State by one corrupt "public" man to another.

This state of affairs became acute soon after the calamitous demise of the late K. G. Mashruwalla, of *Harijan* fame. The *Harijan* was the last venue of true public opinion that had to be kept open even by unwilling and corrupt Congressmen because it carried the imprint of

Bapu's hands, while his worthy disciple was in the editorial chair. After the demise of Mashruwalla there was no other paper that could not be ignored by the tinsel-decked President of the Congress or his keepers.

Why is Congress yielding ground in West Bengal? The question should be gone into with great perspicacity and patience by unbiassed and independent minded men, as it is as vital a problem as that of student unrest—which also is being glossed over—which if neglected may one day result in the Congress facing "The Awful Majesty of the People's Will" as the Moslem League did in Pakistan. Corruption has permeated to the highest places, as is known to all decent people—indeed, the wicked but intelligent amongst the indecent ones know it better—it is only the few adulation drugged heads at the top who do not, and the common citizen is unable to attain any redress. It was not without very sound reason that the *Statesman* wrote on May 21 last as follows:

"Apart from long-drawn litigation, which few have the desire or the means to pursue, the ordinary citizen has almost no remedy against Government departments and civil servants. The Courts, too, will step in only when a remedy is possible in law; they are powerless against quixotic decisions or downright discourtesy. The local M.P. can sometimes help a little; but his constituency, and even the M.L.A.'s, is much too extensive. Beyond writing to newspapers the spurned citizen has often no way of ventilating his grievance. And yet in a democracy his indignation should be heeded—particularly in a country like India where the Services have a somewhat arrogant tradition and where the operations of Government departments, quasi-Governmental enterprises and tribunals are spreading fast."

In the old days of British rule there were a very few independent newspapers, owned by men with a mission who defied all prosecutions and vented the feelings of the people. And there was the Congress, the Congress of Gandhiji, where all could get a hearing who were sincere at heart—though they were outnumbered by the arrogant fools and the insincere camp-

followers—and justice, however, meagre and tardy was the usual result. What has the common citizen got now?

In the West Bengal Upper-House constituencies where the educated voter was called upon to choose, the percentage of those who exercised their franchise was the lowest on record. Why?

We know this is a consequence of the helpless resentment of all decent thoughtful men who were given the choice between the Devil and the Deep-Deep Sea.

Shri Sanjiva Reddy, who is credited with brains as well as goodness, unlike his immediate predecessors, who were undoubtedly good, is he going to be contented with this Gram Udyog Tailor's dummy existence?

#### Crime in West Bengal

If further illustration were needed as to why all decent and thoughtful persons in this hapless State feel helpless and exasperated, we could point an accusing finger at the record of police inefficiency and cite that as a causative factor.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of May 30 gave the following news, which we append in part:

"Between the Police and the criminals in West Bengal now the latter seems to be the craftier.

This is borne out by the latest statistics of crimes in this State published by the Home Ministry of the Union Government.

It is revealed that of the crimes reported to the authorities more cases are abandoned than those tracked down and prosecuted by the Police.

In 1958 out of 65,290 cases of cognizable crimes reported to the Police in this State, 36,779 went completely undetected while the guardians of law and order could pursue only 20,275 cases and submit chargesheets against the arrested persons. This is about the overall situation in this State.

For example, house-breaking and theft which concern the common citizen of the State do not appear to have been taken any serious note of by the Police. Figures disclose that out of 39,129 cases of house-breaking and theft brought to the notice of the Police during 1958, no less than 28,331 went absolutely undetected while chargesheets were submitted in the case of only 7,535.



Even in the cases of heinous offences like W.B.P.C.C.? Oh, no! How could it? So, murder, dacoity and robbery, which stir the society to its very depth with indignation and provoke hatred against the offenders, the Police record of efficiency in bringing the criminals to book is found to be appallingly poor. For example, out of 467 murder cases reported in 1958 the Police could submit chargesheets in respect of only 196. In regard to robbery cases, numbering altogether 747, the chargesheets could be given for only 203. Out of 503 dacoities the total number of cases in which chargesheets were given did not exceed 157 while 294 cases were not followed up at all.

The publication also shows that the general level of crime had increased both in West Bengal and in the city of Calcutta in 1958 as compared to 1957. In Calcutta the cases of cognizable crimes increased to 12,247 in 1958 as against 10,725 in the previous year, the percentage of increase being 13. In the remaining parts of West Bengal the total number of crime cases in the year under review was 53,043 as against 52,884 in 1957."

Thus far the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. We would add to the above our own personal and family experiences, that of four untraced robberies at our residences and two big hauls from the press, all untraced and finally abandoned by us. Indeed, we know personally of numberless cases where the sufferers have been our friends and acquaintances.

Motor car parts, metallic house equipment like man-hole covers, rain-water pipes, exposed wire netting or electric wiring, have the shortest life in Calcutta, where there is the biggest organisation of stolen metal and metallic parts receiving system in the world. They have even lorry-loads coming in from Asansol and the colliery areas. It is further known that the tens of millions worth of looted goods from the railway pilferage stations like Kharagpur, are also brought down to Calcutta openly and sold through chains of hawkers' stalls, spread all over Calcutta.

Does all this disturb the (Congress) Minister for Police in West Bengal? Not at all, he goes on placidly masticating bushels of food, for all to see. Does it concern the

"plague on both thy camps."?

#### *The Summit Fiasco*

The World had been led to expect great things—may be a blue-print for the mechanism that was to beat all swords unto plough-shares, may be a Five-Year Plan for Eternal Peace—out of a meeting at Paris, that had been planned for and negotiated for by the top-most four Chief Executives of the Great Powers. It was as a preliminary to this Summit meeting that President Eisenhower undertook his tour across half the world at express speed and it was to brighten the prospects of this meeting that Premier Nikita Khrushchev visited the United States and later came to South-East Asia. It was likewise one of the main subjects that took De Gaulle to Britain and America and Macmillan to West Germany. In short, it was the main objective in all International Conferences that had taken place during the last two years.

The prospects seemed brighter and brighter as the day of the meeting drew nearer. World tension distinctly slackened and the Cold War started thawing under the gentle, warm breezes that blew across the embattled frontiers, coming mainly from Moscow. And then came the incident that rendered the meeting into a debacle.

The world learnt that on May 1, an American high-altitude U-2 plane had been shot down over Sverdlovsk, from a height of 65,000 ft. by a Soviet ground-to-air rocket. The Pilot Francis Gary Powers had come down in a parachute and had talked, in response to the interrogation by the Soviet authorities, according to Premier Nikita Khrushchev, who gave the story as follows:—

Powers took off from the U.S. Air Force base at Incirlik, near Adana, Turkey, on April 27, and flew across the southern boundary of the U.S.S.R. to Peshawar in Pakistan.

From there he took off on a reconnaissance flight, on May 1, on a route that would have taken him up the Ural mountains to Murmansk on Kola Peninsula and then on to a landing, somewhere, in Norway. Soviet radar spotted and tracked him all the way from the very first take-off until he was shot down at 65,000 ft. over Sverdlovsk by a Soviet anti-aircraft rocket, on

personal orders, it was said, of Khrushchev himself. According to the Soviet Premier Pilot Powers did not fire his ejection seat because that would have blown up the plane with all its instrumental equipment and possibly the pilot as well, instead of merely propelling him clear of the wrecked plane. He climbed out of the cockpit and parachuted down to earth and was captured. His plane crashed near the same spot. From the wreckage they reclaimed a lot of material including high-altitude infra-red photographs of Soviet targets. Premier Khrushchev said of the incident that "this aggressive act by an American aircraft . . . . . as one aimed at rekindling the nerve-racking Cold War and reviving the dead rat while it is not yet prepared for war. Imagine what would have happened," he said, "if a Soviet plane appeared over New York or Chicago. U.S. spokesmen have repeatedly declared that they have atomic bombers on duty which, on the approach of a foreign plane, can take to the air and head for assigned targets." He continued, "We do not have duty bombers, but we do have duty rockets, which accurately and inevitably will arrive at their appointed targets and do their jobs more surely and efficiently."

When the news of the U-2 plane being shot down over Sverdlovsk first reached Washington, a State Department spokesman denied that there had been any planned over-flights of Russia. It was further stated that the U-2 planes were used for weather-flights for testing conditions at high altitudes. Khrushchev's scathing statement with its denunciations however altered the course of the U.S. officialdom. With the President's approval, they revealed the truth. Lincoln White, the same State Department official, who had issued the denial the day before, gave the world the news that this high-altitude U.S. jet had indeed gone over Russia on an intelligence mission, to nose out Soviet secrets and that similar flights had been going on for the past four years. It was sought to justify such espion-flights by Mr. White who said, "The necessity for such activities as measures for legitimate national defence is enhanced by the excessive secrecy practised by the Soviet Union in contrast to the free world."

The U.S. press has revealed that the U.S.

Central Intelligence Agency became aware, early in the cold-war period, how appallingly weak it was in the gathering of intelligence about the U.S.S.R. This lack of war-intelligence became acute when it was found, rather late in the day, that the Soviet had successfully switched to missiles, in preference to bombers. The U.S. defence installation targets being known they became sitting pigeons. On the other hand, the U.S. knew practically nothing about U.S.S.R. targets. Attempts by U.S. patrol bombers to peep over the rim of Russia yielded precious little at the high cost of casualties, in the terms of planes and very highly trained personnel. As a solution of this acute problem the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency commissioned the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. of California to design a plane that was capable of flying far above the possibility of aerial interception, while loaded with electronic and camera-gear. The U-2 was the answer, and for the past four years this *hush-hush* plane has been flying across the Iron Curtain, and gathering information from a height that was beyond the range of anti-aircraft weapons. It is conjectured that the Russians have long known of these surveillance flights but have kept silent, till this incident, because they did not want to admit their inability to prevent such surveillance flights. On this particular flight, it is thought in the U.S., the plane had to come down to 48000 ft. due to engine trouble or some defect in the oxygen system, and that is how the U-2 was brought down.

Needless to say the Soviet Premier has made the uttermost of this occasion, and there are few in the neutral world that are surprised at his outburst. The U.S. has been placed in an embarrassing situation and is attempting to take a realistic and straightforward view of the situation. To us it is apparent that the old order has not changed, or if it is changing at all the process is very slow indeed. It is no use therefore to assume that the millenium is just beyond the horizon.

The Soviet Premier has delivered a pungent diatribe on the U.S. and bitterly attacked the U.S. President sitting across the table at the Paris meeting. He cancelled the invitation to President Eisenhower to visit Russia next month. His demands were that the U.S. should officially

apologise for the U-2 flight, punish all concerned in this flight project and give an undertaking that such overflights should cease. President Eisenhower in his turn accused Premier Khrushchev of deliberately trying to "sabotage" the Summit meeting by thus coming from Moscow to Paris to deliver this ultimatum. He offered, however, an assurance that such flights are not to be resumed and further said that he was willing to meet Khrushchev in a separate meeting to see if the Summit could be saved, but all to no effect.

The standpoint of the U.S. is that in the circumstances of the Cold war, it had a right to protect itself against surprise attacks through such intelligence activities. The formal statement of U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter was that "the Government of the United States would be derelict to its responsibility not only to the American people but to free peoples everywhere if it did not, in the absence of Soviet co-operation, take such measures as are possible unilaterally to lessen and to overcome this danger of surprise attack. In fact, the U.S. has not and does not shirk this responsibility".

This proposition seems to be an encroachment on the limits set by international law. Of course, the international practice of all powers in the past have been along the lines of espionage and counter-espionage where World Power has been in question.

We know that spying is practised by all nations that have the means and the capital—in the form of a highly-trained intelligence service with international contacts for it. Only we are the exception—incapable, obsessed, and inefficient and therefore innocent. The complaint by the U.S.S.R. before the Security Council of the U.N. has been rejected and there is talk about it coming before the General Assembly, it is useless to indulge in further speculation about the consequences therefore.

The text of the Soviet draft resolution submitted to the United Nations Security Council was :

"The Security Council having discussed the question of aggressive acts by the Air Force of the United States of America against the Soviet Union, creating a threat to universal peace,"

Noting that the violation of the sovereignty

of other states is incompatible with the principles and aims of the United Nations Charter, Considering that such actions create a threat to universal peace,

Condemns the incursions of United States aircraft into other States and regards them as aggressive acts,

Requests the Government of the United States of America to take steps forthwith to put an end to such actions and to prevent their recurrence."

It should be apparent to our tin-gods that the World as yet relies on bombers and missiles and takes very little stock of the utterances of the weak about Peace and War. And perhaps if we had changed over from planes to missiles our frontiers would not have been violated with such impunity. For Missiles are the only answer to Aggression today.

### High-Level Spying

Spying is a well-established and time-honoured institution. There are indications in treatises dealing with the politics and economics of governance, like the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, that spying played an important part in all plans for "national" defence and for offensive warfare. Even the fifth column and propaganda through preachers of religion for undermining the morale of foreign nations are hinted at. Spying has been found very necessary, even essential and a "must" in all military planning, throughout history. When, therefore, Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister, let off scandalised roars of indignation over the incident of the U.S.A. spying plane which the Russians claimed to have shot down on May 1, 1960, 1,200 miles inside their territory, we had the impression that Mr. Khrushchev thought international spying was an act of aggression and that spying was reprehensible and utterly wrong from the political point of view. We think that spying is immoral and an act of violating the privacy of persons or nations. But, we cannot convince ourselves that Mr. Khrushchev or his associates have any whole-hearted attachment to this point of view. For Russia, China and the smaller satellites of the U.S.S.R. have been engaging extensively in elaborate

espionage, fifth column activities and revolutionary propaganda in other lands, since they acquired the position and power to carry out such plans of violating the privacy of other nations. It may be true that the Russians do not spy from planes; but they cannot claim freedom from this evil habit of poking their nose into the private affairs of other nations. China has been sending reconnaissance planes over Indian territory regularly for a long time and these planes must have been taking photographs too. But, although, Messrs. Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung must have known about these little immoralities of their associates, they did not take the trouble to condemn such conduct. This shows that Russia's indignation at the U-2 plane incident was based on their deep admiration of the daring displayed by the American spy who went 1,200 miles into Russian territory while flying at the incredible height of 70,000 feet. This is something which the Russians have not been able to do and Mr. Khrushchev cannot think of anything with equanimity in which the Russians have been excelled by Americans. He also wished to advertise the fact that Russia could bring down planes by exploding rockets under them. His threats and bluster have been mostly directed at the nations who support the U.S.A. in her military plan. These were also unnecessary, for the whole world knew that Pakistan, Iran and Turkey belonged to the American bloc.

The above incident has brought out several facts which are not indicative of a peaceful atmosphere in the relationship existing among the powers of the world. Mr. Khrushchev has made it more than clear that Russia has plenty of rockets which can blow out of existence any targets anywhere in the world. The Americans, by their blunt admission of their high-level spying, appear to possess a good deal of self-confidence in the face of all these Russian threats. This indicates that the Americans too are not helpless against Russia. In the circumstances, chances are that all this sabre-rattling will lead to nothing serious and that the powers will show mutual appreciation in the military sphere by settling their so-called disputes peacefully. If Mr. Khrushchev wanted to see how America will take his aggressive talk, he has seen what effect it has had on Eisenhower. If Eisenhower had

any counter-bluster to offer to the world press, to prove the might of America, he has shown reticence and said nothing. This may be a sign of weakness, but his apparently unwise admissions are definitely not so.

We hope Russia and America will use their mastery of the forces of nature for the mastery of human wants, ailments and passions, and not for the destruction of human civilisation. For any total war between these two leaders of military blocs will cause mass destruction of most things valued by humanity.

A. C.

### Army Rule in Turkey

As in South Korea where the disturbances started by students in protest against the actions of a corrupt and oppressive dictator finally led to the overthrow and the retirement in disgrace of Syngman Rhee, the student explosion at Istanbul has put an end to the dictatorship of Premier Adnan Menderes.

Menderes, whose party is named "Democrat"—perhaps because it stands for the negation of democracy—defeated the Republican Party of Ismet Inonu, the lieutenant-in-politics of Kamal Ataturk, in 1950. Since this party came in office they have done everything possible to demolish the structure of Civil Rights, in every way. Newspapers were gagged, more than 200 journalists were imprisoned and the Opposition was being stamped out of existence by the enactment of laws that went against every principle of a civilized Government.

The last straw that broke the patient Turk's back was a move by Menderes to pass a bill giving dictatorial powers to a special Commission—selected and empowered by Menderes needles to say—to "investigate the subversive, illegitimate" activities of the Opposition Republican Party. This was too much for the youth of Istanbul University.

Some 1,500 students gathered round a Statue of Kemal "The Father of the Turks" at the University gate, shouting "*Hurriyet*" (freedom) and singing the famous victory song of Ataturk. Police rushed in and there was a scuffle. Shooting started, and when The University President protested to the police chief and told him that it was illegal for the police to enter the University grounds without his sanction, he was knocked down, manhandled and finally was taken into

custody in a wounded condition, with streams of blood pouring down his face. Needless to say this caused an explosion and over 5,000 students raged through the streets roaring for the release of their beloved President. Late in the day President Siddik Onar was brought back but the students were out of control. They called for action as in South Korea.

As in South Korea, the soldiers were sympathetic but the police were the creatures of the corrupt Government—as is the case everywhere where there is a mockery of democracy. Shooting started, five were killed and many wounded. The demonstration gained force and tanks and troops had to be called in. Istanbul became virtually a dead city. Ankara students followed suit and then those at Izmir. Demonstrators in their thousands shouted for freedom and the overthrow of dictators. Troops were used against them and that highly disciplined body broke up the demonstrations by pushing them off the streets without bloodshed—but with evident distaste.

In the Turkish legislature, Ismet Inonu, the leader of the Opposition, a warrior who had fought in two wars by the side of Kemal Ataturk and who was President of Turkey from 1938-50, compared Menderes with Syngman Rhee and even at that to the disadvantage of Menderes. Pandemonium resulted, deputies fought, and the Majority party of Menderes formally voted to expel Inonu. Then followed the protest march of the military cadets, after the carefully rigged counter-demonstrations in favour of Menderes had collapsed, even though seven days of martial law had elapsed in between. With the cadet demonstration march the wind evidently changed.

At the time of writing the news came that the Army had taken over the Government and the President Celal Bayar and Premier Menderes had been arrested. Ankara radio reported that General Camel Gursel had become the Chairman of the Committee of National Union which had taken over control. The radio message further said that the take over was temporary, pending new elections. The *Coup* it said had been without bloodshed and followed sporadic disturbances and anti-Government demonstrations for over a month following the "suspension" of the Republican Party leader Ismet Inonu from the Turkish Nationalist Assembly.

### Wrong Vocation

It is impossible to analyse in detail from a distance the juxtaposition of circumstances that prompted Vinobaji to use the expression "courageous" while referring to the dacoits or to the complex factors that led to this historic surrender. It is, in fact, one of those occasions, when the punitive law is so effectively supplemented by the moral strength of a significant personality. Time and again, Vinobaji laid emphasis on the inalienable qualities of a man; and how they do not forsake him even if he becomes a dacoit—because a dacoit is a dacoit for his wrong choice of vocation. It is the living influence of the man making the appeal, which has gone home. There is no question of a soft treatment; but we hope that Law will be enforced in a manner that will not break in upon the process initiated for a surrender. As the socio-economic causes of this cancerous outgrowth is probed and formative institutions make room for reformatory schools, it remains to be assessed why this locality, associated with the memory of **Thugs**, continues to breed these ferocious anti-social elements.

It is idle to minimize, in this connection, the sustained efforts of Law and Order, which were yielding satisfactory results progressively—470 dacoits were arrested and 60 killed in the chase last year though the cost, in terms of money and efforts, was gigantic. Major General Yadunath Singh has done a signal service in preparing the ground for the Acharya. He took at great personal risk to plough up, as it were, the ravines of the Chambal Valley and contact the miscreants.

This is how a good many of them were won over. There is, however, no reason for complacency. There are yet a good many, who have scouted the idea of surrender and have been doing what they can to alert the rank and file against being taken in by the appeal.

Apart from what Acharya Vinoba Bhave has done to reclaim a section of the dacoits, who had consistently foiled the attempts of the people and the Government to apprehend them, he has done so well to

refer, in contrast, to the 'dacoits of Delhi—men who were invited to seats of humour'. We make no comment on the depredations of this New Class, ushered into being under the auspices of our Independence. Only this much will suffice that they fully deserve the appraisal.

J.B.

### The Calcutta Corporation Ordinance

The Congress is the majority in the Corporation; and we do not grudge the Congress Government arrogating to itself the capacity to judge the merits of Congress nominees, passing the ordeal of ballot box. What is, however, to us of deep, agonising concern is that what the British Government forbore doing in the ugly episode of a scuffle for the Mayoral Chair between the Congress-cum-Swarajist Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and the Independent candidate Mr. Fazlul Huq, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, a Congress democrat, does without any the least compunction.

It was an unlucky day for the public life of Bengal when the Congress in the name of party-funds began levying a relentless toll on all conceivable quarters of the Calcutta Corporation. A set of Congress leaders or henchmen of leaders sprang up into life, who were, by open professions, procurers of jobs for the jobless and contracts for the contractors, illustratively speaking. It was no uncommon sight for the very highly-placed officials of the Corporation to hobnob with those, who would ordinarily pass for the riffraff for the one reason that they had free access to the Congress leaders in power. They could thus be lubricated from a safe range for promotions, increment in salary, renewal of the term of service or the like. The result cumulatively was that the Calcutta Corporation was corrupt to the bone. What otherwise explains the fact that the Congress rule in the very first lap of our freedom was constrained to supersede the Corporation? Why again was it very near being superseded?

J. B.

### Reckless Abandon

The audit report, the Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure has presented to Parliament this year, reveals a state of affairs, for which we have pretty good reasons to feel uneasy. Some of the enthusiasts of the ruling party gave vent to their resentment against the Auditor-General of India. Their obstreperousness makes the position of the Treasury Bench all the more untenable. Breaches in the technicalities in accountancy, even if undesirable, may pass; but a chronic disregard of the key rules for overall accuracy in budgeting and control of expenditure is always to be viewed with grave concern. It is the sluice-gate for all corruptions coming in. In fact, we feel distressed at the care-free, slipshod manner of handling public money, climaxing to a stubborn unwillingness to conform to correct procedure, chalked out after a full consideration of all the pros and cons of the subject in question.

Coming down to the brass tacks of some flagrant cases of loss and preventable waste in various departments of Government, the following, in a nutshell, bears citation. Grants-in-aid paid by the Government to social service organisations—they are run mostly by Congress people—were far in excess of actual requirements. In one case alone, the amount exceeded Rs. 10 lakhs; and there were, as well, cases where grants were being as meticulously made despite large sums of money lying idle in the custody of managements for an unconscionable length of time. Of the many nugatory spendings, one of those to strike is so fantastic that after spending Rs. 22 lakhs over the construction of a road it was abandoned, because, it could not be pressed to any use. On the score of a little bit of care and devotion, let alone efficiency, we gather from the report that of over Rs. 143 crores, voted by Parliament, grants under five heads finally proved unnecessary; and there were excesses in 11 voted grants exceeding Rs. 42 lakhs. As in the past, the audit report draws pointed attention to faulty planning and inordinate delay in the execution of work. Added to, what is always so serious, the non-enforcement of the provisions of contract agreements, it has resulted cumulatively into a heavy loss.

to the exchequer. All this tells disastrously upon the mind of millions of people, stuck up in one gruelling fight for economic survival.

Forty years back, young Nehru was prevailed upon by a group of peasants to visit their village in the district of Pratapgarh, Oudh, for an on-the-spot-study of their agrarian grievances. The countryside was before his eyes—naked, starved, crushed and utterly miserable. He was, he says, filled with shame and sorrow—shame at his easygoing, comfortable way of living side by side with the degradation and over-whelming poverty of India. It changed him mightily; and he had his future charted on hard lines of pilgrimage to Freedom. The same grinding poverty, the same pestilential squalor continues, but the Nehru of that day is having, without any compunction, his fill in comforts and luxury from out of the bowls of sweated misery. And he pleads unabashed on the floor of Parliament to justify the colossal squanderings, such as those indicated in the audit report; and to write off Rs. 40 lakhs more or less for, what by now is a skeleton on the cupboard, the notorious jeep transaction, because his agent entered into contract with men, who had at no time the means to make good a probable default.

J. B.

### Writings On The Wall

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, is to be complimented for his stand in respect of South Africa's Apartheid. Mr. Macmillan is as much entitled to praise for the consummate skill with which he brought the question to bear upon the joint deliberations, even if informally, of the Prime Ministers of Commonwealth nations at their recent Conference in London. We noted in our March issue, under the caption *A Happy Augury*, that Mr. Macmillan's unequivocal declaration, in his South African tour, that England would not subscribe to the ideology of master race, has cut the ice and added to Britain's moral stature. She has now crossed one more hurdle; and were she to follow it up with some earnestness, there shall have to be no occasion for anyone to write about her decline and fall. In fact, the spirit that fed the empire is being transfigured into the principle 'live and let live.'

As Mr. Eric Louw, External Affairs Minister of South Africa, was expounding his pet shibboleth, dead as mutton, some of the heads of delegation indicated, in a manner, that they would have gladly left the room rather than listen to the silly rot. In fact, Mr. Rahman left the room and made a statement, published in all the leading papers of London the following morning. The British public and the press uniformly gave Mr. Louw a cold shoulder; and Mr. Macmillan asked him to settle accounts with other Prime Ministers. The Commonwealth of Nations is a multi-racial organisation and South Africa's racial obsession and relentlessness is a point-blank denial of common humanity. The conference, therefore, rejected the plea that the question posed, being fundamentally one of common concern, could not be treated as an internal affair of South Africa and must, as such, be answered by all. Mr. Louw obtained by telephone the consent of his Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd, still now in hospital, and signed the communique along with other Prime Ministers. It states without any ambiguity that as and when South Africa became a republic, which she intends to do in the near future, her re-entry into the Commonwealth would have to be subject to the consent of every other member state.

Mr. Nehru and Dr. Nkrumah are, for the time being, satisfied with the progress so far achieved in clarification of the point at issue. Mr. Nehru has issued a note of warning in polite language, but which is nonetheless a portent, that the Commonwealth is facing difficult basic problems and needed to be saved from being 'too vague to be identified as anything at all'. Mr. Rahman and General Ayub Khan have all along maintained a forthright attitude. It is all well, and not a day too early. A wishy-washy disapproval is not enough. South Africa is under the pressure now of a massed anger of humanity. In fact, there are already indications what price she shall have to pay for her obduracy. The President of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange has made the agonizing appraisal—is it in the nature of a crystal ball?—that there had been a drop of £501 millions in the capital value of company stocks, listed on the exchange during the first three months of the year.

J. B.

Powers. The extracts are from the *Statesman* of May 13:

The council noted with satisfaction that as a result of the recent talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China there "has been some lessening of tension in the relations between the two countries. Although it is a matter of regret that a solution has not been found in these talks to the India-China border dispute, the decisions of the two Governments to continue discussions at the official level and to take measures to avoid any further incidents and maintain tranquillity in the border areas are undoubtedly positive achievements" of the two Prime Ministers' talks.

Whatever the present difficulties the council was confident that, given the approach of goodwill and friendly discussion, a peaceful solution of the India-China border question would surely be found.

The council warned that there were powerful forces both within the country and outside, which were interested in keeping the dispute between the two countries alive. Ever since the issue came to the forefront, the resolution said, these forces had spared no effort to embitter relations and prevent every move in the direction of peaceful negotiation. They had exploited the tragic development not only to pull India and China apart, but to assail even India's policy of peace and non-alignment. In fact, their attacks against India-China friendship were an "integral part of their wider destructive strategy against Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace."

It further noted that the two Prime Ministers' talks had made the imperialists abroad and reactionaries at home more desperate and there was no doubt that they would try all possible means to spoil the atmosphere and frustrate discussions and negotiations.

The council regretted that certain utterances coming from official quarters were sometimes found to be out of tune with India's basic policy of peaceful negotiations and were taken advantage of by the reactionary forces to further their ends. In this situation, "great responsibilities devolve on our people in defending the policy of peaceful negotiations on the India-China border dispute, as also the larger cause of India's policy of peace and non-alignment."

In the resolution on the Summit conference, the council expressed the hope that the conference would lead to early initial agreements for total and universal disarmament. It said that the unparalleled growth of the forces of peace, national independence and socialism and change of the entire world balance of forces against imperialists, together with the most recent tremendous scientific advances had created a situation where imperialist statesmen themselves were compelled to respond to the worldwide demand for summit talks on disarmament and other important international issues.

Nevertheless, the resolution continued, the imperialists had by no means given up their "lunatic" plans for war. The recent "outrageous violation of Soviet air space by a plane admittedly sent by the U.S. Government on an espionage mission, indicates how grave the dangers to world peace remain and how certain forces are bent on preventing success at the summit."

The council condemned "this heinous action of the U.S. imperialists which contravenes all canons of international law and civilized behaviour. The world has been particularly shocked at the brazen-faced attempts of the U.S. Government leaders to justify this crime against peace."

The council had been particularly perturbed by the fact that the "territory of our neighbour, Pakistan, has been used as a base for the espionage mission and thus brought the danger of nuclear war to our doorsteps." It welcomed the reported invitation to Mr. Nehru by Mr. Khrushchev for a discussion on this matter of "urgent importance to both of our countries."

Dwelling on Manipur, the council's resolution condemned the "repression which has been unleashed against the people of Manipur for their having dared to voice a demand for responsible Government." It was a matter of shame that the helpless people of Manipur who were directly under the Union Government should have been subjected to "unprovoked police atrocities." The present policy of the Central Government in regard to Manipur was "wholly undemocratic and cannot but give rise to serious complications."

It was high time, the resolution said, the Union Government realized that the present set-up in Manipur had completely "failed to meet even the minimum aspirations and strivings of



its people. On the contrary, what now prevails in Manipur in the name of Central administration, is an arbitrary Chief Commissioner's regime, totally divorced from the life of the people."

### U. S. Wheat and Rice

The following report gives the details about the historic agreement signed in Washington on May 4:

Washington, May 4.—President Eisenhower today signed an agreement under which the U.S.A. will send India 1,500 shiploads of wheat and rice in the next four years to meet deficits and build up a reserve.

The agreement, signed in the Cabinet Room of the White House, was historic in many respects. Mr. S. K. Patil, who signed for India, told the President it was "a signal honour to my country," that he (the President) had personally set his hand to the agreement.

Mr. Hagerty, the White House spokesman, said he could not recall a previous occasion during Mr. Eisenhower's 7½ years in the White House on which he had personally signed an agreement with another country.

The White House said in a statement that the agreement was four times as large as any previously signed since the U.S.A. began selling its farm surpluses abroad for local currency six years ago.

The U.S.A. will ship 16 million metric tons (about 587 million bushels) of wheat and one million metric tons (about 22 million bags) of U.S. rice in the next four years.

It will mean, on an average, more than a shipload of wheat each day during the four-year period.

For these commodities, plus some shipping costs, India will pay the U.S.A. \$1,276 million in rupees.

The White House said this was the first agreement specifically designed to help a country to establish substantial food

reserves. Twelve million tons will be provided for meeting India's annual food deficit of three million tons and five million tons will go into Indian silos and warehouses.

President Eisenhower, speaking before a large group of officials, reporters and cameramen at the signing ceremony, said: "This is a ceremony, Mr. Ambassador and Minister Patil, in which I am both honoured and delighted to participate. The agreement that we have just signed is a practical application of the term 'food for peace.'"

"When I was in your country last December, I noticed the spirit of progress that abounds in the new India. What we can do to lend encouragement, to lend a helping hand, we are most happy to do.

"My thoughts go back to the day—it was December 11—when I was in New Delhi at the opening of the great world agricultural fair. I recall the words of your Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, when he said that 'in this world today the call is for ever-greater co-operation between individuals, between groups, between nations.'"

"This is the fifth and by far the largest of such agreements entered into by our two nations.

"India is going forward with a zeal and determination that commands our unreserved admiration and respect. Its people are successfully embarked on the road to improved economic well-being in freedom. The food that we make available under our special programmes today will be reflected in India's accelerated progress tomorrow. This is what we mean by 'food for peace.'"

Mr. Patil expressed deep appreciation and told Mr. Eisenhower, "This agreement is probably unique in its range and even more significant in its concept.

"For a country as large as ours . . . a national food reserve is of paramount importance. This agreement enables us to build such a reserve. Freed from the anxiety of food shortages we shall be able to concentrate our efforts and energies to the all-round development of our country."

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SRI AUROBINDO\*

By TARAKNATH DAS

"Aurobindo was the greatest intellectual of our age and a major force for the life of the spirit. India will not forget his services to politics and philosophy and the world will remember with gratitude his invaluable work in the realm of philosophy and religion."

The above passage, a tribute from Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, India's Vice-President and world-renowned philosopher, gives an estimate of Sri Aurobindo as a man who in his early life gave his services to the cause of Freedom of India, not for India's aggrandisement but for freedom of man and world freedom, against tyranny. Today the world knows Sri Aurobindo as the Saint of the Ashram at Pondicherry, who worked for spreading a philosophy of life, based on the teachings of the Rig Veda, the earlier Upanishads, the Vedanta and the Bhagabat Gita and supported by the modern scientific knowledge of man's potentialities for greatness. But Sri Aurobindo also made distinct contributions in the field of political philosophy, which would influence the society of men.

### I

Man's religious, social and political ideals or philosophies are interwoven into a whole; and these cannot be compartmentalised. Thus a man's political philosophy is a segment of the philosophy of his life which he cherishes or a philosophy of life which is in the process of transition. Philosophy of life of a man is the product of the cumulative heritage of a group in which he is born and modified by inner evolution of the individual as influenced by outside forces—local and world-wide. This was also the case with Sri Aurobindo.

Aurobindo was the product of renaissance of India where the most enlightened of her people were consciously engaged in re-assertion of the best of Indian thought and at the same time interested in assimilation of the best of the West. This renaissance of India began in

\*Taraknath Das's last article, written on August 1, 1958, which he wanted to be published in *The Modern Review*. His niece, Miss Nilima Das sends us this article from Hotel Ansonia, New York.

Bengal—roughly from the time of Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772-1833), the Founder of the Brahmo Samaj Movement (reformed Hinduism) and who was a pioneer in the field of study of comparative religion and an advocate of political and social reforms in India of his time. Sri Aurobindo was born in a most cultured family of Konnagar in Western Bengal. His grandfather was a leader of Brahmo Samaj movement and was a pupil of David Hare of Calcutta, noted for his educational activities. His father Krishnadhan Ghose, after receiving medical education at Calcutta was sent to Aberdeen University for higher studies where he took M.D. degree. After his return from England, he entered the Indian Medical Service and served as Civil Surgeon in various parts of India. He was a cosmopolitan and his home became a common meeting-place for Europeans and Bengalees.

Aurobindo was born in 1872, some fifteen years after the outbreak of the so-called Sepoy Mutiny (1857) which was an effort to overthrow the British Domination in India. The Mutiny manifested the deep-rooted antagonism against alien rule as well as opposition to western cultural conquest. The military phase of the struggle for freedom failed but it forced out the irresponsible rule of the East India Company and establishment of direct British rule over India. Above all, it forced the British Parliament to take notice of India's demands for equal rights and thus came the proclamation of Queen Victoria which promised equal rights to the Indian people for the government of India without any discrimination owing to race, religion and colour. In 1885 the All-India Congress movement came into existence, but during the quarter of a century between the Queen's Proclamation (1858) and the inauguration of the Congress movement, the spirit of the intelligentsia of India was permeated with activities for cultural, social, economic and political regeneration of the people.

Aurobindo's father believed that India must adopt western methods of civilization. He felt that his children should be given the best of

western education. Thus Aurobindo got his early education in the Loretto Convent, Darjeeling. In 1879 Aurobindo and his brothers were sent to England for further education, which was entrusted to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Drewett, then residing in Manchester. Mr. Drewett was an accomplished Latin scholar and he inculcated the study of Latin and Greek in him. In 1885 Aurobindo was sent to St. Paul's school in London. After five years' study in the school and making remarkable progress in classical studies, Aurobindo obtained senior classical scholarship, and proceeded to King's College, Cambridge. "Soon after entering Cambridge he appeared for the Indian Civil Service Examination and was given record marks in Greek and Latin. . . . Aurobindo passed the first part of the Classical Tripos Examination in the First Class at the end of his second year at Cambridge, and during these years also managed to spend part of his time studying modern languages and in writing Greek and Latin verse, for which in one of the years he won all the prizes given at King's College."

Aurobindo was at Cambridge to qualify for Civil Service but things happened that changed the whole career of the man. During his stay in England as a student at King's College he absorbed the political theories and ideals of Freedom and at the same time felt very keenly about the condition of the people of India, an enslaved people under foreign domination. While in Cambridge he expressed freely about his creed of freeing India and this was not liked by the British authorities and thus he was disqualified from becoming a Civil Servant in India under petty pretext. After fourteen years in England at the age of 21, in 1893 Aurobindo left for India. But it is said that while a student in London, "he had joined a Secret Society entitled *the Lotus and Dagger* dedicated to the cause of Indian Freedom." At the age of 21 Aurobindo was actively engaged in carrying out his political creed of Freedom for man by championing the cause of freedom of the people of India. Although Aurobindo was not able to get into Indian Civil Service, this was a great boon for him and India, because he was not bound to uphold the foreign rule in India, which he had to do as a British Civil Servant. In 1893 he took an appointment in the Civil

Service of the State of Baroda where he worked for nearly 13 years, during the latter part of his stay there, as the Principal of Baroda College, which is now Baroda University.

Fourteen years spent in England (from age 7 to 21) for education, laid the foundation of his future career as a man of vision and world perspective. But thirteen years spent at Baroda was spent not merely for the service of the State (Baroda was the most progressive of all Indian states, specially in the field of education), but self-education in the field of acquiring clear comprehension of India's legacy—in the spiritual field,—then existing condition and formulation of a revolutionary programme for Indian freedom as a necessary factor to freedom of Asia and the rest of the world.

## II

It may be interesting to note that the year 1893 is the most important one in the history of modern India. It was in 1893, Swami Vivekananda came to the Parliament of Religion held at Chicago and represented Hinduism. Vivekananda's speech at the Parliament of Religion created a sensation all over the world, specially in India. The message was simple but revolutionary. The young Hindu Sanyasin proclaimed the old truth of the ancient sages that there are many ways to reach the destination of man's supreme interest in achieving God-consciousness and no religion has the monopoly of salvation. Every individual has the potentiality of divine existence and the thing that is necessary is to develop this "God-in-man" through one's Sadhana. Soul of a man is immortal and thus it never dies and the true nature of man is the source of all good and beyond all fear. This was the message of Freedom and Fearlessness in search after Truth as was being taught by Vivekananda, the disciple of Sri Ramakrishna. Aurobindo recognised the significance of Vivekananda's activities—in a sense conquering the thought world. This gave him double inspiration to drink deep into the fountain of knowledge of ancient sages of India. As a student of Greek philosophy he was quite conscious of the fact that through knowledge man may become free. But in studying Upanishads, the Bhagabat Gita and other works of the ancient Hindus, he was deeply impressed with the teachings of Karma Yoga. At this stage

of his life he was thinking in terms of activities leading to Freedom of India.

Sri Aurobindo, during his Cambridge days was deeply interested in Indian politics and later he became the leader of Indian revolutionary movement. If the teachings of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda gave him the firm spiritual foundation for political activities, it was Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the Congress leaders, but later on termed as the "extremist" leader of the Congress party, roused the spirit of political activities, not merely for some small concessions to be given to the Indian people towards self-government, but for Freedom of the land from a foreign yoke. In Hindu philosophy a man's liberation is not based on grace of somebody, but is to be attained by action. To be spiritually free there must be "the Will to be Free". Tilak represented the school of Indian political thought which advocated that if India were to be free then there must be Will to be free, supported by actions which might lead to suffering. A political leader must be a *Karma Yogi* and not an opportunist. It is not the place for me to discuss Tilak in action, but I want to emphasise that Aurobindo was influenced by Bal Gangadhar Tilak so much that he wrote an essay on "Appreciation of Tilak" as Indian national leader.

There was another man who influenced Sri Aurobindo's political and social ideals as well as internationalism—Rabindranath Tagore, the first Asian to win the coveted recognition of a winner of Nobel Prize in literature. Tagore was not only a poet, dramatist, educator, musician, but he was a philosopher and a revolutionist. To be a revolutionist, one is not required to be a "bomb-thrower" or a so-called "terrorist" but a true revolutionist is a torch-bearer of truth and fearlessness. Rabindranath Tagore was such a man, undoubtedly one of the greatest personalities of modern times.

During the end of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century, many things were happening in the field of world politics which had their effects upon the mind of Asian, specially Indian leaders. The Boer War left an impression that a small nation willing to fight for freedom can carry on the struggle against such a powerful force as the British Empire. Japan defeated China and later Japan's victory

over Russia shattered many of the myths regarding inferiority of Asian people in the arena of international affairs and politics. While these changes were going on in the world, including Turkish and Persian Revolutions, a new political force was developing in India. The All-India National Congress which came into existence in 1885 and working for political reforms of British administration in India, primarily through the goodwill of the British rulers, by the end of the 19th century and early 20th century was not gaining the end and there was a new demand for actions as will lead to complete independence of India, from the British rule.

It was during the administration of Lord Curzon, as the Governor General of India, the British authorities decided to partition Bengal, the most politically advanced and the largest of the provinces in India. This move was regarded by the political leaders of Bengal as a step to weaken Indian national movement and to disrupt the cultural unity of Bengalee-speaking people and to introduce the idea that Hindus and Moslems have conflicting interests in Indian politics. The British authorities proclaimed partition of Bengal on the basis that predominantly Moslem part of the province was detached and a new province was created supposedly for administrative purposes, but really to create Hindu-Moslem problems in Bengal. The British authorities thought that their programme would be carried out without any great deal of resistance, but the new spirit of India asserted and there was the struggle for Indian Freedom. By this time Sri Aurobindo was one of the leaders of Underground revolutionary movement, a link between Maharashtra led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the revolutionists of Bengal.

Here it may be asserted real movement for Indian Freedom from British rule was under the direction of the Underground revolutionists who were influenced by revolutions in various parts of the world, specially by the writings of Mazzini for the establishment of United Italy—a Republic. It may surprise many western scholars on Indian Freedom movement to know that Mazzini's writings—such as *Duties of Man* and other works—were translated into Bengalee, and the working principles of Italian Carbonari Society was well known among them. The

initiators of Bengal Revolutionary movement had to study the life of Garibaldi, *Bhagbat Gita* and some special writings of Swami Vivekananda. Above all the story of Sannyasi Revolt in Bengal which happened during the early days of the 19th century and as it was depicted in the novel *Ananda Math* was a source of inspiration to Indian nationalists and the song *Bande Mataram* (Hail Mother) was sung as the national anthem. *Bande Mataram* became the watchword or words of greetings among the youth of Bengal. At this time Aurobindo's visits to Bengal from Baroda became frequent and he played the most important role in formulating the programme and activities of Indian Revolutionists which were trying to capture the Congress organisation.

### III

Aurobindo played an important part in formulating that *Swaraj* (Self-rule or Independence) will be the goal and this must be attained by national efforts of constructive activities, of development of national industries, and at the same time special emphasis was to be put in furthering National Education, in which Indian national culture must be given proper recognition and Indian history must be interpreted in the proper perspective of Indian national aspiration. It was through the efforts of Indian revolutionists under the leadership of Aurobindo the programme of *Swaraj*, *Swadeshi*, and *National Education* became accepted by the nation. To be sure many other prominent leaders played their role and supported the movement. It was in 1905 and 1906 that the real Foundation for Indian Freedom was laid.

Aurobindo was not a visionary and he felt the immediate need of an organ of the so-called extremists of Indian nationalists to preach the ideal. Thus a daily paper entitled *Bande Mataram* was established, with Aurobindo as its editor. The files of the *Bande Mataram* contained many articles by Aurobindo which must be carefully studied by those who wish to understand the spirit of Indian nationalism. Indian Revolutionists, with Aurobindo as their leader, were the first who were convinced that for the success of their cause for freedom, the nation as a whole must be awakened,—thus they went to villages to work among the peasants. At this time National Council for Education in Bengal was organised

at Calcutta and the first national college was established, and Aurobindo was its first Principal while men like Rabindranath Tagore, Ananda Coomarswamy and others were associated with this great educational movement. This National College became Bengal National Technical College and is now the Jadavpur University, one of the foremost technical colleges in India. It may be reminded that the youth of Bengal and the students at colleges and universities responded to the call which Aurobindo and his associates spread through newspapers, public meetings and secret meetings. Tens of thousands of students joined the nationalist movement. At the same time Rabindranath Tagore through his songs roused patriotic emotions of the people verging to religious ecstasy. It was Rabindranath Tagore who prepared his concrete proposal of "creation of a State within State" in his booklet "Swadeshi Samaj."

### IV

From these above-mentioned facts it must be clear that Aurobindo was not a visionary but a *Karma-Yogi* engaged in Dharma Yuddha (fight for Righteous Existence or supremacy of Right over Might). It also makes clear that some fifteen years or longer before the inauguration of non-co-operation movement (after the special session of the All-India National Congress at Calcutta by Mahatma Gandhi) Bengal revolutionists under the leadership of Aurobindo were engaged in practising non-co-operation and organising a State within the State. This activity naturally produced most unfavorable reaction among the British officials and repressive measures were inaugurated by the British Government to crush the movement. There came the retaliation by the revolutionists who killed Indian and British police officials. Here we may again point out that Indian revolutionists were following the path of Russian revolutionists of that time who were determined to overthrow the oppressive rule of Tsardom.

Lest there be any misunderstanding about Aurobindo's relations with terrorist activities in Bengal, it may be safely asserted that he was never personally implicated in any terrorist act; but Aurobindo was not a pacifist like Mahatma Gandhi and must have known that a section of the revolutionists were willing to die for freedom

and thus giving fight to the tools of repression. In connection with the repressive movement of the British Government, Aurobindo was arrested on the charge of preaching sedition and his connection with terroristic activities. This happened in August 1907, and his activities as the editor of *Bande Mataram* ended. He was kept in Alipur jail for nearly a year during the period of the trial. Ultimately he was acquitted through the efforts of his lawyer, late Chitta Ranjan Das. Chitta Ranjan Das held "Aurobindo would gladly admit that he had propagated and elucidated the message of national independence and for this suffering was necessary, would willingly suffer to the utmost." Chittaranjan's final appeal to the judges was significant.

"My appeal to you is this, that long after this controversy was hushed in silence, long after this turmoil and agitation will have ceased, long after he is dead and gone, he will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism, and the lover of humanity. His words will be echoed and reechoed not only in India, but across distant seas and lands."

While Aurobindo was the Editor of the *Bande Mataram*, he was reputed to be the author of a pamphlet entitled *Bhawani Mandir*, the theme of which is that they must build a temple to Bhawani, the Mother, as the source of their strength, and that attached to the temple there must be a new order of *Karma-Yogis* prepared to renounce all in the service of the Mother. The work of the Order must be based upon knowledge as upon a rock. What knowledge, it will be asked? The answer is given categorically—the knowledge enshrined in the mighty formula of the ancient gospel of *Vedanta*. And to what end? The answer is given without hesitation—to the end that India may fulfil the high destiny reserved for her. "It is she who must send forth from herself the future religion of the entire world, the eternal religion which is to harmonise all religion, science and philosophies and make mankind one soul."

It is quite clear from the future development of Sri Aurobindo's life, that while he was in Alipur jail which he later termed as Alipur Ashram, he had time to contemplate on the above ideal and what he should do for his own development, and about his ultimate mission.

Aurobindo wrote about his jail experience in this way, "God seemed to whisper I have had another thing for you to do, and it is for that I have brought you here, to teach you here what you could not learn for yourself, and to train you for my work."

In February 1910, Aurobindo retired from Calcutta and withdrew from political movements and went to Chandannagore, and a few months later settled down at Pondichery and attracted many disciples. He passed away from this mortal world in 1950, leaving a distinct place for him in Indian politics, world of philosophy and religion.

Aurobindo's political philosophy was not merely revolutionary changes to be brought about in the world, but he felt that in order to build a new structure we may have to tear down old buildings unsuited to new conditions, so we may have revolution leading to overthrow of existing Government to usher a new and better social order. How should the new social order be run? It should be directed by the wisest and the best of the society and not by a privileged class. What should be the spirit behind the activities of the rulers? They should practise *Raj-dharma*, ethical and spiritual laws governing the activities of the ruler in the field of administration of a State and human relations. According to Hindu philosophy this concept of duty or self-imposed obligation of a ruler is to carry on the Government of a State to uphold the welfare of the people and to protect them from oppression, external or internal; a Ruler should possess power of intelligence and knowledge, economic support as well as support of the people so that he will be able to fulfil his obligations, but never to use Power for self-aggrandisement and despotically. Aurobindo not only believed in the fundamental principle, but he practised it in his political career. The greatest tribute that was ever paid to Aurobindo was the poem written by Rabindranath Tagore extending his salutation to him, indicating that he (Tagore) and all India was willing to follow his leadership, because he was not only a political leader but a *Rishi*.

Aurobindo's political philosophy was not limited to nationalism but he was thinking of a

World State in which nations will play their own part, but their existence would be integrated harmoniously on the basis of cultural assets of various peoples. Thus he was opposed to partitions, artificial division of states by imperialist powers. Although he retired from politics he expressed strong dissent against partition of India in 1947. As he was an apostle of infinite possibilities of individual development, so was he one of the foremost supporters of freedom of the subject peoples, and thus freedom of Asian and African peoples. He was opposed to racial and cultural imperialism of all kinds and an advocate of brotherhood of man.

Although the world speaks of Gandhi as the liberator of India, the fact remains that all of the ideas of Gandhi, except absolute pacificism, were preached by others, Specially Vivekananda, Tagore and Aurobindo and the latter as a revolutionary leader preached and practised the ideal of Freedom in India and ushered a revolutionary era leading to her political freedom. However, Aurobindo was not content with political freedom of India, but he took up the activities for freedom of man, his spiritual life.

New York City,  
August 1, 1958

## SECONDARY TEACHER TRAINING IN WEST BENGAL

By PARIMAL ROY, M.A., Ph.D. (London),  
Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal (Rtd.).

A couple of years back the David Hare Training College—the pioneer and still the premier institution for secondary teacher training in West Bengal—celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Needless to say, completion of fifty years of existence of an institution of its kind formed a significant chapter in the evolution of teacher training for our secondary schools. It was a fitting occasion for stock-taking, and, appropriately, a souvenir volume was brought out which was largely, if not wholly, a retrospective study on the subject. The writer had the honour of being one of those who were asked to contribute to this commemoration volume. But he declined the honour with a pleasant “no” as much from a sense of his own incompetence as from a feeling that if he were to pen no mere platitudes but his honest conviction, he might strike a jarring note when it was customary to sing paeans of praises. For, he had the opportunity to see the institution, its working and its products, in the later years of its existence not however from a distance which lends enchantment to the view, but at sufficiently close quarters. He need not here conceal that as he witnessed the fanfares of the celebrations, the following line irresistibly kept running through his head: “It’s now thy task to prove these (proclaimed) glories true.”

What really is the exact situation? As the tree is known by its fruit, so the true measure of success of our training colleges is surely in the quality of their products—our trained graduate teachers. But “Why are our trained teachers apparently no better than untrained teachers?” exclaimed in agony the then Principal of the David Hare Training College in his Presidential Address at the Teacher Training Section of the All-India Educational Conference held at Chandigarh in 1958. Generally speaking, our trained teachers fall in the first place into two clearly recognised groups. At one extremity we have, unfortunately not a few, who may be dubbed as blanks of the society of trained teachers. The seeds of knowledge fell upon them as on “stony places, where they had not much earth”; and if “forthwith they sprung up,” enough to sell for a cheap livelihood, soon however, as in the parable, they withered away “because they had no root.” At the University examination with

its stock questions repeating themselves almost in a cyclical order and stereotyped practical tests, they could well afford to take calculated risk on the strength of what they crammed from made-easies and short-cuts—it was a sort of 50-50 toss-up for them. At the other extreme stand the naive who with a smattering of psychology and superficial scanning of text-books try to apply their unassimilated knowledge literally and without the least discrimination or adaptation to all kinds of situation. One can easily imagine the serio-comic role which they play but not perhaps so readily the mischief they do. Between these two groups lie the majority who combine in a great variety of forms and proportions ignorance with fads, shading into one another by gradual and imperceptible degrees.

A well-trained teacher true to his training is almost a rare gem. Firstly, for one reason or another suitable entrants to training colleges are not easily obtained. Secondly, present conditions of training are far from satisfactory. Thirdly, of the select few who are fortunate enough to receive tolerably good training, some are lured away from education to other more lucrative avenues of employment. The remnants, almost a handful, do not take long to pall and stagnate. They innocently point their fingers at the numerous difficulties, even open hostility, which confront them in their tasks. Which reminds the writer of the following line, the full maiden speech of a taciturn member of the United States Congress, delivered to parry the debate revolving round the power of the Constitution to undertake improvement of a certain variety of water:

“Mr. Speaker, I don’t know ‘nutting’ very much about the Constitution, but I know this: I wouldn’t give a cent for a constitution that didn’t wash as well in hard water as in soft.”\* But the fact is that even when there is no hurdle to cross, as in Government Schools preponderantly staffed by trained teachers, the mode of

teaching seems no better, at least to any appreciable extent.

This is the over-all picture. To-day he teaches best who crams best his pupils for the final test. And the schools themselves are prone to make much of and trumpet their successes in these external examinations. Even the Board of Secondary Education applies this yard-stick for gradation of schools on its merit list. One cannot but recall in the context of this situation the trenchant observation of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee of 1922 about “the doubtful advantages derived from training” as being “worth the expenditure.” Indisputably training, as organised today, yields but poor return. But that does not necessarily mean that training can never be a paying proposition and must be liquidated. The Committee’s recommendation to close down training colleges was chiefly motivated by their extreme solicitude for economy at a time of acute financial stringency without true appreciation, however, of the value of training, if properly planned, organised, and executed. “Many teachers are good teachers by nature and common sense,” said they, which would seem to emulate the example of Charlemagne who in his days enlisted as teachers “all those who by God’s help are able to teach.” Fortunately, the old belief that the capacity to teach is just a natural gift is long left behind. No serious-minded man now questions the obvious truth, though its recognition has come tardily even in the advanced countries of the West, that an intending teacher must be prepared for his job as well as an aspirant to any other profession. The risk in entrusting education of the young to unskilled hands may not be as readily apparent as when, say, unskilled engineers are engaged to construct bridges or quacks to take care of the ailing, but it is none-the-less real, and on a long view, even more incalculable.

In fact, in our own days it is no longer a question as to why but as to how the teachers may be trained. Until comparatively recent times training for

\* Quoted with slight adaptation to suit the present context.



secondary teachers lay entirely in subject-matter fields as is still in vogue for University and College teachers who are highly specialised in their respective subjects but lack preparation in methods of teaching them. Gradually courses of studies for the preparation of secondary teachers became professionalised with due stress on the technique of transmitting learning. The importance attached to the one or the other aspect of this two-fold character of training, academic and professional, varied from one country to another with a distinct swing of the pendulum from the former to the latter. From mere acquirement of technical skill to impart knowledge, the methodology itself was with the progress of ideas oriented towards sympathetic understanding, on the one hand, of the pupil as a growing individual, and on the other, of the place of knowledge in his growth. In a word, emphasis shifted gradually from subject to technique and from technique to pupil. With the function of teaching thus broadened, the teachers' vocation has become highly specialised, complex, and difficult which evidently postulates careful training under proper guidance.

Nowhere perhaps is the ideal fully realized; but our training system does not even seem consciously directed towards the attainment of this avowed objective. Instead what is attempted is more of showmanship than of training and vain pursuit of shadows and symbols than of realities. Let us, by way of illustration, consider some of the conditions fundamental to successful training and examine how far they are fulfilled in West Bengal.

Success depends in no small measure on proper selection of trainees. That is all the more necessary in our country where training facilities are so inadequate and for more reason than one wastage can hardly be afforded. Educational achievement assessed simply by past academic record with or without an admission test is the usual basis adopted by our training colleges for screening the prospective trainees. Researches by experts have not yet discovered any correlation between efficiency

of experienced teachers and their earlier academic marks. There is, however, general agreement among them that the better way to test the requisite intellectual qualifications for successful teachers is to combine with scholastic record psychological tests of demonstrable value. No less important is the adjudgment of personal qualities and aptitudes; but most of our colleges make no attempt in this direction and the few which do rely solely upon a brief interview. Even the judgment of experienced interviewers, however conscientious, is not likely to prove fully trustworthy. Old school and college records may be more helpful but they are seldom kept, and even though avoidable in a few cases, are never called for and consulted. Mention may be made in passing of the aptitude tests used in the U.S.A.; personality and interest questionnaires; projection or other tests; the group exercise method developed for army officers, and in some countries for civil service selection; and such other devices. But nothing of the kind has been tried in any of our training colleges except for some spasmodic and half-hearted application of intelligence tests in the David Hare Training College. And this notwithstanding the setting up of a Psychological Bureau as an adjunct to the institution in 1953. Not that we have "sublime faith in the magic of scientific tests." But they should at least be tried for what they are worth. In any case, there is no justification to leave the process of selection on its present crude basis.

Next we proceed to analyse the B. T. curriculum of our University. It lends itself to obvious criticisms which may be summarised as follows:

A mere cursory glance will show that the syllabus is so framed as to over-do the theoretical, to the comparative neglect of the practical aspect of the training. In fact, theory covers nearly two-thirds of the whole course which presumably is too heavy a weightage in any scheme of studies for professional preparation. The revised syllabus proposed by the Conference of Training College Principals at Bangalore in 1957 and generally approved by the

Ministry of Education, Government of India, has, be it noted, attached equal importance to the theoretical and practical parts of the course. It is by no means faultless. A conspicuous defect, for example, is its failure to recognise the need of speech training and oral test. But it is undoubtedly a decided improvement. On present indication, however, the Calcutta University is unimpressed and remains upshaken in its intention to maintain the old order. The Visva-Bharati which has adopted the new syllabus is but responsible for the outturn of a very small percentage of our trained graduates.

Secondly, the course is over-loaded with a multiplicity of subjects making it too unwieldy for a short one-year, or what really amounts to an effective half-year, period of training. The original syllabus framed in 1906-8 was simpler and more practical. Its revision in its present form in 1941-42 without any comparable increase in the duration of the course or the college's total working hours cannot but be regarded as a retrograde measure. The expanded curriculum has served merely to detract from the thoroughness of instruction on the one hand and to cause shallowness and superfluity of learning on the other. The framers of the syllabus apparently lost sight of the truth that "educative effect inheres not in a subject but in the true spirit of study." And that was precisely that their handiwork was not likely to foster.

Thirdly, there is a good deal of dead wood in the curriculum, survival from the old-world belief in the potency of drill and exercise as an instrument of mental training. Very little is also gained in practice by the inclusion of a Modern Indian Language paper, and of Contents alongside Methodology of subjects. It is just those branches of studies which are truly and distinctly professional that alone should be accorded a place in the syllabus. Besides such subjects as relate to Primary and Infant School, Kindergarten, Nursery, Abnormal Psychology, Education of Handicapped seem out of place in preparation of

teachers for the usual run of our secondary schools.

Fourthly, the scope of a subject is often extended beyond what is necessary for its practical utility.

"So study evermore is overshoot:

While it doth study to have what

it would,

It doth forget to do the thing it should;

And when it hath the thing it

hunteth most,

'Tis won as towns with fire—so won,

so lost."

It is worthy of note that an intending teacher in Continental Europe is trained with a view to conditions he will afterwards find in the school rather than encouraged as here to push forward to his utmost capacity the frontiers of his knowledge of the content and method of a prescribed subject. Certainly it matters more how a teacher uses his knowledge than how much he knows. As the saying goes, "Although it is necessary to know in order to do, it is, however, better to do than to know."

Fifthly, coming to further detail we find that studies in Principles of Education and Psychology are not linked up with methods courses which in their turn are treated as altogether separate techniques. Then the two or three methods subjects which are required to be taken are not classified into allied groups. Trainees may, and indeed do, choose them at random unfettered by any standing rule or regulation. As a matter of fact, there is much that is un-co-ordinated in the present syllabus which is unlikely to "assist the prospective teacher to that professional integration at which sound teacher training aims." Far worse is the fact that the curriculum makes no attempt to bring the theoretical and practical sides of the course into close and vital relation to each other.

Finally, not to speak of experimentation with a view to its progressive adaptation to our peculiar needs, the fixity of the syllabus even in the face of changing situations and ideals, particularly after India's attainment of freedom, seems indefensible. It is amazing that it has not yet been made to respond to recent vital

changes in the structure of our secondary education. No competent authority has yet visibly addressed itself to the task of either instituting a new, or adjusting the old training course to the novel task of teachers in a multi-purpose school.

We now pass on to the training programme—the most vital link in the chain. No doubt it varies from one college to another but broadly is of the same pattern.

The time-table is everywhere heavy and over-crowded, thanks to the multiplicity of subjects in the curriculum. Even so the course can seldom be covered. That by itself need cause no regret so long as teaching successfully threshes chaff from the corn and does not needlessly encumber itself with what a trainee must master for himself by his self-controlled power of application. As the Spens Committee on Secondary Education in Great Britain observed: "We are not greatly concerned with the complaint that 'loose ends' are left in the teaching of subjects, for we remember that every branch and shoot of a tree has a loose end, and that these are the active points of growth." But neither does our present teaching method satisfy the foregoing requirement nor can the trainee be expected to find, unless the time-table is lightened, enough time for free reading and thinking and sustained personal practice.

Moreover, owing to inflation of roll-strength to which we shall have the occasion to allude hereafter in more detail, increasing reliance is now unavoidably placed on formal lectures. Tutorials and seminar have receded into the background and their effectiveness is again largely neutralised by the much bigger size of the groups. On analysis of the working routine of one of the foremost training colleges during the last session when its round of activities was in full swing, it is noticed that 34 periods of lectures were provided for as against 1 period of tutorial, 2 periods of seminar, and 2 periods of criticism and demonstration lessons in a week.\*

\*Cf. the following work programme of the David Hare Training College in one of its earliest years:

A tutorial or seminar group was composed of 20 or more pupils. One wonders if it was just lip service to some fashionable doctrines or an attempt to hoodwink the University regulation. Then we hear a lot of talk now-a-days from the training college staff about improved techniques, viz., workshops, supervised library reading, etc., but as a regular feature of training they are only conspicuous by their absence.

Nowhere perhaps does the maxim 'An ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory' apply more forcibly than in the sphere of professional education. But the outstanding weakness of our training college programme is that there is no proper integration of practical work with theoretical instruction. Each moves tangentially in direction of its own.

No provision exists at present for continuous practice teaching *pari passu* with theoretical lessons, as in England, or as indeed was arranged for in the early days of training. And in many cases conditions of school practice and of supervision in scattered far-off schools leave much to be desired. Unsatisfactory as arrangement for practice teaching is, and often the same is true of laboratory work for science subjects, such practical training, however, is seldom supplemented by any other, e.g., preparation of teacher aids, etc., which fall outside the scope of prescribed activity but are nevertheless very suitable to the needs of our school and community. So the field is extremely restricted for active purposeful work and the educational process as a

"Out of 28 periods in the time-table 9 periods had been allotted to lectures and as many as 16 periods to practical work. Adequate provision had also been made for tuition including discussion of essays and writing of answers to questions bearing upon lectures. The most striking feature of the programme was that it provided 35 thoroughly supervised lessons by students in 7 specially furnished classes in 5 periods in the week. The number of weekly demonstration lessons by the staff was as many as 10. There was also a criticism seminar to complete the scheme of practical training."—David Hare Training College Golden Jubilee Souvenir Volume, p. xliii.

result quickly degenerates into mere passive book-learning.

On the top of these gaps and deficiencies, there is the obsession of the University examination—the over-hanging Damocles' sword according to the jargon used in school and college circles—which throughout haunts the minds of the students and the teachers alike. Out of 900 to 1000 marks which the B.T. examination carries, only 50 marks are assigned to sessional work. The dominance of this examination over the entire course may, therefore, be easily imagined. The harmful effect of an external examination of this type is quite well-known and was recently high-lighted by Dr. Taylor's article in a local daily. Its unfavourable reaction on the work of a training college is especially unfortunate. For nothing is more disastrous for professional preparation than routinized teaching and memoriter learning to which it inevitably leads.

If the present state of affairs is as unsatisfactory as depicted above, it was not so in earlier years. The David Hare Training College got off to a good start with a small enrolment of picked trainees and adequate qualified staff and hence in spite of other untoward circumstances, was able to maintain a satisfactory standard for years. By and large its early products proved worthy of training. They were imbued with the sense of vocation and in addition to technical competence, showed enough resilience and grit to overcome all future obstacles. So, the select few, wherever they went, acted as "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."

No single factor has contributed so much to the steady deterioration of standard as the swelling of numbers which began in the thirties and has of late become worst accentuated. In the interval new training institutions were no doubt founded. The Calcutta University opened its Teachers' Training Department in 1935 and so did the Scottish Church College at about the same time for women trainees only. In 1941, B.T. affiliation was extended to the Union Christian College and Loreto House

for Women. The first-named suffered long from cramped accommodation and the rest were planned on an extremely limited scale. In recent years there has been a spurt—several training colleges have mushroomed into existence with inferior and inadequate human and material resources. Simultaneously, the growing need has also partially been met by augmentation of seats in the older institutions. From 60 which was fixed as the limit in 1925-26, when it shifted to its new premises at Ballygunge, the David Hare Training College has increased its numerical strength to 240. The University Training Department, after its removal from the main University Building where the enrolment had never exceeded 80, to ampler but by no means suitable accommodation in a rented house in South Calcutta, has become numerically nearly as large. The intake of the other institutions too has similarly increased, though in varying measures. Of course, staff, equipment and accommodation have not been enlarged to anything like the same proportion.

Naturally, this over-crowding and congestion has compelled the adoption of mass production methods. Individual attention, so characteristic of the old days, is now out of the question. Today a trainee must adjust himself to teaching as best he can, no matter what his own handicaps or proclivities may be. Personal exchanges and relationships—not only between the teachers and the taught but among fellow-students themselves—have become almost rare. Yet the crux of teacher-education is these contacts and intercourses; they have as everybody admits a tremendous influence in developing a trainee's personality and attitude. Nobody can blame the training college staff if they find the problems presented by the overwhelming mass of students as intractable. But the mournful truth is that there is now as a general rule more reluctance and less competence among them to brave the difficulties. There has been so much dipping into the level among later recruits on account of hasty expansion that the quip 'he who can't teach, he who can't teach, teaches others how to

teach has begun to be whispered about behind their back.

It should cause great anxiety to watch the present situation but no surprise if all around among the trained graduates there is seen a pervading sense of disillusionment, of frustration, and eventually of callousness, engineering in due order of succession cynicism among the new entrants. It is this moral debasement which portends the greatest danger. Clearly enough the need for remedy is urgent and imperative. But that is neither so easy nor will be found in mere criticism. Broad lines of remedial action, e.g., proper selection of trainees, revision of curriculum, emphasis on practical work of all kinds, reform of the traditional examining method, maintenance of proper pupil-teacher ratio, etc., are indicated in our diagnosis of the malady. The exact form and measure in which the foregoing suggestions and others may be brought about is a matter for careful expert consideration. They fall outside the scope of the present discussion. The Dey Commission on Secondary Education in West Bengal (1954) recognised the seriousness and complexity of the problem and suggested immediate appointment of a Committee of Experts to examine the question in all its aspects and to make constructive proposals. But it went unheeded as most such reports and recommendations usually are.

Whatever may be done either now or in the near future to redress or improve the situation, the following fundamental considerations should be borne in mind.

First, it should be recognised that out-turn of trained graduates and their employment on the staff of our High Schools is yet far too inadequate. In 1918, the Saddler Commission had noticed with dismay that the output of trained teachers even fell short of the requisite minimum for recoupment of loss by death, retirement and resignation. Of course, the position has since considerably improved, and progress has steadily been maintained over a number of years. Enrolment in B.T. classes in West Bengal Colleges exceeded 1200 in 1958-59 as compared to 195 in 1947-48 registering six times rise within the span of a little

over a decade. Within the same period the proportion of trained graduates to total number of teachers in High Schools has gone up from 10 per cent in 1947-48 to just above 24 per cent in 1957-58. Advancement from year to year has been at no uniform rate so that any precise calculation is difficult; but it is crystal clear that at this rate of progress it will take an inordinately long time before all our High Schools can be entirely or chiefly manned by trained graduates. Certainly we cannot wait that long, and no reasonable man will dispute that it is essential to make more rapid strides.

Secondly, it should be realized that unless training is effective, it is worse than useless. The decision should, therefore, be made definitely and once for all, that quality must in no circumstances be sacrificed for quantity. Our experience has well taught us that we have nothing to gain but much to lose by hurried development. In the background of the steadily increased employment of trained graduate teachers in our High Schools, the finding of the Dey Commission as quoted below strikes ironical enough but is a good pointer.

"There is no doubt, however, that the standard of secondary education in West Bengal is lower today than it had been in the past and that the deterioration is progressing rather rapidly."—Report, p. 50.

True quality must, as we have stated, be always ensured, but it does not follow, at needless or avoidable cost. The approach to the curriculum reform suggested above may, for example, be made in two ways. Either we may aim at completeness and enhance the length of training to 2 years as many have, indeed, advocated, or instead adhere to the existing one-year period and lighten the syllabus to what is required for actual use with ampler opportunities for practical work. In view of our limited man-power and financial resources, there may be no doubt in our mind as to which of the alternatives to choose. As a general rule, reasonable cost which is well within our means should, indeed, be a crucial test of any development project we may undertake.

Our duty then is to devise if we can a scheme which will accelerate the progress of teacher education without emasculation of its standard and undue strain on our available resources. But in any scheme first things should come first, and everything ought to proceed in a well-planned and well-co-ordinated manner. This is a further consideration which has got to be kept in the forefront.

Strangely, however, what our Government is doing is just the contrary. A case in point is the adoption of multi-lateralism as a general policy for our secondary schools which in the opinion of the Spens Committee was "too subversive a change to be made in a long-established system." Without entering into the merit of the controversy which has raged round it, we shall only point out what is pertinent to the present issue. Evidently it is irrational to super-impose upon the yet unsolved problem of teacher-training for the many old-pattern high schools a fresh one—that too untackled—for higher secondary schools and thereby aggravate the existing difficulties. Again, the introduction of differential salary-scales between trained and untrained graduate teachers has encouraged the older experienced people to crowd the training colleges, often elbowing out the young aspirants. It would have been more sensible if all of at least ten years' standing in the profession were spared the ordeal and certificated straightaway after an ad hoc practical test or an interview or at most on successful completion of a short vacation course. This is neither a new idea nor a novel practice. Nor is it unsound in theory. For experience is admittedly a good training ground, particularly for those who have the knack. The above are only a few of the instances where Government by its anxiety to do too much with too little and too soon is making confusion worse confounded.

In conclusion, we offer a new concrete proposal that is expected to be a major

contribution to the solution of the problem. Having regard to the urgency of demand for trained graduates going hand in hand with insuperable difficulties for augmentation of supply either by establishment of new training colleges or enlargement of old ones, it is suggested that the Honours course in Education which in no small measure overlaps the B.T. course be modified to suit the requirement of professional education (easier to accomplish for a three-year course) and be equated with B.T. for employment purposes or at least recognised as a valid pass-port to the profession of secondary school teachers. It will mean a year's saving in the total period of educational preparation—no small gain—but need not necessarily drag down the standard if the course is planned and run on rational lines. It will not only reduce the pressure on training colleges but help to keep up a steadily increasing flow of teachers of requisite calibre for our secondary schools. It will have the advantage of economy in men, money and material as they will be supplied in part from the common college pool. Finally, it will avoid wastage which results every year from the pursuit of the B.T. course by an appreciable number who resort to it as stop-gap, having nothing better to do at the moment. But once a young man decides to join the 3-year course in Education, he could not but have made up his mind about his profession. In reality that is the right time for making the decision as is corroborated by the experience of other countries where a very high percentage of the prospective teachers actually so decide at about the time they reach the end of secondary schools. We are aware of the existence of a school of opinion which is against specialist preparation during the period of general training. But the view has gained no general acceptance, and secondly, as things are, it would be difficult to meet the present exigencies by any other reasonable method.



## MID-TEEM ELECTIONS IN KERALA

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

## II

## Some Distinctive features of the present Elections

## (a) Simultaneous voting

A distinctive feature of the February elections in Kerala was the fact that polling in all the constituencies (114 in all including a few double-member constituencies) was completed in a day (February 1) and was not staggered over a week or more as was the practice in the past. Provision was made for a continuous poll for 10 hours while on earlier occasions there had been provision for polling for eight hours with a break of half an hour.

## (b) Speedier Announcement of Results

Similarly the announcement of the results of elections was also expedited. The results of more than seventy per cent of the seats were announced on February 2, those of all but four seats were known by February 3 and by the following day (February 4), the announcement of the results was completed.

## (c) Marking System of Voting

But the most significant innovation introduced during these elections was the marking system of voting. Heretofore except in one or two bye-elections in urban areas the voter was given a numbered ballot paper which he used to put into the ballot box bearing the name and symbol of the candidate of his choice and there used to be as many boxes as there were candidates. The voter had not to mark the ballot paper. Under the marking system

there is only one box in a booth. The voter is given a ballot paper which bears the names of the contesting candidates with their symbols given against the name of each. The voter's task is to mark the name or symbol of the candidate of his choice by ink. Having marked and folded the ballot paper, the voter is required to cast it into the ballot box in the presence of the polling staff. Among the advantages claimed for the new system is that it makes for economy because under this system a smaller number of boxes is required and there is some saving also in installation and transportation costs of boxes. Another advantage—arising from the fact that the voter is required to put the ballot paper into box in the presence of polling officers—is that the chances of ballot paper being carried away by the voter are minimised and chances of misuse of ballot paper are to that extent averted.

The marking system presupposes a great degree of intelligence, if not actual literacy of the voters. Though Kerala has the highest percentage of literacy in India all the voters could by no means be taken as literate. How did they react to this new voting procedure? If the number of invalid votes is any indicator then the voters must be regarded to have acquitted themselves quite well. The number of invalid votes in the February elections was 89,364 (a little over one per cent of the total votes polled) against 47,000 (less than one per cent (0.81%) of the total votes polled) in the elections in 1957. The relative and absolute increases in the number of waste votes are far smaller than the relative and absolute increases in the number of votes polled. The percentage of voter participation was 84.3 per cent in February 1960 against 66 per cent in 1957. The corres-

ponding absolute numbers are 8.1 million and 5.8 million respectively.

## (d) Active Women

A marked characteristic of the February elections was the large initiative shown by the women. The special correspondent of the *Hindu* wrote after his tour of Kerala on the eve of the elections: "Tremendous work is being put forth by the workers of both sides (i.e., Communists and anti-Communists) and thousands are in the field working round the clock. A sizeable number of women workers are also doing active electioneering work. Continuous rallies, public meetings, slogan shouting and all other demonstrations of enthusiasm and fervour are the order of the day."<sup>18</sup> The votes of the women were a decisive factor in the elections. Nearly four million women cast their votes and in many booths male voters were outnumbered by female voters. The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party passed a resolution on February 9 expressing its deep sense of gratitude to the people of Kerala—in particular saluting the women of Kerala whose solidarity, courage and enduring efforts had made such a splendid contribution to the cause of democracy.

## (e) Heavy polling

A marked characteristic of the mid-term elections in Kerala was the unusually heavy polling. The high pitch to which the election fervour had risen had led many observers to forecast this event.<sup>19</sup> "To one who witnessed a few earlier elections in the State," a newspaperman observed on the eve of the elections, "the current one strikes as extraordinary in many ways and certainly unprecedented in its impact. The war of the slogans shouted and written upon all conceivable places like public roads, public and private

compounds, walls, culverts and the like by rival party workers, is only matched by the battle of the flags of the different parties one vying with another to fly a little higher."<sup>20</sup> Polling was more than 80 per cent in sixty-two constituencies and in 25 of them exceeded 90 per cent. The highest percentage was 98.5 registered at Ottapalam constituency where only 865 people failed to vote, while the lowest percentage was 69.5 in Tanur, Palghat district. The average poll was about 85 per cent—only a little short of the national record of 88 per cent polled in Travancore-Cochin in 1954.<sup>21</sup>

## Straight Contests

There were 312 candidates in the field for 126 seats. In seventy-eight constituencies there was a straight fight between the Communist Party and the Alliance as against only 23 straight contests in 1957. In all except one seat (Koothuparamba constituency where the Communist Party had no candidate of its own but supported the nominee of the Indian Socialist Party) the two blocks had their rival candidates. The Alliance won in 58 of the straight contests and the C.P.I. won in 20. In 42 constituencies there were three contestants: of these Alliance won 31 and the communists 8. In each of the remaining six constituencies there were four or more candidates for a seat; the Alliance secured five of them.

One hundred and two members were elected from single-member constituencies of whom 77 belonged to the Alliance and 19 to the Communist Party. In the twelve double-member constituencies, the Alliance was successful in 17 seats and the Communists in 7.

20. *Ibid*, (Report of the Special Correspondent from Neyyatinkara, dated 27th January).

21. *Times of India*, Bombay, 4th February, 1960 (Despatch of B.G. Verghese from Trivandrum); *Hindu*, 7th February, 1960 (Summary of article on the Kerala election by Mr. Easwar Sagar, the newspaper's special correspondent).

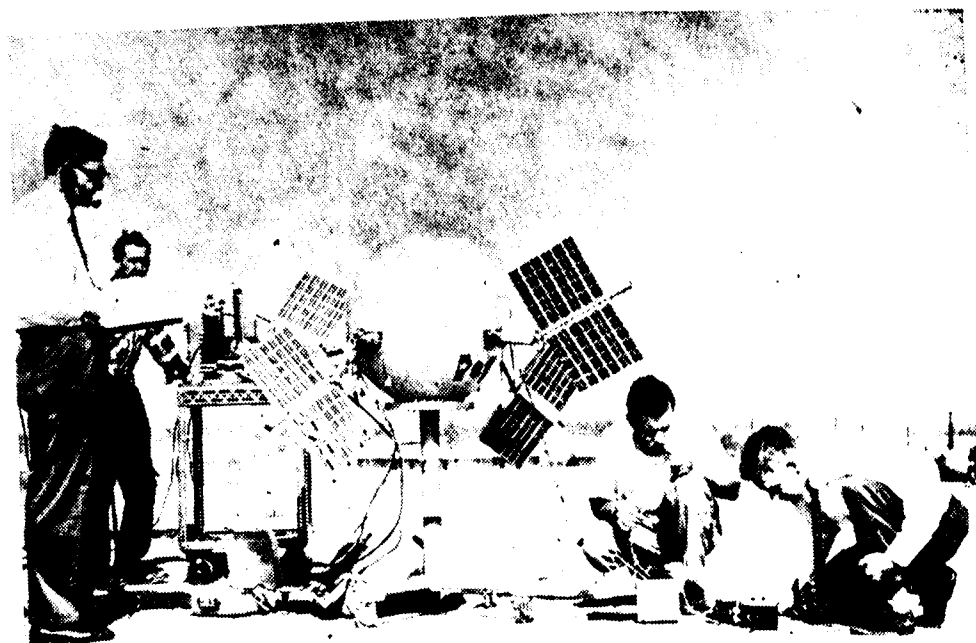
18. *Hindu*, Madras, 29 January, 1960.

19. For example, *Hindu*, *Ibid* (Report of the Special Correspondent from Ernakulam).





The antenna complex at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, is being used to command and receive pictures from Trios I, the meteorological satellite launched by the U.S.



The U. S. launched a new 94-pound artificial planet to orbit around the Sun between Earth and Venus

## MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN KERALA

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non-attached Independents were returned. The table below summarises the results:

### Comparative Table of Election Results in 1957 and 1960 in Kerala

#### Kerala Legislative Assembly Election, 1960

1957

|                                                               |  |  |  | 1957            |           |              |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
|                                                               |  |  |  | Seats contested | Seats won | Votes polled |
| Seats—126      Electorate—80,38,262                           |  |  |  | 101             | 60        | 20,59,547    |
| Vote polled—81,93,121 (of which 89,369 were declared invalid) |  |  |  | (80%)           | (48%)     | (35%)        |
| Name of the Political Party                                   |  |  |  | CPI             |           |              |
| Indian National Congress                                      |  |  |  | 124             | 43        | 22,09,251    |
| Communist Party of India                                      |  |  |  | (99.2%)         | (34.4%)   | (37.8%)      |
| Praja-Socialist Party                                         |  |  |  | 64              | 9         | 6,28,281     |
| Bharatiya Jan Sangh                                           |  |  |  | (51%)           | (7.2%)    | (10%)        |
| Muslim League                                                 |  |  |  | 17              | 8         | 2,70,470     |
| Revolutionary Socialist Party                                 |  |  |  | (13.4%)         | (6.4%)    | (4.6%)       |
| Kerala Socialist Party                                        |  |  |  | 27              | Nil       | 1,88,443     |
| Socialist Party of India                                      |  |  |  | (21.6%)         | (0%)      | (3.2%)       |
| Communist-sponsored Independents                              |  |  |  | 55              | 5         | 4,81,605     |
| Independents                                                  |  |  |  | (44%)           | (4%)      | (8.3%)       |

1960

|              |  |  |  | 1960            |           |              |
|--------------|--|--|--|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
|              |  |  |  | Seats contested | Seats won | Votes polled |
| CPI          |  |  |  | 102             | 26        | 29,75,259    |
| (81%)        |  |  |  | (20.7%)         | (36.7%)   |              |
| Congress     |  |  |  | 80              | 63        | 27,91,294    |
| (63.5%)      |  |  |  | (50%)           | (34.5%)   |              |
| PSP          |  |  |  | 33              | 20        | 11,46,029    |
| (26.15%)     |  |  |  | (15.9%)         | (14.2%)   |              |
| ML           |  |  |  | 12              | 11        | 3,99,925     |
| (9.52%)      |  |  |  | (8.7%)          | (4.9%)    |              |
| RSP          |  |  |  | 18              | 1         | 1,06,137     |
| (14.29%)     |  |  |  | (0.80%)         | (1.18%)   |              |
| Independents |  |  |  | 42              | 5         | 6,52,602     |
| (33.33)      |  |  |  | (4.72%)         | (7.97%)   |              |

It becomes abundantly clear from the above table that the forceful political elements in Kerala are grouped around four parties—three national (Congress, Communist and the Praja-Socialist) parties and one local (Muslim League) party. The other two local parties (RSP and KSP) which had commanded some influence earlier have been completely eclipsed both in respect of popular support and in the number of seats won. All the KSP candidates and 14 of the 18 RSP candidates and all three Jan Sangh candidates lost their security deposits—having failed to obtain even one-sixth of the total valid votes polled.

How does the performance of the four major political parties in Kerala in the present elections compare with their achievement in the general elections in 1957 with which they are closely comparable in many respects? The following table presents a bird's eye view.

The Communists contested more seats, got more votes (both in relative and absolute numbers) but fewer seats. The Congress contested a far smaller number of seats than in 1957 but got more votes (in absolute numbers, the popularity relative to other political parties showing a decline from 1957) and made a net gain of 46.51 per cent more seats. The Muslim League also put up fewer candidates, got 129,000 more votes (the relative popularity showing no marked change) and gained three seats over 1957. The RSP contested fewer seats, got fewer votes but obtained one seat (a gain over 1957). There were fewer Independent candidates in the field; they

## MID-TERM ELECTIONS IN KERALA

## Loss of Security Deposit

The electoral law requires every candidate to make a security deposit which is forfeited if a candidate fails to obtain one-sixth of the valid votes polled. In the February elections in Kerala fifty one candidates lost their deposits. Of these 14 belonged to the K.S.P., 14 to the R.S.P., 3 to the Jan Sangh, three to the Socialist Party of India of Mr. Lohia and 17 Independents. None of the candidates belonging to the Congress, Communist, P.S.P. or the Muslim League lost his security deposit.

## Re-Elections

One hundred and six Members of the dissolved Assembly contested the elections of whom 71 (35 Congress, 9 P.S.P., 6 M.L., 18 Communists, 2 Communist-supported Independent and one unattached Independent) were successful. Thirty-five persons were unseated of whom 31 were Communists, two Communist-supported Independents and two Congressmen. Among the defeated were 7 of the 11 members of the dissolved Communist Ministry. Among the successful candidates in the February elections seven were women (one more than in the last Assembly) and 12 belonging to the Scheduled Castes (three less than in the dissolved Assembly).

The results are summarised in the table below:

| Party        | No. of seats contested by sitting members | No. of sitting members elected |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Communist    | 49                                        | 18                             |
| Congress     | 37                                        | 35                             |
| P.S.P.       | 9                                         | 9                              |
| M.L.         | 6                                         | 6                              |
| Independents | 5                                         | 3                              |

## Fewer Marginal Victories

The polarisation of the political elements leading to the reduction in the number of contestants resulted in a larger number of

decisive results than before. In the 1957 elections only 61 of the successful candidates got more than 50 per cent of the total votes polled in respective constituencies; the corresponding number this year is 107. The following table is self-explanatory.

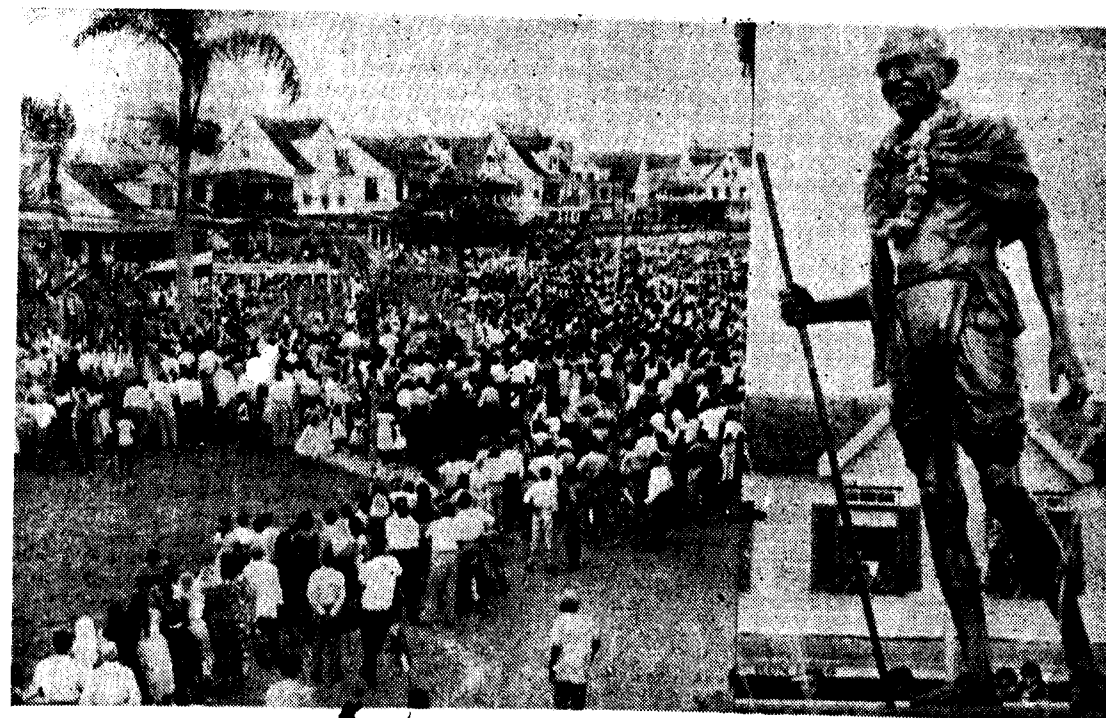
| Majority      | Triple Alliance | Communists | Others |
|---------------|-----------------|------------|--------|
| Less than 100 | 1               | 1          | 1      |
| 101—1,000     | 9               | 6          | 1      |
| 1,001—5,000   | 24              | 12         | 0      |
| 5,001—10,000  | 25              | 7          | 0      |
| Over 10,000   | 35              | 3          | 1      |

## Political Parties

The mid-term elections in Kerala were contested by eight political parties. All the four national parties recognised as such by the Election Commission, viz., the Indian National Congress, the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Praja-Socialist Party (PSP) and the Bharatiya Jan Sangh (BJS) took part in them. The Congress put 80 candidates of whom 63 were returned; the Communists put up 102 candidates and supported 23 independent candidates of whom 26 party candidates and 3 Independents were returned; the PSP put up 33 candidates of whom 20 were returned, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh put up three candidates none of whom could come out successful. Of the other four parties three, viz., the Muslim League (ML), the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and the Kerala Socialist Party (KSP), are purely local parties having no activity outside Kerala (the RSP has a member in Parliament elected from West Bengal, but his is a special case). The fourth one—the Indian Socialist Party led by the erstwhile PSP leader, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, is an all-India party with a very small following and is not recognised as an all-India party. The RSP obtained one seat only, the other three parties failing to secure any seat. Apart from 23 Communist-supported Independents, there were 19 other Independent candidates in the field. Three Communist-supported Independents and two



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister Chou En-lai (China), Foreign Minister Marshal Chen Yi (China), Union Minister Sardar Swaran Singh, in New Delhi



A life-size statue of Mahatma Gandhi was unveiled in the Centre of Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam, Dutch Guiana, by the Governor of the Colony on Gandhiji's 90th birth anniversary recently

got more votes and retained their strength at Ernakulam for a preliminary review of in the legislature except for the fact that the results of the election. in the last assembly all the five Independents were supported by, and supporters had emerged from the mid-term poll of, the Communist Party, but now there are only three such Independent candidates—the other two being supporters of the anti-Communist alliance.

The relative position of the different political parties in the different districts of Kerala is given in the following table:

| Districts  | No. of seats | Communists |      | Congress |      | PSP  |      | Muslim League |      |
|------------|--------------|------------|------|----------|------|------|------|---------------|------|
|            |              | 1957       | 1960 | 1957     | 1960 | 1957 | 1960 | 1957          | 1960 |
| Trivandrum | 12           | 8          | 2    | 1        | 2    | 3    | 7    | —             | —    |
| Quillon    | 14           | 10         | 4    | 4        | 6    | —    | 3    | —             | —    |
| Alleppey   | 14           | 9          | 6    | 5        | 8    | —    | —    | —             | —    |
| Kottayam   | 13           | 3          | 2    | 9        | 10   | 1    | 1    | —             | —    |
| Ernakulam  | 14           | 5          | 1    | 9        | 13   | —    | —    | —             | —    |
| Tirchur    | 12           | 8          | 1    | 3        | 9    | 1    | 2    | —             | 3    |
| Palghat    | 15           | 11         | 10   | 3        | 2    | —    | —    | 1             | 7    |
| Calicut    | 20           | 3          | 1    | 8        | 7    | 2    | 4    | —             | 8    |
| Cannanore  | 12           | 8          | 2    | 1        | 6    | 2    | 3    | —             | —    |

#### Communist Assessment

The Kerala State Council of the Communist Party of India met on February 5,

The Communist Party lost seats in every district, the PSP did not lose in any district but generally gained in all districts including three seats in Quillon where it had no candidates in 1957, the Congress gained in seven districts but lost two seats in Palghat and one seat in Calicut.

#### Congress

The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (K.P.C.C.) adopted a resolution on February 7 thanking the people of Kerala, the other parties in the alliance and the other organisations for their co-operation in achieving a great victory in the election. Mr. R. Sankar, President of the Committee, told pressmen that the Committee generally favoured some form of "Joint Government of the Alliance and not an exclusively Congress Government."<sup>25</sup> The Central

22. Times of India, 6th February, 1960.  
 23. Ibid.  
 24. Ibid, 10th February, 1960.  
 25. Ibid, 8th February, 1960.

Congress Parliamentary Board meeting in New Delhi on February 9, also generally agreed that the unity among the three parties forming the Alliance should not only be maintained but further strengthened by forming "some sort of a joint ministry in the State."<sup>26</sup> The Board, however, expressed the view that a Congressman should preferably head the ministry (the State Unit of the Congress Party had earlier indicated its willingness to accept Mr. Thanu Pillai of the P.S.P. as the Chief Minister) and that the coalition in the State Ministry be preferably limited to the Congress and the P.S.P. The third party of the Alliance—the Muslim League might be offered the Speakership of the Assembly.<sup>27</sup>

The Muslim League, however, wanted to have at least one member in the Ministry; and this demand was strongly supported by the P.S.P. The Congress High Command was, however, vehemently opposed to this suggestion and firmly held its ground. Meanwhile on February 14 Mr. R. Sankar was elected leader of the Congress Legislature Party in Kerala after much internal wrangling.<sup>28</sup>

#### P.S.P.

The Executive Committee of the Praja Socialist Party meeting in New Delhi adopted a resolution on February 9, hailing the victory of the anti-Communist Alliance and appointed a five-man Committee headed by the National Chairman to consider and deal with post-election developments in Kerala including the

party's participation in a coalition Ministry.<sup>29</sup>

#### Ministry Formation

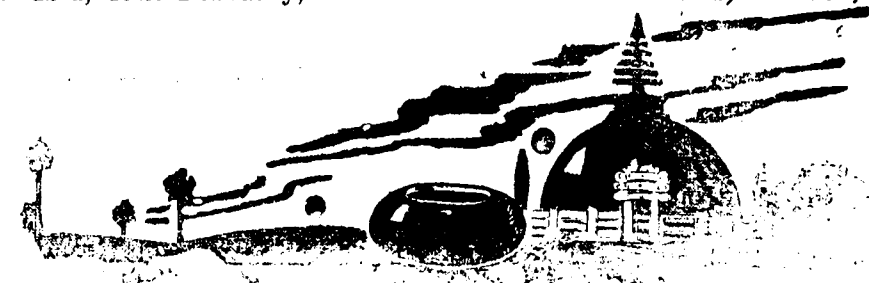
The Congress-PSP talks for a coalition Ministry in Kerala almost foundered on the fundamental divergence in the outlook of the two parties over the inclusion of a Muslim League member in the proposed cabinet. The Congress was strongly against forming a Government with the Muslim League. As a final measure of concession to the PSP the Congress President wrote a letter to the Chairman of the PSP stating that in case the PSP refused to join a coalition with the Congress, the latter would be prepared to give full support to the PSP if it decided to form a ministry by itself or in coalition with the League.<sup>30</sup> Explaining the Congress opposition to the inclusion of the Muslim League, Mr. Nehru said before his monthly press conference in New Delhi on February 24, that the Muslim League's election manifesto had contained references which were highly objectionable.<sup>31</sup> Eventually, however, a Congress-PSP coalition ministry was sworn in on February 22 headed by Mr. Thanu Pillai of the PSP, the ministry had eleven members—eight Congress and three (including the Chief Minister) PSP. A member of the Muslim League was duly elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.\*

29. Ibid, 10th February, 1960.

30. Ibid, 19th February, 1960.

31. Hindu, Madras, 25th Feb., 1960.

\* Based on an article appearing in the World Today (Royal Institute of International Affairs) London, May, 1960.



# LEVEL OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN OLD CHINA

By DR. P. C. BANSIL, M.A., Ph.D.

China staggered the world by producing a food-grain crop of 350 million tons last year—an increase of the order of 90 per cent all condensed in one year. Appendix A, B, and C supply the necessary data about area, production and yield of important crops in China for the past few years. Nowhere in the history of world agriculture has such a tremendous increase been recorded. The maximum annual increase so far known was about 12 per cent in Taiwan in the years after their recovery in 1945. The only explanation for that is that there was a similar fall in the year 1939-45. Table 1 shows the level of agricultural production in Taiwan for the years 1910 to 1956.

Table 1: Annual growth rate of agricultural output in Taiwan, 1910 to 1956.

| Period  | Average annual growth rate (percentage) |
|---------|-----------------------------------------|
| 1910-20 | 1.40                                    |
| 1920-39 | 4.50                                    |
| 1939-45 | 12.33                                   |
| 1945-52 | 12.90                                   |
| 1952-56 | 4.96                                    |
| 1910-39 | Average 3.45                            |
| 1945-56 | Average 9.90                            |
| 1910-56 | Average 2.70                            |

Source: An Analytical review of Agricultural development in Taiwan, by S. C. Hsieh and T. H. Lee, p. 4.

On the analogy of Taiwan, the immediate question that comes to one's mind is that maybe, China has also recovered from the levels already touched by her during the pre-war years. This is a fitting subject that calls for a thorough examination. We accordingly propose to discuss in this paper the level of agricultural production in pre-war China in our search to find an answer to the high levels reached by her during the year 1958.

For a proper appreciation of Chinese agriculture, it is necessary to first under-

stand the peculiarities and distinctive features which she has developed over the long centuries. They are to be seen in the structure of her:

1. Land utilisation.
2. System of irrigation.
3. Preservation and use of organic manures, and
4. practice of double or even multiple cropping.

## Land Utilisation

Pre-war records of land utilisation for China's total geographical area of about 2,400 million acres (roughly 3 times that of India), are not available. Buck conducted a survey of the major wheat and rice regions in that country covering an area of about 1,359 thousand square miles (nearly 870 million acres) during the period 1929-33. Cultivated land in these regions was estimated at 27 per cent. Forests occupied only 8.7 per cent and pastures another 4.6 per cent. Table 2 gives an idea of the major uses of land in eight countries in the pre-war period.

(See Table 2)

Over-all statistics of Buck exclude the desert and high mountains of the West and show 362,000 square miles or 232 million acres under cultivation in China without Manchuria and Taiwan.

Cressey<sup>1</sup> while examining the position of land utilisation during this period says that allowing for cultivated land in areas which Buck omitted, the total crop areas in China as a whole may reach 425,000 square miles (272 million acres) nearly 12 per cent of the country.

China witnessed many an upheaval during 10-12 years preceding her occupation of the Communist regime in 1949. And not only agriculture, but the total economy of the country suffered. Appendix 'D' gives an idea of the land utilisation pattern in China during the period 1949-50 and 1955-56.

1. G. B. Cressey: Land of the 500 million. A Geography of China.

# LEVEL OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN OLD CHINA

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Table 2: Major uses of land in eight countries—pre-war

| Countries                        | (Per cent of total) |         |        |            |          |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------|--------|------------|----------|
|                                  | Cultivated land     | Pasture | Forest | Other land | All land |
| 1                                | 2                   | 3       | 4      | 5          | 6        |
| China (eight agricultural areas) | 27.0                | 4.6     | 8.7    | 59.7       | 100      |
| Japan proper                     | 17.2                | ....    | 56.6   | 26.2       | 100      |
| India (British Province)         | 46.3                | ....    | 13.1   | 40.6       | 100      |
| Russia (1928)                    | 12.0                | 2.9     | 27.3   | 57.8       | 100      |
| Italy                            | 44.6                | 20.1    | 16.0   | 19.3       | 100      |
| Germany                          | 43.8                | 17.4    | 27.2   | 11.6       | 100      |
| Great Britain                    | 22.5                | 56.3    | ....   | 20.7       | 100      |
| United States                    | 22.6                | 35.1    | 31.9   | 10.4       | 100      |

Source: Land Utilisation in China by J. L. Buck, p. 172

Cultivated land in the country was only 10 per cent in 1949-50 and 11 per cent in 1955-56. This brings out the fact that no more additional areas were brought under cultivation during the ten years period in spite of the everyday increasing pressure on land because of population increase. Some of the land might have, on the other hand, gone out of cultivation due to the unsettled conditions in the country. The other and more important point is that the level of land utilisation in China, during all the period before 1948, was very low. This would suggest that the larger part of the cultivated area—especially in the river valleys—consisted of rich and fertile soils. The Chinese peasant, in spite of the heavy pressure on land was not required to bring under the plough vast extents of marginal or even submarginal land.

Mainland China sources now estimate an additional 266 million acres as reclaimable land.<sup>2</sup> It may be difficult to say exactly how much more land can be put to arable farming. But what seems plausible is that China in spite of the heavy pressure on land, still had vast untapped resources. During the First Five-Year Plan alone she succeeded to add about 13 million acres to her cultivated area against the original target of 6.3 million acres.

2. Chao-Kuo-Chun: Agricultural Development and Problems in China, India Quarterly, Jany-April, 1959, p. 18.

## Irrigation System

China has 1,600 rivers with a basin area of 6,669 thousand square kilometers (1,667 million acres) representing 69.5 per cent of the total area of the country. With such a huge water potential, China naturally possesses a tremendous initial advantage in the development of her agriculture. The table below gives an idea of the water power potential:

Table 3: Water power potential

| Rivers of fair size in               | No. Unit                |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| China                                | 1593                    |
| Basin area                           | Thousand Sq. Kilometers |
|                                      | 666.9                   |
| Per cent of total area of China      |                         |
|                                      | 69.5                    |
| Total length of rivers               | Kilo-meter              |
|                                      | 226600                  |
| Annual flow                          | Million Sq. metres      |
|                                      | 2617000                 |
| Theoretical potential of water power | Million kw.             |
|                                      | 544                     |
| Of this: usable water power          | 300                     |

Note: Calculated according to average flow.



Irrigated area in China has been vast yet like other agricultural statistics, no reliable data on the subject are available for the pre-war period. The survey conducted by Buck, revealed that irrigation of one or the other type existed in 95 per cent of all the localities studied. According to the sample farm studies in the areas covered by Buck's survey, irrigated land has 46 per cent of the cultivated land (232 million acres). This would work out to roughly 107 million acres. Estimates of irrigated area made on the basis of Agricultural Survey Schedules give nearly the same proportion of the area irrigated, namely, 47 per cent for all the hsien included in the study.<sup>3</sup>

The other point which deserves consideration in this respect is the fact that nearly 37 per cent of the crop area was devoted to rice and, of the latter area, almost all was irrigated.<sup>4</sup> This would be helpful to understand the phenomena of high agricultural yields particularly those of rice in China.

As for the type of irrigation, chief sources of irrigation water according to Buck were streams, ponds, wells, and ditches, named in order of importance. In the Wheat Region, nearly three quarters of the localities used irrigation water from well, whereas in the Rice Region two-thirds obtained it from streams and other half from ponds. Well-irrigation was especially important in the Winter Wheat-kaoling area. Pond irrigation was most important in the Yangtze rice-wheat and the rice-tea areas. Pumping was the method of applying water to the fields for over three-fourths of the localities.<sup>5</sup>

The other peculiarity about Chinese irrigation has been a more or less constant supply of water although as much as 20 per cent of the localities surveyed by Buck reported failures once in three years.

Assuming that the areas left out of the survey conducted by Buck had the same

proportion of irrigated area, Mainland China had proper irrigation for about 128 million acres. If this is true, the maximum damage that China suffered during the postwar decade was in many of its irrigation works going out of use. According to the available data, irrigated area in China in the year 1949 was only 50 million acres, out of a cultivated area of about 242 million acres.<sup>6</sup> Although Chinese agriculture recovered steadily after 1948, there was a considerable backlog of repair and maintenance to be done on river control and irrigation installations,<sup>7</sup> even by 1952.

#### Preservation and use of Organic Manures

Wastage of any organic matter in China is considered nothing short of race suicide. Animal and human excreta as well as urine is preserved there with a religious fervour. If, for example, a Chinese farmer gets a crop of 1,000 lbs., from his field, he expects that the share which he and his family eat, shall as far as possible, be returned to the soil in the form of human waste.<sup>8</sup> Whatever quantity of his grain he sells to the nearest market, he endeavours to recover by purchasing the town night soil. The result is that the farmer or the scavenger, who removes night soil from the cities, instead of being paid something as practised in India or elsewhere, pays each householder for the privilege. King<sup>9</sup> cites the example of a Chinese contractor paying \$31,000 gold in 1908 for collecting 78,000 tons of human waste in the city of Shanghai.

A Chinese farmer in order to supplant his manurial requirements has been practising the formation of nitrates in soils. The floors of dwellings are charged with potassium nitrate. The overcharged soils are removed by contractors who pay for it.

6. Report of the Indian Delegation to China, p. 92.

7. Roshow: *The Prospects for Communist China*.

8. Cf. G. T. Wrench: *The Restoration of Peasantries*.

9. *Farmers of Forty Centuries*, p. 171.

3. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

5. Cf., Hsian-Tung Foy: *Peasant Life in China*, pp. 155-159.

Nitre-farming as it is called thus helps to increase uncropped virgin soils.<sup>10</sup>

Fuel and manurial economy is found at its best in the practice, both in China and Japan, of rice hulls and rice straw, being used as fuel and mulch. Coal dust mixed with clay is patted into small cakes to serve as fuel. The burnt soil is then used as manure. It has been found that if soil is heated to dryness at a temperature of 110 degree centigrade the solvent-power of water finds it more easy to recover from it plant food.

In Southern China, there is again an equally more laborious practice of periodic exchange of soil between mulberry orchards and rice<sup>11</sup> fields. They have found by experience that such an exchange goes a long way in improving both mulberry and rice. There is also the practice

of the use of canal mud, some times at the rate of even 70 tons or more<sup>12</sup> per acre.

The livestock population of China in March 1937 was hardly 140 million heads excluding poultry. Appendix E supplies the necessary data. Use of manures in the Agricultural economy there was, however, superb in the sense that the cultivator there could maintain higher production level without the use of fertilisers which her neighbour. Japan had been using extensively.

Table below gives an idea of the quantity of manures (in terms of 'N') applied per crop acre of all crops in the areas surveyed by Buck. China was putting in her soil about 100 lbs. of nitrogen per acre on an average.

Table 4: Relation of size of farm to pounds of 'N' applied per crop acre of all crops<sup>13</sup>

| Regions and acres     | Number of locality | Small | Medium | Medium large | Large | Very large |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------|--------|--------------|-------|------------|
| CHINA                 |                    |       |        |              |       |            |
| Wheat Region          | 152                | 93    | 95     | 100          | 97    | 104        |
| Rice Region           | 68                 | 85    | 85     | 86           | 85    | 88         |
| Wheat Region Areas    |                    |       |        |              |       |            |
| Spring Wheat          | 13                 | 97    | 109    | 105          | 80    | 137        |
| Winter Wheat-millet   | 20                 | 74    | 77     | 78           | 82    | 81         |
| Winter Wheat-kaoliang | 35                 | 78    | 80     | 83           | 88    | 71         |
| Rice Region Areas     |                    |       |        |              |       |            |
| Yangtze Rice-wheat    | 31                 | 140   | 149    | 175          | 164   | 220        |
| Rice-tea              | 22                 | 56    | 58     | 56           | 57    | 48         |
| Szechwan Rice         | 7                  | 116   | 123    | 124          | 127   | 114        |
| Double Cropping Rice  | 12                 | 91    | 84     | 74           | 76    | 63         |
| South-western Rice    | 12                 | 104   | 82     | 86           | 72    | 70         |

10. The application of soil as a fertiliser to the fields of China must have played an important part in the permanency of agriculture in the Far East, for all such additions have been positive accretions to the effective soils, increasing its depth and carrying to it all plant food elements.

11. King, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

12. *Ibid*, p. 22. Also Wrench, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

13. Original figures given by Buck were in terms of farmyard manure. They have been converted into 'N' at 1 per cent. Farmyard manure prepared in India by the Byer-pit system contains about 0.9 per cent of nitrogen. Chinese methods of preservation of manure are superior to those in India. Hence, our calculation at 1 per cent.

### Double Cropping

Multiple crop index in China is high. Wilcox<sup>14</sup> refers to as many as four rice crops being grown from the same field in China, although the crop does not take less than 115 days in all. This is done by sprouting the seed away from the field and thus saving 25 days for each crop.

All this is possible because of specific climatic conditions and an efficient irrigation system as already discussed. Besides this, cultivation techniques in China are complicated and there is a fine tradition of intensive cultivation.

China is located in the North Temperate Zone with mild climate. Since the country lies within smaller degrees of latitudes (53 and 18 degrees North), large part of the year is suitable for the growth of plants. Winter temperature is quite different between the northern and southern parts of China but summer temperature is more or less uniform. The frost-free period lasts for 125 days in the northern-most part and over 350 days in the southern-most part. Precipitation is ample but rainfall is scarce in the North-west region and frequent in the South-east region. In the central and southern parts, it is, therefore, possible to grow two or three crops a year.

In recent years, the cultivation of double rice crop has spread not only to the Yangtze but also to the Huai River. This practice has now been popularised in the Tai Lake, Chav Lake, and Chengtu plains and the yield is higher than single cropping. It has also been proved by the Tientain Agriculture, Forestry and Water Conservancy Experimental Station that if cultivation technique is improved, transplanting of seedlings can take place 20 to 30 days ahead of the usual time in the north.<sup>15</sup> This would help extending double cropping of rice even to the North.

The physical ability of China to have multiple crops has placed the country in

14. Acres and People, p. 207.

15. TI Li Chin Shih, Changes in the Agricultural Geography of China, Geographical Knowledge, January, 1958.

a very favourable condition which other countries in the world cannot enjoy.

It has not been possible to collect data on double cropping for the pre-war period. The table below, however, shows net and gross sown area during the years 1952 to 1955, in China as well as India.

Table 5 : Comparison of net sown areas, and total sown area in China and India—1952 to 1955

(In thousand acres)

| Sl. No. | Year | China—1       |                 |
|---------|------|---------------|-----------------|
|         |      | Net-sown area | Gross-sown area |
| 1.      | 1952 | 266612.9      | 348972.4        |
| 2.      | 1953 | 268119.7      | 355839.4        |
| 3.      | 1954 | 270160.5      | 365450.0        |
| 4.      | 1955 | 272141.5      | 373247.1        |
| India—2 |      |               |                 |
| 1.      | 1952 | 304900        | 340000          |
| 2.      | 1953 | 313253        | 351950          |
| 3.      | 1954 | 317757        | 355854          |
| 4.      | 1955 | 318200        | 362600          |

Source : 1. Report of the Indian Delegation to China, p. 92.

2. Land Utilisation Statistics, Directorate of Economics and Statistics.

Double cropping is primarily dependent upon the supply of water. Irrigated area in China in 1955 was only 65 million acres as against 125 million acres of pre-war level. It is quite possible that double-cropped area in the pre-war period may be somewhere near 200 million acres against 100 million acres in 1953. This is also supported by Buck when he says that nearly two-thirds of the cultivated land in China grew two or more crops.<sup>16</sup> This would mean 180 million acres when the net sown area was 272 million acres.

### Some Disadvantages

Some of the disadvantages, as noted below, from which Chinese agriculture suffered are, however, also significant.

16. Cf., Buck, op. cit., p. 44.

1. Animal-power and man-power was the main motive-power for agriculture and the mechanical power was very small. With the increase of multiple crop area, the introduction of intensive cultivation and the development of side occupations, shortage of animal-power and man-power was felt in many areas, particularly during the busy seasons.

2. The economic foundation of agriculture was weak. Labour productivity of agriculture was low. Accumulation fund for enlarging reproduction was slow and the ability to buy machinery and means of production limited. Labour-power still constituted the main part of agricultural investments.

3. Cultural level of China's peasants was low and their scientific and technical knowledge was lacking. They were not experienced in applying machinery, new types of farm tools, chemical fertilisers and insecticides. Further they were incapable of repairing the machines. The removal of all or any of these hindrances which may not be a very difficult problem could help increase agricultural productivity which was already at a very high level.

### Pre-war Agricultural Productivity

With as much as 46 per cent of her area equipped with irrigation facilities and some more having an assured supply of water and an efficient use of organic manures, there is no wonder if China could reap very rich harvests.

Besides much of initiative shown by the Chinese cultivators, nature has also placed him in a very advantageous position. There are large areas which, under the painstaking care of the Chinese farmers, have a high natural or acquired fertility, or both. The other significant fact is that the vast majority of the people are concentrated in the valleys and flood plains of great rivers.

Again, in about 94 per cent of her cultivated area, nature had provided three broad types of soils—all of them rich in nitrogen and humus (organic matter) and

containing iron, aluminium or calcium. The broad three types of soils in India, on the other hand are deficient in nitrogen and humus.

Data with regard to agricultural production in pre-war China is most unreliable. One is the official source. Table below gives the area, production and yield of various crops during 1931-37 according to Chinese official sources.

Table 6 : Area production and yield of principal crops in China during 1931-37\*

| Crops               | Area (000 acres) | Production (000 tons) | Yield (lbs. per acre) |
|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1.                  | 2                | 3                     | 4                     |
| Paddy               | 48796            | 49210                 | 2259                  |
| Wheat               | 50416            | 21652                 | 962                   |
| Corn                | 16132            | 8858                  | 1230                  |
| Kaoliang            | 12659            | 6889                  | 1259                  |
| Millet              | 13845            | 6496                  | 1051                  |
| Roots and Tubers    | 6374             | 20078                 | 7056                  |
|                     | 148222           | 113183                |                       |
| Soyabeans           | ..               | ..                    | 1038                  |
| Vegetables & fruits | ..               | 22242                 | ..                    |
| Oilseeds and fats   | ..               | 7480                  | ..                    |
| Meat                | ..               | 5118                  | ..                    |
| Sugar               | ..               | 3641                  | ..                    |
| Fish                | ..               | 1082                  | ..                    |
| Cotton              | ..               | 787                   | ..                    |
| Eggs                | ..               | 629                   | ..                    |

Source : T. N. Shen : Agricultural Resources of China.

\* Area has been worked out from columns 3 and 4 which were available.

As pointed out by Buck, his data has been grossly under-estimated. Land owners would often evade taxes by mis-representing their area. Actual land surveys conducted by him revealed that the reported cultivated area in several regions differed from the actual by as much as one-third. The position with regard to yield and production may be still worse.

Buck himself has formulated some estimates of the yield per acre in respect of several crops. Besides this he gives an interesting picture of most frequent yields per acre of crops occurring on 20 per cent or more farms for each locality surveyed. The table below summarises the position as given by him.

Table 7: Yield of main food crops in China pre-war

| Crops          | (In the per acre)             |                |
|----------------|-------------------------------|----------------|
|                | Most frequent yield 1929-1933 | Average yields |
| Rice           | 2952-2885                     | 4020           |
| Wheat          | 949-1069                      | 960            |
| Corn           | 1164                          | 1960           |
| Kaoling        | 1127                          | —              |
| Millet         | 1038                          | 1140@          |
| Irish potatoes | 5144                          | 5220           |
| Soyabeans      | 2234                          | ..             |
| Cotton lint    | —                             | 370            |

@ Barley only

Source: Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-26.

Still higher yields are reported by the comprehensive survey of Fei and Chang in four of the Chinese villages. Table below shows the results obtained by them.

Table 8: Yield of rice in some villages in China.

| Village    | (In lbs.)                   |                                                        |
|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
|            | Average rice yield per acre | Rice-yield per household from the farm under operation |
| Lutsun     | 8000                        | 10640                                                  |
| Yitsium    | 4800                        | 5467                                                   |
| Yuts'un    | 6933                        | 5333                                                   |
| Kiangta'un | 5333                        | 6880                                                   |

Source: *Earth Bound China* by Hsiao-Tung Fei and Chin-I Chang, p. 298.

Buck has not tried to estimate the total production of foodgrain in China. Nor has he given the average yield for all the foodgrains. There is, however, another estimate made by Ou Pao-San. He placed the total production of foodgrains in China for the year 1933 at 243 million tons.<sup>18</sup> Table below gives the breakdown

into various commodities, as shown by Wu.<sup>19</sup>

Table 9: Production of foodgrains in China—1933  
(In thousand metric-ton)

| Commodities | Production |
|-------------|------------|
| Rice        | 93713      |
| Wheat       | 26542      |
| Corn        | 16600      |
| Kaoling     | 12415      |
| Millet      | 11497      |
| Soyabeans   | 10732      |
| Tubers      | 49847      |
| Others      | 12280      |

Source: Ou Pao-San: *China's National Income 1933*, Nanking, 1947.

Soyabeans in these days are excluded from foodgrains. The balance left would, therefore, be of the order of 233 million tons, if it is to be compared with the present-day figures.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the yield of cotton has been estimated at 242 kilograms of lint per hectares.<sup>21</sup>

It may be very difficult to say with certainty anything about the actual production of various agricultural crops in China during the pre-war period. But the intensive type of cultivation that was being practised there leaves little room for doubt that official figures must have been grossly underestimated. No wonder if the actual production level, was somewhere near Pao-San's estimates or even higher.

17, 18. *China's National Income*. Quoted by Wu Yuon-Li: *An Economic Survey of Communist China*, p. 164. The total of the figures given in the table comes to 233 million tons. This may be due to some printing error.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

20. There is also one more point to be noted about tubers. Irish potatoes are included in current statistics as grains, but were excluded in the pre-Communist data. Again, Chinese Statisticians now convert potatoes into foodgrains at the rate of four to one, that is, four tons of potatoes are counted as one ton of foodgrains. No such conversion was employed during the Nationalist period.—(Chao, Kun-Chun, *op. cit.*, p. 5).

21. Wu, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

### Conclusion

If the scattered information as given in the last few pages has any meaning, it comes out clearly that China is not different from any other part of the world with regard to agriculture. The very cultivators who produced 4,800 lbs. of paddy or 1,280 lbs., of course, grains in the year 1958, had been getting yields quite near to these figures 20 years earlier. The case of tea would be all the more interesting in this connection. According to *New China News Agency* (March 16, 1959), China's highest tea crop of 225,000 tons was produced in 1932. Output dropped to 41,000 in 1949. It rose to 111,500 tons in 1957 and had not reached the pre-war level 141,000 tons.

The level achieved by China, even

otherwise, is nothing extraordinary when compared with other countries which have efficient agricultural practices. Appendix F would be of interest in this connection.

We must add that the object of the paper is not to minimise the achievements of communist China. If they had succeeded in touching their pre-war levels of agricultural production, they would have really done a wonderful job to harness and marshall their latent resources in such a short time of one year. But the latest reports from China indicate that the authorities there have revised their 1958 production targets. The production of foodgrains is said to be only 250 million tons as against 375 million tons originally announced. If so, China has yet to travel a long distance to catch up with her pre-war level of production.

### APPENDIX 'A'

Sown area of major agricultural crops in China

(Thousand acres)

| Crops                 | 1949   | 1952   | 1953   | 1954   | 1955   | 1956   | 1957 (Target) | 1957 (Actual) | 1958   |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| 1                     | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5      | 6      | 7      | 8             | 9             | 10     |
| Food crops            | 251053 | 277382 | 282260 | 287361 | 292440 | 377204 | 284090        | 295970        | 303050 |
| (a) Paddy             | 63499  | 70104  | 69953  | 70943  | 72057  | 82549  | 73259         | 79060         | 84000  |
| (b) Wheat             | 53143  | 61207  | 63321  | 66803  | 66045  | 67494  | 65920         | 67530         | 65880  |
| (c) Potatoes          | 17319  | 21459  | 22270  | 24159  | 24833  | 27191  | 24287         | 25860         | 41170  |
| (d) Other grains      | 117090 | 124612 | 126716 | 125651 | 129505 | 129970 | 120624        | 123520        | 112000 |
| Soyabeans             | 20548  | 28847  | 30534  | 31255  | 28262  | 29795  | 31328         | 31290         | 23880  |
| Industrial crops      | 14172  | 24216  | 22558  | 24322  | 27333  | 24582  | ....          | 28260         | 44800  |
| (a) Cotton            | 6842   | 13773  | 12795  | 13491  | 14259  | 15463  | 15646         | 14160         | 29810  |
| (b) Jute              | 69     | 390    | 195    | 178    | 287    | 335    | 342           | 330           | 330    |
| (c) Cured tobacco     | 151    | 459    | 472    | 538    | 422    | 954    | 689           | 870           | 910    |
| (d) Sugarcane         | 367    | 450    | 474    | 541    | 504    | 544    | 666           | 660           | 910    |
| (e) Sugarbeets        | 4      | 86     | 121    | 180    | 284    | 371    | 348           | 380           | 820    |
| (f) Peanuts           | 3097   | 4456   | 4384   | 5180   | 5602   | 6380   | n.a           | 6260          | 5930   |
| (g) Rapeseed          | 3742   | 4602   | 4117   | 4214   | 5775   | 535    | n.a           | 5600          | 6090   |
| Other crops           | ..     | 18522  | 10599  | 22436  | 25365  | 31710  | ....          | ....          | ....   |
| Total crop acreage    | 285773 | 348967 | 345951 | 365374 | 373400 | 393291 | 375242        | ....          | ....   |
| Total cultivated area | 241766 | 266560 | 268067 | 270107 | 272085 | 276156 | 273500        | 276200        | 279990 |

Source: Chao Kuo-Chun, *op. cit.*, 1957 and 1958 data have, however, been collected from a number of Chinese official sources.

## APPENDIX 'B'

Production of major agricultural crops in China  
(In thousand metric-tons)

| Crops                                  | 1949   | 1952   | 1953   | 1954   | 1955   | 1956   | 1957<br>(Target) | 1957<br>(Actual) | 1958           |
|----------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1                                      | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5      | 6      | 7      | 8                | 9                | 10             |
| Food crops                             | 108095 | 154393 | 156901 | 160433 | 174812 | 182743 | 181593           | 185387           | 375784         |
| (a) Paddy                              | 48645  | 68425  | 71272  | 70851  | 78024  | 82694  | 81768            | 86956            | 150313         |
| (b) Wheat                              | 13803  | 18125  | 18281  | 23332  | 22965  | 24854  | 23725            | 23689            | 80084          |
| (c) Potatoes*<br>and sweet<br>potatoes | 9843   | 16326  | 16653  | 16981  | 18897  | 21851  | 21300            | 21964            | 95198          |
| (d) Other<br>grains                    | 35799  | 51519  | 50695  | 49269  | 54926  | 53341  | 54800            | 52778            | 90189          |
| Soyabeans                              | ....   | 9519   | 9931   | 9080   | 9121   | 10223  | 11220            | 10070            | 12025          |
| Cotton                                 | 444    | 1034   | 1175   | 1065   | 1518   | 1443   | 1635             | 1643             | 3357           |
| Jute                                   | 31     | 191    | ....   | ....   | ....   | ..     | ....             | 296              | about<br>351   |
| Cured tobacco                          | 43     | 222    | 213    | 232    | 298    | 399    | 390              | 257              | approx.<br>701 |
| Sugarcane                              | 2642   | 7116   | 7209   | 8592   | 8110   | 8666   | 13180            | 10414            | about<br>21044 |
| Sugarbeets                             | 191    | 479    | 505    | 989    | 1598   | 1650   | 2135             | 1504             | about<br>40084 |
| Peanuts                                | 1268   | 2316   | 2127   | 2767   | 2926   | 3335   | n.a.             | 2576             | about<br>5010  |
| Rapeseed                               | 734    | 932    | 879    | 878    | 969    | 925    | n.a.             | 889              | about<br>1388  |
| Tea                                    | 41     | 83     | ....   | ....   | ....   | ....   | ....             | 112              | about<br>125   |

\* Production in equivalent cereals weight, calculated at the rate of 0.25 tons per  
1 ton of tuber in green weight.

Source: Chao, Ku-Chun, *op. cit.*, 1957 and 1958, data as in Appendix 'A'

## APPENDIX 'C'

Yield of major agricultural crops in China  
(In lbs. per acre)

| Crops                             | 1949  | 1952  | 1953  | 1954  | 1955  | 1956  | 1957<br>(Target) | 1957<br>(Actual) | 1958      |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| 1                                 | 2     | 3     | 4     | 5     | 6     | 7     | 8                | 9                | 10        |
| Paddy                             | 1688  | 2147  | 2241  | 2197  | 2382  | 2204  | 2454             | 2420             | 3937      |
| Wheat                             | 573   | 651   | 635   | 771   | 765   | 810   | 792              | 766              | 1339      |
| Potatoes and<br>sweet<br>potatoes | 1250  | 1674  | 1645  | 1546  | 1676  | 1768  | 1929             | 1864             | 5354      |
| Other grains                      | 673   | 910   | 880   | 863   | 933   | 903   | 1000             | 940              | 1772      |
| Soyabeans                         | 545   | 726   | 716   | 639   | 710   | 755   | 788              | 703              | 1138      |
| Cotton                            | 143   | 208   | 202   | 174   | 234   | 204   | 222              | 254              | about 535 |
| Jute                              | ..    | ..    | ..    | ..    | ..    | ..    | ..               | ..               | ..        |
| Cured tobacco                     | 628   | 1064  | 993   | 949   | 1054  | 923   | 1253             | 650              | 1695      |
| Sugarcane                         | 21786 | 34838 | 33459 | 34940 | 35401 | 34860 | 43535            | 34713            | 60876     |
| Sugarbeets                        | 10638 | 12253 | 9182  | 12088 | 12379 | 9787  | 13515            | 8707             | 107542    |
| Peanuts                           | 901   | 1143  | 1067  | 1175  | 1149  | 1153  | n.a.             | 903              | 1807      |
| Rapeseed                          | 432   | 446   | 470   | 458   | 369   | 380   | n.a.             | 343              | 489       |

Source: Appendices 'A' and 'B'.

## APPENDIX 'D'

Figures within brackets are percentages  
of geographical area.

| Land utilisation in China<br>(Thousand acres)                    |                   |                   | (1) According to one estimate, near-<br>ly 247109 thousand acres of culturable<br>wastes in this group can be reclaimed.                                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1                                                                | 1949-50           | 1955-56           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Geographical area (1)                                            | 2381142           | 2381142           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Forests                                                          | 181625            | 187802            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Permanent meadows<br>and pastures                                | 420085<br>(17.6)  | 420085<br>(17.6)  | (2) Fallows in China are comparatively<br>little because cultivation had not extended<br>to submarginal lands on any substantial<br>scale, and thus there was practically no need<br>to retire some lands from cropping for a<br>year or two. |
| Cultivated land (includ-<br>ing fallows (2))                     | 241920<br>(10.2)  | 272314<br>(11.4)  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Built-on-area, culturable<br>and unculturable<br>waste and other | 1537512<br>(64.6) | 1500940<br>(63.1) | Source: <b>The Eastern Economist</b> ,<br>Annual Number, 1957.                                                                                                                                                                                |

## APPENDIX 'E'

Estimated number of livestock on farm in various provinces of China exclusive of  
Sikong, Tibet, Sinkiang, Outer Mongolia, and Manchuria, March, 1937

(In thousand)

| Province  | Type of animal |         |       |        |               | sheep | goats | swine | chicken | duck | goose |
|-----------|----------------|---------|-------|--------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|---------|------|-------|
|           | horses         | donkeys | mules | cattle | water buffalo |       |       |       |         |      |       |
| 1         | 2              | 3       | 4     | 5      | 6             | 7     | 8     | 9     | 10      | 11   | 12    |
| Chahar    | 45             | 104     | 46    | 59     | —             | 444   | 169   | 129   | 793     | ..   | 5     |
| Suiyuan   | 151            | 112     | 41    | 301    | —             | 1411  | 539   | 282   | 1040    | 2    | 1     |
| Ningsia   | 17             | 44      | 8     | 39     | —             | 739   | 225   | 52    | 186     | 6    | 2     |
| Chinghai  | 50             | 79      | 26    | 89     | —             | 359   | 150   | 74    | 312     | 3    | 2     |
| Kansu     | 151            | 681     | 160   | 802    | 1             | 2625  | 1646  | 984   | 3212    | 229  | 53    |
| Shensi    | 128            | 359     | 131   | 914    | 7             | 375   | 657   | 967   | 2747    | 99   | 7     |
| Hopeh     | 317            | 1194    | 763   | 1167   | 15            | 789   | 1052  | 3742  | 13480   | 480  | 50    |
| Shantung  | 325            | 2026    | 744   | 2580   | 11            | 1089  | 969   | 3506  | 21355   | 2298 | 355   |
| Kiangsu   | 109            | 712     | 99    | 1267   | 906           | 329   | 1235  | 5018  | 18394   | 6190 | 709   |
| Anhwei    | 203            | 653     | 178   | 1037   | 792           | 135   | 407   | 2802  | 15832   | 3574 | 1447  |
| Honan     | 487            | 1900    | 876   | 3139   | 192           | 889   | 1529  | 3187  | 18370   | 2263 | 262   |
| Hupeh     | 245            | 428     | 153   | 1875   | 924           | 59    | 986   | 3931  | 21458   | 2481 | 309   |
| Szechwan  | 89             | 31      | 67    | 824    | 1999          | 110   | 1482  | 8177  | 15858   | 5304 | 757   |
| Yunnan    | 342            | 88      | 202   | 485    | 542           | 184   | 611   | 2761  | 5882    | 844  | 163   |
| Kweichew  | 188            | 6       | 28    | 568    | 601           | 32    | 245   | 1422  | 3748    | 874  | 112   |
| Hunan     | 37             | 10      | 12    | 1369   | 1482          | 9     | 387   | 5030  | 16310   | 6568 | 396   |
| Kiangsi   | 53             | 12      | 14    | 1746   | 827           | 3     | 157   | 3800  | 17526   | 4685 | 1028  |
| Chekiang  | 3              | 4       | 5     | 890    | 314           | 613*  | 739   | 2718  | 16444   | 3344 | 879   |
| Fukien    | 6              | 6       | 2     | 354    | 276           | 8     | 286   | 1757  | 6002    | 2321 | 369   |
| Kwangtung | 45             | 2       | 4     | 1579   | 1299          | 11    | 439   | 5187  | 22059   | 7424 | 2203  |
| Shansi    | 118            | 562     | 263   | 513    | 3             | 2198  | 1660  | 528   | 3874    | 45   | 5     |

\* Probably too high.

Sources: **The Livestock of China** by Phillips, Johnson and Mayer.



## APPENDIX 'F'

Average yield of certain crops in various countries

| Yield in pounds per acre |       |       |            |        |         |              |        |        |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|------------|--------|---------|--------------|--------|--------|
| Country                  | Paddy | Wheat | Sugar-cane | Cotton | Belgium | Germany West | U.K.   | France |
| 1                        | 2     | 3     | 4          | 5      | 6       | 7            | 8      | 9      |
| The Netherlands          | —     | 3505  | —          | —      | 3693    | 2396         | 2787   | 1897   |
| Japan                    | 4291  | —     | —          | —      | 4549    | 1631         | —      | —      |
|                          |       |       |            |        | 3060    | 1106         | 48439  | 391    |
|                          |       |       |            |        | —       | —            | 177515 | —      |
|                          |       |       |            |        | 4638    | 1889         | 78341  | 366    |
|                          |       |       |            |        | 1173    | 940          | 29113  | 79     |
|                          |       |       |            |        | 3937    | 1339         | 50867  | 535    |

Source:—Fertiliser News, October, 1958.

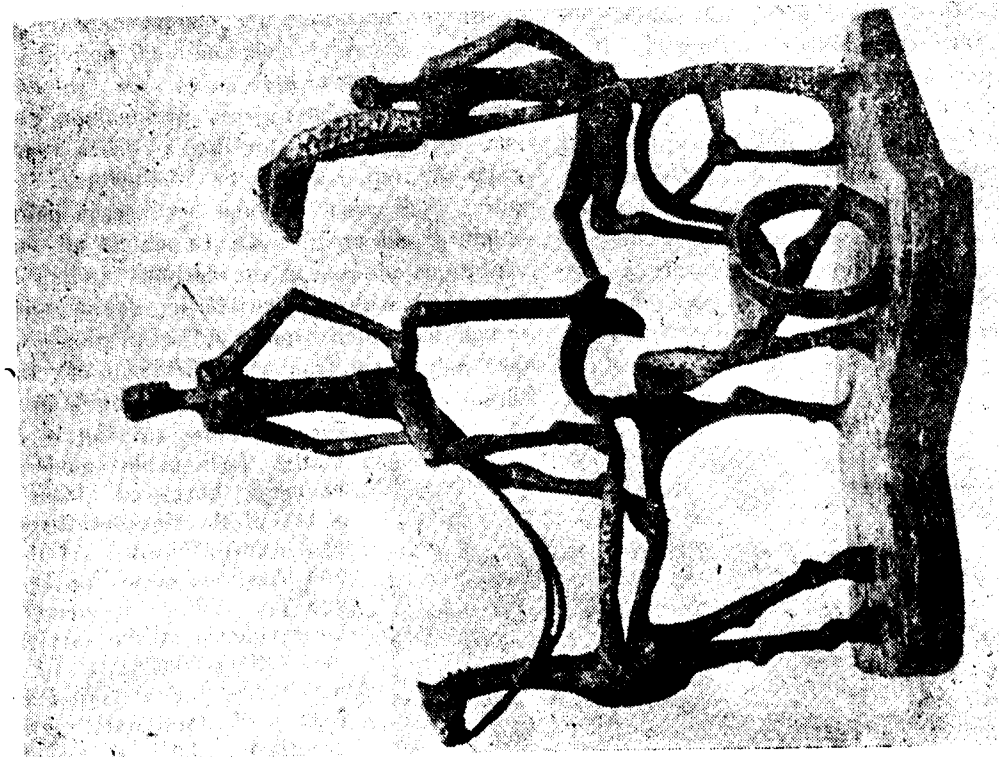
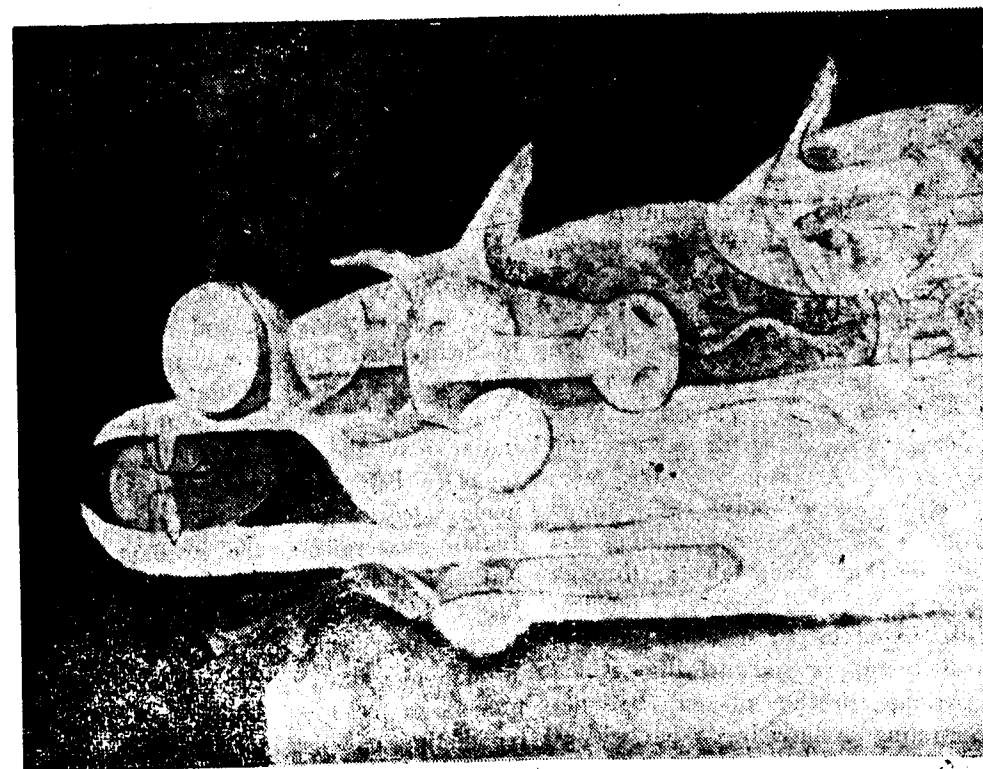
\* Figures for China are based in Appendix 'C'.

## ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE LALIT-KALA AKADAMI DELHI

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

It has been the fashion amongst critics and laymen to assert that since the advent of independence, India is not producing outstanding original works in the field of literature, music, architecture, sculpture or painting. Even our loquacious Prime Minister, who is called upon to make all sorts of comments in and outside Parliament, has several times expressed the opinion that Free and Independent India is not producing great works of artistic values in any sphere of creative activity. It is part of the routine work of state patronage to award prizes every year, with much fan-fare and publicity, to the best literary artist, the best musician, the best cinema artist, and the best exponents of the art of painting and sculpture. For a curious reason, the outstanding production in the field of Architecture is never judged officially, though this form of Art is the acknowledged "Mother of all the other forms of Visual Arts", a form of art which in its interplay of lights and shadows on a variety of planes challenge the composition of music.

It is very well-known that during the British dominion in India our national genius, in spite of a tragic spiritual inhibition by the autocracy of a foreign dominion, has admittedly produced distinguished works of art in different phases of our national life. Why the dawn of freedom, which one expected to fertilize our intellectual and spiritual thinking, should

Family (cement sculpture)  
M. DharmaniTonga (bronze sculpture)  
R. R. PanchalCompanion (oil painting)  
Somenath Hore

synchronize with a period of sterility in aesthetic output is an enigma to be explained. It is one of the paradoxes of history that political freedom has not always inspired great eras of art or literature. The truth of this assertion can be demonstrated by many citations from the history of Art. In Free India we are *not* producing outstanding talents even in the fields of politics, industry, economics, engineering, or agriculture, not to speak of great poets, dramatists, painters, or builders. Mother India is certainly showing signs of spiritual exhaustion, a deliberate unwillingness to give birth to great



Still Life (oil painting)  
Himat Lal Shah

geniuses in any field of national activity. Yet enormous sums of money are being spent by our states to encourage the production of art through official patronage and state aids to writers, artists, musicians, actors, and painters. Apart from prizes offered to deserving artists and pensions to disabled exponents of the arts, scholarships and travelling bourses are offered to young artists to undergo higher training and opportunity to develop their talents through diverse ways and means. This poverty of intellectual and artistic output in our national activities is a tragic malady in our spiritual life which deserves the serious attention of our national leaders—concentrating exclusively on our economic problems.

In the meantime, the commentator on and appraiser of our various national activities has an embarrassing task to assess the values and merits of our contemporary productions. In the field of Visual Arts, for the last few years a group of Indian artists are deliberately repudiating their great national heritage in painting, sculpture and architecture. In almost all current exhibitions of art—in the various Indian cities—we meet with a bewildering domination of foreign and alien modes of expression which have not grown from the rich soil of Indian National Art. Most of the exhibits in our current shows are “all executed in the fashionable modernistic manners borrowed from the works of the representatives of Post-Impressionisms, Cubisms, and Abstractionisms of Europe, and not many of them offer any evidence of the survival of the *Indian Language of Art*, which has for a period of at least four thousand years bequeathed a large array of remarkable masterpieces which have illuminated the well-known Schools of Buddhist, Guzerati, Rajasthani, Pala, Mughal and Pahari phases, the products of which have exhorted a chorus of admiration from European critics when they were presented in the famous Exhibition of Indian Art held in London in 1918, under the auspices of the London Royal Academy. Even the recent

“Two Thousand Years Indian Art” held in Germany and recently transferred to Switzerland has been earning choruses of praises on the part of the famous critics and connoisseurs of Europe. Yet there is no lack of initiative on the part of the Indian Government to place before our students of art (however inadequately) the chosen examples of old Indian masterpieces, the brilliant heritage of National Indian Art. If the modern artists refuse to look at them it is nobody’s fault but the tragic consequence of perverse de-nationalized attitude of a group of art-practitioners who pretend to tread on the path of “progress” by repudiating our national heritage.

That none of the five prize-winners in this

year’s Annual Exhibition of the Lalit Kala Akadami at New Delhi, provides evidence of the study of the language of Indian Art is a tragic demonstration of the malady that has beset the expressions of Art in India under the enervating dominance of the “Ism” doctrines of Modern Europe.\* It may be said that there must have been numerous exhibits in the Delhi show which carried the smell of Indian soil and the fragrance of national expressions, but by reason of the fact that the Executive Committee deliberately chose—as judges, a group of so-called critics with a pronounced anti-national bias—the claims of the nationalist artists who had the courage to work in the Indian tradition were passed over as “traditionalists” and “reactionaries” “who are retarding the progress of art in modern India”! It was the practice in former years for the Lalit Kala Akadami to provide one prize, at least, for pictures painted in the Indian manner. We are informed that the prize has been withdrawn this year so that the artist using the national language of Indian Art has been deprived of the chance to demonstrate what high work of merit he could produce in the Indian manner. As we have seen in our review of the last Exhibition of the Indian Academy of Art, (*The Modern Review* for March 1960, p. 212), equal chance was provided to the Indian artists along with the “Modernists” working in the foreign techniques of the “Ism”—painters. But the Delhi show, this year, appears to have altogether ignored the merits of the national Indian artists. The Delhi Akadami financed by our National Government claims to provide encouragement to the best productions of art in the new national era. But it is a paradox that in this so-called national enterprise the truly national artist has been suppressed by a policy of prejudice against Indian manners of expression. We are left to judge the best products of the year in the exhibits which have deliberately eschewed the national language of art.

We shall close our review by commenting on the five Prize-winners.

\*These doctrines have been analysed by the writer in his illustrated booklet: *Europe Adhunik Chitra Kalar Pragati*, Grantha Jagat, 6, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.

“Companions” by Somenath Hore, an oil-piece is a composition in the manner of Pablo Picasso. It is a convincing presen-



Figures (wood sculpture)  
Narendra K. Patel

tation in modernistic technique of an Indian Gopini carrying a pail of milk (?) in her left hand and a bunch of flowers in her right. A cow and her calf very dramatically

placed against the human figure builds up skilfully a very concentrated composition of a lyrical appeal with some memory of the Gopini pictures of Indian tradition. We are reminded of the great masterpiece of Prof. Bireswar Sen (Lucknow) which won high praise in a London Exhibition (London *Studio*, 1925).

The second prize-winner is a "Still-Life" essay—trying to weave out a picture out of several units on a breakfast table, a cup of tea, a wine bottle, a cylindrical glass, and some apology for vegetable pieces. The table cloth, hardly covering a fraction of the table, with its dotted design is intended to redeem a cheerless composition from an obvious disaster. Numerous successful masterpieces depicting this theme by Van Gogh, Matisse, and others put to shade this halting effort to imitate modern masters of Europe.

Three sculptural pieces which won prizes appear to be the best exhibits of the show.

"Family" a piece of cement sculpture by M. Dharmani is a very creditable composition of five haunting figures in a tense pose of highly emotional significance, crowned by the shadow of the mother of the family, carrying a child. Here, deliberate omission of irrelevant details and emphasis—expressed in the tall symbolistic figures—do not prevent the easy realization of the fundamental theme, inci-

dentally contradicting the modernistic canon that 'a work of art need not have a subject-matter.'

The second piece of sculpture in bronze, is the picture of a "Tonga", by R. R. Ponchal visualized in tall slim figures of the driver, the rider, and the horse, through skilful elimination and emphatic exaggeration. The trick is a well-known one—successfully practised by many modern masters whom our Indian imitator has copied to perfection.

But we have nothing but high praise for the last item "Figures" rendered in the medium of wood by Narendra K. Patel. It is a haunting study of a 'Man and Woman', the traditional Mithuna in Indian Art. The highly skilful and delicate manipulation of the muscles of the anatomy helps to catch the reflection of lights—in a dynamic series of waves—which impart a mystery and grandeur to the figures. Though lacking in the simplicity of Archipenko, the pair of wood echoes the monumental manners of Henry Moore. Incidentally, the composition illustrates another of the modernistic canons that 'an artist must not suppress or cover the fundamental nature of the stuff of his material.' Here the grains of the wood make a distinct contribution to the eloquence of the composition.



## HINDUSTAN ANTIBIOTICS LIMITED, PIMPRI

*Pimpri*: At a turn of the Bombay-Poona highway—110 miles from Bombay and nine miles from Poona—bright neon signs announce the location of the Penicillin Factory of the Hindustan Antibiotics Limited, a Government of India enterprise.

It is ideally located on 200 acres of rolling upland on both sides of the banyan-lined road. Pimpri is known for its salubrious climate, moderate rainfall, easy availability of rail and road transport, electricity and water.

Working round the clock in three shifts, the Factory—barring China the biggest in Asia—is producing penicillin at the rate of 40 million mega units per year since last July. This is more than four times the production rate during 1956-57, the first year of production. With the present demand in India estimated at 65 million mega units, the Hindustan Antibiotics is already in a position to meet about two-thirds of it.

For setting up of this Factory, UNICEF came forward with a generous help of 850,000 dollars for the purchase of plant and equipment. Similarly, the W.H.O. and later the United Nations Technical Assistance Board offered a further sum of 350,000 dollars for technical assistance in terms of furnishing technicians from other countries and for the training of Indian personnel abroad.

The foundation-stone was laid in March 1952, and most of the work was completed by August 1954. The Company was registered as a private limited company with an authorised share capital of Rs. 4 crores. All the shares are held in the name of the President of India and his nominees. The Company also took a loan of Rs. 70 lakhs from the Government of India at 4½ per cent rate of interest for working and other expenses. This loan was repayable in fourteen equal half-yearly instalments of Rs. 5 lakhs each. As a result of the excellent progress made, Rs. 40 lakhs out of the principal and Rs. 6.88 lakhs by way of interest were paid during 1958-59, and the balance cleared in May 1959.

The Factory was planned on the basis of an initial production of 3.6 million mega units and a target of 9 million mega units (one mega unit is equal to one million units). This rated capa-

city was subsequently revised to 25 million mega units with the same machines as a result of technological improvements carried out in the manufacturing processes.

Trial runs began in December 1954 and went on till March 1956. Therefore, very small quantities of finished penicillin were available for putting in the market during 1955-56. The first normal year of production was thus 1956-57, when 9.89 million mega units of penicillin were produced. Production increased by nearly 120 per cent in 1957-58 (21.43 m.m.u.). Production of 29.03 m.m.u. was achieved during 1958-59. The phenomenal increase in production during this year, even above the rated capacity, was due to the imports of certain quantities of first crystals of penicillin G to augment the penicillin supplies from indigenous sources.



A research worker busy in the laboratory

The demand for penicillin has gone up so rapidly that it is now a continuous race between demand and indigenous supplies. The Hindustan Antibiotics, therefore, planned further extension of its production capacity by 60 per cent. This involved erection and installation of more machinery as well as extension of buildings. This additional capacity went into production last July and the yearly production will now be 40 million mega units.



Factory's shaker room



Animal house in the quality control department



Packing Section of the Factory



The neatly laid out factory

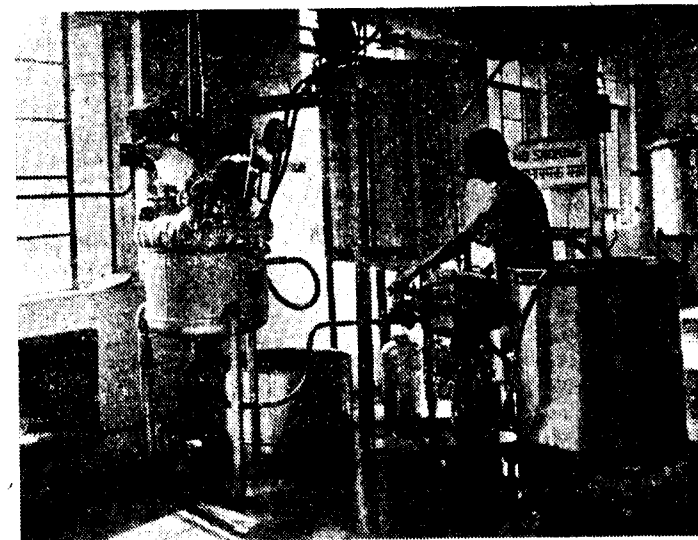
An interesting feature of this tremendous increase in production is that the percentage of staff expenditure in relation to production was brought down from 38.61 per cent in 1955-56

lakhs. Even then the Company will be left with a sizeable surplus for meeting the expenditure on programmes of expansion and development. This, by all standards, is excellent going.

#### Pricing Policy

"The policy of the Company on pricing," said Shri S. T. Raja, the Managing Director, "is to bring price reduction in such a way that the benefit is passed on to the consumer directly and at the same time to enable the Company to build up sufficient reserves for financing its plans for production of other antibiotics at Pimpri."

"When the project for penicillin production was prepared," Shri Raja explained, "it was estimated that it would be possible to sell penicillin at a price of Rs. 1.25 per mega unit in bulk. At that time this price was lower than the prevailing international price.



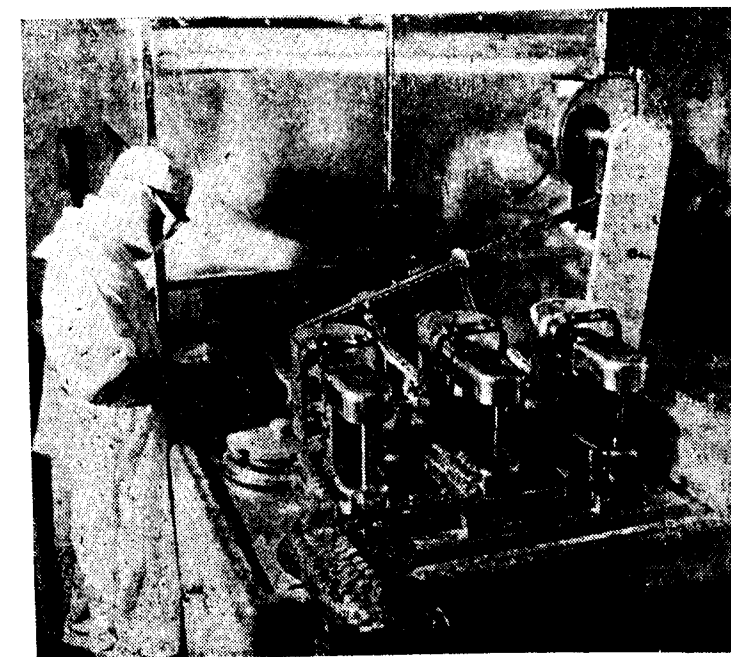
Purification and Isolation Unit of the Penicillan Factory

to 5.7 per cent by the end of the last financial year.

The value of turnover stood at Rs. 34.49 lakhs in 1955-56 and Rs. 57.80 lakhs in 1956-57. It shot up to 321.07 lakhs in the year 1958-59.

In terms of profit and loss, during the initial period of experimentation and usual teething troubles, the Company suffered a loss of about Rs. 10 lakhs up to March 1956. Next year it made a nominal profit of Rs. 57,000. During 1957-58, the excess of income over expenditure amounted to Rs. 33.43 lakhs after providing for depreciation and other expenses.

For the year 1958-59, it is estimated that the surplus would be well over Rs. 1 crore. After making allowance for certain permissible deductions, the amount payable by way of income-tax for this year may be over Rs. 30 and the lower cost of production made it



Bottling Section of the Factory

"Subsequent technological improvements and the lower cost of production made it



possible to bring down the selling price of bulk penicillin to 11 annas (Re. 0.69) per mega plus, there is no reason why India cannot



Quantities of bulk penicillin being despatched for supply

unit. The indigenous price of vialled penicillin has also been kept as low as possible and compares favourably with the prices prevailing in various exporting countries. The international price, however, has come down steeply from more than Rs. 1.25 in 1952 to about Re. 0.30 per mega unit C & F Bombay.

"One reason is that foreign manufacturers went into production many years ago and have written down the value of their plant and, secondly, they have a large indigenous production and consumption. Having earned their required margin in the past years from exports as well as from the local market, their policy is to stimulate exports even at abnormally low prices to earn foreign exchange. India has not yet attained the position of the exporting country but if production expands in future

years to a level to produce an exportable surplus, there is no reason why India cannot compete in the international market in the same manner as other surplus countries."

Penicillin produced at Pimpri is sold both in vials and in bulk. Vialled penicillin is sold to Government and semi-Government hospitals, institutions and State medical depots direct at a discount of 10 per cent below the list price. It used to be 5 per cent before 1st April, 1959.

#### Highest Standards of Quality

"The standards of quality maintained by Hindustan Antibiotics," said Dr. P. D. Kulkarni, Assistant Superintendent In-charge of Quality Control, "are the best in the world. They are the stiffest laid down in the well-known British and United States Pharmacopoeias."



The Welfare and Cultural Centre of the workers' colony

Simultaneously with the quality control carried out by this Department of the Company

directly under the control of the Managing Director, samples are drawn by the Drug Controller for India and tests carried out by him in other outside institutions. Occasionally samples are also sent to various foreign testing organisations for checking the report of the Quality Control Department. All these agencies have invariably confirmed that the penicillin produced at Hindustan Antibiotics is of highest international standards. Another additional check on the quality of Hindustan Antibiotics penicillin is that large quantities of bulk penicillin are supplied to bottlers like Glaxo Laboratories, Dumex India Private Ltd., Sarabhai Chemicals (Squibbs) and Alembic Chemicals. Along with the bulk supplies test reports are furnished to each of these bottlers. They get them tested in their own quality control departments and accept them only after verifying the test reports furnished to them. There has hardly been a case, Dr. Kulkarni claims, where such bulk supplies made to bottlers had to be returned because of inferior quality.

Fundamental and applied research, both so essential, go on at the Factory side by side with production. This Research Department of the Hindustan Antibiotics is under the internationally-known Dr. M. G. Thirumalachar. This Department not only handles all current problems of development and production but also does fundamental research in the discovery of newer antibiotics. The Department has a well-equipped building and library of its own and it is known to be the best Antibiotics Research Centre in the country. It also trains university post-graduate students for Doctorate and six of its staff members are recognised as Guides for Ph.D. degrees. For salaries the staff is placed at par with scientists in the National Laboratories.

#### Workers' Welfare

Workers' welfare is another aspect in which Hindustan Antibiotics has an excellent record. The Factory has about 900 employees. Half of these employees are housed in a modern residential colony having its own hospital, primary school, auditorium, library, recreation club,

bank, post office and a consumers' co-operative store. Each employee gets 30 days' earned leave, 10 days' casual leave, 15 days' half pay leave on medical grounds and 12 fully paid festival holidays. Free medical aid is provided to every employee and the members of his family. Concessional transport facility is also provided to employees and their school and college-going children. Six annual awards of Rs. 100 each are given to the best worker of the year in each of the six departments. The canteen for the workers provides wholesome food at very cheap rates including a full lunch for six annas. An *ex gratia* award of one month's pay and dearness allowance was paid for the first time in October 1958 to all employees of the Company drawing a basic pay up to Rs. 500 per month. A "works committee" consisting of five representatives from workers and five from the officers has been functioning for over a year and making useful suggestions for welfare of the workers and more efficient functioning of the plant.

#### Future Developments

With the programme for expansion of penicillin production going ahead in full swing, the Company is now planning manufacture of other important antibiotics like Streptomycin and Dihydrostreptomycin which have proved effective in the fight against tuberculosis. About 60,000 k.g., of these two drugs, costing about Rs. 1.2 crores, are at present imported every year. A plant for the production of 40,000 to 45,000 k.g., of these two antibiotics is being set-up at Pimpri at an estimated cost of Rs. 1.7 crores. A consultant service agreement has been signed with Messrs. Merck and Company of U.S.A., who have held a comprehensive range of patents for the manufacture of these drugs. It is expected that production will start in 1961. It will effect an annual saving of about Rs. 1 crore in foreign exchange.

A project for the production of 25 tons of broad-spectrum antibiotics of the Tetracycline group at an estimated cost of Rs. 1.3 crores is also under consideration and it may be possible to start the manufacture of some of these drugs also at Pimpri on a pilot plant scale within the Second Five-Year Plan period. Processes for this project have been worked out by scientists

at Pimpri without any foreign collaboration Factory will be producing about Rs. 4 crores and it would be possible to meet the entire worth of antibiotics every year, and would demand of the country for these drugs. rank among the big antibiotics-producing When all these schemes materialise, this centres of the world.-PIB.

## HONOLULU ACADEMY MIRRORS ISLAND CULTURES

THE Honolulu Academy of Arts in America's 50th State is a cross-road of world art. It reflects the character of Hawaii, where East and West meet in a harmony of diverse cultures which is exemplary for the world today. Dedicated to community education, it is a focal point of cultural activities in the Islands.

deep intuitions common to all, may perceive a foundation on which a new culture, enriched by all the old strains, may be built in these Islands."

The late Mrs. Charles Montague and her family of Honolulu founded the Academy in 1927. At first associated with this family, the Academy has long since become a public insti-



Egyptian art to a school class

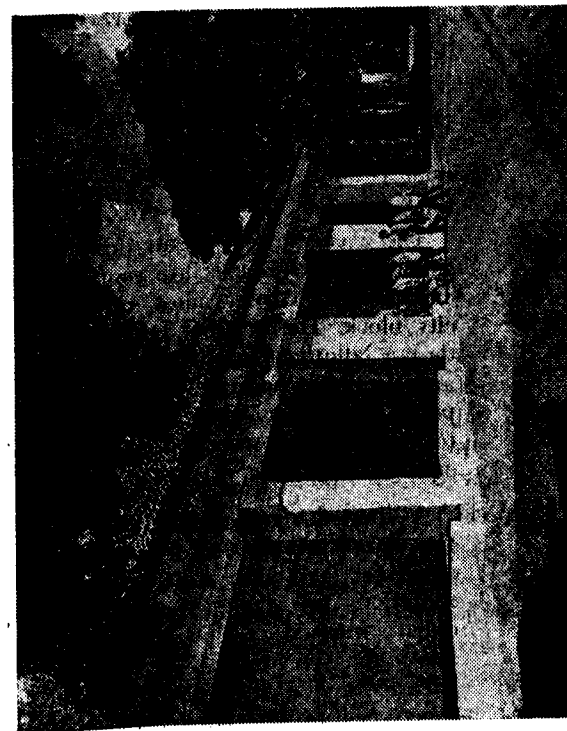
The Academy was first opened to the public in 1927. The founders explained its purpose in these words:

"That Hawaiians, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, North Europeans, South Europeans, and all other people living here, contacting through the channel of art those



Linoleum block printing

tution. It belongs to the people who use it, and it depends upon the entire community for support. The generosity of its patrons and an active membership of more than 1,800 persons has enabled it to develop from the nucleus collection of its founders into a rich treasure house of art.



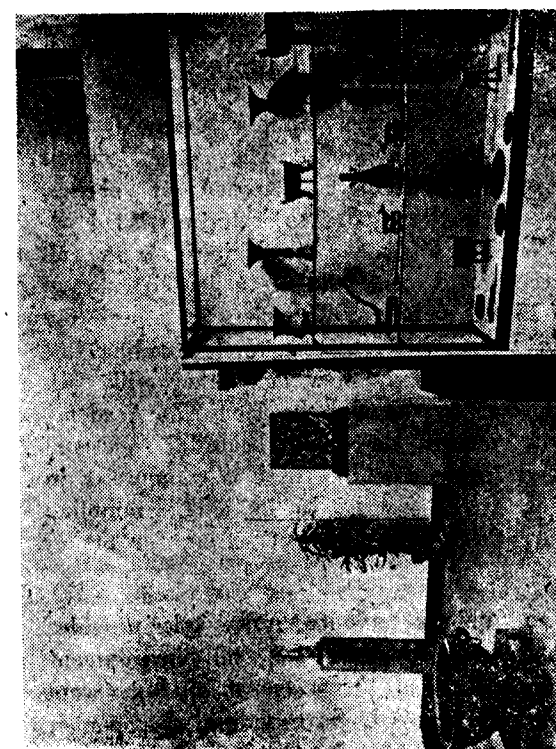
Entrance to the Academy



Youngsters attend a painting class.



Lectures are part of the education programme



Chinese pottery and sculpture on display

Its use of the name Academy, rather than Museum or Gallery, indicates its original purpose as a "living museum." This is no musty repository for relics and rarities. The Honolulu Academy of Arts is a busy, active institution, serving the people as a source of knowledge, inspiration and understanding.



A very young artist concentrates on a sculpture project

More than three million persons have passed through its doors. They have viewed some of its art objects, attended art classes, listened to a thousand free lectures, visited almost 2,000 exhibitions, heard music from all over the world, and studied in its library of some 15,000 volumes. Travellers crossing the Pacific pause there, seeking understanding of the new cultures and new lands they will visit.

Visitors have called the Honolulu Academy of Arts one of the most beautiful museum buildings in the world. There is tranquillity in its cool, green courts. In its long, rambling structure there is the perfect setting for art of all ages.

The unique architectural style provides an atmosphere suggestive of the environment in which the art objects originally were created and enjoyed. Surrounding a Spanish courtyard are galleries for displays of European and American art. Galleries around the Oriental

Court are devoted to Asian art. Four galleries opening on a Central Court are for temporary and loan collections.

The building is set within a garden area. Potted tropical plants and expert flower arrangements are an integral part of all installations and form individual exhibits in themselves in the corridors and courtyards.

The Academy's twenty-three galleries and seven lecture rooms and studios cover most of a city block. The original building design allowed for expansion, and the latest addition is a proposed education wing planned to meet the growing need for enlarged facilities.

A limited number of works are shown at the Academy at one time, and the gallery installations are changed at frequent intervals. This gives a sense of spaciousness in the galleries and a variety of visual experience to the public. Large parts of the Academy's collections remain in storage-study rooms, which are used by students and designers and also can be visited by appointment.

The Academy's collections, numbering some 20,000 individual art items, illuminate a Hawaii enriched by the cultures which surround it.

In the western art galleries a visitor can trace the history of art from an Egyptian limestone portrait group dating from 2,500 B.C. through Greek and Roman art, master works of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, down to the work of contemporary European and American artists.

The Academy has the only pair of 4th Century B.C. Egyptian ibis in any museum, and highly prizes its collection of Greek vases. A Flemish millefleur tapestry in its collection is known throughout the art world. Paintings include work by such artists as Botticini, Camille, Cezanne, Gauguin, Matisse, Picasso, Pissarro, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Ricci, Van Gogh, Vivarani and Grandma Moses.

A print gallery exhibits work dating from the Middle Ages to the 20th Century, and there

is modern sculpture by Epstein, Despiau, Maillol and Noguchi as well as fine pieces by contemporary artists in Hawaii.

The Academy's collections of art indigenous to Hawaii and the Pacific is unsurpassed. There also are special annual exhibitions of "Artists of Hawaii" and by the Honolulu Printmakers, who maintain a print shop in the Academy's Department of Graphic Arts.

The Asian art collections are among the finest anywhere. This includes one of the world's great masterpieces, "One Hundred Geese," a scroll by the 12th Century painter Ma Fen. The extensive Chinese painting and decorative arts collections also include the famous Bromberger Collection of Chinese Ceramics.

The Academy claims to have one of the two most important collections of Korean ceramics in the world, and has more than three galleries devoted to its collection of Japanese art, one of the most comprehensive outside Japan.

Almost continuous showings of temporary and loan exhibits follow the Academy's effort to keep a balance between eastern and western art. Typical recent showings have been "Buddhist Art," "American Painting Today," "Oriental Folk Art," "400 Years of European Art," "Life and Art in Micronesia," and a collection of 18th and 19th Century Thai paintings.

Extension activities bring the Honolulu Academy's fine collections to the people in the

other Islands, through circulating exhibitions, instructions and lectures. All education activities of the Academy stimulate among Hawaiian residents a sense of identification with their own cultural heritage, whether it is Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Hawaiian, Filipino, American or European. It strengthens mutual respect among them through the arts.

Educational activities include art classes for children and adults, music and dance concerts, film programs, lectures and demonstrations. Working with Hawaii's schools, the Education Department is host to some 46,000 visiting students in a typical year, holds exhibitions to coincide with subjects under study in the schools, and sponsors tours, demonstrations, plays and festivals for the children, and conferences and workshops for their teachers. Emphasis is on the importance of creative thought and work to the progress of civilization.

The Academy's role, according to its director, Robert P. Griffing, Jr., is to "act as a mirror of the socio-cultural atmosphere of Hawaii," and "to serve as a visual interpreter of western ideas and ideals for our visitors from Asia, and of Asian concepts for our visitors from the other side of the Pacific. We can contribute to the state of mind needed for the formation of knowledge and mutual respect."—*USIS.*

## INDIA'S NEIGHBOUR : SIKKIM

By HEM CHANDRA HALDER

Anyone visiting Darjeeling has a glimpse of the magnificent beauty of Kunchanjunga towering high a little distance away (45 miles in a bird's eye view), a dazzling mass of snowy peaks with fleecy clouds hovering over its head, intercepted by blue glaciers gleaming in the rising sun which fills everyone with a sublime feeling of wonder and amazement. As one looks beyond from the Tiger Hills—the highest peak in Darjeeling—one sees a succession of mountains—of consecutive parallel ridges and deep gorges—all belonging to Sikkim. The stupendous

wonder of Nature, that is Himalayas, is brought forth to us in pristine and majestic glory.

Sikkim (Denjong in Tibetan—a valley of rice) is essentially a mountainous country without a flat piece of land of any extent anywhere. The mountains rise in elevation northward with Kunchanjunga, the highest peak (28,178 ft); Singalehah ranges on the Nepal border and the Chola ranges on the Bhutan border. These ranges encompass the three sides of the territories of Sikkim which slope down on the South towards the plains of India. The tract of

mountainous country thus enclosed consists of a series of interlacing ridges, rising range above range to the foot of the wall of the highest peaks which are abodes of perpetual snow. The snow-capped ridges on the north send down glaciers which come down and form the stream of the Lachen and Lachung rivers which pass through precipitous valleys to unite in the Teesta. The Teesta and the Rungeet are the principal channels of drainage.

The valleys cut by these rivers and their chief feeders are very deep. All the Monasteries and principal villages are situated in these valleys.

The country is rich in rainfall; rice, apples, oranges and other fruits grow in plenty and there are ample deposits of copper and other ores which are yet to be fully tapped.

Dr. Joseph Dalton Hooker, the celebrated Botanist (who in later life became President of the Royal Society in London) was the first Englishman to make an extensive tour into the interiors of Sikkim in 1847. He has given us certain glimpses about the country in his book—*Himalayan Journals*, published in 1854.

Here is a description of the country :

"In the early morning, the view of the mountains is one of astonishing grandeur. Kinchinjunga bore nearly due north, from this the sweep of snowed mountains to the eastward was almost continuous as far as Chola (bearing east-north-east), following a curve of 150 miles, and enclosing the whole of the northern part of Sikkim, which appeared a billowy mass of forest-clad mountains. On the north-east horizon rose the Donka mountain (23,176 ft) and Chumulari (23,929), rearing their gigantic heads higher." (Page 128).

A view from Choonjerma Pass :

"Looking north, the conical head of Junnoo was just scattering the mists from its snowy shoulders, and standing forth to view, the most magnificent spectacle I ever beheld.

"Looking south, another wonderful spectacle presented itself. I saw a sea of mist floating beneath me, just below the upper level of the black pines; the magnificent spurs of the snowy range which I had

crossed rising out of it in rugged grandeur as promontories and peninsulas, between which the misty ocean seemed to finger up like the fords of Norway, or the salt-water lochs of the west of Scotland.

"I have never before or since seen anything, which for sublimity, beauty, and marvellous effects could compare with what I gazed on that evening from Choonjerma pass. My combination of science and art can no more recall the scene, than it can the feelings of awe that crept over me, during the hour I spent in solitude amongst these stupendous mountains." (Page 187).

Such examples can be multiplied from other parts of the book about the wonderful landscape and scenery, climatic condition and other beauties that lie submerged from human eyes in the heart of Himalayas. While a part of these things has given rise to the wonderful Hill-station of Darjeeling, it can be easily conceived what the whole is likely to be, when fully developed and brought within easy reach of human enjoyment.

### The People

Of the early history of the people of Sikkim, very little is known. It is generally believed that the people belong to three distinct stocks—

- (1) the original inhabitants "Rong" or "Lepchas";
- (2) the "Khampas", or immigrants from Tibet; and
- (3) the "Limbus" or Murmis who are also believed to have hailed from Tibet.

All the families in Sikkim belong to one or other of these strains, or to an admixture of them. Of them, the Lepchas may be called the earliest settlers of Sikkim. Their physical characteristics stamp them as members of the Mongolian race, and certain peculiarities of language and religion render it probable that the tribe also hailed from Tibet. Their knowledge of the hills and woods, birds and beasts gave them courage to venture into these hills and build up small colonies for settlement which progressed very slowly, through centuries.

A census taken in 1891 gave the population as 30,458 which was found to have increased to 137,158 according to the 1951 Census. The country has an area of 2,818 sq. miles.

### Founding of Sikkim Raj

The legendary account of the founding of the Sikkim Raj in the middle of the 17th century is connected with the arrival of a Lama named Lhatsun Chhembo (the great reverend god) from Tibet. Having spent many years in various Monasteries and in travelling throughout Tibet and Sikkim, he ultimately in the year 1641 arrived in Sikkim at Yoksum at the foot of the Kunchanjunga. Simultaneously, two other Lamas belonging to other sects named Sempah Chhembo and Rigdsin Chhembo joined him.

The three Lamas held a council at which Lhatsun Chhembo said, "Here are we three Lamas in a new and irreligious country. We must have a 'dispenser of gifts' (i.e., a King) to rule the country on our behalf." He further added, "We are three who come from the north, west and south and towards the east, it is written, there is at this epoch a man named Phuntshog, a descendant of brave ancestors of Kham in Eastern Tibet. According, therefore, to the prophecy of the Guru, we should invite him."

Two messengers were then despatched in search of this Phuntshog. Going towards the East near Gangtok, they discovered this Phuntshog, and brought him down to visit the Lamas.

The Lamas then placed the holy water vase on his head, anointed him with its water and thus crowned him King. They exhorted him to rule the country religiously, gave him Lhatsun's own surname of Namgye. Phuntshog Namgye thus became the first Raja of Sikkim in the year 1641 A.D.

Thus began the institution of the Sikkim Raj, surely a peculiar way of investiture of a King and for anyone to win a Kingdom. But when it is remembered that all subsequent Rulers of Sikkim have descended down from this first King, Phuntshog Namgye, the state of affairs of these countries and the influence

which Lamaism has exerted over the minds of the people will have some introduction to us.

Along with crowning the first King in Sikkim, Lhatsun Chhembo became instrumental in introducing Lamaism as the dominant religion in Sikkim. The people were quick converts. Monasteries began to be built up. The people based in Monasteries, not only embraced Lamaism as a religion, but social practices, daily life and customs became so much wedded to it that it is difficult to understand the people without an understanding of what Lamaism is and how far it has regulated the life of these people through centuries.

### Lamaism in Sikkim

Lamaism as a distinct school of Buddhism with a prepondering amount of mythology, mysticism and magic was first introduced in Tibet by Padma Sambhava (Guru Rimboche in Tibetan), an Indian monk from Nalanda in the middle of the 8th century.

It was brought to Sikkim by Lhatsun Chhembo (referred to before) whose image is now worshipped along with other deities in the Monasteries in Sikkim. He was a native of Kongbu in the lower valley of Tibet, and before entry to Sikkim obtained great repute by his learning, and was a favourite of Dalai Lama. On arrival into Sikkim, he was very warmly received by the people who earlier believed in demon and fairy worship. He went on quickly converting the people with the help of the first King whom he crowned. A Monastery at Dubde was built and that at Sangachelling commenced under his direction, which was completed during the period of the second King (Tensung Namgye) who was to his credit also the building of the Pemiongchi Monastery, the most famous in Sikkim. During the reign of subsequent Rulers, Monasteries, one after another, began to be built up which became not only the place of worship, but also the abode of the people who took to Lamaism and became a monk.

### Monasteries

Monasteries in Sikkim are of three kinds—

- (1) Tak-phu or cave-hermitage,
- (2) Gompa or a solitary place of worship,



## (3) Gompas or village temples.

The site occupied by a Monastery is usually commanding and picturesque. The monastic buildings cluster round the Temple. There are also other outer buildings for the residence of the monks.

Lining the approaches to the Monasteries are rows of tall "prayer flags", and several large "chhortens" (receptacle for offerings).

The main Temple is the chief and most conspicuous building in a Monastery. It is normally of a squarish base, stone walls and thatched roofs surmounted with one or two domes. At the base are placed several "prayer-barrels" which are turned by the visitor as he proceeds.

On entering the vestibule to the Temple, the gateway is guarded by several figures of Demons. The Temple is a large hall with a double row of pillars, terminated by the altar. The walls are lined with frescoes of deities, saints and demons.

Above the altar are placed three colossal images of Shakyamuni in the centre with Guru Rinpoche and Cheresi (Padmapani, patron God of Lamaism) on the sides. Ranged on either sides are the other images of the Temple. In some of the larger Monasteries, there are side-chapels. A lamp is lighted in the Temple with melted butter placed in a big bowl. The cymbals are placed on the inner platform.

*Daily Prayer*

The routine of daily prayer by the Lamas in these Monasteries is interesting.

In the morning, after offering the sacred food, incense, and butter incense, a conch-shell is blown by which all the Lamas congregate in the Assembly Hall and seat themselves in Buddha fashion in solemn silence. Then tea is served and before tea is drunk, a prayer is uttered by all as follows:

"We humbly beseech Thee! that we and our relations throughout all of our life-cycles may never be separated from the Three Holy Ones! May the blessings of the Trinity enter into this drink."

Then sprinkling a few drops on the ground, the tea is drunk.

Then the Magic Circle (a graphic depiction on paper of the Universe according to the belief of the Lamas) is inspected by the Head Lama and he commences celebration of the Mass as "We—all beings—through the intercession of the Lama, go for refuge to Buddha, to *Dharma*, to Shakyamuni, to Vajrapani, etc., etc.", the rest of the congregation repeating each word by word. For repeating all these prayers and invocations, more than an hour passes. Here ends the morning prayer.

At 8 A.M. the conch-shell again blows summoning the Lamas to the Assembly. Now a full course of prayer begins which consist of (1) presentation of offerings and (2) the Mandala service.

In presentation of offerings, the Lamas in a melodious voice utter in unison, "Come! Come! Om! Bajra! Partake of these offerings! Excellent drinking river water, cool water for washing your feet, flowers for decking your hair, pleasing incense fumes, lamp for lighting the darkness, perfumed water for anointing your body, sacred food, the music of cymbals."

Then the Mandala service begins with the words, "I offer you all these constituent parts of the Universe all complete; the four continents adorned with the sun and moon; the whole assembly of accomplished Supreme Beings of the outside, inside and hidden regions, the entire wealth and body of all these mythical regions etc., etc."

This full course of prayer is repeated several times in a day and in the evening intermingled with refreshments which are served in these Assembly Halls.

The same practice, but in a less rigorous form, is followed in other places of worship, in villages or in hermitages of solitary monks.

Dolma (Tara) is one of the most popular of the deities. It is said that "if you chant her hymn two or three times a day, your desire for a son will be realised, or should you wish wealth, you will obtain it, and all other wishes will be gratified." A few lines of the hymn uttered in her praises read as follows:

"We hail Thee! O Rever'd and Sublime Dolma!  
Who are adorned by all the Kings and princes

Of the ten directions and of the present, past and future.

Hail! The mighty Gods adore Thee—  
Indra, Agni, Brahma and the Lord of the Winds;

Hail! Oh! Owner of all the earth  
Thou maketh the mighty bend their head  
And quake beneath Thy angry frown,  
While all the poor Thou cherisheth.

Now! O! The Great Worker!  
Thou quick soother and gracious Mother,  
Holding the utpal flower,  
Let thy glory come!

The above is the daily routine to which a Lama is wedded in life and this life continues endlessly throughout the year. Thus Lamaic life and practices cast a continuous spell over the life of the people, either based in Monasteries or in villages who are found to be muttering prayers to the Lord Buddha in a continuous buzz all throughout their lives.

*Rulers of Sikkim*

This gives us in short a glimpse of the ways of life the people have lived through centuries and the part religion has played in moulding their character. The hills have all through been very sparsely populated and so dwelling in the Monasteries and in small villages in the valleys round about a village Priest, they have faced the rigours of climate and material wants in a stoic manner. Recoiling in the inner world, in the sub-conscious, wearing 'Amulet-charms' which are believed to give protection against every form of disease, accident and ill-fortune and with 'Rosaries' in hand telling in each bead "Om! Mani Padma Hum!", they have retreated from the affairs of the outer world. Life flowed in even tenor with very few sparks illumining the course.

The life of the Rulers was also a dedication to the dominant religion and except for occasional interlude in State affairs when there was some disturbance from outside, or some intrigue at home, it was spent in comparative idleness and very few spells remain to be recorded. As there were no laws guiding the life of the people, religious hierarchy and Rulers

exercised absolute domination over them. Polygamy and polyandry were prevalent behind the facade of a life of celibacy and abstinence to which the Lamas were wedded.

The Rulers were also in the habit of marrying a number of girls. So at the time of succession, there were great troubles which were smoothened out with great difficulties.

The second Raja in succession, Tensung Namgye ascended the throne in 1670. He had to his credit the building of several Monasteries which have become famous.

His son Chakdor Namgye ascended the throne about 1700. His reign was full of troubles.

His half-sister Pende Amo claimed the throne as she was elder. When refused, she invited the Bhutanese to invade the country. War ensued, Bhutanese occupied the country and Raja Chakdor fled to Tibet. With Tibetan help, the Bhutanese were compelled to leave the country, but they retained Dumsong Fort and the territories surrounding it (which now comprise the Kalimpong sub-division of Darjeeling district.)

During the period of his stay in Tibet, Raja Chakdor studied hard and became a scholar and on his return was much respected by the people. But his sister was not prepared to forgive him and caused his murder in 1717.

His son Gyurme Namgye ascended the throne in 1717. He married a lady who was not to his liking. So he refused to live with her and had no issue. During his time, Sikkim lost some of her territories to Nepal. In 1734 the Raja was taken dangerously ill, and when he was asked to name his heir, he said, "His ministers need have no anxiety on the point, as they would find a young nun tending cattle near Singgyang, the girl is a daughter of Neergahden of the Takchhungtar family, and she has had a son by me." The Raja died shortly afterwards.

So this son Namgye Pencho wanted to ascend the throne in 1734. But there was revolt against him by the Kazis or Jungpens (local Governors) who were not prepared to allow an illegitimate son to ascend the throne. The dispute was finally settled by an emissary from Lhasa and Namgye Pencho ruled till 1780.

## TOLSTOY THE NOVELIST

By NARAYANI BASU, M.A., D. Phil

SINCE the death of Goethe in 1832, if anybody was asked the question in the eighties who was the greatest writer in the world after him? The answer must have been Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy. Tolstoy died on the 22nd November, 1910. In the kingdom of classical fiction he was still the tsar of the world. Although he was thoroughly Russian in birth, ancestry and environment he belongs to the world as truly as Tagore. Tolstoy amazingly captured the imagination of millions of foreigners. The literary giants of his own homeland had forecast the arrival of an author of incomparable genius. Dostoevski after reading a review of his *Childhood and Boyhood* enquired from Siberia of one of his friends, 'Who is this mysterious L.N.T.?' Turgenev said of him, 'When this wine is ripened there will be a drink fit for the gods.' His next best work after *Childhood and Boyhood* is *Sevastopol Sketches*.

Tolstoy's stories and sketches, particularly his *Childhood and Boyhood* and the *Sevastopol Sketches* are wonderful writings and unparalleled but they are merely 'trials of the pen' as he calls them. The author is preparing himself, testing his own ability so that he can proceed for the pyramid he is going to construct. Prince Mirsky has rightly divided his early works covering the period of 1852-1877 into two clear-cut periods—the first period is the preparatory period and the second period is the period of fulfilment. *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* are the products of the second period.

Tolstoy's genius has found better expression in novels than in short stories. This is because a true novel cannot be created without a positive philosophy of life. Nothingness can never be the basis of a novel. The novels find refuge in a definite philosophy, that can guide the life through its troubles and tempests. Tolstoy had this philosophy which ultimately matured into his Christian conviction and gave him a meaning of life. This conviction is the spiritual source of Tolstoy's novels.

Tolstoy can be credited with introducing a new method in Russian literature. This is his analytic-retrospective, otherwise known as the direct method. This method of Tolstoy was completely different from the dramatic method followed by Dostoevski. The peculiarity of it is that the characters always offer an explanation of their activities. Dostoevski's characters do not offer any such explanation—that is the most important thing and an explanation always precedes the activity of each character.

The theme that occupied Tolstoy before he wrote *War and Peace* is the mental striving of a young Russian to free himself from the artificialities of life and to find out the truth. The search is continued in his *War and Peace*. He wrote it in the early years of his shamelessly happy married life. Hence he was more content with himself and his life and his attitude towards things was more tolerant than ever. In his opinion the novel was intended to please the readers. But that is only the face-value of the book and one has to go through the book to see his strivings and yearnings, his hopes and fears. In his *What is Art* Tolstoy of course characterized his novels as examples of bad art and saw it harmful for society. One of Professor Zaharin's daughters had told him that she began to love the balls and the parties after reading *War and Peace*. It happened at a time when he had already denounced the modern society. The real cause of his condemnation of the novel seems to be elsewhere. *War and Peace* is a novel which is so big in size that is a pastime for the leisure class only and is not accessible to the peasants and the working class. It can please the rich and the aristocrats who have nothing to do except to squander away the money wrung from the peasants. So, this is an example of bad art.

*War and Peace* is a chronicle of Russian families. There are two families in it—the Rostovs and the Bolkonskys as they are affected by Napoleon's invasion. Besides recording simply the historic events Tolstoy here gives us a philosophy of history. The philosophy is that the prime mover of history is the people. The so-called great men of the world are the most significant tools of history. One such typical great man in history is Napoleon. The whole of the European sky is overcast with the ominous shadow of his invasion but the man himself does not know what is in store for him.

Under the main current of the book is still flowing his old searching. He implicitly asks: what is good and what is bad? With what should we sympathize and what should we reject? The answer is evident: the simple, sincere and the meek are to be adored and the predatory, artificial and insincere should be abhorred.

While Tolstoy wrote his novel he was convinced that war is inevitable. The idea that war is an evil should not be resisted by violent means is the effect of his later realization. About *War and Peace* he writes in 1868:

Why did millions of people kill one another, when since the foundation of the world it has been known that this is both physically and morally bad?

Because it was so inevitably necessary, that even when doing it they fulfilled the elemental zoological law bees fulfil when they kill one another in autumn, and male animals fulfil when they destroy one another. No other reply can be given to that dreadful law.

So war is inevitable although cruel and it is condemned by Tolstoy who once witnessed its horror. *War and Peace* is one of the most powerful indictments of war ever made.

A few charges have been made against this classic of Tolstoy. It is said that he neglects the evils of serfdom, the brutality, cruelty, the immurement of women, the torture of the serf girls by their mistresses. But Tolstoy who has studied that period through and through from the historic records, from the diaries of the Tolstoy and the Volkonskys (his mother's family), found out that the people of that period also were per-

meated with love and hatred, jealousy and anger, that they sought the truth and the virtue as we do now. Sometimes they were finer and even nobler than the people of our age which, in his opinion, was the worst period in history.

Another defect Tolstoy was conscious of is the intrusion of philosophic arguments into the novel. Later on he says that his novels could have been a better one without these philosophic discourses. Yet the philosophy does not spoil the novel. In *War and Peace* he has combined realism with philosophy, imagination with life. The main interest of the book is in life and its continuity and if man has any obligation at all it must be in tune with life itself. This is the message of *War and Peace*.

The novel covers a wide range of his experience. Here one can see the aristocracy and the peasants, the country life and the town life, the army comrades and the soldiers, diplomats, courtiers, flirtation and love, balls, parties; even hunting expeditions have not been excluded from the book. He vividly describes the Russian society he lives in. The only class left out of the novel is the middle-class. An aristocrat by birth Tolstoy had no acquaintance with them. Like a bountiful giver he distributes his wealth of experience among the people but does not pose to give what he himself does not possess.

Tolstoy's next best work is *Anna Karenina*. It is the story of an unlawful love. In the literature of the nineteenth century unlawful love played a very important role but perhaps none have succeeded like Tolstoy in depicting it with so much tact, intelligence, goodness and truth.

Like Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* Tolstoy for his *Anna Karenina* received both condemnation and praise—condemnation from the progressive group and praise from the aristocrats and the orthodox. But outside Russia *Anna Karenina*'s popularity seems to have been greater than that of *War and Peace*. The reason is that *Anna Karenina* is a novel the Western world is accustomed to although there are two pairs of lovers instead of one.

Prince Stepan Arkadevich Oblonski had a family trouble. He made a liaison with the French Governess of his children, So, his wife Darya Aleksandrovna found it impossible to live with her husband. *Anna Karenina* the sister of

His son Tenzing Namgye became Raja in 1780. During his reign, at first the Bhutanese and then the Goorkhas from Nepal attacked Sikkim. The Raja with Tibetan help was able to repulse both the attacks.

His son Chophoe Namgye succeeded the throne in 1790. His reign was eventful in many ways.

In 1791, the Goorkhas of Nepal made war with Tibet but were defeated. But in the peace treaty that followed, Tibet considered that the Sikkimese had not rendered them sufficient assistance, and a portion of territory belonging to Sikkim was allowed to remain under the occupation of Nepal. For sometime Pemoongchi and all the South Teesta areas paid rents to Nepal.

But at the close of the Goorkha war, the Nepalese were expelled by the British rulers in India, and by the Treaty of 1817 all these territories were restored to the Sikkim Raja. During his reign, which lasted till 1861, closer relations developed with the British rulers in India and the cessation of Darjeeling district obtained.

#### *Cessation of Darjeeling*

The first notice of these hills suitable as an attractive Hill-station was made by Captain Lloyd, Indian Agent in Nepal, who accompanied by Mr. J. W. Grant, visited these hills in connection with settlement of a dispute between Sikkim and Nepal. They made a report about the desirability of obtaining these hills as a good Health Resort to the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck. The Governor-General, made a request to the Sikkim Raja, who already benefited by earlier British help in restoration of his territory from Nepal, gladly acceded to the proposal and the Maharaja unconditionally ceded the Darjeeling tract of territories by a Deed of Grant dated February, 1835.

In 1841, the Government granted an allowance of Rs. 3000/- per annum to the Maharaja as compensation for the cessation of Darjeeling, and in 1846, a further sum of Rs. 3000/- in all Rs. 6000/- was sanctioned.

But the quick development of Darjeeling under the British rule became a source of anxiety and jealousy of the Dewan of the Maha-

raja who was the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim. A friction developed when some of the slaves of Sikkim Dewan crossed over and began to live in Darjeeling. When in 1849, Dr. Hooker and Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling, were travelling in Sikkim, they were made prisoners, and were ultimately released under a serious threat by the Governor-General. A further portion of Sikkim territories, Sikkim Terai, and hills bounded by the Rungeet and Teesta on Nepal frontier were annexed and made a part of Darjeeling district. A further slice of territories was subsequently taken possession of.

By a Treaty signed in March 1861, the Sikkimese agreed to the cessation of these territories and the Darjeeling district was finally constituted. (The Kalimpong part of the territories was received from Bhutan.)

#### *Relations with India*

Sikhyong Namgye succeeded his father Chophoe Namgye and became Raja in 1861.

The annual subsidy of Rs. 6000/- forfeited in 1850, was restored in 1862. It was increased to Rs. 9000/- in 1868 and to Rs. 12000/- in 1873.

Sikhyong Namgye died in 1874 and was succeeded by his half-brother Thothub Namgye who married his widow and had three children by her. She died in 1880.

In the meantime an attempt was made to place Tinkle Namgyal (son of his half-brother Dewan Changzed Karpo who married the widow named Menchi, fifth wife of his father Raja Chophoe Namgyal) into the throne by a sort of conspiracy against him. But this was frustrated by the intervention of the Government of India.

In March, 1888, the Tibetans sent an army and occupied Lingtu, a point about 12 miles to the Sikkim side of the frontier, on the top of a high peak on the road to Jelap, one of the passes of the Chola range. The Raja remained at Chunfbi, notwithstanding the request of the Government of India to return. His allowance was therefore stopped. A British Expeditionary Force was then sent against Lingtu and the Tibetans were forced to evacuate.

In December, 1888, negotiations were started with the Chinese Resident with a view to settlement of the Sikkim-Tibetan dispute, but it was then unsuccessful. Finally, as a result of fresh negotiations, at a Convention with China in 1890, a Treaty was signed. By this Treaty British protectorate over Sikkim was acknowledged and the boundary between the two States defined. In 1893, a supplementary Agreement relating to trade and domestic matters was signed. A British Political Officer was appointed to assist the Maharaja in the administration of the country with the help of a Durbar composed of Chief Civil Officers and Lamas.

In March 1892, the Maharaja secretly left Pemiongchi where he was staying with the intention of proceeding to Tibet. He was not agreeable to the terms of the above Treaty. On entering Nepal, he was stopped and the Nepal Durbar escorted him and his party back to British territory. Government of India wanted to put him under surveillance. As however, he expressed his regret, he was allowed to return to Gangtok in 1895.

The Younghusband Mission of 1903 to Tibet finally settled the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet.

Raja Thothub Namgyal died in 1914, and was succeeded by his son Sidkeong Namgyal. He died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his half-brother Tashi Namgyal, the present Maharaja, in April, 1918. The subsidy of Rs. 12000/- withheld since 1889 was restored to him.

#### *Present Position*

After India attained independence, an Indo-Sikkimese Treaty was signed in 1950 which replaced the old Treaty of the Lhasa Convention of 1890. By this, Sikkim continues to be a protectorate of the Government of India, which

have special responsibilities in respect of her defence and external relations.

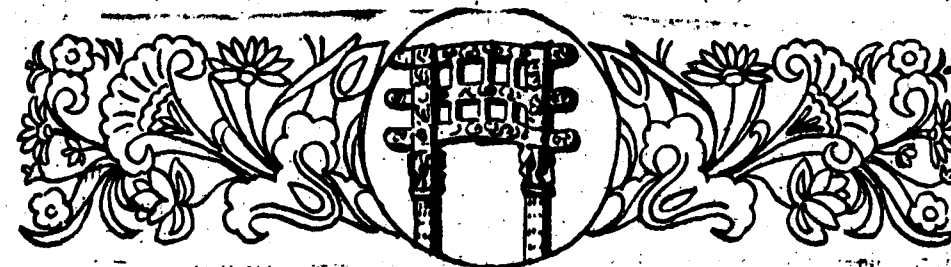
In 1949, at the request of the Maharaja, the Government of India made available the services of an officer for appointment as Dewan of Sikkim.

Currently a 7-Year Development Plan is in progress with the assistance of the Government of India. For this purpose, India has made gift of Rs. 3 crores to Sikkim. There were already good roads connecting India with Sikkim, viz., Kalimpong Nathu La, Jelap La and other roads. Some 100 miles of motorable road, 25 miles of Jeepable road and 350 miles of village roads have been laid. Some 60 schools, 3 hospitals and several dispensaries have been opened.

The people have also become politically conscious. The Maharaja held an election in November, 1959 for a 14-member State council. The State Congress won 8 seats while 2 factions of the Nationalist Party took 2 seats and Swatantra Party one seat and one Lama won an independent seat. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the State Congress wants accession to India.

Sikkim is therefore on the road to progress. Popular consciousness have gained strength and the close proximity of Darjeeling district and frequent inter-communication between the two have worked in heightening that consciousness. Education is spreading. A new people with a different culture is bound to emerge out of this communion with a lasting benefit to both. China has declared that she has no border dispute with Sikkim.

- Reference :—(i) Dr. Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, 1854.  
(ii) *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894.  
(iii) *Asian Recorder*, 1959.



Stepan Arkadevich was destined to arrive at Moscow to reconcile her brother and sister-in-law. She was a very beautiful, charming lady of Petersburg society.

Vronsky was a very handsome, very rich, gay, brilliant young man, in a word, the hero of the ladies. It was generally believed that he would marry Kitty, the youngest sister of Darya Aleksandrovna. Kitty had another proposal also. This proposal came from Levin. But Kitty's mother's choice fell upon Vronsky because she desired as all mothers of good society do to have a brilliant match for their daughters. Kitty also took it for certain that the offer would come from Vronsky and under this expectation she refused Levin.

Anna and Vronsky's mother were travelling by the same train. Anna had a son. The two proud mothers talked of their sons while in the train. Vronsky came to receive his mother and met Anna in the platform. Anna had already heard a lot about him and having seen him she felt a very peculiar feeling in her heart. Was it love or infatuation? She tried to dispel that evil feeling which was troubling her so much. But it was hard, very hard to overcome this unknown passion for the young people who did not know what love is.

Anna was married to a distinguished man without either fully understanding the other. The husband was a very remarkable, excellent man but was a little cold and was much older than her. He had gone far beyond her in the striving of the Christian ideal while she was still left in the world of balls and parties. The flesh of the body had its own demands. Naturally Anna quickly yielded to the gay, brilliant, very rich and handsome Vronsky. They began to meet secretly. Rumours were reaching Aleksyey—Anna's husband. At first he did not suspect anything but Anna who was always truthful and hated to lead a deceptive life full of lies confessed her guilt. A few months later she expected a baby whose father was Vronsky. Aleksyey was very much disturbed in his soul but all that he wanted was decency and lie. He did not want to express his unhappiness to others. Life went on in Karenin's family as before.

Anna got her second baby. It was a

daughter named Annie. Soon after Annie's birth Anna fell very ill. While hovering between life and death she realized a new truth, i.e., the Christian truth of love and forgiveness. Anna called her husband and requested him to forgive Vronsky. Vronsky felt so much humiliated, so low before the magnanimity of Aleksyey that he tried to commit suicide. But this was an unsuccessful attempt and Vronsky decided to leave Petersburg for ever.

Anna did not die as she expected. She recovered from her illness and all her spiritual realization disappeared as soon as she saw Vronsky. Vronsky's desire also to go elsewhere vanished. The two lovers now found out that the life they were living was unbearable. Anna at last left her husband's house with Vronsky and her daughter. Her son stayed behind with the father. Kitty by this time had understood her folly and married Levin.

Anna left her husband's house but could not enter into a new wedlock with Vronsky without a divorce from her husband. Aleksyey also thought over the issue but divorce appeared to him impossible. According to Christian religion the wife is not allowed to marry the second time during the lifetime of the husband. How could Aleksyey lead Anna to commit adultery and cause the ruin of his beloved wife and the son? These thoughts were oppressing Aleksyey. He refused to send her a letter of divorce. But the divorce was very essential for Anna and Vronsky. They wanted the social sanction of their love and without divorce this sanction could not be obtained. The result was that even the most corrupt ladies like Betsey who were intriguing with society dandies and thereby deceiving their husbands refused to call on Anna and her lover. Vronsky also was becoming a little cold towards her. Had all their love been exhausted? Anna could not decide anything. At last she committed suicide.

In *Anna Karenina* Tolstoy poses a problem before the readers—is separation inevitable when both husband and wife find the continuity of such life unbearable? Most of the Westerners and the best of Tolstoy's Russia answered the question in the affirmative. In Kropotkin's opinion Tolstoy himself fully sympathized with the love of Anna and Vronsky

and yet Anna had to die because neither Anna nor Vronsky had the courage to break off the society and both valued the opinion of the Betsies who had no right to cast the stone at her. Hence suicide was caused by the opinion of the Betsies and was not the consequence of any Superhuman Justice.

Anna's suicide seems to be better understood by Dostoevski.

In *Anna Karenina* a view of human guilt and criminality is presented. In Europe the question of crime and therefore of punishment is solved in either of two ways. The first way is that the law is given, written, formulated by society. Evil and good are clearly defined. He who does not obey it pays literally and inhumanly. The other way is that the society is abnormally arranged. So it is impossible to hold the individual responsible for the consequences. To have done with crime and human guilt we must end the abnormality of society.

But the Russian author's (Tolstoy's) view is that no abolition of poverty, no arrangement of human society will save humanity from abnormalities and from guilt. Evil lies deeper in humanity than our socialist physicians conceive, abnormality and sin proceed from human mind and finally the human mind is so undefined, so mysterious that there are as yet no final or ultimate judges but there is only: He who says 'Vengeance is mine and I will repay!' to him alone the secrets of the world and of human mind are known. And that he may not perish in despair through failing to understand his path and destiny, man is shown the way of escape. This path was shown to Anna when she was in death's door and the culprits—her husband and Vronsky—were transformed into higher beings who freed themselves from falsehood, crime and guilt by mutual love and forgiveness. But gradually in the last part of the novel in that terrible picture of the fall of human soul there is so much instruction for a human judge and also for him who holds the scale and weighs that he exclaims in fear and amazement: No, vengeance is not always mine and I cannot always repay! And he does not inhumanly hold a fallen offender guilty for rejecting the path shown to her long before.

*Anna Karenina* is the Parliament, the pulpit and the bar of Tolstoy. Through it the author has despised the modern society, pleaded for the sacred family life and preached the new principles of rational Christianity. The social and religious message the novel contains can hardly be overlooked. Tolstoy tells the people—resist not the evil, love your enemy and do not commit adultery. Side by side he depicts the beauty of country life, the charm of a sacred family life of Levin and Kitty. The beautiful Anna and her lover the handsome Vronsky eclipse the more serious, silent Levin. But it is Levin who stands for Tolstoy's soul—a soul that has not yet fully discovered itself.

Tolstoy finished *Anna Karenina* in 1879. His conversion to new philosophy was almost complete in 1880. The essence of this philosophy consisted in the denial of church, of state and the practice of fivefold principles of Christ—Resist not the evil, do not commit adultery, love your enemy, do not take any oath, do not get angry. This philosophy of life began to reflect on his writings also. In 1883 Tolstoy appeared before the public with his *Kruetzer Sonata* with a new problem—the problem of sex.

In most of the European countries marriage is based upon a false conception of love. What really exists behind marriage is physical attachment and not love. People contract matrimonial unions in marriage and do not see anything sacramental. The result is deceit. Pozdnischeff, the hero of the *Kruetzer Sonata* was a victim of such marriage. For thirty years he lived a loose life, visited the brothels, drank liquors and saw the society girls without giving up his intention of getting married and leading an ideal family life. At last he discovered his lady love in the beautiful daughter of Penza, a landowner. Once they went out boating together. Under the spell of the bright moonlit sky the young man touched by the bewitching glamour of the girl thought that he had found out the purest, immaculate lady he was searching ever since. What a strange illusion! The young man took beauty for goodness and returned home in ecstasies deciding that she was the pink of moral perfection and worthy to be his wife. Soon they got married and then began the period of honeymoon.



Honeymoon! what pathos is contained in the very word! While in honeymoon they felt that the love which was so ardently desired by them was not love but the very opposite of it. In place of love hatred developed, tenderness appeared to be an empty feeling and marriage became a burden very hard to bear. In the third or fourth day of marriage they quarrelled but soon they made peace. They were living alternately under the spell of love and of hatred. Gradually the children appeared. In eight years they got five children. Children were god-sent angels who saved the parents from immediate disaster. But the happiness did not last long. The children instead of being a source of joy were the sources of new anxiety and trouble. Nursing and caressing the children were very much hated by the mother. She became very thin. The doctors forbade her ever again to become a mother, and taught her the means of executing their command. In spite of her husband's insistence she stubbornly refused to bear children. Two years rolled by and the doctors' advice acted like a magic upon her. Her appearance improved and she grew more attractive than ever. "A pretty woman of thirty, well-fed, irritable and no longer fatigued by the cares and responsibilities of motherhood" she now resembled a "well-fed, wanton, harnessed horse that has long stood inactive in the stables and from whom the bridle has been suddenly removed." The husband looked at her beauty with horror and anxiety.

Of late they were feeling that their love was completely exhausted. Should they make a new love and try their luck elsewhere once more? But the husband subdued his passion for family happiness and love for the children were too dear to him to be easily forsaken. At this stage an elegant young musician Trokhatschevsky by name with all the show of an outward dignity and a sensitive character appeared on the scene. The wife had a strong passion for music and being free from all motherly cares and responsibilities she again set herself to practise music. Music now became a plea for the musician to come to Pozdnischeff's house.

Pozdnischeff was absent from the house for three days. Having returned home he found the musician and his wife in a closed room play-

ing music. The husband though burning with jealousy and anger behaved very naturally. At night the wife apprehending her husband's annoyance came to make peace with him but he was about to kill her. Next morning they were reconciled under the influence of what we call 'love'.

A dinner was arranged on the following day. The guests came to attend the dinner at Pozdnischeff's house. The musician also was among the invited guests. When the dinner was off, the two—the musician and Pozdnischeff's wife performed the *Kruetzer Sonata* of Beethoven. Music had a terrible effect upon him. Everything seemed to him to be very beautiful and charming. Even musician appeared to be very noble. All the hatred and contempt of his heart vanished. The soiree was a grand success. The musician took leave of him impressing upon his mind the idea that he would soon leave Moscow and would not visit his house in his absence.

Pozdnischeff's heart was so full that he left Moscow for the country without any suspicion in his mind. In the country he had plenty of work awaiting him. But he received a note from his wife containing at the fag end of the letter, "Trokhatschevsky has called and brought the music that he promised me and offered to play again but I declined." But did he really promise her any music? Pozdnischeff could not recollect. Had she started intriguing with the musician? Horror and rage crushed his soul. Life in the country became unbearable to him. He immediately hired a *tarantass* and left for Moscow. But in the midway the *tarantass* broke down and so he could not catch the express train. Pozdnischeff had to come by passenger train reaching his Moscow house towards one o'clock and not at 5 o'clock in the evening as he intended.

A terrible scene though not unexpected was awaiting him. At that midnight when everybody ought to be asleep the wife and the musician were eating. With a dagger in his hand to kill his wife Pozdnischeff entered the room where they were amusing and enjoying themselves. The musician noticed the dagger and slipped away. Pozdnischeff then fell upon his wife and plunged the dagger into her heart.

The wife was dying in her bed. Pozdnischeff went to her. He expected that she would confess her guilt, her faithlessness. But instead the old, familiar, cold, animal hatred appeared on her face. He realized his own fault. But everything was finished then. Pozdnischeff was sent to the prison and spent there eleven months awaiting his trial. He was finally acquitted but did not get the charge of children although he gave them his whole fortune. Children were taken by their maternal aunt as was desired by their mother.

In *Kruetzer Sonata* Tolstoy preached his new faith in celibacy and chastity. Chastity is an ideal not merely for the unmarried people, it is an ideal for the married couples also. *Kruetzer Sonata* is a stumbling block to them who do not want to understand Tolstoy. Many of his readers actually read into the story an advocacy for free love. Some of them accused him of preaching immorality and the Archbishop of Kherson depicted him as a 'wolf in sheep's clothing'. To dispel the misunderstanding Tolstoy wrote an afterword to the *Kruetzer Sonata* but the didactic purpose was not achieved.

The last work is *Resurrection*. As a work of art it is inferior to *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. But it gives us the complete idea of the new philosophy he lately developed. Tolstoy got the plot of the novel from a story given by the eminent jurist A. F. Koni.

Once a young man came to Koni and sought his aid in conveying a letter to a girl who was sent to prison. He promised to help him and came to know that the girl as an orphan child was adopted by a rich lady who gave her some education also but she was brought up as a servant of the house. The young man while he was sixteen seduced her. On seeing her pregnancy the benefactor drove her out of the house. The girl then put her baby in an asylum and herself finding no honest means of earning her livelihood became a prostitute. Then she was arrested for having stolen the purse of one of her drunken visitors in the brothel. The young man, the seducer of the girl, happened to be in the jury of her trial. He was deeply impressed by the whole affair. Being conscious of the injustice done to her he decided to marry the girl. Ultimately they

were married but the girl died of typhus within a few months.

On the basis of this story supplied by Koni, Tolstoy wrote the *Resurrection*. Katyusha was the undesired child of an unmarried village woman. When the baby was only three years old her mother fell ill and died leaving behind the child a complete orphan. After the mother's death Sophia Ivanovna, a rich maiden of the village who stood god-mother to the girl took her to her home. Katyusha was brought up there as a half-servant and half-young lady. As she was illegitimate, she was called by her mother's surname Maslova.

Katyusha lived in this way till she was sixteen and grew very pretty and fascinating. Then a young Prince, Neklyudov by name who was the nephew of the rich lady, a university student, came to stay with his aunts. Katyusha without acknowledging her position fell in love with that young man. Two years later they met for the second time and Neklyudov who was once a young, self-sacrificing lad was now a depraved, refined egotist preparing his journey for the war. The night before he left his aunt's home to join his regiment he seduced Katyusha. The young man conscious of his own guilt gave her a one hundred rouble note perhaps as her price. After five months she came to know for certain that she had conceived.

Katyusha's benefactor now very much dissatisfied with her let her go. After some unsuccessful attempts to lead an honest life she got a place in this big world. It was a brothel house.

While staying there Katyusha was accused of causing the death of a man by poisoning and of stealing his money. The story behind this murder case is this. Smelkov was one of Katyusha's clients. He was staying at Hotel Mavritania and sent her to his hotel to fetch money for him. Katyusha came and took 40 roubles as she was instructed by Smelkov. Smelkov returned to the hotel accompanied by Katyusha. Katyusha then on the advice of one of the hotel valets mixed a white powder with brandy. The powder was supplied by the same valet and the brandy was given to Smelkov. Katyusha wanted to get rid of the man. The powder, she thought was an opiate. She was

really ignorant of the fact that it was poison. Postmortem enquiry revealed that death had come as a result of poisoning and his money was found missing. So, she appeared before the court for the trial.

Prince Neklyudov, the seducer of Katyusha, was now in the jury. From the very beginning he recognised Katyusha and his past relation with that poor girl flashed in his mind. He now realized what he had done to her. In spite of his best efforts he could not save Katyusha who was found guilty and was condemned to hard labour. A feeling of shame and loathing seized Neklyudov's mind. His whole life which was lying before him so prospective and easy now seemed to be shameful and horrid. He to atone for his sin offered to marry Katyusha. Katyusha was very happy at this proposal but refused to accept the prince's sacrifice. But Neklyudov felt that he was ever bound to Katyusha and resolved to follow her to Siberia.

On their way Katyusha met two political prisoners—Maria Pavlovna and Simonson. The only ideal of Maria Pavlovna was the service of humanity. These two—Maria and Katyusha were united by their aversion to sexual love. Simonson also had as if thrown himself to the spirit of philanthropy. Simonson was very much attracted by Katyusha. Katyusha though in deep, pure, love—devoid of all sensuality, with Neklyudov did not want to spoil his life and accepted the offer of Simonson. Her sentence to hard labour was commuted by the Tsar to one of exile to the less distant districts of Siberia. They were now free to live together. Nekhlyu-

dov also was reborn. The commandments of Christ revealed a new life before him. Now his only task was to tread on that path.

Tolstoy's own past is peeping through the episodes of *Ressurrection*. Sonya told her husband that an old man like him should be ashamed of writing such filthy stuff like the fornication of Maslova. Tolstoy did not make any protest against this accusation but pathetically reported to Marya Alexandrovna Schmidt that only at the age of fourteen he went to a brothel and after the first sexual intercourse with a poor girl he wept standing beside her bed. *Ressurrection* is not autobiographical in nature but here one can see what Tolstoy is going to be. His own passions and sins, his irresistible struggles with life have been reflected in the nature and actions of Nekhlyudov. The chief aim of the novel is to expose the fraud of judicial punishment, the evil consequences of the violence of Government and the hypocrisy of the Church. This is the negative lesson of the book but it contains more positive ideals to be followed—the ideal of brotherhood and of moral perfection through the service of others. The anarchist tendency was already casting its shadow in his literary works and a critic like Mikhaylovsky had already discovered the essentially revolutionary foundation of Tolstoy's attitude. But here the views have fully matured and *Resurrection* is an unforgiving impeachment of modern society. After *Resurrection* Tolstoy did not write anything serious. The only task before him was like Nekhlyudov to tread the path showed to him by Christ.



# Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: By Sri Ram Sharma. Rajpal and Sons. Delhi. 1959. Pp. 356. 36 shillings.

This is a thoroughly well-digested, erudite and comprehensive monograph on the working of the Supreme Court in India in different spheres from the time of its creation in 1950, down to the end of 1958. It is based on a painstaking study of an enormous mass of judgments of the Court during those years. A preliminary account of the Constitution, jurisdiction and functions of the Court is followed by a detailed study of its activities in regard to the interpretation of the Constitution and the law, judicial control, fundamental rights, the public services, and the Parliament. Interspersed are notices of its work in commenting on administrations, legislation and Courts, and in re-thinking its interpretation of the Constitution and the laws. The author shows throughout a striking independence of judgment in the light of his study of the best foreign authorities on law and Constitution as well as on the working of parallel institutions in Australia, Canada and U.S.A. His conclusions are admirably summed up in the concluding chapter where after referring to some of the shortcomings of the Court, he makes the striking observation (p. 307): "The Constitution and the Supreme Court between them have done a splendid job in infusing the spirit of constitutionalism in the country despite heavy odds." Other sound features of the work are the full notes and appendices at the end of the chapters, a very useful bibliography, two tables of cases and statutes (Indian and foreign) cited, and two indexes (index of names and subjects). Sri Mehr Chand Mahajan, retired Chief Justice of India, contributes an appreciative Foreword.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

THE REVOLT IN TIBET: By Frank Moaraes. Published by The Macmillan Co., 60, Fifth Avenue, New York 11. 26th January, 1960. Pp. 223. Price \$1.50 paper-bound.

China's seizure of Tibet is a coup of brutal treachery. It once again demonstrates that mankind with all its vaunt of civilization and a composite conscience has not much advanced beyond the stage of untutored savages flying at the throat of a neighbour only because he is not strong enough to strike back on equal terms. The author's monograph under notice adds one more feather to his cap of achievements in dealing with contemporary political studies. The book in eight chapters gives us a brief survey of Tibet's history and people floating down the mists of antiquity to the events, which led to Dalai Lama's flight to India in March 1959. The author's assessment of the impact of this episode on India, as discussed in Chapter V, is brilliant for its close delineation of relevant facts and circumstances. Our political wiseacres would do well to read and mark in order to take stock of the situation.

Moaraes in his biography of Nehru steers clear of idolatry but reveals himself as one of his inspired admirers. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that in the light of shattering realities of history it is for Moaraes to indicate, in between the lines, that Tibet may not prove the burial ground of Nehru's political sagacity and foresight.

Joges C. Bose

INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND THOUGHT: By Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvanshi. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Agra. Price Rs. 10/-

The story of India's struggle for independence is a romantic Saga extending over decades and generations. It has been

hardship, disease, loneliness, the boring routine of field-work in order to study the last few survivors of a dying culture. His compensation comes from the belief that the deeper waters of his own society can be fathomed adequately only by the knowledge of man as he lived or lives today in primitive society.

That however is not the only compensation as the book shows. The Professor made his particular field of study a number of the most primitive and remote Indian tribes of South America—the Caduveo, the Borero, the Nambikwara and the Tupi-Kawahib tribes who live in the dense jungles of the Amazon and about whom little was known until his detailed studies. How fortunate that he did make a study of them. The Oxford and Cambridge Expedition to South America who were there not long ago, found the tribes almost extinct, degenerate and dying from the effects of disease and the breakdown of their traditional skills and beliefs, the results of civilisation and proselytism. How sad the fate of these survivors of a stone-age culture, how fortunate, indeed, that their not so distant life when it was still full of vitality has been deposited in these pages.

Margaret Basu

#### HINDI

**JEEVANLEELA**: By Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Translated by Ravindra Kalelkar. Navajiban Prakasan Mandir, Ahmedabad. February, 1958. Price Rs. 3.

Kakasaheb Kalelkar, a prominent associate of Mahatma Gandhi, continues to explain and keep alive his doctrines of **ahimsa** and social reform. But here is literature of another sort. Kakasaheb has been also a great traveller. In the volume under review he has confined himself to the life dynamic—the life that is in the moving waters—the rivers, the lakes, the famous water-falls of India. His love of India and his love of travel have combined to give all his descriptions a peculiar savour.

The present volume is a Hindi translation rendered under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi, which has arranged for the translation of the good books of one Indian language into another, for the promotion of mutual understanding and goodwill.

P. R. Sen

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# Indian Periodicals

## Indian Architecture

Revival and Restoration Yet Possible In Independent India

By Prof. O. C. Gangoly

If the building of the New Delhi under the guidance of two foreign architects failed to produce genuine types of Indian Architecture, the operations in employing a large number of carvers, masons and craftsmen proved the survival and existence—at least in North India,—of skilled operatives and stone-masons, carpenters and woodcarvers, and various other classes of minor craftsmen, able to co-operate with and help to produce architecture on ambitious plans and projects. These minor craftsmen of great skill in traditional arts and crafts do not get any opportunity to develop their skill and to keep alive great and ancient tradition, as individual private builders cannot afford to employ highly paid decorative craftsmen, so that from the national point of view—of keeping alive valuable artistic heritages—the State should employ these highly skilled craftsmen to utilise their skill in ambitious building operations.

A great opportunity was lost—in neglecting the still surviving highly trained skilful carvers and craftsmen of Orissa, when the new city of Bhubaneswar was built, a few years ago, after India had achieved her independence. It was a tragedy no less sad than the great building tragedy in New Delhi that no attempt was made to revive and restore the great architectural glories of Konarak, Puri, and Bhubaneswar in building the new city of Orissa.

### Traditions not Dead

In the south, traditional building activities had a slightly better luck. The Cathedral cities of the South, with their traditions of temple-building and the predominating religious practices and beliefs, had kept alive—until quite lately—large groups of practising architects (*sthapatis*) not only in building new temples but in large-scale repairs and additions to existing shrines chiefly under the patronage of the

*Deva-sthanam* trustees and the devout *Nattocotta Chetties*, the rich hereditary bankers of the south.

Even during the Victorian Era, in the city of Madras and other centres several important buildings were put up in beautiful Indo-Saracenic and quasi-Mughal style. The Madras University Buildings, the Connemara buildings are outstanding monuments in the Indian style, if not of the Dravidian order. Curiously, the Victoria Memorial Hall (now used as the National Gallery of Art, Madras) erected shortly after 1904, to commemorate the reign of Queen Victoria, was built in the Moghul style, and is one of the finest buildings of the south of the twentieth century. It has demonstrated, if demonstration was necessary, that it is still possible to build beautiful buildings, in Moghul or any other style, and the old schools of architecture and their building traditions are not yet dead and are capable of further development and extension. In fact, if we study the history of Indian Architecture, we are surprised to find that at all stages of its history Indian architects had from time to time responded to the demands of new forces, new aspirations and new necessities and had always modulated their fundamental principles and designs to interpret new social, religious and spiritual demands of the Indian people and those of her invaders.

### The Adaptability

During the reign of the Slave-kings (1200-1246) and the Khiliji dynasty (1290-1320) (when Persian architects were not imported into India), the Indian architects carried out the architectural demand of their new masters by adapting and changing their traditional architectural idioms to the demands of the new form of culture. The Qutub Minar (C. 1200), mainly designed and built by Indian builders, is a magnificent illustration of the adaptability of the native Indian builders to carry out new forms of edifices, using Hindu motifs and principles to interpret the needs of Islamic culture. In fact, the famous *Arai-din-ka Jhompra* built at Ajmir in 1205 was built by re-adjusting all the materials of an old Hindu temple. The Qutub-din's Mosque (1229), close to the Qutub

marked by feats of unparalleled bravery, heroism, loyalty to the cause and self-sacrifice. Many who joined the struggle fell back. None of those who began the struggle lived to see the end when a nation of close upon four hundred million humanity awoke "to life and freedom" in mid-August, 1947.

Freedom's battle, once launched, continued till the goal was reached. Leadership changed. So did the strategy and tactics of the struggle. An alien ruling race—rather the representatives thereof on the spot—and its stooges and proteges left no stone unturned to browbeat, to demoralise and to crush the fighters for freedom. But ideas die hard. Occasional setbacks notwithstanding, the valiant fighters for freedom did not lose heart. There were enemies—alien as well as indigenous—imperialism, casteism, communalism, opportunism, vested interests and the whole gamut of them, and freedom's fight had to be carried on in the teeth of keen opposition from all of them. Partition of the country was Imperialism's parting kick to Indian nationalism and its farewell gift to Muslim communalism.

The attempt to tell the story of the Indian national struggle with so many vicissitudes and so many currents and cross-currents is a bold one. The ability to tell the story is commendable and to tell it well is no mean achievement. The author has done his job well and richly deserves our congratulations.

Dr. Raghuvanshi rightly points out at the outset that the history of Indian nationalism and that of the Indian National Congress are not one and the same thing. "The nationalist movement," he observes, "began to shape earlier" than the foundation of the Congress in 1885. Yet the story of the Indian national struggle is, by and large, the story of the Indian National Congress and its activities. So the volume under review is. The revolutionary and the terrorist movements deserved a more detailed treatment. So also did the I.N.A. movement, which brought Indian independence "miles nearer."

To err is human and the learned author, his industry and scholarship notwithstanding, is no exception to the rule. It is the reviewer's unpleasant duty to point them out. Here are some of them—"Swaraj" and passive resistance "were really the invention of his (Tilak's) brain" (p. 124;

Aurobindo, though successful in the I.C.S. examination "was rejected for his failure at the riding test" (p. 124—he did not actually take the test); the passengers of the Komagata Maru "were welcomed by the police and the military" on their landing at Budge-Budge in September, 1914 (p. 141); "There were outbreaks . . . of serious disturbances affecting the production of munitions from mills such as the Buckingham and Carnatic" (p. 147); ". . . on 11th April, 1925 at Calcutta the Hindu Mahasabha was duly inaugurated" (p. 171); "On 6th April the day of Jallianwallah massacre" (p. 209); the Tory Government of England was "worried about the Lancashire (cotton textiles) trade which was now threatened with extinction" as a result of the Second Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932-34 (p. 214-20); "the Bengal famine of 1943-44 . . . resulted in the deaths (sic.) of 15 to 20 lakhs of people" (p. 242). Instances may be multiplied. The mistakes should be corrected in the next edition.

All in all, Dr. Raghuvanshi's "Indian National Movement and Thought" is a remarkable treatise, an honest and unbiased work on what is certainly one of the most important topics of modern Indian history. Full of useful information, it is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject. Two editoins for a learned treatise in less than 10 years speak for themselves. We eagerly await a third.

Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji

**THE GOLDEN BOAT:** By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by Bhabani Bhattacharya. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay. 1958. Pp. 114. Rs.1.50.

The enterprising men of the Jaico publishing House have resurrected, after a lay-off of nearly a quarter of a century, a modestly priced concise anthology of Tagore's short stories. Bhabani Bhattacharya on his part has done a good job of his work, his selection and presentation of pieces are quietly competent and brings out the rare quality of mystic lyricism of Tagore's thought. It is to be hoped that in the general morass of inane writing that encounters one at every step today, this modest little collection of Tagore short stories will bring some solace to the tormented and much-wronged reader.

Ramesh Ghoshal

**PAKISTAN: Its Genesis and Parentage:** By Bimalacharan Deb. Published by Das Gupta & Co. Private Ltd., Calcutta-12. Pages 31. Price Re. 1.

This is a reprint of press cuttings from "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and "Hindustan Standard" between March 2, 1940 and July 25, 1944 without any comment from Mr. Deb to show how the idea of Pakistan originated and the political parties, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, in spite of their differences, worked in a manner to bring about the inevitability of partition of India into two sovereign States on communal basis. Mahatma Gandhi who was against vivisection of the country became a supporter of partition as the activities of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari (during the latter part of 1944) working on behalf of Gandhiji conclusively proves.

These few pages, in a nut-shell, present to the public, the irrefutable facts regarding the manipulations of the Congress and the League leaders in their dealings with the then British Government for the transfer of power.

We congratulate Mr. Deb for his very careful compilations and hope the 'truth' he has presented will 'triumph' in the minds of his countrymen.

A. B. Dutta

#### ENGLISH-FRENCH

**TRISTES TROPIQUES:** By C. Levi-Strauss. With 53 illustrations, map, 62 photographs. Librairie Plon, Paris. 1958 edition. Pp. 462. Price 1350 frs.

"What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?" There is no shortage to-day of the fruits of civilisation. Material advancement has been stupendous. There are enough cultural riches to fill the life-time of the most ardent sybarite. Never before were there so many political, social and scientific problems and so few to study them. Paradoxically, therefore, it is the man who is in love with society who turns out to be a rebel. The higher the civilisation, the more seductive the fruits, the greater is the nausea, and more acute the sense of betrayal.

It is the man who could lose himself in the manifold intellectual preoccupations of the West to-day who finds consummate interest in pondering whether in the highly stylized geometrical face tattoos of the

Caduveo there may have been perpetuated the artistic traditions of certain ancient civilisations of North Peru, wheher there is a connection between the arrangement of habitations in the Borero villages and the pre-Inca remains of Upper Bolivia. It is only thus that orthodox history has saved itself from the guilt of losing the perspective of pre-Columbian history.

He might meditate as to what extent the very form of man's existence gives meaning to his beliefs. He might wonder whether there would have been a pre-occupation in, say, Asia, with problems of devising social relationships but for the comparative overpopulation which brings in its train fear, suffering and hunger—"becoming too numerous . . . a society preserves itself only by secreting slavery." Is it not true that in Europe as a whole there is still reciprocity between man and Nature, in tropical America Nature is dominating man but in Asia man is exhausting Nature? He might argue that it is not the political system which determines the form of social existence but the forms of social existence which shape the political system just as liberty is not a juridical invention nor a philosophical treasure but the objective relationship between the individual and the space he occupies, between the consumer and the resources available. He may even speculate on the course which Western civilisation might have taken, had not Islam cut in two the civilised world and insulated Christianity from the influences of Buddhism.

These are some of the problems which Professor Levi-Strauss discusses in his book. He has travelled widely and observed minutely. The impressions of his travels in South America and the Indian continent are highly interesting in themselves (he made a special study of a Mogh village) but his speculations on man and society coming as they do from an original and reflective mind are highly provocative. He is a leading French anthropologist and now holds a Chair in Comparative Religion at the Sorbonne. For many years he was a professor of sociology in the University of Sao Paulo and during the war held academic posts in America.

An anthropologist seemingly condemns evils at home only to condone them abroad. Professor Levi-Strauss is a living answer to the question why do anthropologists suffer



Minar is also built by utilising the pillars and walls of the old temple of Rai Pithura, and still contains many reliefs and decorative devices of Hindu Architecture. In the Moghul school also we find numerous Hindu architectural elements adapted to the needs and requirements of Moghul culture. The point is that the traditions of Indian Architecture do not consist of a bundle of dead formulas and stereotyped designs and inflexible patterns, incapable of adaptations to new uses, new requirements, and new applications to new social and spiritual needs.

#### Government's New Policy

Since the achievement of Independence (1947) the Union Government has taken decisive resolution to revive and restore, if possible, to develop the old archaic Hindi Language used by Tulsidas, Kabir and Mirabai. Pandit Nehru has banned the use of European Dress and repeatedly recommended the use of Indian Dress for his officers in India and in the Indian Embassies abroad. Our Indian nationals are demanding the removal of the monumental statues of Europeans in the Indian cities (e.g., Outram Statue, Park Street corner) and some of the States are taking steps to remove them from public places to the obscurity of the corridors of Museums. Names of public streets (Clive Street, Hastings Street, Prinsep Street) are being replaced by names of Indian leaders. But the Government of India has not yet declared its policy as to what should be the Language of Indian Public Buildings, in the new era of Freedom.

#### No Deviation

Already various public buildings have gone up in Calcutta (New Secretariat Buildings in Hastings Street, Gandhi Ghat, Barrackpore) in forms of architecture which have no shadow of similarity with any of the great schools of Indian National Architecture. When the now defunct British administration had opted for Indian School of Architecture for the buildings of New Delhi, our National Union Government and the citizens of Free India (anxious to eschew English Language, English Dress, street names and memorial monuments) cannot with national self-respect continue to employ the forms of imported European Architecture for our public and private buildings. We may transform and modify the outlines of our traditional national architecture to suit our modern needs, our changed social and psychological outlook, without deviat-

ing from the basic foundations and principles of Indian Architecture as we have done again and again in the course of developments of Indian Architecture in significant stages of our national history.

#### Leaders' Duty

But consistent with our national honour, we could not think of repudiating the language of our National Architecture just as Rabindranath Tagore, in giving a new shape and a new turn to Bengali Literature, never thought of abandoning the old vernacular language of Bengal coming down from the ninth century, but invested our native tongue with a new flexion, with a new vocabulary, with a new grandeur. Our national poet wrote out all his new thoughts in the old vernacular language of Bengal, not in English, French, or German. It is expected that in Free India, our nationalist Government and leaders of nationalist India will graciously come forward and help the restoration and revival of Indian Architecture considering the fact that in 1913, the British Government sponsored the policy of having Indian Architecture for the Buildings of New Delhi.

But in the new set-up the opponents of such a policy are likely to come from Indian builders, engineers, town-planners and contractors; and some sections of our Indian citizens denationalized by centuries of British dominion and committed to the pernicious habit of planning our buildings, private and public, in foreign style of architecture never think if it is possible to revive our old Indian building traditions in the

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context of our new ways of life and of the needs and requirements of our new social life. Our native Indian engineers and builders have been taught to turn away from a truly national outlook and have been tutored by foreign architects to grow up in the superstition that (1) Indian Architecture is more expensive than the adaptation of Renaissance Architecture that (2) Indian Architecture is equivalent to "Temple Architecture"—and as in modern India, nobody is building any temples or places of worship (except, very rarely, as the Birla Temples at New Delhi and in Patna) there is no scope for using the mediaeval styles of Indian Architecture, that the old traditions of Indian Architecture are dead and have not survived, so that to revive these old traditions in modern times is not a practical proposition.

#### Not Unpractical

The answer to some of these objections have been provided by an expert British architect, Mr. John Begg, F.R.I.B.A., the then Consulting Architect to the Government of India (1912). In an elaborate Note appended to the Report of Mr. Gordon-Sanderson, Mr. John Begg had said:

"Can a developed Indian Architecture provide us with buildings that are modern, convenient, economical? I think so. Will they not rather be unpractical and over-ornate? I think not. All depends on the handling of the material or rather on the architects who handle it. . . . There is nothing really inherent in Indian Art that demands over-elaboration or unpracticality and inconvenience, even in the light of the most diverse and exacting modern requirements. There is no element calling for lavish expenditure that is not fortuitous, or that is not as capable as corresponding elements in other modes of architectural expression of being overcome by skill on the part of the designer." "There is nothing, as I have said, in an Indian manner of design that makes it costly, indeed, my own experience goes to prove that the costliest manner for building in India is a Renaissance or classical one."

#### Flexible Enough

On the so-called restricted scope and capacity of the Indian style of architecture said to be suitable only for the building of Temples and sacred edifices the history of Indian Architecture has repeatedly illustrated that it

is flexible enough for application to secular buildings and non-religious monuments. And this is no-where better illustrated than in the long career of the Moghul school in which numerous elements of the earlier forms of Hindu architecture were used, adapted and assimilated to spell out the brilliant monuments of the Moghul period consisting of a long series of royal palaces, civic structures, forts and battlements erected for the use of the Moghul Emperors. As Havell has pointed out:

"Even in the Taj Mahal, the typical masterpiece of what we call Moghul art, many of the principal craftsmen were Hindus or of Hindu descent; and how much Persian art owed to the frequent importation of Indian artists and craftsmen is never understood by European critics. The splendid Muhammadan architecture of Bijapur derived much of its grandeur and beauty from the skilful adaptation of Hindu principles of construction and design. All the great monuments of Saracenic art in India surpass those of Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and Spain, in the exact measure by which they were indebted to Hindu craftsmanship and inspired by Hindu idealism. The mosque of Cairo and Constantinople seem almost insignificant in design and feeble in construction compared with those of Bijapur, Delhi, Fatehpursikri, and Ahmedabad. The painted stucco and the geometric ingenuity of the Alhambra are cold and monotonous beside the consummate craft and imagination of the Moghul palaces in India."

At any rate the Moghul monuments of Agra and Delhi provide irrefutable evidence of the marvellous capacity of the Hindu "Temple-builders" to transform and modulate their principles of design to any manner of secular application, and to adapt their building principles to any types of construction to suit the ideas, ideals, temper, and temperament of any new social, or political conditions. When the Indian builders were taken to new regions of Greater India—across the Bay of Bengal—they devised new facades, invented new architectural motives, and designed monuments on gigantic scales surpassing any architectural operations set up in India proper. The whole history of Indian Architecture in the mainland as well as in the colonies of Cambodia, Siam, Champa and Java illustrates the inexhaustible energy and vitality of Indian building traditions, repeatedly adapting themselves to the demands of new ages and

new crises in Indian culture-history. They will never fail in serving and interpreting the demands of Modern India, however exacting and complicated.

#### Capable of Revival

And lastly, the question remains, if a school of Architecture is dead can it be revived and restored to a new life? It may be pointed out at the outset that Indian Architecture was never dead and has lived right up to our times in significant and energetic activities throughout the centuries. And, even after the date of the Report of Mr. Gordon-Sanderson (1913), numerous buildings and monuments in Indian style have been set up bringing the history of modern Indian buildings right up to our time.

"If Indian architecture is not dead, but only, in a moribund condition, then certainly it is capable of revival and restora-

tion. The most illustrious example of architectural revival has been the Revival of Gothic Architecture during the 19th century. The intellectuals of Oxford led by the Camden Society gave a new life to Gothic Architecture with such inspiring slogans, "You must adapt Gothic to modern life," "You must change modern life to produce true Gothic." The best spirits of the Gothic Revival—Pugin, Ruskin, William Morris—turned from the reform of art to the reform of society, from the advocacy of 'dead' decorative forms to that of undying principles of social order. Who knows the Revival of Indian Architecture may inspire a new way of life, a new pattern of social order? Should the nationalists in Free India elect to repudiate their great architectural heritage or lead the great architectural traditions on the paths of higher glories, to new heights, to new achievements?

## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Tagore and Poland

The following is taken from the *News Bulletin* of the Polish Embassy :

It is surprising to know that Rabindranath Tagore never visited Poland, although there is a common impression to the contrary. Yet his inability to visit Poland has never stood in the way of his popularity with the Polish intelligentsia nor his love for the Polish people.

Tagore has had deep sympathy with the Polish people for the sufferings the Polish people had faced for the sake of their ideals, their freedom and had expressed the hope that their idealism would ultimately overcome all hurdles.

The beginning of this century was a period of flourishing development of literary life in Poland. But this interest was, at the time, confined to the civilization of old India. Till 1913 Tagore was quite unknown in Poland. The award of Nobel Prize to Tagore drew the attention of literary circles. Polish intelligentsia's acquaintance with Tagore was made through translations, for there were few people acquainted with the Bengali language.

It was during his tour of the United States of America, in 1916, when he went there to raise funds for his international university at Santiniketan, that Tagore met a famous Pole, Paderewski, the Prince of Pianists and the first premier of free Poland. At the end of this meeting the pianist played a musical farewell to the Indian poet. Another Pole to leave a deep impression on him was Stanislaw Szukalski, a sculptor. Tagore referred to him as a "Sculptor of extra-ordinary talents."

#### Intended Visit

After the First World War Tagore went to Europe and it was then that he intended to visit Poland. There his arrival was awaited with immense excitement. The Polish poet Antoni Lange even wrote a Sanskrit poem of welcome for the occasion. At the eleventh hour Tagore had to put off his visit.

Even before his intended visit to Poland Tagore's name had appeared in Polish literary periodicals. The first mention came perhaps in 1914 along with translations of excerpts from *Gitanjali*. The same year the first fragments of his poems were published. The full text translated by poet Kasproicz was published in 1918. The journal *Pro Arte and Studio* published in 1917 the first extensive essay

dealing with the poet's work available at that time in English. Next year saw the publication of a joint volume consisting of *Gitanjali*, *The Crescent Moon*, and *The Gardener*, under the title *Gitanjali*. This translation is in prose, as is Tagore's English version, but it is rhythmic prose and conveys an impression of pure poetry.

This translation helped to consolidate Tagore's fame in Poland as chiefly a lyric poet with strong mystic colouring but other characteristic features of his literary activity remained unknown in Poland. Many essays of Tagore followed. One of the most important contributions was an article by Henryk Elzenberg, himself a philosopher specializing in problems of aesthetics. He made a thorough study of his work available in Europe stressing above all the ethical element apparent in all his poems.

A further growth of interest in Tagore's works was recorded in 1902. In that year Leopold Staff published the complete text of his translation of *Fruit Gathering* written in poetic prose, *The King of the Dark Chamber* and Tagore's article on *Nationalism*. The article aroused a wave of protest among the Polish intelligentsia. His views, taken literally, meant a blow at the very foundations of the existence of Polish nation—a mortal blow to their newly won independence. To another Polish version of the article Tagore wrote a short foreword in which he emphasised the necessity to observe the principles of ethics not only within a community but also in international relations.

However, in the following years, 1922-23 Tagore's popularity in Poland reached a culminating point. Seven volumes of Tagore's works were brought out in the series "Nobel Laureate Library." In 1922, a collection of his short stories *Night of Fulfilment* was published followed in 1923 by a new edition with some more stories added to it. The volume was reprinted in 1928. During this period *The Wreck*, *Sadhana*, *Whispers of the Soul* and *Stray Birds* were made available to the Polish readers. In 1923 was also published a collection of short stories under the title *Hungry Stones*. The dramas *Chitra* and *Malini* translated by Romek Fajans and lyrical poems *Lover's Gift* and *Crossing* and another version of *The Crescent Moon* also appeared in the same period.

Tagore's popularity in Poland had been so great that frequently more than one translation of single works appeared at the same time.

## A Senior Journalist

In the course of an article *German News*, April 1960, states :

Mr. Ernst Shaffer, a well-known German journalist and the first European Press correspondent to cover an annual session of the Indian National Congress, is leaving India after over 26 years' stay here. Having taken up journalism as his career, Mr. Shaffer was, for 12 years, a member of the editorial staff of *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin, the oldest German newspaper which, founded in 1704, used to be compared to the *Manchester Guardian* of England for its liberal views and high standards of journalism. He arrived in India in 1933, and worked as correspondent for several foreign newspapers for a few years till, the events in Europe having become more important than those in Asia, the coverage of Indian news in European newspapers was much reduced. Mr. Shaffer had by now developed a special interest in photography and in the techniques of production, and his abilities in this field were utilised by an advertising agency where he worked for three years. Later on, he was, for over a decade, Assistant Manager of the Oxford University Press, Bombay. On retirement from the latter position, he resumed his activities as a foreign correspondent, reporting first from Bombay and, since the beginning of 1958 from New Delhi, to various West-German and other newspapers in the free countries of Europe.

Mr. Shaffer has had interviews with prominent Indian political leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru. As far back as in 1934, he had interviewed Mahatma Gandhi and the late Aga Khan. He was the only European correspondent to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1934, at Bombay. At that session he took a photograph of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, then popularly known as Rajen Babu and as one of the lieutenants of Gandhiji. Mr. Shaffer discovered this photo when he came over to Delhi and gave an enlargement of it to Dr. Rajendra Prasad when Mr. Shaffer was received by the President of India. He has travelled throughout India, literally from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas where he trekked through Ladakh before the Second World War. His only regret, however, is that he has not been to Assam.

Looking back on his career, Mr. Shaffer told the *German News Weekly* : "I have twice experienced in my life the change of an Empire into a Republic, the first in 1918 in Germany, and the second in India in 1947. I believe that in both cases political rights came so suddenly that the people found it difficult to digest them till they found themselves on stable ground. I personally think that the progress which India has made, especially in her villages, which I have had the chance to visit quite frequently, is really remarkable."

Speaking of journalism in India, Mr. Shaffer remarked that the Indian newspapers had reached a very high standard in regard to editorial comments and reporting of news. "But," he added, "I wish more newspapers had their own correspondents in foreign countries, rather than rely upon foreign news agencies, for enlightening despatches on the situation in the West."

Mr. Shaffer is leaving India early next month, and is planning to settle down in the Federal Republic of Germany.

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Tagore himself displayed keen interest on Poland. When shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War an Indo-Polish Association was formed in Calcutta and Tagore consented to be its first Honorary Chairman. The association developed a lively activity during the war and rendered valuable assistance to Polish refugees in India. In his last message which he sent to the Association on the 150th anniversary of Poland's May Constitution he wrote:

"I warmly associate myself with the 150th anniversary of the May Constitution of Poland—may justice and humanity prevail in a peaceful reconstruction of civilization."

People's Poland, after its inception in 1945, is taking all the more interest in studies on and about India and Tagore has his due place in the hearts of the Polish people. His works are appearing in new editions. They are making appearance on the television. *Red Oleander* has already been translated into Polish and is to appear soon on the bookshops. Many articles on Tagore have appeared in the literary magazine, *Oriental Review*. One of the new streets in Warsaw and some streets in the towns of Lodz and Zielona Gora were named after the great Indian poet during the *Oriental Nations Week* celebrated during October 1958.

Tagore is a golden link in the friendship of the two great nations—India and Poland—and his name will always remain dear to the hearts of the Polish people.

#### Chessman Case

William R. Vizzard writes in the *New Leader*, March, 1960:

California Governor Edmund G. Brown's last-minute 60-day delay of execution for Caryl Chessman raises again the issue of capital punishment in America. Not only adding fuel to the fires of the "pro-" and "anti-" Chessmanites, the action also opens Brown to attack (and defense) by political partisans. Ostensibly, the issue no longer is one of the convict's guilt—this seems to have been admitted even by the most rabid "pro" forces—nor, after the seemingly interminable court appeals and legal maneuvers, is it one of due processes Chessman himself throws the gauntlet down on the grounds of the capital punishment issue.

The usual argument against capital punishment includes both the reasonable element of post-execution evidence reopening the case, as well as the claim that the threat of capital punishment does not in fact deter crimes. The opposing

view, labelled "retribution" or "vengeance" by the "anti's," seems to rest on grounds that harken back to Mosaic Law: an eye for an eye. Statistics from various states in the U.S. and from foreign lands are marshalled to support each stand; neither can "prove" the points alleged, for there is, after all, no way to count *uncommitted* crimes and link these to the nature of the punishment. I submit that *both these arguments miss the point entirely*. Punishment for a criminal act may be viewed, much more functionally as action designed to preclude repetition of the crime by the same person. Put in another way, the punishment is the *cost of the delict*, the "moral cost," if we wish to extrapolate from the "social cost" concept.

In Chessman's case, this "moral cost" aspect is especially pertinent. His crimes were, after all, not acts against certain, pre-selected individuals, but "random" choices, thus unquestionably crimes against *society* as distinguished from premeditated crimes against a definite person. This holds whether the "passion" element, with all its intricacies of definition, enters or not. The press has already pointed out *ad nauseam* that Chessman's crimes did not include murder. This, some maintain, should in itself exempt him from the death penalty. We may, for the sake of argument, grant that *society* might well decide (as we have, long since) that the murderer's life should assuredly not be worth more than that of his victim. Chessman's crime was "only" kidnapping, with sex perversion added. But can we not make a strong case that, whatever one's view on capital punishment, kidnapping is a more heinous crime than murder? Murder (or illegal killing, at least) need not be *always* "planned"—it may be sudden, very concentrated in time. But kidnapping is not by its very nature concentrated; on the contrary, it is a continuing act, spread in time, and necessarily includes *other* criminal actions, e.g., extortion, sex crimes, etc., even possibly murder. On this basis, we must conclude that it is unreasonable to claim that the more serious crime should entail the *lesser* punishment.

To turn to the capital punishment issue, aside from Chessman. With a *very* few exceptions, the consensus of human society upholds the right of the individual to defend himself against injury, even given certain conditions to the degree of killing his adversary. Among these conditions is the clear threat of death. Only a fool will argue that the hostile display of a deadly weapon is not a "clear threat of death."

In civilized societies, the state monopolizes the legal use of violence, although "self-help" is not prevented. These days few citizens of any society are really capable of effective self-help. But if the individual is authorized to kill in his own self-defense, should *society* acting "remotely" be restricted to less? If we claim that *society* should under no circumstances snuff out the life of a criminal, whatever his crime, we in fact undermine the basic concept of equal protection of the laws—we afford the criminal protections which we do not afford his victims—and his victims are *society*, writ large.

The counter-argument to this view is simple: There are other alternatives to capital punishment. And indeed there are. Life imprisonment, for one. Let us not prattle about life imprisonment being "more humane" than execution—an equally strong (and equally inconclusive) case may be made on either side. Do we claim that the criminal is due considerations of *humaneness* that *society* *denies* to his victims? Ah, but our criminal need not be incarcerated *for life*—perhaps he will "reform," and be paroled, or even pardoned. True. This is possible. But should *society* gamble on the already known loser, gambling *against* the victims (*society*), with the dice loaded *in favor of the criminal*? No smart gambler consistently bets against himself, and this is precisely the import of the anti-capital punishment argument.

Both sides in the Chessman case maintain that the issue carries implications far beyond the fate of one wretched convict. (One locally current jibe holds that Chessman's self-taught brilliant legal maneuvers prove clearly that the legal profession's "self-generated" "pomposity" and "humbug" are really not so very hard to penetrate.) Perhaps the most obvious implication of the Chessman case pertains to Governor Brown and his own political aspirations. It may be cruel to suggest that Brown's pusillanimous abdication of clearly *executive* responsibility (for a definitive decision, one way or the other) in the 60-day reprieve, and his call upon the California legislature to decide this for him, indicate Brown's basic unfitness for the gubernatorial (or Presidential!) office. One California legislator reportedly is considering possible impeachment proceedings against Brown. But it is unquestionably more cruel to exploit Chessman's plight for Brown's political aggrandizement. Dandy publicity for a Presidential aspirant! Anti-Brown forces should find little difficulty in undercutting a man who has *to trade on a criminal's notoriety!*

But the important implication of the Chessman case has received little attention throughout the entire affair. This is the true moral issue involved, and no mere matter of criminal punishment standards. The basic issue cuts to the very core of U.S. moral structure: Do we *have* one? Do we *know* what it is? Do we *understand* it? The fact that Brown seemed relieved to exonerate himself in his 60-day stay of execution by depending upon the suggestion from Foggy Bottom stands as a symbol of the moral apathy, the "lost-ness" of U.S. society. To be sure, the U.S. lives on this planet with many other people, and it is desirable not to irritate them needlessly. But, in the long run, will we find ourselves any less irritating if we remain indecisive, unable to make up our minds *for ourselves*—after taking into account, naturally, such advice from others as we find pertinent and useful? Will not our foreign neighbors respect us for *decisive* (even if unpleasant) *action*, rather than for slovenly indecision?

The views and attitudes of foreign neighbors are theirs, reflected against their social values and judgments. We should certainly respect them. But our views are *ours*. Not that we should disregard and discard out of hand such views, not at all. We may, and throughout our history we *have*, accepted, adapted and internalized the suggestions and lessons we have learned from others. But these have become *ours*, and the process is *internal*. The inescapable fact that we cannot, or will not, face this issue squarely portends evil for the moral fiber of U.S. society.

And this is but a small symptom of the sickness which faces us today in *our* world setting. We may consider that the U.S. is not so much in the position of contending for world *leadership* as it is for retaining a place in world *society* at all. The enemy has pushed upon us, in a categorical imperative as it were, the issue of sheer *survival*. Sidney Hook's rejoinder to Bertrand Russell's "surrender" proposals focuses the issue sharply: Is life worth living without liberty? Is life without liberty *meaningful*? In its microcosm, this applies directly to the Chessman case; in its macrocosm, to U.S. society. Our apparent "lost-ness," our slipping away from being "sure" (in one way or the other) of "what to do about Chessman," slices to the bone. It asks questions which we *must* answer if we *are* to find moral certainty, and a hope for *survival*.



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### The Month of June

The month of May ended with the World in ferment over the revelations and denunciations following the flight and crash of an U-2 plane over the Urals. The aftermath intensified the Cold War climate, which had been thawing for a very considerable time, following Premier Nikita Khrushchev's overtures for total disarmament and peaceful co-existence, which led to the infructuous fiasco at the Paris "Summit" meeting. But this sudden enhancement in international tension seemed to result in a direct reaction within the Western Alliance, which seemed to pull together and close-up ranks.

On the other side of the World the Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi had decided to rush through the new U.S.-Japanese Treaty of Alliance, which was being continuously put off by the Socialists in opposition. There was vehement opposition even against the opening of the session and the police had to come to the aid of the Speaker repeatedly before he could even declare the session open. Thereupon the Socialists in a body and even 27 members of the Premier's own party walked out. The finale came at midnight when it was passed with a standing vote with 259 Liberal-Democrats of Kishi's party being present.

Next day saw mass demonstrations by left-wing students and trade unionists who

shouted slogans against Kishi and the United States, laying emphasis on the U-2 incident. The Soviet Union entered a formal protest against the treaty, which by Kishi's coup was to become law automatically after thirty days, on June 19th, the day on which President Eisenhower was to arrive in Japan.

In Turkey, the army took over on May 27th the Government, putting under arrest the heads of the Government of Premier Menderes and President Celal Bayar. The army formed a National Unity Committee with General Gursel as Chairman. It was declared that the army had taken over controls pending fresh and fair elections.

In Israel it was announced by Premier Ben-Gurion that one of the greatest Nazi War Criminals, Adolf Eichman, responsible for the mass murder of 6,000,000 Jews in Germany, was under arrest in Israel and was to be placed on trial shortly. It was later revealed that Israeli secret agents tracked him down in Argentina, kidnapped him and smuggled him out of Argentina, without so much as a "by your leave" to the Argentine Government. The Argentine Government very naturally demanded explanations for such utter disregard of international conventions.

In Africa preparations were made for another group of African States to gain



Dushvanta Putting the Ring on Sakuntala's Finger

By Satindranath Laha

Painted by G. S. S. S.



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Innocent Look





of our officials have reached Peiping to find that the Government is on the alert, discuss the demarcation of frontiers which particularly on the question of internal parleys we make bold to say will lead to security.

We have also had news from outside sources, like the following, taken from the 13th June issue of the international edition of the *New York Times*:

Ten months ago Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stunned India by announcing that Chinese Communist troops had penetrated the Indian border. Peiping has claimed and has partially occupied 15,000 square miles in the Ladakh section of Kashmir and another 36,000 square miles in the area of India's North-East Frontier.

Since then, India has stepped up its efforts to strengthen its border defences. New Delhi has repeatedly refused to join the Western collective defence alliances or to sign a bilateral defence agreement with the United States under which the Indians could receive military aid. Last week, however, it was announced that India had bought twenty-nine surplus transport planes from the U.S. in order to supply military units in the barely accessible mountain areas in Ladakh and the North-East Frontier Agency.

The planes—big C-119 Flying Boxcars—normally cost \$500,000 apiece, but the belief is that India paid considerably less. The purchase was made under the Mutual Security Act which permits the President to authorize sales of military equipment to any country in the interest of peace and security. India has also been discussing with U.S. officials the possibility of obtaining Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and high-altitude helicopters.

This last bit of news has been given in the local press also but in a very vague and indefinite fashion. In any case it shows that there is some awakening of sensation amongst the ivory-tower dwellers of New Delhi, who have begun to realize that the world is not entirely guided by their own pet shibboleths.

It is not yet clear whether the awakening is quite complete, as for evidence Pandit Nehru's latest Press Conference. We do not expect Panditji to reveal to us the details of the preparations to meet the threat in the North—though we believe all that information has been given to the aggressor by his agents within this country—but we do not

Besides that, we would like to know whether any attempt is being made to build up really up-to-date defence measures, such as real missiles with proper launching bases, or are we still being left helpless due to the inhibitions of our powers-that-be hagridden as they are with saws and shibboleths.

#### Imperialists and Communists

Mr. Khrushchev's occasional announcements are made with the hope that the peoples of the world are as ignorant of the facts of contemporary history as he would like them to be. His easy division of the world into two mutually exclusive groups, viz., the Imperialists and the Communists leaves out of calculation the vast majority of human beings who are the victims of the cliques which dominate the world. It may be true that the one type of conspirators believe more in stealing the purse of mankind while the other type steals the fair name, that is, the liberty and freedom of the human majorities whom they exploit; but facts point to the undesirable and obnoxious character of both groups of ruling cliques and none can claim perfection as rulers of men in any manner. Mr. Khrushchev's denunciations of the imperialists may have some truth in them; but most of the accusations he hurls at the imperialists apply equally strongly to the Communists. The latest is the Communist dislike of starting wars and killing human beings. These alleged characteristics of the Communists are belied by their actions in all the iron curtain countries in the past as well as in recent times. Hungary is too near to be forgotten and genocide in Tibet is still continuing. The bombardment of Kuomingtang China by the "Peoples" Republic goes on as do all the bloody attempts at "liberation" in Korea and other lands. That the Communists plant their agents, finance and organise them secretly in other lands in order to bring about revolutions is well known to all persons who have eyes and ears. Mr.

Khrushchev's great love of peace is, therefore, only an attempt at avoiding war in a big way, for he thinks he can achieve his objectives by the assistance of secret societies of traitors in all lands and that war will be an open hazard with a strong chance of a Communist defeat or, at least, a large-scale destruction of Communist assets. He says the imperialists are this or that and that they were going to be defeated eventually. Now who are the imperialists? The Chinese began calling us imperialists and expansionists after robbing us of 20,000 sq. miles of our territory by violent means. The poor British are constantly giving up more and more bits and pieces of their empire. The Japanese are definitely not expanding their empire. Half of the Germans are imperialists without any army or empire and the Americans have spheres of influence which compare with the spheres of influence created by force by the Russians. There are no imperialists nor empires today in the sense of the old time empire of the Romans, the Spanish and the British. If imperialists are persons who dominate other races by subterfuge, financial control, military suzerainty and similar means, then the Communists are also imperialists.

If Mr. Khrushchev wants peace, really and truly, he must begin by putting his own house in order. He must arrange to exploit his own people a little less, and allow them to enjoy the fruits of their labour more than they now do. For, Mr. Khrushchev's party needs all the surplus values they can create by forcing all workers to lead a dog's life; in order to keep themselves in power. The American capitalist-imperialists-etc., do the same but to a lesser extent. Human liberty and freedom are non-existent in the world today and we have to thank all power-hunting cliques in all lands for this. Neither Mr. Khrushchev's Communism nor President Eisenhower's Democracy assure to humanity their birth-right, and no leader of politics in any country has any ground to feel proud of what his party has done to Man.

A. C.

#### China, Russia and India

The political situation in regard to the interaction of friendly and inimical forces at work between India and China, and between Russia and China, is incomprehensible at least on the surface. India is almost at war with China. For, China has occupied large tracts of Indian territory; has established a military government in Tibet which has been the buffer between India and China; has also built up a war potential in Tibet which can be directed against India at any time and has been carrying on propaganda against India to stir up anti-Indian feelings in Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladhak and other places. In the circumstances it would be right to consider the Sino-Indian political relations to be strained, unstable and critical. People say that Sino-Russian relations are not entirely what they should be. The Chinese are critical of Russia's attachment to Marxist principles and they are also not so peace-loving as the Russians claim to be. The Chinese, it is said, believe in a world revolution against Capitalism and not in any peaceful co-existence as is often proclaimed to be an ideal by the Russians. The Chinese, it is believed, think that if the whole world fought after dividing itself into the two armies, Capitalist and Communist, with all weapons known to modern science, would eventually empty itself of all humanity excepting some of the Chinese variety who will survive on account of racial surplus value. For, the Chinese are always so big in numbers that if all humanity died out man as Capitalists and Communists, there would always remain a Chinese surplus. Whatever their physical and mental qualities, the Chinese consider themselves as the Herrenvolk of humanity and they think a purely Chinese world would be perfect even without any Russians. This "Philosophy" of elimination of unwanted types, makes the Chinese more aggressive than they need be; and if Russia arms the Chinese with atomic weapons, the chances are that the Chinese will start a world war which will leave the world largely unpopulated even if the survivors do not ful-

independence. In Belgian Congo the Belgian Government declared the recent elections as being abortive due to large-scale destruction of ballot boxes and violent disturbances causing death, arson and widespread lawlessness in several areas.

In South America, the Republic of Chili was struck with a natural calamity of frightful dimensions. One of the worst earthquakes on record devastated the country and in its train started gigantic tidal waves which caused widespread death and destruction, in Hawaii, Philippines and Japan.

In the month of June, the Japanese Socialists gained power, disturbances gained in volume and intensity. Student agitators stormed into Premier Kishi's residence after a riotous exchange of stickwork which injured 83 policemen and about 20 students. Mob rule prevailed in Tokyo during the visit of President Eisenhower's Press Secretary, James Hagerty, who had to be rescued by a helicopter from a student mob that had blocked the exits from the airport. The intensity of the agitations, launched by the leftist student organisations, said to be Communist dominated, increased until it was apparent that the Kishi Government could not control the mobs and the visit of the U.S. President to Japan, scheduled for June 19, had to be cancelled. At the time of writing these notes the news has come from Tokyo that on June 23, Mr. Nobusuke Kishi has announced his decision to resign from the Premiership of Japan. It was also announced that the revised U.S.-Japan Security Treaty had come into force a few hours before with the formal exchange of instruments of ratification at the official residence of the Foreign Minister of Japan, Mr. Aichiro Fujiyama. Mr. Kishi said that his decision to resign was prompted by a desire "to freshen public feelings." He plainly stated that the hand of International Communism was plainly discernible in the strategic working of the riots and parades. It is further believed that the Soviet threat to destroy all U-2 bases by long-distance missiles with atomic warheads had paralysed the common people of Japan.

In Cambodia, Prince Norvodom Sihanouk, who had previously served his country as King and as Premier, after he had yielded the throne to his father, offered his people a choice through ballot, after the death of his father in April. The choice was between the Prince, a rival who is in exile in Thailand, Communist partisanship and fourthly to express "No opinion." The Prince got 1,981,136 votes, his rival 133 votes, 128 was given to the Communists and 93 to "No Opinion." The Prince went off to Paris to recoup and then he will decide on his future course of actions.

In Africa, Congo entered into the final stage of the march to independence—which is due on June 30—by the election of its first Premier, M. Patrice Lumumba, leader of the Congolese Nationalist Movement Party.

In Algeria, at last there seems to be a faint ray of hope inasmuch as the freedom fighters, the F. L. N., have decided to parley with President De Gaulle.

On another side of the Dark continent, Somaliland and Madagascar have attained freedom. Of these Somaliland will possibly unite with Italian Somalia when Italy gives up her trusteeship on Friday the 1st of July.

In Hergisa, the capital, the British authorities handed over the reins of the government at a final reception to the government under Mohammed Haji Ibrahim Egal, the first Premier of independent Somaliland. At Tananarive the capital of Madagascar, the official proclamation of independence was similarly made and the new State was handed over to its first President M. Tsirarana.

The Argentine Government had taken the Eichmann Kidnapping Case to the Security Council of the U.N. The result has been a resolution beautifully ambiguous in its wording, and it carries the aggrieved party nowhere, beyond the acknowledgment by the Security Council that Israel has transgressed and as such it should make "adequate reparation," whatever that may mean!

The general picture is that while the intensity of the anti-U.S. propaganda has

diminished in the West, its repercussions are now spreading, along the channels of International Communism to the Asiatic Countries. The general attitude of the Soviet leadership, as evinced during the welcoming speeches during the present visit of our President Rajendra Prasad, and from the extracts of Mr. Khrushchev's speech made in Bucharest, is that the Presidium of the Soviet Union and the group of European Allies of the Soviet re-affirm the policies outlined at the 20th Congress of the Party regarding Co-existence. This is likely to reassure those of the friendly countries in Asia who were alarmed at the harshness of the denunciations and cautionary threats that came from Mr. Khrushchev following the U-2 incident. This may indicate a calming down and a renewal of the efforts for disarmament, or it might mean merely a political manoeuvre, but it has distinctly tempered the climate of World politics.

## Red China and the Defence of India

The general view of World Politics given above changes abruptly when we turn to the attitude of those few who are leading the "People's Democratic Republic of China." There we see an arrogant attitude towards the whole world, inclusive of those who are at the helm of the "Supreme Soviet." Different readings have been made by Pundits and cognoscenti, of the causative factors and it is highly doubtful whether any of the "observations" are anything beyond mere speculation. There is one thing, of course, and that is this attitude of aggressive nationalism displayed by Communist China, which indicates that she cannot afford to agree to a relaxation of international tensions, is leading to a conflict of ideologies between Russia and "Red" China.

The *Statesman's* Special Correspondent with the President's entourage, in his report of June 24, says:

I do not know if the full contents of the speech have become available in India, but Mr. Khrushchev had the following to say to the Left-sectarianists both at home and abroad: "If Lenin were to arise from his grave, he would be appalled at their dogmatism, take them by the

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ear and put them out in the sun." His reference was to the thesis popularized in China, especially in the recent series of articles in the Red Flag, that there could be no co-existence between Communism and Capitalism and war was inevitable to ensure a Socialist victory. Mr. Khrushchev pleaded for a realistic and, therefore, true interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and argued that Socialism was now strong enough to look after itself and even to prevent war.

The present controversy began last February at the time of the conference in Moscow of the Warsaw Pact countries, to which the Chinese sent observers. Soon after their return to Peking, the Chinese delegation's leader took the unusual step of giving publicity to the speech he had made in Moscow. This was followed by articles in the Red Flag ridiculing the idea of co-existence and peace.

Moscow did not take public notice of these statements and writings for some time, possibly because the issues were under discussion among Soviet leaders too. At the recent Lenin anniversary celebrations in Peking and Moscow, the differences in the two approaches became more publicly prominent.

Then, in a considered review of a book on Stalin published in *Pravda*, there was pointed criticism of the "infantilism of the Left-sectarianism." The point was further elaborated in an editorial in the same newspaper a few days ago.

Although this has no direct bearing on these inner party matters, it is a visible fact that Soviet-Indian relations today are extremely good and Dr. Prasad's visit has given an opportunity to the two countries to show how good they are.

Whatever might be the outcome of this difference in ideology between Moscow and Peiping and however much elated might our "Peace at any Price" proponents feel at the latest Soviet proposals for disarmament, now being debated at Geneva, the fact remains that the Chinese aggression on our Northern frontiers remains unabated. Indeed, the recent news, filtering through the Indo-Tibetan borders, indicate that the Chinese menace is growing and consolidation of Chinese forces in the invaded areas is persisting. We do not know what steps our authorities are taking as counter-measures. We have the news that a party

fil Chinese hopes by being entirely Mongolian of the Chinese variety. India's neutrality is a great obstacle to the Chinese plans. For, if a group of 400 million people do not join the greatest of all wars as combatants, their chances of survival would be greater than that of the Chinese surplus. The Chinese, therefore, want firstly to bring all Mongolians and Mongoloids into one camp and call them all Chinese with a numerical strength of 1000 million or so and secondly wish that the Russians and the Americans, with their blocs, will be largely wiped out in the greatest war leaving about 200 million inhabitants of Greater China intact as the survivors. These people will then mop up all other survivors everywhere and populate the world with their own progeny only. In about a hundred years after the greatest war, the world will be all Chinese and they will have a single religion and form of existence—Communism and Communistic. A fantastic idea, but it is there in some Chinese minds. And the Chinese who harbour such thoughts are in a position to unleash destructive forces of such magnitude as might lead to a total world war. The question is, how far will the Russians help the Chinese to increase their war potential? If they secretly or openly put weapons and means in the hand of the Chinese to enable them at least to think of war in a big way; the Russians then will be doing this for one of two reasons. They may be really in sympathy with the Chinese and are arming the 600 million Chinese to fight a World War. Their pretensions about peaceful co-existence then would be utterly false. Or the Russians may be wanting the Chinese to fight a unilateral war, so that Russia could remain aloof and immensely superior to all other powers at the end of the Chinese-American bloc wars. This would also remove the possibility of China taking leadership in the Communist world.

Whatever the Russian intentions may be, they are certainly arming the Chinese to a great extent. Without Russian help the Chinese would be quite harmless. But, later on, when China would be industrially developed, she could wage war on the world without Russian help. Our fondness for the

Russians, therefore, is a mental condition based on a certain amount of wishful thinking. We think the Russians will be our friends even if we refuse to accept Communism as our national creed. The reasons for this are obscure. The Communist Party of India no doubt believe that eventually we would all become Communists and they, as would-be henchmen of the Russians like to think of India as a satellite country in the Russian bloc. They even talk of China in the manner of devotees discussing the holy land of their faith. The Congressmen follow Nehru and his party leaders. These people are for ever willing to pat other people on the back for nothing and to be patted on the back by others also for no reason. It is like the 14th of July in Montmatre when people dance and kiss one another in memory of the destruction of the Bastille. We howl 'bhai bhai' at the slightest provocation in the hope that by so doing we shall establish the kingdom of God on Earth. In fact we have made ourselves the ridiculous dupe of China by acting in this stupid manner with the cold, calculating and unscrupulous leaders of that country. This undignified demonstrativeness does not elevate us in the eye of the world. They all think we are silly and sentimental and not worth the respect of nations who stand their ground to defend their own rights and principles. Our leaders behave like the adopted aunts of the parish, hobnobbing indiscriminately with all and never refusing to play the busybody.

We do not believe that the Russians will befriend us against China or anybody. They did not help us against the British one whit and they chased Subhash Chandra Bose into the Fascist camp when he escaped from India and reached Moscow through Afghanistan. 'Mitrata ki yatra' was good propaganda and produced a showy documentary film. But it did not bring India closer to Russia to any extent. Unless it suits the Russians to act anti-Chinese, they will never move a muscle to help India against their brothers in faith. We do not think Sri Jagjivan Ram is capable of igniting any anti-Chinese fire in the Russian heart. So his

visit to Russia with our President will not help India as far as China is concerned. Possibly the Russians will give him an old model locomotive which he will display to Indians as an emblem of India's brotherhood with Russia. Our foreign policy is becoming quite fanciful and the history of our relations with other countries will soon read like the Tales from the Arabian Nights. A. C.

### The Danger Ahead

Mr. Thondup Lowazang, the Tibetan Deputy Chief of China's Security Forces, has renounced his Chinese affiliation and crossed over to India. He was in charge of hounding out those who breathed nationalism or anti-Communism in Tibet. After ten years of Communism, he is said to be disillusioned by China's duplicity and make-believe profession of democracy. As a result, the man, who, just a few years back, was lured by the promise of an utopia, beats a hasty retreat, chased hot, as it were, by sleuthhounds. And he now tells us the grim tales of China's ruthless pursuit of International Communism. It has cost his country countless lives and a complete strangulation. He refers, illustratively, to an expedition, in which an entire village was wiped out—twenty people surviving out of seven hundred families. What so recently preyed on him is that he was served with a circular order instructing him to either kill or arrest the four categories of persons: those returning from India; those officials of the old Tibetan Government wavering by a jot or tittle in their loyalty to the Communist regime; Tibetan nationalists, and those against whom any evidence of anti-Communist bias was found out. We have nothing to say with regard to this grisly business. What, however, we are immediately concerned with is what Mr. Lowazang says in respect of that which directly bears on India. He says that there is lately a heavy Chinese build-up on Tibet's western border and 'heaviest' concentration of troops in areas adjoining Ladakh. And all these military preparations, round the clock, in the context, of talks at Prime

Minister's level to be followed shortly by further high-level talks!

Events have been approximating to the too logical a finis of what the Communist China has been doing for the last ten years. In October, 1950, she invaded Tibet. The India Government protested that it was contrary to assurances, repeatedly held out by the Chinese Government 'to settle Tibetan problems by peaceful means and negotiations.' We must give China the due credit that, right from the beginning, she has made absolutely no secret of what she is out for. 'The Chinese People's Liberation Army,' she said in reply, 'must enter Tibet and defend the frontiers of China.' China, therefore, claimed that her frontiers about on India. We did not or dared not read this note in its true perspective, far less challenge it. This pusillanimous avoidance of the real issue is of a piece together with the unfortunate disclosure that on 31st August, 1950, the Chinese Government intimated the India Government through her Ambassador, Mr. Panikkar, that she 'was going to take action soon in West Sikkim.' In other words, India was duly informed of the attack fairly over a month before the actual offensive started. India does not deny this nor does she claim to have responded to this.

Let us pause to reflect, why China thought fit to inform India before she attacked Tibet. Was it not to honour the obligations, which bound India and China with reference to Tibet, and to respect the limitations arising out of a time-honoured relationship? Obviously, she does not make even a pretence of it now, because she has sized us up. India, next, virtually stood in the way of Tibet being heard by the United Nations. In view of her doubtful international status and our large stake it was incumbent on us to take up her case. We are now a laughing stock of the world that we offered Dalai Lama asylum and then, like the typical 'Mr. Facing Both-ways' sponsored China's admission to the U.N.O.

It is a stupendous riddle of history that Mr. Nehru and his following in the Parliament preened on the Sino-Indian Treat-

regarding Tibet as India's diplomatic triumph. It will, however, strike the casual for all time that by this Treaty China has won, over the head of India, a recognition of her sovereignty on Tibet. Still further, India withdrew her military escort, stationed at Yatung and Gyantse; she made over to the Chinese Government—originally stipulated for a reasonable price but subsequently given free of charge as a gesture of good will—all our post, telegraph and telephone equipments and services in Tibet, now called by China and endorsed by India as 'the Tibet region of China.' By one stroke of the pen, therefore, Mr. Nehru pulled down what Britain had in the length of years built up, making Tibet a buffer state between India and China. All the anxious labours of the conventions of Lasha, Peking, St. Petersburg and Simla were cast to the wind. And for what return?

Mr. Nehru, in doing this, plumed himself on his historical sense that at no time during the last few hundred years Chinese sovereignty or, if you choose, suzerainty was challenged by any outside country, sublimely unconcerned that the British statesmen, who have had the hand in creating this Chinese suzerainty, did at no time scruple to call it, as openly, 'a political affectation' and 'a constitutional fiction'. To make the cup full to the brim, Mr. Nehru, as meticulously, relinquished what political control Britain had acquired for India on Nepal. In our May issue, we discussed Mr. Koirala's attitude towards India in the light of this under the caption 'Need For Vigilance.' He who runs can now read how China is frantically at work to draw in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan along her perimeter and isolate India. She has very successfully negotiated the most difficult terrain by metalled roads parallel to the McMahon Line, India sleeping all the while, even if apprised of it by her Military Intelligence. China has seized the Tibetan tableland and is thus posted well to mount military operations. She opposes the lessening of tension, leave alone settlement, between Russia and America.

J.B.

### The Spirit of Service

In many professions and institutions the spirit of service to the public is the most essential factor determining the successful functioning of the profession or the purpose for which the institutions are set up. A selfish and money-grabbing outlook in professional men and women and a rigid and unsympathetic outlook in the managers of institutions which are set up for service to the public, defeat the purpose of the profession and the institution. In India, most public "servants" consider their jobs to be a source of power and position to themselves and the manner in which they carry on their work show that they consider the public and their convenience or benefit as of secondary importance. The public servant thinks he has somehow become the master of the public and that the public must pay homage to him and receive his assistance when it suits him to grant it as a favour. The public have, since the Mogul and the British Imperial days, admitted this interpretation of public service by kow-towing to the public servant and sometimes by paying tribute to him in cash in order to rouse him to sympathetically consider the plea and petition of the public. In courts, treasuries, railway booking offices, post offices, all places from which permits, licences, passports, orders, etc., are issued and bills are passed and paid and in police stations, hospitals and other such places, the persons in charge serve the public slowly, casually, reluctantly and at their own sweet convenience. The public wait in the manner of supplicants and receive service as a favour and a boon. The spirit of service is utterly wanting everywhere and things are carried out at a snail's pace and without any regard being shown to the convenience of the public. The reason why public service requires more personnel in India as compared to other countries, is that in India the personnel employed work in an easy-going manner and take their own time over things.

Such private people as work for a fee have a similar selfish and easy-going manner about them, if they feel that they can get away with it. Doctors, for instance, if

they feel that their clients are at their accidents too and in large numbers. But mercy and cannot do without them, often when consideration is given to the speed, act in a heartless manner and try money number, etc., of their motor vehicles as well as to the number of persons using their roads, the number of accidents per million car miles run or man miles walked or cycled while the doctors tighten the thumb-screw on the patient's relations. Then there are the subterfuges by which patients are thrown from doctors—to radiologists—to clinical examiners—to surgeons—to heart specialists... until they die of poverty and exhaustion. "Good" lawyers, engineers and all others who can help people by their superior knowledge and acumen, thus have a tendency to exploit rather than serve, and the people suffer and pay.

In the most ordinary things of service too this exploitation of the public has crept in. One cannot get a taxi without influence. An ambulance can only be obtained... God knows how! Cooks, domestic servants, dhobis and zemadars can now order their masters about as can chauffeurs, night watchmen, and others who can make or mar one's joy of life. Exploitation of the people is a very active factor in our struggle for existence and the most capable exploiters earn the right to survive. The most unscrupulous and the biggest liars rule the public, who apparently like to be ruled, exploited and kicked about.

A.C.

### Accidents and Traffic Control

The prevention of road accidents requires enquiry into causes and after that the introduction of preventive measures which may have their inspiration in the psychology, the road habits, the criminal tendencies of the persons concerned and the other factors responsible for and contributing to the accidents. Mere demarcation of parking places and the direction of traffic along roads and lanes in a particular manner cannot prevent accidents though these may keep hundreds of policemen employed in an officious manner. Such of us as have experience of traffic management in other lands as well as the ways of foreign drivers, pedestrians and other participants in traffic find a great many differences between the for set up and the Indian. In foreign countries there are road

In Calcutta, for instance, the police do not care if lorries are driven along the main roads at 50 miles per hour nor if taxis weave their way in and out of traffic lanes or if State Buses stop and pick up passengers in the middle of the road without signalling to cars following them. The police also do not care if pedestrians cross the roads everywhere in the city every two yards of the road-way or cyclists, rickshaw-pullers and hand-cart pushers meander along the crown of the roads or obstruct traffic at cross roads. The reason being the pre-occupation of the police with their No Parking zones. These zones are an everchanging feature of the Calcutta road panorama. For, they never remain at the same places. In one of the main thoroughfares of Calcutta it is no parking on one side one day and, on the other side the next day. Unbelievable, but true! In another place in the heart of the business area, cars are not supposed to be parked at all on both sides of a fairly wide road, for no apparent reason. In other places no parking signs are splashed everywhere and nobody takes any notice. Police Sergeants take random samples of violations of no parking rules and suddenly take cognisance of such violations after permitting such law breaking for months on end. We are very sure that very few people are ever prosecuted for speeding, obstructing, etc., for the police find greater pleasure in "detecting" cases of wrong parking.

We suppose we should not discuss pedestrians at all, for they have more votes than the car drivers in our democratic, socialist Republic. But they are utterly un-



problem with Bihar; for, Bihar had grabbed certain districts of Bengal which the Congress Biharis were reluctant to disgorge. The refugees could have been easily settled in those areas; but Bihari leaders had to be placated first.

The opposition in the Legislatures of India also failed miserably to produce any counter schemes for rehabilitation. The majority of the opposition, being Communists, worked on principles which were not based on anything of national value. Since the Congress had declared itself to be socialistic in point of ideology and since Pandit Nehru developed very friendly relations with Russia, the Socialists and the Communists found it difficult to really oppose the Congress. The opposition, in fact, does not exist in India for all practical purposes. It is not clearly known what secret understanding, if any, these so-called opposition parties have with the Congress top leaders; but their activities and lack of effective and constructive opposition, would make people suspect secret collaboration with Congress, either by contact with the top men of the Congress or through outsiders who act as intermediaries. Whatever that may be, in the matter of rehabilitation, the opposition have failed to do their duty or to serve the purpose of a true opposition.

Coming back to Refugee Rehabilitation, we find the Congress has no talents by use of which they can settle these miserable people who lost everything in Pakistan due to the Congress agreeing to the Partition of India. The Congress and the British are the two parties who "sold" the refugees to gain advantage for themselves. The Congress obtained the right of governing India and the British felt happy that their ardent and devoted followers in Pakistan remained in the British camp. The Congress agreed to rehabilitate the refugees and spent a good deal of public money for this work of rehabilitation. They succeeded fairly well with the refugees from West Pakistan, for the majority of them settled down on the lands in East Punjab from which the Moslems had been chased out by the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs. In East Pakistan, the Hindus were chased out by the Moslems;

but the West Bengal Moslems stayed on and were not chased out by the Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi played a very active part in liquidating the forces that would have driven out the Moslems to make room for the Hindus. So, in the case of the East Pakistan Hindus, the Congress interfered twice instead of once with their livelihood. First by signing away their homeland to the Pakistan Government and a second time by keeping the Moslems on in West Bengal by disarming the anti-Moslem forces in that area. But, though the Congress interference with the Bengalis was double, their aid for rehabilitation to the Bengalis was relatively less than in the case of the Punjabis.

If now, one has to think of rehabilitation of the Bengali refugees, one must first of all recognise the necessity for taking this work out of the control of politicians. There should be a public body in which the majority should be non-Congress and non-"Leftist" persons of some ability to do things. The Government of India must be made to foot the bill and the refugees also must be made to work according to their ability. This public body must make it clear to the refugees that they must earn a dividend on all monies that are invested in this work by the people of India. There must be no "eating up" of the capital and the various projects undertaken must be business like. Considering that the Government of India and the State Governments are the biggest buyers of various kinds of goods produced in India and abroad, one can easily arrange to produce goods of different kinds by setting up small industries which will be manned by the displaced persons and their family members, and sell those goods in reasonable proportions to the Government and to the public. If the D.D.A. is accepted as a working project, many men and women can be employed there in various kinds of work to build up a self-contained economy in that area. The exports and imports of the area can be planned out as things progress. The public of India, who are by far in the greatest majority, should take a hand in things now and progressively relieve political parties from their work, which they do not know how to do, and from

conspiring to remain or come into power. In a true democracy, there should not be any political parties which put party interests above the good of the nation. A. C. The Rope's End.

Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President, seems to be making faces at those of the public—and they are a legion—who demand a probe into the charges of corruption in high places. Comparatively younger, he has as pliantly fallen in line with the grizzled; and we have one classical picture of 'the voice is the voice of Jacob but the hands are the hands of Esau.' Freed of virbiage, he has, in fact, made plain that he is not at all anxious to see the matter through and through, but is just thinking of a ruse to stop, what he calls, 'loose talk of corruption'.

Mr. Reddy makes short shrift of the business by laying down the first principle that there shall be no inquiry till he is satisfied in consultation with the Prime Minister at the Centre or the Chief Minister in the State that there is a prima facie case to thrash out. In other words, it is only when the circumstances are so very overwhelming, that the Prime Minister or a Chief Minister can no longer withhold an investigation, that the Congress President would not grudge an inquiry. We have had, hitherto, no idea that there is any bar to this now. What then is the use of his coming into the picture? We are almost inclined to feel that Mr. Deshmukh has, rather, done one disservice to the country by lending the weight of his personality to the chorus of demand for inquiry, on the guarantee of his producing concrete cases at the appropriate moment. He has alerted the ruling party and they are now sleeplessly taxing their ingenuity to hedge in any possible inquiry with all sorts of conditions. Circumstanced as we now are, it is better far to slip inadvertently in witch-hunts on rare occasions, rather than go on encouraging the idea that to be honest is no rewarding business and involves a certain risk. J. B.

#### No Shift in Allegiance

The election of Miss Shakila Khatun on the Congress ticket to the West Bengal Assembly from Canning, 24-Parganas,

cannot afford to be lightly passed over. She is a student in the Fifth year class of International Affairs in the Jadavpur University, and will be the only Muslim woman-member in the current session. Rural area has always been a stronghold of the Congress in retaining its decisive majority in the House; and, furthermore, as she succeeds her deceased father, the Congress gains no new grounds. But coming as it does after the recent stinging defeats of the West Bengal Congress, one for the Lok Sabha and two others for the Council, it is not without value as a credit token with the wide electorate. The Congress reverses unerringly pinpoint how it has failed to retrieve its position in Calcutta and with the middle class intelligentsia. It is, however, something for the Congress to feel happy that there is no shift in the allegiance of the rural folk. And the Nation yet lives in the village.

About 45 per cent of the electorate, sprawling over more than three thousand square miles of no easy communication, have voted. Of the total of sixty thousand votes cast, Miss Khatun has secured forty-five thousand—the Communist candidate, next to her, just saved his deposit money. It is worth serious consideration that the rift between the working class of the urban area and that of the village does not tend to deepen.

We have had hard words said about the West Bengal Congress leadership off and on. It is our pleasure now to congratulate them on their bold selections. We sincerely wish it were their realisation that the vast bulk of our people have lost faith in the hard-boiled politicians for their proved inability to deliver the goods. It is, again, infinitely to their credit that they could induce the Congress-minded independent candidate to withdraw from the contest, even if at the last moment, particularly when he had the backing, in a divided house, of a good section of Congress members. What, however, is yet jarring is that the Congress is still in a quandary and has failed to resolve communal exclusiveness. In propitious circumstances as they now obtain, the Congress leaders should take

ruly and in some parts of the city they deliberately obstruct cars in order, perhaps, to teach the car drivers that they should not harbour pride and vanity in the hearts while going about in cars. The pedestrians use the roads for conferences, bargaining with hawkers and road side shop-keepers and, for other purposes too numerous to mention. In fact, they use the footpaths for all purposes other than for walking along them. And the police look on happily to see if any car has been parked wrongly in the areas where pedestrians crowd in large numbers to listen to the radios played in nearby shops.

Coming to the high roads of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., M.P. and Delhi provinces we find that the roads are difficult to negotiate for 1. fast moving trucks and buses, 2. erratic cyclists, 3. slow-moving carts, 4. little throngs of merry-makers, 5. road gangs which dig up roads and go away on long holiday, 6. broken lorries left in the middle of the road, 7. playing children, 8. roadside fairs, 9. diversions and whatever else one may think of to make it impossible to go along the roads. In West Bengal, the lorries travel long distances, in a continuous stream, with excessively heavy loads, along the crown of the road and at break-neck speed. The lorries also have had tyres, defective brakes, bent axles, wobbly steering and non-dipping blazing head lights. The police have no high way squad and they do not check lorries either for mechanical defects or for detecting, drunkenness, driving without licence, speed or over-loading. There are no weigh bridges at check points and the policemen are intellectually incompetent to distinguish the front of a bullock cart from its behind. Their heads, generally speaking, are good for keeping their red herets upon and judging by their conduct and lack of outlook their officers too are not over-conscious of the facts of highway traffic. Going even higher up, the top men in Government, particularly those who have reached their heights through the agency of their political parties, are even less conscious of what kills people on the high roads. They like riding in cars without disturbing themselves over much about the nature and function of motor vehicle parts. Lorry and bus traffic on the high roads can only be controlled by properly manned highway squads and by rigid enforcement of the law. Carts are the greatest offenders in the less industrialised areas and should be made to make way for faster traffic. But the greatest offender still is the truck driver and his greatest offence speed, drunkenness ignoring the rules of the road, overloading, bad maintenance of the vehicles and mental incapacity for safe driving. In the cities, the taxis vie with the lorries and buses for first place in road crime. They are ill-mannered, inconsiderate and unworthy of their place in society. They keep their vehicles in awful condition and possibly spread disease and infection too. The cyclists and pedestrians are also lacking in civic sense. Speedy transport is an essential of modern civilisation. Those who obstruct speedy transport obstruct progress. An inferiority complex should not be permitted to interfere with man's common sense and obligations of good citizenship. But our pedestrians, processionists, loiterers and others make motor cars 50 per cent useless. That is a great loss when one considers the amount invested and spent in and upon motor vehicles. The capital invested may be a thousand crores and running costs about 200 crores per annum. The money loss therefore of slowing down traffic would be about Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per capita per annum of the entire population. About 3 to 4 per cent of the national income! The indirect loss is even greater in so far as all progress in India is obstructed by slow movement in every sphere of conduct and behaviour.

A. C.

#### Rehabilitation

An ominous word is rehabilitation; for the world's most idealistic, the most scientifically planned and the most capably managed Government cannot achieve it, either in regard to its entire population or as it affects its displaced and destitute elements. Let us take India which is governed by the leaders of the Indian National Congress which has been for nearly a hundred years a political party of such ethical eminence and with members whose

idealistic outlook has been so rarefied in point of international morality, that one could almost call its ideology a religious cult. But India has over a hundred million unemployed, a couple of hundred million semi-employed, a few million beggars and criminals and relatively fewer refugees from Pakistan, whose rulers, being Pure and Holy in their religious outlook (for Allah is the essence of mercy), chased out with inhuman cruelty all those who did not share their religious views. Ever since these refugees entered India from East and West Pakistan, the Indian Government, though supercharged with economic plans, failed to plan any workable system of settling a few thousand men, women and children somewhere in the soil of India. The reason, the leaders of the Indian Government thought was that the refugees were no good. They picked and chose and had likes and dislikes. They did not believe in anything that was austere and helped to chasten the human soul. Their outlook, in other words, was farthest from the outlook of Mr. Meher Chand Khanna and other Congressmen who believed in self-denial all the way. Congress self-denial, said the refugees, was like Pakistani mercy of the Pure (Pak) and Holy variety; for neither really exists. And the real reason why the East Pakistan Refugees could not be rehabilitated by the Congress Government of India was that there were many intelligent men and women among those refugees who tried to weigh what they were getting against what they had been granted. There has always been a wide gap between granting and actually giving wherever Government servants handled things and the superior persons who controlled the government servants made things worse by their dreamy acceptance of all false accounts, reports and statements given to them by their henchmen.

The Congress has never produced any very capable executives and such as accidentally happened to be in the Congress from time to time seldom got any powers from the top leaders by reason of their inability to please the top men for any length of time. For capable men are never much good for ardent devotion to cults and gurus and the Congress is run by persons who are for ever on the edge of total sainthood and, as such, hungry for flattery and devotion, other men of the Congress camp have always had to assume the saintly airs of their leaders. India, having been the home of rishis, gurus and saints for thousands of years, has developed a recognised technique of saintliness. Austerity, detachment and freedom from human feelings have also their recognised symptoms, and all who can show these external symptoms can claim to belong to the preceptor class. Congress leaders as a rule spend more time on developing the symptoms of moral greatness than on actually doing anything for anybody. This being so, the Congress have failed to do most things, excepting such things as were put in charge of non-Congress foreigners or Indians, who, naturally, did things without stinting on expenses. All successful plans of the Congress, therefore, have been very extravagant and imperial in their execution, rather than befitting a poor nation which counts its naie paise. Only, when it came to refugee rehabilitation, the Congress did not trust any outsiders; but arranged to spend hundreds of crores of rupees, through their own people. Society ladies, Ashram dwellers and persons whose sole distinction had been to have been in the same prison with some top Congressman, were put in charge of this rehabilitation work and these people utterly failed to achieve their purpose. Further, the East Pakistan Refugees were mainly of the educated middle class, and the attempt to settle them in the worst possible areas of Bihar, Orissa and other places failed miserably. The lack of imagination and understanding displayed by the Congress Ministry in charge of rehabilitation could not be surpassed by the worst of amateurs. Large groups of people were kept in camps who lived on dole and they were occasionally made to go to distant places where they found more and worse camps and the same doles. They, therefore, ran away from those places and returned to their "home" camps. Mr. Meherchand Khanna thought settling them in West Bengal would create a "border"

stock and energise their outlook for a healthy understanding and no makeshift arrangements as before, otherwise the Muslim League with its old, fierce proclivities is bound to come back. The Muslim rival of Miss Khatun could not have done anything worse than invoking the Shariat to down her. Did he, by the way, abjure the votes of Muslim women?

As we congratulate Miss Khatun, we wish her take up, on the basis of a well thought-out plan, the many problems that beset her constituency. It is very backward economically with landless labour as one of its crying needs. Above everything else, she needs looking up to help rescue our public life, which is a sink of inanity.

J.B.

### The Etiology of Unrest

The Report on student indiscipline by the committee under the University Grants Commission is, to say the least of it, woefully short of what was expected of it. It is inept and does but touch the fringe of the subject-matter. Worse still, it follows the pattern of British bureaucracy in laying the burdens of the entire blame on the shoulder of political leaders—'agitators,' as they used to call. The glamour of political leadership is not in question—possibly nowhere in the world; and that the impressionable youth, yearning for the adoration, national service commands, is, as well, a point of elevation, which endures. Lala Lajpat Rai and Srinivas Sastri have openly acknowledged that they felt inspired to live for the nation, because of the irresistible appeal of Surendranath Banerjea. Gandhiji held out before the country the idealism of suffering and sacrifice by the living influence of his life. Directly as a result thereof, we have had two flowers of youth, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhaschandra Bose, emerging in exclusive dedication, and a good many others sacrificing themselves even without the compensating reward in publicity. All the same, the alien rule, as inexorably, stigmatised either leader as the corruptor of youth. They called one, 'an impatient idealist crying for the moon' and the other, 'a dangerous

maniac indoctrinating the youth with a hatred for law.'

Politics can be no taboo for anybody. And so we are not in favour of a total ban on politics for students. All that we emphasize is that, they must not spend themselves up in agitational and disruptive politics, or suffer it to break in upon their days of strenuous studies and preparation for life's struggle. Therefore, what they need is to beware of flashy, fussy, fissiparous politics and their "leaders" who are exploiting the impulsive nature of students for the exigencies of the moment. We are afraid, the Report, read in between the lines, betrays an allergy to other-than-Congress politics. But no party is immune from the accusation of indulging in exploitation of students.

The student unrest is no cutaneous eruption; but, straightaway, the manifestation of a malaise, that has gone deep down into the body politic. The society has undergone a vast, cataclysmic change; and there is a complete collapse of the old moral values. A young man is a full-blooded social animal; and there is nothing to be surprised at his aberrations in this period of interregnum, with new protocols in the offing. The point, that clearly calls for determination, is whether the moorings are intact or have got loose.

We have to consider the problem with the background of circumstances that have shaken the morals of people. War, as enunciated in the Mahabharata some two-thousand years back, is a great destroyer of morals. Added to this there has been the negotiated Freedom, on the basis of Partition, which brought in its trail for millions, most solemnly assured that it would never be assented to, unsightly misery and deprivations that beggar description, while side by side the New Class, which has come into being, enjoy infinitely better amenities of life in complete disregard of the much-advertised programme of austerity, they bound themselves to by the Karachi Congress Resolution. Unemployment is rising high and the economic condition of the people is fast deteriorating. This is certainly not the shape of things, any Indian

ever bargained for. Its impact, cumulatively, has been disastrous on the young mind.

J.B.

### Student Indiscipline

We append below two extracts, both from the *Hitavada* of June 18, giving two views of the question. The first one is from an experienced educationist, who is *au courant* with the complexities of the problem and the second is from one of those who constitute the problem itself, so to say.

Mr. P. C. Malhotra, Principal, Government Hamidia College, Bhopal, writes: "The report of the University Grants Commission on the students indiscipline may be said to mark the culmination of the authoritative study of this problem. Case study of student indiscipline shows that the offenders get scot-free and also get temporary heroship. Students who break law of the land have to be treated as such, but the executive by experience follows the attitude of non-possumus and the agitator hold the centre of the stage.

"Parents and guardians have to give up the policy of laissez faire in the situation created by student indiscipline. The battle of deficiency in equipment or arrangement in educational institutions should be better fought by the guardians. But this assumes sensitive ear drums of the authorities concerned.

"Teachers today are on trial as they were never before. If they don't come up to the mark they will stand discredited. But teachers are losing heart and tend to play safe. Moral courage on the part of the students, teachers and the public is on the decline.

"Today authority is being challenged on all fronts, values are fast changing. Standards of conduct are also in a fix. Education is not always sure of giving jobs and particularly lucrative jobs. The system of education is the scapegoat. Parents, society, students all question the utility of Education in force. Education so is not being taken seriously by the students and the basis of disciplined conduct in educational institutions is therefore lacking.

"By a gentleman's agreement among political parties their meddling and dab-

bling in the educational sphere may be eliminated. "No further sloppiness or claptrap attitude or indulgence in the matter of student indiscipline would do good to any one. The disease has been diagnosed. Only the courage to apply the remedies is needed. To be laodiceans would be a sin."

New Delhi, June 16.—Any attempt to curtail student rights or their unions would add to student unrest, warned the All-India Students' Federation, in a letter to the Poona meeting of Vice-Chancellors.

The Federation is of the view that lack of an ideal, unemployment and corruption in different walks of life in the post-independence period "has completely shaken the moral fibre" of the student community. Moreover the existing meagre facilities make students "disgusted and dull" which in its turn breed irresponsibility and indiscipline.

The Federation gave its own six-point suggestions to check student unrest.

Among these are respects of the democratic rights of students, making university and college unions living schools in the practice of democracy and employment of more teachers to foster closer student-teacher relationship.

### Another Aspect of the Summit

We are repeatedly told by our Pundits and Wisemen, that the failure of the "Summit" talks at Paris, in May, has been a misfortune for the world. That there might be another view taken of the scope of the discussions between the Great Powers, both with regard to the present-day problems and those of the future, has not been pointed out by our great men.

Since there is a chance of another "Summit" parley at not-so-distant a future, we would like to acquaint our readers with another view, as given in the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston of May 4—that is on the eve of the Summit talks—by Mr. Harsch, its special correspondent. It might be pointed out that the *Christian Science Monitor* is in the very forefront of the world of legitimate journalism. We append below the extract:

"For us of the so-called Western world the two great issues which impend as we wait for the great men to gather at the Summit are Berlin and whether there is to be a contractual ending of nuclear tests.

It is not the purpose of this column to question the importance of these subjects. They deserve every ounce of celebration which has gone into them.

Yet it also is in order to raise a question whether these are the issues which affect the future rather than the past. We are all aware, of course, that in South Africa there has arisen in acute and challenging form a new issue. A country inhabited largely by persons whose skin is not white is ruled exclusively by persons of white skin. The ruling whites are doing everything within their capacity to maintain and consolidate the exclusivity of their rule. They do not intend if they can help it to grant any voice in Government to the preponderant majority.

But behind them the vast continent of Africa is rapidly being handed over by the whites who have long ruled it to the natives who with increasing insistence demand the right to govern or mis-govern, as the case may be, themselves.

This issue of who is to govern in South Africa will not be discussed at the Summit. None has suggested that it be discussed at the Summit. It is discussed at the United Nations. It is being discussed at the British Commonwealth Conference in London. But in both places it is being discussed as an unpleasant problem which many wish had never been raised—not yet, at least—as the forerunner of the great issue of the future.

By our present behavior we assign to the bomb and to Berlin priority as the most dangerous situations in the world. But we also make the assumption when we do so that the truly great and the most dangerous issues are those which divide the white countries from each other.

Down through most of history this assumption has been valid. The history most of us learn in our schooldays is the history of the white man, the story of his quarrels and his achievements from the days of Greece and Rome down to the present times. It has been an exciting and dramatic, if often violent, story. It has been the white man's story; and other races have been shadows on the fringes of the story, never essential participants in the story.

But in today's world the non-whites out-

number the whites by two to one. They already possess substantial political power. They are beginning to possess military power. Yet in Paris this very month there will be a conference of white men about white men's quarrels which presumes by the very label we put upon it that it deals with man's greatest problems. It continues the assumption of several thousand years that only the white men's quarrels are either important or dangerous.

There is an arrogance about the label of Summit upon a meeting of white men about white men's quarrels which past history largely justifies but which the history ahead of us may very soon reject as a piece of stupidity."

**Sudhindranath Datta**

Bengal has lost by the death of Sudhindranath Datta one of the most versatile amongst the poets and critics of the day. Of the group that started carving out separate niches in the temple dedicated to the literary muse, he had attained the most distinctive prominence, both by virtue of his style, which bore the imprint of an intellect that was keen and precise to the point of pedantry, and by the width of his vision, which encompassed the entire field of Indian culture, together with the emotional aspects of present-day life.

He came in close contact with Rabindranath Tagore while still in his twenties and was one of those who accompanied Rabindranath in his tour of the Far East and the U.S.A. in 1929. He stayed back in Europe in order to get into a more intimate touch with the literary forces in action there.

After his return he developed a new form of writing that was distinctly his own and yet it had no signs of a laboured attempt at individualism which marked the work of most of the post-Tagore poets and literary critics.

He kept himself constantly abreast of the trends in modern literature, at home and abroad, and in this he was helped largely by his wife, Srimati Rajeswari Datta, who is well-acquainted with French and Italian literature in addition to her gifts in the singing of Tagore music. Husband and wife were very close together in all their activities and our deep sympathies are offered to the bereaved partner.

## ROLE OF PANCHAYAT IN RURAL PLANNING

By PROF. SUBRATA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M.A.

AN attempt is made in this article to assess the role of the village Panchayat in our rural planning and also to study the recommendations of the Mehta Committee on this behalf. Undoubtedly the question of re-organization of Panchayat and its relation with national planning is one of the most vital topics before the country today. The report of the "Study team of Community Project and National Extension Service" popularly known as "Balwantarai Mehta Committee" has opened a new era and introduced almost a revolutionary concept in the pattern of Panchayat administration in their recommendations.

It may be recalled that we are on the fourth year of our Second National Plan and we have just completed the seventh anniversary of our Community Development movement. Ours is a democratic planning and naturally we are proud of it. But it has to be admitted that even after eight years of the operations of the National planning it could not create the desired urge and spontaneity amongst the people at the base. The Community Development and National Extension programmes were sponsored to develop the Social and economic life of the community. After an initial success these movements have been viewed by the rural masses as "external agencies" set up from above to help them in their difficulties. As if, these are none of their own organisations. The multiplicity of officials have also added new complications.

It is in this context that the importance of village Panchayat has assumed new proportions. It is expected that Panchayat as the representative organisation of the rural masses will be able to harness their resources as also to give the requisite leadership in rural planning. In order to study our problem in an objective manner we have proceeded in the following way:

- (1) Definition of Panchayat—Its role in ancient India—Its revival in the British period—Its present status in the new constitution of India;

- (2) Role of Panchayat in rural reconstruction and planning;
- (3) Recommendations of the Mehta Committee;
- (4) Suggestions for its modifications—Constitution, Functions, Resources, Training (based on the discussions stated above);
- (5) Conclusion.

Panchayat—What Is It? Its Past and a Short Historical Background of its Development in our Country

The word "Panchayat" literally means "dependent on five". It should ordinarily mean the group of people, 5 or 10 chosen by the village Community to attend to the affairs of the Community.

In ancient India Panchayat had a proud role in shaping the destiny of our rural masses. It formed the basic part and nucleus of a thriving civilization in that ancient period. In the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe, "They are little republics, having really everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. This union of village Communities, each forming a separate little state in itself has, I conceive, contributed more than any other causes to the preservation of the people of India and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

In those old days, "Panchayat helped the life of the Community to sustain itself and foster its own healthy growth. Panchayat looked to the all-round development, peace and happiness of the Community as a whole."

But later with the changed conditions, social, economic and political, there was decadence in these village institutions. Continued slavery and dependency created frustration. These organisations became stationary and static.

British Period—Revival of Panchayat System

In the British period Panchayat system was again revived as a part of Local Self-Govern-



ment. It may be remembered that the Local Self-Government was introduced in this country as a gradual process of devolution of power. Tracing this process historically we observe several distinct stages in it. The stages are :

First period—1687-1882

Second period—1882-1918

Third period—1918-35 Act

Lord Ripon's Resolution on Local Self-Government in 1882 was a great landmark in the history of local democracy in India. The underlying principle of his Resolution was that

- (1) Local bodies to consist of a large majority of elected non-official members and to have non-official Chairman.
- (2) Government control over local bodies to be exercised from without, rather than from within.
- (3) Elastic and sufficient financial resources, certain local resources of revenue to be made over to local bodies, etc.

#### Royal Commission on Decentralisation

The problem of rural Self-Governing institutions occupied the attention of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation which presented its report in 1909. The Commission after observing that the scant success of the efforts to introduce a system of rural Self-Government was largely due to the fact that it was not built from the bottom, recommended the establishment of Local Self-Government Unit for villages.

As regards functions of the Panchayats, the Commission suggested among others :

- (a) Summary Jurisdiction in petty Civil and Criminal cases.
- (b) Cleaning of the village and minor village works.
- (c) Construction, maintenance and management of village School.
- (d) Management of small fuel and fodder reserves, etc.

#### Government of India Resolution of 1918

In 1918 resolution some of the other principles were modified. It of course reiterated the

principles enunciated by Lord Ripon that political education must in the main take precedence over considerations of departmental efficiency and therefore the people should learn by committing mistakes and profiting by them. The resolution clearly stated that the "Decentralisation Commission did not intend the proposed village Panchayats to be merely additional machines for local administration nor additional artificial areas. They must be living units which would give the villagers an interest in and some control over local village affairs "and be natural expressions" of the corporate life of the individual villages.

#### Government of India Act 1919 and 1935 Act

In the Government of India Act 1919, Local Self-Government became one of the transferred subjects under the provincial Government. The Act gave a new impetus to the Self-Government movement and local Governments either in the shape of Union Boards or Local Boards or Gram Panchayats were subsequently established. Undoubtedly these bodies enjoyed restricted freedom.

Under Government of India Act, 1935, Provincial autonomy further accelerated the process of Local Self-Government in the provinces of India. But there was no bold outlook in it. These organisations were looked upon as centres of popular control and real transference of power from the alien masters to the native people.

#### Panchayat Under the New Constitution

With the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1950, Panchayat entered into a new phase. The setting up of village Panchayat as a true Self-Governing institution is now a directive of the Constitution. It is the lowest unit of our democratic state apparatus. Article 40 provides, "The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of Self-Government." During the last nine years important transformations have taken place in the Panchayat administration based on the aforesaid constitutional directive. We have also witnessed new Panchayat enactments in States where pre-

viously there was no such organisation. The states like West Bengal, Andhra, Punjab, Madras, Mysore, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh passed new Panchayat Acts. One characteristic feature of the Panchayat Acts of this period is the introduction of adult franchise in Panchayat elections. These Acts although having basic similarity were by no means uniform.

#### Panchayat and Planning

We were so long tracing the historical background of the Panchayat development in our country. In this connection we also observed that during all these years the main emphasis was making "Panchayat" an unit of local Government in the rural area. It was only during the post-war period that the question of associating "Panchayat" with national development works was suggested. The Woodhead Commission observed in 1945 that "We consider that Panchayats should be encouraged to take an active part in the framing of schemes of development relating to their areas and in the carrying out of such schemes. Indeed, we consider it essential that they should do so, for the successful execution of many schemes of rural reconstruction and development depends largely on the co-operation of the people, that co-operation should be sought and obtained through the people's local representatives, that is, through the Panchayats."—(*The Famine Enquiry Commission Final Report*, p. 328-329).

We know that the Community Development and National Extension programmes were undertaken to initiate the process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages. But as we have noted earlier, these organisations failed to create the desired urge and zeal on the part of the people. In the words of the Mehta Committee, "Admittedly, one of the least successful aspects of the C.D. and N.E.S. work is its attempt to evoke popular initiative. We have found that few of the local bodies at a level higher than the village Panchayat have shown any enthusiasm or interest in this work."—(*Report of the Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, p. 4.)

In the fitness of things it is the Panchayat which has to assume the main responsibility and

take initiative in the development of the village. As correctly observed by Dr. S. V. Samant :

"It has now been realised that the main object of National Planning will not be achieved unless there is comprehensive village planning which takes into account the needs of the entire community. Such planning is not easily possible unless the local organisation, the Panchayat takes the initiative."—(Dr. S. V. Samant, article on "Village Panchayat" in *Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute*, Issue No. 109, July, 1957).

While discussing the role of village Panchayat in our rural reconstruction and national planning the Planning Commission observed :

"It is realised that the pattern of district administration envisaged in the National Extension and Community Development Programme . . . will remain incomplete unless village institutions are placed on a sound footing and are entrusted with a great deal of responsibility for carrying out of local programmes in emphasising the interest of the Community as a whole and in particular the needs of those sections which are at present handicapped in various ways, village panchayats along with co-operatives, can play a considerable part in bringing about a more just and integrated social structure in rural areas and in developing a new pattern of rural leadership."—(*Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 151, para 9).

In spite of these recommendations of the Planning Commission sufficient care was not taken to develop the Panchayat organisations on the above lines. Even Panchayat organisations were not set up in all the states. There was hesitation in transferring effective power to these institutions. The whole position was reviewed by the Central Council of Local Self-Government in their meeting held in September, 1957. The Committee resolved : "It was unanimously of the opinion that the village Panchayats should be given as large a measure as possible in the development programme of the village including land reforms."—(*Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government*, p. 130). A similar caution was noted by the Planning Sub-Committee of the All India Congress in their report :

"The role of the village Panchayats and

village co-operatives should not be merely to dispose of routine functions. They should be spearheads of all the developmental activities in the village." (*Report of the Planning Sub-Committee*, p. 53). This new role of the village Panchayat has also recently been stressed in the Report of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation for 1958-59. The report which was placed before the Parliament in March, last year, has recommended among other things that "Panchayat should be accepted as the sole institution which should assume the total responsibility of village development."—(*Civic Affairs*, March, 1959, page 86).

It is a happy sign that in some states the village Panchayat is already assuming its proper role in development work. The Gram Panchayat Enquiry Committee in Orissa in their recent report observes: "The Panchayat has come to assume the character of a development council for its local area in addition to its usual administrative character and the emphasis is necessarily on the former aspect."—(*Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute*, July, 1959, p. 129).

#### Panchayat and Mehta Committee

We now come to the recommendations of the Balawantari Mehta Committee. "Democratic decentralisation" is the key-note of these recommendations. The Committee have placed before the country a positive picture of devolution of power and a programme of *Panchayat-raj* to be built from below. The underlying principle of this policy is:

"The Government should divest itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolve them to a body which will have the entire charge of all development work within its jurisdiction, reserving to itself only the functions of guidance, supervision and higher planning."—(*Report*, p. 125). The Committee have envisaged a three-tier organisation—Zila Parishad at the district level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and Panchayat at the village level. Of course the last two bodies will be vested with executive functions whereas the Zila Parishad will act as an advisory body.

The Committee further observed: "We have

already indicated the reasons why in the matter of developmental activities village Panchayat and the Panchayat Samitis should be the main local bodies . . . . The district board, the district school board and the Janapad Sabha become superfluous, as local interest, supervision and care, necessary to ensure that the expenditure of money upon local objects conforms with the wishes and needs of the locality, are provided by the Panchayat Samiti, which we consider a body of size adequate in population and area. The functions which these bodies are at present performing will in our opinion, be performed with greater efficiency by the Panchayat Samiti."—(*Balwantari Mehta Committee Report*, Vol. 1, page 19).

According to the Committee the Panchayat will have two types of functions: (1) Compulsory, (2) Delegated.

The Compulsory functions are: (a) Provision of Water Supply, (b) Sanitation, (c) Maintenance of public streets, (d) Lighting of village streets, (e) Land Management, (f) Maintenance of records relating to cattle, (g) Relief of distress, (h) Maintenance of Panchayat roads, culverts, etc., (i) Supervision of primary schools, (j) Welfare of backward classes, (k) Collection and maintenance of statistics.

Delegated functions: It will act as the agent of the Panchayat Samiti in executing any schemes of development or other activities. It may be observed that the Mehta Committee while evolving the process of "Democratic Decentralisation" have led more stress on the "Panchayat Samiti" or "Block Panchayat" and have assigned major developmental works to this body. So far as "development work" is concerned the Panchayat will act as the agent of the Block Panchayat. The Committee has also recommended district financial resources for Gram Panchayat. There are 9 such items excluding the "grant from Block Panchayat".

#### Panchayat—Functions and Resources

But before proceeding any further let us see what is rural reconstruction and Planning. "Rural Reconstruction" means and implies an adoption of a new pattern of life. And in order to achieve that it should have a planned and co-ordinated programme.

The aim and object of rural planning should be to make the villagers better men and better off. It should be an all embracing and a comprehensive programme, touching the minutest details of the villager's life. Rural Planning should concentrate on raising the standard of living, family limitation, co-operative organisation, pitching up targets of production, rural social life, and development of rural public works and social services.

We thus observe in the aforesaid discussions that it is now being gradually admitted that village Panchayat should be assigned a basic role in village development matters. But opinions differ as regards their functions and resources, so far as development works are concerned. The Planning Commission suggested the following as appropriate functions of village Panchayat:

1. Framing programmes of production for the village.
2. Framing budgets of requirements, for supplies and finance needed for carrying out the programme.
3. Acting as channel through which the Government's assistance reaches the village.
4. Developing common lands such as waste lands, forests, tanks, etc., increasing measures for soil conservation.
5. Construction, repair and maintenance of common village buildings, public wells, etc.
6. Organisation of mutual aid and joint effort in all activities.
7. Promotion of Co-operative societies.
8. Organizing voluntary labour for Community works.
9. Promotion of small savings.
10. Improvement of livestock.

Apart from these development functions there are three other administrative functions, namely, (a) Civic, (b) Land management and (c) Land reforms.—(*Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 152-153).

It is interesting to note that the Taxation Enquiry Commission while making an elaborate discussion on Panchayat functions, as envisaged in Planning Commission and several other states, indicated a cautious approach in the

matter. The Commission observed, "We consider that such specific functions in the sphere of economic development and production, as are more appropriately discharged by, e.g., Co-operative Societies, should, as a rule, be excluded from the functions listed as developing on village Panchayat. We also consider it very necessary that instead of multifarious functions which now figure in the enactments, a few well chosen and clearly defined duties should be assigned to the Panchayats and that those should be co-ordinated with similar functions assigned to district local boards or other rural boards." (*Taxation Enquiry Commission Report*, Vol. III, p. 355). The Congress Village Panchayat Committee also seems to favour the opinion of excluding from the range of Panchayats all activities leading to economic development. The Central Council of Local Self-Government is also of divided opinion on the question of functions to be assigned to the Panchayat. In this connection the opinion of Dr. S. V. Samant is worth noting. Although he supports that economic functions relating to development should be left to Co-operative Society, he further considers, "However, it would not be a wise policy to exclude from the field of Panchayats all the activities leading to economic development only because such activities can be performed by an independent agency like a Co-operative Society."—(*Village Panchayat*, p. 88).

Considering all aspects we feel that a balanced approach should be made in the matter. Apart from civic functions (which will be mostly compulsory) the Panchayat should be assigned certain definite economic and social functions, all relating to development and reconstruction of rural life. These functions may either be compulsory or discretionary, selected and not very large in their numbers and in cases should be provided for their implementation.

#### Conclusion

We have thus reviewed the role of village Panchayat in national planning. It has been admitted by all concerned that Panchayat should be responsible for the total development of the village. Rural Planning can never be successful unless total resources of the Community can be

effectively mobilised. This can only be done by the village Panchayat. Mere devolution of power will not create a true democratic institution at the base. Panchayat cannot function effectively unless it can rouse up all sections of the Community and convince them of its utility. And for this certain basic conditions are required. They are—abolition of inequality, implementation of genuine land reforms, building of a progressive agrarian economy and faith in the rural masses. The Panchayats will then prove to be the soundest units working as a suitable base for the healthy function of national democracy.

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Community Project and National Extension Service (Vol. 1).

3. *Second Five-Year Plan.*

4. *The Famine Enquiry Commission Final Report.*

5. *Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute* (1956-59).

6. *Proceedings of Central Council of Local Self-Government* (3rd and 4th, 1957 and 1958).

7. *Report of the Congress Planning Sub-Committee.*

8. *Taxation Enquiry Committee Report*, (Vol. III).

9. *West Bengal Panchayat Act.*

10. *Socio-Economic Organisation and Reconstruction in Rural India and Pakistan* by Zahusul Hossain Sharib, Ph.D.

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## RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

### A Snap-Study

By JOGES C. BOSE

#### I

The battle of Plassey, over which a handful of British merchants founded their Indian Empire, was no warfare but a coup of treachery. It reads amazing that a few traitors at the top sold away the freedom of this country. The general mass of people were steeped in ignorance and cared not a straw as to what the change of rule implied. The East India Company subsequently extended its sway over the whole of India by playing off a divided people.

Mirzafar threw open the Bengal Treasury to Clive, who divided the first booty amongst themselves. Clive had for his own share £2,11,500, Watts £1,17,000, Kilpatrick £60,750, Walsh £56,250, to name only a few of a long list.<sup>1</sup> The servants of the Company now employed every means at their disposal to satisfy their greed for gold. They descended to such length that within four years after they obtained Dewani—the right to rule Bengal, 'they

1. Lester Hutchinson in his *Empire of the Nabobs.*

bought', as Karl Marx says, 'all rice and then sold it at a very high price.'<sup>2</sup> The result was that a terrible famine levied a toll of Bengal's one-third population.<sup>3</sup> Sir Reginald Coupland, Professor of Colonial History, Oxford, is constrained to admit 'the black facts of the decade or so after Plassey—the misrule and misery of Bengal and the great fortunes amassed by the Company's servants in disreputable ways.'<sup>4</sup> In still more explicit terms does H. G. Wells ask, "Is it any wonder that its Captains and Commanders and officials, nay, even its clerks and common soldiers came back to England loaded with spoils?"<sup>5</sup> They were called Nabobs—a nabob is an anglicized form of Nawab. It was precisely for this that a nabob in

2. *Das Kapital.*

3. With this famine as background, Bankimchandra Chatterjee writes his novel *Anandamath*, giving us the hymn "Bande Mataram." This famine has a strange similarity with Bengal's 'man-made famine' four years before Britain quitted India.

4. *India—A Re-statement.*

5. *A Short History of the World.*

eighteenth century England came to mean an Englishman who had returned from India with large fortunes, acquired by cruelty, cunning and imposition. Those of the Company's servants, who felt having lost the race for loot, began spreading stories how Clive and his fellow-workers had devastated Bengal. It roused the conscience of some decent folk in England. The rank and file were, however, jealous of the sudden accumulations of the nabobs—their high brows adding no less to the irritation. There was a sustained howl against Clive. The founder of the British rule in India committed suicide in 1774. The same year, Raja Rammohun Roy was born.

He was born at village Radhanagar now in the district Hooghly but Burdwan in his life time. The Hindu society of the day was a cobweb of caste, ignorance, bigotry, superstition and the rest of what they connote. Never before had Hindu civilization suffered such a dismal setback. A vast section of the people were treated as proletariats in a very harsh sense, as a result of which there were colossal conversions to Islam. Cruel practices were palmed off as acts of heroic devotion. There was, in short, a collapse of moral values and the vital link with India's ancient culture had snapped. From out of this squalor, so crippling and pestilential, Raja Rammohun Roy grew up to read aright what led to her break-down. He lived, moved and had his being unwaveringly fixed to build her anew on the balance of spiritual and material strength of the East and West respectively.

As was the vogue, Rammohun had his first schooling in the village *patshala*; and at the same time he learnt Persian at home. He then went to Patna and read Arabic. Here he caught a glimpse of the mystic writings of the philosophy of Sufi school, which bears close resemblance to the Vedanta. Later on, he went to Benaras to learn Sanskrit and stayed there till he was sixteen years odd months. Here on the threshold of maturity, as he studied the Vedas and the Upanishads, his inner being thrilled on the ruling note of Hindu civili-

zation, yearning for Light, Truth and Immortality.

With a newly-developed attraction for monotheism, Rammohun came back to his parents at home. He would not hide light in a bushel nor would the guardians of society suffer him play fast and loose with accepted beliefs in religion. His father came by his manuscript, in which he questioned the validity of idol-worship. This produced an estrangement<sup>6</sup> between the father and son. Rammohun left home and set out on his travels. On foot he crossed the border of India and after a hazardous journey reached Tibet,<sup>7</sup> then held in high esteem as a seat of learning. Here he came in conflict with some Lamas misreading Buddhism and rather gloating on its perversions. It very nearly cost him his life. Some kindly ladies managed and he cleared out of Tibet. The one hand-some return, Rammohun made, was that since now, he treated women with utmost respect. In humble details, he would not keep seated were a woman to remain standing before him. At the age of twenty his father called him back and had him restored to his unqualified affection.

#### II

When Rammohun left India, he had a feeling of aversion against British rule. As he came back, he found that the ruling power had brought order out of chaos. Lord Cornwallis had, in the meantime, introduced some very good changes in the administration; and his Permanent Settlement held out the promise of justice and security to the ryot. What again appealed to Rammohun was that a rule of law was enthroned in place of the rule of man.

6. The rebel is polite enough to use the expression 'coolness.'

7. It is rather pedantic to spoil a good story and ferret out a line here and a line there to seek to establish, and that too inconclusively, that Raja Rammohun Roy had not at all gone to Tibet.

Gradually, as he came in touch with high English officials, he gathered a lot of their civilization, their art and enterprise. He was enthralled to read how they opposed to bitter extremes their monarchy seeking to impose an absolutist form of government on the people; and how, step by step, they reared up a sturdy democracy. He made his choice that India stood to gain by association with England.

He, therefore, felt anxious to instruct the youth of India in the Science and Literature of the West. He organised support for Macaulay and Bentinck in their efforts to introduce English education. It bore results within a short time. Sentiments of patriotism and democracy became the talking points of the newly-initiated and they were stirred up to look around and look ahead. It is, however, worth recalling that this uncompromising advocate of English Education was for Vernacular as the medium of instruction. Were he listened to, Education, in the real sense of the word, would have gone deep down the skin of the people. Much, again, as Rammohun conceded the pre-eminence of the West for their discoveries in Science and Technology, he was never slow to emphasize that our motherland was the first in the world to have enkindled the light of knowledge. This was not to flatter any racial ego, but to instil into the mind of a people, who had long forgotten their one-time intellectual glory, a spirit of self-confidence. In fact, he made it clear beyond controversy that he did not propose to go from the East to the West, but through the West to a composite civilization for new India.

There have been in India reformers of the calibre of Buddha, Mahabir, Sankaracharya and Nanak. Rammohun did not strip himself bare to the extent they did; and it is, somehow, a handicap in this soil. It, however, needs being acknowledged without a mental reservation that he courageously faced all the questions they did and, besides, what was never a bother for them, the impact of the West. Raja Rammohun Roy saved India a cultural conquest;

and this has profoundly facilitated our recovery.<sup>8</sup>

We have seen that by the age of sixteen Rammohun had learnt Bengali, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. As he came back from Tibet, he took to learning English. He read the Bible to study Briton at the source of his culture. He learnt Greek from which version the Bible was translated into English. He then learnt Hebrew to read it in the original. He also learnt French and Latin, but he did not acquire any great proficiency in either. It was because of his urge to study the cultural background of Europe that he overcame the manifold difficulties incidental to learning so many foreign languages in those remote days.

When Rammohun was working as an employee of the East India Company at Rangpur, Digby, the District Collector, told him all about the two great contemporary events, the War of American Independence and the French Revolution. The famous line of the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' roused him. No less was he roused by the ringing slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which broke open the gates of Bastille, passing as a symbol of despotism. He felt inspired to keep abreast of the fast-moving trends of history. And, therefore, not content with reading books and journals, Digby used to receive by each English mail, he ordered a lot on his own account. It was now that he resolved to take to public life as it obtains in England. How devoutly he prepared for it is evident from the fact that, when Digby found him, he 'could speak English well enough to be understood'; but as he came to Calcutta, J. S.

8. India has taken over seven hundred years to throw off the Pathan-cum-Moghul rule, but less than two hundred years to get rid of the control of the English people, the most penetrating, puissant race of the world.

Buckingham,<sup>9</sup> editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, contemplate how as the woman scrambled was 'surprised' at his 'unparalleled accuracy of to come out of the furnace she was held language', which he thought, was 'worthy of down by green bamboo poles, her agonised imitation even by Englishmen.' screams being drowned by wild shouts and drums. But such was the brute sway of society that none dared breathe a protest worth the name. Rammohun took courage

### III

Rammohun's public life was one long, relentless crusade against medievalism. He attacked with rare courage the many evils, which had crept into the Hindu society. The most inhuman of these was *Suttee*. It is a strange irony of fate that the Hindus, who were enjoined by their Law-maker Manu not under any circumstance to discriminate between a son and a daughter in affording facilities of education, and who were taught to believe that where women are honoured the gods delight to reside, should have adopted this barbarous practice, commonly supposed to have come to India with the Scytho-Tartars.

The *Suttee* was a widow, who burnt herself to ashes on the funeral pyre of her husband. The tyranny of custom, the heirs and the priests preyed upon her mind when it was in a state of unbalance. As life-long deprivations stared her in the face, she was coaxed and cajoled to believe that immediately she dropped her last breath on the pyre, to heaven she would go with husband awaiting her. Those who vacillated or refused to succumb to the pressure were subjected to such insults that they preferred death in the flames to a living death. Job Charnock, the founder of the city of Calcutta, rescued a widow about to be consigned to the fire and married her. She was left free to follow her religion and, in fact, a Hindu temple was maintained in the house of the East India Company's Calcutta *Kutiwal*, Leelabati Charnock, at her own wish, sleeps alongside her husband in the tranquil compound of St. John's Church, Calcutta.

Does it stand to reason that there was not many a soul to have felt deeply hurt to suffer a woman being goaded to such cruel death? It is nerve-racking to have to

9. Deported for his uncompromising stand for the Freedom of Press in India.

in both hands to expose the fraud of any religious sanction behind it. He then appealed to the people to help move the Government to stop it on pains of Law. The Government, initially diffident to interfere with a socio-religious practice, introduced, under pressure from Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and others, a Regulation forbidding coercion. They also appointed a Vigilance Committee, which, however, made little headway. In 1828, in Calcutta alone some three hundred widows were burnt alive. In 1829, Lord William Bentinck abolished it and handed down his name to the grateful acknowledgement of generations. It is history that Akbar tried to stop it; Aurangzeb, as some leaders of the Hindu society petitioned him over the Job Charnock affair, turned round to praise the young man for what he did and issued a *Firman* to the Subedar of Bengal to stop it altogether. There was not, however, one Rammohun Roy behind the move and it makes all the difference.

Over eight hundred people, backed by the opinion of one hundred and twenty pundits, presented a memorial to Lord Bentinck to revoke the Law. Failing this, they appealed to King in Council<sup>10</sup> Rammohun went to England to attend to this amongst other things.<sup>11</sup> He died in England; but before his death he had the supreme satisfaction to hear in person the judgement of dismissal delivered by the Lords.

Rammohun's fight against the *Suttee* was of a piece together with his bold, strenuous advocacy of the rights and dignity

10. An Englishman of the name Bethie was appointed to represent them in England. The ship that carried Bethie sank not far off Calcutta and Bethie died.

11. One of these was in connection with the pension of the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam, who invested Rammohun with the title of Raja.



of our women. He objected—we do not know if there was at the time anywhere in the world a protest of the type—to the proposition that a woman had no legal status except in terms of her relation with man.<sup>12</sup> He wrote an illuminative treatise, **The Rights of Woman According to Hindu Law**. In this he attacked polygamy amongst other things. He pleaded for a Law denying the right of a man to take a second wife during the life time of the first except under one of the justifications as provided by the Hindu Law. The late Justice Sir Guroodas Banerji, an orthodox of the orthodox Hindus, has spoken very highly of this book. The Constitution of India now guarantees equal rights for men and women. Rights of women are further confirmed by a change in Law on marriage, divorce and inheritance, etcetera, paving the way for self-reliant womanhood.

Raja Rammohun Roy is one of the founders of the Vernacular newspaper in Bengal, the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, to their undying glory, having just preceded him. The line, he chalked out for his paper *Sambadkaumudi* is a convincing proof of his go-ahead views. He pleaded for Jury trial. He pleaded for the stoppage of export of rice till it was ascertained by a periodical enquiry that it would not tell upon the poor. He was, no doubt, for an agricultural basis of our Economy, but, as consistently, for Industry in order to tone up our standard of living. He was all hammer and tongs against caste system, cutting at the root of nationalism. What is yet suggestive of a deep, cogent thinking, is his clear-cut conviction that 'excess of civilization' and 'abstinence of slaughter of animals' contributed as much to our political undoing. By 'excess of civilization,' he

12. Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit says that she was surprised to know of such a position only when she became a widow in the forties of this century. On the point of disabilities, it deserves to be noted, that in Bengal Jeemutavahan by the end of 14th century and Raghunandan by the middle of 16th century cut down many of the amenities, Manu and Jajnavalka allowed Hindu widows.

means the spirit of compromise and accommodation carried to an 'excess'. It defeats its own purpose and makes the opponent only intransigent. By 'abstinence from slaughter of animals', he means that people, who shriek at the sight of blood, are bound to fare ill as they come in conflict with predatory forces.

The foreign Government, naturally enough, viewed askance the propagation of such views. It took to curbing the 'native<sup>13</sup> Press' and imposed the system of licence. They chafed at this and set up an outcry. Rammohun Roy and five others moved the Supreme Court against it. As it turned down their petition, they carried the matter to King-in-Council. That petition too was rejected; but such was the atmosphere of resentment they had created that Sir Charles Metcalfe, as Governor General, restored the freedom of Press in spite of his predecessor Lord William Bentinck having left a note against it. Romes Chandra Dutt calls these six gentlemen 'pioneers of our constitutional struggle'. In honour of Sir Charles, the Bengal Public erected Metcalfe Hall at the Hare Street-Strand Road junction, Calcutta.

Raja Rammohun, in writing Bengali for his books, propaganda literature and newspaper articles, evolved a style, of his own. It is direct and free from the circumlocution, the Sanskrit scholars were used to. Some of his mannerisms provoke smile today, but his writings, on the whole, are colourful and yet conversational. Pramathanath Chaudhuri (Beerbal) calls him the father of modern Bengali prose. 'His devotional songs', says Pundit Ramgati Nyayaratna in *The History of Bengali Literature*, 'have the power to melt stony hearts'.

Even in that early nineteenth century, Raja Rammohun Roy dwelt on the economic drain of British rule. As though a Moses on Pisgah, he envisaged Dominion Status but, ere long, outgrew it. "In the end," as

13. The word 'native' was used in contempt and the vernacular press retaliated by calling even blue-blooded English people Firinghee.

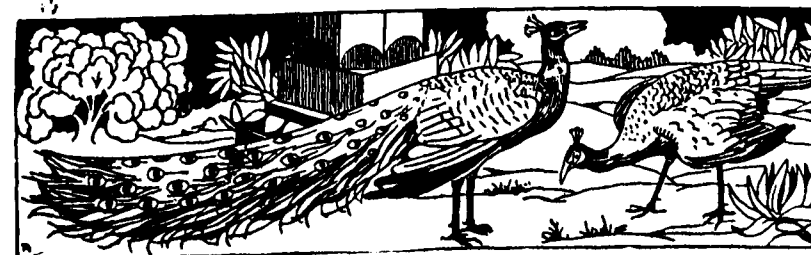
Dr. Brajendranath Seal says, "the vision of a free, puissant and enlightened India came to this prophet of humanity." In the concrete, he left for his successor-fighters a blueprint of constitutional struggle. In fact, what Surendranath Banerjea says is so well to the point. Raja Rammohun Roy's 'labours', he acknowledges, 'have shaped the whole course of our constitutional movement.' Rabindranath Tagore hails him as 'the inaugurator of modern India'; and though he died in the third decade of the nineteenth century, calls him in terms of his thoughts and action 'the great path-breaker of this century'—the twentieth century.

In 1821, the people of Naples made their king accept a Constitution for governance by the people. The crowned heads of Austria, Prussia and Russia joined hands and crushed the people back into servitude. Such a great lover of freedom Raja Rammohun Roy was that he raised his voice to say, "I consider the cause of the Neapolitians as our own and their enemies as much our own." Jealously alive to the heritage of India, he conceived the world as one unit of many facets. Nobody before Raja Rammohun Roy has ever said, as Rabindranath Tagore points out, that the ideal of civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence but in the brotherhood of interdependence. It is no less remarkable that he anticipated such institutions as the Congress of Religions and the League of Nations, etc.

On 27th September 1833, Raja Rammohun Roy died at Bristol, attended to in the most affectionate manner by the English family he was putting up with. It was the year when the British Parliament passed the India Act 1833, which promised an Indian 'any Place, Office or Employ-

ment under the East India Company.' What Thomas Babington Macaulay said on the Bill in the House of Commons enlivened India for a long time to come. "It may be," he said, "that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not . . . . Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history." Whatever factors might have induced Macaulay to speak in the above strain, it is accepted without a breath of demur that Raja Rammohun Roy was the largest single influence.

Science has liquidated distance and the world is now one large neighbourhood. At the same time, civilization, built up in the length of ages, seems to hang on the eruption of a pin-point. In a moment all the endeavours and achievements of mankind, manifesting themselves in art and architecture, in hospitals, libraries, museums and other formative institutions, bid fare to tumble down into smoke and ashes. One ray of hope, however, in the midst of these dark forebodings is the steady realisation that humanity, as India enunciated some about five thousand years back, is one. The salvation of mankind is in perfecting this oneness. Were the ideal worth pursuing, no praise is, possibly, too high for Raja Rammohun Roy, who laid the foundation of modern India on her ancient shibboleth, unity amidst diversity.



## THE SWATANTRA PARTY: ITS IMPACT & PROSPECTS

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

### Parties and Democracy

Political parties have played a crucial role in the evolution of the political structure in the countries of Western Europe and North America which goes by the name of democracy. A distinctive feature of the democratic pattern is its more or less bipartisan character. Democracy has traditionally been defined as the fight for governmental leadership between two principal political parties within a broadly accepted socio-political frame-work. Whenever there was a conflict over the fundamental postulates of political life, the party system understood in this sense (in fact, there is no other way of defining it) has tended to break down. Another peculiarity that deserves attention is the fact that bipartisan democracy has not been a success in countries which were late in breaking out of the shell of medievalism. Even in many countries of continental Europe a party system bearing a significant resemblance to the West European or the North American model failed to emerge despite considerable international support to national efforts to build up such a system which appeared desirable to many politicians and political commentators.

In the countries further east—Turkey, the U.S.S.R., China, Pakistan, Burma, Japan, Indonesia and India, to name only a few—bipartisan democracy was never, nor it is now, a practical reality. The picture is one of only one party standing out very much above the others not only in political influence but also in popular esteem. The overthrow of the Caliphate in Turkey was followed by a one-party rule the essential character of which never changed (as is conclusively demonstrated by the contemporary events in Turkey where the parliamentary opposition has been immobilized by a governmental decree for no other reason

than the people's desire to exercise their right to criticize the Government in public) despite the experimentation begun a little over twenty years ago with an officially-sponsored opposition party. The history of the U.S.S.R. is much too well known to require any elaboration. In China the Nationalist Party's (Kuomintang) dictatorial rule has been succeeded by an equally, if not more severe (so far as its dealing with political opposition is concerned) dictatorship of the Communist Party (Kungchintang). Until the end of the Second World War Japan had never had a functioning opposition party capable of challenging the ruling party. During the fifteen years since the end of the war, and ten years since the conclusion of the peace treaty with the non-Communist world, the opposition has enjoyed a greater latitude in Japan, but the one-party character of the Government has not been seriously challenged. In Pakistan it was the rule of the Muslim League until it was swamped by the Awami League and its allies in the eastern wing and the Republican Party in the western wing—both of the latter having since been superseded by an avowedly dictatorial military regime. In Burma it is the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which is still in power, may be under a different name. In Indonesia the experiment with a multi-party democracy has been unceremoniously abandoned to make way for a nominated Co-operative Parliament.

### The Indian Experience

In India also there is as yet no single political force capable of offering a serious challenge to the authority of the Indian National Congress on an all-India scale. No doubt, the authority and prestige of the Congress have suffered a rather serious decline in certain regions (West Bengal,

Kerala, Orissa and parts of Maharashtra); but as an all-India party it can safely look forward to another decade of unchallenged supremacy, barring unexpected reversal of current policies or an accelerated depreciation in the ability of the leadership. The Communist Party of India is strong in pockets; the same is true, to a lesser extent, for the Praja-Socialist Party; but neither of these two parties nor the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, which is the other party that completes the list of "national parties" recognized as such by the Election Commission, comes anywhere near the Congress in being a national political symbol. Despite its name the Indian Socialist Party of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia is still nothing more than a conglomeration of small groups scattered over a small number of States with very little organizational solidarity.

### The Swatantra Party

The announcement of the formation of a new political party—the Swatantra Party—with the avowed object of superseding the Congress Party in the national Government has naturally aroused considerable interest amongst all sections of political opinion in the country, since it stands to affect not only the fortunes of the ruling Congress Party but directly or indirectly of the other political parties as well. The question in every mind is, will the Swatantra Party succeed in achieving what has so far remained beyond the grip of political parties with a much longer record of activity, that is—can the Swatantra Party assume the role of a national opposition in the next Parliament scheduled to be elected in 1962? Political predictions are always hazardous as it so amply demonstrates by experience. Yet every citizen must make his political assessment to determine how he can hope to fare in the near future. It is in this sense of a lay-man's reading of the political situation that the following lines are written

### Its Stand: International and Obscurantist

The Swatantra Party has launched its political programme with a bitter attack

on Congress policies which it characterises as a drift towards statism and totalitarianism. The party is avowedly an ideological enemy of socialism in any of its forms. This is the only sure thing about the party's stand that has so far come out. Its criticism of the Congress Party more than anything else centres upon the adoption by the Congress Party the establishment of a socialist society as its goal. "If we are ready to give up democracy, we can adopt socialism. There is no room in the bottle for both," says Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the spiritual guide of the party. Social welfare and socialism according to him, are different things. While the former is certainly desirable, the latter involving as it does a certain degree of levelling of income (which he chooses to call distribution of poverty) and loss of individual freedom is completely unacceptable. While the party is opposed to the very idea of socialism its criticism of the Congress party seems also to arise out of its view that the Congress party seeks to use the slogan of socialism as a deceptive mantle for its authoritarianism, that the party has adopted socialism to get total authority over the country. There is evidently a great inconsistency in this criticism. The Swatantra Party criticizes Congress for being a socialist party and not being so since a true socialist party does not use socialism as a deceptive mantle. The Congress must either be a socialist party or it is not. The leaders have not cared to explain this contradiction in their attitude to the Congress party, but in later speeches they have sought to identify Congress policies with the pursuit of socialist aims. Thus Prof. N. G. Ranga, President of the Swatantra Party, asked the gathering at the national convention at Patna to choose between what he characterised as the Nehru method of planning (represented by the Congress) involving centralization and bureaucratic rule and the Gandhian way of planning (offered by the Swatantra Party) ensuring maximum decentralization and democracy for all. "Do we want to march in the direction of Socialism with all its horrors of totalita-

rian social controls, regulations and bureaucratic management of social relations and economic activities of individuals and their groups? Do we wish to allow our everyday social and economic life to be planned and modulated by the Planning Commission and the Government?" he asked. If people did not want to go that way and run the inescapable risks of becoming automatons and being enslaved to the State and its agencies, he said, then they must decide to oppose the Congress Plan. "If we are keen on promoting the creative passion of the people for freedom, which is ordinarily so irrepressible and not to allow it to become atrophied, we must free ourselves from the 14-year-old political power-of-attorney given to Jawaharlaljee," Prof. Ranga said.

This revulsion to socialism which involves planning of economic development and the public ownership of the means of production, it will be found repeated in the speeches of all the Swatantra leaders. This criticism is by no means self-consistent. Thus while the leaders have asked for the unceremonious scrapping of the Planning Commission which, according to Shri M. R. Masani, the Secretary-General of the Party, is "an extra-constitutional body responsible to none" and is a source of "terror both for the Ministers and the popularly elected legislatures," the party has categorically stated that it does not stand for *laissez faire* but that it stands for a socially regulated free enterprise; while criticizing State participation in industrial enterprises it still considers that the State has a direct role to play in the national economy and that the "first duty of Government is to meet the common man's needs of food, clothing, housing and water in adequate measure." But are these precisely not the same arguments on which the socialists urge for larger governmental intervention in the management of business as distinct from the business of Government? How is the State to meet the common needs of men when powerful vested interests tend to monopolize the fruits of the labour of others? Moreover the Swatantra Party believes in a mixed

economy as well as in the need for the intervention of the State to punish anti-social activities and to protect the weaker elements of society. How is the State to fulfil this task if it is precluded from interfering with the working of private business? But this State interference (planning) is precisely the thing to which the party is most opposed. More important from the point of view of its political stand vis-a-vis the Congress Party is the question, has the Congress with all its socialist professions gone beyond what the Swatantra Party says it wants to be done?

#### Party with a Difference?

The programme is full of many such contradictions which are sought to be covered by the stentorian opposition to the Congress and to the ideas of socialism in general. But then, can a political party hope to pose a big challenge with such an amorphous programme? The answer is by no means easy since we do not have a full idea of how the voters' behaviour is determined. It is to be noticed however, that theoretical considerations and logical inconsistencies apart, the Swatantra Party's criticism of the Congress policies and actions definitely contains a large amount of truth that readily strikes the chord in the minds of the people. The depressing economic situation in the country and the growing discontent among an increasingly larger section of the people may lead many to be inclined to believe that the Swatantra Party poses an alternative to the Congress, unless the other political parties are able to overcome their inhibition of Shri Nehru. As they are now, the Communist Party and the Praja-Socialist party, which together constitute the main opposition, have failed to present a programme sufficiently distinguishable from that of the Congress. Their main political immaturity is further reflected in their patent unwillingness to criticize the Prime Minister, who is constitutionally and politically responsible for the success or failure of the Congress programme. Such infantilism on the part of the opposition political parties has obvi-

ously tended to enhance the importance of the charismatic qualities of Shri Nehru's leadership and has also helped the Congress to that extent. The present opposition parties do not present an image of being sufficiently different from the Congress. The short periods over which the P.S.P. and the C.P.I. had been in power in Kerala—also did not help to create the feeling of such distinction. The Swatantra Party has made the Prime Minister its main target of criticism not only on the issues of foreign policy but also—and this is far more important—on issues of domestic policy as well and is thus more likely to be readily accepted as a genuine opposition party. The Communist and the P.S.P. programmes want **more** of what the Congress has been doing; they want **more** State intervention, **more** co-operative farming, **more** nationalization or a larger provision for the public sector and **more** or **less** neutrality in foreign affairs. Rajaji was largely justified in characterising them as ginger group of the Congress. The Swatantra party calls for a complete change of direction and **does not want** anything of what the Congress has been doing; it **wants something different** to be done. As Prof. Ranga puts it: "The Congress is hoping to put out of practical political action both the Praja-Socialist and Communist parties by making them realize the fact that Mr. Nehru is keen on fulfilling their tasks. Indian politics will soon come to be polarized between those who stood for State Socialism with the Congress as its major exponent and liberal democracy standing for a welfare society represented predominantly by the Swatantra Party." The more the party is able to harp on this theme, the greater will be the chances of its success in the coming elections.

#### Wooing of the Middle Classes

In its practical activities the Swatantra Party has sought to emphasize the interests of the middle and professional classes and the independence of the farmers and artisans. As a matter of fact the inspiration for the formation of the party had come from the All-India Agriculturists' Federation. by the Congress.

It has naturally opposed the introduction of state trading in foodgrains and collective farming to which the Congress Party is committed by its Nagpur resolution (1959) and which has the endorsement of the Communist and the Praja Socialist Parties. It has consistently tried to earn the allegiance of those who are engaged in relatively independent avocations such as the peasants, the artisans, the handloom weavers, and the professional and middle classes who have been particularly hit by the taxation and other policies of the Government. Rajaji wants that the legislatures should have a larger number of members coming from the professional classes. The "greatest fault" of the Constitution of India, according to Rajaji, is that it gives no representation to the various "producing professions" in the Legislatures. "If by alteration or by intelligent use of the present provisions of the Constitution," Rajaji says, "you can get more men from various producing professions into the Second Chamber, there will be great improvement in the Government and administration of the country." This slogan, naturally will find favour with the middle and professional classes and it has already been hailed by Shri G. L. Mehta, former Indian Ambassador to the U.S.A. Its opposition to the pattern of existing taxation is also likely to endear it to these sections of the people.

Another group which the party has particularly sought to woo is the women. "Our families are running smoothly; our villages are running smoothly and our people get on well only because of **dharma**. If we depend upon laws made by Parliament in Delhi everything will go wrong. It is only if we go by **dharma**, everything will go right. If today there is any **dharma** in India, it is due to the fact that the women are keeping it," declared Rajaji at a meeting in Hyderabad in December last. The force of these simple words is unfathomable because they would so readily touch familiar chords not only among the women but among many men in the villages as well where there is considerable opposition to the social reform measures introduced by the Congress.

As is to be expected the party has stressed the interests of the civil service and the members of the armed forces. One of the twenty-one points in the party's first major political statement reads: "The Party is opposed to any form of political pressure being put on officials to deflect them from the course of fair and just discharge of duties without discrimination." This is explained by the presence of such well-known ex-civil servants among the ranks of the membership as Shri V. P. Menon, Shri J. M. Lobo Probho and Shri B. Rama Rau. The party's attitude to the armed forces found reflection during the controversy over the resignation of the Army Chief of Staff in September last when Prof. Ranga fully backed the Army Chief against the Defence Minister—an attitude that is hardly reconcilable with democratic practice or procedure.

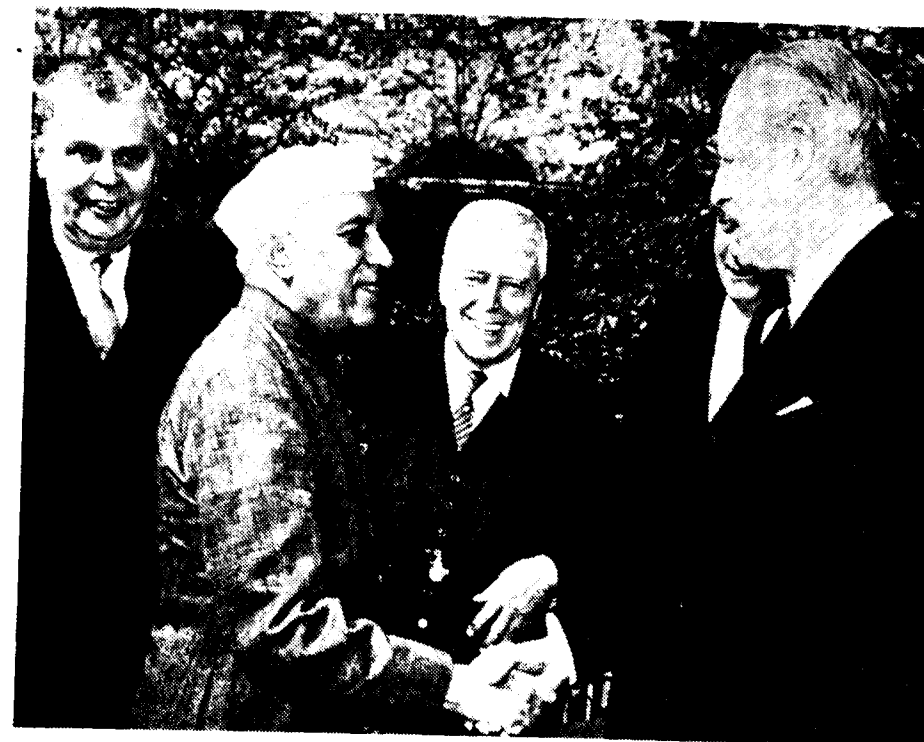
#### Stress on Regionalism

The next main point of emphasis is on decentralization and greater power for the State Government vis-a-vis the Central Government. The party intends to exploit the growing discontent among the various State Governments against what is taken to be Central interference or domination to its own advantage. The political importance of this matter is reflected in the fact that demand for larger State autonomy is becoming a regular feature of the programmes of the various parties including even the Congress party (vide the manifestoes of the parties in the mid-term elections in Kerala). Speaking at a public meeting in Madurai in September last year Rajaji said that the result of one party running all the governments—at the Centre and in the States had resulted in the vitiation of the Constitutional provision of autonomy for the States under a federation and all power had been concentrated at the Centre. He cited the instance of the State revenues in 1959 and said that while as a minister in Madras twenty years earlier, he used to raise the necessary revenue by levying sales tax to implement prohibition, the State Governments were now giving

away their toll collections to the Centre and higgledy-miggledy later for subvention from the Centre. Nobody will deny that there is a large amount of truth in this criticism and that many of the States are now perilously dependent upon Central grants for balancing their budgets.

#### International Policy

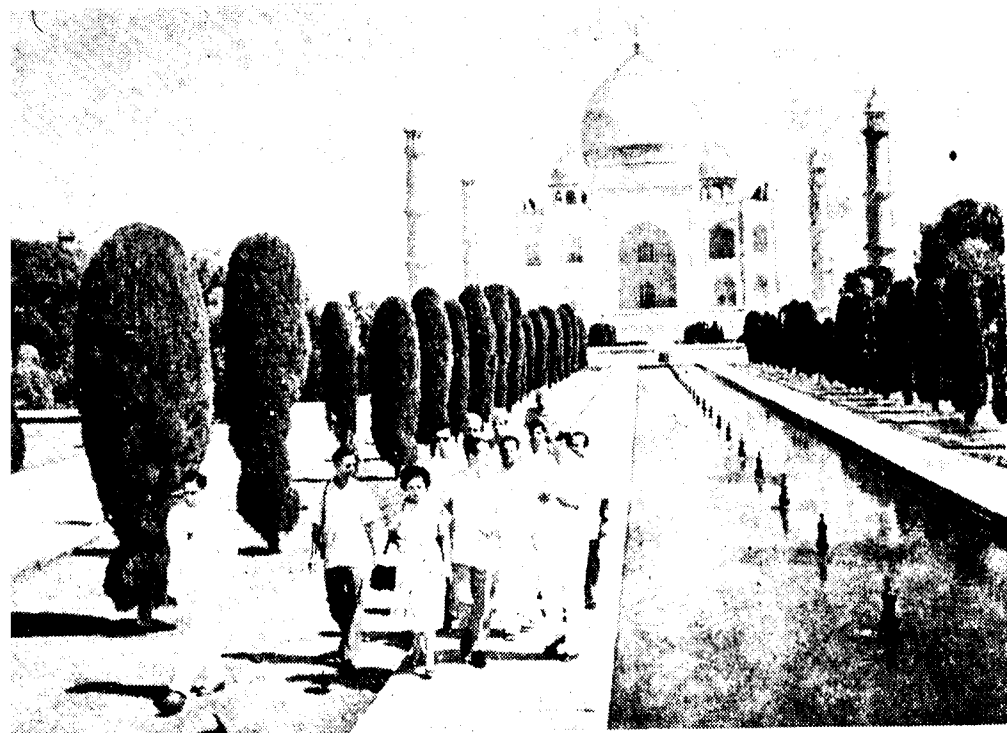
The Swatantra Party has called for a thorough reappraisal of foreign policy. It is positively opposed to the concept of non-alignment in the field of international relations. In a resolution adopted on December 10 at the meeting of the General Council in Hyderabad the party said that "The measures for ensuring the country's security and defence should include the following: (1) The settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan and serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for the joint defence of the sub-continent; (2) Consultations with the countries of South and South-east Asia with a view to concerting measures for the security of the region; (3) Vigilance against infiltration and fifth column activities; and (4) the abandonment by the Government of ideological adventures in domestic policy." This resolution was substantially endorsed by the Patna Convention. The Party generally support the Government in its opposition to the Chinese aggression but, according to Shri Masani, four measures must immediately be taken to safeguard the national defence. These are: First, the restraint imposed on Indian Armed Forces in doing their duty of ejecting the foreign aggressors should be removed, secondly a new Defence Minister should be appointed, thirdly, Tibet's right to national independence should be recognized, and fourthly, outstanding difference with Pakistan should be immediately resolved. The call for an alliance with South-east Asian countries and specially with Pakistan has naturally wide support in the country—particularly in the context of the unfortunate conflict with China over the border areas. The South-east Asia block is to be distinguished from the SEATO



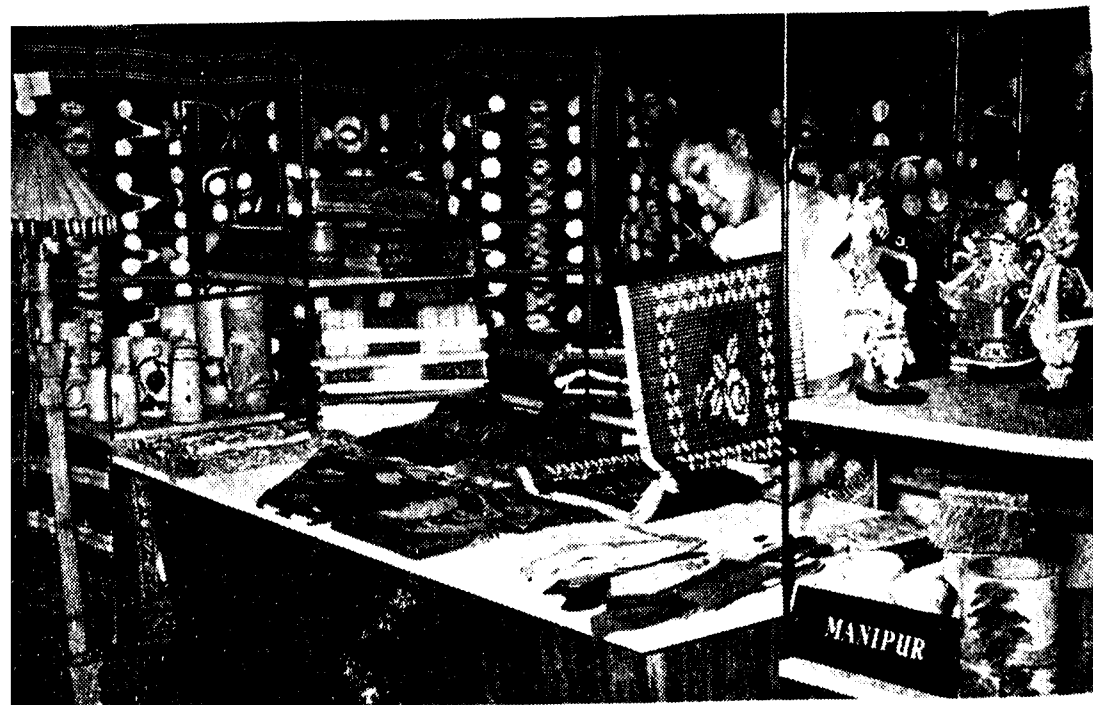
The British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan greeting Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Mr. John Diefenbaker of Canada, Mr. Walter Nash of New Zealand and Mr. Robert Menzies of Australia are also seen in the picture







Mr. Diosdado Macapagal, Vice-President of the Philippines, Mrs. Macapagal and party photographed at the Taj Mahal at Agra



A view of the Manipur Stall in the Social Welfare Exhibition organised by the Central Social Welfare Board in New Delhi

by the provision that no power belonging to a different geographical region could become a member of this alliance, but in later speeches Rajaji envisaged an alliance with the U.S.A. as well. The public disgrace of many of the committed countries following the shooting down of the U.S. spy plane by the U.S.S.R. will naturally make it more difficult for the party to preach the abandonment of non-alignment.

The party leadership has deliberately kept many points vague evidently because the leaders want to retain a wide latitude for tactical manoeuvres later. Though it is apparently allergic to the term "socialism" Prof. Ranga says that the party's aim is to establish Gandhian socialism—which, however, has never been satisfactorily defined. Rajaji considers it premature to think of equitable distribution now but, he adds, in the process of making wealth people should be made aware of their duty to the community. This should be done not by compulsion but by a moral drive. In keeping with this vagueness in defining its aims, in the field of enunciating practical policies also the party has refused to contest any bye-elections following which it did not put up any candidate during the February elections in Kerala. The party is a self-styled conservative party opposing even the very restricted Congress move towards a more equalised society and has legitimately been described as the spearhead of reaction. It is clear that the party's policies offer no hope of any effective solution of the problems of India which are certainly not due to the faults of socialism which is a long way off, but rather to the lack of any serious socialist effort.

#### Prospects Before the Party

In so far as the party hopes to cash upon the blind fears, dissatisfaction and opposition of the people to the existing set-up its only hope of success lies in a dynamic and demagogic leadership. There is very little of ideological clarity among the membership (which was 336,150 in March last according to Shri Masani). There was a

sharp difference of opinion in the Patna Convention over the question of the imposition of a ceiling on the holdings of land in the rural areas. That there is a wide divergence in the outlooks of the members belonging to the professional classes and the members belonging to the industrial and agrarian classes is given by the sharp clash between Shri Lobo Prohbo, a retired member of the I.C.S. and others during the session of the Patna Convention when Shri Lobo Prohbo called for the inclusion of a provision for universal social security in the party's programme but was opposed by Rajaji and the others. That the Patna convention was not significantly successful in tiding over this ideological crisis finds fresh reflection in the emerging crisis in Madras (in mid-May) over the question of the party's attitude to the Madras Land Ceilings Bill. Rajaji has openly come out against the measure but many of the Swatantra Party Legislators, who constitute the most important political element in the legislature next only to the ruling Congress party apparently hold a different view about the matter.

So far as providing a charismatic leadership is concerned the new party is decidedly at a great disadvantage. Apart from Rajaji none of the other leaders of the party—although they are men of distinction in their respective fields of work—commands a great political allegiance. Shri H. P. Mody and Shri M. R. Masani fought the last elections under the aegis of the Forum of Free Enterprise—a body of businessmen opposing all socialist policies. Though both Shri A. D. Shroff (on behalf of the Forum) and Shri Rajagopalachari (on behalf of the Swatantra Party) have denied any connection between the two, the ideological unity of the outlook of these two organizations is very much striking indeed. Because Shri Masani and Shri Modi are associated in the public mind with "Big Business" they cannot ever conceivably become national leaders. The same is true of Shri K. M. Munshi, one of the country's foremost legal brains, and Shri Kamakshi Narayan Singh (Raja of Ramgarh) who are generally associated with the landed interests of large

landowners. The ex-civil servants, Shri V. P. Menon and Shri J. M. Lobo Probho are far too little known to the general people to be ever able to assume the stature of national leaders. They are again far too advanced in age, being over sixty. Prof. N. G. Ranga is undoubtedly a well-known political leader but it is exceedingly doubtful if he is the type of person who can provide an inspiring leadership which would induce people to brave risks and hazards. Of all the leaders only Shri Rajagopalachari has the qualities—even then perhaps not of the required degree—to command a nationwide respect. But he has grown old and cannot be expected to undertake the onerous tasks of enlisting a mass following in different parts of India and of building up the organizational links in those places. Shri S. K. D. Paliwal and Shri B. V. Narayana Reddy are leaders with local fame—but have been too long in the political field to mean much to the people who know them or to make any great import upon those who do not know them.

The experience of the growth of the Fascist parties (the Swatantra Party is not a fascist party although it has all the emotional ingredients of becoming one, should the exigencies of the situation call for such a thing) shows that the irrational political movements can thrive only if they have the benefit of leadership of a highly charismatic personality which generally arises out of the unknown ranks of leadership. The Swatantra Party's success will almost fully depend upon its being able in coming across a personality which will be able to sway the millions as say Gandhiji had done in the days before independence. Once such a leader has emerged neither the Congress nor any of the other political parties stands any chance before the Swatantra Party. Whether the party will succeed in finding such a leader is more than what can be said now. What can be said with a fair degree of assurance is that none of the present leaders is likely to fulfil that role and that some changes would have to be effected by reducing the emphasis upon private industry and increasing that on individual freedom and the protection of Indian culture which

also finds mention in the party's 21-point declaration of last August but is now insufficiently stressed in public.

### Challenge to the Socialist Forces

The socialist forces in the country are faced with the most serious challenge in their career. The Swatantra Party is openly out to exploit the people's exasperation at some of the policies and actions of the Government which strongly tend to create a popular feeling against socialism. The nationalized institutions are always so unsatisfactory! It is idle to believe that their position could be buttressed through a delicate differentiation between the conservative and the socialist and progressive forces inside the Congress and in seeking to influence the direction of the policies of the Congress towards the adoption of a more socialist programme. On the other hand such a course of action will increasingly lead to their identification with Congress policies and actions and a growing popular revulsion towards them. The Nag-Vidarbha Andolan which rocked the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra for a fortnight in April-May is a pointer to the emergence of a political force which is not afraid to function independently of the major political parties. A policy of clear-cut differentiation from the Congress programme based on a sober and objective assessment of the needs of the nation only is able to provide that alternative leadership which can successfully withstand the challenge of the Swatantra Party which will inevitably draw towards itself the right-wing of the Congress. The programmes of both the Praja-Socialist and the Communist Parties are far from fulfilling these requirements. The continued decline of the Praja-Socialist Party is largely due to its toeing the Congress line in every significant respect. The Communist Party is far too committed to uphold what it likes to call "proletarian internationalism" but what in reality is the manifestation of the most imbecile and coward mentality which refuses to undertake any serious analysis of the objective conditions—either at home or abroad ever to become a truly national force. No in-

telligent and self-respecting citizen can endorse such a spineless policy. If nevertheless the Communists do win a larger number of seats in some areas than any other opposition party the reason is that there is no other organized party in the field and the Communists are deeply entrenched in the local politics through tactical manoeuvres over local issues. But their forces are bound to disintegrate as soon as there is another strong political force with unmistakable policy of opposition to the Congress. People do not always vote with a rational appraisal of all the issues involved: in that case Hitler could have never won, nor for that matter the Communists in Calcutta or the Congress in Kerala or West Bengal. It is not always necessary to have an internally consistent programme to create popular enthusiasm behind a party. The only

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## THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION AND INDIA

A Triangle in Ethics

By INDIRA NALIN ROTHERMUND, M.A., PH.D.

Conflicts in world affairs often spring from basic differences in the approach to international problems. Therefore it seems to be worthwhile to analyse the underlying attitudes of nations and their policy-makers toward the world of today. Among the nations of our time the United States and the Soviet Union are the foremost protagonists of two different approaches to world politics, while a third nation, India, is trying to provide an alternative to deadlock of ideological and military contests. For these reasons a closer examination of the principles of these nations may be of interest.

India's foreign policy developed a character of its own long before the attainment of independence. In 1921, soon after Gandhi had taken over the leadership of the Indian National Congress, the All-India Congress Committee announced to all neighbouring countries the good will of the people of India, but it also

stated the firm resolve of the people of India to disregard the treaties which the British government of India had concluded with the governments of neighbouring countries—treaties, which the Indian people felt had been devised to perpetuate British rule in India.

On the other hand, the Congress refrained from regarding Britain's enemies as India's natural friends, and Gandhi himself was most outspoken against both Fascism and Japanese "co-prosperity". In spite of the double menace of Fascism and perpetuated British rule, the Congress did not lose its hope for a future co-operation of India in a world community. Finally, when independence drew nearer, Nehru summed up India's aims in a speech in September, 1946:

"In the sphere of foreign affairs India will follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one

against the other . . . . India will uphold the principle of freedom for dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. She will work with other peace loving nations for international co-operation and goodwill without exploitation of one nation by another. . . . ."

About a year after this statement was made India gained full independence. At about the same time "containment" of Soviet Communism became the basis of United States international relations, and Zhdanov, the Soviet mastermind, proclaimed the doctrine of the "two camps". Faced with this situation, independent India decided that her place was in neither of the "two camps" and that she would have to remain in a voluntary minority position. But India was not the only "uncommitted" nation, for there were a number of others, most of which had only emerged from a colonial or semi-colonial past. India could identify herself with these nations and speak for them and thereby establish friendly relations with them. Thus the "minority report" gained weight but it also grew in substance as India tried to explain the position of "non-alignment" in more definite and positive terms.

As in Gandhi's time the negative term preceded the positive term. Gandhi in his time had replaced the formula "passive resistance" by the positive "satyagraha" (holding fast to truth); and Nehru in his time summed up the negative terms of non-alignment and non-interference in the positive form of "Panch Shila" (Five Foundations)—a kind of diplomatic satyagraha. Like the pattern of Gandhi's strategy and style, Panch Shila grew out of the application of general ideas to a specific case, the agreement with China, and became subsequently a symbol for India's concept of international relations.

Gandhi envisaged in the field of world affairs concentric circles of good neighbours. These concentric circles had to be built on self-restraint and a proper reflection on each nation's needs and problems. To him international relations were only a part of the universal concept of social service, or "sarvodaya" (which means literally "the rise of all"). Nehru shows his adherence to this reflective approach to world affairs by his rebuttal of ancient Indian and

European theories of the balance of power, as he said in the Indian Parliament on August 20, 1958:

"I think Machiavelli said it, may be Chanakya (*Kautilya*) also said it—of the theory that a country is inimical to its neighbour and is friendly to the country on the other side of the neighbour. That is the old doctrine of statecraft. You are inevitably supposed to be hostile to the neighbour country, but with the farther country you have to be friends because it might help you against your neighbour country. That, if it applied at all in its bad way, applied at a time when the world moved slowly. Now every country is the neighbour of the other country. There is no distance left in the world."

From this point of view the balance of power has to be replaced by a balance of judgement and understanding. However, this balance is not easily achieved since, as Nehru put it once, ". . . truth is not confined to one country, it has far too many aspects for anyone to presume that he knows it all . . . ." Therefore, it becomes even more important to emphasize restraint, to avoid condemnation, and to eliminate tensions which cloud the vision of nations and statesmen.

The strategy and style of restraint which the Indian leaders have tried to adopt is derived from the experiences of the struggle for independence. Nehru has clearly indicated this derivation in a speech to the Indian Parliament on September, 17, 1957:

"The first thing, therefore, is to remove . . . tension, this new type of diplomatic and public language which is coming into play, and we have tried to avoid it. I do not say that we are virtuous or that we always succeed, or that we are better than others. I certainly do not say this. But we have had . . . first of all a certain kind of training in restraint of expression under our leader Mahatmaji (Gandhi). We tried to avoid it in the days of our struggle, tried it against our opponents, the British, against whom we felt so strongly."

With this reflective approach to international relations, based on Gandhi's strategy and style, India has developed an indigenous technique which is nevertheless universal in its intentions.

At present there are only two other approaches to international relations which are universal in their intentions and indigenous in their origin. These are the normative ethics of international relations as followed by the United States and the partisan ethics of the Soviet Union.

In order to have a better basis for a comparison of these three attitudes toward international relations, we must outline American and Soviet foreign policy.

The American Revolution had a slightly different meaning to Americans on the one hand, and to Europeans and Asians on the other. To Europeans and Asians the American Revolution was and is the first spectacular democratic and anti-colonial revolution. Norman Cousins, reporting on the Bandung Conference, (*Saturday Review*, May 21, 1955), stressed this fact:

"President Soekarno, of Indonesia, in opening the conference invoked Longfellow's poem, 'The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere', adding that the inspiration of the American fight for independence had meant much to peoples fighting for freedom against outside rule. In fact, the United States, far from being lashed to any whipping post, was held up as the finest example in history of a major nation freeing itself from colonialism."

To Americans the Revolution meant above all emancipation from the conflicts and vicissitudes of the Old World, and it was this fact which shaped American foreign policy for more than 150 years. During these years America could purge the Western hemisphere of the influence of European powers, except for the British influence, and established a solid hegemony in this area which was conceived of as a "hemisphere of peace". "Pax Britannica", which kept the Old World under control from the battle of Waterloo until the first World War helped America to attain this position. When Britain was no longer able to maintain or restore "Pax Britannica" it became plain that America had to step in and establish "Pax Americana". Since, this meant that one achievement of the American Revolution, emancipation from the conflicts of the Old World, had to be given up, it was natural that the emphasis shifted to the other emphasis of the Revolution, the establishment of democracy. Consequently "Pax Americana"

was backed by the will to make the world "safe for democracy". Therefore, "Pax Americana" had to rest on a normative basis, the norm being the safety of democracy. This was undoubtedly a proposition which seemed morally superior and therefore more stable, than the unprincipled "Pax Britannica", which rested on such things as navy, trade monopoly, a colonial empire, and a shrewd foreign policy, designed to maintain the balance of power in Europe by pitting one power against the other.

The norm of safety for democracy was not a break with the older tradition of American foreign policy, because the Monroe Doctrine also tried to guard the safety of democracy from the intervention of reactionary European powers. However, the Monroe Doctrine had been a unilateral declaration, implying that the United States were willing to stop any intervention in the Western hemisphere at its own expense. The extension of this norm to global dimension was too great a task to be achieved by unilateral declaration. President Wilson, therefore, wanted to extend this norm by multilateral obligations in the form of international assemblies and charters. From that time onwards unilateral declaration and multilateral obligation came to be the means of American foreign policy. Sometimes these two means were bound to jeopardize each other.

The First World War ended with a victory for the allies, a defeat of Wilson's plans in the United States, and apparent restoration of "Pax Britannica". America hoped to emancipate itself once more from the vicissitudes of the Old World, and leave the task of controlling this place of conflict and tension to Britain. Only the advent of the Second World War made it finally clear that "Pax Britannica" was beyond recovery. The 1940s saw concerted effort to create practically and theoretically the basis for an extension of "Pax Americana" all over the globe. Secretary Stimson invoked the Monroe Doctrine in order to save Britain, thereby relying upon the principle of unilateral declaration as a means of guaranteeing the safety of democracy, while Cordell Hull paved the way for the construction of a centralized United Nations, thereby relying on Wilson's innovation of multilateral obligations as a means for the maintenance of the safety of democracy. During the war years the

concept of multilateral obligations combined with the demand for the unconditional surrender of the anti-democratic enemy, seemed to promise a global solution of all problems, and a stable "Pax Americana" for the whole world, built not on a balance of power but on the adherence to the norms of international obligations. When after the war these hopes were deflated by the attitude of the Soviet Union, America had to fall back on the old means of unilateral declaration: the Truman Doctrine, like the Monroe Doctrine, defined an area in which the United States, if necessary, would stop intervention at its own expense. Like the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine implied that the United States had to establish and maintain a hegemony in the area to which it was applied so that the United States could live up to the declaration which it had made.

While the concept of multilateral obligations was originally designed to replace and supersede unilateral declarations, this process was now reversed. Multilateral obligations were made subservient to the unilateral declaration: the Rio-Pact, NATO and SEATO were designed to re-enforce the Truman Doctrine. The normative philosophy which had sought to guarantee "Pax Americana" by international charters now found expression in a proliferation of security and defense treaties. Everyone who refused to join these multilateral obligations seemed to indicate that he did not want to increase the safety of democracy, an attitude which made him, from a normative point of view, an evil-doer.

The maintenance of hegemony as implied in the Truman Doctrine in an area so vast and diversified as the "free world", became a serious and often embarrassing problem to the United States. The main source of this embarrassment is the fact that the hegemony cannot rest entirely on the United States' own potential but has to rest on those multilateral obligations which often contain many multilateral liabilities. The partners to these obligations are outweighed by the United States, and therefore have no great influence on the overall policy pursued in the "free world". Because of this fact they often do not feel responsible for this overall policy. On the other hand the United

States will hesitate to "throw its weight around". In order not to hurt the feelings of its partners, it will cater to them and often go so far as to back their irresponsible policies rather than to lose their loyalty. The liabilities which the United States has to underwrite in this context include among many others, dictatorships in several countries, French and Portuguese colonialism, West European oil interest in the Middle-East. The whole complex of liabilities becomes in turn a liability to each partner of the United States by virtue of their obligation that ties him to that country. The same American concern for the loyalties and stability of the partners to the net-work of multilateral obligations that holds the Truman Doctrine together, gives rise to another dilemma. Because of its reliance on the vast network the United States is deeply committed to the *status quo* in world affairs. Revolution, social change and political conflict anywhere can mean a change in loyalties and therefore such events have to be viewed with apprehension. The "free world" area is seething with nationalisms, social and political revolutions, since so many of the nations have only recently emerged from a colonial or semi-colonial past. Naturally a great deal of change is always imminent in this area. America's commitment to the *status quo* therefore puts it into a strange position. It must disappoint the nations who look to America as the great revolutionary, while on the other hand a number of Governments which are unpopular for one reason or another, rally around the American flag because they are themselves vitally interested in the *status quo*. These Governments not only find support in multilateral treaties with the United States, they are provided, in addition, with good excuses for their policy by the American normative philosophy: they emphasize their legal status and denounce any opposition as Communist.

Considering these circumstances it can be said that America is ideologically and practically at a serious disadvantage. The normative and legalistic ideology of the United States does not provoke much enthusiasm but on the other hand it commits the United States to steadfastness in situations which are often militarily and diplomatically embarrassing. For this reason the

United States is sometimes obliged to enter into irritable military and diplomatic traps.

Another handicap of the normative ideology that it has been derived from internal American experience of "Government of law and not men", and is projected into a field of international relations which is still largely an area "Government of men and not of law". As a result American foreign policy always has the character of law enforcement in an area where there is neither a universally accepted law nor universally accepted police.

In the "cold war" American handicaps have usually become Soviet advantages, and Soviet foreign policy is always quick to capitalize on American embarrassment. In the following paragraphs we shall try to analyse the character of Soviet foreign policy which has been so irritating to American diplomats.

Russian foreign policy, like that of the United States, also has two different elements—ideological and practical. The ideological element is not normative, like the American one, but partisan. Partisan ethics as opposed to normative ethics does not follow a law of guarantees and commitments: it takes its directives from insight into historical developments as seen and interpreted by the Communist party. The process of insight and interpretation is easier to manipulate than the establishment of new norms. The ideological difficulty, however, enters with the question: who has the right to interpret history?

The answer to this question is a process of subversion on the one hand and of oppression on the other. Revolution is welcome and must be promoted but once it has been performed the released must be disciplined and the right to further interpretation of history must be centralized in order to avoid confusion. This discipline can be achieved only by the suppression of all deviations.

Just as America, under Wilson and subsequently, was disappointed in its belief that the world could be pacified by throwing a net of normative ethics over the unruly forces of the world, so, too, Russia was very early disappointed in its hopes that a world revolution would unite all forces in their adherence to one system of partisan ethics. Attempts to help the world-revolution along by subverting people in

other countries soon ended in frustration. Subversion alone without the possibility of oppressing "counter-revolutionaries" did not prove successful. Therefore both the ideological and the practical approach to international relations had to be changed. The first change was accomplished by Stalin's doctrine of "Socialism in one country," which maintained that the revolution could survive in the Soviet Union even if a world revolution could not be expected in the near future. The practical implication was that Russia had to become a citadel of the revolution. Thus could Russian hegemony in the Communist world and Russian expansion be justified. The practical pursuit of the hegemony plans could follow the old lines of Czarist imperialism. Since Peter the Great, the Czarist empire had pursued with varying degrees of intensity the same policy of Westernization of Russia and the same drive for access to the seas that surround the Eurasian continent. These policies have been pursued with the same eagerness by the Soviets. In 1939 the "Baltic Windows" coveted long before by Peter the Great, were thrown open. After the second World War the Balkans, an old aim of Russian expansion, came under Soviet control. In 1946, the Russians hesitated to leave their position in Iran, but here and at the Dardanelles the Western powers checked Russian expansion and the "cold war" began.

Soviet Russia made these advances at a time when America still had high hopes of restoring a normative world order. Russia had the advantages of valuable years of experience in Europe between the wars, which had demonstrated to Russia that the Communist ideology made little headway in Europe unless it was backed by occupation forces. Stalinism had solved these problems but Stalinism had its drawbacks, too. Since it was in essence a national communism and since it had replaced the all embracing concept of imminent world revolution, Stalinism carried within itself the seeds of Titoism. Furthermore, Stalinism tended to downgrade Communist parties in countries outside the Soviet orbit, implicitly denying their immediate usefulness for the attainment of world revolution by making them tactical weapons for Soviet hegemony. The nationalist outlook of this ideology, however, made it possible



for the Soviet Russians to side with revolutionary nationalist movements outside the Soviet orbit in "national front" campaigns. If necessary the local Communist parties in those countries could be sacrificed for such purposes. Inside the Soviet orbit exactly the reverse policy had to be followed: nationalist movements had to be kept down, and dedicated Communist Governments, but preferably not nationalist-communist ones, had to be backed.

This subversive-oppressive policy suffered from its inner contradictions. It did not necessarily score great success outside the Soviet orbit but created frustration within and encouraged and provoked national-communist reactions. De-Stalinization in 1956 was designed to do away with the frustrations and to preserve the advantages. But this attempt had dangerous consequences in Eastern Europe. Since then there has been a steady Re-Stalinization growing in all probability out of the insight that Stalinism after all met a serious need—that it was not just the whim of an ambitious ruler but evolved from the inner logic of the Soviet system of "Socialism in one country." As long as the world revolution does not arrive or is not renounced, and as long as Soviet hegemony has to be preserved, Stalinism will have its place. Thus the old pattern of tactical subversion and Soviet orbit oppression must continue. Seen from this point of view Soviet Russia is also interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* in its own orbit, for it is threatened by forces of nationalism and the "revolution of rising expectations" similar to those which often disturb the American system of alliances. But as the United States cannot much longer cherish political and social change within its own boundaries alone, while being embarrassed by similar though different changes without, so too, Soviet Russia cannot much longer back nationalist movements outside its orbit while oppressing them within.

We have now outlined the three approaches to international relations and may proceed to compare the Indian attitude with the two other approaches, examining their differences and their similarities.

The Indian and the American approach, the reflective and the normative, have a great deal in common. They both grew out of an attempt to apply universal ethical concepts to

international relations and to diminish and discourage the use of violence as a method of solving political or social conflicts. The ideals of national independence and self-determination combined with the idea of "one World" are parts of the background of the Indian as well as the American approach. The differences between the two are only those of means and not of ends, but these differences are magnified by disagreement over the degree of magnitude of contemporary problems. While the United States regards Communism as the Number 1 problem, India thinks that the emancipation and development of millions of colonial and for the most part poverty-stricken peoples is the number one problem of our century. America does not overlook this latter problem, but tends to look at it from the point of view of whether or not these emancipated impoverished millions will fall a prey to Communism. India does not ignore Soviet Communism but tends to think of it rather as one—though rather narrow and ruthless—way of dealing with the emancipation of the poverty-stricken millions.

This difference is understandable in view of the different national experience of the United States and India. The United States was taken by surprise after the war, when it encountered hostile and powerful Soviet Communism while India had lived through an intensive struggle for national independence and faced almost insurmountable social and economic problems.

But if it had not been for the pronounced differences of opinion about the right means in the approach to international relations, India and America might have forgotten about the differences of national experience and could either have joined in an alliance or have remained completely indifferent toward each other. The difference of opinion about these means, however, has created an uneasy atmosphere of mutual apprehension between the two countries.

Thus America, from its normative point of view, tends to criticize India's aversion to international defense-organizations as "immoral" while India from her reflective point of view tends to see the proliferation of such obligations as an increase of tensions rather than a means of defense. Furthermore, India in the identification with the peoples of past or present co-

lonial status, champions the cause of emancipation of those peoples and tends to think that the United States is unrealistic in disregarding this problem, while the United States tends to think that India is unrealistic in its appraisal of Soviet Communism.

Since both the United States and India are in agreement about most other points in international relations, co-operation between the two nations would yield good results. Under the present circumstances it is almost impossible for the United States to "identify" itself with poverty-stricken peoples who have just escaped Colonialism. However, the United States could do so in co-operation with India, if the United States would cut back its network of defense obligations.

India and the Soviet block, the reflective and the partisan approach, have nothing in common, for the complete subjection of means to ends (that is, the complete subjection of ethics to partisan truth) is the opposite of the reflective way of arriving at ends by adhering to "truthful" means. Nehru writes about Communism (*New York Times Magazine*, September 7, 1958):

"Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence even if it does not indulge normally in physical violence. Its language is of violence, its thought is violent, and it does not seek to change by persuasion but by coercion, and, indeed, by destruction and extermination. . . . This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhi taught us."

The Indian government certainly does not approve of Communism but it realizes that Communism has provided Russia and China with efficient though perhaps not "good" governments, which have successfully replaced feudal and corrupt regimes in these two countries. Alternatives to this kind of government can only be demonstrated by solving similar social and governmental problems in a better way. India therefore tries to maintain friendly relations with these governments, in due respect to their national and internal significance for their countries, while viewing the international policy of these governments with apprehension.

As we have seen from the comparison:

the Indian, American and Soviet approach to world affairs, both India and America are opposed to Soviet Communism and its partisan approach to international relations, India perhaps even more fundamentally than the United States. However, India and the United States differ in their estimates of what communism is and how it can be combated. The United States views Soviet Communism mainly as an evil in itself, an extensive conspiracy that must be resisted. India, in her reflective attitude, sees in Soviet Communism chiefly a violent short cut in solving the international, social and political problems of our century.

The United States never had to face the problem of getting rid of a backward, feudal social system and of liberating the majority of the population from abject poverty. This problem existed only to a limited extent in the pre-Civil War American South, and to solve it a Civil War was fought, which, again solved only part of the problem. Nevertheless this endeavour is still regarded as a major crisis in American history.

The high standard of living in the United States, the small percentage of rural population, and the 19th century anti-capitalist propaganda of Soviet Communism combined to obscure the real functions of Communism from the American people. The real function of Communism in Russia and China where Communism was the result of indigenous developments, has been to catapult these nations by totalitarian methods from a feudal torpor into 20th century activity. In both countries there were almost no liberal middle-classes which could have served as promoters of reform movements and gradual change. The small governing elite in these countries were either isolated or corrupt or both.

On the other hand the constant emphasis of the Soviet Union on its spectacular advancement, setting the revolution of 1917 as point Zero and ignoring the fact that the last few decades have been a time of global technological change tends to obscure the meaning of Communism in the eyes of peoples in underdeveloped areas. These constellations have tended to confuse different nations about the real challenges of Soviet Communism, and, indeed, different nations must face different

challenges. The challenge to the United States is that of Soviet territorial expansion along the lines of the old Czarist ambitions, but since this expansion hides under the cloak of Communism, the United States believes itself to be challenged by World Communism. India is faced by the challenge of the violent short cut to social problems which is not a territorial but an ideological challenge. Both challenges are real, both have to be met differently, and both should be clearly distinguished. Otherwise military and ideological issues, defense and diplomacy will constantly be confused. If this is not taken into consideration India and the United States will continue to think in terms of their own challenge and blame each other for not facing the real challenge. India will think that the United States wants to be so foolish as to point a gun at an ideology, while the United States will think that the Indians are stupid enough to imagine that they can philosophize away the threat of Soviet expansion.

On the whole, India and the United States have already tried to meet their respective challenges. The United States designed the policy of "Containment", which effectively checked Soviet expansion in Greece, Turkey and Berlin and several other places. The drawbacks of the policy of "Containment" were its ideological overtones. It was not announced as a policy to check territorial expansion pure and simple, but implied the hopes, that Soviet Communism, if contained, would choke itself and recede. When these hopes failed, the critics of the containment policy thought it to be not dynamic enough and started to talk about "liberation", but in fact the policy and ideology of "containment" were never abandoned or replaced.

To India the only dynamic policy against the challenge of Communism seemed to be to set an example of non-violent social change and advancement for the underdeveloped areas, thus providing an alternative to the violent and coercive methods of Communism. This policy had to

be based on internal and external restraint, which guaranteed the social peace within the country and the international peace without, so essential to such an experiment. Internationally this restraint was expressed in the Panch Shila, and in attempts at mediation of international conflicts and an emphasis on a better political atmosphere.

Fundamentally the two concepts of containment and restraint are not incompatible, provided that "containment" is stripped of its ideological implications and reduced to the guarantee of the defense of territorial sovereignty to those countries which have to fear Russian invasion, and provided that "restraint" means a consolidation of power by means of social improvement and a restriction of defensive alliances to a necessary minimum and to areas which can be defended.

In recent years George F. Kennan, who originally defined the containment policy in 1947, seems to have developed thoughts similar to those which we have summarized in the preceding paragraphs. He wrote in 1954, (in *Realities of American Foreign Policy*):

"..... we must be gardeners and not mechanics in our approach to world affairs. .... The forces of nature will generally be on the side of him who understands them best and respects them most scrupulously. We do not need to insist, as the Communists do, that change in the camp of our adversaries can come only by violence. Our concept of the possibility of the improvement in the condition of mankind is not predicated as is that of the Communists, on the employment of violence as a means to its realization. If our outlook on life as we believe it to be, is more closely attuned to the real nature of man than that of our Communist adversaries then we can afford to be patient and even occasionally suffer reverses, placing our confidence in the longer and deeper workings of history."

## ARTIST'S JOY OF CREATION

By SUDHIR KHASTGIR

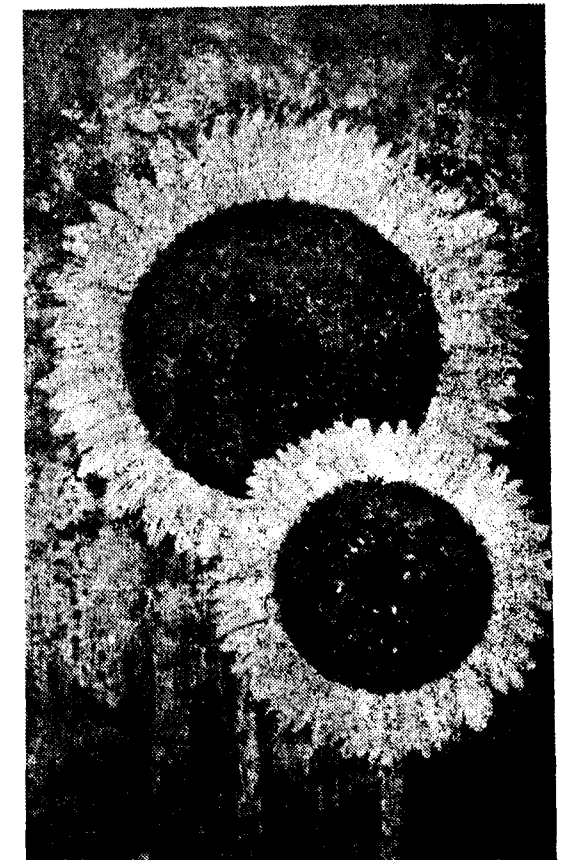
ABOUT twenty years ago, I wrote an article answering the question, "Why an Artist works?" I was twenty years younger in age at that time and naturally I was much less experienced than today. Yet, what I said at that time is far from truth, in which I believe even today.

Have I got a craving in my heart for making a name and fame? I still wonder. Do I want to show everybody that I am above average human beings? I still doubt. Do I work for others' sake? No, I am not a philanthropist either.

Yet, I love to paint or sculpt. I get



Rabindranath Tagore  
(Erected in the Garden of the Government College of Art and Craft, Lucknow)



Sun flower (Flower study)

I questioned myself, "Do I work for money?" I need money like every other human being. But if I worked only for money, why should I have taken up Art as profession? Why did I not go in for some other lines which were financially more lucrative?

immense pleasure while making them. But once the work is finished, half the charm is gone, so far as the artist is concerned, it then becoming a public property to be accepted or rejected according to the vagaries of popular taste. The artist ceases at the point the work is done; so also his joy and responsibility. Thus, I concluded as an artist, I work for the sheer joy of working and so long as I am in my studio absorbed





Shamal (Flower study)

town told all his patients to go to the show and have a hearty laugh. One new patient came to see the doctor. After hearing all his worries, the doctor requested him, not to take life so seriously and asked him to go to hear 'Pom Pom' and report him the next day.

The man was not at all eager to go to listen to Pom Pom and said that it was useless for him to go to listen to Pom Pom and insisted that doctor should prescribe some other method of treatment. The doctor insisted that he should go to hear Pom Pom as most of his patients have gained enormously hearing Pom Pom.

The new patient felt more unhappy and said, "How can Pom Pom make me happy, Don't you see doctor, I am Pom Pom myself"

A person, who has mastered the technique to make people laugh and happy, in reality—may be a most miserable man himself. But

Pom Pom is surely a better person than a number of those—who make people unhappy relating their own sorrows and miseries to get sympathy from them.

I am one of those who likes to bring happiness to people's life instead of sorrow through my paintings and sculptures, whether I succeed or not, that is a different question. I do react to sorrows and miseries, which I experience in everyday life, but whenever I sit down to work, I sublimate my thought diagonally in the opposite direction. All the same, I do not want to escape sorrows by artificial happiness; but conquer sorrows thoroughly by getting deep down into it. To try to escape from it, is to bring more frustration in life. God has surely given us enough strength and power to endure and overcome all the difficulties, He puts before us. We only sometimes do not realize it.



## EXCAVATIONS AT LOTHAL

EXCAVATIONS at Lothal, a Harappan site near Ahmedabad, were closed on the 15th March, and steps are being taken to preserve the excavated remains permanently. A museum will be built at the site to house the valuable antiquities. A road is also being constructed so that visitors may reach the site at any time.

### Well-Planned Township

As in Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, the inhabitants of Lothal had a well-planned town. In all, four streets and several lanes have been laid bare so far. Houses are found to have been built in straight rows on either side of the road which was 12 feet to 20 feet wide.

The houses where bead-makers, copper-smiths and other artisans lived or sold their products are small, while others are fairly big with an overall measurement of 72 feet by 42 feet. Some of them have verandahs measuring 42 feet by 18 feet. For other workmen a number of small rooms are found built around a large courtyard with working platforms.



View of a Lothal Street

at the site to house the valuable antiquities. A road is also being constructed so that visitors may reach the site at any time.

The discovery of Lothal, a Harappan site near Ahmedabad in the Bombay State in November, 1954, ranks, in the activities of the Central Archaeological Department, next in importance to the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in the years 1920 and 1921. It dates back to 2500 B.C.—1000 B.C.

Large-scale excavations carried out since 1955 have established beyond doubt that Harappa civilisation extended far south of Mohenjo Daro up to the Gulf of Cambay.

Lothal is the only full-fledged Harappa township known within Indian borders. Excavations at the site have added to our knowledge of the maritime activities of the Harappans and large halls and verandahs. Every house had a bathroom paved with kiln-burnt bricks and great care was taken to provide suitable out-



Lothal Steatite Seals



Dancer in Ecstasy (Oil)



Sea Nymph



Dance

in my work, no other incentive is there save an intensive urge to plunge headlong into the creative work at hand, so joy of creation and nothing else. . . . .

Musicians, Flowering Trees, Farmers at Work, Workers Going to Work, Mother and Child, Corn Fields, Flute Players, etc., are my favourite subjects in these days.



Offering (Terracotta)



Terracotta Figure

. . . . Since then, I think, I have not changed much. When I look back and study my own work, I find, in selection of subject matter, in technical treatment and style, I have become more partial—partial to joyful, colourful and rhythmic composition. Formerly—I often painted, subjects like beggar, hunger, sorrow, people in an unhappy mood, etc., form which I find, I have totally out-grown. I think, I have seen and experienced a certain amount of sad side of life—I need not paint them and make the world more sorrowful. I sublimate my sorrow and depression, and produce something which will make people happy and joyful. I have noticed—whenever I am depressed, my depression brings out some of my most bright colourful paintings with rhythmic composition. Dancers,

It is not necessary to be a happy-go-lucky type to paint a joyful subject. I often find, it is those happy-go-lucky types who generally paint pessimistic, unhappy and sad subjects.

The other type reminds me the story of Pom Pom, who was a great humorous actor. I do not quite remember, where I read it. Pom Pom the great actor used to go about with his troupe to various towns and put up his shows. People used to flock to his show to have a hearty laugh. The whole town, even the psychiatrists used to wait for his show eagerly and prescribed to their patients to listen to him to have a hearty laugh.

One day in a certain town, Pom Pom was giving shows. The famous psychiatrist of the



lets for sullage water. Underground and surface drains, manholes, soakage jars and cess-pools were constructed, and there must have been effective control over the layout of the houses and private drains. Periodical clearance of soakage jars in the streets was also ensured. The excellent brick work suggests that the masons were highly skilled.



A large dockyard built for providing shelter for small ships

#### Port-town with Dockyards

Lothal was a port-town with a large dockyard built for providing shelter for small ships. One of the main purposes of resuming excavations this season was to ascertain whether the rectangular brick structure laid bare, measuring 710 feet by 120 feet, was a dockyard or not.

The absence of any flight of steps or ramp leading to the fluctuating water level, the provision of an inlet in the eastern embankment and a spill-channel with water-locking arrangement in the southern embankment are features noticeable in a dockyard and not in a tank.

Postholes meant for wooden posts to which boats could be tied and anchor-stones with conical holes have also been found at Lothal.

Above all, this season's work has helped in tracing the courses of the inlet and outlet channels. The bowl-like beds of the channels which were subsequently silted up clearly indicate that ships used to enter the port at high tide. The Lothal dockyard is almost identical in plan with the modern docks at Gogha near Bhavnagar, where boats are sluiced at high tide. At both the places spill-channels have been provided. Whereas at Gogha the embankment is of mud, Lothal docks had brick walls. The latter is much larger in size and boats could move about in low tide also.

#### Clay Sealings

Lothal has yielded about 17,000 antiquities, some of which are unique. The clay sealings bearing positive impressions of seals found at Lothal prove, finally, that the famous Indus seals were not used as amulets but were meant for sealing packages of goods exported or imported. Some of them bear impressions of cloth, reeds, mats and twisted cords tied over the packages.

Lothal has also yielded in the late levels certain new types of seals without button on the back or animal figures on the obverse. The symbols are only linear. Associated with these 'late seals' are certain new designs painted on pottery. Whereas in the early levels several intricate motifs were painted in combination on the earthenwares as in Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, the late levels are noted for painting motifs individually.

Among artisans' tools found at Lothal mention may be made of bead-maker's copper drill-bit, mason's plumb bob in shell and a scale in bone. A right angle measuring instrument in shell is of particular significance. Bead-making was a flourishing industry. Semi-precious stone, gold steatite, copper and shell were used for beads.

Jewellery at Lothal consists of micro-gold beads, ear and nose ornaments and rings of gold. Thin circular pendants with axial holes, which have no parallel anywhere in the Indus Valley have also been found. Copper celts, pins, fish-hooks, razors, daggers and arrowheads formed the main weapons and tools.

The Lothal folk buried the dead. In the earliest cemetery level, three double burials were

## FRIENDSHIP HOUSE GIRLS' CLUB

noticed. But the practice seems to have been given up later on. Out of the fifteen graves opened up, three contained two bodies placed simultaneously. The grave furniture comprises earthenwares such as dish-on-stand, bowls and jars, shell beads and copper ear-ring. Several rectangular brick enclosures used for fire worship have also been laid bare this year.

Five building phases with two cultural periods have been made out so far. In the earlier period, the township was extensive and the people were prosperous. A severe flood destroyed the town but the inhabitants reoccupied the site. The township, however, shrank in size and prosperity declined. The dockyard fell into disuse and trade suffered.—*PIB*

—:O:—

## FRIENDSHIP HOUSE GIRLS' CLUB

FRIENDSHIP House, an old mansion six blocks from the U.S. Capitol, is a girls' club offering a varied program of activities. Their girls need what we have to offer here at the Club," she said.

Friendship House was once known as "The



In a handicrafts project at Friendship House Girls' Club, an eleven-year-old girl paints her papier mache giraffe. The girl watching has made a swan



Dottie Monk (left) curtsies to Sue Cooper while performing the folk dance Green Sleeves

Girls between the ages of six and seventeen years are eligible to join. Dues are based on ability to pay, and no girl is barred from membership who is unable to pay dues.

"This provision is made," says Miss Gill, the director, "because of the nature of our community. Most families who live here have low incomes and are charged what they can afford.

Maples" and is one of the oldest houses in the nation's capital. Its occupants have been some of the city's prominent political and social leaders. At one time it was the home of Francis Scott Key, author of the national anthem of the United States. The central part of the building

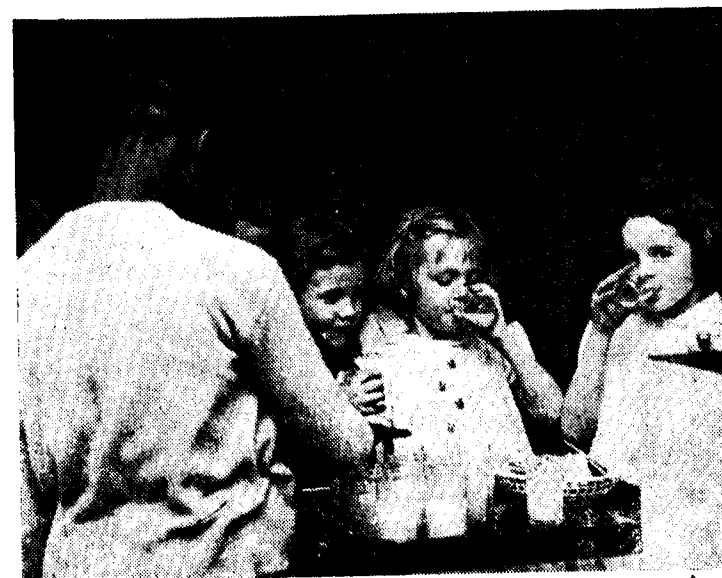


Some tricky rope jumping is demonstrated by Bonnie Lea Holt in the play-yard of Friendship House Girls' Club



This group of 10-year-old girls are learning to make paper baskets

was erected in 1794, and since that time additions have been made on the east and west sides. Today, Friendship House consists of five connecting buildings with a total of 52 rooms.



Participants in the after school program at Friendship House Girls' Club enjoy light refreshments

add- and maintenance staff, one full time program staff worker, four part-time program staff workers and six volunteer program workers. Funds to maintain the Club come from numerous sources: such as the United Givers' Fund, benefit performances, dues and donations. Recently Count Basie and his well-known orchestra played a benefit performance for Friendship House. Once each year a tour of old homes of historical interest and homes of Government officials is conducted to raise funds.

The program offered the 263 Club members is based upon their needs and age group. For example there is the after-school program for girls ranging in age from six to twelve years. These girls are members of families whose parents work outside the home.

The children come directly to Friendship House after school. If the weather permits they



These girls test their leg muscles on the horizontal bars at Friendship House Girls' Club



These girls are leaving Friendship House Girls' Club after a happy time of social, recreational and educational activities

In addition to the director, the staff include an assistant director of programs, six domestic free play, otherwise they may choose to play

quiet games in the gamerooms, listen to a story or watch a short movie. Then follows an educational program of folk dancing, painting, handicrafts music and dramatics.

For the older girls the program is centered around evening activities. Painting, ceramics, dramatics, instrumental music, singing and interpretive and tap dancing are offered, and one evening a week is devoted to social dancing.

Girls of all ages participate in the physical education program which includes calisthenics, volley ball, basketball and roller skating.

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As summer approaches all members are encouraged to save money for a week or two of camping at Friendship House camp located about fifty miles from Washington on the Patuxent River, and small banks placed around the Club are full by the time the first group is ready to depart.

Said Miss Gill, "No girl wants to miss the experience of hiking, swimming, overnight trips and picnicing in the country, and no girl who really makes an effort to go is left behind."—*USIS*.

## SIR ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI

1860—1924

We give below the life-sketch of one of the most brilliant sons of India whose birth-centenary falls this year :

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was born on the 12th of June, 1860, and came from one of the oldest and most respected families in Bengal. In the paternal line, he was a direct descendant of Dewan Ram Deva Chaudhuri. Ram Deva obtained great distinction at the time of Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan. He was the eldest son of Durgadas Chaudhuri, Zemindar of Haripur.

Asutosh had lived in an atmosphere of culture as his father's house was the frequent meeting-place of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dinabandhu Mitra, Nabin Chandra Sen, Manomohan Ghose, Lal Mohan Ghose and many other distinguished men of Bengal. Needless to say, he made the best use of these opportunities as is evidenced by his later career. As a boy, he had his preliminary course of education at the Krishnagar Collegiate School, where he gave proofs of his talents in class, debating club and literary society. Even in those early days he was reputed for his highly cultured literary tastes.

In 1881 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated with Honours in Mathematics and Law (1885) and obtained the M.A. and LL.M. degrees. His inclinations as a young man ran in the direction of literature and most of his spare time at College was devoted to

its study. He was selected by his professor as joint editor of the College magazine. At Cambridge, he was founder of the "Indian Majlis", the oldest and best known society of Indian students in England. After his return to India in 1886, he married Pratiba Devi, the eldest daughter of Hemendra Nath Tagore (the third son of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore). It proved an ideally happy union which did much to widen the horizon of the young lawyer. He experienced all the vicissitudes of a beginner struggling hard for a position as an author, a professor and a barrister simultaneously. During this period he compiled several notes on the text-books and such mathematical texts as Trigonometry, Conic Section, etc. He also contributed several articles to the *Bharati* in appreciation and criticism of the English poets. He was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court in 1886, and had to face severe competition. His talents were, however, appreciated quite early in his career in spite of the fact that there was at that time a great prejudice against Bengali barristers.

During his long career at the Bar, he was identified with most of the important cases both on the Original and Appellate Sides of the High Court.

He acquired a great reputation by his skilful cross-examination and brilliant advocacy in *causes celebres* like the Clarke Case, Lajpat Rai

Defamation Case and the Midnapore Conspiracy Appeal. In his death the legal profession lost "one of its brightest jewels."

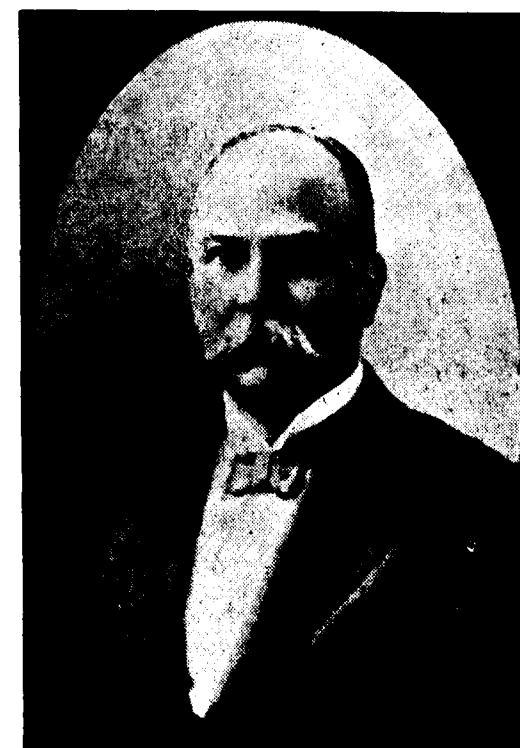
In 1912, after the Partition of Bengal was annulled, while at the zenith of his reputation as a public man and a leader of the Bar, he yielded to the urgent wish of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, C.J. and accepted a judgeship for the good of his profession although it meant an enormous sacrifice of income; the patriotic nature of his sacrifice was universally recognised at the time because it preserved the prestige of the Bench. He was the first Hindu Barrister Judge to sit on the Original Side and the first Indian Judge to take the Criminal Sessions of the High Court. The honour of Knighthood was conferred on him in 1917 and he retired from the Bench in 1920.

He took the keenest interest in politics and became a leading figure in the National Congress when it may be said to have attained the zenith of its reputation and was universally recognised as representing the aims and aspirations of educated India. "As an ardent nationalist, he strongly opposed the Partition of Bengal, organised the Bengal Landholders' Association and drafted for it a representation, which the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, characterised as the ablest and strongest produced by the opposition." As President of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Burdwan in 1904, he strongly criticised the idea of "political mendicancy" and expounded his doctrine of political and economic salvation by self-help and self-reliance. He was of opinion that the industries of India should be encouraged and on principle claimed for the country the rights of Self-Government. His famous dictum, "A subject race has no politics", became a classic in the terminology of Indian Nationalism.

"It is this statement by which Sir Asutosh will always be remembered—which, among other things, set young Bengal thinking and ultimately to challenge the methods and assumptions of the politicians of old school."

Asutosh Chaudhuri's heart was rooted in Education. He took a leading part in establishing the National Council of Education, Bengal. On the 14th of November, 1905, a letter was issued by him convening a conference to consider the question of National Education

and a conference of leading Indian gentlemen was held at the Bengal Landholders' Association on the 16th. With the help of large donations, which he secured from S.J. Subodh Chandra Mallik, S.J. Brojendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury of Gouripur, Maharaja Suryya Kanta Acharyya of Mymensingh, Sir Tarak Nath Palit, Sir Rash Behari Ghose and others, the National Council of Education was firmly established. The National Council was constituted on the 11th of



Asutosh Chaudhuri

March 1906, and the Inaugural Ceremony of the Bengal National College was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 14th of August 1906. He was Hon. Secretary at its inception and after the death of Sir Rash Behari Ghose became the President, which he remained till the end of his life. His laying of the foundation stone of the Jadavpur College Building (in 1922) was symbolic of the part he had played in its initiation, growth and development.

In his lifetime, Sir Asutosh contributed a sum of Rs. 17,000 to the National Council and by a direction in his will, a further sum of Rs. 10,000 was made over to it for the formation

of a library of scientific and technical books for the Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was one of the earliest 'elected' Fellows of Calcutta University. His co-operation was in constant demand with educational institutions, he was President of Vidyasager College and Ripon (later known as Surendra Nath) College for many years. After retirement from the Bench, he was closely associated with Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee as a Syndic of Calcutta University.

When the Hindu University of Benares was started, he could be depended on by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as an earnest colleague. The valuable gift of books—mostly on world literature and history—which Sir Asutosh made by his last testament, has been appraised by the University to be worth about Rs. 40,000.

**Literature :** His literary activities and love for the mother tongue were crowned with his election to the Presidential chair of the Bengal Literary Conference held at Dinajpur, where he delivered his address, characterised by those present as "the musical recitation of 'mantras' similar to those of the ancient Rishis." In that address he put forth an earnest plea for a forceful and vigorous literature purging the Bengali language of all the effeminacy brought about by the writings of the ultra-modern poets and litterateurs. His subtle aestheticism comprised Indian Art, Classical and Modern, and even the Art of the Far East. He was closely associated with the artists, Gogonendra and Abanindra Nath Tagore, in the Society of Oriental Art, and connoisseurs of art like Havell and Percy Brown.

With his gifted wife, Sm. Prativa Devi—the pioneer in the field of women's musical education—Sir Asutosh founded and nurtured into maturity the Sangit Sangha, long regarded as "the best institution in the country for the cultivation of Indian Music."—the legacy of

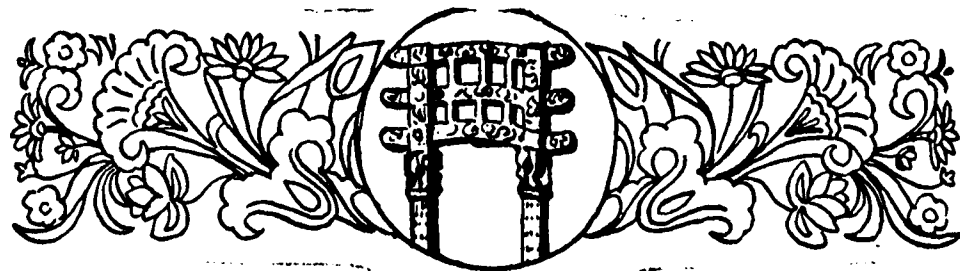
Rs. 10,000 left by him to form the nucleus of its building fund has not as yet been utilized. He was also President of the Bharat Sangeet Samaj, founded by Jyotirindra Nath Tagore. Musical entertainments and soirees were held at the house of Sir Asutosh and Lady Prativa Chaudhuri in Ballygunge, which became a meeting place of Eastern and Western Culture—a place where racial differences were unknown. "Indian music and art, indeed received a much deeper and more general appreciation because of their joint activities."

His rich sympathies manifested themselves in countless charities, private and public. On the governing body of the District Charitable Society of Calcutta, his position as Chairman was more than of a formal character.

**Last years :** He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 32nd Indian National Congress (Calcutta, 1917), presided over by Mrs. Annie Besant. After retirement from the Bench in 1920, despite failing health, he returned to political life as a member of the reformed Bengal Council. In November, 1921, at the instance of Lord Ronaldshay (Governor of Bengal) he tried to effect a settlement between Government and Congress on the basis of the immediate grant of Provincial Autonomy.

Lady Prativa Chaudhuri died in 1922 to the sorrow of a host of friends, both Indian and European, and her husband never rallied from the shock.

On the 23rd of May, 1924, the country lost one of her noblest sons by the death of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri. Apart from his brilliant career as a student, advocate, judge and as a public man, he will always be remembered for his goodness of heart and generous disposition. "He was Nature's born gentleman and one of those of whom it might be said that he had no enemies." To him the words of the poet could fittingly be applied that "even his failings lean to virtue's side."



## A PRECARIOUS LIVING

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

INDIA'S objective for economic self-sufficiency is being vigorously pursued through successive Five-Year Plans beginning with 1951, and signs are not rare of its partial fulfilment. But the needs of the vast population are large and various and the results so far attained have been able to touch only the fringe of the problem that affects everyday life of the common people. More and more taxes and a higher and higher price consequent on inadequate supply of the essentials of life have marked the progress of two Five-Year Plans, the life of the Second of which is on the verge of running out.

The difficult situation particularly relating to food manifests no sign of amelioration though a mint of money has been spent over agriculture (animal husbandry and irrigation combined). It is as elusive now as it was in the days of Grow More Food campaign started in 1942. There are promises galore of a comfortable living, (when nobody knows), except for those who can squander public money showing the greatest unconcern for audit, accounting and public opinion.

It was realised at the time of formulating the First Five-Year Plan that "for the large sections of the community which live near the margin of subsistence, a certain minimum supply of foodgrains at reasonable prices constitutes the rock bottom of the standard of living, a fall-in which would be seriously detrimental to health and efficiency." It would seem that the economic, physical and psychological condition of the common people was rightly assessed because the Planning Commission fully realised that "the experience of the past few years has brought out clearly the vulnerability of the economy on account of the inadequate production of foodgrains in the country. Foodgrains occupy a pivotal place in the price structure, and if this latter has to be safeguarded, as it

must be, the prices of foodgrains must be held at levels within the reach of the poorer sections of the community." Pious hopes, no doubt, that failed to materialise in actual practice.

In making provisions for attainment of the ideal, the Planning Commission placed ample resources at the disposal of the country. Funds allotted to agriculture proper in the First Plan was Rs. 197 crores and Rs. 384 crores to irrigation. Other sums spent during the period of the Plan for increasing the production of other 'food' were Rs. 22 crores for animal husbandry, Rs. 4 crores on fisheries. A part of Rs. 260 crores given to the production of 'Power' goes to the working of pumps, etc., used for the purpose of irrigation. Improved agricultural methods, better seed, liberal supply of manure, soil conservation, etc., produced favourable results. It was more so when nature in her bounty, in particular years, helped men in their efforts.

In the light of the growing demands the target fixed for the First Five-Year Plan, though materially achieved, was found to have fallen below the actual requirements and the target for the Second Five-Year Plan fixed at 75 million tons had had to be revised to 80.4 million tons during the life of the Plan. An abstract of the increase in production of foodgrains, cereals and pulses are given in the following table :

(See Table p. 56)

There has been considerable improvement in production of foodgrains during the two Plan periods. According to the authority quoted above the rate of increase averaged 2.3 per cent from 1949-50 to 1958-59, and an average of 3.2 per cent from 1952-53 to 1958-59. All possible means have been tried particularly in the use of chemical manure as would be seen



**India's Production of Foodgrains**  
(Adjusted on the basis of 1956-57 final estimates)

| Year    | (Million tons)            |       |               |               |              |                  |
|---------|---------------------------|-------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|
|         | Rice                      | Wheat | Other cereals | Total cereals | Total pulses | Total foodgrains |
| 1949-50 | 23.8                      | 6.6   | 18.0          | 48.4          | 9.5          | 57.9             |
| 1950-51 | 21.0                      | 6.6   | 16.1          | 43.7          | 8.7          | 52.4             |
| 1951-52 | 21.5                      | 6.2   | 16.6          | 44.3          | 8.6          | 52.9             |
| 1952-53 | 23.1                      | 7.4   | 19.0          | 49.5          | 9.3          | 58.8             |
| 1953-54 | 28.3                      | 7.9   | 22.1          | 58.3          | 10.6         | 68.9             |
| 1954-55 | 25.1                      | 8.8   | 22.2          | 56.1          | 11.0         | 67.1             |
| 1955-56 | 26.9                      | 8.6   | 19.0          | 54.5          | 10.8         | 65.3             |
| 1956-57 | 28.1                      | 9.1   | 20.1          | 57.3          | 11.4         | 68.7             |
| 1957-58 | 24.8                      | 7.7   | 20.3          | 52.8          | 9.2          | 62.0             |
| 1958-59 | 29.7                      | 10.0  | 21.9          | 61.3          | 12.2         |                  |
| 1960-61 | (anticipated)             | ...   | ....          | ....          | ....         | 75.0             |
|         | (target)                  | ...   | ....          | ....          | ....         | 80.5             |
| 1965-66 | (target under discussion) | ...   | ....          | ....          | ....         | 110.0            |

(Source: Report by the Agricultural Production Team, Ford Foundation.)

from the rapid increase in consumption enumerated in the following table:

**Consumption of Chemical Manure in India from 1950 to 1957-59**

(In thousand tons)

| Year    | Sulphate of ammonia | Super-phosphates |
|---------|---------------------|------------------|
| 1950    | 275.0               | ....             |
| 1951    | 282.8               | 43.0             |
| 1952    | 276.3               | 48.0             |
| 1953    | 427.0               | 50.0             |
| 1954    | 453.0               | 80.0             |
| 1955    | 500.0               | 80.1             |
| 1956    | 593.0               | 97.6             |
| 1957-58 | 600.0               | 134.8            |
| 1958-59 | n.a.                | 170.1            |

How much of the increase in the production of foodgrains is due to irrigation of additional lands or to the same land yielding more than one crop is not known yet. What the tax-payer knows is the total amount spent on approved (and unapproved) schemes and the portion of a particular project that has been completed or is nearing completion, and he knows nothing more.

The figure for total production of foodgrains has been considerable partly due to better yield per acre of land. But considering the rate of yield of the same grains in many other countries, it is painful to note that India is lagging far behind, perhaps occupying the last place in the list. Anyway, this deficiency should be removed by all means so that there may be no large gap between requirements and supply.

**Average Yield of Foodgrains per acre from 1950-51 to 1958-59**

(In pounds)

| Food-grains   | 50-51 | 51-52 | 52-53 | 53-54 | 54-55 | 55-56 | 56-57 | 57-58 | 58-59 |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Rice          | 596   | 637   | 682   | 805   | 731   | 780   | 799   | 702   | 816   |
| Jowar         | 315   | 340   | 374   | 406   | 470   | 346   | 402   | 438   | 457   |
| Bajra         | 257   | 220   | 264   | 333   | 276   | 270   | 232   | 290   | 304   |
| Maize         | 488   | 560   | 710   | 701   | 708   | 628   | 733   | 693   | 649   |
| Ragi          | 579   | 535   | 532   | 717   | 642   | 714   | 659   | 751   | 650   |
| Wheat         | 592   | 582   | 681   | 670   | 717   | 632   | 621   | 592   | 701   |
| Barley        | 681   | 669   | 805   | 746   | 779   | 735   | 726   | 664   | 724   |
| Small millets | 339   | 359   | 341   | 389   | 595   | 346   | 360   | 316   | 377   |

There can be no sense of complacency over the increase in the production of foodgrains primarily for two reasons. The growth of population per year far exceeds the additional quantity of foodgrains that are raised each year, and secondly, due to larger consumption of foodgrains arising out of a better standard of living. For reasons which need no recapitulation, there has been more liquid money in the country during the Plan periods particularly in the hands of those who had heretofore passed their days in a state of semi-starvation. The Ford Foundation Team, mentioned previously, gives a bit higher figure than the actual during the First Plan when it states that "five million persons per year were added during the First Five-Year Plan, and seven million per year will have been added during the Second Plan period. Ten million per year probably will be added during the period of the Third Plan ending 1966." The actual figures of the increase as published by the Government of India are given below:

**Growth of Population in India from 1948 to 1958**

(In thousands)

| Year | Mid-year population | Increase per year |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1947 | 345,085             | ....              |
| 1948 | 349,430             | 4,345             |
| 1949 | 353,832             | 4,402             |
| 1950 | 358,293             | 4,461             |
| 1951 | 362,790             | 4,497             |
| 1952 | 367,530             | 4,740             |
| 1953 | 372,300             | 4,770             |
| 1954 | 377,130             | 4,830             |
| 1955 | 382,390             | 5,260             |
| 1956 | 387,350             | 4,960             |
| 1957 | 392,440             | 5,090             |
| 1958 | 397,540             | 5,100             |
| 1959 | 402,800             | 5,260             |

Anyway, in 1955, 1958 and 1959 the increase exceeded the five million limit a year and it is most likely that the rate of growth would be higher than in the past, unless the Family Planning movement can catch the mind of the people in its grip.

According to the common belief based on the insufficient supply and higher prices of foodstuff (supported by the Ford Foundation

Team): "The gap between needs for foodgrains, as indicated by the Plan targets, and supply, as indicated by production trends, is growing wider. The relatively favourable 1958-59 season failed to reach the annual average of the foodgrain target by 4.3 million tons and the 1957-58 crop was 9.3 million tons short." The irresistible conclusion is that if the rate of increase of foodgrains fails to register a much faster standard, it is estimated that the needs of the people in 1965-66 will be about 28 million tons! The question is whether it will be possible to increase the rate by 8.2 per cent over the previous year for the next seven years. But there are no indications of anything happening like this in the meantime.

Let us cherish a pious hope that such a miracle would happen and that the fond hopes of the present Food Minister, Sri Patil, would be fulfilled and India will become economically self-sufficient in the course of the next five years (i.e., one year ahead of the completion of the III-FYP).

It is now clear that no sector of the Indian economy is more weak than its most important factor, viz., agriculture. It has presented a most intractable problem without betraying any hopeful signs of yielding to efforts. The country must be fed so that people may not feel the pangs of constant hunger and join the legion of malcontents who are out to create mischief. When the indigenous supply is insufficient for the purpose the deficit has had to be supplemented by other sources and the only way open is to live on other people's goodwill which is to all conscience a precarious existence. There are so many factors which may affect purchase of food from other countries. There must be surplus in the countries willing to supply; the price must be reasonable and above all, there must be easy availability of foreign exchange which is badly needed in other sectors of Indian economy.

But unfortunately this has been the case during the past many years and as years roll by we are out to secure through purchase larger and larger quantities of foodgrains, grains, pulse and flour from outside. The signs of abatement are still far off. The figures of imports during the past few years and the new food deal with the U.S.A. will give an idea of

the degree of India's dependence on others for the most important item of human existence.

#### Import of Food from 1949-50 to 1955-56

| Year    | Tons      | Rs. ('000) |
|---------|-----------|------------|
| 1949-50 | 3,032,200 | 1,338,524  |
| 1950-51 | 2,085,904 | 804,114    |
| 1951-52 | 4,793,432 | 2,281,152  |
| 1952-53 | 3,953,257 | 1,590,983  |
| 1953-54 | 1,434,471 | 723,835    |
| 1954-55 | 1,222,879 | 681,885    |
| 1955-56 | 425,448   | 174,670    |

During the nine months of 1956 (April to December) 28,170 tons of foodgrains were imported at Rs. 1,30,82,433. The value of 1,040,730 tons of grains, etc., was Rs. 55,39,28,465 in 1957. In 1958 cereals and cereal preparations imports accounted for Rs. 1,48,83,58,430 and 1959 for Rs. 1,22,96,96,130.

The food position in India has become more elusive than ever. In 1960, the penultimate year of the II-FYP, dependence on foreign imports has not eased in the least. Some foodgrains are still to come during the year under contracts entered into with other countries before the year. Under a previous Public Law (P. L.) agreement, U.S.A. will supply 150,000 tons of rice. Under a barter basis for jute and tea, U.A.R. is to supply 100,000 tons of rice and an additional 150,000 tons rice is expected from Burma on payment of sterling. The last instalment of 400,000 from Burma under the previous agreement for the supply of two million tons over five years is also due this year. Excluding the supply under the latest P.L. 480 agreement, the total import of rice in 1960, therefore, will amount to 800,000 tons as against only 500,000 tons last year.

Even with such supply of heavy quantity of foodgrains India still feels diffident about the proper feeding of its teeming millions. To take no chance, on the 4th of May (1960) India's Minister for Food and Agriculture was pleased to receive a signed document from the President of the U.S.A. purporting to supply 587 million bushels of wheat (approximately 16 million metric tons) valued at \$965 million, and 22 million bags of rice (approximately one million metric tons) of the value of \$116 million. It also provides for \$195 million to cover half of the cost of ocean transportation. The

present agreement covers a period of four years. Of the rupees (Rs. 607 crores, equivalent to \$1,276 million) to be acquired by the U.S. in payment for the commodities sold and delivered, Rs. 512 crores (\$1,076) or 84.4 per cent will be made available to the Government of India for economic development projects. Of this half (Rs. 256 crores) in grants, so that the element of grant comes to nothing less than 42.2 per cent. The remaining Rs. 95 crores (\$200 million) will be used for meeting U.S. expenses in India and for financing other U.S. agency programmes, including development of foreign markets.

With the U.S. supply the total import of grains from abroad for consumption would be about 3.8 million tons per annum. The large stock in hand will certainly help in checking a rise in the prices of foodgrains and is sure to contribute to the stability in the entire economy of the country. It will enable to build up a reserve stock as an insurance against emergency food shortage due to various reasons. The sale of the stock, for which the Government would have to pay only a part, will bring full value of the entire supply obtained from the U.S. This would leave a substantial margin in the hands of the Government which together with the price realised from customers would possibly be invested on development projects. With stability in the price of food the public would feel more inclined to invest the surplus money in Government loans and savings projects.

This is one side of the picture that has been presented to the public. Heretofore the Government have not displayed sufficient care or knowledge in the storage of such huge quantity of grains. Instances are not rare when deterioration in the quality of the grains coming under the category of 'not fit for human consumption' is reported in the papers and grains are sold at a nominal price for purposes other than food. The storage accommodation will have to be carried out hastily and the chances of huge unessential costs coming in its train are there. With very little to bother about severe scarcity or famine conditions making their uncanny appearance from time to time, a sense of complacency may pervade both the Government and the producers of grains for fear of falling prices.

In this connection one matter of great moment should not be overlooked. The Government will add all the incidental expenses that would be incurred before the commodity goes to the ultimate consumer. Moreover, the Government have been found to be more greedy in their transactions with the public than the ordinary blackmarketer. Mr. H. M. Hasham Premji, President of the Federation of All-India Foodgrain Dealers Association cited (on 9-4-60) an instance of the people's losses in connection with the State's participation in foodgrains trade. The Madhya Pradesh Government, we are told, purchases wheat at Rs. 13-14 per maund and places it at the disposal of the Centre at Rs. 19. The State Governments that receive this wheat sell it at Rs. 22. The price differential thus comes to as much as Rs. 8 per maund, when the total cost of transport, including net profit a trader would charge does not exceed Rs. 2-3, even if the grain is sold in the far South. The *Commerce* (of 16th April 1960) remarks, "Surely, one fails to see any justification for such a wide difference. Apart from the price factor, the consumer is subjected to much harassment at the hands of officials." Moreover, the gravel and other impurities that are found in the grains supplied by the Government stores should be taken into account.

The policy declared by the Government of India in regard to the present imports, as might

have been in the past, is to hold the stocks, still there is an urgent and insistent demand from any particular quarter. With small stocks the case is different from one that is huge because it might involve storage in unhygienic godowns for a long time. This would certainly affect the quality of the grain and may render a huge quantity absolutely useless. Not only that godowns which are capable of holding stocks for a fairly long time in perfectly healthy conditions are necessary, but that such stocks that have remained idle to the point of deterioration should be released from one end just to be replenished from fresh stocks procured inside the country or freshly drawn from foreign lands.

To live on the margin of danger for an indefinite period is not a healthy sign for any nation. That problem has been fully realised but it is regrettable that signs are wanting which would fulfil our hopes of self-sufficiency in food in the near future. In case of living perennially on imports, it has to be remembered that the uncanny signs of the cold war that has pervaded the world might any day develop into something 'hot' thereby affecting the facilities to bring the foodgrains to India by the sea route and all our efforts in procuring the surplus of many lands might be rendered useless, a rather terrible situation for India.

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#### TAGORE'S INFLUENCE ON TAMIL-NAD

By K. CHANDRASEKHAR

It is not always easy to estimate accurately the influence of a great personality on contemporaries. More so if he happens to be a poet with originality of a high order and vision of surpassing magnitude. It may be often true also that a literary writer who is popular during his life-time reaps a reward some day much smaller and more reduced in value than that of one whose audience is limited. Perhaps T. S. Eliot's observation can readily be assented to when he said: "If a poet gets a large audience very quickly, that is a rather suspicious circumstance; for it leads us to fear that he is not really doing anything new, that he is giving people what they are already used to and, therefore, what they have already had from the poets

of the previous generation." Naturally, therefore, if Tagore should have failed to impress all of his genius but only secured a circumscribed yet sensitive group to poetry, like Rothenstein, Yeats and others who were independent and somewhat in advance of their times, it only proves that Tagore's genius was unique and of lasting quality.

In Bengal itself, the home of Rabindranath, there was not much understanding at first of him and consequently not much of an enthusiasm for his poetry. Once the poet became famous by the award of the Nobel Laureateship, people vied with one another to decorate him with wreaths of flowers and honours of their own making. The poet hesitated legitimately to re-

## REMINISCENCES OF LENIN

By MAXIM GORKY

### Lenin and the Middle Class Intelligentsia

I did not meet Lenin in Russia, or even see him from afar, until 1918, when the outrageous and base attempt was made on his life. I came to him when he had hardly regained the use of his hand and could scarcely move his neck, which had been shot through. When I expressed my indignation, he replied, as though dismissing something of which he was tired, "It's a fight. Nothing to be done. Everyone acts according to his lights."

We met on very friendly terms, but of course there was evident pity in dear Ilyitch's sharp and penetrating glance, as he looked at me, who had gone astray.

After several minutes he said eagerly: "He who is not with us is against us. People independent of the march of events—that is a fantasy. Even if we grant that such people did exist once, at present they do not and cannot exist. They are no good to anyone. All down to the last are thrown into the whirl of a reality which is more complicated than ever before. You say that I simplify life too much? That this simplification threatens culture with ruin, eh?" Then the ironical, characteristic "H'm, h'm". . . .

His keen glance sharpened, and he continued in a lower tone, ". . . We have got to put before the Russian masses something simple, something they can grasp. The Soviets and Communism are simple. A union of the workers and intelligentsia, eh? Well, that isn't bad. Tell the intelligentsia. Let them come to us. According to you they are true servants of justice. What is the bother then? Certainly, let them come to us. We are just the people who have undertaken the colossal job of putting the people on their feet, of telling the whole world the truth about life,—it is we who are pointing out to the people the straight path to a human life, the path which leads out of slavery, beggary, humiliation." He laughed and said without any trace of ill-will, "That is why I

received a bullet from the intelligentsia." When the temperature of the conversation was more or less normal, he said with vexation and sadness, "Do you think I quarrel with the idea that the intelligentsia are necessary to us? But you see how hostile their attitude is, how badly they understand the need of the moment? And they don't see how powerless they are without us, how incapable of reaching the masses. They will be to blame if we break too many pots."

### Lenin Correctly Estimated Importance of Intellectual Energy

We almost always discussed this subject when we met; and although in what he said his attitude to the intelligentsia remained one of mistrust and hostility, in reality he always correctly estimated the importance of intellectual energy in the revolutionary process, and seemed to agree that in essence revolution was the bursting out of that energy unable to develop regularly in the straitened conditions which it has outgrown.

I remember one occasion when I was with him and three members of the Academy of Sciences. The conversation was about the necessity of re-organizing one of the highest scientific institutions in Petersburg. When he had seen them off Lenin said contentedly, "Now that's right. They are clever men. With them everything is simple, everything is strictly formulated. You see at once that these people know exactly what they want. It is simply pleasure to work with such people. I especially liked. . . ." he named one of the greatest names in Russian science, and a day later even asked me by telephone, "Ask S. whether he will come and work with us." And when S. accepted the proposal, he was sincerely glad, rubbing his hands together and saying jokingly, "One after another we shall win over all the Russian and European Archimedes, and then the world will have to change whether it wants to or not!"

## REMINISCENCES OF LENIN

### Revolution—Not A Bed of Roses

I often used to speak with Lenin about the cruelty of revolutionary tactics and life. "What do you want?" he would ask in astonishment and anger. "Is it possible to act humanely in a struggle of such unprecedented ferocity? Where is there any place for soft-heartedness or generosity? We are being blockaded by Europe, we are deprived of the help of the European proletariat, counter-revolution is creeping like a bear on us from every side. And what are we to do? Are we not justified? Ought we not to struggle and resist? No. We are not a set of fools, with your permission. We know that what we want can only be achieved by ourselves. Do you think that I would be sitting here if I were convinced of the contrary?"

"What is your criterion for judging which blows are necessary and which are superfluous in fight?" he asked once, after a heated discussion. I could only answer lyrically to this simple question. It would be impossible to answer otherwise, I think.

I often overwhelmed him with all kinds of requests, and often felt that all the trouble I took for various people made Lenin pity me. He would ask, "Don't you think you are wasting your energy on a lot of rubbish?" But I continued to do what I thought ought to be done, and I was not put off when the man who knew who were the enemies of the proletariat looked at me askance, in anger. He would shake his head with a crushing gesture and say, "You are compromising yourself in the eyes of the comrades, the workers." I pointed out that comrades, workers, when their passions were roused and they were irritated, not infrequently held too lightly the life and liberty of valuable people, and that this in my view not only compromised the honest hard work of the revolution by too great, sometimes even senseless, cruelty, but was objectively bad, as it repelled and restrained from participation in the revolution many important people. "H'm, h'm," Lenin muttered

sceptically, and pointed out to me many cases where the intelligentsia betrayed the interests of the workers. "By the way" he said, "many people go over to the other side and betray us, not only out of cowardice, but because of their self-esteem because they are afraid of finding themselves in an embarrassing situation, afraid that their beloved theory will suffer when it comes to grips with reality. But we are not afraid of that. There is nothing holy or sacred about theories or hypotheses for us, they serve us only as instruments."

### Lenin's Kindness and Magnanimity

Yet I don't remember a single instance when any requests of mine met with a refusal from Ilyitch. If they were not always fulfilled it was not through his fault but through the faults of a mechanism in which the clumsy Russian State machine has always abounded, and, may be, some one's malicious reluctance to lighten the lot or save the lives of people of worth. Perhaps there were cases of wilful harming too; the enemy is as cynical as he is cunning. Revenge and malice are often effective through force of inertia; and of course there are petty persons with unhealthy minds with a morbid thirst for the delight of contemplating the suffering of their neighbours.

I was often struck by Lenin's readiness to help people whom he considered to be his enemies, and not only readiness to help but even to care for their future. A general for example, a scientist, a chemist was threatened with death. "H'm, h'm," said Lenin, after listening attentively to my story. "So you think he didn't know that his sons had hidden fire-arms in his laboratory? There is something romantic about it. But we must leave it for Dzerzhinsk (Head of the security organ of the state) to unravel. He has a keen instinct for the truth." Several days later he ran me up in Petrograd and said, "We are letting your general go—I think he has already been set free. What does he intend to do. . . . Tell me if he is in need of anything."

Lenin spoke ironically in order to

ceive with open arms the sudden outburst of appreciation in its fullest measure. While the West's sensational tributes engulfed him after the year of the Nobel Award, he was not found losing his balance at all to be taken in by such an unforeseen reaction in his favour. On the other hand, with a calmness and naivete all his own, he waited for the flood to subside. He wrote to a friend on July 6, 1921 thus: "It is far better for a poet to miss his reward in this life—rather than to have a false reward or to have his reward in an excessive measure." But all the same, he was confident of recognition by posterity, and that too not in the distant future. His self-assurance is echoed in a tiny poem of his:

They call you mad. Wait for to-morrow  
and keep silent.  
They throw dust upon your head. Wait  
for to-morrow. They will bring their wreath.  
They sit apart in their high seat. Wait  
for to-morrow. They will come down and  
bend their head.

Whether still he has his detractors, we cannot be sure of. Yet one thing is evident, namely, the sceptically inclined too or even those with circumspection as their only strength will have, with E. M. Forster, to opine: "He is a good writer. All must assent to this minimum. But how good? To that there can be no answer until the adoration and the reaction all adoration entails have passed away, until the mass of sacrifices have been cleared up, and Beauty can pronounce across the subsiding dust." True, the function of a genuine critic is to wait and weigh in the balance before pronouncing himself on anything of lasting merit.

But the influence of a poet on minds that are already tending towards inspiration, does not wait for critics to pass their considered judgments. Eminent intellectuals of the West like W.B. Yeats, Earnest Rhys, Henry Nevinson and May Sinclair, became deeply stirred by his lines as never before by anything else in their lives. In India, though Tagore's songs and tunes have had a rage with the common folk of Bengal, the intellectuals took time to be drawn into an admiring group. The loss was decidedly theirs and not the poet's. For he, unmindful of this lukewarmness, was pouring out his soul on all sides not only in songs but in ever so many varieties of literary form, such as fiction, short-

story, drama, allegory, satire, letters, essays, dialogues and what not. Discerning Bengal, awakened to a resurgence of ideas by the example of leaders like Rammohun Roy, Keshub-chandra Sen, Devendranath Tagore and others, began to notice unmistakable signs of a born poet and playwright in Tagore. Nevertheless, the entire world of letters got an inkling into his unlimited imagination and varied art only after the English translations of his 'Gitanjali,' 'Sadhana,' 'Chitra,' 'Crescent Moon' etc., got into its hands.

South India never lagged behind in its appreciation of the poet, however limited its knowledge of Bengali was in the early years after Tagore's shooting into fame. Only gradually people of the South realised how much more worthy of appreciation the poet could be if he is understood in the language in which he wrote. Anyhow, if poets like Subrahmanya Bharati should have drawn inspiration from Tagore for writing national anthems, it is indication enough that creative faculties overcome barriers of language and country. Again if great scholars like Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar should have felt the force of the argument and agreed unhesitatingly with the poet, that the Muse, unless wooed in one's own language, would be like a bride being courted through the agency of another, there is no need to prove how wholesome was Rabindranath's influence on even persons working in other fields and on different languages. Sri T. K. Chidambarnatha Mudaliar, of unforgettable memory, who spared no efforts to raise the level of understanding of Tamil classics like Kamba Ramayana, met the poet during his earliest tour in the South-only to strengthen his own conviction that the Tamil language is second to none in its literature or in its traditions and the best of creativity in any writer will have to be only in the expression of ideas through his own mother tongue.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novels, such as Chandrasekhar, Sitaram, Durgasahanandini, Anandamath, translated into Tamil had already taken readers by storm and they were waiting for similar masterpieces in fiction from Indian writers. Tagore's novels like 'Wreck', 'Gora', 'Home And The World', and some of Tagore's short stories began to influence Tamil readers and the result was a good harvest of translations

of them from different pens. Some of them have been directly done from Bengali by writers of distinction like T. N. Kumaraswami and T. N. Senapathy. There are others like the late V. Narayanan and K. Savitri Ammal who have rendered from English into Tamil 'Wreck' and 'Home and the World' respectively. The latter received the benediction of the poet for her translation of 'Chitra' from English into Tamil even so early as 1923.

Translations are no doubt clear indications of the influence of a writer on another language. But influences in the shape of emulation by intellectuals are certainly deeper and greater of a people's sure progress and culture. Many others, like K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, who, as early as 1918, devoted an entire volume in English to Tagore's works extant at that time and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, whose almost first publication was to bring out the philosophy of Rabindranath to the forefront of people's appreciation, have done much to spread Tagore's extraordinary message outside Bengal among the rest of India. We are indeed under a special debt of gratitude to the English language for it's having been the earliest source for opening our eyes to the beauties of Tagore's poetry. But for English having remained our common language, Tagore would not have been known much outside Bengal as a poet with a universal claim to recognition.

Rabindranath's greatest assets are his originality and fullness of comprehension of life. Indeed, but for his unmitigated desire to soak himself in all forms of life and immerse himself in nature's own prodigality, he could not have become half so outstanding in his vision of a higher life or his perception of the true inwardness of art, as he impresses us today. Life and literature are one to him, and even as solar energy can fill all the space with its brilliance, his mind has left little in imagination and fancy unexplored or unenlivened by his magic touch. If today Tamil-Nad has realised a genuineness of approach to many of our ancient traditions and art-forms, it is not a little due to the inspiring reaction it experienced in favour of Tagore's wonderful interpretation of Indian thought and ideals. His short stories derive their singular depth from a concentration of his poetic vision upon human nature and universal life. If his story 'Drishti-dan' supplies readers with a wholly rich conception of Indian womanhood's highest dower of love, his

'Kabuliwallah' or his 'Babus of Nayanjore' provides us peeps into a strange world occupied with the unsullied mind and fancy of childhood. For his whose imagination in the *Crescent Moon* (*Sishu*) pictured the child's mind in all its manifold phases, it is not a great strain to make it quite as absorbing in fiction and play as in song and satire. Had he stopped with revealing the child's mind, he could not have been half as unapproachable as he strikes us by his vast output of thoughts concerning ever so many other subjects—the woman of today, the youth in the grip of western impact, the peasant in a changing India, the writer under the aegis of the Press, the officer in his craze for power and influence—all so very natural for him to give and for us so very natural to take without a shadow of any outraged sense of proportion or balance.

In a short article it will be impossible to estimate in detail the influence of Tagore on Tamil writers. But one can say this much, that though Tagore being essentially a poet has his own limitation of appeal to all and sundry unlike that of Sarat Chandra of Bengal, the master of the art of fiction, Tagore has permeated every bit of thinking and expression traceable in the nascent creativity of Tamil-Nad.

That poetry has to be much more local than prose can be evident from its inherent quality of feeling or emotion. Poetry is and has to be the vehicle of feeling. Therefore it is certain that unless one is born in Bengal, one may not be completely comprehending Tagore. A thought, though not expressed in Tamil, may be practically the same to us whether it is expressed in English or in any other language. But a feeling and emotion expressed in another language cannot be the same to us. Hence, perhaps to some, Tagore, despite his out and out Indianness, strikes yet as belonging to a different world. But it may not take us far to realise that whatever else, Tagore is or is not, he is in the line of our great seers of old and in his spiritual outlook not a whit behind Valmiki and Kalidasa. He infuses into us, as did our sages of the *Upanishads*, the same high regard for true ideals, cherished for centuries and common to every Indian from the Cape of Kanyakumari to the heights of the Himalayas. To imagine that one can escape his message or philosophy, will be almost to all fatal our creative thinking or writing.



conceal the joy, which he did not wish to show, of saving a man's life. Several days later he asked again, "Well, how is the general getting on? Everything arranged?"

### "They Will Have Happier Lives Than We Had"

I knew and still know many workers who had to, and have to, grit their teeth hard, and stifle their emotions, to overcome their organic "social idealism" for the sake of the triumph of the cause they are serving. Did Lenin too have to stifle his emotions? He paid too little attention to himself to talk about himself to others; he, more than anyone, could keep silent the secret agitation of his soul. Once however

in Gorky, when he was caressing some children, he said, "They will have happier lives than we had. They will not experience much that we lived through. There will not be so much cruelty in their lives." Then looking into the distance, to the hills where the village nestled, he added pensively, "And yet I don't envy them. Our generation achieved something of amazing significance for history. The cruelty, which the conditions of our life made necessary, will be understood and vindicated. Everything will be understood, everything." He caressed the children with great care, with an especially gentle and tender touch.—*Information Department of USSR Embassy in India Bulletin.*

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## KERALA ELECTION IN RETROSPECT

BY BIBEK BRATA SARKAR, M.A.

ON February 3, 1960, one of the most significant events in the recent political life of the country—the Kerala mid-term elections—smoothly came to a close. The United Democratic Front, (U.D.F.) consisting of the Congress, the P.S.P., and the Muslim League, registered a thumping victory over the Communists, earlier dismissed from the Ministry by the President.

The people of Kerala who have had the dubious distinction of experiencing ten Governments and four major elections within the short span of twelve years, no doubt now deserve a good Government for which they have been so ready to make experiments and pay the price. Whether they will get what they fought for remains to be seen.

But quite apart from its immediate local importance, the Kerala election raises a very interesting question which assumes national significance when viewed in the context of an evolving political trend in India. What exactly was the nature of electoral alliance that defeated the Communists in Kerala?

Out of the three parties in the U.D.F., the P.S.P., and the Congress are wedded to democratic socialism, while the third is a communal party with no political programme worth the

name. But since all communal parties thrive on narrow religious considerations, they are also anti-secular and anti-democratic. Thus, in the United Front, two parties believing in democracy and socialism (there is difference in the degree of socialism professed by each) have united with an anti-secular, anti-democratic party without a political programme to oust another secular, anti-democratic party. This combination, then, cannot be interpreted as a rallying together of political forces on the basis of genuine affinity of principles; nor can it be unity based on common programme of action. It was at best an expediency that brought success, and at worst a political move fraught with dangerous consequences.

The results of the Kerala election would show the Communists how they can be kept away from power even in areas considered to be their strongholds. But it has a bigger lesson for the non-Communists. Victory in Kerala was achieved not because there was a terrific swing of mass preferences in favour of democracy, but because religious and other sectarian groups backed by the Congress and the P.S.P., have successfully exploited the communal passions of a large section of the voters. Catholic elements, Muslim League, the Nair Society and vested interest

## KERALA ELECTION IN RETROSPECT

groups led by the Congress brought off a victory that is not worth rejoicing over.

During the past 13 years, many a time in several elections of minor importance, the Congress has been found to put up a joint front with communal and anti-democratic groups. Kerala has not only set a sinister precedence, it has actually aggravated a tendency that is already groping its uncertain way in our midst. In Kerala sectarian passions have substantially helped to tip the scale in favour of the United Front; for, otherwise how are we to explain the defeat of a respected and popular politician like Shri Thomas by a virtually unknown Muslim lady? Elsewhere, throughout the country the communal forces are gaining strength. In the recent KAVAL elections, the Jan Sangh candidates have registered notable success. The Akali Dal in the Punjab have come out with a thumping victory in the recent S.G.P.C. elections. In quite a number of local and municipal elections in different parts of the country, communal forces are more and more coming to prominence. Last year a few communal clashes occurred in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and Kerala. Such a list of stray or more serious instances of communal outbreaks can be lengthened if we go back a few more years.

Such alliances with the ruling party invariably vests the communal parties with added prestige and strength, especially in the eyes of the illiterate and the politically un-initiated. Strategic victories gained in their company makes it plain to the communalists that their assistance is actually sought. Moreover, since the only point in joining hands with these elements is to win votes merely on sectarian appeals and thus upset the normal pattern of voting, communal parties in alliance are likely to have a free hand in rousing popular passion on religious grounds. Such alliances are for them golden opportunities of making a come-back on the Indian political stage. The last General Elections had virtually wiped them off the scene. And one could hope that at least the field was clear for possible political polarisation on ideological lines. That hope now seems to be a wishful thinking. So the peculiar alignment of forces in the Kerala election may with some justification be viewed as a culmination of a process of gradual disintegration of the secular front of

the Congress Party. But strangely enough, sectarianism cannot be said to have been directly encouraged by the Congress. The country has a secular Constitution and the laws maintain a scrupulous fairness in this regard. Popular national spokesmen of the Congress Party have throughout denounced communalism or any other kind of sectarianism in their speeches and writings. And yet why this weakness during the elections? It is a sad anomaly and perhaps a proof of the contention that the Congress Party continues to be a conglomeration of groups with divergent views.

Under the circumstances, the danger to democracy from sectarian forces may not be confined to communal parties alone. Even within the Congress Party today there seems to exist a powerful group who can be termed "extreme rightists" and who do not always see eye to eye with the progressive, sometimes drastic, social and economic measures taken by the Government. The popularity of certain top-ranking national spokesmen of the Congress stand on secularism and socialism has probably kept the natural tendencies of this group under control. But as soon as these founder-fathers of the Congress Party would be no more on the national scene, the most effective check so long operative on them would no longer be there. Moreover, with the Congress Party organisation riddled with internal wranglings and the left democratic forces too weak and divided to offer either an alternative Government or an effective opposition, the field will be clear for rightist reaction to forge ahead within the Congress fold. The extreme rightists would then find eager allies in groups of the vested interests and other communal and sectarian parties, i.e., groups which are basically unpolitical and naturally anti-democratic. Communalism, of course, is nowhere near assuming threatening proportions just now; but fresh grounds yielded to them through hasty, unprincipled alliances will only aggravate the crisis.

Politics is fast losing all its brilliance and sense of direction. Everywhere qualitative political forces are sought to be defeated by a quantitative superiority achieved indiscriminately. Such dangerous trends, if allowed to continue, may in the long run reduce political activity in India to a predominantly anti-intellectual affair.

By BISHNUPADA CHATTERJEE

THE name of late Arthur Schopenhauer, the Teuton Seer of Hindoo Spirit is well-known to the literary circles of our country. His death centenary falls on the 21st September, 1960. In the world-wide turmoil of Political-cum-Ethical conflicts of the day, it would be a pertinent endeavour for us to give a biographical Sketch of the departed Seer.

Danzig is indeed a remarkable spot on the map of Mid-Europe, standing on the river Vistula. This city experienced vicissitudes of political fancies for a long period since 1713 A.D., and ultimately was restored to Poland in 1945. This prodigious free city of cosmopolitan culture, in a like manner gave birth to a prodigious child of sharp intellect on the 22nd day of February, 1788. That was Dr. Arthur Schopenhauer. That intellectual giant of Teutonic race with much temerity professed a unique and contrary thought, less heeded to, against the contemporary formidable teaching of K. W. F. Hegel.

#### *Domestic Environment and Early Education*

Arthur Schopenhauer was the only son of Heinrich Schopenhauer, a wealthy mill-owner of Danzig. This Schopenhauer family was in the good grace of Prussian royal court too. Consequent on a Prussian invasion against the free city, his parents settled down in Hamburg of Germany, when Arthur was a mere child of five years.

Arthur had his primary education in a Grammar School of Hamburg. His father wanted to see his only son as an worthy successor to his business, and trained him in commercial line. Through a tragic accident Arthur lost his father at the age of seventeen only.

His mother Johanna Nil Trosiener Schopenhauer could command little respect of this grim boy. Compared with the luxuriant growth of the lad the mother looked like a puny dwarf. So she could not tackle the son in an impressive mode befitting her superiority and position in the family. Besides lacking in tactics to manifest her control over the son, the mother verily nourished altogether a different temperament than her boy. Disharmony of cultural tastes often kept them so apart in their mental arena, from each other,

that, soon after the death of his father, Arthur always tried to keep off from his mother, which practice ultimately caused a lasting separation when he hardly reached twenty-five years of age. After his father's death Arthur for a year joined his paternal business. But that monotonous affair having failed to attract the rich mind of the would-be philosopher, Arthur began an academic career again.

#### *University Career and Studious Nature*

With a preliminary training in the Gymnasium of Gotha, at the age of twenty he got admitted in the Gottingen University, where he underwent a scholastic study of multifarious subjects: Science, Arts and Literature. His stupendous learning amazed all his fellow-mates and teachers alike. With a restless mind and with that limited scope of learning in that cloister, he soon entered the University of Berlin for further nourishment of his mental faculties.

Young Arthur since his early age showed indication of his future intellectual attainments. No outward sportive activities, nor even convivial gatherings of whatsoever nature, seemed to have any appeal to him. As a measure of daily routine Arthur would remain absorbed avidly in his books in the morning, than he would attend lectures half-heartedly, and then would come back in the hostel in a sullen mood. The young student of Philosophy was so eager about learning that gradually he was fully convinced that, with a few exceptions most of the University lecturers were but mere 'charlatans', devoid of genius, and, as such, he used to devote most of his time in reading works of distinguished authors. And from time to time he enjoyed association with Goethe, Schiller and Beethoven in between the terms and vacations.

#### *His Wandering Life*

After obtaining a Doctorate from the University of Berlin Dr. Schopenhauer contemplated to start his career as an educationist. But strange behaviour of the young philosopher characterised by apparent rudeness and imbecility stood in the way. He cared very little

for the sentiments of others and showed indignation to the inane practices and formalities of the convivial phase of gregarious living. Besides all these peculiar traits, suited to his own fancies alone, his intuitive aversion for mundane life kept the philosopher away from the common track of materialistic pursuits, and as such, the philosopher could not engage himself for merely mercenary motives whatsoever. Ultimately regardless of unfavourable environments, and with the handsome bequest left by his father, Dr. Schopenhauer built up his world after his own mental make-up. And he used to walk freely along its entire space guided by his instinct and intuition.

Nevertheless, he was not at all averse to mundane interest. Dr. Schopenhauer was a great admirer of Arts, Literature, Sculpture and of Music. He was of aesthetic temperament also.

After his academic career Dr. Schopenhauer visited almost all the cultural centres, places of Historical interest and ruins of Archaeological importance of his own continent. In one word, this life-long savant like a diligent student travelled from one place to another for enriching his store of learning. During his stay at Dresden despite his mental aversion he enjoyed the association of the elite of the society.

His aesthetic aptitude helped him to enjoy the Society of Weimar, of Goethe, Schiller and other eminent persons. He was an ardent lover of Poetry. Petrarch's verses and Rossini's music appealed a great deal to his refined taste.

He had been to Italy on several occasions simply to visit the birth-place of these two poets. There in Italy, he used to attend 'Cafe Greco' regularly and enjoyed the catholicity of international congregation of taste and culture.

#### *Paradoxical Trait*

Mysterious were the gaits of the philosopher. From time to time he remained obsessed with frenzied emotions. Very often regardless of pros and cons, he used irrational words to others. And again, as a rule, he never trusted anybody, and was of abnormally suspicious nature and was falsely apprehensive of others' unfair intention to cheat him in every way. His unwarranted

caprices and fads gradually placed the philosopher exclusively in the self-made world of his own, here his pet dog *Atma* was his only comfort as a companion. Such cynical attitude startled his guests and friends alike.

On the basis of all such apparent caprices some of his contemporary critics heaped opprobriums on him. But they were not fully correct in appraising the conduct of the Seer. Surmounting all the odds and obstacles of a century-long chronological events, when we retrospectively look into the philosopher's life, with an unbiased sentiment, we find a different picture of his personal traits. Owing to his early imbecilities and capricious literary practices Dr. Schopenhauer could not impress the reading public with his earlier compositions. And this disappointment caused him to suffer extremely throughout a particular period of his life. For that reason a certain amount of dissatisfaction got stored up in a morbid corner of his philanthropic heart. Incidentally as a psychological response, that morbid corner used to give away some peevish smoke. Deprived of appreciations and adulations from all the expected quarters of intelligentsia, the mortified philosopher at the age of 45 took refuge to a voluntary seclusion in a sequestered house of the city of Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. The brilliant aspect of his life was revealed in that state of seclusion.

Dr. Schopenhauer was a misogynist of an extreme type. To summarise the philosopher's idea regarding the 'fair sex', we are to repeat his remarks verbatim, she 'is an entrapment for exploiting the male race.' Some of his bitter experiences confirmed his thoughts about the other sex. Bearing in mind the torture perpetrated on his beloved philosopher Plato by his wife this Seer of Rhine Valley never allowed himself to be snared by marriage.

#### *His Philosophical Insight and Ethical Concept*

At long last the goddess of fame favoured the philosopher with her grace and his recognition as a 'Seer' materialised in reality. The depth of his thought, was, however, realised and relished by the students of Philosophy and Moral Science. His lofty thoughts were revealed in the pages of *On the Will in Nature*. His *The Two*

*Fundamental Problems of Ethics* and subsequent *Essays* amazed the contemporary scholastic coteries of Europe. They created sensation in the leading seats of learning throughout the length and breadth of the Western World. His philosophical exposition of "Will" along the track of the Vedantic doctrine of Ego focussed a new light to his countrymen.

The Hindoo Philosophy, the *Upanishadic* teachings and Buddhistic Renunciation shaped his philosophical doctrines. In his own exposition of the *Upanishadas* and Buddhistic '*Shunyabad*' Dr. Schopenhauer displayed the acme of his wisdom. After all, he was himself a pessimist of stoical resignation and preached with assertion—'Hope and happiness are two inconsistent terms in human life.'

With all his so-called craziness and practical imbecilities of mundane life, this 'Prophet of his Age' created a remarkable sensation amongst the intelligentsia, and with all his earnestness he tried to cast aside the sanctimoniousness of the Church and its Dogma.

It should be said his Ethical conceptions were not confusing in the least. His pessimism and philosophical contentions were counter-balanced by his robust optimism and ethical exposition. With his clear insight this Seer reached the very root of all evils in the Society, and in many of his essays he unfolded all those debris to the eyes of escapists, rationalist charlatans and others. His philosophical work—*The Two Fundamental Problems of Ethics* extolled him to the pinnacle of fame.

#### *Seer's Last Days in Frankfurt*

This Seer of the Rhine Valley led a spectacular life of a sage in his house at Frankfurt. He was transformed into an out-and-out Indian monk with dreams and aspirations of the *Upanishadic* age. In pursuance of Hindoo *Yogis* this Teuton hermit very frequently went on observing the vow of silence for weeks and months together. In the last phase of seculd life this sage with Indian spirit spent most of his time meditating deeply on the *Upanishadic* lessons and study-

ing avidly Buddhistic Scriptures. He spent most of his morning hours in his study where above him hung an oil-painting of W. V. Goethe, and on the desk, face to face, were two busts—one of Lord Buddha and the other of Immanuel Kant. He would be found very often gazing for hours together on either of the two busts. And sometimes the Seer could be seen meditating deeply with his eyes shut up and body filled with ecstasy of thrill. Immanuel Kant and Rene' Descartes were his beloved authors. Volumes of works of these two philosophers remained before his eyes, lying on the writing desk. Still he frankly confessed, "I get more out of one page of these ancient Hindoo books than I do out of ten volumes of European philosophers after Kant." Sincerely the sage uttered—"The aphorisms of *Upanishads* are a great source of my solace in these gloomy days."

Being a devout student of Hindoo scriptures the sage rightly realised that the concept of '*Atma*' is the very essence of Hindoo philosophy, and, as such, as an external mark of his psychic communion with the "soul" of the *Upanishadic* age of India, *Rishi* Schopenhauer used to call his pet poodle *Atma*. And he spent much of his valuable time for the care of *Atma*.

At the age of seventy he was attacked with consumption, which malady in a galloping way sapped up all his energy and the Seer of Rhine Valley died much earlier than his *Vedic* belief of century span of life.

In the midst of sanguine war between Latin and Teutonic races, marked by a titanic conflict, the philosopher often uttered before his demise—"Only those who can renounce the mundane world are the greatest ones of all ages. History would not remember these warriors; but she would record the names of peace-makers only."

With the approach of his last hour the philosopher elucidated his idea of Buddhistic annihilation to his friend Dr. Gwinner—"Only honest living can attain that absolute emancipation." And in the same morning of the 21st September, 1860, this Teutonic prophet of Hindoo spirit closed his eyes for-ever, to find out his contemplated world of eternal solace.

THE Years following the end of World War II (1945) has witnessed, among others, the birth of many a new nation in Asia and Africa. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Viet-nam, Cambodia, Laos, Syria and Lebanon in Asia and the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and Ghana in Africa became independent. Singapore and Malaya in Asia and Nigeria in Africa stand on the threshold of nationhood. Egyptian sovereignty became a reality with the withdrawal of British forces from the Canal Base in 1955. The independence of Algeria from French tutelage may not be far off.

The new Afro-Asian nations are different from one another in many respects. Each has its own peculiar problems. But certain problems are common to them all. These problems are all the more serious—hence a solution is all the more urgent—because the new Afro-Asian States have been born in a period, which is in itself revolutionary in nature and outlook. The world has become a single entity. Barriers of Geography have tumbled down. The nineteenth century and the first quarter of the 20th had, of course, given the impression of a unity to the world. But based on the supremacy of European and Western nations over the rest of mankind, it was superficial in nature and political in content. The emerging unity of the period following World War II is altogether different in character: "As the social and industrial structure of the world and the interdependence of people have become much more definite and are clearly in the process of an evolution, when the differences which were once considered fundamental are being gradually obliterated" (*Afro-Asian States and their Problems* by K. M. Panikkar, p. 12). Born in a new world, the new Afro-Asian nations are confronted with problems of unexampled complexity and that without an adequate administrative and political organisation, without essential skills and technical equipment, "and also without a social preparation which could release the energies of the community to deal with the problems of transformation."

Dr. K. M. Panikkar examines in a brilliant monograph the problems of the new Afro-Asian States.\* He classifies them into the following categories—political structure, administration, economic life, education, science and social problems.

Most of the new States adopted the democratic form of Government. But the experiment has failed almost everywhere. Some, after toying with democracy for a time, have adopted non-democratic forms of Government, such as, "guided democracy," "controlled democracy" or military dictatorship. A successful working of democracy and democratic institutions pre-supposes, among others, the acceptance of the doctrine of obedience (to the will of the majority), the association of the people with the Government at all levels and independent thinking connected with political problems. Democracy, says the learned author, must be provided with ideas. The conditions enumerated above are, unfortunately, missing in most of the new States of Asia and Africa, and "They have, in fact, become textbook democracies with but little relation, in most cases, to the social and economic conditions of the countries concerned" and in many of them there is an air of unreality—"an attitude of make-believe" as Dr. Panikkar puts it. If democracy, is formal or if it is discredited, the army becomes a rival centre of power and may lead to the rise of military dictatorship.

The civil services inherited by the new States have been weakened by the withdrawal of the superior personnel, which always came from the metropolitan countries. Even in the countries which had effective civil services, in an attenuated form, however, "the changed purposes, motivation and enlarged activities of the State" demanded an immense increase in supervisory as well as technical personnel which most of the states failed to supply. Loan of foreign experts helps, but does not go to the root of the problem. The future of the new countries depends, therefore, to not a little extent on the rapidity with which they can build up a competent, honest and trained administration which is essential for the stability and success of a democratic form of Government.

The economic problems of the new Afro-Asian States are threefold, viz., (i) the creation of a balanced economy suitable to the conditions of the respective states in place of a colonial economy; (ii) raising the standard of living by

\* *The Afro-Asian States and their Problems* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London—12sh. 6d. net).

industrial development and exploitation of the natural resources, and (iii) the transformation of rural life and modernization of agriculture to enable the peasantry to come out of their age-long torpor and backwardness and to share the national prosperity with other sections of the population. A solution of these problems is the *sine qua non* of a self-sustained economy without which a State may stagnate or even fall back.

No less complicated is the problem of education. Universal education must be provided to the people. Each new State must at the same time provide a comparatively wide system of higher education to enable the nation to handle its own economic, administrative and political problems. Young men and women must be educated in the principles of social service at the same time. Last but not least, if the hard-won independence of the new states is to have significance, they must provide the technical skills and scientific education.

No country can build up a modern society on the basis of second-hand science. To take advantage of the progress of science anywhere, a country must have a corps of scientists who are capable of exploiting and assimilating the results of the latest research. But few of the recently emancipated Afro-Asian nations have scientists enough for the purpose. Their educational system must be transformed. But such a transformation is no easy job. Scientific work, it must be remembered: "Cannot progress in a vacuum, that is, without a background of modern industry, which in its turn is dependent on a high-level of technology" (p. 80). There is but little interest in scientific development in the South-East Asian and African countries. They, it may be said, are only spectators in this fast-changing twentieth century scientific world. The world stands today on the door-step of a tremendous scientific transformation "which will make the gaps between the scientifically advanced and the scientifically backward nations deeper and wider, making the latter more than ever dependent for all essential things on the more powerful nations." (p. 80).

The re-organisation of the social structure to "conform to the political economic and moral ideas of modern life" is a major problem facing new Afro-Asia where society was—and is still—wedded to traditional forms. The problem is one of finding a social ideal which combines

those aspects of their own inherited traditions which appear valuable to them with the new urges of our times.

The problems enumerated above, Dr. Panikkar points out, are mainly due to the fact that for more than a hundred years characterized by revolutionary changes in the economic, scientific and political life of the West, the new States of Asia and Africa were not their own masters. Political tutelage produced two bad results. For one thing, it changed the course of their evolution and independence found them in a state of social and political uncertainty. Their own traditions had been undermined. The new ideas of the West were at best imperfectly understood and partially assimilated. For another, foreign rule deflected the course of their economic development and "they stepped out of their dependence in a State of economic backwardness, insufficiently equipped to deal with the stupendous problems which faced them" (p. 96). The age which they have entered as free nations is itself undergoing revolutionary changes in every sphere and this has made their problems infinitely more difficult.

It is not a little strange that the problems of national and emotional integration so vital to the life of nations—new and old alike—have escaped the notice of so learned and careful an observer that Dr. Panikkar is. Regionalism, linguism and sectarianism constitute a formidable threat to not a few of the new States. The threat is perhaps more real to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia, among others. The reason is not far to seek. Fissiparous tendencies in the body politic of these countries were carefully nursed by alien rulers. But they were kept well under control. The successor governments in these countries are weaker than the foreign Governments they have replaced and cannot effectively control, far less to cure, them. The Karen revolt in Burma, the *Dar-ul-Islam* movement in Indonesia and the Naga revolt and the Punjabi Suba demand in India, for example, indicate the existence of cankers eating into the very vitals of the nations concerned. The suspicion—not always ill-founded—that some of these movements are encouraged and helped by foreign agencies make them more ominous.

All in all, Dr. Panikkar's *Afro-Asian States and their Problems* is a notable addition to works on current history and will re-pay a perusal.



## Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

### ENGLISH

**ORIENTAL ESSAYS:** Portraits of Seven Scholars: By A. J. Arberry. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1960. Pp. 261.

This work from the pen of the Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University consists of a series of biographies of British Orientalists who have been selected out of many for having been the author's fellow-workers in the field of Islamic research. The account opens with the career of Simon Ockley, the fifth occupant of the University Chair in Arabic at Cambridge in the early part of the 18th century, who has been characterised as the pioneer. They follow in succession the biographies of Sir William Jones (the revered founder of The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and one of the greatest humanists of all time), Edward William Lane (author of a monumental Arabic-English dictionary), Edward Henry Palmer (best known as the translator of the Koran), Edward Granville Browne (the renowned author of the *Literary History of Persia* and other works), and Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (the greatest interpreter of Islamic mysticism in western lands). The reader's interest is throughout stimulated by appropriate quotations from the writings of the scholars including the stories of their hopes and aspirations and disappointments as well as methods of work. The author's judgments throughout are marked by soundness and discrimination. The work concludes with the author's modest account of his own career introduced to the reader as "the story of an ordinary man born in an ordinary household" (p. 233). The chapter closes with relevant extracts from that great "charter of modern Orien-

talism" in Great Britain, the Report of the Scarbrough Commission of 1947, whose recommendations have been unfortunately much pruned in the following years. The author concludes his work with a passionate plea for the advance of Oriental studies in the West in the face of the tremendous difficulties in its path. The lofty humanism inspiring the author's statement is best expressed in the last two sentences of his work (p. 256): "The world's greatest and most clamant need is for such an integration of creative impulses as will lead to the emergence of a common civilisation pursuing one common purpose . . . a civilization infinitely varied, drawing on the water-springs of all previous civilizations, realizing itself in the peaceful and neighbourly exploitation of mankind's inexhaustible wealth of mind and heart and spirit."

Upendranath Ghoshal

**THE VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY:** By Swami Abhedananda. Published by Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19 B, Raja Raj Krishna Street, Calcutta-6. Pp. 52, Price Rupees Three.

This is an unpublished lecture of Swami Abhedananda delivered before the Philosophical Union of the California University at Berkeley, U.S.A., in 1901. Four hundred prominent professors of different Universities of the United States assembled there to hear this grand speech and sat still for one and a half hours before this Lion of Vedanta from the then benighted India. Before coming out in the



form of this book, this historical and memorable lecture appeared in 1956 in the *Vedanta and the West*, a Journal conducted by the Vivekananda Home of Hollywood. The manuscript of this lecture was handed over to the learned editor of this Journal by Ida Ansell before her death in January, 1955. A microfilm of the complete text of the lecture was also procured from the University of California for this publication by the Ramakrishna Vedanta Math of Calcutta.

Swami Abhedananda was a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and after Swami Vivekananda preached Vedanta in the western hemisphere for about a quarter of a century and for this noble mission crossed the Atlantic Ocean seventeen times in those days. He delivered a good number of learned lectures before many prominent cultural Academies of Europe and America and left an indelible impression on the philosophical thought of the Western world. He will be ever remembered in India and abroad as a pioneer of Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Religion. He was an ideal Philosopher, a real Vedantist in the truest sense and clearly explains in this lecture the central idea of Vedanta philosophy. Rightly this Indian philosopher observes that the Vedantic Brahman is none other than the Absolute Reality of the Western philosophers and is identical with the Good of Plato, Substantia of Spinoza, Ding un sich of Kant, Unknown and Unknowable of Herbert Spencer, Will of Schopenhauer and Oversoul of Emerson. Western Absolutism and Mysticism are not at all new and novel in Indian Philosophy and Religion. That is why Sir Monier M. Williams remarked that Hindus were Spinozites before Spinoza was born and Prof. Huxley opined that the doctrine of evolution was known to the Hindu sages long before Paul of Tarsus was born.

This short but substantial lecture will be interesting to the students of philosophy and the reading public alike. Swami Prajnanananda's lengthy preface has enhanced its readability. It should be rendered into Bengali, Hindi and other Indian Vernaculars for wider circulation. This small board-bound volume is nicely printed and attractively got up and quite suitable for the libraries.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

**SOCIAL HISTORY OF ISLAMIC INDIA (1605-1748):** By Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow. Pp. xiv + 234. Price Rs. 15/-.

History is no longer a catalogue of Kings, Emperors and their generals, and of their successful campaigns and wars or of humiliating retreats and surrender, treachery and intrigue, almost oblivious of the common people except as subjects of oppression, or victims of war, pestilence and famine. Today we have a more exalted conception of History and its province. England has J. R. Green's History of the English People. India wants her Green. In the book under review, the author has partially supplied a long-felt want, and is almost a pioneer.

The best service the reviewer can do to his readers is to try to introduce the book to him and ask him to read it for himself.

India is a luxuriant field for the growth of schism and sects Islam which had already broken up into the traditional 73 sects, got further disintegrated in Hindustan since its introduction into this country. The Shias, a small minority among the Indian Muslims, are divided into 22 sects, according to *Tazkira Mazahib-i-Haftad wa seghana*, each one calling another a *Kafir*. How bitter was the Shia-Sunni quarrels may be gauged from the fact that during the Adil Shahi regime at Bijapur, persons were employed to curses on the Sahabah, who became the first three Khalifs of Islam. Even death could not obliterate this enmity. It was thought that the dead, if they happened to belong to the opposite sects, could not live in peace in their graves if buried side by side. During the reign of Akbar a Shia was buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Amir Khusru. Sunni Ulema objected to it and represented to His Majesty that Amir Khusru was a native of India, and a Sunni and hence, he would be very much annoyed by the company of a Shia in the grave. The Emperor gave orders that the Shia's body should be removed from there and should be buried somewhere else.

Again, we read that Mughal service in Hindustan was predominantly foreign, and it was not at all opened to men of Indian

nationality. Even under Akbar 70 per cent of the Amirs and Mansabdars belonged to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at court just after the accession of Akbar: the remaining 30 per cent were held by Indians, rather more than half by Muslims, and rather less than half by Hindus. There were 51 Hindu Mansabdars out of the total of 415.

There are many interesting side-lights on social life of this period.

J. M. Datta

**KHURSHED NARIMAN:** By Shankar-prasad S. Nanavaty. Published by the author from 448/16, King's Circle, Bombay-19. Pages 62. Price Rs. 2/-.

This is a short biography of K. Nariman, who in the words of the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel "was the uncrowned King of Bombay" for a long period. He came from a humble Parsee family and had to struggle hard in his early life but he was successful as a lawyer and established a lucrative practice within a short time. He had a passion for public service and entered the Bombay Municipal Corporation where he was elected Mayor later. Nariman was associated with many public organisations of Bombay. He was an influential member and President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and had been elected to the Provincial Legislature on Congress ticket. He became well-known all over India by exposing what is known as Back Bay Scandal. But difference with Congress High Command, particularly with Sardar Patel, brought his downfall. Although a Congressman he had no charm for Mahatma Gandhi's ideology and he expressed it in his book "Whither Congress" in 1933. Nariman suffered much and courted imprisonment in his fight for India's Independence. He died in New Delhi on 4th October, 1948.

The book under review is a welcome addition to the biographies of Fighters for India's Freedom and deserves wide circulation.

A. B. Dutta

**A NEW ASPECT OF HOMEOPATHY:** By Dr. S. M. Chowdhury. Published by Hahne-mannian Homeo Clinic; 3, Sambhu Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 3/-.

The book under review is the outcome of laborious research work of Dr. Chowdhury, who has earned some reputation as an author of a few books in Bengali, on Homeopathy. His

article, "The Law of similars and the Law of cure" published in an esteemed American Homeopathic Magazine has highly been appreciated by no less a veteran Homeopath than Dr. Allan D. Sutherland, M.D. With a view to solving some of the difficult problems of this Medical Science, full of intricacies so far as innumerable symptoms of diseases are concerned, Dr. Chowdhury has been working hard for more than two decades and he has, admittedly, been able to throw new light on the aspect of Symptomatology.

Dr. Chowdhury's book which is written in a simple style will be immensely helpful not only to professional Homeopaths but also to laymen who are interested in this Medical Science. Dr. S. N. Sengupta, the learned author of the *Science and Philosophy of Homeopathy* has contributed a thought-provoking introduction to this book wherefrom Homeopaths will get practical hints in the treatment of hereditary, alien, chronic and all other classes of diseases. A number of case-histories will be of much help in this respect.

Nalini Kumar Bhadra

**GASTRONOMIC TOUR DE FRANCE:** By Jean Conil. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 35s. net (Cloth); 30s. net (Board).

Human inquisitiveness has been daily expanding and almost every aspect of life now finds keen observers and collectors of materials. They make specialized study and record all they have known about their object of interest. Here 'the President of the International Epicurean Circle' has given us a detailed account of all kinds of French dishes and delicacies with information about the principal hotels and restaurants in different parts of France. Those who have a taste for foreign savouries and hope to travel abroad will find the book useful and interesting.

D. N. Mookerjee

#### BENGALI

**BARANIYA:** Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Co. Private Ltd. 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 5.

Sri Bagal has been systematically trying to bring to light the complete picture of our Nineteenth Century Renaissance. For sincerity, perseverance and neatness of exposition, he has earned a distinction among our historians. In this interesting volume he has presented before us, in

his characteristic way, the lives and works of some of our great men of recent times, such as, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Basu, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Aswini Kumar Datta, Subhas Chandra Basu, Bipin Chandra Pal, Ramnanda Chatterjee and the like. The short biography of Dinesh Chandra Sen is a worthy tribute to the great explorer in our literary history, unfortunately ignored today. It is time that a comprehensive biography of this eminent historian and litterateur should have been written. Besides these he has drawn nice pen-portraits of some less-known and unknown persons, unknown but not insignificant. Among the less-known may be mentioned Kiran Chandra Mukherjee, the exemplary selfless revolutionary hero, Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya the unassuming silent scholar and Radha Charan Chakravarti, the shy sweet-tempered poet and journalist; and among the unknown—his village teacher of early boyhood and three idealist teachers he came in contact with in his youth.

These are days of rapid moral degradation. To uphold the eternal ideals of life is a real social service. If Sri Bagal's earnest attempt can remind us of our glorious heritage and inspire us to struggle for a "life sublime" he will have his mission best fulfilled.

D. N. Mookerjee

### MARATHI

**VIDUSHAKA :** By Govinda Keshav Bhat, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Maharashtra Grantha Bhandar, Kolhapur. 1959. Price Rs. 9/50/- nP.

Lovers and students of Sanskrit literature and specially Sanskrit Drama will welcome this dissertation on Vidushaka, produced by the learned writer after years of study. He has carefully gone to the origin of the type—was it a type?—which seemed to cling to Sanskrit dramas. Was it Vrishakapi, a Brahmachari carrying on some great vrata, or like the Western prototypes such as Vice, or Clown? Bharata has presented him as a hump-back Brahmin with a comic appearance. He, however, is an active participant in the action, with a predilection for good food, with his peculiar language which serves to point at the same time to the real condition of the society. He is not always a mere entertainer.

The learned author has made a detailed analysis of the characters of 16 Vidushakas, which will be read with pleasure by those who have gone through the dramas.

P. R. Sen.

### GUJARATI

(1) **KAMALKUMAR :** By the late Mrs. Sumati, the daughter of the late Sir Lallubhai Samaldas Mehta. Pp. 115. Price 12 annas.

(2) **ANDHARI RATE (In a Dark Night):** By Ketan Munshi. Pp. 140. Price 12 annas.

(3) **RAMANAN RAKHOPATI :** Translated by Jayant Parmar, from Sane Guruji's Marathi Novel. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 4.

(4) **MANASAINI VATO :** Edited by Pitambar Patel. Pp. 305. Price Rs. 2.00.

(5) **AKSHAYA PATRA :** By "Sarang" Barot. Pp. 264. Price Re. 1-8.

(6) **MATINI MURTIO :** By Mohammad Mankad. Pp. 120. Price Re. 0.12.0.

(7) **VAITALNI VATO :** By Prof. Dr. Bipin J. Jhaveri and P. J. Mistri. Pp. 210. Price Re. 1-8.

(8) **THANDA POHONI VATO, (Stories told in Cool Moments, i.e., at Eventide) :** By Harrai Amutukhsai Desai, B.A., S.T.C.D. Pp. 100. Price Re. 0.12.0.

(9) **SAUBHAGYA SUNDARI :** By Mulshankar H. Mutani, Pp. 240. Re. 1-8.

**ALL NINE :** Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, and printed at its own Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Thick Card Board Covers. (1951-1952).

Sumati Behen was a cultured young girl, who died very early in life. This story, very intelligently written, is in its Second edition and depicts a faithful picture of a Hindu's domestic life in the present times. *Dark Night* begins with an adventure of a young man, who being involved in love, was on the point of drowning himself in the stormy seas of the month of July at the Marine Drive, Bombay, when a stranger rescued him. Sane Guruji's novel in Marathi, called *Ramacha Sheta* is well-known. Mr. Parmar has translated it well, and has preserved its spirit correctly. A collection of 17 stories of recognised and representative story-writers, like Petlikar, Umashankar, Chuni-lal V. Shah, Madia, Mrs. Vinodini Nilkanth, Sopan, Ramanlal V. Desai, the late Meghani and others are reprinted here. *Akshaya Patra*, the never-failing Pot of Entertainment similarly contains also 17 stories, the production of a

rising story writer, who deserves encouragement. *Images of Clay*, the composition of a Muslim writer claims to draw pictures of village life, of which the prevailing note is dust, clay, earth and where still the belief prevails that it is inauspicious and immodest for a husband to call his wife by name and *vice versa*. The village dialect which the characters speak, gives it a genuine ring of country-life. Samal Bhatt's *Vaitalni Vato*, Stories of Vaital, a genie, in the Dhara Nagri of King Bhoja, written in verse and called *Mada Pachchisi* have been rendered into easy prose by Dr. Bipin Jhaveri and his co-worker. *Stories told at Eventide* are really entertaining and "airy" and therefore cooling. Kavi Mulani has been enriching the drama literature of Gujarat for the last several years. *Saubhagya Sundari* is one of his best plays and was staged successfully for a very long time. A collection of several other plays, written by him and staged, are printed here. It will serve the purpose of preserving them, as representing a certain stage in the history of staged plays in Gujarat in the past.

K. M. J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Rabindranath Tagore

Chowringhee writes editorially :

Rabindranath Tagore was a genius of a rare and unique type. Never in the history of the world has a man been born who had all the qualities that Rabindranath Tagore had. He was a man whose physical appearance immediately struck one with its uncommon magnificence. Tall, well-proportioned, shapely and handsome of features, he reminded one of the kings described in fairy tales of the *rishis* of classical times. His facial expression was ever changing and as he talked, sang or recited people watching him were spell-bound by the mobility of expression of his handsome face. His eyes expressed his emotions with lightning changes in their shape, size and colour, and his lips moved to create a flow of illusions of anger, love, anguish or divine ecstasy as occasion demanded. In his movements he was graceful, and when in his old age, he could no longer walk or dance, he moved his hands in a manner which had a poetry of its own. Physical perfection combined with great intelligence and depth of outlook in all fields of thought, gave him a personality which was magical and which roused respect and admiration in all hearts. His physical presence had such a hypnotic quality that wherever he had gone, in Asia, Europe or America, people stood and watched him as an object of wonder and super-natural grandeur. Some said he was like Christ, some saw in him a divine light and no one ever looked upon him without feeling an over-powering admiration for his marvellous appearance, his wisdom which emanated from him and his many-sided genius which enveloped him like the atmosphere in which he moved. Most ordinary people, like bus conductors or restaurant waiters spoke of Rabindranath Tagore as they would of saints and prophets and wherever he went, he left an atmosphere of veneration behind him.

To come back to the genius of Tagore, we have to discuss his most outstanding quality, viz., his poetry first. He began writing poems at the age of twelve and from the beginning his poems acquired those qualities of imagery, vision, form and word perfection which one associates with

poetical excellence. Of the thousands of poems that Rabindranath Tagore had written, not one lacked those qualities and thousands of critics have looked for defects in his writings without success. The translations of his poems have never expressed the magnificence and splendour or the subtlety and fragrant charm of his poetry very successfully. Only those who know Bengal and the Bengali language can really appreciate the wonders of Tagore's poetry.

Rabindranath Tagore composed nearly 4,000 songs and he set the tunes of about 3,000 of these songs himself. As a composer of songs he has no rivals anywhere in the world. This is true in point of the number of songs composed, the rare beauty and charm of the melodies and great poetry imagery and word perfection of the songs. Many of these songs were composed for "operas" like *Valmiki Pratibha* and for dance dramas like *Chandalika* and *Chitrangada*. His songs are unique in the cultural history of India and they should be sung by all people in their original Bengali form and with the music that Tagore composed. Recent attempts at translating his songs into Hindi or some such language and at improving the music have been murderous as well as ridiculous failures. Such attempts should be discouraged even if they are found advantageous by the transcribers.

Tagore's adaptations of his musical "operas" to dance or Manipuri style ballets are another wonder of his versatile character. In his sixties he sat and made these adaptations and imagined the various *mudras*, *talas* and movements, which later, he caused to be reproduced in actual song and dance by real singers and dancers. These dance operas are quite remarkable for their beauty, grace and artistic excellence.

About the same time Tagore flourished into a full-fledged painter of pictures, which for their weird imagery, powerful form and striking colours are hard to beat. We cannot call his pictures by any of the names found in the dictionary of art history. He is not an impressionist, a post-impressionist or a surrealist. He is not a painter of abstract imagery nor of symbolic subjects. His pictures are realistic and the realities are entirely his own in the truly personal sense.

Rabindranath Tagore has been a great

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

philosopher, a theologian, a politician, educationist, social reformer and a writer of great novels, wonderful short stories, impressive Belles Lettres and humorous skits. His efforts at architecture, furniture design, interior decoration, etc., have been quite remarkable. And above all, his faultless understanding of all subjects that had anything to do with human upliftment. In his mind he had a vision of a united humanity which he tried his best to realise.

## New Trends in the Indian Newspaper Industry

Frank Moraes, Editor of the *Indian Express*, writes in the inaugural issue of *The Editor* :

Journalism is passing through a crucial phase in India. Like other institutions, newspapers have felt the impact of independence, and developments such as the growth of literacy, keener interest in national problems and progress, along with a livelier awareness of the world outside, have collectively and cumulatively influenced the content and views of the Indian Press. To pore over newspaper files of the decade before independence and those of the decade after is an illuminating lesson in contrast and change.

With the exception of a few months during a transition from Ceylon to India, I have functioned as an editor since 1946, and it is therefore principally through editorial eyes that I view the newspaper world of independent India. By and large the changes have been for the good. The newspapers of independent India are livelier, more comprehensive, more acute and perceptive than they were before freedom came. In a sense this is inevitable for the constricted atmosphere of foreign rule is at once anomalous and artificial affecting both rulers and ruled, and the newspapers of those days reflected this abnormal relationship.

If the national atmosphere is now more real and normal, it does not necessarily follow that all the accruing changes have been beneficial to the Press. The cleavage between the Indian-owned Press and the British Government was basically political and surfaced sharply in periods of tension. Then, as now, the Government sought to influence the Press positively by its power and patronage, which consisted largely in advertising doles. Negatively, the British raj had its punitive machinery of confiscation, closure, fines, deposits and imprisonment. The

national Press played a decisive role in the achievement of freedom.

Today, the pressures exercised by the Government on the Press, particularly the smaller newspapers if far less punitive, are no less potent. This is not entirely the fault of the Government but the outcome of a developing situation which with the official adoption of a socialistic pattern for India means the enlargement of the public sector and consequentially a tremendous expansion in the range of official advertising which in turn signifies a sizable power of patronage.

Add to this the maze of import and export controls, along with the difficulties in obtaining licences and foreign exchange, and the pervasive if impervious strangle-hold of officialdom can be appreciated. For newsprint, machinery and many other vital necessities, newspapers are dependent on the goodwill of an abnormally sensitive Government. Moreover, big business has entered the newspaper domain and exercises its influence far more assertively, selfishly and capriciously than did the newspaper magnate of pre-independence days who was almost exclusively concerned with the production and sale of his newspapers. The commercial interests of a modern Press baron might extend from cement to chemicals and from textiles to automobiles and shipping. The wider the range of a newspaper owner's commercial empire, the greater his dependence on the favours of the Government—more so a Government controlling most avenues of trade and industry.

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Government intrusion and influence do not end there. No reasonable person would say that there was no need for improving the conditions of pay and work of Indian journalists, but experience proves that the most practical way of doing this is to encourage a stronger esprit de corps among journalists themselves and a healthier, friendlier relationship between journalists and proprietors. However well-intentioned it might be, the imposition of Government-regulated scales and standards of pay, emoluments and leave have led to some unfortunate results. They have intensified the commercial bias and basis of newspaper organisation and production, thereby virtually equating the journalist's work with the work of a factory employee or a mill-sand. Additionally, the so-called working journalist is encouraged to ignore his editor and proprietor and look to the Government as his *ma-bap*.

Thus the newspaper profession is trisected, with the working journalists and the proprietors leaning on the Government for concessions and favours while the editors, although theoretically classified as working journalists, are in practice treated as a caste apart. The trisection is reflected in the separate organisations of the Working Journalists Federation, the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference and the proprietorial Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society. Between them, these three organisations hold the newspaper baby while the Government holds the balance.

With the consequential diminution of the editor's status, newspapers in India are beginning to lose their individuality and very few newspapers today are identified with the names of their editors. On the other hand, the intensification of the commercial basis of a newspaper has led to an unhealthy growth in the authority of the general or managing director who is the commercial functionary of the proprietor and who is sometimes a man whose lack of general knowledge, grammar and the elementary courtesies is only rivalled by his sense of self-importance and conceit.

A significant development of Indian journalism is the rise in the influence of the political columnist writing under his own name or a widely-known pseudonym. I have a feeling that more and more readers will turn to the columnists, and that editorials in consequence will be less read and less heeded. This is happening in the United States and in Britain. And I personally shall welcome the day when that trend is on the ascendant here, for by allowing a columnist freedom to express his views the

banner of independent journalism might still wave over our newspaper barricade.

### Military Training for Students

Raghuvir Sahai Nigam observes in *The Indian Review* :

The Government of India is going to launch the scheme prepared by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. The Central Advisory Board of education has plumed for it. Even the doubting Thomases had to accept it as the state of discipline in the institutions has reached the dangerous level, and the country has not been taken by storm by the National Plans. There has been criticism about its practicability only. If it fails, the matter will be doubly worse. A colossal organisation and a very great amount of effort and money will be needed to see it through.

It proposes to carry on General Education also along with physical labour under military service conditions. Ideas about it have been floating in the educational mind, but the propitious moment has arrived now. The national scheme of N.C.C. and A.C.C. should have prepared the field before this Deshmukh's scheme is launched in actuality.

U.P. had tried this scheme for graduates but given it up though it was deemed as the entrance passage for government service.

The programme of Moral and Religious Education should also be shoved in.

There will be certain practical (and even legal) difficulties because most of the intelligent boys will be 17 only, too tender for this rough work. Their day and night association with more grown up boys, of coarser fibre and with the atmosphere of the street, will bring down the sense of finer values. Already the boys in the colleges and the universities coming from families, where the earlier generation had no higher education, have spoiled the atmosphere in higher educational institutions. Vulgarities have become the norm. Had we had the Intermediate Examination wherein the successful candidates would have been 18 years of age, the problem would have been simpler. Boys passing the Higher Secondary Examination will be 17 only unless they are rotters or come from comparatively backward families. Hence it will be prudent to mobilise only boys of 18 and above immediately after their passing the examination, leaving out the younger ones for one year. They may be roped in next year. Thus in the beginning we will have only half the population in our hands.

Those tender bodys may join the first year of the degree course or go in for apprenticeship. They may be called up when they are 18 or later.

A large number of workers in the cause will be needed. Honorary workers from the Sadhu Samaj, R. K. Mission, Scouting Organisation, Social Service Organisations or from amongst retired post-graduates may be included.

The bucolic folk may face partial unemployment on account of this corps of voluntary labourers.

All the camps must be treated as Military Camps and political agitators should be shut

out by force. Otherwise they will spoil the whole atmosphere.

Complete detailed preparation must precede the starting of the scheme. Otherwise uncontrollable chaos will result. This is the biggest hurdle.

Let us wait with a well-wisher's heart but a sceptic's head.

A sufficient quantity of small arms can be made available for the military training part; but are there enough competent military officers to go round?

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## A Century of Evolution

In an article under the above caption in *Unity*, March-April 1960, John M. Morris writes :

A century has gone by since Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace developed the first clear, consistent, and complete explanation of the process of organic evolution. In America, and to a lesser extent in England, the theory of evolution has been attacked, ridiculed, and scorned by a vocal minority in the Christian churches, giving the impression that evolution is somehow anti-religious. Attacks like these have largely been given up, however, as a growing majority insisted that the truth can never be anti-religious.

We may turn to some of the deeper and more permanent questions upon which a century of evolution has cast some light. Under the influence of Darwin, men have discovered not only their kinship with the animals, but a new sense of their relationship with nature. They have also found some justification for their long-cherished belief that they are not tied helplessly to the past. And they have come to believe that they can build structures of thought, of art, of society, of religion, and of human relationships that are truly new under the sun.

First, then, evolution showed man his relationship with nature. Although he has evolved from animal origins, man's body is an animal body. His anatomy is like that of the great apes. His eyes (by a coincidence) are like the eyes of the octopus; they are animal eyes. The tides of the sea run in his veins, recalling an even older inheritance—the fluids of man's body are salt solutions of approximately the same concentration as the oceans in which he once lived. The human embryo, bathed in a memory of the primordial ocean, with curling tail and slits for gills, is an heirloom a billion years old.

Man is, of course, also different from the other animals, because of the way he thinks. For example, a human child can learn to talk, while a chimpanzee, even though it is raised in pre-

cisely the same way, will never learn articulate speech. Somewhere in the course of evolution, there was a basic change in the kind of brains possessed by our simian ancestors.

Man has, however, tended to over-emphasize his differences from the animals, cutting himself off from the rest of nature. This is part of what the psychologists call "alienation." Just as the alien has no roots in the country into which he emigrates, the alienated person has few connections of love, of sympathy, or of mutual support with his society or with the natural world. He drifts as helplessly as an unguided missile—and as destructively, too.

The concept of evolution showed that man is a member of the family of nature. His life has meaning in its relationship to the life around it. One author, Leslie Reid, puts it this way : "(There is a) fundamental unity which is the very essence of the natural world. Only (when we realize this) can we begin to apprehend the fact that each single phenomenon of nature has no meaning, no existence, except by virtue of its relationship with all the other phenomena . . ."

There is no doubt that man shares with all living things a unity of origin and a unity of ultimate destiny. There is, as we shall see, a fundamental principle of mutual aid, for which the word "love" might be a weak but indicative term, giving a partial unity to life. The principle of evolution, by reasserting man's fundamental unity with nature, has given a new and broader meaning to John Donne's familiar words, "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. . . ."

Under the name of Darwinism a somewhat different doctrine has been claimed as scientific "fact." According to this view, all of life is engaged in a fight to the finish. Nature is a vast battleground, in which "survival of the fittest" is the rule. Those animals which cannot compete in the struggle for existence are eliminated. Through this process, which Darwin called "natural selection," certain characteristics are

sed on to succeeding generations.

If Darwin was inclined to overemphasize the element of competition in nature, it was only because he was so familiar with it in human society. Victorian England was a place where the "law of the jungle" often prevailed. Karl Marx developed his theories of the class struggle as he watched the operation of the same society; he was so impressed with the similarities between his own and Darwin's theories that he almost dedicated the first volume of *Das Kapital* to him. Fascist writers, too, have found inspiration in Darwin's writings, which might be interpreted in such a way as to justify the elimination of "inferior" races.

Darwin, however, was not a Darwinist. He took some trouble to point out that man is a social animal, and that mutual aid and compassion are essential if man is going to survive as a species upon this planet.

It remained, however, for another man to give the full answer to those who held that nature is "red in tooth and claw." That man was Peter Kropotkin, a Russian prince, a philosopher, and a refugee from the Czars, whose authority he despised and denounced.

In a series of articles published in England under the title "Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution," Prince Kropotkin supplied the element that the Darwinists had forgotten. In great detail, he showed that it was not necessarily the most vicious animal, or the one with the best defences, that was preserved in the struggle for existence. It was rather those that could best learn the principle of mutual aid. Thus do ants band together in the nest; thus do birds gather in flocks for their migratory flights. Often, it is not the animals that compete, but those that refuse to compete, that are preserved. When snow covers the ground, the bears and certain rodents simply go to sleep, instead of fighting for their life; when the food is exhausted in one place, the herd of deer or buffalo migrates to another place.

Happily enough (Kropotkin concludes) competition is not the rule either in the animal world or in mankind. It is limited among animals to exceptional periods. . . . Better conditions are created by the elimination of competition by means of mutual aid and mutual support. In the great struggle for life—for the greatest possible fulness and intensity of life with the least waste of energy—natural selection continually seeks out the ways precisely for avoiding competition as much as possible. . . .

Although Kropotkin's work only slowly

gained recognition by the professional biologists, it is generally admitted today that competition is only one of many factors affecting the process of evolution, which is not nearly so bloodthirsty as the Darwinists supposed. We are slowly coming to the recognition that, in the words of the poet W. H. Auden, "We must love one another or die."

To reach this level of social existence requires a basic, radical change in man—both as an individual and in society. No implication of evolution is more important than its proof that such radical changes *do* happen. There are new things under the sun, and we can point to the whole history of life on this earth to prove it.

Evolution turned Christian theology upside down. It said that man is *not* an inferior kind of angel, but a more complex kind of animal. It said that life on this earth is not a series of imperfect copies of heavenly patterns. It said that higher and higher levels of organization and consciousness had appeared. The amoeba gave birth to the sponge, and the sponge to the fish, and so on, up to the highest mammals, insects, composite flowers. In short, *man has risen not fallen*.

Man has, with characteristic conceit, placed himself at the summit of the evolutionary process. To do so ignores the fact that many other forms of life have come through an equally long evolution. The ant, the cockroach, the rat, the daisy—all these are admirably endowed with qualities man cannot match. We might even argue that the insects are superior to man upon two counts: They are better able to survive the effects of a hydrogen-bomb war; and they are not known to be planning one.

But whether or not we think of man as the highest thing that life has produced, we are forced to recognize that it has produced him. For the first time, Darwin showed that we have to see the life-process as truly creative.

The theory of evolution has given birth to the recognition of *emergence*. According to this view, new or novel structures *emerge* in the course of time, which not even the most observant investigators could have predicted. If you study the gases hydrogen and oxygen separately, you will never be able to predict what will happen when they are combined to form water. We say that the characteristics of water *emerge* out of the chemical combination of the two gases. In the same way, life emerged out of certain chemical combinations in the early history of the planet; and at length human consciousness emerged out of the thought-processes of certain ape-like creatures.

The essence of emergence is surprise; it is

the soul of the unpredictable. If we could divorce the world "miracle" from its supernatural connotations, we might even call it miraculous.

Religions have looked to the past for their miracles; evolution suggests that the basic miracle is in the on-going process of existence. Religions have looked to certain holy books or great prophets of the past; evolution suggests that the greatest prophecies lie hidden within man himself.

Man's evolution is still going on; there are creative possibilities within him that have not yet been realized. The Golden Age does not lie in the past, nor does it lie in another world in the future.

Anthropologists have been impressed with the fact that human cultures, throughout the world, have exploited only a very narrow range of the possible methods of existence or modes of life open to them. Taken as a whole mankind has not been nearly so inventive as it could be.

We have learned that new characteristics have "emerged" at various times in the past history of the earth—characteristics that could not have been predicted on the basis of anything that preceded them. We know that man has used only a small portion of the possibilities.

We may hope, then, that there can be a new vista—a new kind of life for men upon this earth. It may come as new physical forms of life. We know that human evolution is not over, and that the bodies of men are still changing, just as they have evolved in the past. Yet the more likely areas are new ideas, new forms of social structure, new religions, new ways of responding to other persons.

Man's situation today differs from that of any other creature at any time in the past. He now knows a great deal about himself and about the way in which his life, as an individual and in society, has developed. Up until now, the individual has been a passive object, changed by the blind processes of genetics, tested in a very real "struggle for existence," and eliminated when his nature did not carry survival-value. Today it may be that man's society as a whole does not have survival-value. It may thus be eliminated in the unceasing process of natural selection. If this is the case, it may happen that the insects will inherit man's place in the sun.

Yet man has one potentiality that the insects do not have. He has the ability in small measure to control his destiny. He can, in his imagination, look ahead into the future. No dinosaur, sabertooth, or woolly mammoth could foresee the possibility of its extinction; still less

could it have taken steps to change its destiny. But man, with his unique imaginative power, can come to an understanding of his world, perhaps in time to change—to adapt himself—before the catastrophe occurs.

Many look to something beyond the stars to intervene in time to save man from himself. Darwin himself could not do so. He found that he did not need the hypothesis of a creative "force" outside of life itself. Perhaps there is some cosmic puppet-maker looking, as so many have supposed, down upon his little foolish creatures. And perhaps he will appear at the last moment, just before the final bang or whimper. But we had better not count on it. The puppet-maker should have been here long before this—before the ovens at Dachau or the fireball at Hiroshima. If he could not, or did not want to stop these horrors, who is to suppose that he can, or will, stop the ultimate horror?

All that man can count on is man himself—a weak reed to use as a crutch, but the only one we have. All that can save us is ourselves—you and me, good people. Evolution has taught man a great many things, but the most important is the phrase given us by the renegade Russian Prince, Peter Kropotkin—the phrase "mutual aid." As living things have learned to give each other mutual support, understanding, and love, they have survived in this long struggle for existence. From the past we have received this bit of protoplasm, these few square feet of earth, the wild ideas that clutter our brains, and the spirit that aspires to something that it has never seen.

This is what we have. What it becomes is up to us.

### O. Henry

We reproduce here the following article on O. Henry, the most popular of all American short story writers, who died on June 5, 1910 from *Cultural Notes* published by the United States Information Service.

In the history of western literature, there are a few men who have decisively influenced the course of the short story—de Maupassant, Edgar Allan Poe, Bret Harte and Rudyard Kipling. A name to be ranked with these is O. Henry, a supreme teller of tales, an artist who revealed the tragedy, burlesque, romance and pathos that underlie our daily lives.

Born in North Carolina on September 11,

52, William Sidney Porter used the pseudonym Henry because he wanted to forget, and like people forget, that as Porter he had once spent three years in prison after being charged with embezzling funds from a bank in Austin, Texas. But for this experience, the O. Henry that the world knows today might never have been, for it was in prison that he wrote many of the stories that made him famous.

From prison he also wrote numerous letters to his little daughter Margaret pretending to be availing in order to shield her from the talk at was inevitable after his conviction. Writing any years later about this black mark in his past, O. Henry said: "I state solemnly that in spite of the jury's verdict I am absolutely innocent of wrong-doing in that bank matter."

In 1902, O. Henry went to New York where he believed nobody would know him and started his career as a writer. Here he found the great variety of life any big city can offer. He haunted streets, parks and restaurants, he observed women and men, he talked with them and captured picturesque details of expression and experience. Before long his stories were accepted by several magazines, and his fame grew so fast that he could hardly keep up with the demand for his writing.

In 1904, he wrote 65 short stories; in 1905, 100 stories; and the tales of humour and suspense about little people were soon collected and published in book form. From 1906 to 1910 he published nine books, mostly about life in New York, but also about people and events in Central America and Texas.

His vision was ironic but not bitter, although he had spent three years in prison. "His humour was of that deep quality," one of his biographers writes, "that smiles at life itself and mingles our amusement with our tears." In his heart he was a pure type of the American romanticist of his day, Bohemian in his nature, unsympathetic to the under-dog, restless and mad in temperament. He always seemed to seek out the down-and-outers of this world to sense the colour of their lives, to catch the romance of their story.

The best O. Henry stories are about New Yorkers, about stenographers, musicians, shop girls, art students, people who have yet to make their mark, who you sense will never make their mark but who hopefully lean far over the banister-rail when the door-bell rings.

The greatest contribution to literary technique was the mixture of human element in his stories, of suspense and a surprise ending. He also possessed the rare power of gripping his

reader's attention and holding it to the end. Journalistic smartness, after-dinner wit, slapstick farce and theatrical melodrama—he mastered them all. Readers were enchanted with the romance he found in drab boarding-houses and forgotten New York streets. They shared his pity for little people and they were delighted when the surprise endings of the stories routed misfortune and brought a happy end.

Many of his most popular and most widely translated stories, among them "The Gift of the Magi," are based on his favourite use of coincidence. But in all his tales of confused or mistaken identities, a tender spirit—here of sacrifice—imparts a special glow.

It is true that O. Henry's short stories have little characterization, that they do not portray individuals, that they deal with types and that we see only the externals of costumes and masks and exaggerated physical peculiarities. But he knew what makes men happy and what makes men sad, and he was endowed with a unique sense of humour. "I am the only original dispenser of sunshine," he once wrote whimsically.

His life was short and rather uneventful after he arrived in New York, eight years before his early death. He was much admired by his contemporaries because it seemed that no one, not even Mark Twain, was more a product of American soil, mixing in his style modern slang and strange verbal flowers, paragraphs of beauty ending in a caper.

With his death his fame grew rapidly. It called forth four posthumous books. The Society of Arts and Sciences founded in 1918 an O. Henry Memorial Award for the best American short story to be published each year. He was called "The Yankee Maupassant" and one writer said: "England has her Dickens, France has her Victor Hugo, and America has her O. Henry." He was translated into dozens of languages.

Many of the 252 short stories which he wrote, will survive. There can be no doubt that he enlarged the area of the American short story by enriching and diversifying its social themes, too. In his hands the story became the organ of a social consciousness more varied and multi-form than it had ever expressed before. This, because he was at heart an optimist who believed that in every human being there is to be found something good, however mixed it may be with other qualities.

In one of his stories he wrote: "Life is neither tragedy nor comedy. It is a mingling of both. High above us omnipotent hands pull the strings that choke our laughter with sob and cause strange sounds of mirth to break in

upon our deepest grief. We are marionettes that dance and cry, scarce at our own wills and at the end, the flaring lights are out, we are laid to rest in our wooden boxes, and down comes the dark night to cover the scene of our brief triumph."

#### Thomas Mann

The 85th birth-anniversary of Thomas Mann (1875-1955), winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1929 and in 1949 occurred on June 6, 1955. The following estimate of this great novelist is reproduced here from *German News*, June 11.

The German author most widely known outside his country in the present century is probably Thomas Mann who was born in Luebeck. English translations of his works have passed through successive editions, and his novels and short stories have found admirers among avid and critical readers in India.

He always dabbled in complicated ideas which could not lend themselves to simple explanation, without affecting adversely the subtle shades of meaning. His style is, therefore, complicated and is characterised by countless ramifications. Expressions of emotions and delicate feelings are accompanied by a rich vocabulary and long sentences. This character of his writings makes an exacting demand on his readers' patience and attention. Still, he has been quite successful as an author. Is the subject-matter of the works the reason for his popularity?

A disquisition of the modern system of society in occidental countries is again and again the theme of his works. This is the background to Mann's description, say, even of the personality of an artist whose methods of creating works of art have an individuality of their own. That is, Mann considers that the study of the artist and his work cannot be dissociated from the social surroundings in which he lives and works. His destiny, according to Mann, is no longer a personal matter; on the other hand, he and his work bear on them the impress of the society of which he is a part. It is on the basis of this polarity that Mann's literary thought is built up. The inter-relationship between the individual and the society is the central theme of his works. The masterly ability with which he depicts this relationship is the reason for his literary success. He discusses the society in which we live with an irony which, in spite of its sharpness, is not disrespectful. On the other hand, his irony infuses hope and encourages

optimism. This feature of his works fascinates the reader. The characteristic of his writings is that although ruthless, his analysis and his estimate of society are not destructive. His criticism brings out the grotesqueness of situations, but the driving force behind it is love and respect.

#### First Novel

Born in 1875, Thomas Mann grew up in an environment which he depicted, at the age of 25, in his first novel *Buddenbrooks*. The novel relates the story of three generations of a family which overcame obstacles and reached the zenith of happiness till the decline of its fortunes is marked by the suicide of the last remaining male representative. The story places emphasis not so much on the decline of the family as on the robustness of the earlier generations which is shown to have been replaced by an artistic ability to discriminate. Gains and losses always go together, and Mann fully succeeds in depicting the different aspects of an apparently unequivocal fact.

Mann's works always conform to the actualities of life, because they grow out of the demands of the times they deal with. His most popular short stories *Tod in Venedig* ("Death in Venice"), *Mario und der Zauberer* ("Mario and the Magician"), *Tristan*, etc., are interpretations of contemporary life. It is for this reason that Thomas Mann's works are closely associated with the history of Germany and of Europe during the last few decades. He left Germany in 1933 and after long years of exile went to the United States of America.

His most important and widely discussed novel is *Dr. Faustus*, which he wrote in the United States. This is the story of a German intellectual during a period of thirty years, and brings out all the blunders and catastrophes of the period. It discusses the activities of the fateful years 1920-1930. Two extremes touch each other in this book; the main character is talented and successful but cannot evade the sympathies of barbarism and archaism. He dies of a fell disease which he had himself knowingly contracted.

*Dr. Faustus* has been the subject of much negative criticism. It is difficult to find anything positive in it. Still, the overall performance of the author is above criticism, because the book is based on a principle which he places before the world.

After World War II Thomas Mann returned to Europe and settled down in Switzerland where he died in 1955.

Editor—KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

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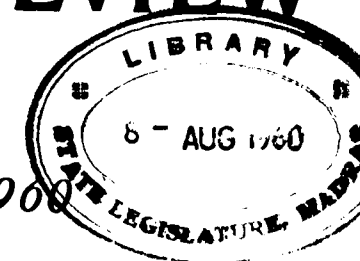
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### The Cold War

The World had experienced a thaw, a lowering of tension between the embattled camps awaiting the final trial-at-arms for world domination between the rival groups aligned under the banners of International Communism and the Western concept of Democracy. There had been prolonged exchanges of opinion at the highest level, Mr. Khrushchev had visited the U.S.A. and President Eisenhower was expected to visit Moscow immediately before the Summit talks at Paris. The World was awaiting with bated breath the final outcome, which would decide the course of World events.

Then came the U-2 incident, followed by a flaring up by the Soviet authorities and a spate of conflicting statements from the U.S. Administration. Moscow withdrew the invitation to the U.S. President and the Summit talks fizzled out at Paris. And ever since there has been an intensification of the Cold War, with repercussions on all parts of the World.

In the Far East, Russian threats to hit U-2 bases in Japan resulted in a wildly hysterical movement by massed demonstrators drawn from the students and leftist ranks, denouncing the new U.S.-Japan Treaty, the pro-U.S. policies of the then Premier Nobosuke Kishi and the impending visit of President Eisenhower on June 19. The demonstrations succeeded in cancelling

the U.S. President's visit to Japan and later on in forcing Premier Kishi into resigning.

These riotous demonstrations, set-off by the threats from Moscow and spear-headed by the students, with the support of the Socialists, Social-Democrats and the Communists of Japan seemed to have achieved little else as yet beyond what is noted above. The disturbances were confined to Tokyo, the U.S.-Japan Treaty was automatically validated prior to the resignation of Kishi—who deferred his departure from politics until that much was achieved—and now there is a caretaker Government in the saddle, under Hayato Ikeda who was Minister of International Trade and Industry in the Kishi Cabinet. He is a supporter of close ties with the United States, like his predecessor. He was nominated leader of the party by the Liberal Democrats, at an extraordinary session of the Diet (Japanese Parliament). It is understood that the caretaker Government is to function till fresh elections which are to be held about the autumn of this year. It remains to be seen whether the new Government can restore and maintain public order till then, as the Liberal Democratic party itself is an uneasy coalition of eight factions that range from the centre to the extreme right.

In the West the Soviet has challenged the Monroe Doctrine. The New York



**Times** of July 17 details the challenge and the U.S. reply in the following words:

The challenge came over the U. S. dispute with the Cuban Government of Fidel Castro, which has increasingly turned for support to the Communist bloc. Over last week-end, Premier Khrushchev threatened to launch intercontinental missiles against the United States if it intervened in Cuba, and President Eisenhower, in an implied invocation of the Monroe Doctrine, replied that the U.S. would not permit the Communists to intervene in the Western Hemisphere.

Last Tuesday, Mr. Khrushchev attacked the Monroe Doctrine which he said the U.S. was using "to substantiate a right to rule all the Latin American countries and meddle in their domestic affairs." The doctrine, he said, has "outlived its time," "died a natural death," and "should best be buried \* \* \*." He said he had no interest in military bases in Cuba, for rockets launched from Russia could hit any part of the globe. But he inveighed against the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, held under a treaty drawn in 1903, as "sheer iniquity."

On Thursday Washington delivered a sharp reply. The State Department said that the Monroe Doctrine was "supported by the inter-American security system through the Organization of the American States," and that the U.S.-Cuban treaty was none of Russia's affair. The State Department further declared:

The principles which the U.S. Government enacted in the face of the attempts of the old imperialism to intervene in the affairs of the hemisphere are as valid today for the attempts of the new imperialism. It consequently reaffirms with vigor the principles expressed by President Monroe \* \* \*.

Observers believed that the Soviet rocket threats and attack on the Monroe Doctrine are aimed at intimidating other Latin American nations, and strengthening Cuba as a bridgehead for Communist penetration in the hemisphere. The U.S. aim is to keep the Communist powers out of the hemisphere and to strengthen the U.S. position by marshalling Latin American opinion

on its side. Both political and economic moves by the U.S. are under way.

The Monroe Doctrine, which was enunciated by President James Monroe, the Fifth President of the United States, in a message to the U.S. Congress on December 2, 1823, has succeeded up to now in checking all attempts at imperialistic adventure by European powers. It checked the European Holy Alliance from launching into a war of reconquest over the former Spanish Latin Americas, and the French intervention in Mexico while the Civil War was raging in the United States, in the sixties of the last century.

This famous diplomatic doctrine proclaimed that "North and South America are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power."

In Africa, particularly in Congo, there has been an increasing tempo of Soviet interest in African independence movements. Over Congo it resulted by Premier Khrushchev justifying the revolt of the Congolese soldiers against their officers (Belgian) and openly accusing the U.S. and the N.A.T.O. of conspiring to re-impose "a colonial status" in Congo by sending Belgian troops there, under the guise of suppressing riots. The matter was, however, amicably settled for the time being through the acceptance in the Security Council of the U.N. of a Tunisian resolution, calling on Belgium to recall its troops and authorizing the Secretary-Generals to send "such military assistance as may be necessary until, through the efforts of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able . . . to meet fully their tasks."

The U. N. forces are now flowing in and it is to be seen what moves follow. For the time being there is no untoward event.

#### Congo

The people of Congo have achieved freedom from Belgian Imperialism. In the past the Belgians had exploited Congo in a manner which had no semblance of civilisation about it. We remember the rubber plantations of Belgian Congo in which the

African workers were treated inhumanly. Sometimes when their day's collection of rubber was not up to the mark, their Belgian masters ordered their hands to be chopped off. What else they did we have no recollection of, but this hand-chopping has stuck in our mind. For long before that when Britain was organising the sale of Manchester-made cotton goods in India, the thumbs of Indian weavers were sometimes removed by amputation in order to discourage them to weave. Modern methods of advertisement, salesmanship, securing orders through influence and other methods replaced the old tricks of trade which were not very civilised. In the Indigo plantations, the British used to subject workers to slow torture and brutally forced many cultivators to plant indigo. The Belgians in Congo, no doubt, learnt quite a lot from the British, but they had a special genius for crude brutality which impressed itself on the African mind never to be erased out entirely.

With changing circumstances in which being overrun by German Armies in the First and Second World Wars were important in point of toning down sadistic tendencies in the imperialists of Belgium; made the outlook of the white rulers of Congo more human and reasonable. The example of other European countries might have brought sense to the Belgians too. And, generally speaking, after the atrocities committed by white men (and Christians too) in Europe in these two World Wars, the old stories about spreading civilisation and preaching the one and only true religion died a natural death. Nobody believed any more that Europe had much to teach anybody morally. Rather European influence caused moral degeneration wherever Europeans went. They could teach the peoples of Asia and Africa a lot about industry, finance, science, social organisation, public welfare and the weapons of war. But as far as true human civilisation went the European rulers of imperially-dominated and exploited countries had nothing to gain by being under the British, the French, the Germans, the Belgians or the Portuguese. Imperialism destroyed the civilisation of the

ruler as well as of the ruled. So, it has been a great boon for all subject countries that imperialism slowly died out in most subject countries. There are little pockets still under the old imperial system. The Portuguese pockets in India, for example. New subject states are also coming into existence by reason of Communist "liberations" of various unfortunate peoples. Tibet is a good example where thousands have been butchered and the old order ruthlessly uprooted in order that the Tibetans may become Chinese and liberated Communists. The Czarist imperialism was also maintained by the Russian Communists and all the countries of Asiatic "Russia" came into the U.S.S.R. more or less automatically. Whether this has been good for the peoples of these countries is not known to us. All people in the U.S.S.R. are pressed into the same cultural mould and they all talk and behave in a certain standard manner which is the Communist way of talking and behaving. Whether these people are frustrated and are psychologically repressed is not known. There is every reason to believe that discipline can make all soldiers look the same in so far as their external conduct is concerned. But do they all become mentally, morally and spiritually exact replicas of one another? No, most certainly. All the races in the U.S.S.R., therefore, are dominated and ruled by the Bolshevik Party and Communism. It is a form of imperialism in which the sovereignty rests with the party. The satellite countries of Russia are also similarly subjects of the same oligarchical imperialism. In point of material exploitation, the Communist imperialism is not so bad for the backward communities. But for those who work well, skilfully and hard, like the Hungarians, the Poles and the Czechoslovakians, the exploitation is extensive.

To go back to Congo, we are glad the Belgians are getting out. They should get out quickly. For the Congolese leaders are impatient and are quite willing to choose the fire in order to get out of the frying pan. They have even got in touch with Mr. Khrushchev, who is the greatest liberator of the peoples of the Earth. If the Congolese

are foolish enough to allow Russia to enter their country, they will, no doubt, have a dose of the new imperialism. For, Russia is now feeling strong, too strong, and looking for trouble in Cuba and elsewhere. Apart from Congo and her true independence the arrival of Russian troops in that country will precipitate further troubles, in so far as the U.S.A. will probably land troops in Congo too. The best solution will be that the Belgians get out quickly. The Congolese can then manage their own affairs without any outside help. When foreign assistance is sought it is always wise to invite helpers from opposite camps; for that reduces the risk of helpers helping themselves to the sovereignty of people who ask for help. But the risk is increased if there are any potential supporters of a foreign power within the country. The Congolese may or may not have a Communist party of their own. If they have a Communist party of Congo, the coming of Russian soldiers will surely lead to fraternising and the party will gain in power. That may not be so good for Congo, which is not very advanced economically and is not geographically in a position to go behind the iron curtain. By the time the economy of Congo adjusts itself to exclusive commerce with the Russian bloc countries, a large number of Congolese may be utterly ruined. A self-contained economy for Congo may not be possible and Congo will surely suffer if she tried swimming against the current in the matter of foreign trade.

A. C.

### China Violates Nepal Territory

In a report sent by the staff correspondent of the *Calcutta Statesman* from Kathmandu on July 22, 1960, it is alleged that "Chinese incursions into Nepalese territory have been widespread. In the past two months, Chinese troops or survey parties transgressed into Nepalese territory at least at 12 places.

"Some of these incidents are understood to have taken place subsequent to the Mustang incident last month. Limi, Narailanga, Chiktu, Mustang borders, Larkhya Riu and Jangding Khadka are some of the important strategic points along the border

where the Chinese troops intruded into Nepalese territory." Mr. Koirala, the Nepalese Prime Minister, is evidently incapable of impressing upon the Chinese the importance of keeping out of Nepalese territory. In this, probably, imitates his friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has kindly allowed the Chinese to occupy about 20,000 sq. miles of Indian territory. He has not even obtained any compensation from the Chinese who killed one or more Indian soldiers in Ladakh. Mr. Koirala has obtained some money and is probably feeling so happy over it that he is forgetting that money cannot buy lives, nor Nepalese territorial rights. At least the Prime Minister of any country, Nepal or India, has no right to sell the lives of the nationals of that country or its territory to a foreign power.

We have said repeatedly that all countries dealing with China should make it clear to the Chinese that they have forcibly occupied Tibet and destroyed the sovereignty of that country. Tibet never was, nor will be an integral part of China. The Chinese cannot overthrow her imperial past and take shelter behind Manchu history at the same time. The only way in which China can be stopped from being a universal nuisance is to tell her, forcefully, to get out of Tibet. Until and unless this is done, there shall be no peace on our Himalayan border nor in Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim. If Pandit Nehru and Mr. Koirala cannot put a stop to foreign aggression into their respective national territories, they should resign and let others do what they have failed to achieve. The Government of India very recently talked glibly about border defence and how the strike by the Central Government employees was going to affect it; and they also passed an ordinance in order to be able to better protect the Indian border. But where have they protected the border? The Chinese have taken what land they wanted out of India and our border forces have not been ordered to take those areas back from the Chinese. Not to our knowledge.

A. C.

### The Gathering Clouds

By the Lhasa Convention of 1904, Tibet undertook to obtain the prior consent of

India Government in order to send out any number is significant—fired at Nepalese representative abroad. She further agreed that she would not harbour any foreign patrol party, which was according to agree—power to have any hand in her affairs. As ing has a family resemblance with what a token of her acknowledgement of India's she did on the Indian border. Nepal's Home 'special interests,' an Indian military escort Minister says that as the Subedar fell mortally wounded, the Chinese troops rushed into the Nepalese territory and took into custody army personnel and horses.

Mr. Chou En-lai has offered a meticulously fulsome, sprucely-worded apology in respect of the incident, but has not said a word with regard to the violation of the clause of demilitarization. Rather, his earlier statement that 'it was a necessity' carries with it the implication of a tyrant's plea, 'necessity knows no law.' All the same, Mr. Koirala got hysteric with hiccups of satisfaction. 'To whom else,' he asked in puerile simplicity, 'has China apologised?' This is, obviously, eyeing Mr. Nehru askance. We do not grudge Mr. Koirala being vouchsafed a greater respect and consideration by Mr. Chou En-lai. We only wish that it is not in line with China softening the victim for the final kill.

Be that as it may, what we are so deeply concerned with is our realisation, to a man, that never before was India confronted with a more difficult, rather, insidious situation. The Sino-Indian amity, Mr. Nehru has strained every nerve to build up, has broken down. Communist China has been found guilty of acts of bad faith. It will not be safe to take her at her plighted word any more, if we cannot muster the will and strength to enforce it. It is high time for Mr. Nehru to accept without any equivocation that he is and can be no match for Mr. Chou En-lai in cunning, duplicity and the rest of what they connote in the composition of a statesman(?); and that he is completely outwitted and outflanked. The supreme need for India now is to chalk out a long-term, concerted line of action in order to tackle the explosive border by which China's extended frontiers now abut on her.

### Phizo in London

Phizo, the leader of the rebel group of Nagas, has reached London under mys-

J. B.

terious circumstances. His sponsors, in the attempt at launching a publicity campaign at London, are Reverend Michael Scott and Mr. David Astor, of whom the former gentleman is well-known because of his African activities.

The publicity attempt has misfired so far, because of the total ignorance of the sponsors regarding the origins of the "rebellion" and indeed about the entire affair. Phizo himself has not been able to impress the press and public in London regarding the justifiability of his cause, nor has he been able to outline the political and geographic targets of his movement. All that he had to say was that he and his party was willing to accept "any reasonable solution," when the British and foreign press correspondents asked him about his "minimum demands." He was not willing to give any answer to the straight question as to whether his demand was for outright independence or was it a demand for local autonomy.

Rev. Michael Scott did not seem to be very sanguine about the results of Phizo's present bid for rallying "World opinion" around him, for he attempted to persuade the Indian journalists, present at the first Press Conference called by him on behalf of Phizo, to press Mrs. Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in London, "to meet Phizo on neutral ground" so that an understanding might be reached between him and the India Government. He admitted that he had no first-hand knowledge about Phizo's allegations against the Indian Army.

The United Nations had refused to take any notice of Phizo's past representations and hence this move on the side of Phizo and his sponsors, of whom only the two British gentlemen are in the open. As to who were the prime movers in this mysterious materialization of Phizo in London, there is no clear information. Of course, Britain has a long-established tradition of giving asylum to political refugees, and so long as the British regard Phizo as such, no useful purpose will be served by making any demands for extradition. Indeed, it will possibly only aid the misguided gentlemen who are sponsoring

Phizo's moves, in their bid for world publicity.

### The Congress and the Nation

Ever since the Indian National Congress inherited the power of administration in India from the British, it changed its outlook and stopped fighting for national independence and freedom in order to establish peace among the nations of the world, to set up some industries in India, introduce prohibition everywhere, make Hindi India's national language, send cultural and other delegations to foreign countries and to achieve a lot of other things which in no way made India stronger or prosperous, but which had value from the angle of ideological publicity. This peace business began with the shameless and weak-kneed division of India into Pakistan and Bharat. After fighting against British Imperialism through two world wars and for a period of over forty years, the Indian National Congress suddenly forgot the Swadeshi Movement of 1906, the political martyrs of Maharashtra, Punjab and Bengal, Jalianwallabag, the Chittagong battle, the Indian National Army and made a disgraceful settlement with the British and agreed to a partition of India into two States. The British were at this time devoid of power and economic resources and they were only taking advantage of the weaknesses that India suffered from. The Muslim League were, with the help of the British, rioting and carrying on a bitter propaganda and the Congress leaders were unable to cope with the situation. They had alienated large sections of the people by their cliquish activities and the Communist party of India were helping the British in everyway. Yet, the Congress did not try to take the people of India into their confidence, nor did they attempt to recruit greater numbers from the public and make their party stronger and a more representative body. They wanted to avoid a fight with the British-aided Muslim League and to attain a raj for themselves anyhow. Had the Indian National Congress been a truly representative body, they would never have feared the British or the Muslim League. But they remained a narrow and weak body

of mediocre persons who could not command the confidence of the youth of the country. viz., the Congress, the C.P.I. and the other So, when India was divided and there were widespread communal riots everywhere the Congress could do nothing to save the people. In places like Calcutta, the youth of the country fought back and retained possession of the great city in spite of the best efforts of the British and the Muslim League Government who wanted to capture the city for Pakistan by direct action. When, however, the city was won back for India by the local young men the Congress arrived on the scene in order to save the Muslim hooligans from annihilation. The Congress cult of peace was born of their weakness and so was Pakistan.

After winning "Independence" the Congress began their now well-known and futile International campaign for peace. The Panch Sheel which preceded and indirectly led to the Chinese aggression in Ladakh and N.E.F.A. and those other useless activities for making the world safe for the sanctimonious and the weak are now part of a miserable history of reducing a great land and a 6000-year old culture to the condition of a rubble heap of civilisation. The world saw a new idea in national Government which considered the Nation to be of secondary importance all the way. India progressively became weaker, financially overburdened with debts, taxed to a degree where honesty disappeared entirely, bureaucratic control and corruption ran riot in India and the people remained ignorant, poor, undernourished and suffering from diseases which were curable but were not cured. The art of planned overstatements and deliberate omissions or understatements became the most practised art in this State which had **Satyameva Jayate** as its official motto.

The majority of the Indian people have never been members of any political party. Some who were the most educated and qualified liked to work within their own sphere of activities and others who were ignorant and poor surrendered meekly to whoever came to govern and rule them. The first group of qualified people were found in the services and the technical professions and the latter every- where in their millions. The political parties, the Congress, the C.P.I. and the other minor groups were run by tub-thumping second-raters who thought politics would help them to achieve a position in society. There were of course a few honourable exceptions who came into these cliques and conspiracies by unexplained psychological accidents. The vast majority of the people of India who had a stake in the country and who did all the work for the land and its people did not belong to any political parties. The Congress, the Muslim League and the C.P.I. had different inspirations for engaging in political activities and for claiming the right to rule the country. The Congress just thought they represented the people because their leader Gandhiji dressed like the ordinary people of India. The others, the lesser leaders, were building up a career and expected, some day, to rule the country. The Muslim League was a British-inspired conspiracy to damage India's national aspirations and to create discord among the peoples of this great country. The C.P.I. was organised by foreigners and was carried on by Indians who thought nothing of selling India to foreigners. Communists, by nature, do not believe in freedom for all. They want to reduce all persons to a condition of state-slavery and establish their party as the supreme employers, capitalists or masters as one likes to describe the persons in whom the sovereignty of the State rests.

When, therefore, the Congress grabbed political power over an attenuated India, there was a scramble among all the power-hungry second-raters who were the leaders of the Congress party in various parts of India. Overnight one came to hear of thousands of people who were unknown the day before and who now demanded to guide the destiny of the Nation from all points of the compass. Thus we had "leaders" of the Congress parties of the various provinces, by the way, had not much to do with race, culture or history but had their origin in British administrative policy. These leaders were by and large half-educated, uneducated, cliquish and self-seeking. The only proof of character they had given to the nation had been

going to jail for long or short periods with the greater national leaders. Their "fight" with the British for independence was non-violent and most of them had never been in mortal danger of any kind. When, therefore, the Congress became the rulers of India, these provincials immediately took it for granted that they would be the rulers of the provinces. The conclusion that their progeny, relations and proteges would occupy all the paying posts and get all the profitable commissions from Government, was drawn naturally from the pre-established practice in Government from time immemorial. The only difficulty was education and other qualifications. The idea of making Hindi the official language of the nation suited the Hindi-speaking Congressmen and the Constitution of India was drawn up accordingly. That Hindi as a single language did not exist was no consideration. Even the Biharis, who never spoke Hindi, became Hindi-speaking; for they thought it would be easier to learn Hindi than English. The non-Hindi speakers of India, immediately raised their heads, particularly those who were backward and had little knowledge of English. In Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras, Andhra or Kerala there were no controversies over language. For the Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi, Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam languages were well developed and the people of these areas also had the highest education in English. The people who squabbled for doing away with English and establishing their own languages or dialects as **raj bhasha** were the backward peoples of India. Their idea in backing these retrograde "ideals" was profit through gainful employment and control of trade and industry. English education stood in the way of all who were diffident of their intellectual ability and the hope that English will be ousted meant, to them, that the English-educated Indians will be ousted too from jobs and business.

The recent atrocities in Assam, which have been explained to be the result of a language controversy are the direct product of the activities of those Assamese people who rule Assam and belong to the Indian National Congress. Pandit Nehru has also

tried to whitewash their deliberately-planned murders and acts of looting and arson as a fight for their own mother language. Had there been any feelings in Assamese hearts for their language they would hardly have had only 10 newspapers in Assamese (dailies, weeklies, monthlies, etc.) with a total circulation of 34,000 only in an alleged population of over 5,000,000 Assamese. In Bengal with a population of 25,000,000 there are over 300 newspapers (in Bengali) with circulation of nearly 10,00,000. Bengal also publishes over 700 newspapers in English, Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit and other languages. The Assamese "language controversy", therefore, is not born of any feelings for the Assamese language. It is in fact a fake. It has in fact nothing to do with language.

The **Bangal Kheda** movement of Assam (drive the Bengalis out) is sponsored by those Assamese, who want complete control over the province without reference to facts of race, language or history. Certain parts of Assam are Bengali-speaking and some are populated by Tribal people speaking Tribal languages. Most of the Bengalis and Tribals know English and have little knowledge of the Assamese language. If, however, Assamese were to be established as a language it would probably be the Bengalis of Assam who would become the leading exponents of the language for the reason that the Assamese never could take a lead in intellectual pursuits. But the Assam atrocities were all planned since many years and the A.P.C.C. and other groups of Assamese had been involved in it up to their eye-brows. **Bangal Kheda** movement is the real name of the movement. And the one purpose of it has been to drive the Bengalis out of jobs and trade and industry. The refugees from East Pakistan who went and settled down in Assam, where the density of population is only 106 p.sq. mile, were good trades people. They were immediately disliked by the other traders who had a near-monopoly of trade in Assam. These people aided and abetted the **Bangal Kheda** hooligan army of Assam. There were certain non-Hindu Bengalis too in Assam who liked to expand in numbers in that province and aided the Assamese

hooligans. So that the so-called "language controversy" in Assam which fake description of the **Bangal Kheda** movement has been apparently accepted by Pandit Nehru, is in fact no controversy about a language. It is for driving out Bengalis from Assam province and must be dealt with accordingly.

In other provinces, too, the cliques ruling the Provincial Congress are the **chosen people** for jobs or profits. Even in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar one finds only Hindi-speaking Biharis in good jobs everywhere though the Bengalis and the Tribals of the area are intellectually certainly equal to the Bhojpuris of Bihar. This is another case of Congress self-denial movement, by which all Congressmen get their own people into good jobs all over the country.

On the 16th of July 1960, Calcutta expressed its sorrow over the Assam atrocities in a manner befitting the occasion. The local trades people who were the caste brothers of the Assam traders did anti-Bengali propaganda in the city of Calcutta too. They also hired hooligans for retaliatory action in case the Bengalis began to attack them. The word went round that if the Bengalis attacked non-Bengalis in Calcutta, the Bengalis in the non-Bengali areas in India should be attacked too. But all these anti-national forces were greatly disappointed because the Bengalis did not rise to the infamous hopes of the profit-seekers of India. The day passed off peacefully and the world saw how non-violence should be practised. But the people who upheld non-violence in Calcutta on July 16, 1960 were not the Congressmen of Bengal. The Congress and the C.P.I. are now-a-days always found in the camp of untruth and violence. Assam is a clear and outstanding case proving this, Pandit Nehru should now take action in the light of this fact.

A.C.

#### Nehru Guarantees Safety

On the 20th of July a press report published a statement made by Shri Nehru on his return from Assam. "Asked about the present situation in Assam, Shri Nehru said, it is excellent. It is not absolutely normal, but it is absolutely secure and there is no

question of disorder or riotous behaviour. There is now full assurance of security." Shri Nehru was also reported to have said that the refugees could go back to their homes "the sooner the better."

The **Amrita Bazar Patrika's** own correspondent on the same date issued a statement from Gauhati which differed from the cheery statement made with such **sang froid** by Shri Nehru. This statement said, "A fatal fear psychosis has gripped the linguistic minorities wherever they were in Assam today . . . . The fury of the violence that had been raging over the last one month had just halted, if not spent up . . . . The evacuees were feeling far from secure to go back, because, it was stated the assailants were still at large in many places. For reasons known to the police, even identified assailants had not yet been arrested."

These two statements lead to only one conclusion, which is that our Prime Minister got some assurance from some person or persons in Assam that the atrocities will be stopped with immediate effect. Whoever gave this assurance to the Prime Minister, when the latter believed this guarantor of safety for the minorities, the guarantor should be of recognised standing. For had the guarantor not been of great power and prestige in the province of Assam, the Prime Minister could never make a statement like he made frivolously and not knowing whether his promise of safety to the minorities would be honoured by the hooligans of Assam. Only two parties could have given this assurance to the Prime Minister. The Assam Government or the Assam Provincial Congress Committee or both jointly. If the Assam Government had been in a position to call off the orgy of looting, arson and assault then why did they not do so before the arrival of Shri Nehru? Or, were they the sponsors and organisers of the riots? If Shri Nehru could accept their word as a guarantee of safety for the minorities, then he must have seen through their mask of constitutional **raj** and realised that they were the forces of anarchy and disorder. In which case he should have ordered their arrest rather than allow them to continue in office. Had it been the Congress Committee of Assam



whose word Shri Nehru accepted as a **The Statesman** in respect of the assault upon his wife, sons and daughters at the Railway Station of Simulguri, on their way to Calcutta on the 19th June, is conclusive on the point. The letter, in a nutshell, is this: a mob of over fifty people rushed into their compartment, shouting anti-Bengali slogans, beat all of them right and left and looted what they could lay their hands on. Significantly enough, the police, all the while, were on the station platform but did not budge an inch to help them. "Everywhere," Captain Chakrabarty concludes his letter after stating what his family observed throughout their journey, "the Assam police officers and constables were seen in uniform but nowhere were they rendering any help to the passengers. If there was an attack they turned away from the scene. When the attack was over they appeared on the scene and dispersed the attacked persons." This letter of Captain Chakrabarty is dated 22nd June and is published on 11th July (Calcutta Edition) when the mob violence was at its height. It, therefore, fell short of its elementary purpose in alerting the unwary and those of the authority who had not pawned themselves to the fanatics. It, however, throws a lurid light on the conduct of the custodians of Law and Order in the preparatory stage of the flare-up, and negatives the view, if at all seriously held anywhere, that the Assam Government was taken unawares.

A.C.

#### Assam—A Portent

In our June issue we wrote under the heading 'Linguistic Nationalism': "We do not feel happy to see India cut down to bits. All the same, the reorganisation of States on sound lines is a necessity." Referring to the bifurcation of the State of Bombay into its linguistic components Maharashtra and Mahaguzarat after an orgy of violence, we expressed our apprehension that 'Assam might be following suit.' Little, however, we imagined that it would come to pass so soon. As ill luck would have it, a very large section of the Assamese—we are loath to tar all with the same brush—have made the choice to force the issue of state-language by dagger, arson, rape and pillage. The news, as they have leaked out with gruesome details mouth to mouth and through newspaper columns, are revolting in the extreme. Assam is at the bar of humanity; Assam is a blot on the fair name of India.

The most unfortunate part of this dark episode is that it is a premeditated, planned attack. The letter of Captain P. B. Chakrabarty of the North-East Frontier Agency to

action to stop incendiarism by a few bullets. It was tantamount to countenancing barbarism running its malignant course. A Government which acts with such blazing indiscretion, leave alone falling in line with a set plan, forfeits its right to govern. In fact, it is singularly revealing that with such a huge carnage enacted before their eyes, they did not initially hold down one single soul under the Preventive Detention Act. Moreover, there is that piquant fact that two dailies of Assam did not scruple a whit to chastise in hectoring, bullying terms the Inspector-General of Police and the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, who are, by the way, Bengalis. There have been outrageous charges in print against the police. We do not cite any one of these nor make a comment on them, because they are due to be adjudged. A commission is a necessity, because such attacks are not sporadic.

The responsibility of the Central Government cannot, as well, be lightly skipped over. They took an unconscionably long time to think and cogitate. They, even now, look shy of any decisive measure; and, we are afraid, look very much like trusting to time for the boiling sentiments to fizzle out. It is suicidal to avoid considering the feeder background of these calculated barbarities. There is the frenzied determinations to drive out the Bengalis from Assam. It manifested itself in an ugly form when in 1947 the Assam leaders pushed down unabashed Sylhet to Pakistan. It has been reported in newspapers that when people were being incited to violence this time, they were assured that no action would be taken against them on the analogy that the India Government took no action against those, who swooped upon the Bengalis on a mass-scale at Goalpara on the eve of the State Reorganisation Committee visiting Assam. The other factor of sinister implication is that in twenty years since 1931, the Assamese had jumped from 1,992,346 heads to 4,972,493. What else is it for, but the hard-boned spite and malice, lest the Bengalis swamp the administration and other avenues of life in the new industrial set-up? Such, in fact, is the cheek and audacity that they refuse to adopt Tagore's *Jana gana mana* as their national anthem.

A few years back, an English daily of Assam wrote editorially that the one way to solve the problem arising out of the preponderance of the Bengalis in the district of Cachar is to make it over to Pakistan. The imbecile mentality which could have suggested it is no more reprehensible than the leadership, which could extend its indulgence to the propagation of what is manifestly a treason.

We desire Mr. Nehru, who is not yet tainted by a political animalism, to remorselessly search his heart to assess if things have been fair and square for the Bengalis in Assam. To the extent it is not, the Central Government is not playing a clean, honest game. We must, as well, speak out without a mental reservation that this attitude of the Congress rule to the Bengalis in Assam is the measure of the weak, degenerate leadership of the West Bengal Congress. It as much indicates the absence of stamina and cohesiveness of those who seek to justify themselves as non-Congress leaders of West Bengal. One group, with the luminous exception of Dr. Roy, is getting constitutionally incapable of saying a 'No' to their high command; and the other group would not act except in a fitful, slipshod manner. Anyway as things stand, the Assam Government is branded for doing what it did and for grossly omitting to do what it was its primary duty. At the same time, the Central Government adds one more feather to its cap of achievement that it cannot muster foresight, courage and statesmanship to solve the question of state-language, wherever it presents itself as a problem, unless the State in question wades through pools of blood.

J.B.

#### Assam—A Pointer

The special correspondent of **The Statesman** stayed for a fortnight in Assam for an on-the-spot study and writes on July 18th, Calcutta Edition. "Assam," he says, "has seen the worst rioting in history in recent times. This is the view of some of the Ministers and senior officials I met. It was the worst because of the brutality, the loss of life, damage to property and displacement of several thousand families some of whom have lived in the State for genera-

tions. Such a holocaust, I was told, had not happened in Assam even in the worst days of the communal rioting following partition."

Nothing in the face of it seems so fantastic as what Mr. Sanjeeb Reddy, the Congress President, suggests that the Assam Government was taken by surprise. Did he care to take note that a Deputy Minister openly participated in a meeting, organised by the R.C.P.I. to demand the resignation of Mr. Chaliha for his counsels of prudence? Was he not aware that the State Reorganisation Committee had laid down that no State should be considered unilingual, unless one language-group constitutes at least 70 per cent of the people; and that, even after wide manipulations without let or hindrance in the 1951 Census, Assamese do not go beyond 60 per cent? It is sheer commonsense that all this pother is for weeding out the Bengalis before the next Census in 1961. It is now obvious that the Congress High Command has decided that Assamese shall be the State-language of Assam; and that they would, without compunction, give a go-by to the recommendation of the S.R.C. that 'Assam be recognised as bilingual for administrative purposes.' Even if it were so, with Assam like a rick on fire, it was highly improper for the Prime Minister of India to assure the Assamese regarding their state-language in utter disregard of what the non-Assamese have been hitherto lulled to a belief on the strength of the aforesaid recommendation.

Mr. Nehru flatteres himself off and on for his historic sense. Has he taken into consideration that the national unity of India, built up untiringly in the length of ages from out of a welter of confusion, anarchy, misery and ruin, has been flayed alive in Assam? Does he believe that his academic dissertation will deter the assassin or instil a sense of security in the mind of the affected? Mr. Sanjeeb Reddy says that the sufferers are mostly 'poor' people and there will be no difficulty to rehabilitate them. But to consider it from another standpoint, it is very surprising that neither Mr. Reddy nor Mr. Nehru ever bestowed a moment's thought on the question, why the 'poor' people, who are not certainly vocal to the

extent, as the tall poppies are, over the issue of language, were subjected to such colossal sufferings and deprivations. What other alternative is left but to conclude that it was solely to strike terror in the mind of the rank and file that they do not gather round their leaders? Is the hand of the India Government so weak and palsied that it cannot bring to book the brute offenders? There seems to be yet a soft corner over a possible punitive levy. Tagore has an immortal line, which invokes God, that His wrath may as much visit those who stand by and see the wrong committed as those who actually commit the wrong.

We notice with deep regret that there is a belief, fast gaining grounds, that the Centre did scent all right the impending crisis. It is really painful to probe it deep; but nobody can escape some notable facts. One of them, with regard to which there is no dispute, is that in the second week of June, there were some ugly disturbances in Upper Assam. They were quelled by police force. All sorts of pressure were then brought to bear upon the Chaliha Ministry to revise its policy. To the very casual it yields no room for doubt that there was a deeply-laid conspiracy to mount operations on a gigantic scale. Would Mr. Nehru personally look into the Assam File of his Home Department? We wish him seek the verdict of his conscience.

Whatever it is, we miss in Mr. Nehru's condemnation of the atrocities the flavour of what he said in the Constituent Assembly with regard to the Calcutta 'killings' of August, 1946. 'They are,' he then said, 'such as make the dead shake with rage.' The fervour of sincerity was one of his captivating points, even if he was never credited with a cool, dispassionate thinking. As of old, he glides to the convivial excess, platform speakers are prone to; and is reported to have said at New Delhi on 20th July that the situation in Assam is 'absolutely secure.' It is as much childish for him to expect the Assam Government to complete the rehabilitation work in two to three weeks' time. It is an impossibility even on paper in the cool, composed atmosphere of the Secretariat. Better sense, however, prevailed and on the 21st July, 'absolutely secure' flops

into 'materially improved.' The psychological mischief of the egregiously wrong emphasis abides nonetheless. Mr. Nehru says on return to New Delhi that 'nothing could justify the events that had taken place.' And yet it seems that no action is contemplated against those guilty of such a mass-scale crime, diabolically conceived and then perpetrated with an infernal coolness.

It is, finally, no use mincing one major underlying fact. It is this, that there is no Bengali worth his salts, who is not cut to the quick over Assam. Bengalis in the new dispensation are repeatedly being made to feel that they are at a cross-road; and the powers that be are subject to an inscrutable complex as to talk of them, a bit too flippantly, as a troublesome lot. Will the Prime Minister of India still pause to reflect where the real trouble resides? 'How to deal with the Bengalis,' said Gopal Krishna Gokhale at Manchester on 6th October, 1905. 'has always been the problem with those who wanted to turn their back upon promises given in the past'. They have an allergy for cant.

J. B.

### Assam and the Working Committee

New Delhi, July 29.—Following is the text of the Working Committee's resolution on the Assam situation :

"The Working Committee have noted with sorrow and distress the recent occurrences in Assam which led to a number of deaths, to large-scale arson and looting, and to the exodus of tens of thousands of persons from their homes. That such tragic developments could take place at any time for any reason is deplorable; it is even more reprehensible that this kind of widespread breach of the public peace should take place over a question of language, which normally should be settled by peaceful and co-operative processes. In some districts the administration could not deal with this situation when it arose with speed and efficiency and give immediate protection to those who were attacked.

"The Committee recognise that after the first few days of mob violence, the administration took more effective steps and checked any further depredations and apprehended many of

those who had been guilty of them. A situation involving so much violence must be dealt with firmness. If the normal apparatus of administration is not adequate for the purpose, special measures may have to be taken by the Government to prevent the possibility of any recurrence of this violence and to give full protection to all.

"The Committee is informed, and has reason to believe, that conditions have improved in Assam and that, on the whole, law and order prevail there now. This must be maintained. It is essential that not only should law and order prevail but that there should be a sense of security for all residents of Assam, and that the fundamental right of staying or moving about freely in every part of the Indian Union, without molestation and danger, should prevail. Action should be taken against such persons who took part in the disturbances. Wherever it is considered necessary, special guards should be organised or permitted to help in creating this sense of security.

"The Committee trust that no demonstration would take place which create tension or endanger this feeling of security, and the press in Assam and Bengal and outside would help to bring about an atmosphere of friendliness and good will.

"The first and urgent step now is to rehabilitate those who were driven away from their homes and to help in this process.

"This is the first responsibility of the Government of Assam, but in this work of rehabilitation, the Government of West Bengal as well as the Government of India should give every co-operation and assistance. Congressmen in Assam have a special responsibility in this task, and the Working Committee will gladly assist by sending its representatives to Assam or by any other methods that are feasible. This work of rehabilitation should be undertaken as a short-term measure, and special officers for that purpose should be appointed. Where huts or houses have been destroyed, steps should be taken immediately to provide temporary shelters so that the people dispossessed may return to their fields and look after their crops and other business. Further rehabilitation should follow this.

"It is most unfortunate that a question of language should be connected with such disturbances which can only do harm to the cause of

the language concerned. Language is the embodiment of the culture of a people, and culture cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence or coercion, nor can language grow in such conditions. The Assamese language is one of the national languages of India laid down in the Constitution of India. This language, like other national languages, has to be encouraged in every way and progressively used by the people whose mother-tongue it is. In promoting its use in various public activities, it should be remembered that its use should not be enforced in areas where other languages prevail. Many areas of India are bilingual or multi-lingual, and each of the languages in use has to be protected and encouraged. Languages do not grow in conflict with each other. They flourish in co-operation, each helping the other. The question of language, therefore, in Assam is one that should be settled co-operatively by representatives of various parts of Assam State so that this sense of conflict should disappear and an atmosphere of co-operative endeavour for the good of the State should take its place."

"Assam occupies a vital position in India, being a border State. It is on the eve of considerable development in various ways. Neglected to some extent in the past, it is now likely to develop fast. But this can only happen in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation. The immediate necessity is to wipe out the consequences of these disturbances and to turn the people's mind to constructive and co-operative effort."

### The Sinister Shadow

We cannot be precise if it is more a sense of sorrow or humiliation which overwhelmed us, as we read in newspaper report—still now uncontradicted—that some Moslems in the last Mahorrum procession at Howrah brandished open swords and shouted 'Pakistan zindabad'; and that the police stood by in perfect composure to allow it to pass. What did the demonstration particularly aim at? Was it an assurance to the devout that the Muslim League was coming back to vindicate itself? At Kerala, the Congress for a handful of votes allied itself with the Muslim League despite its re-affirmation of the old creed, which led to the division of India. Since

then as we have already noted, the League is reported to have made a considerable headway to re-establish itself in and around Calcutta.

We have noticed a certain nervousness on the part of the West Bengal Congress setting premium upon Moslem votes. The Chief Minister of West Bengal was very near losing the last election because he did not find much favour with Muslim voters. If this is what has worked up the powers that be to evolve a principle not to take notice of these things, we have to bemoan our lot in having to prepare for further failures of appeasement and the dire consequences, it brings in its trail. It is yet better for the Congress to be wise before the event than be at the event's mercy.

J. B.

### The Big Strike

The big strike of all Central Government workers who belonged to trade unions ended ingloriously and without achieving the objectives declared as demands by the strikers. That this will happen was very clear from the beginning. The various trade unions involved were not at all united at heart and some only pretended to be in sympathy with the real sponsors of the strike while they worked against it almost openly. Others did not even pretend to be in sympathy and openly advocated attending duty to their members. The idea of a general strike of Central Government workers was clearly Communist-sponsored and this was proved by the eagerness which the Chinese press displayed in giving publicity to the great paralysis that had overtaken the Nehru administration, due naturally to his collaboration with imperialists, reactionaries and capitalists. This glee in Chinese hearts was very short-lived for the strike commenced with an air of failure about it. Some said the Ordinance enabled Nehru to smash the strike. But they never said how Nehru could dare to pass such an Ordinance in a democratic country unless he knew that the public were not with the strikers and that there was Chinese Communist influence behind the strike.

The strike failed because it was staged, not for bringing relief to the poor workers, who were more the victims of the profiteers and blackmarketers than of their employer's reluctance to pay just wages; but to show to the world (particularly the Communist world) how unfair the Indian Government were in the matter of treating their workers. If one compared the wages paid by the Chinese in cash and kind to their workers and the wages paid in India, one will readily see how the Communist heart bleeds for the sufferings of their own enslaved working classes. Russia after over forty years of exploitation of the masses have about just begun to pay what may be called fair wages by stretching a point. The Chinese are treating their workers and soldiers as pure slaves of Communism. They are sacrificing the present generations of the Chinese in order to populate the entire world, some day, with only Chinese men, women and children. This is a grand idea no doubt but people who sacrifice their workers for any ideal or reason whatsoever can never justly criticise others for non-payment of fair wages and not granting a higher standard of living to their workers. The Indian Communist leaders no doubt desire a Communist Raj in India, in order to become the rulers of the country; but we do not see how the Indians in general will be gainers thereby. Possibly the Communists will pay even lower wages than the Nehru regime pays. And, the Nehru regime promises great progress, abolition of poverty, disease, ignorance, etc., etc., in the same way as the Communists do. We cannot say that Mr. Dange is a superior person compared to Mr. Nehru or that Sri Jyoti Basu is better material than Dr. B. C. Roy. All leaders in India wish to be absolute monarchs whether they are Socialist, Communist or Democratic-Socialist-Republican. They all have a lot to learn about true freedom and liberty. Also about Human Welfare. The strikers have now failed and the Government people are trying to be tough and merciful simultaneously. They are wanting to dismiss a large number of employees who have been found guilty of certain offences and the judges in most cases will be their departmental bosses or

the courts which convicted them. In fact, court convictions cannot justify dismissals from service. For, a big strike has the nature of a civil commotion and people break the law during a strike being carried away by mass-psychological forces. And, if the offences are committed outside the precincts within which the workers are employed, the offenders can be convicted by a court of law, but they should not be dismissed from service, unless, of course, the nature of the punishment makes it impossible for the persons concerned to be employed. Capital punishment or a long sentence for imprisonment for example.

The Industrial Disputes Act has certain clearly laid down rules and regulations for enforcing the provisions of the Act. We see no reason why the procedure laid down in the Act for dealing with strikers should be changed in the case of the present strike. All men charged with certain offences for which they can be dismissed should have their cases adjudicated in the proper manner. And, to begin with all men charged with offences by their departments should be given proper charge-sheets and allowed to defend themselves in a proper manner. The Government of India, no doubt, passed an ordinance to stop the strike; but that was when the strike fever had attained uncontrollable strength. That ordinance failed to achieve its purpose. It should not, therefore, be used to deal with the offences alleged.

A. C.

### Administrative Efficiency

There seems to be at last an awareness in New Delhi about "administrative lapses." The *Statesman* gives the following report:

New Delhi, July 27.—In addition to the attention that they normally receive from the Ministries concerned, cases of administrative irregularities and lapses unearthed by the various committees of Parliament will now be subjected to a special scrutiny by the Central Home Ministry.

Pandit Pant is believed to have directed the Ministry's Administrative Vigilance Division to take note of the criticism of the Government's

working by the Estimates and Public Accounts Committees and see that suitable and speedy action is taken to remedy the faults.

During almost every session of Parliament, the Parliamentary committees point out several cases of administrative negligence or misuse of large sums of money. The presentation of their reports is usually followed by demand by M.Ps for action against negligent or erring officials.

The Vigilance Division which has now been asked to "follow up" Parliament's criticism is a permanent wing of the Ministry, but so far it has been dealing mostly with allegations of corruption against individual Government employees. In this connexion, it has often functioned in collaboration with the Special Police Establishment.

### A Tribute of Honour

As we mourn the death of Mr. Aneurin Bevan, we mourn the death of one who was the great architect of the National Health Service in U.K.; and the man, who provided well over four million people with new homes. It is a consummation to be devoutly wished for by other peoples for generations to come; and Bevan's motherland will be looked up to as a landmark in this respect.

Nothing fascinates mankind as to be told how one of them broke all the hurdles of chill penury and realised the solemnity of life that the pampered child of opportunities would do well to envy. At the age of thirteen, he went down to the pit of a coal mine as a workman in the lowest cadre. As he elbowed his way up in life, he owed very little to anybody. This may be one of the reasons of his sharp tongue and pen, neither of which mellowed with age. He was one of the sponsors of the Indian Independence Bill and, possibly, he is the one man of the ruling race to have said in a forthright manner that this is how the Labour Party saved the British trade in India. His is the life of inspiration to the weary strugglers at the breaking point. Humanity is all the poorer that he has been snatched away while yet in the full blaze of his activities.

We offer our heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family and particularly to

Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., his wife, better still, comrade-in-arms.

J. B.

### Sailendra Krishna Law

We deeply regret to have to announce the demise after a prolonged illness of Shri Sailendra Krishna Law, the Assistant Editor of *The Modern Review*.

Born in January, 1892, of a Bengali family established in Calcutta, Sailendra Krishna passed through the University of Calcutta obtaining the M.A. and later the B.L. degrees in English and Law respectively. He practised law for a number of years in Bankshall Street Police Courts of Calcutta. But being by nature of a unassertive type and having a deeply imbued literary taste, he gave up the profession of law and turned to literature and journalism.

He was one of the associates of the late Pramatha Chaudhuri (Birbal) who brought in a new phase in the development of Bengali literature of the early days of this century. His poems were published in the *Sabuj Patra*, the Bengali literary monthly edited by the late Pramatha Chaudhuri.

A man of catholic tastes in literature, he had contributed poems and thoughtful literary articles in Bengali to the well-known magazines like the *Prabasi*, the *Bharatvarsha*, *Manasi-o-Marmabani*, and latterly to the literary sections of the Bengali dailies *Anandabazar Patrika* and *Jugantar*. He joined the staff of *The Modern Review* in 1936, and was closely associated with this journal up to his last illness. All along these long number of years his charming temperament and innate good manners endeared him not only to his colleagues but to all of those who were associated with *The Modern Review* and its sister journal the *Prabasi*. His death will leave a void not only in the editorial circle but also in the literary circles of Calcutta like the "Rabibasar", where all will join with the family of Sailendra Krishna Law in their deeply felt loss.

## THE ANATOMY OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION

By J. N. RAY, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.I.C., F.N.I.

There is a French saying that to govern well one in daily contact with the public. Telegrams should govern as little as possible. This was undoubtedly true till the World War I but since then Nations are aiming at economic self-sufficiency and as a consequence various restrictive measures have been introduced in all countries. Therefore good administration has now acquired a new meaning and is a positive quality. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh mentioned in a lecture in Bombay that 20 per cent of Government servants are generally efficient, honest and industrious under all circumstances, 20 per cent are generally inefficient, lazy and neglectful of duty under all conditions. Sixty per cent are colourless people who follow the leaders. If the man in charge is hardworking they will also work hard but if an inefficient man is on top they will degenerate into an inefficient lot. Therefore the problem is to find the heads with correct mental attitude. When there are so many restrictions on the activities of citizens, it is absolutely necessary to find right men to lead. Since the withdrawal of the British, many top positions had to be filled by men from the second echelon but it must be recorded that by and large they were eminently successful in the onerous duties they were suddenly called upon to perform. Many of these men are now on the retired list. The real problem of finding their successors has arisen. This problem is formidable enough but another factor has been introduced in recent years adding to the complexity of the problem. There is no doubt that owing to various reasons there has been a great deal of indiscipline in the country, particularly among the student community from which the Government servants are drawn. Those responsible for this state of affairs will have a lot to answer for. It is easy to encourage students in their various acts of defiance of authority as this is an easy way to gain popularity but the cumulative effect of this cannot but be disastrous.

A friend of mine had visited a country in the Middle-East about fifteen years ago. On his return he had an amazing story to tell. He was horrified to see that the appointment letter of Government servants had this extraordinary clause: 'The Government servant is expected to be reasonably honest'. It is a terrible state of affairs. I had an occasion to discuss this matter with a diplomat of that country. What he said was most revealing. Corruption and black-marketeering was so rampant in that country that a pair of shoes sold at the Indian equivalent of Rs. 200/-; a motor tyre cost Rs. 1000/-. The Government was unable to put down these people and could not also raise the salary of Government servants, hence this compromise! Therefore the crux of the matter is that people should be uncorrupt if they expect an uncorrupted administration. This reminds me of a saying that a country gets the Government it deserves.

If our moral tone goes down we cannot expect good administration. This was apparent to a Lord Buddha. During his lifetime there was an invasion of foreigners and the borders of India were violated. His disciple Ananda once asked



the Lord about the outcome of this invasion. Buddha thought for a while and asked Ananda the following questions :

Do they respect their parents and elders? Do they not discriminate between their sons and daughters? Are they honest and united in purpose?

To all these questions Ananda's reply was in the affirmative. Buddha then said that they would be victorious as our people are without these virtues.

Therefore to secure good administration we must qualify for it by raising our own sense of duty. This cannot be done if there are people to start agitations to gain political leadership without thought for the consequences. We have known agitations like pulling down sign-boards written in English. We have been told to spit on teachers who teach in English in the Class-room. We have also been advised to boycott wearing of shoes, use of motor cars, soap, tooth-paste. There are no dearth of leaders who will support damaging of property if the question paper is stiff. We have encouraged indirectly the burning of public vehicles for the slightest of reasons. There are some supporters for the mass demonstration of Government servants who are prohibited from staging such demonstrations by their service rules. What would happen if Police are told not to do their duty unless their pay is revised or soldiers not to fight unless their service rules are changed? One shudders at the various possibilities any of which can jeopardise the safety of the nation.

There is adult franchise now. The temptation to woo the masses is great. I am not in any way against legitimate trade union activities. But I cannot help remarking that I have not yet come across a single case where laziness, indiscipline, go slow tactics, defiance of authority and other acts have been condemned by any one. The time has come, if we want to halt the rot that has set, for all parties to have a common policy against indiscipline, laziness and corruption. Unless this was done there would be no improvement of administration and moral standard of the nation.

For all the back-sliding that has taken place, no blame should be put on the ruling party or their supporters. They are powerless to mend matters unless the people themselves mend their ways. But in one or two respects the Government

can improve matters. For instance, the Government is keen to promote exports. But any one who has tried to export a commodity would bear me out that the rules are so complicated that they are almost baffling. If the interpretation of these rules is in the hands of Deshmukh's Category II officers then one can understand the chaos it can create. Sometime ago my grandson aged 16 months was travelling in charge of an Air-hostess to meet his parents in London. There was a question raised about his Income-Tax clearance certificate! We wanted to give for him Rs. 75 to his attendant for any sudden emergencies but as he was born in Calcutta and his Passport was issued from Calcutta and he had not lived in Bombay for two years we could not get the money changed in Bombay where we were. Similar instances of thoughtlessness on the part of minor officials only add to the discontent of the people. They forget the policy-makers can never be such stupid people. I suggest, let the restrictive measures remain in full but let the rules be simple and let the intention and policy of the Government be known to all officers concerned. There is a dictum in private administration of firms that the policy of the firm should be clearly known to all officers and men concerned. A most valuable dictum. It would do no harm to the Government to borrow one or two ideas from the private sector—now that we have agreed to co-exist.

I will be failing in my duty if I did not say something about the administration in the private sector. If any one reading this article has gained the impression that all is well in the sphere of private administration, I hasten to say that the private sector also draws their personnel from the same source as the public administration and consequently the pattern is expected to be the same. The private sector in some cases suffer from the disadvantage that their recruitment is not so wide as the public sector and in proprietary concerns some relatives and dependents have to be provided for. But as the balance-sheet dictates all policy of a private concern, the natural safeguard is there. The inefficients can be soon wiped out if extraneous agencies do not intervene.

Therefore, whether it is in the public or private administration, no improvements can be made unless there is moral rearmament on the part of the people. All political parties have

follow a common policy if any significant improvement can be made. The closing years of the 18th Century and the first half of the 19th Century were probably the darkest in India's history. Are we drifting back to that stage? What saved this country from utter ruin which seemed inevitable at that time? We have forgotten about Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the men who pulled this country out from chaos. What weapons did they employ?

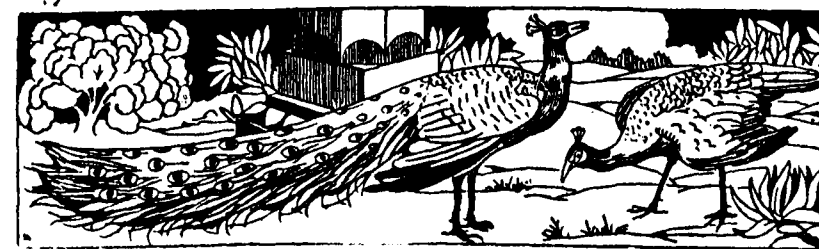
These weapons can still be employed and disaster avoided.

Where can these moral rearmaments take place? In schools and colleges. Can the teachers do it? Yes, if forces of reaction kept down and are not allowed to interfere. The general lowering of moral tone has resulted in the fall of quality of scientific personnel. They are no comparison to their predecessors who were trained between 1920-40. This has resulted in the falling of standard of scientific work. There is now enormous funds at the disposal of scientific workers. We had no such luck. The National Laboratories have spent enormous amounts but have the results been commensurate with the money spent? We have not developed any ballastic missiles and potential weapons which would have prevented others from deriding us. We know that we are committed to peace and non-violence. Let me tell a story. A cobra once met Rishi Narada and asked him if he would ever get salvation. The Rishi asked him to control his temper and not to bite people. He followed the advice but soon the shepherds discovered that he was not biting any more, so they started pelting him with stone whenever they met him. Rishi Narada met the cobra sometime afterwards and asked him if he was able to control his temper. The cobra replied that his life had become miserable on account of the liberties the boys were taking with him. The Rishi told him

that he did not tell him to stop hissing now and then although he need not have bitten. Have we stopped hissing too? Our plight will be like that of the cobra. Some people have alleged that the administration of our scientific services is not all that could be desired. I do not know the facts but from what I have seen in the fall of general administration, I should not be surprised if there is some truth in this also. There has been a lot of scrambling for power. There is no doubt about that. This also is due to the fall in moral values. Therefore from whichever angle we may look at the problem of good administration, it all boils down to the necessity of creating good character and discipline in man.

We would request our Planners to give some thought to the problem of building sound character and the administration would automatically respond to this orientation.

Note added on 7.6.60: Since the above article was written, there has appeared a Press report about the finding of a Committee set up by the University Grants Commission on student indiscipline. This body has also come to the same conclusion that unless the various parties followed a common policy regarding this question, indiscipline cannot be put down. The question arises that if there is no agreement between the parties, what is to be done. The country cannot be allowed to drift back to anarchy and disorder. There does not seem to be any possibility of general agreement relating to these questions, although the vast majority of people would feel that indiscipline, stirring up of masses and other subversive actions should be put down. This will have to be done sooner or later. Let us begin taking some action before the situation gets out of hand. When gangrene sets up, amputation may be a drastic step but it is necessary.



# WAS LASKI AN INDIVIDUALIST OR A COMMUNIST ?

By RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA,

Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College.

ONE of the most perplexing problems that have faced the political thinkers of all ages is the question of relation between the individual and the State, i.e., the question of personal freedom vis-a-vis social control. According to one school of thought the State is the mightiest creation of the human mind; according to another school of thought the State is simply a means to secure the welfare of the individuals. The question yet remains to be solved whether the State is an end in itself and the individual exists solely for the State or whether the State exists solely for him.

To an individualist the existence of the State is a sign of man's imperfection. Hence Humboldt argues that the State should "abstain from all solicitude for the positive welfare of the citizens and ought not to proceed a step further than is necessary for their mutual security and protection against foreign enemies . . . . The grand point to be kept in view by the State is the development of the powers of all its single citizens in their perfect individuality."<sup>1</sup>

In his *Social Statics* and *The Man versus the State* Herbert Spencer has expressed more or less similar views. He also "called" government a necessary evil and considered its continuance as a "proof of still existing barbarism." "To administer justice—to mount guard over man's rights—to prevent aggression—is simply to render society possible, to enable men to live together—to keep them in contact with their new conditions."<sup>2</sup> And "the moment it does anything more than protect, it becomes an aggressor instead of a protector." Again, he holds "that the liberty which a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental

machinery he lives under, whether representative or other, but by the relative paucity of the restraints."<sup>3</sup> "All socialism," he maintains, "involves slavery."<sup>4</sup>

According to these thinkers "perfect liberty is equivalent to total absence of government."<sup>5</sup>

J. S. Mill's "idea of individuality is plainly biased by Benthamite tradition that law is an evil."<sup>6</sup> "The sole end," says Mill, "for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. The only purpose for which power can be rightfully

exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral is not sufficient warrant. . . . The only part of the conduct of anyone, for which he is amenable to society, is that, which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."<sup>7</sup> But though the core of his thinking is his sense of the supreme value of the individual as individual, yet later on Mill had to admit some limitations on individualism. He was conscious of the fact that "no longer enslaved or made dependent by force of law, the great majority are so by force of poverty; they are still chained to a place, to an occupation, and to conformity with the will of an employer, and debarred, by the accidents of birth, both from the enjoyments and the mental and moral advantages which others inherit without exertion and independently of desert. That this is an evil equal to almost any of those against

which mankind have hitherto struggled, the poor Bosanquet. "The State," according to these theorists, says Laski, is the "universal in which

. . . . 'The working classes are entitled to each of us as particulars, finds our meaning . . . claim that the whole field of social institutions Liberty in such a context is a kind of permanent should be re-examined, and every question considered as if it now arose for the first time'.<sup>8</sup> and I may, in fact, be free even when I am And ultimately Mill, wrote: "If the choice were suffused with the sense of compulsion."<sup>11</sup> From to be made between Communism with all it Greeks to Rousseau and particularly since Hegel, chances, and the present state of society with all it has been urged "that conformity to a code, its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of and even compulsory obedience to it, is the very private property necessarily carried with it as a essence of freedom."<sup>12</sup> This argument, however, does not satisfy Laski and he insists, "that consequence that the produce of labour should ever, does not satisfy Laski and he insists, "that be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions upon its rejection. For what, at least ultimately, to those who have never worked at all, the next is involved in its acceptance is essentially the largest to those whose work is almost nominal, paralysis of will. If the citizen is not to find and so in a descending scale the remuneration the source of his judgments in the contact dwindles as the work grows harder and more between the outer world and himself, in the experience, that is, which is the one unique thing disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities ceases to have meaning as an individual in any of life; if this, or Communism, were the alternative, all the difficulties, great and small, of self that is isolated from his fellows, and Communism, would be as dust in the balance."<sup>9</sup> tributes the fruit of isolated meditation to the Thus we find that unlike other individualistic common good which, collectively, they seek to thinkers, Mill made an attempt to reconcile bring into being."<sup>13</sup>

individualism and socialism. He was not prepared to sacrifice social good for individualism. To Laski the idealistic view contradicts all the major facts of experience. "It seems to me,"

Let us now consider the views of Laski on he says, "to imply not only a paralysis of the will, the question of relation between the individual but a denial of that uniqueness of individuality, and the State. The will of the State, he thinks, that sense that each of us is ultimately different "however important, has no special moral claims from his fellows, that is the ultimate fact of . . . . The will of the State is only my will in human experience. For as I encounter the State, so far as I freely lend my judgment to its it is for me a body of men issuing orders. Most enforcement." "I make my own obligations from of them, I can obey either with active good will scrutiny of its demands, or they are not, in any or, at least, with indifference. . . . How I can be the more free by subordinating my judgment be freely given, for, obviously, if I am penalised of right to one which directly changes that in weighing right and wrong, I become, sooner judgment to its opposite, I cannot understand."<sup>14</sup> or later, a merely vacant recipient of decisions and lose the qualities which make me distinctively a person."<sup>10</sup>

He refutes the idea which was developed by of idealism. My true self is not a selected some Greek thinkers and was redefined in system of rational purposes identical with those modern times by Rousseau, Hegel, Bradley and

1. Humboldt—*Sphere and Duties of the State* (Joseph Coulthard, London, 1854).—See Garner—*Political Science and Government*—p. 454.

2. See Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*.

3. See Herbert Spencer, *The Man versus the State*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

5. See Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 67n.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

7. See J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, pp. 72-73.

8. Mill—*Chapters on Socialism*—(printed in the *Fortnightly Review* for 1879). From Mary Agnes Hamilton—*John Stuart Mill*, p.66.

9. See J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book II, Ch. I, Sec. 3.

10. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 29. p. 57.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

12. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 56.

13. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 30-31.

14. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 57.

sought by every member of society. We cannot split up the wholeness of personality in this way. My true self is all that I am and do."<sup>15</sup> He denies the existence of the common will in society. "There is," according to him, "no single and common will in society, unless we mean thereby the vague concept, entirely useless for political philosophy, that men desire the good." "Our connection with others is, at the best, partial and interstitial." And "we remain ourselves even when we join with others to attain some common object of desire. The ultimate isolation of the individual personality is the basis from which any adequate theory of politics must start." He rejects, therefore, "the idea of a real will, and still more, the idea that there is an *a priori* common will in society."<sup>16</sup>

Again, obedience to the State according to Laski, "ought always to be a function of the substance contained in the rules made by government; it is a permanent essay in the conditional mood."<sup>17</sup> "Man is a one," he adds, "among many obstinately refusing reduction to unity. His separateness, his isolation, are indefeasible . . . . He cannot abandon the consequences of his isolation which are, broadly speaking, that his experience is private and the will built out of that experience personal to himself. If he surrenders it to others, he surrenders his personality. If his will is set by the will of others, he ceases to be master of himself." Laski cannot believe "that a man no longer master of himself is in any meaning sense free."<sup>18</sup>

"No power," Laski observes, "can ever hope for successful permanence, no power, either, is entitled to it, which does not make its way, in vital matters, through the channels of consent."<sup>19</sup> To Laski man is not a part of some great symphony in which he realizes himself only as an incident in the motif of the whole. He is always conscious about the uniqueness and separateness of the individual. "To accept the forcible imposition of other principles upon me," he emphasizes, "which I do not recognize as the

expression of my experience, is to make of me who might be free, a slave. I become an instrument of alien purposes, devoted to an end which denies my selfhood. Law, therefore, as coercion is always an invasion of personality, an abridgment of the moral stature of those whom it invades." And Laski assumes that "to be true to its purpose, it must reduce the imperative element to a minimum if it is to release creative-ness and not destroy it."<sup>20</sup>

"Men do not obey," he insists, the "authority for the sake of obedience. They obey it for the purposes they believe to be secured by its operations."<sup>21</sup> "For its citizens," he declares, "a state is what it does; it is not justified merely because it is a state."<sup>22</sup>

For the protection of individual liberty Laski supports resistance to the authority of the State. "Liberty," he holds, "means being faithful to oneself, and it is maintained by the courage to resist. This, and this only, gives life to the safeguards of liberty; and this only is the clue to the preservation of genuine integrity in the individual life". To Laski order is not the supreme good and "rebellion has not always been wrong." Because "Power is not conferred upon men for the sake of power, but to enable them to achieve ends which win happiness for each of us."<sup>23</sup> "There are . . . . circumstances", he states elsewhere, "in which resistance to the State becomes an obligation if claims to right are to be given validity."<sup>24</sup> The prescriptions of the State are never final prescriptions. And "a State must give to men their due as men before it can demand, at least with justice to their loyalty."<sup>25</sup>

Laski stands against the suppression of thought. "Most men", he argues, "who are prohibited from thinking as their experience teaches them soon cease to think at all. Men who cease to think cease also in any genuine sense to be citizens. They become mere inert recipients of orders which they obey without scrutiny of any

20. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

21. See Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice*, p. 17.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

23. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 92.

24. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 96.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

kind."<sup>26</sup> "There is no liberty," he further observes, "without freedom of speech. There is no liberty if special privilege restricts the franchise to a portion of the community. There is no liberty if a dominant opinion can control the social habits of the rest without persuading the latter that there are reasonable grounds for the control . . . . Unfreedom means to him a denial of his experience, a refusal on the part of organized society to satisfy what he cannot help taking to be the lesson of his life."<sup>27</sup>

It may be mentioned in this connection that though Laski is known as an admirer of the Soviet Union which "stands today in the forefront of civilization", he severely criticises the method of suppression of thought which is the dominant feature of the Soviet system. "It remains after thirty years," he pointed out in 1948, "definitely a dictatorship; and this has, naturally enough, caused grief and disappointment to those who care for freedom all over the world . . . . In the classic sense the four freedoms do not exist in the Soviet Union. There is no liberty to criticize the fundamentals of the regime. There is no liberty to found parties to oust the Communist leaders. A man cannot found a journal of opinion or publish a book, or hold a meeting to advocate views which, in the judgment of dictatorship, would threaten the stability of the system. A citizen who sought to overthrow the philosophy of Marx, or to urge that Trotsky, and not Stalin, wore the true mantle of Lenin's tradition, would soon find himself on the way to exile or imprisonment. There are bureaucratic stupidities like the denial of passports to the Russian-born wives of British airmen . . . . Art, the drama, music, the cinema, through all of these the dictatorship has sought to pour a stream of tendency, often with ludicrous, and sometimes with tragic, results."<sup>28</sup>

Thus we find from what has been stated above that as an individualist Laski is keen about the protection of individual freedom against any undue encroachment on the part of the State. But it is interesting to note that while advocating the rights of the individual, Laski as a realistic thinker does not deny the right of the

State over the individual—which has been denied *in toto* by some other staunch individualists like Humboldt, Herbert Spencer, etc.

"The situation", Laski admits, is "reciprocal. The State has rights against me. It has right to exact from me that conduct which secures to others the enjoyment of the right it secures to myself. For the community, the interest of each citizen is of equal importance. . . . The mutual claims of the State and of its citizens must be claims clearly justifiable by reference to a common good which includes the good of all."<sup>29</sup> About the actual position of the individual in society he declares, "that no man shall be so placed in society that he can over-reach his neighbour to the extent which constitutes a denial of the latter's citizenship."<sup>30</sup>

Laski feels the "necessity of a coercive authority in society to define the permissible rules of social behaviour." "Granted the nature of men", he argues, "the alternative appears to be a chaos of individual decisions fatal to the emergence of settled ways of life. With the state there comes security; and security is the condition upon which the satisfactions men seek to secure are capable of peaceful attainment."<sup>31</sup>

Laski is not only a critic of political idealism, but also of an exaggerated individualism, and tries to make a compromise in between the two. "Any system of rights," he says, "has three essential aspects from which it must be regarded. There is the interest of the individual, always, at least ultimately, finally isolated from his fellow men. There is the interest of the various groups in and through which his personality finds channels of expression. There is the interest of the community which is the total result of the whole pressure of social forces. We cannot leave the groups within the community to define their rights by conflict, any more than we can permit individuals so to determine their rights. We must live by common rules. We must build an organ which enforces and interprets those common rules. We must so build it that both group and individual are safeguarded in their freedom and their equality so far as institutions

26. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 108.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

29. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 96.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

31. See Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice*, pp. 16-17.

15. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 58.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

can provide a safeguard. For it is well to realise at once that no system will ever fail to be weighted in some special interest. There will always be either powerful individuals or powerful groups who make their way against other less apt to assertiveness. Our effort must be a search to the compromise which allows to the largest possible number a life that is worthy of our resources."<sup>32</sup>

This attitude of compromise was also adopted by another staunch individualist, namely, Prof. L. T. Hobhouse. "In discussing society", he says, "we are liable to two fallacies. On the one hand we may be tempted to deny the reality of the social group, refusing to conceive it as a distinct entity, insisting on resolving it into its component individuals as though these individuals were unaffected by the fact of association. On the other side, in reaction of this exaggerated individualism, we are apt to regard society as an entity distinct from the individuals, not merely in the sense that it is an aggregate of individuals viewed in some special relation, but in the sense that it is a whole which in some way stands outside them, or in which they are merged to the prejudice of their individual identity."<sup>33</sup>

As an heir to the utilitarian tradition of J. S. Mill, Laski is also conscious about the evils of modern capitalist state in which "the distributive process has no inherent connection with the end of justice" and in which political power is "the handmaid of economic power."

Ultimately Laski goes far as to support communism—an antithesis of individualism—as "the challenge issued to the classic theories of the state in recent years." "In its general outline", Laski says, this theory "was first formulated by Marx and Engels, and it received its classic re-statement by Lenin in his *State and Revolution*. I am not aware of any adequate answer to it from opponents of the challenge. The idealist theory of the state (as, for example)

in its famous formulation by Bosanquet remains a formulation of a conceptual state *in posse* rather than the states we know. The liberal and anti-idealist view, as expressed by L. T. Hobhouse, assumes, but does not prove, that, given time, reason will always be victorious in matters of social conflict. Neither Bosanquet's view, nor that of Hobhouse, fulfils the scientific canon of prediction. Broadly speaking, the Marxian theory of the state has so defined its nature and functioning as to enable us to predict with assurance the course its operations will follow. As an index to the problems of our age it decisively, in my judgment, holds the field."<sup>34</sup>

Thus we find that as an individualist Laski refutes the classical idea of the State, as was developed by the Great Philosophers and also by Rousseau, Hegel, Bradley and Bosanquet, but that ultimately he recognises the wisdom of the communistic theory. Being profoundly influenced by J. S. Mill,—the utilitarian individualist—he tries to reconcile two irreconcilable ideas, viz., individualism and communism for the sake of common good and to a large extent contradicts himself. We, therefore, agree with Prof. H. A. Deane when he observes<sup>35</sup>:

"He (i.e., Laski) did not find it difficult to hold contradictory positions at any given moment. He superimposed a layer of Marxism on top of his earlier neo-Benthamite liberalism and never seemed to realize that the two strata could not be fused into a consistent philosophy. Depending on the circumstances and on his audience, he was capable of moving rapidly from a collectivistic to an individualistic position. He may well have been unconscious of the major inconsistencies in his position: he was so fluent in speech and in writing that he could move down any of several paths with equal ease, and there was never the time nor, perhaps, the will to discover the extent to which they diverged."

34. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, (Introductory Chapter), p. v.

35. See Herbert A. Deane, *The Political Ideas of Harold J. Laski*, pp. 244-245.

32. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 141.  
33. See Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, p. 29.

## A NEW SOLUTION OF THE FOOD PROBLEM IN INDIA

BY K. P. SINHA

"Our folly in continuing a system of diet that we know does not give vitality, rather slowly leads to physical emaciation, deserves condemnation."

Rabindra Nath Tagore

THE Food Problem is one of the most serious problems facing the country after the attainment of independence. The Government declared in 1949, that India would be self-sufficient in the matter of Food and Import of Food would be stopped by 1951, and laid great emphasis on the "Grow More Food Campaign" which unfortunately could not achieve success to meet the requirement of the country. The First Five-Year Plan in spite of its agricultural bias could not attain this object. The Second Five-Year Plan is going to be complete within a year but the food situation is still not at all bright.

In the recent debate on the food situation in the Rajya Sabha (December 1959), several members including some Congress members regretted that the food situation was still in the same state of chaos as it was two or three years ago. "Mr. Khandubhai Desai (Congress) said this half-hearted zonal system and quarter-hearted State Trading and the slogan for increasing the food production are not going to give food nor bring down prices." Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru said that the high-level of foodgrain output 73.5 million tons in 1958-59 was due more to good weather than to any special effort by the Agricultural Department of the Government of India or the States. He did not agree that the prices of foodgrains were coming down, and he said: "As in previous years the prices may come down for the present but they would go up again after a few months."

"It was the considered opinion of the House that if the consumer is to be assured of adequate supply of foodgrains at reasonable prices the powers that be should reorient the food policy on rational lines free from ideological considerations."

Four notable suggestions were then given by the members in course of the debate.

- (1) The Government must give up State Trading in Foodgrains. Even if it has full control over State Trading it will not be able to supply quickly the needs of the millions of the people as private traders are able to do at present.
- (2) If the Centre and States can pool their efforts so as to take care of the food required by a deficit State, then it will not be necessary to form the zones.
- (3) There must be one uniform policy applicable to the whole country and price stabilisation should apply to all commodities, foodgrain and other non-food-grain crops and not to foodgrains only.
- (4) Greater emphasis must be laid on the need for ensuring adequate irrigation facilities, supply of good seeds, chemical and non-chemical manures.

There is of course nothing new in these suggestions inasmuch as they have been repeatedly stressed ere now. But by drawing attention to them again the Rajya Sabha members have indicated that the measures are being implemented by the authorities in a haphazard way."  
—Commerce, December 1959.

Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Food Minister, assured that a buffer stock of 5 million tons mostly of wheat and rice would be built in the country very soon.

The permanent solution of this problem lies in maintaining a rate of output which is commensurate with the growth of population.

Mr. Patil said, "I am very optimistic about prospects in the field of production. I do not agree this year's output 73.5 million tons was in the nature of record production or bumper crop. Our poor yield which is 1.5 ton per acre compares badly with 2 to 6 tons in other countries."





To meet the chronic deficit of food India has to import food from abroad mainly from America, and also sometimes from Canada, Australia and Russia to the extent of nearly 150 crores of rupees per year, which is a great drain on her resources. If this import can be stopped then this amount can be utilised for the much-needed economic development of the country.

Before the separation of Burma from India in 1935, India used to import rice from Burma which was approximately 2 per cent of India's production. At the same time India used to export some rice which was of fine quality and of higher price.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said, "It requires credulous men to believe that we should have starved without a mere two per cent and therefore imported it. Burma rice was imported because it was cheaper in price."

"It was however due to the bold policy of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai that the import of food was drastically reduced, price was lowered and the country was happy. The peak year for imports was 1951, (Rs. 216 crores) the year of the first General Election after which the late Mr. Kidwai was appointed Food and Agriculture Minister in the Cabinet. His unorthodox technique rather than official policy was largely responsible for the abolition of controls which was followed by a rapid decline in foodgrains imports. Soon after his death the position changed."

—*Capital*, October, 1957.

From 1951 to 1957 the value of Imported Food was as follows :—

| Year | Crores of Rupees. |
|------|-------------------|
| 1951 | 216               |
| 1952 | 209               |
| 1953 | 85                |
| 1954 | 47                |
| 1955 | 33                |
| 1956 | 56                |
| 1957 | 200               |

Dr. P. C. Bansil said, "In 1949 Government took a pledge that no import should be made after 1951, but it could not be strictly fulfilled. The magic man popularly known as Rafi was snatched from us and imports again made their ugly appearance."

It has been observed that the efforts to increase the Food Production has not met with success commensurate with the demand for food taking into account the annual increase of population at the rate of nearly 1.25 per cent.

Below is given a table showing India's food production during the recent years :

| Food Production<br>(Million Tons) |               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Year                              | Million Tons. |
| 1950-51                           | 50            |
| 1951-52                           | 51.2          |
| 1952-53                           | 58.3          |
| 1953-54                           | 68.7          |
| 1954-55                           | 66.6          |
| 1955-56                           | 64.8          |
| 1956-57                           | 68.2          |
| 1957-58                           | 62.0          |
| 1958-59                           | 73.5          |

Although production of food has increased yet this is not considered sufficient to cope with the growing demand due to the growth of population and to cover occasional natural calamities like flood and drought. There is however a widespread misconception about the increase of population and it is generally believed that the failure to make the country self-sufficient in food is due mainly to the high rate of population increase which however is not quite true. According to Prof. Kingsly Davis average increase of population was 12 per cent per decade from 1920 to 1950, and total increase in India from 1871 to 1951 was 52 per cent. This increase of population in U.K. was 57 per cent, in Japan 120 per cent and in the U.S.A. 230 per cent during the same period. "Average growth of population in India is not so alarming as it is generally supposed. The popular notion that it has been faster than most modern countries, a notion derived from the massiveness, density and poverty of the population is obviously unwarranted." —Mr. K. K. Saksena (*Commerce*, Annual Number, 1958).

To meet the challenge of food deficit in the country efforts are being made to augment the production by better irrigation, better seeds and better fertilisers. Introduction of service co-operatives can serve this purpose undoubtedly in a much better way considering the small holding of Indian farmers which is .7 acres per capita compared with 1.5 acres in Europe.

Along with improved method of cultivation, equitable distribution of food is necessary. The farmers should no doubt get economic price for their production but at the same time profiteering by unscrupulous traders must be completely eliminated to make food available to the vast population at a reasonable price and in requisite quantity.

These are however rather long term measures but the solution of the Food Problem brooks no delay. To depend permanently on the generosity of other countries in the matter of such a vital necessity as food is certainly a great national calamity. The amount of foreign exchange that is required to purchase food is neither easy to procure at present nor to pay up in the near future. Besides the difficulty of shipping space and transport cost there is great uncertainty to bring food from foreign countries in times of international political troubles which are not quite rare.

For immediate solution of the Food Problem some efforts should be made to avoid wastage of food which will considerably help to make up the country's deficit. It has been estimated that Rs. 600 crores worth of food is wasted due to pests and pestilences and bad storage for which insecticides should be used adequately and storage facilities should be improved.

Last but not least there is another kind of common wastage in food preparation so far as rice is concerned which is not really difficult to prevent. The suggestions given below as a result of my experiments, if implemented can go a long way not only in making up the food deficit but also in improving our diet from the nutritional point of view. In the current method of cooking of rice we cast away about 70 per cent calcium, 50 per cent iron, 20 per cent phosphorus and 3 per cent protein and good deal of carbohydrate along with the gruel. In preparing rice by boiling with profuse quantity of water the gruel is discarded which contains very high food value. If rice gruel is preserved with rice then it has been seen that about 25 per cent of rice consumption can be cut down. A person who takes 8 ounces (4 chhattaks) of rice per day can do easily with less than 6 ounces (3 chhattaks) of rice if gruel is not discarded. It will require a little additional care on

the part of the house-wives to prepare rice with comparatively small quantity of water in ordinary cooking pots so that the gruel may be absorbed by the cooked rice but the grains will remain soft and separate. India's rice production is approximately 25 million tons per annum. If 25 per cent of it is wasted due to discarding the gruel then 6.1/4 million tons are wasted in this way. If we discount 50 per cent of this, still about 3 million tons are wasted.

If however rice is prepared in a simplified steam cooker with proportionate quantity of water then the rice will absorb the gruel more easily. It will consist of a galvanised steel sheet casing having a tightly fitting lid, inside which one or more pots can be kept. In these pots rice can be boiled with water having requisite quantity of water in the cooker also. Dal, vegetables, fish, meat, etc., also can be cooked in this cooker. By this method another advantage is that the time taken will be reduced and less personal attention will be necessary, and drudgery of cooking will be removed. Food will be more hygienic and fuel cost will be diminished.

To preserve the gruel we can prepare Khichuri (*hotch-potch*) with rice and pulses and vegetables in the ordinary way. Another novel way of preparation of Khichuri is by taking some powdered rice and powdered pulses with vegetables and usual spices and boiling them with requisite quantity of water. Within 15 minutes we can get highly palatable Khichuri which is nutritious and easily digestible.

In preparing Khichuri the gruel is not wasted. If we take Khichuri one or two days in a week it will add to the variety of our diet.

If we take Chira (flattened rice) at one meal time the food value will be preserved. As a substitute for rice Chira can be boiled with requisite water for about 10 minutes when it will become quite soft and the water will be absorbed in it. Then it may be taken with Dal (pulses), vegetables, fish, etc., and will taste like cooked rice and will be easily digested.

About the food wastage by discarding the gruel no less a person than Rabindra Nath Tagore said in his inaugural speech of the "Food and Nutrition Exhibition" held under the auspices of the Calcutta Corporation, "With the water of boiled rice our nourishment is flowing out through the kitchen". "Our folly in conti-

nuing a system of diet that we know does not give vitality rather slowly leads to physical emaciation, deserves condemnation."\*

Many eminent scientists like Sir P. C. Roy, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha and eminent physicians like Sir Nil Ratan Sarkar, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy expressed their opinion that preparation of food by steam cooking is more hygienic than by the ordinary method.

Mahatma Gandhi in an issue of the *Harijan* in 1942 said, "Too much food wasted by the people." In many restaurants and boarding houses as well as in dinner parties in private houses appreciable quantity of food is wasted due to excess preparation. Unhygienic method of food preparation is no less responsible for destroying much food value besides bringing about diseases and suffering in the long run which can be easily remedied.

Huxley said, "Diet is the basic human need, something like half the human race including a great number of people who imagined they are perfectly well fed are really to a greater or lesser extent malnourished. Malnutrition is the greatest single source of disease, lower vitality and shortened life."

Rice is the staple food of some other coun-

\*When Rabindranath visited Bankura in 1940, Ramananda Chatterjee the veteran journalist and great philanthropist introduced me to him as a social worker recalling my humble services as Assistant Secretary and organiser of the Bankura Sammilani Famine Relief Committee during the famine of 1936 in the District. I then referred to his speech in the Calcutta Corporation about food wastage and told him that I had devised a simplified steam cooker at cheap cost by which rice and vegetables could be cooked in a hygienic way. This will help retain their food value that is spoiled by the ordinary method of cooking and will reduce the rice consumption at the same time. Both of them highly appreciated my efforts.

In a letter dated 17.9.40 Mr. Chatterjee wrote to me "I am very glad to know that your cooker has been made."

tries like China and Japan but the people of those countries do not waste the gruel like us. In our country a section of people belonging to the agricultural labour class take the gruel with rice and enjoy good health because they get extra nourishment from it. In East Pakistan most of the people take their morning breakfast in the shape of cooked rice mixed with gruel.

In the Rice Mills while husking rice much food value is wasted due to excessive polishing but in husking by Dhenki the food value remains intact. But due to lack of support from the people and the Government, Dhenki rice has almost disappeared from the market, which can be reintroduced with a little encouragement.

Now what is immediately necessary is to change the food habits of the people, to get increased nutrition with less expenses which can be done by a vigorous publicity campaign and by practical demonstration throughout the country.

From the individual's point of view a reduction of food expenses by 25 per cent in addition to attainment of higher nutritional value is not an insignificant thing, and it will not be difficult to convince them to change their food habits from the socio-economic approach.

So far as West Bengal is concerned food problem is more acute than that of other States and the price of rice is abnormally high which is more than 6 times the pre-war price. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal, in a recent statement to the Press Representatives has said, "This year's production of foodstuff in West Bengal is 40 lakh tons and another 10 to 15 lakh tons are necessary to meet the deficit, but there is no possibility of the price of rice to come down in view of this shortage."

But if we can reclaim 25 per cent of our food or say half of this by hygienic method of preparation there is no reason why price will not appreciably come down.

In conclusion I earnestly appeal to the people in general and to the Government in particular to consider my suggestions and give them a fair trial which is sure to help considerably in solving the problem of food shortage and mal-nutrition.

## ADVISORY POWERS OF THE INDIAN SUPREME COURT

BY PROF. MANI SHANKAR, M.A.

ORDINARILY, the function of a Court of law remains confined to answer questions of law when properly raised before it in a dispute between two or more than two parties. In the U.S.A., when President Washington submitted a series of questions to the Supreme Court for consideration, the latter politely but resolutely refused to respond to them on the ground of its policy of neutrality to political controversies and intrigues. But under the present Constitution of India the Supreme Court has been given a particular jurisdiction, commonly known as the consultative or advisory jurisdiction. On the basis of this particular jurisdiction the Supreme Court can deliver its opinion on questions unconnected with a pending case. A similar power was conferred upon the Federal Court of India under the Government of India Act, 1935.

The President of India has been made competent to refer any matter of public importance involving some legal complications to the Supreme Court for its opinion. Article 143 specifically provides that if at any time it appears to the President of India that a question of law or fact has arisen or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court upon it, he may refer the question to the Supreme Court for consideration. The Supreme Court after having heard and scrutinized the pros and cons of the question thus referred to is entitled to report to the President its opinion. The normal procedure of delivering the opinion seeks the concurrence of the majority of judges present and hearing the issue. In substance, the procedure resembles the ordinary procedure adopted in original and appellate jurisdictions. As the very title indicates, this particular jurisdiction is not obligatory in nature. It is not binding upon the President to accept the opinion of the Supreme Court.

It is significant to observe that the advisory or consultative jurisdiction of the Indian Supreme Court is not a new or original creation. This provision is analogous to that possessed by the Privy Council of the U.K., which declares that His Majesty may refer to the Judicial Committee for hearing or consideration, any matter whatsoever as His Majesty may think fit and that the Committee shall thereupon hear and consider the same, and shall advise His Majesty

thereon. But this provision under Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1883, differs from the provision of the Indian Constitution stating advisory jurisdiction of the Supreme Court into two respects.

(a) In India while expressing opinion, the Judges who do not concur are at liberty to deliver a dissenting opinion while in the U.K., the dissenting opinions are not delivered in the Privy Council.

(b) In India the Supreme Court is not always bound to hear and consider the reference but in the U.K., it has been made obligatory for the Judicial Committee to hear and consider the matter and advise His Majesty thereon.

A similar provision can be traced into the Constitution of Canada (Sec. 60, Canadian Supreme Court Act, 1906), under which the Governor-General in Council is empowered to refer certain important questions of law to the Supreme Court for hearing and consideration. The Supreme Court of Canada is bound to entertain and answer the reference, but an interesting point to note is that the opinion of the Canadian Supreme Court is subject to appeal to His Majesty in Council. The permanent Court of International Justice, under Art. 14 of the Covenant of League of Nations, was vested with the authority to deliver advisory opinion.

After having made a deliberate, mobile and synthetic analysis of Art. 143 of the Indian Constitution we may briefly record that this article lays down that the Supreme Court may be required to express its opinion in two classes of matters in an advisory capacity as distinguished from its judicial capacity.

(a) In the first class, any question of law or fact may be referred to the Supreme Court for its opinion if in the opinion of the President the question is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court.

(b) The second class of cases belong to the disputes arising out of pre-constitution treaties and agreements which are excluded by Art. 131.

This particular jurisdiction differs from a regular adjudication before the Supreme Court in the sense that there is no litigation between two parties in such a case and that the opinion given on such a reference is not binding upon



the Government nor it can be executed as a Judgment of the Supreme Court. The accepted theory of the precedent goes to say that the Judges do not make law by formulating and declaring, but make law by applying it. Judicial declaration unaccompanied by Judicial application is of no authority. The panoramic dissection of this provision of the Constitution suggests that the whole procedure merely constitutes consultation between the President and the Supreme Court.

From the surface of this provision it appears that the Supreme Court will always entertain and consider the reference made thereto, but when a little penetration is made in to the words and gospel of the article it becomes apparent that in the strict sense of the term, the Supreme Court is not bound to answer a reference. Regarding Kerala Education Bill, 1957, C. R. Das, C. J. observed, "This Court has under Clause (1) a discretion in matter and may in a proper case and for good reasons decline to express any opinion on the questions submitted to it".

There has been considerable difference of opinion amongst jurists and political thinkers as to the expediency of placing on the courts an obligation to advise the executive questions involving legal complications. Quite a good number of jurists and political thinkers have been opposed to such type of business allocated to the judiciary. Prof. Philip Frankfurter of the United States says that "the whole milieu of advisory opinions are bound to move in unreal atmosphere. The impact of actuality and the intensities of immediacy are wanting. In the altitude of the court and the counsel, in the vigour of adequate representation of the facts behind legislation there is thus a wide gulf of difference, partly rooted in psychological factors, between opinions in advance of legislation and the decisions in litigation after such proposals are embodied into law. Advisory opinions are rendered upon sterilised and mutilated issues." In the words of Halsbury, in the case of Attorney-General Ontario Vs Hamilton Street Railway: "They would be worthless as being speculative opinions of hypothetical questions. It would be contrary to principle, inconvenient and inexpedient that opinions should be given on such questions at all. When they arise, they must arise in concrete cases, involving private rights; and it would be extremely unwise for any judicial tribunal to attempt beforehand to exhaust all possible cases and facts which might occur to qualify, cut down and override the operation of the particular words when the concrete is not before it". Another gentleman Lord Halden has also criticised this jurisdiction of the Judiciary. He says that "under this procedure questions may be put of a kind which it is impossible to answer satisfactorily. Not only may the question of future litigants be prejudiced by the Court laying down principles in abstract form without any reference or relation to actual facts, but it may turn out to be practically impossible to define a principle adequately and safely without previous ascertainment of the exact facts to which it is to be applied". In a single line, the opinion given in such a manner is only a piece of advice in a contingency not yet foreseen in all its aspects.

In spite of weighty arguments to the contrary, the framers of the Indian Constitution thought it expedient to confer advisory jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court. And in fact, the above views contesting this jurisdiction of the Supreme Court do not seem to be absolutely sound. It cannot be denied that in the present set-up of legal complications arising in day-to-day administration this type of opinion has a peculiar importance. The chief utility of such an advisory judicial opinion is to enable the Government to secure an authoritative opinion either as to the validity of a legislative measure before it is enacted or as to some other matter which may not go to the courts in the ordinary course and yet the Government is anxious to have authoritative legal opinion before taking any action. In England the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the Canadian Supreme Court did in fact make some magnificent contribution to legal as well as political jurisprudence of their respective countries. In India too the Supreme Court has rendered valuable services by delivering its opinion in some questions of outstanding eminence. So far, three cases of reference have been made to the Supreme Court: The Delhi Laws Act, 1912, the Kerala Education Bill, 1957 and the question regarding the transfer of some Indian territory to Pakistan, and in all these three cases the opinion of the Supreme Court has been favourably honoured.

## AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

By PROF. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

AGRICULTURE in India awaits tremendous development as a means for meeting the food requirements of the country and preventing social calamities like droughts, floods and soil erosion. The nutritional level of an average Indian is very low; as a matter of fact he consumes food materials equivalent to 1590 calories only per day whereas the corresponding figure for an American is 3200 calories, for a Burmese 1990 calories, and for a Latin American about 2300 calories. Studies in history and human nutrition show that decline in the quality and quantity of food below a certain minimum requirement per capita does have a serious effect on the vigour and activity of the people. The production of food crops and other edible products has therefore to be doubled in India as early as possible, as the first step towards a better standard of living for our large and growing population. Scope for such a development through systematic and scientific agriculture is presented in the following table which shows the position of India and China (another comparable underdeveloped country) in crop yields and fertilizer consumption per acre among 70 countries excluding U.S.S.R.

The above table shows that China enjoys a far better position in crop yields and fertilizer consumption per acre than India. This is noteworthy in the light of the fact that all the lands of China are of very poor productivity (group III) whereas those of India are of moderate natural fertility (group II), according to the land classification of the F.A.O. It may be further added in this connection that Denmark with her poor and sandy soils enjoys the first place in crop yields per acre because of systematic and scientific farming.

### Soil and Water Conservation

Agriculture, worth its name, is intimately connected with soil and water conservation. Soils in India have been left in neglect for centuries. Most people here depend on land for their living, participate in endless disputes and litigations over their titles, etc., but nobody cares for the improvement of the soil. Worse still is the fact that the natural processes of formation and conservation of soils have been repeatedly disturbed by the landlords who destroyed most of

Table

Position of India and China in crop Yields and fertilizer (NKP) consumption per acre.

|                                     | (Crop yields per acre) |        |       |      |          |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|--------|-------|------|----------|-------------------------------------|
|                                     | Wheat                  | Barley | Maize | Rice | Potatoes | NKP fertilizer consumption per acre |
| Position of India                   | 60                     | 47     | 45    | 34   | 35       | 47                                  |
| Percentage of world average (India) | 54                     | 56     | 46    | 70   | 80       | 13                                  |
| Percentage of maximum yield (India) | 16                     | 19     | 13    | 22   | 27       | 0.22                                |
| Position of China                   | 32                     | 32     | 23    | 20   | 42       | 26                                  |

the forests and ploughed all the grasslands for more and more money. The results of all these have been disastrous to agriculture and climate in many parts of India. There have been terrible and devastating cases of flood and soil erosion throughout the country. Without adequate measures for water conservation through protection of land with forests and grasses, the soil structure has been destroyed due to loss of organic matter, clogging of the natural pores of earth, and eventual interference to seepage and percolation. This increased the run off water and hastened soil erosion. Sheet erosion led to the formation of deep gullies and the silt and sand carried down through these raised the levels of most of the river beds above the levels of surrounding fields. Thus the river Kosi in Nepal and Bihar has the greatest silt run off (11.4 tons) per acre of drainage area in Asia, and the flood havocs of Kosi, Damodar and many other rivers are well-known. Ganges also has joined this list with her branches and tributaries, and the sad condition of the river systems of U.P., Bihar and West Bengal has to be seen to be believed. The average man of education observes the floods and the decay of the river systems; what escapes his notice is the soil erosion and soil degeneration accompanying these floods. Remarks of European and American experts carry weight: "A person wades across the Ganges in some places before monsoon; in flood time it may be a raging torrent 3 miles wide, breaking off great chunks of earth from its bank and uprooting trees." "Over much of India the people have accepted a slowly deteriorating environment as a part of the scheme of things, the vast majority is probably unaware that soil erosion is occurring." These remarks together with the lamentable condition of the Ganges near Nabadwip, Chinsurah and other places point to the advanced stage of the calamity.

Long time development programmes have to be undertaken involving afforestation, water conservation and grassland husbandry; legislations have to be enacted against burning of dung, forest litter, crop residues, use of paddy fields for factories, buildings or brickfields, and particular care should be taken to return all sorts of organic waste products of society and industry to the soil.

#### *Irrigation and Drainage*

Water, according to the Americans, is poor man's fertilizer; plenty of water is needed for growing plants and crops on soils and in this respect water is much more important than manures and fertilizers. Rain water is the best source of this supply and in order to ensure this supply throughout the year, all old tanks have to be reclaimed, and rivers and canals made deeper through dredging, etc. This will help most of the rain water settle in the tanks for the all year consumption of crops and men, or find their way out safely to the sea without affecting the soils through erosion or society through flood havocs.

In a country where 85—90 per cent of the annual rainfall takes place in course of 3 to 4 months, irrigation is essential to agriculture; but irrigation without adequate drainage measures is terribly disastrous for tropical soils. The rather dry soils of U.P., the Punjab, and many other parts of India point out clearly how careless irrigation leads to the accumulation of subsoil salts on the surface soil and eventually makes the soil totally unfit for agriculture. To keep soils always fit and fertile for crops, the water supplied to them through irrigation should be salt-free and flowing slowly from the upper to the lower layers; this will avoid the accumulation to soluble salts on the surface soils.

Soils already rendered unfit for agriculture through such careless irrigation in the past have to be reclaimed through the application of gypsum, fresh water, etc., and investigations undertaken in the lines introduced by the Americans and followed with necessary modifications by the Hunting Technical Services (London) in Iraq and Pakistan. In addition to the saline and alkali (Reh) soils of Northern India, a great part of the total acreage under cultivation is frequently rendered saline by sea water in the States of West Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Kerala, etc. The free salts and the exchangeable sodium ions of these soils have to be removed by washing with water and gypsum treatment respectively. The scope of excess  $\text{CaCO}_3$  followed by ammonium sulphate treatment in removing exchangeable sodium from saline soils still under cultivation is worth some trial.

#### *Mechanisation of Agriculture*

In spite of the traditional unemployment in the country and under-employment among farm workers, there is ample scope for mechanising agriculture in India. Work in the farms and fields in tropical climates involves inhuman hardship to men and animals, especially when they lack proper food and nutrition; little efficiency or output can be expected from such systems. Mechanical power on the other hand multiplies the output of work per head and it has been demonstrated in the semi-arid Great Plains of the U.S.A., that lands which are ordinarily left uncultivated in the underdeveloped countries like India and China in spite of over-population and food shortage, can be profitably brought under cultivation through the use of tractors and other farm machineries. Marked increase in the overall food production of the country can be achieved by bringing the vast acreages of barren or less fertile lands of West Bengal, U.P., and many other parts of India, and this can easily amount to a 25—30% increase in food production.

Britain has shown in course of the last few decades how mechanical power can be introduced in every phase of farm work as a cheaper and better substitute for human labour. This experiment can be wisely repeated in India in order to initiate our backward farm labourers to systematic and scientific work, and to eliminate the more costly animal labour as far as possible. Such experiments will establish in no time that tractors, fuels and electricity are far better substitutes for cows and buffaloes, so that the number of farm animals should be brought down as early as possible in the face of human starvation.

#### *Use of Manures and Fertilizers*

The practice of sending all waste products of society to the soil is very old in China, and the agriculturally advanced countries of Europe and America are all fully conscious of the saying, "Corruption is the mother of vegetation". The Netherlands composts 20% of its municipal refuse; it has been estimated that the sewage produced in the U.S.A., amounts to 5.62 million tons of nitrogen, 1.81 million tons of phosphoric

acid and 1.61 million tons of potash per annum, and various steps are being taken to send these nutrients to soils. The ploughing under of green cover crops is now done in many countries as it makes plant foods more available to food crops and also adds to soils extra stock of nutrients by making fuller use of solar energy through photosynthesis.

In India however the story is quite different. The waste products of our city life are accumulating in heaps on the streets of Calcutta and other cities, and these together with the contents of the drains, latrines and urinals are contributing towards the spreading of germs of fatal diseases. 40% of cattle manure is burnt in India and another 20% is lost through poor handling; all the cow-dung is used as fuel, forest litter, straw, crop residues, etc., are indiscriminately burnt in the forests and fields just for the sake of getting rid of them; nobody cares to know about their value as sources of plant nutrients. It has been estimated that the dung carted out annually in England and Wales provides about 75% of nitrogen and potash in all the chemical fertilizers used and 25% of the fertilizers phosphate. Although 25 million tons of human wastes are available in India only 1.2 million tons are used in agriculture.

Soils properly supplied with composts and farm yard manure do not need much NKP fertilizers or trace elements for good crop yield; most of the plant nutrients are supplied by these organic bodies through their gradual decomposition. Moreover composts and manures improve soil texture, increase their capacity for supplying water, reduce soil erosion and render soils fit for the application of lime and fertilizers. Farm yard manure is by far the most important of all types of organic manures, and has formed the basis of arable farming in all ages.

To raise the nutrient status and fertility of our soils adequate measures have to be taken and legislation enacted for preventing the burning of cow-dung and other cattle manures, forest litter, and for encouraging the composting of city wastes. Methods have to be devised for making the best use of urine, sewage and other waste products of towns and cities, and use of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers has to be popularised in the country. The results of the countries of Western Europe, U.S.A., Japan,



South Africa and China in food production point out clearly that crop yields per acre can easily be equated to the consumption of chemical fertilizers. Scope for such widespread application of fertilizers to Indian soils is on the other hand presented by the examples of Australia, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, South Africa, South Korea and many South American countries. A 20-fold increase in our fertilizer consumption can be easily reached without any risk to the soils, provided their moisture, humus and lime statuses are properly maintained, and this will raise India to the status of China and South Africa. It will not be too much to expect self-sufficiency in food at that stage.

*Better Crop Species, More Acreage, Insecticides, etc.*

Successful farming involves proper care of both soil and plant and there is much scope for work of our soil scientists and botanists in this line. In addition to bringing more and more acreages under wheat, paddy, maize, potatoes, etc., the quality and treatment of the seeds of all these crops have to be improved with the ultimate object of higher yields per acre of better crops. The potentialities of hybrid plants and crops remain yet to be properly tapped in India. The F.A.O. sponsored a 5-year testing programme for hybrid corn in European countries and the result has been a 60% increase in yield from the North American hybrids over the local open-pollinated varieties. Introduction of improved varieties of sweet potatoes in China by the F.A.O. gave a 37% increase in output.

Sowing more and more leguminous crops in the muddy fields after harvesting of paddy needs no extra labour for preparing the soil and this practice gives good results in East Bengal. The Aman fields of Eastern India can thus be made to produce much larger quantities of lentils, pulses, etc. The author had the pleasant experience of observing maize grown on the sides of some of the streets of Brussels, the rich capital of Belgium and a very beautiful city of Europe. Similar measures in India can grow thousands of tons of maize or other food crops in the compounds of Courts, Offices and Bungalows of provincial towns of India. Even our Dalhousie Square would not perhaps look any worse with some maize plants or banana trees,

when our poverty and starvation are well-known all the world over.

Grassland farming is an important feature of agriculture in all the advanced countries. Britain has half and Ireland one-third of their total acreages under grass. Grass fields there enjoy all the attention and care given to the arable plots. Irrigation, proper use of seeds and fertilizers, rotation with arable crops, etc., are necessary for the successful cultivation of grass. Properly maintained grasslands are essential to India for protecting soils from erosion, increasing soil fertility through rotation with arable crops and for raising the standards of our dairy and poultry industries. Allotment of a major fraction of the total acreage to temporary and permanent grasslands and systematic experiments in grassland farming are overdue in India.

India had 155 million cattle in 1950-51 when the U.S.A. had 84.2 million, but the production of cows' milk here was one-sixth of that in the U.S.A., during that period. Australia, New Zealand and the European countries have still better pictures to present about cattle health and the quality and quantity of their dairy products. The answer to all these differences from India lies mostly in the care taken to grow grass and other cattle food in those countries. In addition to improved grassland farming India needs large quantities of cheap cereals and other cattle food for her emaciated cows, buffaloes, goats, etc.

It has been estimated that in India rats, mice, beetles and other insects, moulds and fungus diseases destroy about 3 weeks' ration of the country each year. This shows how much can be undertaken and achieved in the fields of pest control, and insecticides in India.

*Youth, Education and Agriculture*

A weak point about Indian agriculture is the poor contribution of our Universities and men of education in this field. While all the branches of agriculture and farm life are systematically studied in the Universities of the West, our educational systems have practically avoided it so far. The twelve departments and many sections of the Rothamsted Experimental Station of England, together with those of the large number of Agricultural Experimental Stations started by the Universities and States of

the U.S.A., on Rothamsted model point out clearly how many branches of physical and biological sciences receive their inspiration from agriculture and soils. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Bristol, Reading, London, etc., have all been showing their consciousness about this matter through their field and laboratory activities. The poor role of our scientists and technologists on the other hand can be appreciated from the fact that practically no study has been made on soil and water conservation in Bengal in spite of the floods, soil erosion and ultimate decay of the river systems of East Bengal in this century, and the present position of the Ganges in West Bengal. Only one paper has been read so far on the ("River Problems of Bengal", 1938) before Calcutta University. Sir E. J. Russell, the famous British authority on agriculture, wrote to the present author in a personal letter, "... India is by far the most important country in Asia, more advanced than any except perhaps Japan, but also confronted with greater difficulties because of its large and increasing population, and its lack of adequate water supply over much of the land. These difficulties present a challenge to the trained and educated section of India's

young people. They can be overcome by hard work and enthusiasm. . . ."

It is high time for us to appreciate that food and health are the basic requirements of all moral and intellectual activities and thus agriculture is the basis of civilisation.

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UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

*A Design for World Peace and Prosperity*

By T. SURYANARAYANA RAO

Fifteen years ago, in June 1945, fifty nations of the world signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco. They were "determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind." They wanted not only to prevent war, but also to ensure freedom and prosperity for all nations. And, pooling their experiences and aspirations they drew up the Charter to reflect the collective will of the war-torn and peace-loving peoples.

The document begins in a characteristic style: "We the people of the United Nations, determined . . . ." To save the world from war,

to reaffirm faith in human dignity and worth, to establish conditions conducive to justice and fair relations and to promote social advancement and such other noble aims, they, the people of the United Nations, had resolved to combine their efforts. The Charter contains 111 articles divided into nineteen chapters. Leaving aside the chapters relating to structure, important are those divisions describing purposes and principles, pacific settlement of disputes, and action with respect to threats to peace. Chapters dealing with economic and social co-operation are certainly of no less significance from the long range point of view. Perhaps this alone will do to call the UN the most broad-based of all

international institutions known to history, not barring The League of Nations. Two other sections what merit attention are those concerning non-self-governing territories and the International Court of Justice.

The Second World War handed to us a world full of chaos. The victors feared one another and the vanquished had their fists tight though hid in their pockets for the moment. Leaders of nations who could look into the horizons felt that some independent third force should be built to clear the world of the mental debris of war. More positively they wanted to create the new world on foundations of freedom and with the bricks of peace and leave it safe for their children. The first concrete manifestation of this desire was there in the famous Atlantic Charter of 1941. Getting wiser through the war, however, they kept on conferring and debating till they could successfully give us the Charter in 1945. Peace would first be secured which in its turn could facilitate progress in all directions. But freedom should be the corner-stone. Considerations of ideology, race and region should be politely humbled before the set aim. The first chapter of the Charter voices it. Articles one and two speak of the Purposes and Principles. The Purposes are fourfold: international peace and security, respect for freedom and dignity both of nations and of individuals, co-operation in social and economic fields, and harmonizing international activity in the service of these ends. Rights and duties of nations are given in the second article. The UN is a voluntary organisation of sovereign states. The member-states shall fulfil their obligations in good faith, settle their claims peacefully, refrain from using force, and help the UNO in its functions. Non-members too shall lend their hand to the Organisation in furtherance of its objectives. And lastly, the UN shall not offend the common law of domestic jurisdiction. To this world of problems of Gaza Strips, Berlins, Apartheid, and Ladakhs importance of these aims and principles cannot be over-emphasized.

The first and foremost aim of the United Nations in the context of world politics today is international peace and security. Free and frank discussions on problems should be the primary measure. Outstanding disputes should be settled peacefully, and that is the second step. If however intervention, military or otherwise, would

prove inevitable, suitable provision for the same is the last step. These are the stages envisaged by the Charter. Cardinally, the UN shall be used, in the words of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld "as an instrument for negotiation of settlements as distinct from the mere debate of issues." Further, "the Charter reconciles the obligation of peaceful settlement with the objective of justice and equity. . . ."

The two organs that are entrusted with this responsibility of peace are the Security Council and the General Assembly. Five chapters deal with these matters—General Assembly (IV), Security Council (V), Pacific Settlement of Disputes (VI), Action in respect of Threats to Peace etc., (VII), and Regional Arrangements (VIII). Let us briefly acquaint ourselves with the main features of these sections.

The General Assembly is the supreme organ of the UN. Its functions and powers as enunciated by Articles 10 to 17 fall under two heads: discussion and recommendation. But it shall not generally make any recommendation in regard to a dispute currently under the Council's scrutiny. The other inherent limitation in the Assembly, or for that matter in the whole of the UN, is that it cannot enforce its decision upon the members automatically. The UN is not a Government of any kind but is a simple association of sovereign nations.

While the Assembly is more a deliberative organ, the Security Council is the enforcement agency. Article 24 clearly states that "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by UN its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security. . . ."

The Council's work on any important item is subject to the veto of the five permanent members—Russia, America, Britain, France and Chiang's China. In spite of this veto-ailment the Security Council in co-operation with Assembly has done commendable work in Korea, Indonesia, Israel and Suez Canal. Now thanks to the Korean War, the Assembly can take matters into its hands when the Security Council is blocked by veto. Authorisation for this comes from the Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950.

The Council has specific military agencies, for instance, its emergency force. It has a Military Staff Committee to assist it. It expects unstinted co-operation from member states in its

action against offenders. There is a further suggestion to have something like a world police or military force.

In the chapter on action with respect to threats to peace, Article 51 provides for "the individual or collective self defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations." But such defensive action continues until the Council intervenes. The recent action of the United States in the Lebanon illustrates the point.

There is another place where the Organisation has shown a big sense of accommodation. "Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies . . . ." thus runs the fifty-second article. Under its scope thrive the Atlantic Community, the Warsaw Comradery and the like.

One thing may be asked of the Charter at this stage: Does it give any idea of the political ideology of this world organisation? Yes, but we can have only broad contours. Reading the Charter together with such declarations as the human rights we see that freedom, friendship and fairplay form the bedrock of UN's political thinking. Your freedom casts a duty upon you to help others to become, remain and grow free. Friendship demands that peaceful approach to problems should be made. 'Either You or I' is not the basis of talk, but 'Both you and I, with justice' should be the understanding as well as approach. Fairplay cancels intrigue and surprise attack of all our civilised conduct. Any aggressive act should be collectively resisted.

What then about the socio-economic thought of the UN? The Charter concerns itself with individuals as also with nations. Rights of and duties towards individuals in general are treated in the Charter at various places. Apart from this, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 quite exhaustively describes the normative provisions about all aspects of the humans in society. Besides, there are specific declarations regarding women, children, labour and refugees. Uniform international conduct is prescribed in them. So, to get at the whole picture of the UN's socio-economic thinking, we have to consult a number of documents. However, so far as the Charter goes, there is the chapter ten entitled "The Economic and Social Council". This council embraces a very large range of subjects—economic, social, cultural, educational,

health and related matters. The specialised agencies, various commissions and a host of other subsidiary agencies help the council. The Unesco is the most popular of them. Agencies like the World Bank and The Fund cater predominantly to economic and financial needs. The Unicef is the example of charitable work. Economic Commissions for the different regions—Europe, Asia and the Far-East, Latin America, and Africa—devise means of international co-operation and development. Thus the Ecosoc, to begin with, is the co-ordinator of socio-economic and allied branches. It also makes a rational and non-propagandist recording of achievements of all nations whether they are socialist or capitalist, advanced or poor, free or fettered. Finally, and this is very important, it immensely helps grow a universal socio-economic ideology. The Unesco says that wars begin in the minds of men and that adequate defenses must be build up there, in the minds of men. It is this noble task among other things, that the third organ of the UN, the Economic and Social Council has undertaken.

On the national plane, non-self-governing territories are accorded a special place. These territories comprise two categories—those handed down by the mandatory system of the League and those placed under the trust of the UNO later on. They are spread over in Africa, South-East Asia and elsewhere. Under the trusteeship system of the UN ten areas have been drawn. Their advancement towards self-Government is the chosen aim of the Organisation through the relevant agencies. Already Togoland, Libya, Ghana, the Cameroons have become free, thanks to the UNO. British Somalia, Belgian Congo, Western Samoa and other such nations shall soon be named differently and take their worthy place in the General Assembly. Chapter XI makes the basic declaration regarding dependent territories. A trusteeship system improving upon the old mandatory arrangement has been devised. According to Article 73 the administering members shall "accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost . . . the well-being of the inhabitants of these (trust) territories. . . ." The twelfth and thirteenth chapters describe in detail the work and procedure of the trusteeship system and the agency meant to operate it, namely the Trusteeship Council. The two basic ideas that pervade the chapters are human rights and eventual freedom of these nationalities.

The last and perhaps the most significant of the tasks of the UN is to help evolve true international law. The International Court of Justice is the hub of all activity in this field. Together with the statutes of other organs and declarations such as those on Human Rights and Rights of Children, the Court has to lay a strong basis of common law of nations. In the words of the ninety-second article the statute of the World Court forms an integral part of the Charter. The Court has advisory, arbitral and other necessary powers. But nations should first accept compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. As matters stand, many nations have not accepted the jurisdiction. (India has recently accepted such jurisdiction with the usual provisos.) With Cold War receding better climate may be created for the work of the Hague Court to give its fruits to the world.

Regarding the UN structure a few points may be noted. Six organs comprise the Organisation—The General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice and Secretariat. Sovereignty and formal equality of member states are assured. Only in the Security Council there is the veto system giving extra-ordinary weight to the Big Five (this includes ironically

the Small China). Top posts like the Secretary-Generalship and General Assembly Presidency are usually given to small or neutral nations. Through frank and exhaustive discussions the UN affords ample scope for persuasion as an effective method of international diplomacy. Scores of Sub-Committees and Commissions embrace the entire gamut of world life. For the first time in history a permanent international civil service has been created on a colossal scale. Within the four walls of the UNO thus, a world forum, a world law and indeed a world citizenship are growing steadily.

In conclusion, we may project our thoughts on the UN Charter *vis-a-vis* future world order. So much conceptual and practical effort is being made to bring all the states under the canopy of a world Government. When such a universal State comes into existence it will have to lean very heavily on the Charter, its work and its services, and benefit by its failings too. True, the UNO as constituted now does not have to establish a world Government. The Charter is but an international treaty for global peace and freedom and co-operation. Yet from the soil made by the UNO, the tree of tomorrow's world Government will grow.

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### PAKHTUNISTAN *vis-a-vis* PAKISTAN

By SATYABRATA GOSWAMI, M.A.

The Afghan irredentist claims on the trans-border tribal zone of Pakistan have once again strained the relations between the two Islamic States. The recognized international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan is the Durand Line which follows in part the crest of the Hindukush and in part other frontier hills and valleys and runs for a distance of some 1,200 miles between the high Pamirs and the border of Persia. The line was established in 1893 between the then British India and Afghan kingdom in order to achieve a "full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier."<sup>1</sup> Previously the frontier had been very much unstable and

1. Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. XIII, No. XII (Afghanistan), Article 6.

the Amir of Afghanistan as the spiritual head of Islam and Commander of the Faithful (Amir-ul-Muminin) had exercised unmistakable influence on the Pathan tribes in the Indo-Afghan border lands west of the river Indus.

The Pathan country in the north-west frontier of Pakistan includes several tribes who are "masterless, lawless, and fanatical; held together by a certain code of tribal customs and the loose control of the tribal *jirga* or council, but in the main freemen, impatient of any rigid social contract and violently opposed to any infringement of their liberty of thought or action; divided and split by the devastating scourge of the blood feud, and united only in a fierce determination to defend themselves and their country from all forms of external

pressure."<sup>2</sup> The Pathans have experienced successively the Afghan, the Sikh, the British and now the Pakistani rule of their country but to no outside authority they have ever owned complete allegiance. The tribes have virtually been independent in spite of the *de jure* possession of their land by one or the other of the foreign powers. The Sikhs during their rule of the Pathan country in the first half of the nineteenth century had ever been in a state of war with the border tribes and had exercised only loose control with the sole purpose of realizing the revenue. Even that control had not extended much beyond the limits of their military garrisons. The British "succeeded to an inheritance of anarchy" in the Pathan country in 1849 after the defeat of the Sikhs. In their forward drives, the British annexed the tribal lands, including certain parts of Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad the then Afghan ruler failed to recover the "lost lands of his forerunners, at any rate as far as the Indus." Instead, he was obliged to sign a treaty in 1855 with the British Government for the preservation of peace in the Indo-Afghan border lands by recognizing the territory of British India. But the tribes in the trans-border zone were in no mood to esteem the advancing frontier of British India beyond the Indus Valley. Sir Griffin, then officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, reported in 1876 that expedition after expedition had been necessary to show each tribe, in turn, the strength of the British Government and the folly of resisting it by force of arms. The Viceroy, Lord Lytton, also observed in 1877:

"I believe that our North-West Frontier presents at this moment a spectacle unique in the world; at least I know of no other spot where, after 25 years of peaceful occupation, a great civilized power has obtained so little influence over its semi-savage neighbours, and acquired so little knowledge of them, that the country . . . is an

absolute *terra incognita*, and that there is absolutely no security for British life a mile or two beyond our border."

The agreement of 1893, negotiated and signed by Sir Mortimer Durand representing the British Government of India and the Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan laid down a definite boundary between the two countries. The article 2 of the agreement stipulated that the Government of India would in no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan and the Afghan Amirs also would in no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India. The Durand Line has, however, been criticised as being artificial and defective. It ignores a number of important geographic, ethnic and strategic considerations, leading to the present Pak-Afghan tension in the border lands. It cuts across one of the main valleys of the Indus system and divides the Pathan tribes who straddle the frontier. Speaking of the defects of the Durand Line, Sir William Barton observes:

"Britain so far has found it impossible to absorb the Pathans into the Indian Empire; on their side the Afghan Government are faced with almost equal difficulties in civilizing their own border tribes, left more or less in the air by the Durand Line . . ."

The trans-border tribesmen who were not parties to the agreement never treated the line with much esteem. Again the Amir Abdur Rahman and his successors interpreted the non-interference clause in the agreement as amounting to refraining from armed interference only. "They did not consider themselves debarred in any way from sending emissaries across the line to maintain Afghan influence throughout the tribal areas, or from inviting *Jirgas* (deputations) of tribesmen from the Indian side of the line to come to Kabul, where they were treated as state guests and dismissed with handsome gratuities. It was an essential part of the Amir's policy to main-

2. W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan* (2nd Ed.), London 1958, p. 183.

3. W. Barton, *India's North-West Frontier*, London, 1939, p. 6.

tain Afghan influence among the independent tribes throughout the border, partly to defend himself from armed rebellion against the state, and partly as a prickly hedge of defence against possible British aggression."<sup>4</sup> Again although the Durand Line has been demarcated for the most part, there are areas in which exact delimitation is uncertain. The above background gives a clue to the present unstable conditions in the Pak-Afghan frontier resulting from the existence of a complicated issue of the tribal "Pakhtunistan."

Although Afghanistan follows a policy of avowed neutralism, the Soviet influence there has been steadily growing in recent years. The Soviet economic aid to Afghanistan since 1954 totalled approximately 200 million dollars. The Soviet economic and technical aid is chiefly being used for building up motorable highways, airports and river valley projects in the country. Russia has also given substantial military aid to Afghanistan. Sardar Daud, Afghan Prime Minister, however, claims that Soviet aid is without any strings and it does not affect Afghanistan's neutral policy.<sup>5</sup> But Pakistan seems to be greatly disturbed by these developments in that country. President Ayub Khan thinks that the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the Soviet road building in Afghanistan pose "a serious threat from the north."<sup>6</sup> The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have, on their part, charged Pakistan with the allegation of building up of a chain of foreign military bases in its territory, with particular reference to rocket-launching sites in Quetta, Gilgit and Peshawar. The United States' strategic bases and rocket-launching sites in the territory of Pakistan have obviously disturbed the balance in the remote corners of the Himalayas, and the increasing Sino-Soviet interest beyond their borders is hardly a move to restore that balance.

Viewed in the above perspective, the issue of Pakhtunistan, that is to say of an

independent or quasi-independent Pathan State under Kabul's hegemony and within the present borders of Pakistan has further shaken the balance of power in the north-western wing of the Himalayas: Fraser-Tytler regretfully notes: "Afghanistan and Pakistan, which should be closely united to form a great bastion resting on the Pamirs, against the enemies of liberty and progress, are divided and weakened by enmity and distrust. And beyond the mountains the Communists bide their time."<sup>7</sup> Afghanistan has long been seeking the right of self-determination for some four million Pushtu-speaking tribesmen in the North-Western marches of Pakistan. Reviewing the relation between the two countries, the Afghan Foreign Minister, Prince Naim Khan, charged Pakistan with "subversive" action among Pushtu-speaking tribes living in Pakistani territory.<sup>8</sup> In August, 1959, the Afghan Prime Minister, Sardar Daud Khan declared that his Government would continue to extend every possible help to the people of Pakhtunistan in their struggle for independence.<sup>9</sup> The Afghan point of view on Pakhtunistan question receives support from the Soviet bloc. Mr. Khrushchev is reported to have backed Kabul's stand on the issue by pointing out that the Pathans "should be allowed to decide their future by plebiscite."<sup>10</sup> The Russian Ambassador to Pakistan, Dr. Kapitsa, said at Rawalpindi on March 12, 1960 that the Pushtu-speaking people should be given the right to decide through a plebiscite whether they wanted to remain in Pakistan or in Afghanistan or to form an independent state. Pakistan has taken strong exception to the Soviet-Afghan stand as it interferes with its internal affairs. But, unfortunately for the former, the admission of Afghan interest in the tribes East and South of the Durand Line in a letter attached to the 1921 Treaty between the Afghan and the British Government, "gave

4. W. K. Fraser-Tytler, Op. cit., p. 189.

5. *The Times of India* (Bombay), March 8, 1960.

6. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Nov. 10, 1959.

7. Fraser-Tytler, op. cit., p. 314.

8. *The Times of India* (Bombay), Feb. 29, 1960.

9. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Aug. 27, 1959.

10. Ibid. March 8, 1960.



Prime Minister Nehru being greeted at the Lebanese-Syrian Region (of the United Arab Republic) border by R. Borden Reams, U.S. Consul-General for the Syrian Region



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with Mr. J. B. Priestly and his wife at the residence of Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi Pandit in London





President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the Academy of Sciences in the U.S.S.R.



Distinguished English novelist Mr. E. M. Forster at the exhibition of Mukul Dey's work in London

as it were certain legal basis to Afghan interference across the line."<sup>11</sup>

As a matter of fact, Pakistan has inherited from the British a very difficult and fluid situation in its frontier country. The Pakhtu- and Pashtu-speaking tribes in the trans-border zone "never fell under the effective sway of any recorded imperial authority."<sup>12</sup> Pakistan's major problem has been to control the turbulent Pathan tribes and gradually to bring complete integration of the border lands with the State's political framework. To counteract the move for Pathan separatism, and augment steady assimilation, Pakistan brought about the merger of all the old provinces in the Indus basin, including the North-West Frontier Province, in October 1955. This "one-unit" of West Pakistan is, however, not looked upon with favour by the rather individualistic Pathan tribes. The question of Pakhtunistan has been revived and debated from time to time. With the withdrawal of the British from India, the Afghan Government considered the previous treaties and agreements on the Durand Line as null and void and laid formal claims to the whole Pathan country between that line and the river Indus. The claim could not be entertained by the successor State of Pakistan. Subsequently, Afghanistan comes to lend full support for the formation of a separate Pathan State within the borders of Pakistan. Although Afghanistan promises no political amalgamation of this assumed State, it takes a lop-sided view of the whole question. For, as Sir Olaf Caroe points out, "The Afghan Government affirms that the Durand Line has lapsed with the demission of British power and, this being so, it is impossible to fix a western boundary for . . . Pakhtunistan. Lastly, the real considerations behind the claim are revealed by complete silence on the part of Kabul as to inclusion in this Pakhtunistan of any of the Pakhtu- or Pashtu-speaking areas in Afghanistan."<sup>13</sup> On a different footing stands the issue, as put forward by Abdul

Ghaffar Khan. On the eve of a referendum in the North-West Frontier Province in 1947, he urged that the Pathans should have the choice to vote for an independent Pakhtunistan. The referendum presented only two choices before the tribes whether they wanted to join India or Pakistan, and the third choice to vote for the nationalistic demand of a Pathan State was not conceded. As a result more than 50 per cent of the Pathan population boycotted the referendum. At best, Abdul Ghaffar Khan conceived of a Pathan State independent of either of the neighbours and at least, completely autonomous in the internal affairs of the tribes. By 1950, the agitation for an independent Pathan State was much widespread. In 1951 a semi-official Afghan journal published a map of the proposed Pathan State which included Chitral, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Pathan area of Baluchistan, and extended from the Indus to the Durand Line. Sir Olaf Caroe has, however, doubted whether such a state in the trans-border region will be economically viable, for "the Frontier has always required support, financial and otherwise, from the larger unit to which it has formed the shield."<sup>14</sup>

From the view point of international law, the idea of Pakhtunistan is held as "a quite untenable proposition." Fraser-Tytler says: "However much one may sympathise with the sentiment which has inspired this policy, the fact remains, clear and uncompromising, that the Afghan proposals, amounting as they do to deny the existence of the Durand Line and to encroach on the sovereignty of a neighbour, infringe one of the most explicit canons of international law."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, every ruler of Afghanistan has accepted and recognized the Durand Line, based on the 1893 agreement, as forming the Indo-Afghan border. It is only since the partition of India that fresh controversy has been started as to the validity of the Durand Line following the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to Pakistan. Pakistan's attitude to the international bearing of this line is that

11. Fraser-Tytler, op. cit. p. 262.

12. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, London, 1958, p. XV.

13. Ibid., p. 436.

14. Ibid. p. 436.

15. Fraser-Tytler, op. cit., p. 308.

of a successor State, inheriting the rights and duties from the British Government at the time of the transfer of power. The United Kingdom is in full agreement with Pakistan's stand and the British Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Noel Baker, expressed the view of his Government in 1950 in the following terms: "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have seen with regret the disagreements which there have been between the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan about the status of the territories on the North-West Frontier. It is His Majesty's Government's view that Pakistan is in international law the inheritor of the rights and duties of the old Government of India, and of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in these territories, and that the Durand Line is the international frontier."<sup>16</sup>

16. Extracts from a speech in the House of Commons by Mr. Noel-Baker, as quoted in Olaf Caroe's *The Pathans*, London, 1958, p. 465.

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### SHIPS OF ANCIENT WORLD

By AMAL SARKAR

In the dim and distant past of the upper Palaeolithic age man had no means of transportation other than the use of his own limbs. He used to carry his food on his back and head. With the gradual passage of time he began to pole his way along forest streams in a dug-out canoe. The story of the 'Great Deluge' is current among all nations of the world and a 'mysterious' ship appears everywhere as the saviour of mankind. The mode and materials employed to build up boats and canoes were simple but interesting. Several hundred reeds were gathered from the river sides and then tied with grass or ropes made of bark in cigar-shaped bundles. This type of boats was common among the Egyptians on the Nile in about 3000 B.C., among the Indians of Bolivia and Peru on Lake Titacaca and also among the dwellers of Lake Tana in Abyssinia. Although this type of canoes was commonly used by almost all the countries of the world yet the land of its origin cannot definitely be ascertained.

Dug-out canoes and skin-boats propelled by forty or more rowers or paddlers were in extensive use in pre-historic Egypt in 3000 B.C. The Assyrians used the 'kaleks' like rafts made of sheep skin some 3000 years ago. Another ancient type of boat was the wooden 'Guja' used by the men of Iraq on the Tigris and Euphrates.

The earliest representation of a sea-going vessel is, however, found in a carving on the wall of the temple of King Sahure

of Egypt (2800 B.C.). This vessel has a close resemblance with a modern yacht. In a relief in the temple of Dair-el-Baheri (1480 B.C.) there is a representation of ships, about 75 feet long and 15 feet wide and very similar to Phoenician Ships sent by queen Hat-shepset to a country near the southern extremity of the Red Sea (1500 B.C.). A document found at Gebe-el-Arak (1200 B.C.) depicts a regular "naval battle." Nine ships are shown in this representation of which four are Egyptian and made of Nilotic papyrus. In around the eighth century B.C., the 'bireme' (ships of war equipped with two rows of oars on different levels) was invented either by the Phoenicians or the Egyptians and during this period the 'biremes' were in common use by different nations of the Mediterranean. Gradually between 500—300 B.C., the Greeks made improvements on this type of war-ships and made the 'trireme.' A Greek 'trireme,' it is said, having a length of about 150 feet and keeping a speed of seven to nine miles an hour could carry a crew of 200. In the Solomon islands (group of islands in the Western Pacific discovered by the Spanish navigator Medana in 1567) large war canoes were used. The three-masted Alexandria, which is said to have been built by the order of king Heiro II of Syracuse and "presented by him to the king of Egypt in 230 B.C. weighed 4,200 tons, its length was 408 feet and it carried 80,000 bushels of corn and 10,000 earthenware vessels filled with

salted fish. It had 60 rooms and saloons, kitchens, a garden, bathrooms and a library."

Codrington in his work 'The Melanesians' states that "the canoes (in Melanesia) were as much as 45 feet in length and capable of holding 90 men; these were usually carved with decorative designs of sharks and frigate birds which were the objects of both elegance and utility." Attached to the prow just above the water line, was a little carved figure with 'prognathous heads' and 'starring eyes' of a pearl-shell; it was believed that this figure kept watch on hidden rocks and other dangers. Thus we find that the eyes painted on the sides of the Chinese 'junks' and even figure heads in the ships of the modern times may have had their origin in similar little protective figures; in fact, the sailor was ever a superstitious man. The Polynesians in big canoes reached New Zealand from the Society Islands. These canoes had individual names and all Polynesian tribes are connected with the canoe names of their ancestors. The Maoris were also adept in the art of building canoes. These canoes, however, did imply an economy and the ships and tools employed in their producing symbolized a whole economic and social system. The Indians of Alaska and Canada made use of bark canoes. The Eskimos made traffic through ice-berg region in admirable skin-boat known as 'Kayak' which was also used as a piece of hunting equipment. In Mesopotamia, the excavators found at Eridu the clay model of a ship, it might be that in such a sailing ship Sindbad the Sailor might have undertaken his long voyage. The Picts and Scots had also skin-boats called 'currags.' The war-boats of the Saxon pirates were quite unlike the light, skin-coloured 'currags' of the Picts. One such war-boat has been discovered at Nydam in Slesvig which is 77 feet long with a beam of less than 11 feet and pulled by 28 oarsmen.

It is recorded on many of the ancient "Sumerian" tablets that their kings had voyaged overseas. Naram-Sen, a son of king Menes had set forth an exploratory expedition sometime before 2000 B.C. From other

the 3rd dynasty of Egypt sent a fleet of 40 ships in 2400 B.C. to a Syrian port to secure cedar lumber. There is every possibility that these ancient voyages circum-navigated Africa in about 600 B.C. and regular voyages were made to England to procure tin perhaps as early as 2600 B.C. In this connection it may be mentioned that within past few years several small boats 18 to 25 feet in length have made the perilous Atlantic crossing both eastward and westward between America and Europe. In December, 1953, a man made the crossing from Europe to Florida in a 16 feet rubber life raft.



A Boat with towers, musicians and a female umbrella-bearer : Konarak, Orissa.

Among the Trobriands of Eastern New Guinea there is the double spiral of life and rebirth, a cross centred in a 'labyrinthine design' which is related to the mother goddess idea, and a group of concepts with 'the ship of the dead' and 'ship burial.' Burials of the Iron Age unearthed in central Sweden show that real boats were used as graves instead of the earlier symbolic figures of stones set in boat form. At Gokstad a strongly built sea-faring Viking-ship was discovered with the skeleton of a man inside. At Oseber another ship was found which was supposed to be the grave of a queen, most probably Aasa, who ruled the Norwegian Viking in the 9th century. According to Dr. Ekholm there is every possibility of attributing Hindu-Buddhist inference in Mexico and among the Mayas. There is every plausibility of existence of

South-east Asia and America in ancient times. It is said that Fa-hien embarked on a ship mound in 400 A.D. which carried more than 200 sailors.

In 1001 A.D., Leif Erikson made a voyage to an unidentified section of sea coast which he called Vinland, located somewhere between New Jersey and Labrador. In 1487, Bartolomeo Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope; in 1497 Vasco da Gama reached Malindi, a port in Menya; in 1511, the Portuguese reached Malacca and by 1700 A.D. most of the western Europeans were dependent on the sailing ship for transport by sea.

Herodotus informs us that the passenger ship of antiquity travelled at a speed of 5½ to 9-12 miles per hour. Cervantes (1547-1616), the author of the famous *Don Quixote*, was 12 days at sea when travelling from Naples to Barcelona. It is said that the first war-ship was built in Greece in about the year 1350 B.C., her name was *Argo* which was propelled by 50 rowers and built of oak-wood. The legendary ship in which Ulysses wandered round the Mediterranean is shown, transformed into a cliff, on the island of Corfu. The Greek historian Procopius personally witnessed the other vessel of Ulysses which took Aeneas through the Greek lines to Italy—this vessel was preserved by the Romans in the docks on the Tiber in the same way as the British had preserved Nelson's flagship, the *Victory*, in Portsmouth. The oldest surviving ship in Europe is the "Hjortspring" boat found in the island of Alasen in 1921, it dates from the time of the birth of Christ. In 1926, a dug-out, made of pitch-pine, was discovered in the lake of Bienne which dates from 2nd century B. C. Thelholm, a single-masted Danish Vessel built in 1776 was in service a few years ago of the west coast of the Danish island of Laaland.

The boat represented on a Mohenjodero seal resembles both modern river craft and the vessels depicted on Uruk seals and tablets. Extensive trade was organised in the Indus Valley to secure supplies not only of food-stuff from the coasts but also of different objects like metals from Baluchistan, 'conch' shells from Southern India, jade from China and Burma. The different hymns of the Rigveda conclusively prove

that the Rigvedic people had not only the knowledge of the sea (Samudra), high tide and oars (aritra) but were mariners and had trade relations with the outside world. The Rigvedic boats were simple in their construction; they had only the paddle or oar needed for propelling them. 'There is no mention of masts or sails, of rudder or anchor'. The reference that Bhujju was rescued with a ship of hundred oars (Sataritra) clearly bears testimony to the fact that sea-voyage was known in the Rigvedic age. From the Jatakas, the Brihat Katha and the Katha Kosha, Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (1st century A.D.) we come to learn that princes and merchants sailed in ships from Bhrikukachcha (modern Broach) and Tamralipti (modern Tamluk) to distant countries both Eastern and Western. A naval expedition was sent by Augustus in 25 B.C. to secure the command of the sea route to India. Hippalus noted that with the help of the monsoon winds a ship 'starting from Okelis, the port at the mouth of the Red Sea, would reach Muziris (modern Cranganore) on the Malabar coast in 40 days or even less.' A Greek drama of the 2nd century A.D. tells the story of a Greek lady named Chrition, ship-wrecked on the Canarese coast.

In China, the Yellow Emperor Huang-ti invented vessels of wood and clay. In the *Kuo Yu* (record of States) of the 5th century B.C. a naval expedition from Yueh was launched to the Shantung coast. The *Han-Shu* (history of the Han dynasty by Pan-Ku completed in about 80 A.D.) states that 'the merchant ships of the Barbarians are used to transfer them (the Chinese) to their destination.' In the middle of the T'ang period the ships of Ceylon were said to be the largest of the foreign ships. Hsuan Yin, a Buddhist priest, says that the 'large ships were 200 feet long and could hold 6 to 7 hundred men.' Besides these large ships there were small boats known as 't'ing' used mainly for landing purposes. When sailing a long hook on a long rope was often used to bring up the mud of the sea. The quality of the mud would help the captain to estimate the position of the ship. Till the early part of the 12th century there was no record of the use of compass).

## ASIAN METALWORK DISPLAYED AT METROPOLITAN

MEN of Asia and the Middle-East were the first to develop metalwork, and scholars believe that the smith was the earliest professional craftsman in history. The great skill and the remarkable techniques of these early artisans in welding small pieces of iron and steel is on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The Museum last year opened two new galleries devoted to "Oriental Arms and Armor."

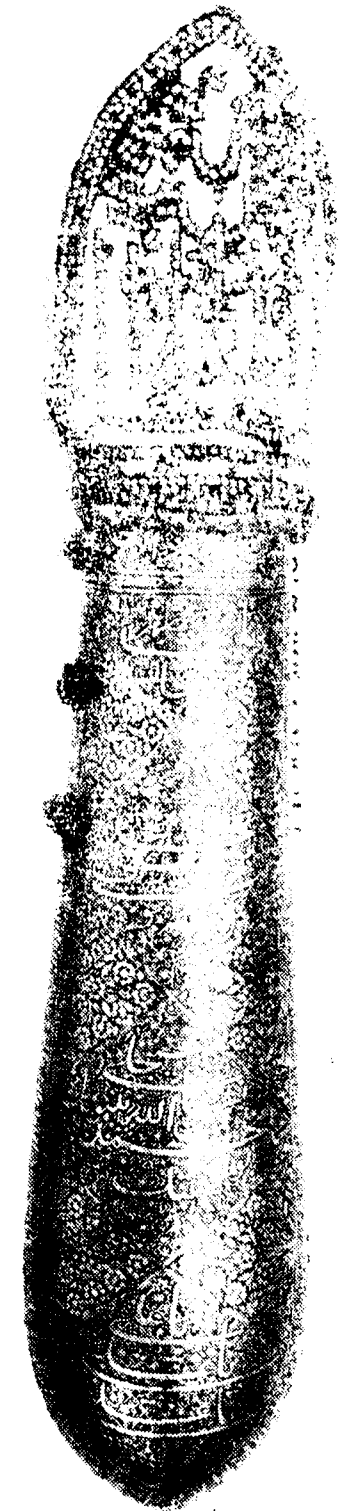


A Cuirass from North India (about 1700) with intricate detail

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has one of the most important concentrations of metalwork in the world. The new installations make possible a comparative study of artistic metalwork of all times and all places.

The eastern arms and armor exhibition represents countries in Asia, the Near East, and the Middle East. It is permanently installed in Wing Z, adjacent to the Morgan Wing of the Museum, where the European arms and armor collections are exhibited.

The eastern armorer was a true artist as well as a craftsman familiar with every process used in shaping and ornamenting metal—hammering, welding, embossing, chasing damascening, etching, gilding, wire-drawing, and the application of enamel, gems and other ornamentation.



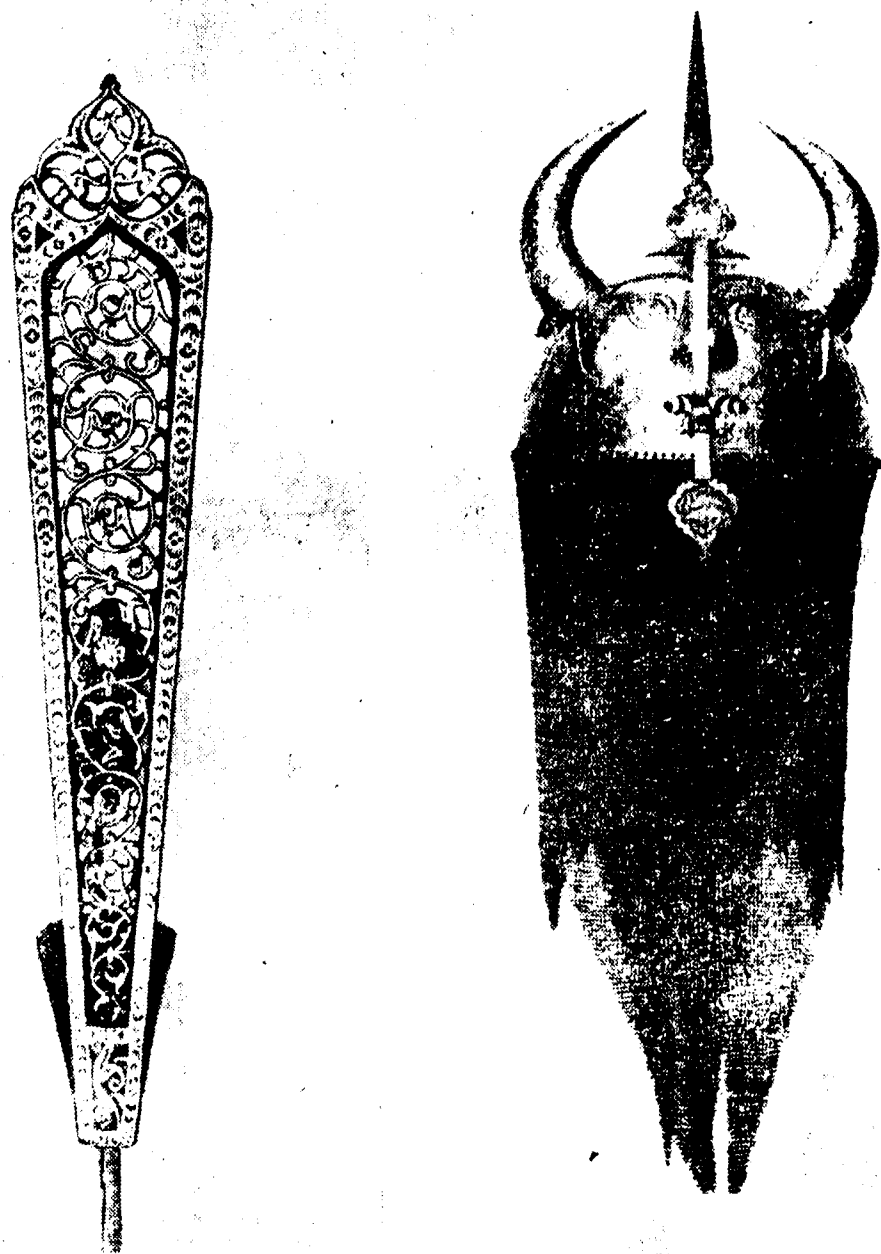
The arm guard of steel, velvet and gold at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Most of the Metropolitan's eastern objects are enriched by some of these intricate techniques. They are not ordinary pieces of military equipment, but rather parade arms, personal symbols of a soldier's importance and nobility in past centuries.

The eastern metalwork is exhibited in two galleries. One is devoted exclusively to armor

and weapons of Japan, and the other to the work of other eastern countries.

The armor of Turkey, India and Persia is represented by exceptional pieces arranged in three cases in the center of the large gallery. There are the mail coats with interlinked iron plates, of the type worn throughout the Muslim



The handsome hilt of a Katar from India (17th Century) at the Metropolitan

world. Richly embossed Turkish helmets, engraved, and damascened in colors, show geometrical ornaments and inscriptions from the *Koran*. Their shape suggests the dome of a mosque, and are similar to those in Istanbul museums.

The Persian armor, which had a marked influence on Indian armorers during the period of the Mughal Empire, advantageously shows eastern skill in the art of damascening and in making watered steel. The Museum has an extraordinary series of damascened pieces. Magnificent jeweled court weapons, many with carved jade hilts, are well-represented. Several fine fist daggers and a gauntlet sword, ornamented with dragons, serpents and peacocks, represent South Indian art.

The arts of jewel-setting, damascening and jade-carving in the sword and dagger hilts always attract attention, but it is the watered-steel blades that are most highly prized by museum experts. One example of excellent watered-steel technique in the collection is the Malayan kris, a symbol of rank and authority as well as a weapon. The examples of this in the Metropolitan's exhibits show that the blade was highly developed both metallurgically and artistically. The skill of the artist is evident in the layers of different metals which produce contrasts of color in the watering of the blade.

Other important watered-steel blades are shown from India and Persia, including work by the famous Asadullah of Ispahan, the blade-smith of Shah Abbas the Great.

The Japanese gallery features some of the finest pieces from the Museum's extensive collection dating from the Fourth Century to 1876,

when imperial decree forbade the open wearing of swords except by military officers and court officials. Primitive swords and accessories, ornaments, and a remarkable helmet are shown in two wall cases. The early items are burial finds, but later the sword was considered too precious to be surrendered to the tomb.

Fine examples of later Japanese periods are represented in the Museum collection. They have the wavy line of color near the edge (*yakiba*), typical of Japanese blades. Characteristically, they have a beautiful graining in the metal, a hardband of pearly luster along the edge with relative softness in the body of the blade.

Important Japanese armor, including a rare, primitive helmet, the traditionally grotesque masks, and prized examples from the Museum's comprehensive collection of sword furniture or ornaments are shown.

The Metropolitan's oriental arms and armor collection has grown in size and importance through the years since Henry Walters and Brayton Ives donated a handsome collection of Japanese swords in 1891. The new galleries make it possible to exhibit many items from the Museum's holdings.

The collections are important for study or instruction from several points of view—the quality of the workmanship, the subject represented, or the artist who signed it. They are of interest as a history of metalwork technology and of the technique of ornamenting iron and steel in many parts of the world by peoples of widely diverse cultures.—*USIS*





## A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF KHEDLA VILLAGE IN RAJASTHAN

By JAGDISH MEHRA, M.A.,

Head of Economics Department, G.M.N. College, Ambala

### General Background

A sample survey of Khedla village was undertaken by the author recently covering 41 families out of a total number of 102. The village occupies an area of 2,993 bighas of land with a population of 690.<sup>1</sup> The entire village was divided according to castes for the purpose of conducting this survey. This caste-wise division of population was considered proper because the people of different castes were living separately. It was also done with a view to compare the living standards of different castes. The main castes residing in the village are Chamar, Kumhar, Mali, Rajput, Khati, Jat, Brahmin and Muslim.

Khedla is situated near Pilani in the North-Western part of the Jhunjhunu district in the Jaipur division of Rajasthan. The climate of the village is invigorating and dry. The rainfall is below 15 inches and is mainly confined to the months of July, August and September. The agriculturists depend wholly upon rain for cultivation of land with the result that the village is

1. According to Census of 1951 (Figures collected from the Tehsil Office--Chirawa).

### 2. Population Trends

Statement showing sex-ratio and Marital status in Khedla.

| No. Age-group | Male | Female | Sex-ratio | Married | Unmarried | Widow | Widower |
|---------------|------|--------|-----------|---------|-----------|-------|---------|
| 1. Below 1    | 9    | 9      | 1,000     | —       | 18        | —     | —       |
| 2. 1-12       | 52   | 40     | 769       | 25      | 67        | —     | —       |
| 3. 12-20      | 26   | 38     | 1,462     | 47      | 12        | 5     | —       |
| 4. 20-30      | 26   | 21     | 808       | 43      | 2         | 1     | 1       |
| 5. 30-40      | 17   | 11     | 647       | 27      | —         | 1     | —       |
| 6. 40-50      | 8    | 14     | 1,750     | 20      | —         | 1     | 1       |
| 7. 50-60      | 9    | 1      | 111       | 8       | —         | —     | 2       |
| 8. Above 60   | 3    | 7      | 2,333     | 3       | —         | 5     | 2       |

subject to famine. The stresses and strains of famine are not so pronounced here since the majority of villagers are employed under the Birla Education Trust<sup>2</sup> and Central Electronics and Engineering Research Institute.<sup>3</sup> The soil is sandy and, therefore, not suitable for growing wet crops, e.g., paddy, sugarcane, etc. Bajra is the most important crop grown here. It is also the most important food crop in Rajasthan State occupying an area of about 34 per cent of the total cropped area.<sup>4</sup> Other important crops of this village are Gram, Moth and Gobar. A population study of Khedla based upon the statistics collected on marital status, civil condition and sex-ratio, etc., under the present survey both according to age-groups and castes yields several interesting conclusions.

2. All the educational and other institutions at Pilani are under the direct management and supervision of B.E.T.

3. The C.E.E.R.I. was established at Pilani under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research under Second Plan--Second Five-Year Plan, p. 525.

4. *Agricultural Statistics 1950-51 Rajasthan State*, p. 27.

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It is evident from the above table that the highest sex-ratio is in the age-group 40-50 while the lowest is in the age-group 50-60. The sex-ratio of the people below 12 years which constitutes 38% of the total population under survey is 813 revealing that population is not likely to register any appreciable rise in the immediate future. It is, however, bound to multiply fast enough as the younger generations mature in due course, say in another decade or two becoming the potential parents of tomorrow. The practice of child marriage is frequent as 25% of the total population in the age-group 1-12 were found to be married. The widows are more than twice the number of widowers which is quite in conformity with the existing practice of not marrying widows in the country.

- Cultivation of land.
- Agricultural labour.
- Non-agricultural labour.
- Occupations other than farming.
- Others.

The item 'Occupations other than farming' includes income derived from the sale of milk, ghee, butter and cattle, etc., while the last item 'Others' includes income mainly from the sale of fodder. Fodder is taken here to mean as bushes and remains of crops left on the field when reaping operations are over. The following statement shows the annual income in Khedla from various sources :

| Caste   | Annual income per family (in Rs.) |                             |                     |                     |                         |                                |             | Total      |            |
|---------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
|         | Average size of family            | Land per family (in bighas) | Cultivation of land | Agricultural labour | Non-agricultural labour | Occupations other than farming | Others      | Per family | Per capita |
| Chamar  | 4                                 | 8.5                         | 56.6 (9)            | 145.5 (22.5)        | 309.2 (48)              | 122.3 (19)                     | 9.8 (1.5)   | 643.4      | 139.8      |
| Kumhar  | 9.3                               | 13.7                        | 204.0 (11.2)        | 333.0 (18.6)        | 837.5 (46.4)            | 389.2 (21.8)                   | 35.7 (2)    | 1799.7     | 192.8      |
| Mali    | 7.6                               | 13                          | 202 (17)            | 108.8 (9)           | 311.3 (25.7)            | 566.3 (46.7)                   | 20.6 (1.6)  | 1209.5     | 161.3      |
| Rajput  | 8                                 | 17                          | 600 (30.3)          | 166 (8.8)           | 679 (34.9)              | 380 (19.8)                     | 116 (6.2)   | 1942.4     | 242.9      |
| Khati   | 8                                 | 26.6                        | 816.7 (45.2)        | 100 (5.8)           | 440 (24.8)              | 303.3 (17.7)                   | 113 (6.5)   | 1773.3     | 193.2      |
| Jat     | 7                                 | 50.8                        | 683.3 (67)          | 33.3 (1.3)          | 86.7 (3.5)              | 465 (18.6)                     | 241.7 (9.6) | 2510       | 358.5      |
| Brahmin | 15                                | 35                          | 1000 (30)           | —                   | 1440 (43.1)             | 750 (22.4)                     | 150 (4.5)   | 3340       | 222.6      |
| Muslim  | 11                                | 13                          | 600 (21.2)          | —                   | 1500 (53)               | 630 (22.2)                     | 100 (3.6)   | 2830       | 257.1      |
| Total   |                                   |                             | 5163.1              | 887.6               | 5603.7                  | 3606.1                         | 783.8       | 1604.8     | 1768.2     |

Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentage of total income from different sources of income for each caste.

It is clear from the above table that the income accruing from the cultivation of land for the whole village works out at 32.1% of the total income. Jats obtain 67% of their total income from this source; it is also significant in the case of Khatis, Rajputs and Brahmins. It is interesting to note that Chamars get the lowest income from

this source—roughly 9% of their total income. An important fact that emerges from this income analysis is that the percentage of income from this source up to the total is almost directly correlated with the amount of land possessed by different castes. The income from the agricultural labour for the village comes to 5.6% only. Evidently, the people do not rely much on this source. It is also important to note that Brahmins and Muslims do not get any income from this source. Roughly speaking, 34.9% of the total income flows from non-agricultural labour. Muslims obtain more than half, e.g., 53% while Chamars, Kumhars and Brahmins get, on an average, 47% of their total income from this item revealing the dependence of these castes mainly on business, trade and service. The item 'Occupations other than farming' yields 22.5% of the total income. Malis get 46.7%—the highest income from this source. Income from 'Others' is significant only for Jats, Khatis and Rajputs.

Statement showing expenditure pattern in Khedla annual expenditure per family (in Rs.)

| S. No. | Caste   | Food             | Clothing & footwear | Fuel & rent     | Ceremonies & services | Misc.           | Total   |
|--------|---------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1.     | Chamar  | 535.8<br>(67.5)  | 81.0<br>(10.2)      | 21.0<br>(2.6)   | 117.0<br>(14.7)       | 41.0<br>(5.1)   | 795.8   |
| 2.     | Kumhar  | 1414.0<br>(62.5) | 274.0<br>(12.1)     | 116.0<br>(5.1)  | 362.0<br>(16.0)       | 98.0<br>(4.3)   | 2664.0  |
| 3.     | Mali    | 1073.0<br>(76.4) | 138.5<br>(9.8)      | 52.0<br>(3.7)   | 91.0<br>(6.4)         | 52.0<br>(3.7)   | 1406.5  |
| 4.     | Rajput  | 1483.0<br>(68.4) | 285.0<br>(13.1)     | 221.0<br>(10.2) | 99.0<br>(4.6)         | 81.0<br>(3.7)   | 2169.0  |
| 5.     | Khati   | 1050.7<br>(69.3) | 173.0<br>(11.4)     | 43.0<br>(2.9)   | 66.0<br>(4.4)         | 182.0<br>(12.0) | 1514.7  |
| 6.     | Jat     | 1349.2<br>(55.5) | 231.0<br>(9.6)      | 333.0<br>(13.7) | 392.0<br>(16.1)       | 123.0<br>(5.1)  | 2428.2  |
| 7.     | Brahmin | 2038.0<br>(42.0) | 510.0<br>(10.5)     | 520.0<br>(10.7) | 1605.0<br>(33.1)      | 180.0<br>(3.7)  | 4853.0  |
| 8.     | Muslim  | 2142.5<br>(51.3) | 440.0<br>(10.5)     | 172.0<br>(4.2)  | 1175.0<br>(28.1)      | 247.0<br>(5.9)  | 4176.5  |
| Total  |         | 11086.2          | 2132.5              | 1478.0          | 3907.0                | 1004.0          | 19607.7 |

Note: Figures in brackets denote percentages of total expenditure of each caste.

5. This was because 'the debt may relate to items incurred for the maintenance of the level of living in some previous year. They do not, therefore, properly belong to consumption expenditure, which measures the current level of living.' (I.L.O.—*Methods of Family Living Studies*, 1949—p. 21).

The per capita income per month for the whole village comes to Rs. 18.3. The average per capita per month income for Jats is the maximum, i.e., Rs. 29.8 and the minimum is Rs. 11.6 for Chamars. The incomes of other castes fall between these two broad limits.

#### 4. Expenditure Pattern

The data in respect of each sample family for several items of consumption was collected. These items are food, clothing and footwear, fuel and lighting, house rent and repairs, services, ceremonies and functions and miscellaneous items. Miscellaneous items include education, litigation, medicine and travelling, etc. The value of articles obtained as wages in kind was not taken into consideration in recording expenditure since these were almost insignificant. Interest paid on loans was excluded from consumption expenditure.

The average annual expenditure for the whole village comes to about Rs. 2,451 as against the corresponding figure of Rs. 2,006 for income. There is, thus, on an average, a deficit of Rs. 445.

On an average, 69% of the total expenditure is incurred on food by Chamars, Malis, Rajputs and Khatis. If the expenditure on clothing is added to it, this average percentage works out to 77. As against this, the average expenditure incurred on food and clothing by Jats, Brahmins and Muslims is lower, i.e., 63% showing that the expenditure by them on other items like fuel and rent, marriages, education, medicine, etc., is comparatively higher.

The figures regarding the various items of food expenditure are given in the appendix. Analysis of the pattern of food expenditure reveals that the per capita expenditure by Chamars is the lowest on food whereas Jats incur the highest. Chamars spend 74% of their total food expenditure on cereals as compared to an average of 54% for the whole village. The proportion of food expenditure on pulses does not show wide variations from caste to caste. Muslims spend the least on this item. It is interesting to note that the percentage expenditure on spices is the highest by Chamars in the village. Vegetables form an integral part of the consumption expenditure, especially of Jats, Khatis, Kumhars and Brahmins. The highest percentage—8.4% is incurred on meat by Muslims. The expenditure on this item is also significant of Jats, Khatis and Rajputs while Chamars and Malis cook it on auspicious occasions. The expenditure on tea is Rs. 13 per annum, i.e., 1.2% of the total food expenditure. The expenditure on clothing shows that women incur more expenses than men partly because their needs for clothing are varied and partly because they use costlier type of clothes. The expenditure for clothing for children is 22% of the total expenditure in that respect.

The average per family expenditure on kerosene oil and match-boxes is fairly stable, i.e., Rs. 12/- and Rs. 3/- per annum respectively. People use cowdung cakes, dry leaves, twigs and straw as fuel which they

collect from nearby fields. During the course of the enquiry, only Kumhars and Rajputs gave figures for expenditure on fuel. Broadly speaking, the houses are self-owned and, therefore, no rent is paid. A typical house of the village is a small kachha one with mud walls and thatched roofs. There are, however, a few pucca houses owned by Malis, Jats, Brahmins, Rajputs and Muslims who spend on this item 89% of the expenditure on repairing incurred by all the castes. This shows that expenditure on repairing is less significant for kachha houses as it requires only periodical plastering with cowdung. The average per family expenditure on education and medicine is Rs. 21 which accounts for 0.85% of the total expenditure. People spend lavishly on marriage ceremonies and 'nuktas'. The expenditure on this item works out at 17.5% of the total expenditure. Tobacco is used in general and it forms 1% of the total expenditure by all the castes.

Analysis of expenditure pattern indicates the working of well-known Law of Consumption of Eugles. The proportion of expenditure incurred on food varies from 50% to 76% except that of Brahmins. This leaves a smaller percentage of expenditure to be spent on housing, education, medicine, clothing and footwear, etc. Even the expenditure on food is not well-balanced from the nutrition point of view. The proportion of protective and supplementary food such as fruits, vegetables, eggs and meat, etc., is extremely small and falls short of the optimum standard to maintain vigorous health and efficiency.

#### 5. Predominantly a Consumption Village

The income and expenditure analysis conclusively shows that Khedla is essentially a consumption village. The volume of saving is nil. The per capita income for the entire population in Khedla works out at Rs. 18[3]- per month whereas the per capita expenditure comes to Rs. 23[- showing very small saving. Analysing the income and expenditure of different castes, it is found that all the castes inhabiting Khedla except Khatis and Jats, incur an excess of

expenditure over their income. Only Khatis and Jats manages to save. The following table is a better index of the living standard of the people :

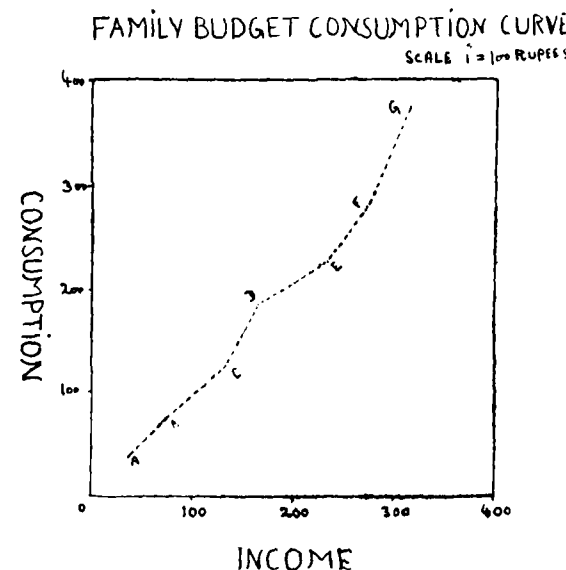
| Total number of families in each Income-group<br>(Income-group in Rs.) | Number of families in each income-group |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Under 50                                                               | 6                                       |
| 50-100                                                                 | 15                                      |
| 100-150                                                                | 7                                       |
| 150-200                                                                | 6                                       |
| 200-250                                                                | 2                                       |
| 250-300                                                                | 3                                       |
| Over 300                                                               | 2                                       |

Though the total number of houses in the village is 102, yet income returns were recorded for 41 houses for intensive study. From the above table, nearly 50% of the families fall in the first two income-groups while roughly 68.7% in the first three falls below Rs. 150. There are only 7 families whose income is above Rs. 200. It shows that there are few richer families in the higher income-groups and the vast majority of them are poor.

Further, a family budget consumption schedule provides a clear picture of the average standard of living of a family in each income-group. The average income and expenditure are obtained by dividing the totals of these income-groups by the number of families in each income-group. The following table shows the income (average income and expenditure) of each income-group per month.

| Family Budget Consumption Schedule |                                |                                     |         |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Income-group in Rs.                | Average income of group in Rs. | Average consumption of group in Rs. | Savings |
| 0-50                               | 36.2                           | 36.0                                | + .2    |
| 50-100                             | 77.2                           | 77.0                                | + .2    |
| 100-150                            | 131.2                          | 124.0                               | + 7.2   |
| 150-200                            | 165.5                          | 183.0                               | -17.5   |
| 200-250                            | 231.0                          | 224.0                               | + 7.0   |
| 250-300                            | 274.3                          | 277.6                               | - 3.3   |
| Over 300                           | 317.0                          | 372.3                               | -55.3   |

A graphical representation of the consumption schedule is given below :



The above graph shows the line of equal distribution and the amount of saving as well as the amount which is not saved. The dotted line is drawn to show the general trend of consumption curve after smoothing out the irregular fluctuations. The line of equal distribution is the one where no saving would be possible; for all income received would be consumed by the families concerned.

The analysis of the family budget consumption curve for Khedla reveals interesting results with regard to the saving pattern of the people. In the lower income-groups, the income and expenditure is well-balanced. Thus, AB indicates that there is a tendency for the expenditure to hover round the level of income. Between points B and C in the curve, there is a volume of saving which arises mainly because of the desire of guarding against 'rainy days.' Again, the curve which starts rising from C and reaches at its peak at point D shows what is not saved. This brings home the fact that with the rise in income, the expenditure registers more than proportionate increase. There is, again, some saving at point E but the curve shows a steep rise from point F. Hence there is considerable dissaving in the upper income brackets. Thus, in the lower income-groups the expenditure is limited by the size of the income while the people in

the higher income-groups show a tendency to spend money lavishly. Too much emphasis may not, however, be placed on this conclusion since individual whims and fancies of villagers are likely to vitiate the general saving pattern. Taking the general picture of the trend, the shape of the saving curve resembles that of a creeping snake or cobra moving slowly.

#### 6. Some General Observations

It is proper here to briefly examine the influence of changes over the past several years on the living standard of the people in Khedla. Khedla has been a self-sufficient village. A decade ago, most of the transactions carried on in the village were in terms of goods and services. But the huge network of construction work started at Pilani by the Birla Education Trust and the migration of some of the villagers to work at Bhakara Nangal Project (because the wages offered there were higher and attractive) provided ample employment opportunities to them, especially to the poorer sections of the village. Due to this development the economy of the village has been brought within the framework of our developmental plans which influence the consumption and income patterns of the villagers through the instrument of price changes. Any change in prices, especially in the prices of Bajra, Gram, Moth, Jowar and other crops sold by the people of this village and the commodities like tea, gur, rice and coarse cloth, etc., which they buy correspondingly change their income and expenditure patterns, thus affecting their standard of living. Further, the outlook of the villagers has widened due to their growing contact with the educated classes at Pilani. A Primary School was established in the village in 1955. The Birla Sarvajanic Hospital established in 1952 provides free medical aid to the people although the majority of the villagers still purchase *deshi* stuff from the *Vaids* who exploit them unduly.

#### 7. Suggestions

As the facts stand, the dominant conclusion of this survey is that the standard

of living of the people are distinctly lower and the volume of savings is almost nil. For raising the economic condition of the villagers, the following suggestions may be outlined :

(a) **Economic Needs:** The village consists mainly of agriculturists where the importance of water needs hardly be stressed. The rainfall is not only low but it is also not well-timed and certain. There are only three wells in this village which are hardly sufficient for drinking and bathing purposes. There is no canal or other means of irrigation in the whole district nor is there any plan for building one. The attention of those in authority is pointedly drawn to this basic need of the people of this area. Since it is said that the sub-soil water here reveals ample supply of underground water, this should be tapped by all possible means. Further, the introduction of poultry-keeping, carpentry, pottery, hand-weaving and other cottage industries has a bright future. For example, the people of Pilani depend mainly on the Delhi or Jaipur market for the supply of eggs. Thus, evidently, the poultry-keeping can be profitably started by the villagers. However, the provision of adequate credit and marketing facilities could only provide a positive encouragement to the villagers for setting up such industries. A well-organised multi-purpose society, if started, would obviate this difficulty to a great extent.

(b) **Social Needs:** Since education in the village is imparted upto the primary stage, the provision upto higher or middle school stage should be made. This is because the villagers cannot afford to send their children outside for education beyond the primary stage on account of extreme poverty. Furthermore, despite the provision of free medical aid by the Sarvajanic Hospital at Pilani, these facilities are provided with higher cost in many cases. It is important to make these services both efficient and economic to them. The occasional trips arranged by the students of various colleges for providing free medical aid would prove

## APPENDIX

Statement showing items of Food Expenditure per family (in Rs.) in Khedla

| Castes  | Cereals          | Pulses        | Ghee, Milk & Oil | Vegetables, spices & salt | Meat           | Sugar or gur  | Tea           | Misc.          | Total   |
|---------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------|
| Chamar  | 400.2<br>(74.9)  | 8.3<br>(1.5)  | 70.1<br>(13.0)   | 25.4<br>(4.7)             | 3.9<br>(0.7)   | 12.7<br>(2.4) | 4.2<br>(0.8)  | 11.0<br>(2.0)  | 535.8   |
| Kumhar  | 852.0<br>(60.2)  | 29.3<br>(2.0) | 314.0<br>(22.3)  | 56.2<br>(4.1)             | 19.3<br>(1.4)  | 39.0<br>(2.7) | 14.2<br>(1.0) | 90.0<br>(6.3)  | 1414.0  |
| Mali    | 642.5<br>(59.7)  | 25.5<br>(2.4) | 215.5<br>(20.1)  | 34.4<br>(3.4)             | 3.0<br>(0.3)   | 43.2<br>(4.0) | 18.2<br>(1.7) | 90.7<br>(8.4)  | 1073.0  |
| Rajput  | 606.6<br>(40.9)  | 29.0<br>(2.1) | 553.3<br>(37.1)  | 61.7<br>(4.2)             | 26.0<br>(1.7)  | 73.0<br>(5.0) | 46.7<br>(3.1) | 86.7<br>(5.9)  | 1483.0  |
| Khati   | 451.3<br>(42.6)  | 18.3<br>(1.7) | 370.3<br>(35.7)  | 57.9<br>(5.5)             | 40.0<br>(3.8)  | 28.0<br>(2.7) | 13.3<br>(1.2) | 71.6<br>(6.8)  | 1050.7  |
| Jat     | 665.0<br>(49.3)  | 26.3<br>(1.9) | 413.6<br>(30.9)  | 40.0<br>(2.9)             | 28.3<br>(2.1)  | 42.3<br>(3.1) | 8.7<br>(0.6)  | 125.0<br>(9.2) | 1349.2  |
| Brahmin | 1100.0<br>(54.1) | 35.0<br>(1.8) | 630.0<br>(30.8)  | 82.0<br>(4.0)             | —              | 36.0<br>(1.8) | 5.0<br>(0.2)  | 150.0<br>(7.3) | 2038.0  |
| Muslim  | 1000.0<br>(46.6) | 30.0<br>(1.4) | 605.0<br>(28.4)  | 77.5<br>(3.6)             | 180.0<br>(8.4) | 35.0<br>(1.6) | 15.0<br>(0.7) | 200.0<br>(9.3) | 2142.5  |
| Total   | 5717.6           | 201.7         | 3171.8           | 435.1                     | 300.5          | 309.2         | 125.3         | 825.0          | 11086.2 |

N. B.—Figures in brackets indicate percentages of total food expenditure of each caste.

beneficial. Besides, this village is a melting-pot of different castes and religions which suffer from inelasticity of dietaries due to caste prejudices, social customs and inertia. The average diet of the villager is unbalanced and faulty, for the religious and economic considerations largely determine whether fish, flesh, milk, ghee and eggs, etc., will enter into the dietary or not. This, coupled with the inappropriate preparation of food make people susceptible to various diseases. As it is not possible to provide nutrition at optimum level for every villager due to limited income and religious injunctions, the nutrition should at least be given to expectant and nursing mothers, infants, toddlers and school-going children.

The lines of reform as indicated above can only be feasible if a healthy atmosphere is created among the villagers. Khedla, inhabited by many castes, is divided into two groups, namely, Jats, Khatris on the

one hand and Rajputs, Malis and Chamars, etc., on the other hand. Whenever an occasion arises for taking some important decision for the village as a whole, co-operation is not extended by all with the result that much energy is frittered away by both the groups in winning their own respective cases. A fair election of the village panchayet and spread of education could only help dispel caste prejudices and develop co-operative spirit among the people.

(c) **Role of Government:** The National Extension Block was established at Chirawa on October 1955. The village under survey comes under the operation of this block. The progress report obtained from the office of the block reveals that the extension activity in Khedla has so far been confined to the distribution of fertilisers, seeds of bajra and vegetables, digging of compost pits, organising community meetings, repairing of a well and its disinfection.

tion, provision of medical aid and the construction of a kuchha road by securing voluntary labour. The response of the villagers, on the whole, has not been favourable. During the course of the enquiry, the author collected the information that this is partly due to the caste-prejudiced nature of the village level worker. In the ultimate analysis, however, the successful prosecution of the activities undertaken by the extension block would depend, in a large measure, on the introduction of the lines of reform as outlined above.

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## ROLE OF TAXATION IN THE GROWTH OF AN UNDEVELOPED ECONOMY

By ANIL KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M.A.

In this article, I propose to discuss upon the the low revenues of Government in the undeveloped economy.

One of the canons of taxation is that no Government should indulge upon such taxes which are costly to collect because they have to be collected from a large number of people. This canon does apply to both direct and indirect taxes.

The main problem of an undeveloped economy is the problem of reconstruction. The question of economic reconstruction in such an economy postulates the necessity of diverting population from primary sector to secondary sector, and then from secondary sector to tertiary sector. This chain of the changing occupation of the peoples shows a growing economy in which the industries stand as pivot. But this entire programme of economic reconstruction calls for a supply of huge finance which it is difficult for the Government of an undeveloped economy to raise. With the growth of the economy, the public sector expands and demand for revenues increases. The problem of revenues takes an acute form as the economy passes through phases of growth.

From the above, it is reflected that as an undeveloped economy moves through one phase of growth to another, the problem of revenues that its Government faces takes a magnifying shape. The reason of this phenomenon can be traced to the fact that Government in a less developed economy cannot raise high revenues so as to be able to cater to the progressively rising demands for finance of the economy. We can appreciate the reason why Government in a less developed economy cannot raise high revenue if we study "taxation" with all the variety of problems connected with it. Taxation, being the main source of Government revenues, plays an important role in the growth of an undeveloped economy and that the problems of technique of taxation in undeveloped economy will account for

Some undeveloped economies have also to face great technical difficulties in raising indirect taxes. Such taxes are most easily levied at points where a large part of the national income is passing through a small number of hands. A small number of wholesalers usually deal with exports and imports and from them export and import duties can be collected very cheaply. In industrially developed economies the total national output is produced by a few large scale producers; consequently excise taxes and purchase taxes become cheap to collect. The undeveloped economies are not so favourably placed in this regard. In India exports are less than 10 per cent



of national income; so the yield of taxes on foreign trade is correspondingly low. Domestic trade appears as the main source of taxation in India and taxing domestic trade in India is very costly. It is costly because of the fact that the total national output of India is not concentrated in a few firms but they are produced by a large number of firms and sold through millions of outlets. This accounts for considerable tax evasion and the rising cost of tax collection in India.

A further difficulty in less developed economy is that a large part of the output produced by a person is not traded at all. The farmer produces his own consumption and disposes of only a little surplus. If the money income of the farmer is taxed he will largely evade taxation. But it is different where farmers are producing commercial crops for export, because they are easily then reached by export taxes. Self-sufficient farmers have to be taxed directly. African tribes have used the poll tax for this purpose, whereas Indian princes relied mainly on a land tax.

This brings us to consider the distribution of the burden of taxation in less developed economies. How far down in the income scale taxation has to be taken depends partly upon how uneven the distribution of income is but it also depends partly upon the effects of taxation upon incentives and savings. This latter question is more important in the less than in the more developed economies. It is easiest to tax the landlord class because in this case neither incentives nor savings are involved. Apart from this, the landlords are everywhere, in political disfavour. Peasants usually carry with them heavy burden of taxation. But in countries where the peasants have lately become politically conscious and have come to enjoy political rights, it has been difficult on the part of the Government not to relax the burden of taxation upon peasants. It is also difficult to tax the middle-class partly because they wield the political power in the Nationalist Governments and partly because incentives are required for the expansion of this class. It is also difficult to subject the category of "Profits" to taxation. From political standpoint, it may be considered easy to tax profits precisely when capital belongs to foreigners; but such taxation is inimical to the growth of incentives and enterprise in the economy. When

the profits are taxed heavily the private capital loses its incentive to make investments and this does not conduce the growth of the economy at a faster speed. This is the reason why some countries which are very much anxious to encourage development are offering taxation exemption from income tax to capitalists who start new industries.

What is to be done with the rich people is, indeed, a serious problem for the Government whose support comes mainly from the poor, but who at the same time is very much anxious to promote development. The rich non-cultivating landlords represent no problem. They can be bought out and finding themselves with money and no duties may convert themselves into capitalists and supply the much needed entrepreneurship. But the case is different with commercial and industrial capitalists. In the initial stage of economic growth the share of profit in the national income rises, and this has meant in the past creation of large private fortunes in the hands of a few. That is why the Democratic Governments try to prevent the capitalists from making substantial profits. But if the profits are kept low or taxed heavily, the private saving will be low and the much-needed incentive and enterprise may not be available.

What we have seen from the above is, the less developed economies need undergo an economic transformation, and in undergoing such transformation they need capital. Capital being scarce in the less developed economies, they have to encourage capital formation. Taxation is the chief instrumentality through which capital formation may be accelerated. But in less developed economies, taxation, presents manifold problems. In choosing the form of taxation, the Government of a less developed economy has to act with prudence and in consistence with the canons of taxation. It has not only to raise revenues for forming capital but it has also to watch that the means of raising revenues do not frustrate the plan of economic growth. The two opposing forces of taxing the people and not inhibiting the incentives of the people have to be so reconciled that not only economic growth is accelerated but also unrest in the economy is avoided. This only, then, shall offer a happy panacea for the problem with which an undeveloped economy is confronted.

## WALT WHITMAN—AN ESTIMATE

By DEBAPRASAD SINHA, M.A.

Perhaps the main defect in American verse, upto Whitman lies in its excess of culture. The majority of the poets are men of scholarly attainments, steeped in literature rather than in life. Although some of them found inspiration in the social and political development of their time, they were lacking on the whole virile grasp of life, a first-hand elemental vigour that comes to those who have lived widely and deeply and whose songs are the direct product of their intimate experiences. Emerson counselled a return to Nature; but it was Nature in terms of philosophic abstraction. Poe is an intellectual hedonist, Bryant and Whittier cultured moralists; Holmes and Lowell were scholarly men of the world, Longfellow a scholarly sentimentalist. One and all were more or less derivative poets inasmuch as they were steeped in the ancient traditions of English literature and followed well-beaten paths.

Now came Whitman in aim a literary revolutionary. Whitman is essentially a loafer, a loafer along the crowded streets, a loafer along the country-side, a loafer both in the spiritual and physical sense; and his writings are frankly the direct expression of his loafings. Unconventionality he carries out to its logical conclusion. A strange, uncouth, surprising figure, it is impossible to ignore him however much he may shock our susceptibilities. His songs are not those of mere rustic solitudes, they are songs of the crowded streets as well as of the country roads; of men and women of every type—no less than of the fields and the streams. In fact, he seeks the elemental everywhere. His business is to bring it to the surface, to make men and women rejoice in—not to shrink from the great primal forces of life. But he is not for moralising.

"I give nothing as duties,  
What others give as duties, I give as loving  
impulses.  
(Shall I give the heart's action as a duty?)"

He has no quarrel with civilisation as such. The teeming life of the town is as wonderful to him as the big solitude of the Earth. He is not an exclusive child of Nature.

"I tramp a perpetual journey.  
My songs are a rainproof coat, good shoes  
and a staff  
Out from the woods.  
I have no chair, no church, no philosophy."

People talk of Whitman as if he relied entirely on the "Staff cut from the Woods," they forget his "rainproof coat and good shoes." Assuredly he has no mind to cut himself adrift from the advantages of civilisation.

First of all, we propose to discuss Whitman's attitude towards Art. It has been urged by some of Whitman's admirers that his power as a writer does not depend upon his artistic methods or non-artistic methods, and he himself protested against his 'Leaves' being judged merely as literature. And so there has been a tendency to glorify his very inadequacies, to hold him up as a poet who has defied successfully the unwritten laws of Art.

This is to do him an ill service. If Whitman's work be devoid of Art, then it possesses no durability. In other words, Whitman must be judged ultimately as an artist. And on the whole he can certainly bear the test. His Art was not the conventional Art of his day, but Art it assuredly was.

Who could deny the title of an artist to the man who wrote those noble verses, 'On the Beach at Night':

"Up through the darkness,  
While ravening clouds, the burial clouds in  
black masses spreading,  
Lower sullen and fast athwart and down  
the sky,  
Amid a transparent clear belt of ether yet  
left in the east,



Perhaps his boisterous delight in his own prowess may jar occasionally on the nerves; but how much better it is than the affected humility of some writers. And the more we study his writings, the less does this egotism affect even the most susceptible amongst us. Our ears get attuned to the pitch of the voice, we realise that the big drum is beaten with a purpose. Whitman is vain certainly, but mainly because he glories in the common heritage, because he feels he is one of the common people. He is proud assuredly, but it is pride that exults in traits that he shares in common with the artist, the soldier, and the sailor. He is not one of those writers who play down to masses, who will prophesy fair things—like the mere demagogue in order to win their favour.

No one is too base, too degraded for Whitman's affection—a fitting attitude for a poet of Democracy, one likely to bring him into direct contact with that broad, variegated stream of human life. Many stories are told of his tenderness and charity towards the "dregs of humanity." That a man is a human being is enough for Whitman. However, he may have fallen, there is something in him to appeal to. He would have agreed with Browning that:

"Beneath the veriest ash, there hides a  
spark of soul,  
Which, quickened by Love's breath, may  
yet pervade the whole  
O' the grey, and free again be fire, of  
worth the same  
However produced, for great or little flame  
is flame."

Like Browning also, Whitman fears lassitude and indifference more than the turmoil of passion. He glories in the elemental. At present he thinks, we are too fearful of coarseness, too much concerned with refinement. And so he delights in "Unrefinement," glories in the woods, air sweetness, sun-tan, brawn.

"I announce a life that shall be copious,  
vehement spiritual bold,  
And I announce an old age that shall lightly  
and joyfully meet its translation."

Cultured conventions, of which we make so much, distress him. They tend, he argues, to

enervation, to a poor, imitative, self-conscious art, to an artificial, morbid life.

Nature as Whitman saw, was full of vital loveliness by reason of her very power. The average literary artist is always seeking for the loveliness, aiming after beauty of form, without a thought whether what he is saying has the note of sincerity and truth, whether it is in touch with the realities of Nature. And in his super refinements he misses the beauty that flashes forth from the rough, rugged songs of Whitman.

Whitman does not decry culture. But he gives the first place to the educative influence of Nature. "The best culture," he says, "will always be that of the manly and courageous instincts and loving perception and of self-respect."

The academic traditions of American literature were rudely shaken by Whitman. If, with the majority, we suffer from a plethora of culture, Whitman certainly redresses the balance. The wisdom that we find in his pages is not the wisdom of a well-stored mind, not the wisdom of a profoundly reflective nature, not the wisdom of an Art-sensitive nature. It is the wisdom of a hearty and Primal Nature immensely receptive to the primal forces about him in life, whether in nature or in human society. All this, of course, he might have had and not been a force in letters save by some happy accident. Irresponsive as he was to the subtler beauties of life, he had an instinctive sense of beauty, which in a curious, unregulated and often coarse-grained way, vouchsafed to him from time to time the fine intuition of the great poet.

Standing on the verge of a new era of democratic ascendancy we need a broader basis, a more intimate vitality for our Art. The pre-Raphaelite movement in letters memorable as it was for its passionate insistence on the ideal of beauty, exhibited in its methods one grave defect.

In its endeavour to break away from the scientific and social tendencies of the day that had overpowered poetry and jeopardised its grace and charm, it has with its artistic exclusiveness lost its human significance. With all his faults as an artist Browning worked on surer and saner lines, in keeping poetry in intimate touch with life. You do not strengthen any art by closing the gates on new forces, new influences; you must take them in with all their roughness

and disturbing elements and try to transform ampler knowledge, for larger opportunities and their latent idealism.

Browning, to a great extent, did this, though he retained many of the old poetic forms. Whitman, with greater daring but with less intellectual power, invented fresh forms to express the fresh forces. He was not capable enough to do this with complete success; but to a great extent he triumphed. His failure lay less in his methods than in his personal shortcomings.

There had been many democratic poets in the nineteenth century. But Whitman is the first real poet of democracy. Out of the throes of the Industrial Revolution had been born a lusty, clamorous infant that demanded recognition—the new Demos. And it claimed not only recognition in politics, but recognition in literature. Wordsworth and Shelley essayed to speak for it with success; but Wordsworth was too exclusive, and Shelley—the most sympathetic of all our poets till the coming of Browning—was too ethereal in his manner.

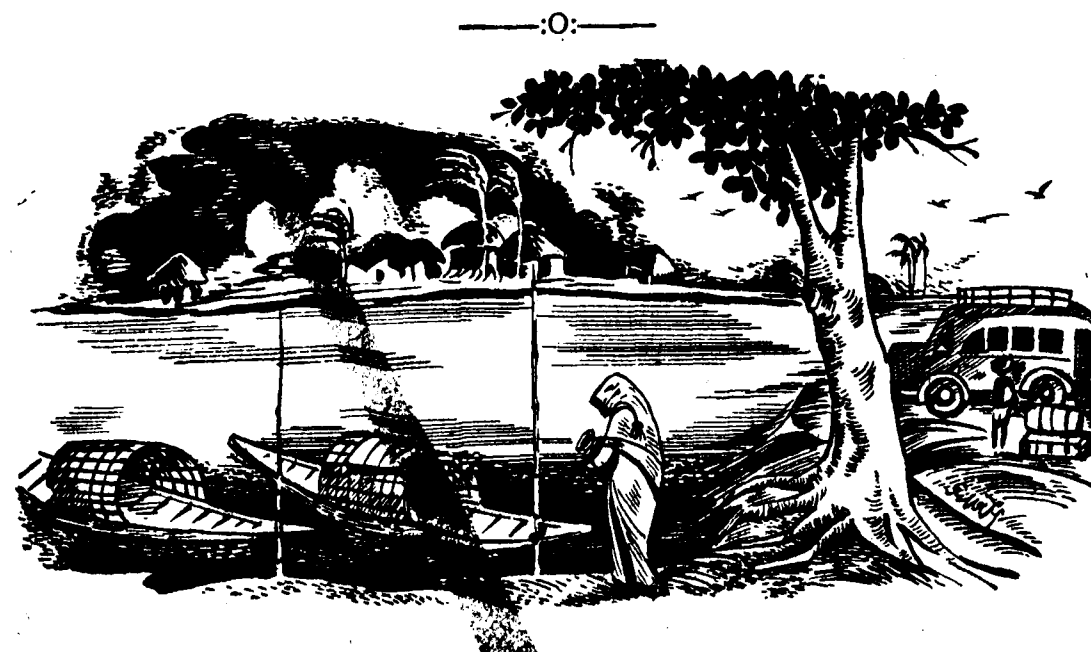
Perhaps the most inspiring thing about Whitman's attitude towards humanity is his thorough understanding of the working classes, and his quick discernment of the healthy naturalism that animates them. He neither patronises them nor idealises them. He sees their faults, which are obvious enough; but he also sees, what is not so obvious, their fine independence of spirit, their eager thirst for improvement, for

He was not a philosopher as Browning was; indeed, there is less of the philosopher about Whitman than about any poet of our age. His method is quite opposed to that of the philosopher. It is instinctive, suggestive and as full of contradictions as Nature herself. You can no more extract a philosophy from his sweeping utterances than you can from a tramp over the hills.

But like a tramp over the hills, Whitman fits every reader who accompanies him for a stronger and more courageous outlook. It is not easy to say about Whitman as is the case with many writers, "This line quickened my imagination; that passage unravelled my perplexities". It is the general effect of his writings that exercises such a remarkable tonic influence. Perhaps he has never indicated his cumulative power more happily than in the lines that conclude his 'Song of Myself'.

"You will hardly know who I am or what I  
mean  
But I shall be 'good health' to you never-the-  
less,

And filter and fibre your blood.  
Failing to fetch me at first keep encouraged,  
Missing me one place, search another,  
I stop somewhere waiting for you."



## PRAGMATISM AND EDUCATION

By SHAMSUDDIN, M.A., B.T., M.Ed.

Pragmatism is the most modern and peculiarly American philosophy of the twentieth century. It is a systematic and critical estimate of American culture that has no ancient basis. It is associated with John Dewey who tried to apply this philosophy to educational theory. Pragmatism also started as a revolt against idealism. Gradually it developed into an extensive one and it is now called experimentalism.

Pragmatism locates values in experience and nature. Where do we get knowledge from? We get it from experience. So experience is the only thing which is significant. Pragmatism accepts the experimental method of Sciences. It assumes that there is continuity in all forms of nature. All Reality belongs to the field of nature. It is also a dualistic philosophy. It considers the part as well as the whole relationship of organism. This organism as a whole is composed not only of parts but of the parts with their inter-relationship.

All thoughts and behaviours spring from problematic situations. The problematic situation-form makes individual react and these problematic situations arise through the interaction of organism with its environments. There is always need for achievement of equilibrium in this reaction. Though all individuals possess same parts, they do not react in the same manner under the same situations.

Pragmatism is a general theory of practice, and so it concerns itself with activity. To make action more appropriate and more intelligent is the essence of pragmatism. Nothing is accepted to be true unless it is proved to be true by experimentation. Pragmatism is a philosophy based on physical sciences. Mere knowledge is not enough for human beings. The main thing is that man should put to work the knowledge which he possesses. Wisdom is knowledge put to use. It is action

that leads us to knowledge. We can learn through our activities. "By doing we come to know." The real knowledge of a thing is obtained when we actually do something. Mere abstract or passive knowledge is not enough.

Pragmatism considers the workability of ideas. Ideas that cannot be put into practice have no significance from the point of view of practical value, i.e., we do not get always workable ideas. "An idea leads us to work." "That idea is good which works good," is another dictum of Pragmatism. Pragmatism has, therefore, accepted the method of science. Some say that there is a contrast in method of science and art. The method of science is experimental, while the method of art is institutional. Pragmatists try to prove that art is also experimental, because they want to include this also in their philosophy. An artist does not become artist immediately. He practises and becomes an artist. He puts his imaginations and ideas into experiments. Similarly, a novelist does not become so at once. He practises for a long time and then he becomes a successful novelist. Thus he is also an experimentalist and so he is also a Pragmatist. So are the poets and the short story-writers. And we should not, therefore, draw any sharp contrast between science and art.

## Pragmatism as Applied to Education

Pragmatism cannot give any formulation of aims of education in advance. Nothing is taken for granted unless it is proved. Creation of new values is the most general aim of education. That "values are everlasting," which is accepted by idealism, is not accepted by Pragmatism. This is the difference between these two. Pragmatism shows us that values change. A

thing which we regard valuable today may not after some years be regarded so. Thus values change. As such, the teacher also should not impose his own ideas of values on children. Children should be taught to form their own ideas regarding values. No pre-conceived ideas should be given in advance. Let the child form his own ideas, values and tastes. 'Knowledge for the sake of Knowledge' is not accepted by Pragmatism, for it wants such education as is of some material use. Pragmatists disregard the dictum that education is a dynamic side of philosophy. They say that it is philosophy which emerges from education and not education from philosophy. Dewey says, "Philosophy is a formulation of ideas underlying a successful practice." "Activities like intellectual, moral and aesthetic should be pursued only with reference to human needs and for their own sake."

Who creates values? Pragmatists regard a child as a creator of potential values for himself in growing environments. All children do not live in the same environment. Thus each child creates values for himself. We are thus concerned with the child and the physical and social environments in education. So these environments are regarded as data for education. To create new values we must get personal experience. This personal experience is a reaction to the environments. Inter-action between the child and environments constitutes the experience and thus values become possible. We must provide the right type of environment if we want to modify the nature of the child in the right direction. Pragmatists emphasise social experience more than the physical one. What do we mean by providing the right type of environment? The teacher must not attempt to enforce specific purposes, ideas or goals of education in the minds of children. Natural propensities of children should be observed first and then the right type of environment should be provided to develop them. Child is the creator of values for values for himself.

Pragmatism is optimistic and optimism is developed only if we have tremendous

faith in the individual and democracy. Pragmatism says that we must believe that human beings are progressing generation after generation and they are becoming more and more perfect as time advances. This philosophy of progress is brought about by developing an optimistic view of life. No established procedure is accepted by Pragmatism.

Pragmatism is based on the principle of 'Learning by doing'. So problem and project methods are needed. Learning should be creative. Purposeful self-activity should be developed. Traditional methods are not useful. The child should be allowed to learn by himself. So, creative attitude towards life, initiative, etc., are developed. The teacher should guide and not restrict. Learning and teaching should be significant at every stage. In engaging pupils in purposeful activity the aim is certainly not to see that it should be useful to them in future because education is life itself, and not the preparation for life as Spencer says. If we follow the same methods as in the past, the present will be in the bondage of the past or if we think that it is a preparation for the future life, then also it will be restricted. So the present should not be restricted. It has already been said that education is life itself and must be lived fully. Then automatically it will have its basis in the past and be a preparation for the future. The child shows different attitudes and propensities at different stages of development. So the child should be engaged in such activities as would bring about the desired development at that particular stage.

Pragmatism does not like the traditional division of curriculum into different subjects of instruction. There cannot be water-tight compartments in different subjects. A study of a few subjects means that we are studying human activities through different subjects. All knowledge should be regarded as one province of study. The learning process should be integrated. In modern days there has been more of specialization without proper correlation. In the same way school studies should not be regarded as different from the life outside the school. Here also, integration is



essential. So current events must be included in school studies. The idea of 'Core' subjects has come as a result of the principle of integration or co-ordination. A Core subject is that subject around which studies of other subjects can conveniently be grouped. Thus specialization is avoided with some safeguards; several subjects should be taught to pupils of one class by one and the same teacher. School studies must be useful in life. At every stage they must be properly connected with real life, with situations outside the school. Thus there should be 'horizontal and vertical' correlation in the school studies.

### Moral Training

As Pragmatism is one of the most modern philosophies, it holds the view that there is no necessity of moral training. Religion and morality are quite different. "Pursuit of the chosen activity itself promotes self-discipline." By proper performance of action children are trained in duties and responsibilities of citizens which is moral training. Training in citizenship and character-building comes through school activities. In every generation the idea of morality changes. Let the child from his own moral standard. The idealistic view of morality, i.e., one of permanent value or eternal value, is not accepted by Pragmatism. There is one advantage in this. The child thinks that he is free. He is not restricted by pre-conceived notions. There is freedom in activity. The school work should, therefore, be as real and as purposeful as tasks beyond the four walls of the school.

Socialised activities are the most important part of school activities.

Dewey says: (i) "Education is life itself". (ii) "Education is constant re-marking or reconstruction of experiences." (iii) "Education is directed growth." (iv) "It is a means of social continuity."

Present activities are emphasised by the first definition. If we give our experience to children, they will get second-hand knowledge. This is emphasised by the second definition. Every individual must develop through education and this growth should lead the individual to a better stage of life. The teacher should hence see that proper growth takes place through freedom. Pragmatism emphasises practice of education and the role of theory is to enlighten and guide practice, and not to confuse it. Materials of education should be related to the problematic situations. Theory should clarify and improve practice.

It is, however, very difficult for our schools to follow the principles of Pragmatism in its entirety. It is true that we have now accepted, more or less, the theory of 'learning by doing' and the old ideas of formal teaching are fast disappearing. The present is a period of transition and we cannot switch over to the 'new' overnight. Secondly, we should not forget that every age has its own philosophy. India has accepted democracy and secularism and her schools too now have the responsibility of initiating the young into democratic living and developing co-operation and self-reliance. One should never forget that 'slow and sure wins the race.'



## THE REFINANCE CORPORATION IN OPERATION

By MAYA DUTT SHARMA, M.Com., F.R.Econ. S. (London),

Head of the Deptt. of Business Administration, B.J.S. Rampuria Jain College, Bikaner. (Raj.)

### Need of such an Institution

INDIA is engaged in the stupendous task of rebuilding the economic edifice on a broad-based industrial foundation and as such Indian banking has been called upon to play a vital part in the implementation of the National Economic Plans.

Provision of working capital for the short-term needs of the industry has of course remained for long one of the admitted functions of commercial banks, which they try to perform to the tune of requirement. Specialised institutions such as I.F.C. of India, the various State Finance Corporations, the N.I.D.C., the I.C.I.C.I.; have been set up to supply long-term credit for industries. Medium-term finance for medium-sized industries is still difficult to obtain and commercial banks are being urged and encouraged to fill up this lacuna. But one of the deterrents which has stood in the way of commercial banks contributing a larger share to the medium or long-term financial needs of industries was the absence of a mechanism which could come to their aid in regaining the requisite degree of liquidity in items of need. It was to remove this drawback that an institution was required to be set up to provide re-lending facilities to banks against term loans granted by them to medium-sized industrial units.

### Establishment and Object

The Refinance Corporation for Industry Private Ltd., was registered on June 5, 1958 as a private limited company under the Companies Act, 1956. This was the outcome of one of the terms of Agricultural Commodities Agreement under PL 480, which required that rupee equivalent to \$55 million (about Rs. 26 crores) of the counterpart funds should be set apart for re-lending to private enterprises in India, through established banking channels.

As such the immediate object of setting up

the Corporation is the disbursement of counter-part funds, and to bridge the gap that exists in the institutional arrangements available at present for financing medium-sized industrial units in regard to their medium-term requirements as its ultimate goal.

### Financial Resources

The total resources available to the corporation at present amounts to Rs. 38.50 crores. The issued capital is Rs. 12.50 crores, contributed jointly by the Reserve Bank of India, the Life Insurance Corporation, and fifteen of the larger scheduled banks, of which 10 per cent has been paid on application and a further 10 per cent on allotment, thus making an initial paid up capital of Rs. 2.50 crores.<sup>1</sup>

The Government of India would make available to the Corporation the amount (upto a maximum of Rs. 26 crores)<sup>2</sup> required by it, from time to time, in the interest-bearing loans and arrange to obtain reimbursement in due course from the counter-part funds.<sup>3</sup> So far it has drawn rupees 5 crores from the Government loan.

### Management

The Corporation is managed by a Board of Directors consisting of seven members, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India as the Chairman, the other Directors being a Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, the Chairman of the L.I.C. and three representatives of the other banks participating in the scheme. The Chief Officer of the Industrial Finance Deptt. of the Reserve Bank of India is the General Manager of the Corporation.

1. The authorised capital of the Corp. is Rs. 25 crores.
2. As an interest-bearing loan for 40 years.
3. Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, pp. 437.

The policy of the Corporation should be more flexible in respect of granting minimum and maximum loans to industries.

#### *Joint Financing of Foreign Exchange and Rupee Requirements*

The Corporation had negotiations with the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., London, the International Finance Corporation, Washington and the I.C.I.C.I., Bombay, for provision of foreign exchange for schemes for which rupee finance would be provided, wholly or in part by the Refinance Corporation, and has arrived at a working arrangement for dealing with applications involving foreign exchange requirements and rupee finance. The I.C.I.C.I., and member banks would jointly lend for the project, if all the parties agree.

There has, however, been no proposal received so far for joint financing of foreign exchange and rupee requirements. The arrangement must prove beneficial for the industrial development of the country.

#### *To Conclude*

It can be said that although the profits of the Corporation are higher this year (Rs. 20.02 lakhs as compared to Rs. 11.27 lakhs in 1958), the main source of income being the interest earned on the short-term deposits with the member banks, yet the performance of the Corporation is disappointing. "It has not been able to make any significant progress in its operations". In some quarters it has been observed that "the performance of the Corporation raises a doubt whether the country really needed an institution of this type". But undoubtedly, the

remark apparently presents the inability of the observer to assess the industrial needs of the country, the financing agencies—their field of operation and the future requirements. With the advent of economic planning, "our banking system has been called upon to play a vital part, with a changed outlook, adopting itself quickly to the transformation from the stagnant economy of the past to the present economy of planned development". The orthodox theory of commercial banking of keeping itself aloof from industrial advances has been given up and in almost all the advanced countries of the world it has been realised that it is the inescapable responsibility of the banking institutions to engage themselves directly in term-loans to industry, consistently, of course, with the usual canons of safety, liquidity and prudence. In our country also, banks are required to assume more initiative. The technique of rolling down the short-term advances is bound to get a conversion into term-lending which, with its benefits on the one hand, involves certain element of taking risk on the other. With the expansion and development of a wide-range of industrial enterprises, formal term-lending by the banks is bound to be adopted, and it is at that time when the Indian banks would look towards this institution for assistance in the maintenance of their liquidity.

And in the end, when this underdeveloped country will march forward on its economic development under the Five-Year Plans, the importance of industrial development through medium-scale enterprises is bound to be recognised for the regional development, and it is then only that the existence and activities of Refinance Corporation will become a boon to the medium-scale industries in the Private Sector.



## Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

#### ENGLISH

FORT WILLIAM: INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO (Public Series). Vol. I. 1748-1756. Edited by K. K. Datta. Indian Records Series. National Archives of India. Delhi. 1958. Pp. 1160. Price not stated.

It is now nearly twenty years since the Government of India undertook the scheme of publication *in extenso* of the valuable correspondence between the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London and the Council of Fort William in Calcutta. The series which was to commence from 1748 (documents of the earlier period being practically non-existent in the National Archives of India) was to terminate in 1800 in the first instance. Of the twenty-one volumes of this series, the present is the first in chronological order, though the fourth in order of publication. In his well-written Introduction the editor has first given the historical background comprising (to begin with) the administration of Alivardi Khan as the Subadar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The period was marked by repeated Marhatta invasions of the province as well as several Afghan insurrections. Giving a brief review of the contents of the records, the editor first mentions the steps for the strengthening of the Company's fortifications in Calcutta and the increase of its military establishment. He then deals with the working of the Civil Service and the judicial and zemindary branches of the administration. Much effort, we learn, was made to abolish the abuses of private trade indulged in by the Company's servants. We have then an interesting notice of the Company's relations with the Armenian residents of Calcutta.

A review of Sirajuddaula's relations with the Company is followed by the most valuable portion of the Introduction dealing with the economic condition of the province during this period of transition. The extensive and profitable trade of Bengal with the rest of India and other Asiatic countries in the first half of the 18th century was followed by a sad decline in the share of her own merchants in the same in the middle of the same century. Bengal never recovered from this decline. Meanwhile, the trade of the English East India Company was growing in spite of keen competition of the Dutch Company. We have an adequate description of the Company's methods of trading through middlemen and the list of its exports and imports. This naturally leads to a survey of the industries of the province comprising the manufacture of cotton and silk fabrics and sugar in Bengal and of saltpetre in Bihar. A short statistical list of prices quoted by the editor shows nearly a rise of 30 per cent in the price of rice between 1738 and 1751. We have at the end a short account of the complicated currency of Bengal from the early years of the 18th century. Besides the Madras and the Bengal rupees, we read, coins from mints situated in other parts of India poured into the province as the result of its favourable balance of trade. These coins were very often debased either by the mints or by dishonest dealers. The value of this volume is enhanced by a map of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, plans of Chandernagore and Calcutta and a few historical portraits and sites. Other valuable features are the short notes, the bibliography of published and unpublished works and the exhaustive index. The long list of corrigenda is to be regretted.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

*Progress of the Corporation*

It was upto the end of 1958 that six applications for an amount aggregating to Rs. 1.78 crores were sanctioned against Rs. 1.83 crores asked for,<sup>4</sup> but no disbursements could be made against them till then.

The situation was the result of the fall in investment activity in the private sector during 1958. On the other hand, banks got over their liquidity problem, partly from restrictions on imports which curtailed the demand for credit but largely from the phenomenal influx of deposits. They were rather groaning under the weight of large deposits without an adequate demand for their utilization. Thus, however, "the Corporation came into being at a time when the banks themselves were burdened with a plethora of surplus funds and so it could not make itself felt."<sup>5</sup> The time lag between the date on which the Corporation sanctions a loan and the time taken thereafter by the member bank to finalise the granting of the loans to its constituent, is an additional factor responsible for it.

The second year of its existence (1959) is actually the first year of its working, the performance of the Corporation during which is not at all encouraging. The Corporation has sanctioned only Rs. 2.25 crores in the form of refinance during the year. Thus since its inception, during the 19 months of its working, it has sanctioned 19 loan applications for Rs. 4 Crores, out of which applications for Rs. 38 lakhs have been subsequently withdrawn, and it is not more than Rs. 85 lakhs which is being availed of and that too by only two banks. Surplus funds of the Corporation amounting to Rs. 6.8 crores are lying with member banks as short-term deposits.

As a matter of fact, the total of loans sanctioned falls short of the Corporation's own initial borrowings from the Government of India amounting to Rs. 5 Crores, of which the

amount availed of by the member banks constitute 11.3 per cent. Under the circumstances it is not clear why the Corporation should have taken resort to borrowing.

*Paradoxical Situation*

It can be admitted that the Corporation could not disburse any finance in 1958 as three months of its existence were spent up in attending to the preliminaries and in the next four months no member banks availed itself of the facilities provided by the Corporation. But what about the year 1959 when industrial production increased by 8.4 per cent (both in public and private sectors) and despite the continuing foreign exchange difficulties, the private sector has made a big leap forward enabling one to expect that "this resurgence in industrial activity would be reflected in substantial calls on the resources of the Refinance Corporation."<sup>6</sup> But the actual experience is otherwise, creating a paradoxical situation, as to why the activities of the Corporation had been stagnant during a period when the industrial growth was vigorous and capital was said to be scarce with sustained demand for it at a high level.

It is in this reference as to what prevents the Corporation from making a contribution to the sustained industrial growth that Mr. Iengar, Governor of The Reserve Bank of India, speaking in the capacity of the Chairman of the Corporation said that "the Corporation caters to a narrower segment of industry's capital requirements than other such financial institutions. The term of finance it provides extends from 3 to 7 years, which suits only a small proportion of entrepreneurs." (Only those who find that they can repay their loan within a period of seven years or make other arrangements for raising finance).

Another cause of the Corporation's discouraging achievement is the encouraging participation of banks in industrial advances due to spectacular increase in bank deposits. As a matter of fact it is not true that our banks have extended their scope of financing to medium or long-term loans, but they provide short-term advances "which have been rolled over from time to time, ultimately serving the purpose of medium-term

4. Of the six applications sanctioned—two units in the ferrous manganese industry have been sanctioned Rs. 70 lakhs, two cotton mills Rs. 47 lakhs and one cement and a pharmaceutical and a chemical unit Rs. 50 lakhs and Rs. 11 lakhs respectively. (R.B.B., April 1959).

5. C. H. Bhaba—*New Trends and Developments in Indian Banking*.

6. *Commerce*—28th May, 1950. p. 942.

loans in the former name."<sup>7</sup> This practice has been popular due to the advantage of flexibility and convenience both to the banks and to industrial borrowers. It is rather a more cautious form of term-lending.

The arrangement of keeping its surplus funds with the member banks may also be one of the reasons for their not having recourse to refinance facilities.<sup>8</sup>

The Corporation is managed by the Board of Directors consisting of two Chairmen (State Bank, L.I.C.), one Deputy Governor and three representatives of the banks participating in the Corporation, with the Governor of the Reserve Bank as the Assistant Chairman and the Chief Officer of the Industrial Finance Deptt. of the Bank as the General Manager. While everyone of them is already busy and more interested in his primary duties, who will come forward to row the boat of the Corporation in the troubled waters? Why should the Corporation not have a separate General Manager? And in the Board there must be such other persons as are in a position to pull on the burden and responsibilities of the posts they accept with greater interests, initiative and enterprise.

The ceiling of Rs. 50 lakhs to an individual borrower, it is said, is also responsible for non-utilisation of the facilities provided by the Corporation, and the definition of a medium-sized industry in terms of maximum assets of Rs. 2½ crores, has narrowed the scope of its activities.

*Suggestions for Improvement*

It is suggested that refinance facilities should be made available to a much larger number of banks. This can be done by extending this facility to non-shareholder banks also. Although it is true that the Corporation shall be able to enlarge its business by providing the non-member banks with refinancing facilities, it is yet to be seen whether a large number of banks will be able to make an effective contribution. Secondly, this system will also involve the abolition of the system of allotting quotas of the member banks,

7. Speech of Mr. Iengar, Chairman of the Corporation at its Annual General Meeting.

8. This system should be changed and the Corporation should invest substantial portion of its surplus funds in short-term Government securities.

which can result in unlimited refinancing by small banks creating an undesirable situation in the future.

The other suggestion is that the Corporation should extend its facilities to all industries, which, in its opinion, are in conformity with the purposes of the development plans. But shall it not be responsible for overlapping of the Corporation's activities with those of other financial institutions? So far as the opinion of the Corporation regarding extension of its facilities is concerned, it is nothing new and is already left entirely to the initiative and judgment of member banks to decide to which units loans may be extended. There are already sufficient financing facilities open for large as well as small-scale industries for long and short-term finance and the lacuna of medium-term finance for medium-scale industries, which have rather been covered by the establishment of this Corporation will remain ignored, if the scope of its activities is extended to all the industries. Thus the solution is not in the extension of facilities from medium-scale industries to all the industries, but in the rapid development of medium-scale industries with the help of financial institutions and encouragement from the Government under the development plan.

The criticism of the high rate of interest charged, although not reasonable in the opinion of Mr. Iengar, can be meted out by the amendment on condition that the banks should have a spread of a minimum of 1½ per cent between the rate at which they borrow from the Corporation and the rate at which they lend. The banks should have their own discretion to fix the lending rate subject to the approval of the Corporation.

The main obstacles to greater utilisation of these facilities have to be removed, which according to Mr. G. D. Birla are, firstly, the ceiling of Rs. 50 lakhs to individual borrowers and, secondly, the definition of a medium-sized industry in terms of maximum assets of Rs. 2½ crores of the Company. As he observes:—

"It often happens that a Company with large assets starts some new industrial unit, which, though of medium size is not eligible for finance, because, when these assets of the new unit are added to the other existing industrial assets of the company, the ceiling is exceeded and the industrial unit becomes ineligible for refinance at the hands of the lending bank."

This is a collection of verses intended as the poet hopes in his Foreword, to "guide, as a beacon light, the destiny of humanity in the formation of a decent human society based on the absolute power of love." We are in some doubts about this high aspiration. The verses rarely rise above the pedestrian, although one detects in patches a quality of fervent suppurating emotion about them.

Ramesh Ghoshal

**TRUSTEESHIP :** By M. K. Gandhi. Pages 40, Price 25 nP.

**PROHIBITION AT ANY COST :** By M. K. Gandhi. Pages 24, Price 20 nP. Both Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14.

Mahatma's well-known views on Trusteeship and Prohibition are expressed in the above booklets. He was not in favour of capitalism as we understand it, but he was against its abolition by violent methods. What he wanted was that owners of capital should consider themselves trustees for others not owning it in the legal sense and use it as such. Various aspects of this trusteeship and realisation of this in practical life by non-violent methods have been discussed in detail by Mahatma in his replies to questions of Pyarelal.

Gandhiji was in favour of complete prohibition. He was not prepared to change his views on account of failure of prohibition in the U.S.A. The booklet under review is a compilation by R. K. Prabhu of Gandhiji's writings on the subject published mainly in *Young India* and *Harijan*.

The cheap publications deserve wide circulation.

**DR. B. C. ROY AND OUR TIMES :** By Prof. P. K. Ray. Published from 17, Bhupendra Bose Avenue, Calcutta-4, Pages 14, Price Re. 1/-.

This short life-sketch of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, whose 79th birthday fell on the 1st July 1960, is a timely publication. Although nicely printed on good paper the price fixed seems prohibitory.

A. B. Dutta

#### SANSKRIT

**BHAKTI-VISNUPRIYAM** (A Sanskrit drama) : By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Secretary, West Bengal Government Sanskrit Siksha Parishad. Published by Pracyavani Mandir as Vol. XXI of Pracyavani Sanskrit Series. Rs. 2.00 nP.

It is with very great pleasure that I went through the Sanskrit Drama "Bhakti-Visnupriyam" composed by the well-known research scholar Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Scholars all over the world are familiar with Dr.

Chaudhuri's invaluable Research works numbering nearly one hundred in the different branches of Sanskrit Literature, published two decades ago in different Series such, as "Contributions of Women to Sanskrit Literature," "Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature," "Contributions of Bengal to Sanskrit Literature and so on. But it is indeed a matter of great gratification that his recent original contributions to Sanskrit Literature are also of equal worth. These include "Sanskrita-Duta-Kavya-Itihasa," "Sasvati" and "Bhasvati," Tikas on Ghatakarpara Kavya and Padanka-Duta respectively; and a large number of superb Sanskrit Dramas, Poems and Songs.

The Sanskrit Drama "Bhakti-Visnupriyam" is one of his well-known Dramas. It has had the unique honour of being the very first Sanskrit Drama by a modern author, ever to be broadcast from any Centre of All India Radio. It has also been successfully staged many times by Dr. Chaudhuri's Pracyavani Troupe, all over India. The cause of the phenomenal success of this Sanskrit Drama lies mainly in its very simple, sweet and easily intelligible language, and sublime plot, not to speak of its wealth of fine songs and poems, in different metres and on different subjects. Its research value also is not a whit less. Dr. Chaudhuri in his usual scholarly scientific and thorough manner, has presented us here with a large number of facts regarding Sri Visnupriya, hitherto unknown.

It is sure to be a land-mark in the History of Modern Sanskrit Literature. Dr. Chaudhuri's noble attempts to propagate Sanskrit Language and Literature through not only Scholarly Research Works, but also through such attractive medium-like staging of Sanskrit Dramas and recitals of Sanskrit Songs have earned him the gratitude of all. His new enterprise has been crowned with stupendous success and goes a long way to make Sanskrit a living language.

It is, indeed, seldom that Research Scholars are gifted also with poetic abilities and devotional fervour. But these Sanskrit Dramas, Poems and Songs of Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri have clearly shown that he has been gifted with all these three to no mean extent.

Satkari Mookerjee

#### BENGALI

**MA :** By Sri Akshaya Chandra Chakravarti. Second edition. Published by Sri Savitri Devi, Sadhan Kutir, Abasa, Midnapore. Pp. 95. Price Rs. 2/-.

The author of this booklet is the retired Head Teacher of Bengali in the Dinanath High School at Nagpur. He has to his credit three Bengali books named *Kamale Kamini*, *Prema-*

*rekha* and *Chinta-rekha*. The *Prema-rekha* contains a short life-sketch of the late Sir Bepin Krishna Basu, the famous founder of Nagpur University and an illustrious Bengali outside Bengal. The latter half of the book, under review, comprises a dozen poems selected from the *Kamale Kamini* and the first half is of autobiographical reminiscences. Happily he recalls how in 1917 while a school boy he had the good fortune of spending eighteen auspicious days in the Belur-Math and meeting Swami Premananda, Swami Shivananda and other direct disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and furthermore the Holy Mother of the Order. Though several quotations from Sri Aurobindo and Romain Rolland have enhanced its worth a bit, yet a long list of printing mistakes, arbitrary composition and loose language, etc., have made it unreadable and unattractive.

Swami Jagadiswarananda  
HINDI

**UTTHAN :** By Toppil Bhasi. Published by Asok Prakasan Griha, 20A, Ramnagar, New Delhi, May, 1960. Rs. 2/50 nP.

This is a Hindi rendering of the drama written by Toppil Bhasi in Malayalam—*Ningal enne Komunistapi*, which has, we are told, hereafter.

attained celebrity in Kerala. Spread over 14 scenes, it does not follow the old technique. There is no reason why it should. Performed more than 600 times, this propaganda-play must have made its mark, but for qualities not discernible in the translation. May be its forte lay in its powerful songs, which have not been reproduced in the book under review. An unrelieved picture of wrongs perpetrated on innocent and ignorant victims who are goaded to stand up for their rights and to cling to the red flag.

P. R. Sen

#### GUJARATI

**NAJAR : LAMBI ANE TUNKI : LONG AND SHORT SIGHT :** By Jyotindra Dave. Published by the Gandiv Sahitya Mandir, Surat. Illustrated Jacket : Thick Card Board. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3/-. (1956).

Jyotindra Dave has by his speeches and writings won for himself the topmost place as a humourist. His humour is gentle but penetrating. This collection of twenty witty and humorous stories has recently brought him a Prize of Rupees Two Thousands from the State Government, as the best writer in that field. He is sure to produce equally good work in that field hereafter.

K. M. J.

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**RAFI AHMED KIDWAI—His Life and Works:** By Dr. Pran Nath Chopra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. Private Ltd. Pp. 217, Price Rs. 9-50 nP.

The two Ministers of the Indian Union who have carved for themselves an undying name for sterling contributions are Patel and Kidwai. No praise is too high for Patel, integrating the various princely States with what was known as British India. No praise is equally too high for Kidwai, who as Food Minister confounded sceptics by his bold initiative and honesty of purpose; he, again, saved for us Kashmir from the hands of Shaikh Abdullah, 'who had', in the language of the author, 'gone astray owing to the intrigues of the Western Powers who dinned into his ears the vision of an independent Kashmir with himself as a veritable Sultan—the States' independence being guaranteed by the Dominions as well as by the United Nations'. As Food Minister—the Ministry had hitherto proved, according to the author, 'the graveyard of stalwarts like Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram and K. M. Munshi—Kidwai 'successfully accomplished', as the India Government says in its obituary note, 'his policy of removing all irksome controls on food and his boldness, in a sense, helped the country to turn a situation of scarcity into one of sufficiency'. Before partition, the country was deficit in food. In 1951, it imported 47 lakh tons and 48 lakh tons in 1952; but in 1953, the Government had 20 lakh tons in stock. After Kidwai's death, it lost the old tone and was the target of many just criticisms. The secret of his success was his dead earnestness. "Wherever," the author says, "there was report of deficit, he himself rushed to the spot."

At a critical moment in 1953, when Shaikh Abdullah felt secure to push ahead, entrenched on Nehru's dull, obstinate trustfulness in scorn of the repeated warnings of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherjee, who practically lost his life in unearthing the historic conspiracy referred, to above, Kidwai took charge of Kashmir affairs. For about a week, we gather from the author, he used to visit Kashmir each day to guide the Kashmir Government in the light of developments. But for his strong attitude, says N. C. Chatterjee, the 'great betrayal' would not have been averted; Meher Chand Mahajan speaks of his 'practical wisdom and unerring judgment' in saving Kashmir.

With regard to Kidwai's honesty and courage of conviction, we have it from the author that he frankly confessed,—'There is a general complaint of corruption; people are talking of

favouritism and nepotism; but these criticisms are not influencing the Government's activities';—this was well within three years of Congress rule. He was constrained to support Gandhiji's view-point that 'after the attainment of independence, Congress should have dissolved itself'. Regarding Nehru, Kidwai, who was sincere to the core in his love and admiration for him, could not help saying, 'Pandit Nehru talks of high philosophy and ideals but the problems of the common man cannot be solved that way.'

The book, under review, is an eminently readable study and the author has done full justice to the subject of memoir. It is to his credit that as we finish reading it, we once again feel the poignance of the sudden and untimely end of Kidwai, every inch a patriot, and thoroughly honest in acts and utterance. He began his political life as the Secretary of Motilal Nehru but carried in his knapsack the Field Marshal's baton.

Lakshmi Chatterji

**AND FOUR TO GROW ON:** By Francis Palmer. Published by Hodder and Stoughton. London. 15 shillings net.

The experiences related by Mrs. Palmer in the book entitled "And Four to Grow on" are certainly out of the ordinary. The story in brief, relates the incidents connected with the adoption by the Palmers, a childless couple, of Joe and Ruth, a pair of orphan brother and sister. These two had in their short lives been through so much hardship and neglect, that all their misadjustments when placed in normal society had to be carefully analysed in terms of their previous experiences. But the sympathetic outlook of their foster parents helped them to overcome most of their fears so much that they were only too pleased to help another pair of unfortunate children adjust themselves into the Palmer home as their brother and sister.

The Palmers believed and acted on the principle that although they had no children of their own, yet by taking into their hearts, deserted and maltreated children, they more than filled this gap in their lives. Mrs. Palmer is of the opinion that in the same way that a doctor mends broken bones so a foster parent mends bruised and broken minds of these maltreated children. Thus apart from the daily emotional upheavals resulting between both the parents and the children, it is very interesting to follow the record of this experiment from a Sociological point of view. "The average Welfare ward has had so much shifting around and has accumulated so many fears, that whatever comeliness he may have possessed is faded... They have stored

up many distorted ideas and have endured hardships which have helped to develop their characters fast—in the opposite direction from that of accepted society. (P. 220)". It is furthermore an established fact that the majority of Juvenile delinquents are from instable homes. So Mrs. Palmer argues that juvenile delinquency would also decrease if the laws related to minor wards throughout the nation could be made more flexible, so that without lengthy court hearings and red tape, natural parents who neglect and abandon their children, would have no further hold on them. And capable childless couples like the Palmers, could legally open their hearts and homes to such children quickly. This would help both parties, the former because they should be removed from harmful environments before the first five formative years of their lives are over, the latter because a childless couple often drifts apart without the common bond of having children.

Thus we may say that this book in its gentle way, will bring hope and joy to countless childless couples as well as to numerous deserted and orphan children.

Lakshmi Chatterji

**THE ASTROLOGICAL SELF-INSTRUCTOR:** By Prof. S. Suryanarain Rao. Published by the Astrological Office, Basavagudi, Bangalore-1. Price Rs. 5/-.

Professor Suryanarain Rao, the doyen of Indian Astrology, is no more, but he will be remembered for a long time because of his life-long devotion and valuable contributions to the science of Astrology. In the whole of India it is he who first of all wrote in English language books on Hindu Astrology. His authentic and invaluable work, *The Astrological Self-Instructor* became a source of information and inspiration to the students of Astrology in India and abroad alike.

*The Astrological Self-Instructor*, though not a voluminous one is, undoubtedly, Prof. Rao's masterpiece inasmuch as it convincingly testifies to the author's deep erudition and mastery over the subject. His original way of explaining the Fundamental Rules of the Calculative Branch of Astrology is simply amazing. The book created a great demand since its first publication in 1872 and the popularity it has attained is evident from the fact that it is now running the 11th edition.

The present edition, with some improvements on the author, by B. V. Raman, another veteran Astrologer of the South, has been published by B. S. Chandran, the youngest son of the deceased

Astrologer. Sri Raman's additions and alterations have enhanced the value and usefulness of the book which every student of Astrology should possess. The casting of horoscopes seems to be an uphill task to the beginners, but the process explained elaborately in this book is so simple and dependable that if one follows it attentively he will be able to sketch out any horoscope with thoroughness and accuracy.

There is no dearth of books on Astrology in English language but *the Astrological Self-Instructor* may be singled out from the lot because though published in the last decade of the nineteenth century it is still indispensable for the beginners who are willing to learn the fundamentals of a difficult subject like Astrology without anybody's guidance.

Nalini Kumar Bhadra

**CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SHORT STORIES (Series I):** Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Price: Cloth-binding Rs. 3. 50; Paper-binding Rs. 2.50.

This anthology of short stories from different Indian languages will give the reader an idea of the progress India has achieved in this branch of literature. It will, moreover, point out the unity of Indian social life in spite of provincial and linguistic differences. This first series contains fifteen stories, each representing one language. It is interesting to note that a story originally written in English has been included herein. Thus it is evident that the compilers regard English too as one of the languages of the Indians. Among the writers represented are: Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay (Bengali), Premchand (Hindi), Kalindi Charan Panigrahi (Oriya) and Rajagopalachari (Tamil). "The omission of Tagore," says Sri Humayun Kabir in his Foreword, "will strike even a casual reader. This omission is deliberate as it was felt that of all Indian writers Tagore is the one who is most widely known outside his own language-group."

The English rendering by different translators has been fairly adequate.

**ROMANCE Vs. NEO-ROMANCE:** Gourcharanananda Thakur: To be had of the author, P.O. Joynagar Mozilpur, 24-Parganas. Price Rs. 2-8 as.

A venture in English verse that may at best deserve a word of encouragement, not because of merit, but because of perseverance.

X

**SONGS OF LOVE:** By Shri Kumud Bandhu. Published by R. N. Dutt. 5/1, Dum Dum Road, Calcutta. 1959. Rs. 3.00.

**de facto** tenants have no security of tenure and in addition they suffer, of course, from all the disabilities characteristic of small cultivators.

We shall try to outline here briefly a set of measures which would help to overcome to some extent the deficiencies of the agrarian structure that hamper the development of Indian agriculture.

With regard to increasing the viability of small holdings, it is clear that poor peasants are unable to carry out any investment or even buy fertilisers and implements without the credit assistance of the Government. It is also of great importance that they should be exempted from irrigation charges which constitute frequently an obstacle to the utilisation of existing irrigation facilities. However, no significant results from application of such measures can be expected unless the problem of the hold that the trader and money-lender has on the small peasant is radically tackled. The peasant sells a substantial part of his crop immediately after the harvest at a low price to discharge, *inter alia*, his obligations to the money-lender and at a later period buys grain for consumption or seed at high prices, and again gets into debt. A Government Corporation should buy and sell agricultural produce at fixed prices throughout the year thereby eliminating seasonal fluctuations. (Traders must not be used as agents for this operation because in such a case not much would be actually changed in the present set-up.) The Government should also grant through appropriate channels short or medium term credits to replace the activities of the money-lender. It is only in this way that the small peasant will achieve a degree of economic security necessary for undertaking basic improvements on his holding. The enforcement of ceilings for rents is also important in this connection.

Let us turn to the problem of relatively large holdings which are **de facto** leased to tenants without security of tenure. A solution of this problem may, I think, be a properly scaled progressive land tax. The tax would have to be so high per marginal acre of relatively large holdings as to force the owner either to cultivate the land economically by introducing the necessary improvements or to sell a part of it. In the latter event, a mortgage bank would have the priority to buy the land. It would, in

turn, sell this land to the actual cultivator (tenant without security of tenure, 'servant', 'share-cropper') on instalment credit, the respective annual payments not exceeding the rent paid by him presently. (A more straightforward solution of the problem would, of course, be to grant security of tenure to all **de facto** tenants. Such a reform would, however, encounter considerable practical difficulties, given the present set-up in the countryside.)

It should be emphasised that the implementation of the measures outlined above offers a splendid opportunity for starting a vigorous co-operative movement among the small peasants which would greatly facilitate the drive for expanding production on their holdings.

An increase in total agricultural output at 4 per cent per annum would provide adequate supplies of foodgrains, oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton to sustain an annual rise of 5 per cent in national income. Nor does the expansion of corresponding production of manufactures raise any difficult problem. Thus, in addition to foodgrains, adequate supplies of vegetable oil, sugar, (mostly in the form of gur) and cotton cloth could be made available. The consumption of all necessities would increase by about 4 per cent per annum, which seems to be in proper relation to the rate of the growth of national income.

Even though adequate facilities for manufacturing necessities (as for instance, cotton cloth) are provided by the Plan, the problem of full utilisation of these facilities may arise. Should a semi-monopolistic increase in prices take place, the demand for the product in question will be restrained and the capacities will not be used to the full extent. The consequences will thus not differ from those of physical shortage. Thus, in addition to making provision for an adequate capacity to produce, control over the prices of necessities will have to be exercised. On the other hand, it should be noted that price-control without adequate facilities for production does not solve the problem of supply of necessities at stable prices. Indeed, such a situation is characterised by shortages, haphazard distribution and black markets (unless, of course, comprehensive rationing is introduced, which seems unlikely to function properly in a country like India).

Let us now turn to the second ba-

problem, namely, that of restraining the consumption of non-essentials to provide sufficient resources for financing of investment. The Third Five-Year Plan involves an increase in the relative share of home financed investment in the national income, approximately, from 8 per cent in 1960-61 to 12 per cent in 1965-66. If, however, consumption is not restrained by taxation, the rate of saving is not likely to increase significantly. It is true that to the rate of increase in the national income by 5 per cent annually there would be a corresponding annual rise in the consumption of necessities by 4 per cent only. However, this would be made up by a higher rate of increase in the consumption of non-essentials so that total consumption would expand approximately *pari passu* with the national income. To enable the rate of saving to increase from 8 per cent to 12 per cent in the course of the Third Five-Year Plan, the rate of increase in non-essential consumption should be kept down to approximately 4 per cent per annum. Thus, it should not exceed the rate of increase in the consumption of necessities which it certainly will, if not restrained by taxation.

The necessary curtailment of expenditure on non-essentials could be achieved most equitably by an increase in the progressive income-tax. Unfortunately, apart from taxation of salary earners, the income tax is very ineffective in India because of widespread evasion. However, the existing income-tax may be supplemented by direct taxes which could not be easily evaded and which would also perform in part some functions other than those of restraining the consumption of non-essentials. The most important of such taxes is the progressive land tax whose effect on agrarian conditions in a direction beneficial to the development of agriculture was outlined above. Next may be mentioned the tax on agricultural rents. Further, the profits on imported articles should be intercepted by means of raising the duties up to the level of the difference between the actual internal market price and the import price. Finally, taxes on commercial premises, factory buildings, and high class residential buildings may be considered which would stimulate, *inter alia*, a more intensive use of the existing space in trade and industry while economising on new construction,

and help restrict the building of luxury apartments.

However, the above taxes cannot by far be expected to restrain non-essential consumption to the extent postulated above. The problem has to be solved to a substantial degree by means of additional excises and duties on selected non-essentials.

In order to put into proper perspective the problem of curtailment of the consumption of non-essentials, it is useful to say a few words on the importance of this consumption as compared with the expenditure on necessities.

A preliminary inquiry into this subject was carried out on my suggestion by the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission. In the expenditure on necessities were included the following items: foodgrains, potatoes, spices, vegetable oil, hydrogenated oil and ghee, gur and sugar, fluid milk and dahi, sea-fish, salt, cotton-cloth, soap, soft coke, firewood and dung, kerosene oil, matches, housing, transport and communication. It should be noted that each item was evaluated at the price of low grade varieties: the value of rice was obtained by multiplying the tonnage by the price of coarse rice; the value of cloth was evaluated similarly by multiplying the yardage by the price of coarse cloth; for fats was substituted a vegetable oil equivalent and for sugar a gur equivalent; finally, by the same token, the expenditure on housing, transport and communication was not fully included in necessities. It is clear that in this way the price differentials between higher and lower variety of the respective items were classified as a part of non-essential consumption.

The result of the inquiry is rather striking: it appears that necessities in the above sense constitute only about 55 per cent of the consumer expenditure on goods and services, so that about 45 per cent fall in the category of non-essentials. On this basis, the required reduction in the expenditure on non-essentials in 1965-66 as compared with what it would be otherwise is of the order of 10 per cent. As mentioned above, even after such a curtailment, non-essential consumption would still increase from 1960-61 to 1965-66 at about the same rate as consumption of necessities (i.e., by about 4 per cent per annum).

Assuring an adequate supply of necessities and restraining the expenditure on

# Indian Periodicals

## National Unity

**Chowringhee**, July 17, writes editorially:

Some say it is English that unified India and made one nation out of a medley of races speaking different languages. Others say, India always had the same culture and the same religion and classical language—Sanskrit—and that is what bound the Indian races together. A careful study of Indian history, however, makes it quite clear that whenever India had been united, from time to time, under this ruler or that dynasty, it had never been a matter of linguistic or cultural oneness. Asoka might have used Pali for his rock inscriptions all over India, Sher Shah or Akbar, Urdu, but there were all the languages and dialects in full use all over India during these periods of unity. There are no reasons to support the point of view that unity in point of language or culture will create political unity. England under the Hephtharchy or France under the Dukes before Richelieu possibly had great similarity of language and culture among the politically disunited kingdoms and dukedoms. The Roman Empire united all sorts of peoples under one political organisation. And so have the U.S.S.R. now. There are no grounds for imagining that the British Empire of India, Burma and Ceylon was, one unified whole by virtue of the English language being used for State purposes everywhere. The Swiss and the Belgians have more than one language in their States and they do not break up politically for that reason. Nor did the English language prevent the American War of Independence. Political unity, therefore, is not a product of linguistic unity. Same religion also does not unite different communities, as is well-illustrated by the Europeans and the Arab States. Political unity is created by similarity of ideals and interests. And, of course, by a strong Government functioning on clear-cut lines established by a Constitution and by laws which are impartially enforced. Political disunity is always the result of weak and

unfair management of the affairs of the State, and of allowing the Constitution to lapse and the laws to be disobeyed. The forces which break up political unity are the products of unfair practice, favouritism, creation of privilege and extra legal rights and similar fundamentally illegal powers for persons who place narrow self-interest above the greater ideals and interests of national magnitude. Indian unity under the British was the result of British political and economic interests, the achievement of which required that all the races speaking the 242 languages and dialects of India should obey orders issued in English everywhere and enforced by a handful of Indian personnel who understood English as well as those various languages and dialects.

India under the Congress administration since 1947 has shown symptoms of disunity on a linguistic ground; because the Congress allowed the various communities, cliques and racial groups of India to take a lead in the so-called provinces, which, incidentally, had a British origin and no racial, cultural or linguistic significance whatsoever. The Congress found it necessary to placate local leaders in order to remain in power and these local leaders, not having any **National Ideals** nor any **National Interests** began to feather their own intellectual, economic and political nests, so to speak. And their understanding of their limited requirements for self-aggrandisement were, indeed, very crude and nationally degrading.

The idea of having Hindi as a national language was the beginning. Gandhiji began this, probably in the nineteen-thirties and was criticised by eminent political writers like the late Ramananda Chatterjee who said repeatedly that this idea of establishing an undeveloped language, spoken by the most backward peoples of India, as the national language, was a retrograde move and would create endless trouble for India. As a matter of fact, the fact that Hindi was forced upon the Bengalis and Tribal peoples of Bihar, encouraged the people of Orissa, Assam, etc., to hold up their respective languages, as great id-

and desiderata of their racial-linguistic communities. Today we have established some half-baked languages as things to fight for. We have forgotten our fight against poverty, disease, illiteracy, national weaknesses, foreign aggression, etc., etc., in order to ram the Assamese language or Hindi down the throats of people who do not speak these languages. India is being broken up by the half-enlightened leaders of the various communities of India who have become locally important by virtue of local superiority in numbers or by their importance in the Congress organisation. If the Central Government do not or cannot suppress these people by an iron hand, there is no doubt that India will break up into a hundred groups who will pass their time gibbering at one another in their respective languages or dialects. We think the Constitution of India should be amended and Hindi disestablished as also all other local languages. English should be maintained as the official language of the Central and the State Governments.

—: O :—

## Financial Problems of the Third Plan

M. Kalecki who came to India, at the invitation of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, did some research work on the subject of the Third Five-Year Plan. In an article, under the above caption in the Economic Weekly, July 9, 1960, he writes:

In view of the very low standards of living of the broad masses of Indian population, these seem to me the basic postulates of balanced growth.

On these assumptions, to any rate of growth of the national income there should correspond a definite rate of increase in the supply of necessities, in particular of food-grains. Indeed, this is true if existing tax rates are not changed (barring the case of significant redistribution of income before tax). But since the necessary rate of increase in the supply of necessities will not be affected by additional taxes on higher income groups and non-essential commodities, taxation would hardly influence significantly the demand for necessities.

Let us consider first the problem of adequate supply of necessities. It can be estimated that a 5 per cent increase in the national income per annum requires a rise in agricultural production at an annual rate

of about 4 per cent. (The rate of increase in the production of foodgrains on the assumption that no imports would take place in 1965-66 would have to be even higher, namely, about 4.5 per cent per annum.)

Such an expansion of agriculture is a tremendous task which, I think, requires far-reaching changes in the social and economic conditions prevailing in agriculture. I think that in the present outline of the Plan, adequate provisions have been made for irrigation and fertilisers. On the other hand, I do not believe that, with the agrarian conditions prevailing in India now, these facilities will be used to the full to produce the output required.

Agricultural holdings may be roughly subdivided into three classes:

(a) Relatively large or medium holdings, cultivated by peasants who own the land or have security of tenure with or without assistance of hired labourers.

(b) Small holdings cultivated by peasants who own the land or have security of tenure.

(c) Relatively large holdings leased by the owner to a number of small tenants without security of tenure either openly (in some States) or by circumventing the existing laws providing for security, through shifting the tenants around at short intervals, leasing land *de facto* to 'servants' or 'share-croppers', etc.

The second category, i.e., small cultivators, though they do not suffer from insecurity of tenure, do not enjoy conditions necessary for undertaking improvements such as availing themselves of irrigation facilities or engaging in minor irrigation projects, utilising more manure and fertilisers, improved seeds, etc. They are oppressed not merely by their inherent poverty but also by their dependence on the trader and money-lender (who is frequently the same person). Being involved in a daily struggle for survival, they are not able to plan for the future.

The third category, i.e., owners leasing their land (frequently classified as having land under 'personal cultivation') is by no means more promising from the point of view of expanding production than the second. The owners will be frequently of the rentier-landlord type, not particularly inclined to introduce improvements. The

non-essentials to the extent necessary for financing of investment are, as said above, the two basic pre-requisites of financial stability. It should be noted that the fulfilment of these two conditions does not exclude financing of Government investment by loans. Indeed, it appears that even after introduction of the taxes suggested above, private saving will appreciably exceed planned private investment (as is the case at present). This difference is to be absorbed by public projects and to this extent it will be necessary for Government to finance its investment expenditure by loans.

In this connection it is sometimes asked: How can Government 'get hold' of private savings in order to use them for financing of investment? The question is wrongly framed. One should rather ask: How can Government restrain private investment to the level allocated to it in the Plan? If government succeeds in this private savings over and above private investment may be absorbed by Government investment without causing inflationary pressures (of course, on the assumption that the supplies of necessities are adequate and the consumption of non-

essentials is appropriately restrained). The absorption of private savings by Government investment will proceed automatically. Indeed, to the extent to which this does not happen by direct purchase of Government securities, the savings will manifest themselves as increase in the indebtedness of the banking system, inclusive of the Reserve Bank, to the private sector (i.e., the increase in the excess of cash and deposits held by the private sector over banking credits granted to that sector). The counterpart to these savings is the increase in indebtedness of the Government to the banking system. It is in this way that the Government 'gets hold' of private savings through this system.

As to the problem of checking the excessive buoyancy of private investment, a variety of methods may be applied. Taxes such as referred to above and others devised specially for this purpose (rather than for the sake of curtailment of non-essential consumption); selective restrictions on bank credit; and last but not the least, direct measures such as licensing—all come into consideration and may supplement each other.

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### Africa is Transformed

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., writes in *Vigil*, July 16, 1960:

Greetings to the Mali Federation, which became independent recently! Greetings to the Congo, which became independent last week! And, greetings to the new Republic of Ghana! Africa is transformed.

Mali and the Congo symbolise the extremes of African change. The independence of the Federation is the result of a long, orderly development without any frontal attack on the previous colonial Power, France. The independence of the Congo is sudden, without planned political preparation, and arising, in the first instance, from a violent clash with the Belgian authorities. These different origins will inevitably colour immediate events, though within a decade one may expect little difference in the pattern of the two States.

Consider the story of the evolution of Senegal and French Sudan which form the Mali Federation. First, as a part of French Equatorial Africa, they were politically integrated with France. Then, when President de Gaulle formed his French Community, they became self-governing internally. Fifteen months ago they decided to federate. Now they attain independence.

Their political leaders have assimilated much French culture. I knew Leopold Senghor, the President, many years ago in Paris. He was characteristically French—gay, a poet, a politician. I remember a day of intense debate at a socialist conference. Then we went to a night club. The African orchestra was playing one of Senghor's songs.

The other leaders are French as well as African in their mould of thinking. Lively Modibo Keita, the Federal Prime Minister from Sudan; M. Mamadouia, Senegal's socialist economist, the Deputy Prime Minister; Maderia Keita, Sudan's Leftist Minister of the Interior; Doudou Thiam, Senegal's conscientious Minister of Finance; Tidjani Traore, the capable Federal Minister of Information. All these are French trained politicians.

They will make economic treaties with France, perhaps defence treaties. They will seek to build an African entente with the other independent States emerging from French West and Equatorial Africa, ex-

tending perhaps to Togoland and the Cameroons.

This grouping will not associate easily at first with the Pan-Africanism which is sweeping over the rest of the Continent. France is not popular in Africa because of the Algerian war, and because the States within the French sphere, except for Guinea, have put the brake on the drive to independence and the full expression of the African "personality." Time will heal these differences.

The story of the Congo is the opposite. The Belgians excluded the African people from Government and administration. Only in the last few years was there a beginning of democracy even in local affairs. The irresistible claim for independence seemed to come overnight. Wisely the Belgians read the writing on the wall.

From across the borders of his dictatorship in Central Africa Sir Roy Welensky has denounced Belgium's "baling out" as a political swindle, but the consequences or resistance to independence would have been far worse. Violence, repression, hatred would have mounted. Finally, the Belgians would have had to flee from the country. As it is, the new African Prime Minister had promised the French residents security and invited them to stay.

Not that the course of the Congo will be easy. The difficulties Patrice Lumumba had in forming his new Government illustrate the clash between tribal and national loyalties which is deep-rooted. A constitution will be needed which gives a satisfying autonomy to the large and self-conscious African communities held together by Belgian forces but now liberated to work out a basis of association by agreement.

The preliminary success of Patrice Lumumba in overcoming the opposition of Joseph Kasavubu and the Bakongo tribesmen, on the one hand, and the tribalist Conakrat Party in Katanga, on the other, and in uniting practically all elements in the National Government is a good augury; but the coalition is uneasy and we must expect further clashes, perhaps at early point, certainly as the constitution is constructed.

Much better, however, that the African peoples of the Congo should work through these problems themselves than that they should be frustrated by artificial relation-



ships imposed on them by an alien dictatorship. One hopes that the leaders of all the parties will recognise that they have a great responsibility to all Africa in establishing a plan of harmony. A large part of the world will decide the issue of independence with speed by the success or failure of the Congo.

Patrice Lumumba illustrates in himself African ability to take responsibility despite absence of experience in legislatures or governments. He is young, only 34, slim, tall, little moustache, goatee beard; his eyes are determined, his dedication is indicated in gestures, he smiles, his speech reflects quick intelligence. Background: born in a village of mud huts, primary school, teachers' training college. The school was Protestant, the college Catholic: noting their antagonism, he became a free thinker. Clerk in a tax office, assistant postmaster. The first time he spoke for his fellows was as president of the staff association; he was eloquent and showed challenging initiative. Moved to Leopoldville,

the capital, in 1957, seeking greater independence. Became commercial director of a brewery—and formed the Congo-National Movement, appealing to the working population, irrespective of tribe. The Belgians courted him, inviting him to Brussels. Returned via the Accra All-African Congress. Back at Stanleyville, riots. Imprisoned: released after a fortnight with the prestige of a hero. Now Prime Minister with the support of 117 of the 137 members of the newly-elected Legislature. Three years ago he was a postal employee!

The Prime Minister's colleagues are of mixed political views and tribal backings. Only two of them have had University education. They've come together under the immediate inspiration of their country's independence. It may be difficult to keep them together. But Lumumba has the philosophical temperament; he keeps calm and good tempered when around him emotions flare. He may do it. All of us wish him well.

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## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### Rabindranath and the Indian Tradition

We reproduce here the following article published recently by Do Vang Ly, Consul General of Vietnam to India:

It would be difficult to separate Rabindranath Tagore the poet from his total personality, which expressed itself in various ways. Tagore has left behind him a body of works which include almost every kind of literature from lyrical poetry to politics. These works offer evidence of a mind which consciously or unconsciously was in tune with his times: he, with his less famous nephew, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, was perhaps the only painter who anticipated in India the expressionistic movement which was beginning to sweep over Europe and America—not the expressionism of Kollwitz so much as that which was an element in the works of artists such as Klee, whose mysticism (if the word may be used) was not submerged in the misery and abandon of a Europe in the later twenties or thirties. The quality of dream may be seen in Tagore's half-revealed faces, as it were, in the reticence to make absolutely public a private emotion. It was primarily in manner, in his considered departure from representation of nature as well as from the manner then termed "traditional" and loved by the majority of painters that counted.

The manner had grown primarily from a sense of nationalism; its votaries were E.B. Havell and Ananda Coomarswamy, and its principal practitioner and acknowledged leader of the group that took to it was Rabindranath's other nephew, Abanindra Nath Tagore.

This is certainly not intended to imply that Rabindranath was not affected by the spirit of nationalism. However, unlike many of his countrymen, he brought to the consideration of nationalism a mind which was surprisingly moderate. When almost all virtue lay in being nationalist to the core, and it was sinful to even question this, he showed a restraint and wisdom which were quite remarkable. In his essay on Nationalism in India, he remarked that "there is only one history—the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one." During the evolution of the Indian nation, he observed somewhere that "the moral culture of brotherhood was limited by geographical boundaries, because these boundaries were true. Now they have become imaginary lines

of tradition, divested of the qualities of real obstacles. So the time has come when man's moral nature has to deal with this great fact with all seriousness or perish." The situation was made more serious and urgent by "the most important fact of the present age," i.e., "all the different races of men have come close together."

### Nationalism

Elsewhere, in Nationalism in the West, he cried out in anguish at the consuming spirit of nationalism. "Man, the person must protest for his very life against the heaping up of things where there should be the heart, and systems and policies where there should flow living human relationship."

In a poem entitled 'The Sunset of the Century,' Rabindranath comments:

"The hungry self of the Nation shall burst  
in a  
Violence of fury from its own shameless  
feeding,  
For it has made the world its food  
And licking it, crunching it and swallow-  
ing it in big morsels,  
It swells and swells.  
Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends  
The sudden shaft of heaven piercing its  
heart of grossness."

In this poem Rabindranath has commented on nationalism explicitly. This is naturally not so in his other poems, where man in his spiritual context is of course invariably the central theme—in accordance with the traditional Hindu mysticism and metaphysics. Before going to his poetry, and to his interpretation and involvement with the tradition as he saw it, it may not be out of place to dwell for a time on the Hindu way of apprehending the spiritual.

Indian literature even from the time of Rig-Veda is characterized by a conviction that man's discovery and realization of the self is the ultimate purpose of living; that the universe is but the manifestation of what he called the world soul.

Consider: From some unknown desolation the Aryans suddenly arrived in history. They were nomads and they appeared to have some pastoral poetry. The quality of verse and imagery in the Rig-Veda seems to contain a tale. In the beginning the Aryans naively wondered:

"Where goes the sun by night?  
Where is the moon by day?  
What lies behind the sky?  
Why don't the stars fall down?"

But when they had perhaps been settled for some centuries in the fertile plains of India, the primitive tenor of the natural elements gave place to a sensuousness, and a new dawn appeared in the sky, and the Gayatri Hymn, which has been repeated by the Hindu ever since it was written over 2,000 years ago, says:

"May we attain that excellent  
Glory of Savitri the god  
That he may stimulate our thoughts."

Slowly the Aryans imbibed the culture and wealth of the restless Dravidian mind, and adopted the philosophy of the universe (samsara): a man is born, and born again, as is his Karma (quality of dead); his endeavour is, by bhakti (devotion) to attain yoga (union with the world soul). All this complexity the Aryans assimilated, and grafted it on their simplicity. Toward the end of Rig-Veda, the poetry has an abstract purity, and the metaphysics are as clean as mathematics. The hymn of creation is considered to be the noblest utterance in all vedic literature. Philosophic speculation yielded the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishads. The universal Reality, Brahman, manifests itself in Unreality, Maya, Man partakes of Reality; he seeks awareness of Atma (soul for realization of the Reality, for Ananda, or the final bliss, when joy and sorrow are known to be unreal).

#### Epics

Indian tradition flows thereafter through the two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. These are speculated to have been composed some two or three centuries after Christ, and there is consequently found in them a flowering out in reaction to the several precise intellectualism and austere abstraction of the later Rig-Vedic period. The acme of ethical wisdom and metaphysical statement at the time is said to have been reached in the *Bhagavad Gita*, or the song of the Lord, a small treatise in the form of a dialogue between Lord Krishna (symbol of the metaphysical absolute) and Arjuna which takes place in course of the *Mahabharata*. Renunciation for realization of Reality on the one hand, and the dispassionate doing of good in the midst of social obligations on the other for realization of the higher self, are the two alternative ways commended by Krishna.

This introduction of an alternative had its effect in the next few centuries. About 400 A.D.

the dynasty of Vikramaditya of Ujjain arose to rule India from the wider half of the peninsula to the borders of Persia, and knit the region into one political, and consequently cultural whole. This was a golden age for India. In this period, poets and dramatists flourished. In Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* (Cloud Messenger), a lover entrusts a cloud with a message for his beloved, and acquaints it with the perils and joys of the way:

"The mountain peak is mantled all about  
with mango coverts with ripe fruits aglisten.  
Colored as a comely tress thou shalt soar on high.  
Now the peak shall worthy wax the seeing  
of the mates immortal, with ripple black as breast of Earth."

The vigor of the classical renaissance stretched on to the 8th or 9th Century. A.D. Gita Govinda by Jaya Deva belongs to that period. Gradually, art and poetry hardened to codification and rules emerged for Poetics and Rhetoric. Creativeness was dissipated or stifled in rigid conventions.

#### Revival of the Old Fervor

With the coming of Muslim conquest, there was a sudden revival of the old fervor, but naturally with a pronounced religious basis. The old poetic genius regained life and forced itself out of the cage of conventions. The saint-poets such as Ramanuja, Shankaracharya, etc., all produced poetry of subtle and refined rhythms whose influences is evident in the works of Tagore, and his contemporaries. Ramanuja wrote with a mellow gentleness:

"The vessel of a thousand sins, and plunged  
Deep in the heart of life's outrageous sea,  
It seeks in thee the refuge of despair.  
In mercy only, God make me thine."

Jumping over the centuries we come to the period of the strong influence of the British education upon the Indians (I have particularly in mind Lord Macaulay's minute on education in 1855), that dulled the Indian genius. As a reaction to this dullness, Toru Dutt emerged from the scene, who, through her translation of French romantics into English and through her rendering of some ancient ballads and legends, helped the sub-conscious Indianness (if I may use the term) to make itself felt. She was a step to the emergence of Rabindranath Tagore; for genius, despite its unpredictability, does not come from a vacuum. It is the product of an environment. A contemporary Urdu poet by the name of Muhammad Iqbal, expressed the spirit of the times in his song, *Naya-Shiwala* (New Temple), in which he said:

"Our pilgrimage will be higher than all the pilgrimages of this world,  
We will raise the pinnacles of our temple to meet the very edge of the sky,  
We will rise every morning to sing sweet hymns,  
We will dispense to all worshippers the wine of love."

This is perhaps said with an assertiveness which was alien to Rabindranath. But it nonetheless conveys the freshness of mind in the new dawn that was lighting the eastern sky, and the response to world ferment of the sensitive Indian mind, groping forward with one hand, but with the other holding on to direction—whispering tradition.

To know Rabindranath's poetry, it would be necessary to acquaint oneself with his religious inclination in understanding of the self and the Supreme being. It would be futile to attempt to measure his work with the help of a definition of poetry or art, however comprehensive. Definitions of art follow the creation of art; with each new addition, the definition must change, which makes defining unpractical and profitless. As Rabindranath inimitably put it, in an essay on art, "In our zeal for definition we may lop-off branches and roots of a tree to turn into a log, which is easier to roll about from classroom, and therefore suitable for a text-book. But because it allows a nakedly clear view of itself, it cannot be said that a log gives a truer view of a tree as a whole."

A clue to his religious attitude and drawing upon tradition is offered in his *Religion of Man*, in which he writes: "When I look back it seems to me that unconsciously I followed the path of my Vedic ancestors; to me the verses of *Upanishads* and the teaching of Buddha have been things of the spirit and, therefore, endowed with boundless, vital growth, and I have used them both in my own life and in my preaching as instinct with individual meaning for me and for others, and awaiting their confirmation, my own special testimony must have its value because it has its individuality."

At a young age, a collection of "old lyrical poems composed by the poets of Vaishnava sect" came into his hands and he became "aware of some underlying idea deep in the meaning of these love poems . . . they sang of a love that ever flows through numerous obstacles between men and Man the Divine . . ." In 1877 he visited England; the poetry he wrote in this period has been described by one writer as "heart-wilderness." Tagore himself felt:

"There is a vast forest named the heart  
Limitless on all sides  
Here I lost my way."

In passing, one remark. When he was a "sudden spring breeze of religious experience" came to his life and passed away, "leaving my memory a direct message of spiritual reality. One day he says, as he watched the dawn sun rising, 'I suddenly felt as if an ancient mist had in a moment lifted from sight . . . The invisible screen of commonness was removed from all things and all men their ultimate significance was intensified in mind.' The poems that followed were, he said, 'the first throwing of his inner self outward in them he sang of 'joy of attaining the Infinite with the Finite.'"

The creation of Rabindranath Tagore perhaps Creation, Conservation and Destruction in which he has dwelt on the hymn of creation in the Rig-Veda, Brahma, the Absolute, Inclusive and All-Comprehending, emerges from his meditation, and utters in joy the hymn of creation; Vishnu, the Preserver, brings life order; as he sits in contemplation on the shores of Manasarovar, Lakshmi, the world's deity arises from the lotus.

But the sun, the moon, the stars and the earth are tired of their daily monotonous tasks, and cry out for a new order in place of the old. Siva comes out at Brahma's instigation and destroys everything. Brahma closes his eyes in meditation, and the cosmic night is silent.

This summarized paraphrase does not pretend to indicate the worth of Tagore's poetry; it is given only to illustrate Tagore's deep roots in Hindu tradition, and his belief implicit in the direction must be apprehended from tradition.

#### Tagore's Life

In 1900 Tagore retired to Santiniketan where he wrote what was later translated *Gitanjali*. Tagore's life was perhaps epitomized in the words of a sculptor, who marked that an artist must make and unmake and then remake and re-unmake. "Thou," said in a poem:

"Who are the innermost spirit of my being, art thou ple  
Lord of my life?

For I gave to thee my cup filled with  
the pain and de  
That the crushed grapes of my heart  
had surrend  
I wove with the rhythm of colors and  
songs the cover for thy  
And with the molten gold of my desire.

I fashioned playthings for thy passing hours."

But a new revelation tempered the pain and the yearning. "God finds himself by creating," he wrote in his "Stray Birds." He re-emphasized the importance given in the Upanishads to intuition for sensing and comprehension. In "Sadhana" he wrote: "The Vision of the Supreme One in our Soul is a direct and immediate intuition, not based on any ratiocination or demonstration at all. Intellect is like a railway station, but the station platform is not our home. It is only a stop in the process of comprehending reality."

The contribution of Tagore to contemporary Indian literature may be summed up by saying that he has made Indians aware of tradition as distinct from conventions. Perhaps no better assessment could be made of his place than by using the term he is said to have used for himself—"the gardener" of Indian literature.

#### Indian Philosophy Inspired Keyserling

Count Hermann Keyserling was one of the German thinkers on whom Indian philosophy had had a profound influence.

Keyserling passed away in 1946 and his 80th birthday fell on 21st July. We reproduce here the following article on this great philosopher, by his son Count Arnold Keyserling won in Calcutta, published in *German News*, July, 20, 1960:

Most philosophers trace their work to one fundamental moment of inspiration, and try throughout their lives to develop it to its last sequence. Such was the case with Kant, who found his moment of inspiration whilst reading David Hume, and Descartes in his *Cogito, Ergo Sum*. With my father it was not a certain moment or reading: the main inspiration and the new direction of his life came through his contact with India.

Starting as a natural scientist, he had turned, by 1905, to critical philosophy and to Kant as a guidance, and so his first books were in the tradition of Kantian idealism. But, with his coming to India in 1911, a great change pervaded his whole outlook: he turned away from purely critical and scientific philosophy and tried to "philosophize with his whole being." In India, he came to understand the oneness of the universe, the interdependence of the spiritual, the mental and the empirical worlds. Forthwith, he endeavoured to find Man's place in relation to the whole cosmos, seeing in any creed, in any

special form of life or religion, only the means of attaining perfection.

The "Travel Diary of a Philosopher," (Published again in India, in 1959, by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay,) which describes his Indian experiences, found such an echo in the general public that he was asked to form a new philosophical institution in Germany, which was founded under the name of "School of Wisdom," in 1920, in Darmstadt. In one of his first speeches under the title "Oriental and Occidental Thought," he described the Eastern wisdom as the soul, the inner being, to which Western science and technology had to provide the appropriate "body."

Rabindranath Tagore, in whom my father saw the prototype of the "oecumenical" Man to come, presided over the first session of the "School of Wisdom," and they issued a joint statement that henceforth three centres—Santiniketan, Darmstadt, and a third planned at that time in China—should prepare the ground for the spiritual unification of the globe. Up to the last great session of the School in 1928, under the theme "Man and Earth," in which many of the leading intellectuals of the time participated, the School remained tuned to the same general theme.

My father's main theme of writings, up to his death in 1946, remained the ultimate self-realisation in the framework of mankind. Thus, up to the last moment, he remained true to the inspiration which India had given him.

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Workers of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission stitching the different parts of the National Flag



Toilers of the Soil

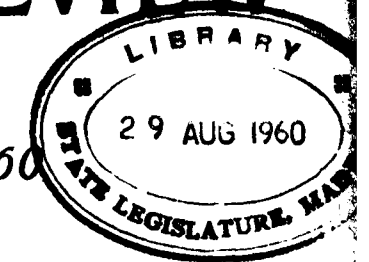
Founded by—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### Home and the World

On the International stage, Africa still holds the centre, both with regard to the play at cross purposes being staged by the Soviets and the U.N., and also because of the role played by Premier Tshombe of Katanga, who wishes to secede and form a separate State altogether. The main forces involved in the critical position now faced by the United Nations, whose authority and prestige is at stake in its mission to restore order in the Congo, are the Western alliance—the N.A.T.O.—on the one hand, and the Soviet Union which has threatened to intervene, unilaterally, in the Congo if Belgian troops were not completely evacuated immediately. Belgium being a major member of the N.A.T.O., the other members of the Western alliance are faced with a delicate situation, and that in its turn has made the task of the U.N. officials in charge of the mission exceedingly complicated.

The Congo, though the name has been familiar to all through rhymes, songs and fables, is a little known area in the interior of Africa. The following description, taken from the *New York Times* of August 8, would be useful therefore:

The Congo, in the heart of equatorial Africa, comprises an area one-third as large as the United States inhabited by 14,000,000 blacks. They are grouped in some 200 tribes which speak at least thirty-eight different languages. The great grassy plains and almost impenetrable jungles of the Congo harbour tremendous riches. The Congo produces one-half of the free world's

uranium, 75 per cent of its cobalt, 70 per cent of its industrial diamond.

The richest of the Congo's six provinces is Katanga, in the south-east portion of the country. It is there that the Congo's principal mineral deposits are located and Katanga accounts for about 60 per cent of the Congo's entire exports, two-thirds of its electric power and more than half the revenues for the central government. Some 1,700,000 persons inhabit the sparsely-populated province, whose capital is Elizabethville. Without Katanga, the Congo's economy would be severely handicapped.

Belgium ruled the Congo from 1885 to last June 30. Belgian companies owned and ran the mines and controlled all of the country's other principal resources—the timber, livestock, rubber, cotton and fruit plantations. There were roughly some 90,000 Belgians in the Congo during the past year. Ten thousand Belgian civil servants ran the Congo's administration, 1,000 Belgian officers ran the 25,000-man Congolese army.

On the granting of Independence, after about 80 years of Belgian colonialism, towards the end of which a period of nationalist agitation set in there started a struggle for power between several factions. The chief leaders in this internal struggle were the two now in the world's news. They are, Patrice Lumumba, who has assumed the Premiership of the Central Government of Congo. 34 years of age and intensely popular in his own domain he is intent on a United Congo, his challenger is Moise Tshombe, 41 year old Premier of the Provincial Government of Katanga. Wealthy, Conservative and pro-Belgian, his election

THE NEST

Sri Panchanan Roy



is said to have been financed by the Belgians. The incidents following the grant of independence are best described in the following extract, also from the *New York Times*:

At the time of independence, there were 2,000 Belgian troops in the Congo. Under a treaty, never formally ratified by the Congolese, they were stationed at two specified bases pending their ultimate withdrawal from the Congo.

Within hours of independence there was a series of violent eruptions in the Congo. The 25,000-man Congolese army mutinied against their continued direction by white Belgian officers, Congolese attacked white civilians, looted their homes and there were widespread reports of rapings. Paralysis gripped the country's transportation system, commerce, sanitary, health and other vital services. There was growing unemployment and a shortage of currency.

Then followed a series of incidents which not only intensified the prevailing confusion but also enhanced the inter-tribal jealousies. The Belgians, in their 80 years of absolute colonial control, had only ruthlessly exploited this territory, of about a million square miles, without any consideration for the luckless inhabitants. As Thomas Kanza the 24 year old representative declared at the Security Council meeting, in reply to the charges of mass raping and other excesses against the Congolese, the Belgians ruled Congo for 80 years without educating a single Doctor or Engineer. Kanza said that he was the first Congolese allowed to leave Congo for acquiring higher education, and this event occurred only eight years ago. He stated that if the Congolese were incompetent to govern in a civilized pattern then the first indictment should be laid on those who trained them thus.

In the confusion that followed the widespread disturbances, a challenger appeared on the scene in the person of Premier Tshombe, who invited the Belgians to send in troops to restore order in Katanga and when response came in the shape of air lift of paratroops to Katanga and elsewhere in the Congo, he proclaimed the secession of Katanga from the Congo, on the 11th of July. This proclamation and the resultant opposition to the entry of

U. N. troops into Katanga has been and still is the greatest headache to the Secretary-General to the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld. The U.N. troops have been fairly successful in restoring law and order—at least a bare semblance of it—elsewhere in Congo but in Katanga the position is still indeterminate. The U. N. forces are meeting with obstruction and insults at every step and despite Premier Tshombe's outward polite acceptance of Hammarskjöld's proposals, there seems to be some plots brewing to stall the progress of law and order. Of course, the vital question is whether Katanga remains within the Congo of Premier Lumumba and President Kasavubu or secedes completely.

The latest news show that Dag Hammarskjöld and his top African adviser, Dr. Ralph Bunche of the U.S., are grimly holding on to their plans, despite extreme intransigence from both Lumumba and Tshombe and insolence and insults of the undisciplined mob that the Congolese army has degenerated into. The situation has been complicated further by the attitude of the Soviets, which is puzzling, to say the least in its day-to-day variations.

In the colonial territories still remaining in Africa, the Portuguese are attempting to build up another South Africa by sending in masses of emigrants from Portugal, at the rate of 40,000 a year. Mass persecution of those who are attempting to let in the light of liberty in the benighted territories of Portuguese Africa and suppression with force is the order of the day. We have reproduced elsewhere in this issue a communication from the International Commission of Jurists, a non-political and non-governmental organization which has consultative status, category B, with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. It fully illustrates the working of the minds of the anti-diluvian autocrats that rule the most backward State in Western Europe.

In the British territory of Northern Rhodesia where die-hard, last ditchers of Britain, has so far held down the Africans with the mailed fist there seems to have been a faint dawning of sense. Northern

Rhodesia's legislature has passed a law barring further racial discrimination, with a clause for compensation to those who may suffer loss of white customers by allowing Africans to trade freely, during the first twelve months.

Nyasaland, the long-strung hilly territory, which was forcibly merged into the white-dominated Central African Federation with the two Rhodesias, has been long agitating to be allowed to separate, so that the 2,720,000 Africans may work out their own destinies independent of white domination, discrimination and exploitation. Their able leader, Dr. Hastings Banda, was freed from prison over four months back, through the intervention of the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ian Macleod. Last month there was a conference in London in which Mr. Macleod successfully put through, after 11 days of discussion, a new Nyasaland Constitution, in which the African majority was represented to a large degree—with safeguards for the minority, whites and Asians who number about 20,000 in all. As a half-way gesture it was welcomed by the African delegation.

In Algeria, the disappointed F.L.N. leaders, intensely exasperated at the sham pour-parlers at Paris, have evidently decided to go on with the desperate battle for freedom, as violence has again broken out there. It is evident that France has yet to learn that freedom's fight is always won.

Iran has been subjected to the wrath of the Arab League leaders, who have called Iran a traitor to Islam, because Iranian oil is being sold secretly to Israel. The whole affair was touched off by a remark by the Shah of Iran, at a Press Conference, that Iran does recognize the *de facto* Israeli Government though it does not formally recognize Israel.

In Asia, there has been a sudden *coup d'état* in Laos where a paratroop captain has seized power at the administrative capital, Vientiane. The position is rather obscure as yet but the move seems to have been actuated by anti-Americanism. How far there will be a change in the authority

over the entire area of Laos, is indeterminate as yet.

In the Americas, the organization of American States is meeting, at the time of writing, at San Jose, Costa Rica, to decide on the course of action to be followed in order to deal with problems that are affecting the New Hemisphere consequent on Cuba's unilateral action in dealing with the U. S. properties in Cuba and the threats from the Soviets to intervene on Cuba's behalf against the U. S. What will be the outcome of the conference is impossible to predict but if an unanimous warning is given to Cuba, against allowing its territory to be used as a penetration point in the hemisphere for the Soviets, then even Fidel Castro may halt his headlong course.

In Europe, or rather in the Mediterranean area, the island of Cyprus, long marked for its campaign of violence and terrorism in the cause of "Enosis", has taken another step towards consolidating independence and normalcy. At the beginning of the month of August, the Cypriotes elected the members of their national legislature, a House of Representatives with fifty seats of which, under the independence agreement, thirty-five are for the Greek Cypriotes and fifteen for the Turkish Cypriotes. The President-elect Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish Vice-President Fazil Kutchuk have firmly established their positions. The independent Republic of Cyprus, which came in its own on August 16, seems to be at last free from troubles.

In Moscow, the U-2 trials are over and the hapless aviator, Powers, captured after the plane was shot down over Sverdlovsk has been sentenced to ten years' detention, "three of which he will have to undergo in a prison." Powers must be fully aware that this was one of the hazards of his profession, but one's sympathy goes to the members of his family.

At home, we are awaking slowly to the realization of our lamentable deficiencies in the matter of discipline and controls which are the main attributes of civilized human beings. We are still under the shock

of what has happened in Assam, the consequences of which are likely to be far-reaching, judging by the frenzy in West Bengal. The events in Assam have shown to all thoughtful persons how futile are party organizations and policies and how puerile the principles enunciated by the leaders of all parties, when faced with the degraded animal instincts of racialism and parochialism, of which linguism is an offshoot. In Punjab, over 14,000 Akalis have been arrested, and in Assam an incompetent administration is wallowing in a helpless state in the mire of party politics.

#### The Dandakaranya Project

There seem to be some peculiar forces in action at New Delhi, putting out of gear the normal and efficient working of the administrative machinery. These forces are never seen in the open, their malevolent influences being apparent only after the mischief is done. The result has been felt for sometime through the crooked decisions and directives that are issued from time to time in certain departments, under a veil of secrecy. When the mischief is detected, it is either too late to determine who were the real culprits, or else the resultant damage is of such a magnitude as to make the ruling party or its active faction apprehensive about the safety of its hold on reins of Government. The outcome is the same, a smoke-screen of verbiage, behind which the whole affair is hidden. Public memory being what it is, all reactions to the evil such as demands for the punishment of the evil-doers and remedy for public losses, etc., die out, and the rats go on working in the dark with impunity.

The *Statesman* of August 18, carried a report on the reconstitution of the D.D.A., which seems to indicate that some such malignant influence is at work. The Prime Minister's formula for the better working of the project seems to have upset the plans of some powerful persons at present in control of the Dandakaranya project. It is a gigantic and long-term project, with plenty of scope for loot, waste and the placing of wasters, related to men at the top, in fat jobs.

The unusual haste in taking decisions

on vital matters, like the delegation of powers and "responsibilities" to different departmental heads, inclusive of the Chief Administrator and Chief Engineer, as reported by the staff reporter, seems to indicate that some parties are trying to cut out secret channels for malpractices before a capable Administrator can take preventive measures.

#### Nagaland

The Lok Sabha debated, on August 18, the recent decision of the Centre to create a separate Naga State. The question of granting autonomy for Manipur and Tripura was raised but was not given any mention in Pandit Nehru's speech on behalf of the Congress Ministry. The points made by Pandit Nehru in reply to the criticisms were fairly conclusive otherwise. Most of the speakers from the opposition welcomed this decision, the principal critic being a Jana Sangh member. The criticisms were about the name, "Nagaland" as well which, Pandit Nehru himself admitted, was not quite happy, but hardly important enough to be made an issue of during the discussions with the Naga leaders.

Pandit Nehru made it clear that Law and Order would be a reserved subject, directly under the Governor, until normal conditions were restored. In particular the Tuensang area would be directly administered by the Governor for the next ten years as expressly requested by the representatives from that locality and agreed upon therefore by the Centre. There would be an elected body, comprising representatives of all Naga tribes, to advise the Governor on administrative matters but the Governor's authority will not be curtailed in any way thereby.

The main criticisms were that the decision amounted, virtually, to a surrender to rebellion, that the State was too small to be viable and finally that it was doubtful whether it would bring peace to the locality.

The decision is certainly worthwhile in our opinion, if only to strengthen the determination of the Naga leaders, who represent the majority, by far, of the Naga tribes, to restore peace in that unhappy

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area. It will further demonstrate the absurdity of the stand taken by those who are trying to hold up Phizo's claims.

THE EDITOR

#### India Belongs to All Indians

So said President Rajendra Prasad recently somewhere in non-Hindi India. We are afraid, nevertheless, that the idea of an Indian Nation is slowly undergoing disintegration. We are all becoming overconscious of our sub-nationalities and very soon India will have no Indians, but only Assamese, Bengalis, Biharis and so on and so forth. The ease with which the sub-nations of India have attained "sovereignty" in their respective states under Congress rule, has given India a premonition of total break up. If Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru spends more of his time in giving his views on the Congo or Sweden with a view to enable the world to gain by his wisdom, and allows the self-seekers of different States to gain in power and importance by maligning and attacking other Indians in their own States or elsewhere; Pandit Nehru may very soon have to migrate to Sweden or to the Congo as he is only a Kashmiri and not entitled to make his home in Delhi, Lucknow or Patna. Nor can he stay in Kashmir as he was born in Uttar Pradesh and possibly did not learn to speak in the Kashmiri language or dialect. President Rajendra Prasad too comes from Bihar and though the whole of India may belong to Bihar, Bihar will never belong to any but the *Bhumihars* and *Kayasthas* of Bhojpur, Mithila or Magadh. The President had said that India was one and indivisible and it belonged to everyone of them (Indians) no matter what their differences were. Very encouraging words but does any Congressman or Communist really believe in them? For India and the Indians are now guided by Congressmen and Communists, and they think India belongs to them or to the Chinese. Indians as such do not exist any longer. The Congress has converted them to State or language groups and the Communists to brain and soul washed servants of a new faith which tolerates no nationalities (with the honourable exception of Russian and Chinese). Our regional and linguistic groups are now beginning to be expansionists. *Jiska danda uska raj* in *Rastrabhasa* means, India belongs to the strongest wielders of the big stick. And, so, all groups are out to establish their "rights" by exercising

might. The break up of India is not very far off if this state of affairs continues any longer and we may even visualise the Congolese taking police action in India in order to protect the lives of the shintos of nowhere. If such thing happened then Indian history would have a chance to apportion credit to the various groups jockeying for power in India and decide whether Bihar or Assam came first in point of causing the disintegration of India. President Prasad's words perhaps have little adhesive quality and will not keep India together; for, against his words are the disruptive activities of his immediate followers and admirers who put their own advantages above all considerations of national solidarity. The Congressmen of Bihar and Assam are good examples of nation-breakers and unless India breaks them, they will surely break India.

A. C.

#### Old and New : Educated-Uneducated

President Prasad said at Coimbatore that we must learn to mix the new with the old in order that our knowledge did not estrange us from our own people, who being uneducated stuck to their ancient traditions. We have not understood quite clearly what our President meant when he said all this; but history teaches us that a total break from the past is impossible psychologically unless one is removed at birth from his regional environment. We find too that however much one may educate certain people, they never truly modify their ways or outlook. Once a so and so, always a so and so, as the saying goes. President Rajendra Prasad continued this dissertation by telling the South Indian graduates that many uneducated people were in fact more educated than the educated and that it was good to learn to be educated in the uneducated manner(?). We would say, many educated people were more uneducated than the uneducated and that they were therefore more educated than the educated. . . . . When we were College Students we were taught logic and we used to quote, "Epaminondas said all Cretans are liars. Epaminondas is a Cretan. Therefore, he is a liar. Therefore what he says is a lie. Therefore all Cretans are not liars. Therefore what Epaminondas said was not a lie. Therefore all Cretans were liars. . . . . The old and the new and the educated and the uneducated open out a similar vista.

A. C.

**Independence Day**

By the time we go to Press and appear in print the Independence Day will have been over. This year, in Bengal, there has been complete cancellation of all festivities in connection with the *Swadhinata Diwas*. The Governor of Bengal cancelled her programme, and many clubs and institutions have called off their celebrations. Pandit Nehru, as usual, made an unnecessary and uncalled for statement and said that Independence Day had nothing to do with Assam and one should therefore not mix issues. Well, if Independence of India means that the Assamese can beat up Bengalis in Assam, some of whom do not even live in Assam proper, but in portions of Bengal which have been scissored off and added to Assam, then such Independence is fake and the Congress is also becoming a fake and untrue to its ideals by backing all kinds of anti-Indian organisations and activities in Bihar, U.P., Punjab and elsewhere. The Congress-made Independence had never really been Independence in so far as it was purchased from the British by ceding large areas of India to a new State created by the British. Even then, one was hoping that the rest of India will be one and the people will have all the freedoms that are guaranteed by the Constitution. But slowly and increasingly India is being handed over to the forces which have no desire for Indian Unity. These forces on the one hand wish to enslave all Indians economically in a semi-Communist manner by introducing State Capitalism and by allowing some selected private capitalists to complete the economic enslavement by cornering of foodgrains and other essential commodities and by depriving Indians of the rights of free enterprise by a network of controls, prohibitions, licences and permits which could be obtained only at the will of the bureaucracy. In the circumstances Pandit Nehru should call a conclave of Congressites (and hand-picked Communists too) and celebrate their own independence. The people of India have not attained independence in their own opinion and we hope they will do so sooner or later by abolishing the two major political cliques which plan to reduce India to a State of slavery to the Congress of the Communist Party of India. The *Banias* of India are also running neck to neck with the political parties to get a strangle-hold upon Indian freedom and

our people should learn to defend themselves against *Bania raj* too. In Calcutta, on Independence Day black flags would have outnumbered the national flags. Some young men had thought of putting up old baskets and brooms which are a traditional totem used by masons to chase away evil spirits while construction goes on. Our work of Nation Building is now in progress and many *bhoots* are infesting the building site, which is India. These *bhoots* or evil spirits must be exorcised before we can finish our work properly and well.

A. C.

**Political "Philosophy" ?**

All persons who acquire political power by force or by cunning sooner or later, begin to quibble in terms of political philosophy, social welfare, national defence or religion, as suits them, in order to justify their action in reducing the freedom and liberty of their peoples. Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan is no exception to this rule. He has begun to think that he is a great political thinker who has created new freedoms by destroying the common or garden freedoms of the people of Pakistan. He has, in his opinion, thought out a new method of establishing a democracy by starting village councils which he calls basic democracies and, he thinks, these rural or city ward councils will fulfil the requirements of a democratic form of government by adding together the local preferences of persons with a limited community outlook and thus creating greater national preferences without any national political outlook or vision. Village *Panchayats* are usually elected on the basis of local preferences which are based on considerations of a very limited value. Ten thousand *Panchayats* can never produce a scheme of public finance of national dimensions, for the reason that small electorates will always have a narrow outlook. Such bodies may, of course, grant authority to tyrants to do what they liked without understanding what they were granting. Field Marshal Ayub Khan does not like political parties because some political parties have done some harm to Pakistan. He condemns all political parties for all times for that reason. This is hardly fair on the democracies of other countries which have a better human element managing their national institutions. We have no idea

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what is Islamic and what is not and we do not think that any religion has helped to set up political standards and institutions of any excellence. The history of Muslim dynasties in India and elsewhere gives us a great many examples of corruption, immorality and of crude tyranny. Aurangjib the Great Mogul was a person with an over-abundance of Islamic fervour; but he imprisoned his father and killed off his brothers. He also tyrannised his Hindu subjects and, thus, brought about the downfall of the Mogul Empire. Other Islamic kingdoms and empires have also showed us how people doing five *nawajes* daily could act in an immoral, unjust and inhuman manner. The Field Marshal of Pakistan, who is also the President and Dictator of that country, therefore, is indulging in a lot of self-deception when he declares his faith in Islamic ways and traditions, and lays claims to an original approach to a solution of the problems of public liberty and freedom.

The Field Marshal says, for example, "Sincerity and purity of thought, restraint in feelings, boldness and forthrightness in action, breadth of vision, moral integrity, sublimity, impartiality in justice, and fear of God in every walk of life are qualities without which the life of human beings and nations remains incomplete and spiritless."

"By the grace of God our nation possesses these faculties in great measure. . . ."

While we agree that these high principles of human conduct are unchallengeable we have to admit that the people of Pakistan began their political life by rioting, killing and by committing offences against women, which did not prove the "sincerity and purity" of their thought; nor their "restraint in feelings" etc., etc. The people of Pakistan made a bad beginning and their initial political and economic failures were the result of their own distorted outlook. The Field Marshal's later condemnation of the previous leaders of Pakistan proves that his general adulation of the Pakistani character is just a boost. He said in the course of the same speech from which we quoted before: "The so-called honourable men changed parties for ministerial office with shameless disregard for the oaths taken by them in the name of God and His Prophet. . . . The majority of political leaders with whose names we became familiar during the last 30 or 40 years held the field turn by

turn but always inflicted nothing except a new injury on the motherland. Each one of them, according to his ability spread the tentacles of either his wisdom, his simplicity or his crookedness. Every one used the country and the nation like a Guinea Pig in the laboratory of his personal desire and selfishness." After this general condemnation of "each one" and "every one" of Pakistan's leaders "during the last 30 or 40 years" the Field Marshal goes on to admire Islamic traditions and history with the outlook of a bigot and comes to the conclusion that if the Pakistanis followed his advice they would soon reach the pinnacle of political success and economic development. And it will be Islam that will achieve this.

The Field Marshal is a capable man, and, he has already done some good to the people of Pakistan. The only thing that stands in the way of Pakistan's progress is religious bigotry. If the Field Marshal steers clear of bigotry and constant references to the Islamic past of the peoples of Pakistan, he may yet make those people fully civilised and progressive. The previous leaders of Pakistan exploited the religious fanaticism and bigotry of the peoples of Pakistan and thereby prevented their advancement. If now, Field Marshal Md. Ayub Khan continues in the same tradition, he may give them more of economic progress by crushing the forces of corruption; but he will never succeed in making Pakistan a modern, rational and culturally progressive country. He possibly fears that if he did not always heavily emphasise the Islamic nature of the people of Pakistan, they may naturally get mixed up with the people of India. This is a natural fear in people who have made their career by dividing India into two on a communal basis. But, we would like to see at least one great leader in Pakistan who would rise above such pettiness.

A. C.

**Nehru's Assurances**

Pandit Nehru specialises in making statements and giving advice *gratis* and Assurances to his own countrymen as well as to all comers. This habit of his has resulted in many useless and irresponsible pronouncements some of which have been quite innocuous and others very misleading and dangerous to his countrymen whose

well-being he is supposed to be looking after. His statements re. the Congo or Katanga, for example, have not stirred a single leaf in the forests of Africa and the Congolese and others have gone on without troubling to halt and listen to Pandit Nehru. But when Pandit Nehru said everything was safe and sound in Assam without taking any trouble to discover facts, he drove a certain number of his countrymen (Bengalis, not Kashmiris) into potential danger; for the Assamese gangsters were still at large and were functioning sporadically without any interference from the Government of India or Assam. Later on Pandit Nehru said in connection with borders security that the forces of India were in full occupation of the frontier and that things were quite secure. Immediately after that statement, the Chinese patrols infiltrated 4½ miles into Indian territory. The only thing, therefore, that one can be sure of where Pandit Nehru is concerned, is that he will take the best part of our earnings and squander the same in the name of planning or some such irresponsibly conducted political-economic ventures. In the circumstances should Pandit Nehru remain as our Prime Minister?

A. C.

#### Mr. Asoke Sen's Mission

We do not know why Mr. Asoke Sen was sent to Assam by the Central Government. Surely not to preach brotherhood, nor to make enquiries as to the identity of the criminals who committed murder, rape, arson, robbery with violence, etc., etc., in Assam against the minorities there of whom the largest section were Bengalis. Judging by the slogan "*Bangal Kheda*" (chase the Bengalis out) it would seem that the movement was directed against the Bengalis of Assam and other people too got a share of the atrocities by reason of their inability to speak or write Assamese. Or perhaps, they objected to the looters looting and were killed, injured and robbed as a result of their resistance to Assamese nationalism. One Maharastrian couple lost their baby in the course of the house burnings that were organised by the Assam hooligans. The hooligans were aided by some people who gave them trucks, petrol and arms and the Assam police helped to liquidate resistance by the minorities. Then Pandit Nehru went to Assam and found nothing wrong there and advised the thousands who had run away to

go back to Assam, where, the Pandit said, there was absolute security. With all this now recorded as general knowledge, why did Mr. Asoke Sen have to go to Assam? And why did he have to make statements bracketting the Bengali sufferers with the Assamese gangsters as joint participants in the incidents? That was an attempt to put a false interpretation on the incidents. No wonder the Bengali Youths burnt Mr. Sen's effigy at Dum Dum when he passed through!

A. C.

#### The Palai Central Bank

The Palai Central Bank is the largest bank in Kerala and thousands of the people of that State keep their savings in that bank. The bank must have been investing funds in certain types of business during the Communist *raj* in Kerala. When the Communists were ousted by the Congress some of these investments must have turned sour due to loss of official backing. And thus good investments became bad as a result of political changes. The Reserve Bank of India had been saying nothing about the Palai Central Bank's position for many years. But after the change of Government the Reserve Bank officials began to wake up to the violations of the rules and regulations engaged in by the Palai Central Bank. And eventually the Palai Central Bank was closed down by the Reserve Bank.

Now, we would like to know what investments of the Palai Central Bank turned bad after the change of Government and to what extent the Congress Government of Kerala were responsible for the change from good to bad. We would also like to know who were the Reserve Bank officials who looked after banking in Kerala before and who were there after the change of Government. When these facts are known, we shall be in a position to judge why, how and due to whose activities and machinations the Palai Central Bank shut down. The Congress Ministers are now running to Delhi to seek Pandit Nehru's help to safeguard the interests of the depositors. Why? Guilty conscience, may be.

A. C.

#### Sadhus, Leaders and Banias

Among those classes of persons who produce the largest number of fakes, Sadhus, Leaders

and Banias can be considered to be quite top-ranking. Every day one reads in the newspapers how a Sadhu was convicted of some low crime and yet the Sadhus carry on their religious endeavour in their thousands and are mostly not addicted to crime. A few bad Sadhus spoil the good name of the entire group and all Sadhus become suspect. Our leaders similarly may be largely quite good men who try to serve their people to the best of their ability. Yet a few bad men give the entire class of leaders a stinking reputation. It is, therefore, necessary for all leaders to expose their bad colleagues and to push them out of circulation as soon as they are found out. For bad leaders drive out good leaders if they get a chance; and they should never get that chance. Among tradesmen too bad Banias drive out good Banias by unfair competition and illicit activities. The ancient trade guilds, etc., kept up the good name of the traders. But today all associations of trades people have not that sense of prestige and they allow their credit to be dissipated for immediate advantages. Among India's trades people there are far too many unscrupulous dealers and the good men should now combine to drive the evil ones out.

A. C.

#### Muddling Through

The British have been famous through all their history for the stupid and illogical manner in which they acted and then somehow managed to avoid disaster and emerged from the boiling cauldron of political trouble with some semblance of success and survival. Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru, whose parents sent him to England at an immature age, to become a *Sahib*; who became a *Sahib*, by neglecting his studies but mastering the gastro-socio-sartorial arts of English high society, and remained a *Sahib* too in so far as he always remained immune to facts and logic in spite of the close spiritual bonds that bound him to Mahatma Gandhi. In every sphere of thought and action since Pandit Jawahirlal became the Prime Minister of India, he has thought only in terms of preconceived notions and acted or neglected to act with a supreme disregard for logic, truth, justice and his own previously admitted principles. How, truly British! The Pandit's Brahmin

ancestors must feel proud of this utter *Sahib* who can dissociate himself from his environment totally and in a split second without any effort whatsoever. The Pandit, during his thirteen years of *Raj* over the peoples of India, has many acts, incidents, etc., to his discredit, which have mostly gone against his previously admitted beliefs and commitments.

He began his career by agreeing to a partition of India and thus gave up the homes of millions of Hindus to the Moslems of Pakistan, in order to achieve "Independence." He has not yet stopped giving up territory to Pakistan, Portugal, China and, may be, others and, he has done this without the consent of the people concerned. He has a great faith in majorities and he always likes to sacrifice minorities for the greatest good of the greatest number. But he did not remember this when he sacrificed large tracts of India to the Moslem minorities of India who claimed a separate State.

After obtaining "Independence" the Pandit promptly changed the provinces of India into States which were more independent and defiant of the Centre than the provinces had ever been under the British. In fact, the Pandit already thinks the States are Nations with their separate language and culture, though he also thinks that India is greater than the States without troubling to enquire how. For, India without the States has no magnitude and therefore no existence. During his thirteen years of *Raj* Pandit Jawahirlal has done very great things, indeed, for the people of India. One may, of course, ask who the people of India are as against the people the States of the Indian Union. Nobody knows, but one can make a wild guess. There are many Kashmiris in India who are not Kashmiris in the sense that Kashmir is a State of India. These Kashmiris, perhaps, are the Indians we are thinking about. For, they hold many prize posts in the public and the private services and there is no unemployment among them as there is among other people. These Kashmiris are a good-looking people and they put on good clothes. Their personality therefore overflows their other



qualities and they thus get the cream of all things. Apart from these Indians, there are some **Bhumihars** and **Kayasthas** of Bihar who are also Indians. These people also are found in most lucrative jobs that are available in North India. We do not know who the Indians are in South India, but there are some who are found not only in South India but also in the northern States. So, we are wrong in thinking that all Indians belong to the States of India.

Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru allowed Pakistan to chase all Hindus and Sikhs out of their States; but he protected all Muslims who chose to stay on in India; though he agreed to the principle that the Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations by agreeing to the partition of India on that basis. He imprisoned the late Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee or permitted him to be imprisoned because the late Shyamaprasad challenged Muslim **Raj** in Kashmir. Of course, the Pandit imprisoned Sheikh Abdullah too at a later date.

Pandit Jawahirlal thinks that all minorities in the States can be rightly deprived of their constitutional rights by the majorities, provided the latter belonged to the Congress clique and showed respect to Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru. But the Pandit thinks that the Portuguese of India (if any) have a *de facto* right to owe allegiance to Portugal, though the French or the Dutch were not entitled to such privileges. The Anglo-Indians had not asked for any privilege to form an English State. Had they done so, the Pandit might have had another occasion to bring his British logic into action.

Recently the Pandit had been thinking about the oneness of the assaulter and the assaulted and, on this occasion, he used his Brahminic background by agreeing that there is a unity in point of responsibility for the action, between the murderer and the murdered, the ravisher and the ravished and the looter and the looted. As to Constitutional rights the Pandit perhaps thought that these should not be allowed to stand in the way of the spreading of Congress ideology. The Pandit has already allowed the Congress to allow food adulteration, cornering of essential articles of

consumption, black-marketing, sale of permits, licences, etc., for the provision of funds for the Congress. The Congress, therefore, is above India. Of course, where China comes in the Communist party attains a priority over the Congress.

A. C.

### Imposing Hindi

On Independence Day the President of India reiterated his recent pronouncements regarding imposition of Hindi on people who were not Hindi-speaking. Whether his reassurance was for the benefit of South Indians or for all Indians, we do not know; but if he meant that his **Raj** will spare all non-Hindi speakers from the imposition of Hindi on them, we would suggest that he began his good work by withdrawing all Hindi writers from non-Hindi-speaking areas of the province of Bihar. In the District of Singhbhum, there are no Hindi-speaking people who have not been "imposed" upon the locality by the Bihar Government. Yet there are so many Hindi-speaking officers in the District that the official medium of correspondence is Hindi. Anybody who wishes to read or take a copy of any report, remark or resume made by a Bhojpuri official, has to know Hindi or go blind into things. If this is not imposition of Hindi as well as of Hindi-speaking personnel, we do not know what President Rajendra Prasad knows about all this, at least he should know, for he worked in close collaboration with many Bihar politicians in the past who carried out this imposition and infiltration by Bhojpuris over long years. If the policy has changed now, let us see some positive evidence of it.

A. C.

### Whitewashing Goes On

The whitewashing of the Assam crimes and of the criminals and their inspirers, aiders and abettors is going on all over India as sponsored by the Government of India and their party men and sympathisers. The latest effort at putting some of the

blame on the Bengalis has been a kind of pseudo enquiries and analysis into and of the root causes of the organised attacks on the Bengalis in Assam. One alleged reason was that the Bengalis monopolised business in Assam. This is not true and if people who monopolise business in any State should be murdered, robbed and chased out then the Marwaris in West Bengal would have rather a thin time. Another alleged reason for the attack on Bengalis was their superiority complex and their inability to become one with the people of the place. If this is true, then all Brahmins all over India can be justly murdered, including Kashmiri Brahmins, as well as all foreign qualified technicians, lawyers and other degree-holders of Cambridge or London. All graduates and Matriculates of Indian Universities are guilty of this feeling of superiority and the Matriculates of Patna and Allahabad lead these "Superior" men and women. They even call themselves **Inglisman**. We do not see what good all this nonsense is doing to the Assam Government and the Assam Congress. They ought to hand over the criminals for trial according to the Law of the Land. No one must escape punishment after acting in the manner that some Assamese have. And those who financed and encouraged them must be punished too. Mr. Nehru cannot put the Law in abeyance.

A. C.

### They Come in Cluster

The sublime unconcern of our Prime Minister, in respect of the reckless abandon and nonchalance of his Defence Minister Mr. Menon's financial transactions, bids fair to pass into a byword. What, in common parlance, has come to be known as the 'Jeep scandal' has, as we have seen, cost Rs. 3,136,471, besides the cost of litigation for ten years. At the end of the period, it transpired that the party, Mr. Menon dealt with, has had at no time the resources to cover what redemption, if any, we might have obtained from the Court. What, again, in unfortunate succession, is newspaper's headline is the Defence Minis-

try's overprovisioning and everindenting of some stores during the period 1953 to 1957.

The Public Accounts Committee has, in its report to the Lok Sabha, endorsed the adverse comments of the Auditor-General. It has referred to certain aircraft spares, which resulted in overprovisioning to the extent of nearly Rs. 35 lakhs. The Government, in attempting to justify the deals, has made its position all the more clumsy. The report, in fact, critically comments on the Government's plea that this aircraft spares ordered, though originally intended to cover the requirements of only five years, were being fully used up for ten years, i.e., the entire span of life guaranteed to the aircrafts. The Government's overzealousness in showing how judiciously and economically it used the spares, rather, exposes itself to what the report pinpoints, that when spares estimated for 5 years' last for ten years, it needs no argument to prove that it is a case of gross overprovisioning. The people who prepared an explanation like this and those who sought to pass it muster have really made a sorry mess of the whole thing. But, happily, for the ends of truth, high-ups in the administration fall into such errors and this is how people come to know of it.

The report is an illuminative study and calls for space, we cannot afford to spare. This much, however, will suffice that what the report further says, with regard to our Government's contract with a foreign Government for the purchase of some aircrafts and incidental matters, is as much distressing. It says that a review by 'a team of experts', early in 1957, disclosed surpluses in maintenance-spares to the extent of Rs. 20 lakhs. They also found that assemblies, valued at over Rs. 6 lakhs, were in excess of actual needs. Procurement on the basis of the recommendations of the manufacturers, in the case of four other items, had also resulted in overstocking to the extent of Rs. 8 lakhs.

Not in Law, but in Fact, it is Mr. Nehru's will that rules India. And in that sense, we are having a new type of democracy—it is a totalitarian democracy.

Therefore, he is, circumstanced as are with the Congress commanding the majority, our one stay and hope. Would be care to consider what disturbing effect it has upon the public mind, if people, at the helm of affairs, are suffered to play fast and loose with the exchequer? It is all well—and it is so since the days of Pericles—to cry down strikes and other manifestations of people's discontent as unpatriotic. But no ruler of men should, without perils to the trust and responsibility reposed in him, ignore the classical warning of Edmund Burke that 'if the people are in the wrong, it is not for nothing that they are in the wrong.'

J. B.

### Yet a Ray of Hope

In anticipation of Mr. Nehru, visiting Pakistan to sign the Canal Water Treaty, and the possibility of a discussion of other outstanding problems, which have bedeviled the relation between India and Pakistan, President Ayub Khan, in his Independence Day message, has had his say on India. "It remains to be seen," he says, "whether these talks are going to meet the same fate as several such talks that took place between Delhi and Karachi. A good deal will depend on the Indian attitude." The clear implication is that it is India's attitude, which has hitherto stood in the way of a peaceful settlement. The 'implications' settles down into a faith, when he says, "We have made every conceivable effort to go out of our way to resolve our problems with that country, even though the response from Indian leadership has very very tardy indeed." We are afraid President Ayub Khan, initially, is not fair to the 'Indian leadership', inasmuch as he has minimized its inherent difficulty as to fix up to whom to talk to for a final settlement. In thirteen years, there have been seven or eight Prime Ministers,—really difficult to remember the exact number in the stress and strain of everyday life—but Mr. Nehru may now proceed to talk about settlement with an eye to finality, because President Ayub Khan rolls into his individual person all the various sources of authority, such as to be able to say decisively, 'I am Pakistan.'

It is observable that how so the military man Mr. Ayub Khan differs from his civil predecessors on the throne, in content and quality, there is a strange affinity of accents in respect of India. It may be comprised in one sentence—India is in the wrong and hence she must appear in ashes and sackcloth to do something concrete and tangible to 'inspire confidence in her peaceful intensions.' We have, by the time, got used to such sentiments and language and do not propose to waste any breath over it. Of one thing we feel certain. Mr. Ayub Khan is earnest for a settlement with India. It is for his own interest. He has with an iron-hand put down the hitherto accepted, imposed upon, if you choose, the leaders of people. Some of them have been driven underground. He needs to have a peaceful relation with India so that there may not be any moral infiltration—political infiltration being out of the question so long as Mr. Nehru holds sway—from this side, co-operating with forces for the enthronement of a standard democracy.

Whatever it is, if, to start with, the two countries can relax the restrictions of travel and trade, it will go a long way to compose the differences, which have been doing no good to either. President Ayub Khan has to his credit the cessation of border skirmishes. He is to seriously consider if he can walk up one step more to heal up the hostile aloofness, ingeniously worked up, to divide man and man.

J. B.

### Portuguese Colonialism

The International Commission of Jurists sent on July, 27 a cable to the Prime Minister of Portugal requesting his personal intervention to enable Doctor Manuel Juan da Palma Carlos, a distinguished Portuguese lawyer, to leave Lisbon for Luanda, Angola, to defend persons accused of distributing a seditious publication. The trial began on July 25. Dr. da Palmos Carlos was prevented from leaving Lisbon Airport on Saturday, July 23, by the PIDI, a special police force under the personal authority of the Prime Minister of Portugal. He was given no reason for this action. A copy of the cable has been sent to the President of the Bar Association of Lisbon. The text of the cable to the Prime Minister is:

'The International Commission of Jurists, a non-governmental organization representing thousands of judges, lawyers and teachers of law in countries throughout the world, has learned that the authorities of Your Excellency's Government have prevented Doctor Manuel Juan Da Palma Carlos from going to Luanda, Angola. He is one of the leading counsel of the team defending fifty-seven persons accused of sedition. If Doctor Da Palma Carlos is not allowed to attend the trial the accused will be denied the right to counsel of their own choice. In consideration of the conclusions on Criminal law and procedure approved by the International Congress of Jurists held in New Delhi in January 1959 and the principles of the rights of the defence as guaranteed by Article 8 of the Constitution of Portugal and similar rights to free choice of counsel granted in most countries, the International Commission of Jurists expresses grave concern over this interference with the rights of the accused and requests Your Excellency to intervene with the proper authorities to permit Doctor Da Palma Carlos to serve the accused in accordance with these rights. The International Commission of Jurists has also requested an observer of Brazilian nationality to apply in Brazil for a visa to attend the trials on behalf of the Commission.'

Jean-Flavien Lalive,  
Secretary-General

### Portuguese Colonialism

The following piece of news appeared in the daily press:—

United Nations, August 14.—Afro-Asian sources here fear that Portugal is attempting to convert Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa into another South Africa by strengthening the element of white settlers in these areas.

A recent communication from Portugal to the United Nations said that 40,000 persons were migrating from the country every year and that migration at this rate was provided for in Portugal's development plan.

The communication, in reply to an U. N. questionnaire on long-term economic projects, said that Portugal's development plan "assumes

that the average migration figure of about 40,000 persons per annum will be maintained."

The targets of the third development plan on which the preparatory work was to begin soon, according to this communication, were "subordinate to the supreme political objective underlying Portuguese policy everywhere, creation of a single economic entity as a basis for a fully integrated multi-racial community."

The communication indirectly reiterates Portugal's claim that its overseas possessions are "provinces" and not colonies in these words: "The plan covers the white national territory, that is, Metropolitan Portugal and the overseas province."

By coincidence, the Portuguese communication follows one from Ghana about the untenability of the Portuguese claim that its colonies are provinces. The Ghanaian communication was addressed to the committee of six which has to recommend to the General Assembly whether in its view these possessions should be treated as non-self-governing territories or not.

### Pandit Nehru's Speech

We append below the significant portions of Pandit Nehru's Independence Day speech:—

The Prime Minister said: "We have no desire to take anybody else's territory. At the same time, it is clear that we will not allow anybody to come on our soil or threaten our freedom (cheers). These things go together—we have to respect others and respect ourselves. If anyone talks against our dignity and self-respect, we will face him. We do not want anybody's territory nor do we want to interfere in the affairs of any other country or people in the whole world."

Shri Nehru asked the people to remember the "delicate world situation" where the atmosphere was being poisoned because of this "rattling of swords by the big and mighty" and their preparations for war. "This is a dangerous world we live in and any complacency on our part will be ruinous. We have to remember that if our unity weakens then the reins of freedom that came into our hands through years and years of hard work and sacrifice can slip out of our hands."

Shri Nehru said: "Today we have gathered here to observe the birth of India's Independence."

dence. Thirteen years ago we observed this day when India emerged as a free nation in the world. We were happy but in reality it was not a day of happiness but of remembering our pledges to our people which we had taken during our freedom struggle. Some of these pledges were fulfilled with the advent of freedom, even so, new, sufferings and calamities came in its wake."

The Prime Minister said that with the coming of freedom, one pilgrimage was completed but "we had not come to the end of our journey."

"Another journey began to build the nation. On this day, therefore, we have to remember our old principles and our great leader, Gandhiji, from whom we received strength.

"When people become complacent and weak and forget the big issues and bogged conflicts, then this very freedom gets endangered."

Shri Nehru said that if people forgot this and kept their province or language or communalism or caste above country, then the country would face ruination and utter disaster.

"You are welcome to your province, your mohalla (ward), your family, but when you keep these things above the country, when you keep communalism or language above the nation, then the country will certainly fall. On this day people must remember how through the united effort of the people under Gandhiji's leadership the nation forged a 'peaceful weapon' for attaining freedom.

In a brief reference to Goa, Shri Nehru said amidst loud applause: "Let the world remember that this part of India, Goa, is always in our minds and hearts and it is merely because of our courage and not weakness and because of our desire to remain firm on our principle not to solve any problem through military means that we have stayed our hand in liberating Goa. We have this problem and we will tackle it. Let the world remember and let those who are dominating Goa today know that India will get over this problem and Goa will be freed of foreign domination."

Shri Nehru referred in passing to the "dangers on our borders" and said: "We have to pledge today to face the dangers on our borders and we will face them with all our might."

"We won this freedom through our unity and hard work. Remember that no enemy from outside can harm us if our minds are clear and we have the capacity for making united effort. No outsider can harm us but this internal weak-

ness, this internal dissension, can harm us terribly. It is because of this weakness and internal dissension that for hundreds of years, the country remained subjugated and outsiders came and dominated us. This was so not because of their (outsiders') might or power but because of our weaknesses and stupidities."

Shri Nehru said amidst cheers that anyone who forgot the country and bowed before considerations of province or language would harm the country.

"The time has come when every Indian has to realise where he stands in respect of the country. Does he stand by the country or his group? The time has come when no one can afford to live in any delusion about this. Everyone has to realise what would happen to our borders if people were to think of their groups and live in their own separate compartments."

Shri Nehru continued: "What is the first duty of any nation or country? The first duty is to preserve our freedom and strengthen it, because if we give freedom a secondary place then this freedom will collapse. We have to measure things with this yardstick alone, namely, what strengthens and maintains the freedom and unity of our country and her progress and what comes in its way."

The Prime Minister said: "We say our aim is to establish socialism, equality for all. But you cannot change things all at once. We have to take 40 crores of people with us. But we must be clear in our minds about our aim, our socialist principle, of giving equal opportunity to all to progress. We have also to remember that countries live in freedom through their hard work and only through this can we reach our goal of socialism."

It cannot be attained by magic or by reciting 'mantras'.

"The voice of India was again heard in the counsels of the world after hundreds of years because it was the real and authentic voice of India and not merely the chanting of slogans. The people of the world heard this voice and heard it with respect."

If people were now to quarrel and fight amongst themselves in the name of language or province or communalism, would not the world think that all this greatness of India they had come to acquire a respect for, was an illusion after all, he asked.

"Today, therefore, it is not for a *tamasha* that we have gathered here but to take a pledge, to look introspectively into our hearts and minds, and ponder over actions and our duty to our country."

Addressing himself to those people who had decided not to observe Independence Day because of some "bitterness or anything else," Shri Nehru said that there might be a reason behind their bitterness, but it was quite clear that they were only allowing themselves to bog down into petty things and they were forgetting the importance of Independence Day.

Referring to the Assam disturbances, Shri Nehru said that Assam and Bengal were big provinces. There was bitterness and suffering there which had to be removed, and which would be removed. But there was no doubt that there was an element of fear behind this bitterness which did not allow the people there to tackle this problem effectively.

"Remember, that in this world there are many defects and weaknesses but the greatest defect and sin is this fear. Many defects and weaknesses in the world are the offspring of fear. If in India strength came during the freedom struggle to the people, it was because Gandhiji shed this fear from our hearts and minds. He taught us to be fearless and to strive unitedly.

"So what is this that people should be afraid of each other in Assam or in Bengal? What is this that because of this fear, people begin to think that Assam or Bengal is bigger than India? That is to forget India and by so doing they neither serve Assam nor Bengal."

Shri Nehru said that these people who had decided not to observe Independence Day were forgetting their prime duty to India and were not showing their loyalty to India. "We have to understand and make a firm declaration and take a pledge that we will remove all such weaknesses from our country."

The Prime Minister then turned to the "strange *tamasha*" going on near Delhi in the Punjab about a Punjabi Suba. This demand might be good or bad but there were many wrong things in this movement and dangerous to the freedom of the country. "The Punjabi language is a great language, a virile language and I want that every Punjabi should consider it his duty to learn both Hindi and Punjabi because if he

does not do so, he loses the real wealth in the Punjabi language. I do not understand how there can be a conflict between Hindi and Punjabi".

"It is small minds, uneducated minds who compete and come into conflict with intelligent minds. Those who are intelligent learn from others, ponder over their mistakes and try to get out of any pettiness they might have got bogged down into. Our country is big, our nation is big, our history is big. We have thousands of years of culture behind us which had good and bad things. But now we have entered a new age when we require fresh minds and strong arms and hands. In the name of province or caste or language we only warp our minds and bind our hands and feet. When we fight over petty things, we only injure the body-politic of India. Can you serve your country like this?"

"We will not allow our country to fall. That time was past for all time to come. For this reason we have to take the pledge to go on our journey, hand in hand, working co-operatively with the resolve that whoever comes in our way of marching unitedly will be swept aside. We will not tolerate small petty matters to endanger our freedom."

Shri Nehru said that the real strength of India lay in the strength of the Indian people. "You have to understand that today and realise what is your duty. Every Indian's first and foremost duty is to defend India's freedom, and strengthen India's unity."

### The President and Hindi

The following extract is from *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* of August 16:

President Rajendra Prasad today told the people of South India that the idea behind proposed introduction of Hindi as the official language of India was not motivated by any desire "to impose Hindi imperialism" on them.

"We do not wish to impose anything on you. We are continuing our work in English and it has been authoritatively stated that we shall continue to do so as long as you wish us to do so. We shall not impose anything on you—not even English. Your wishes on the official language will be fully respected", he said.

The President was addressing an Independence Day meeting attended by over two lakh citizens of Madras at the Marina here.

In a forty-minute speech which dealt mainly with the official language problem, the *President* made special appeals to the people in the South as well as the North to understand each other's difficulties and problems.

He told South Indians: "You expect us to respect your feelings and we do so. We do not wish to impose anything on you—not even English. But please do not wish to impose on the people of North India a foreign language. We do not wish to impose Hindi on you and you should realise the importance of not imposing English on us. I am sure that just as we respect your feelings you will also respect the feelings of others."

In his appeal directed to the North Indians, the *President* said: "I have a feeling that, if they left the question of Hindi to be solved by South Indians themselves, Hindi would have made greater progress. The people in the North should realise that Hindi can become more of an all-India language only if the consent of the people of the South is acquired. It cannot be imposed. After all, it is a fundamental principle of the Constitution that the wishes of the minority should be respected."

The *President* also wanted people in the North to learn the language of the South. He said he realised that it would be difficult for everyone to learn so many languages but as far as possible, some effort should be made. People residing in different parts of the country should be able to understand each other and communicate with one another. That could be done only if they studied each other's languages.

### Assam Incidents

The same issue of *Hitavada* had an article from the pen of Shri Gorwala, from which we append an extracts below, which gives an on-lookers' view on the vexed question.

Again, if the Assamese do form a large majority in Assam, on what basis can the minorities resist their desire that Assamese should be the language used in the processes of 'ruling,' of that self-government which is the common aim of both? Wisdom would dictate the acceptance of this view. If on the other hand, the Assamese do not form a large majority, their

numbers giving them only a marginal advantage, clearly they ought not to press their desire and ought to be prepared to accept the reasonable compromise of the use of both languages.

In any case, nothing can justify the outrages that have taken place, largely against the principal minority, in Assam. Those who attempt to extenuate such evil doings by talk of grievances caused by superior airs, of long-hidden inferiority complexes bursting forth into a vengeful present, do the Assamese no service. Their explanations were better left unsaid and they and the Assamese might both with advantage reflect on the characteristic of a true democracy mirrored in the following words of the famous Athenian, Pericles: "We obey the laws, more especially those which protect the oppressed, and the unwritten laws whose transgression brings acknowledged shame."

### Children as Election Agents

The *Hitavada* of Aug. 12 had the following editorial comment, which we endorse.

One of the suggestions made by the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that has found favour with the Election Commission is that processions should be banned during election campaigns. Many may agree with the Commission's view that apart from being expensive, such processions often spark off trouble and tend to become 'a grave source of public disorder.' It is a common sight during election campaigns to see groups of youngsters, mostly hirelings, going about the town in processions at all odd hours and shouting slogans. Use of children and school boys for such purposes is in no way desirable. Educationists and social workers have been objecting to politicians utilising the 'services' of children for their own ends, and they feel that the sooner this practice is brought to an end, the better it would be for the mental health of children and also for our social well-being. In the interest of orderly elections and a peaceful atmosphere during electioneering, and also for making elections less costly, the suggestion may be welcomed in many quarters.

## AND GANDHI AS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS

By PARMATMA SHARAN M.A., Ph.D.

Head of the Department of Political Science, Meerut College.

Plato was the first great political philosopher of the West and Gandhi the greatest political philosopher of modern India. The two great philosophers have many points of similarity as well as dissimilarity. Of the two, Plato is much more systematic in his political philosophy than Gandhi. The reason is not far to seek. Plato has given to the world such great classics on political philosophy as *The Republic*, *The Laws*, *The Politicus* and a number of political dialogues. So far as Gandhi is concerned his political philosophy is contained in no single treatise. In fact, it has to be pieced together from innumerable bits of his speeches and writings dealing with the practical problems of his time. This fundamental difference in their political philosophies is due to the reason that whereas Plato was a great speculative philosopher, Gandhi was a great national leader. A comparison and contrast between their political philosophies can be made under the following main headings:

### As Idealists

Plato has rightly been called the father of idealism in political philosophy. *The Republic* portrays his ideal state, whose model is laid in heaven. It is based on the 'Idea of the State'—a perfect universal concept, different from the actual existing imperfect states of his time. In this respect Plato's thought is metaphysical. Plato worked over a theory of ideas about which C. L. Wayper says: "He saw in the actual world a constant flux, a perpetual flow of ever-changing appearances . . . The permanent character of anything he calls the *Idea* . . . An *Idea* in Plato's sense is not part of the world of time and space. It is eternal, it is the final and independent reality. Because it is eternal it must be different from the object in which it appears. The *Idea* of a horse will be different from any particular horse."

Thus according to Plato, the world of Ideas is the real world. His Ideal State is to be governed by the philosopher-kings who have attained the true knowledge of the Idea of the Good.

Gandhi's political philosophy is also based on certain metaphysical principles. For him the ultimate object of a man's life is self-realization i.e., realization of the Absolute Truth. His other assumption is that man is spirit rather than body. Further, he is a firm believer in God, who, according to Gandhi, "is that undefinable power which we all feel but which we do not know." To him God is Truth and Love, and Truth is what the voice within tells him. But Gandhi reconciles the goal of self-realization (or attainment of 'Moksha') with service to mankind. From these assumptions it is quite clear that Gandhi's political philosophy has a metaphysical basis.

Thus both Plato and Gandhi approach political problems from a moral standpoint. It may be said that while Plato is idealistic in his approach, Gandhi's approach is spiritualistic. However, both are moral philosophers. For Plato the State was not only the highest moral organisation, but a moral organism in which politics was not separated from morals and religion. In the present world of power politics and diplomacy, Gandhi is rightly credited with having based politics on religion. It has been aptly remarked that he spiritualised politics and secularised religion. Another aspect of his great contribution in this field is his theory of non-violence and the technique of *Satyagraha* based on truth and non-violence.

### Their Best States

Both have given their conceptions of the Ideal State. The goal of Plato's Ideal State, as depicted in *The Republic*, is the happiness of all. In reply to the accusation that under the prescribed conditions the guardi-

1. C. L. Wayper: *Political Thought*, pp. 18-9.

2. *Selections from Gandhi* - 2



ans would not be happy, Plato makes Socrates reply "Our object . . . is not to make one class pre-eminently happy, but to make the whole State as happy as it can be."<sup>3</sup> Another end of his Ideal State is the achievement of unity. Gandhi also believes that the ultimate end of ideal society is the 'greatest good of all' i.e., **Sarvodaya**. Gandhi was also a firm believer in the ideal of unity, at the altar of which he became a martyr.

But despite the above similarities, their conceptions of the Ideal State differ in important respects. Plato's Ideal State is to be governed by the philosopher-kings—the wisest and most virtuous few. They are not to be bound by any laws, which in Plato's opinion, are rigid and conventional. His Ideal State is thus a monarchy, or at best an aristocracy, in whose government the common people have no share. This was the remedy suggested by Plato for the great evils of incompetence and factionalism so rampant in the democratic state of Athens. This clearly shows Plato's distrust in the wisdom of the common man and also reflects his low opinion for democracy.

As opposed to the above, Gandhi's best State is no state at all. It is an ideal stateless society based on non-violence. It is in this sense that Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist, who wrote in 1931: "To me political power is not an end but one of the reasons of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated no representation is necessary. There is then a State of enlightened anarchy. In such a State everyone is his own ruler."<sup>4</sup>

Here a brief reference to their attitudes to law and individual freedom may also be made. In his Ideal State Plato awards a very low place to law; although in his

second best state depicted in **The Laws**, as the name of the book itself indicates, laws are made sovereign. So far as individual freedom is concerned, there is very little scope for it in Plato's Ideal State, which is to be ruled absolutely by the philosopher-kings. But Gandhi is an out and out advocate of individual freedom as should be obvious from his belief in the ultimate goal of a stateless society. To the question whether all legislation is violence, Gandhi replied that legislation imposed by people upon themselves is non-violence to the extent it is possible in society. It may also be added that in Plato's ideal as well as second best states life of the people is controlled and regulated by the State in so many ways, e.g., marriage, population, property, education, etc. But Gandhi is opposed to all forms of regimentation and recommends in most cases the method of self-control.

#### Their Second Best States

As already said, Plato's second best state described in **The Laws** is a Law State having a mixed constitution. It is, as it were, a half-way house between his ideal and the actual states of his time. The State is very small both in area and population. It has an agricultural community and is situated off the beaten track. It is governed by such institutions as the Popular Assembly, the Council, Guardians of the Law and the Nocturnal Council, etc. The second best state of Gandhi's conception is a predominantly non-violent form of democracy, in which military, police, and courts of law have their place in keeping with the facts of life. In it power is very much decentralised; the state being organised in the form of a pyramid with a broad base of self-sufficing village republics. Thus we find that the ideal of self-sufficiency and the principle of representation are dear to both the philosophers.

#### Justice and Dharma

One of the most fundamental principles of **The Republic** is Plato's conception of

## PLATO AND GANDHI AS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS

justice. It is not, in the least, a legal or commonly understood concept. It is a principle of specialization of functions, according to which the three classes of Society in the Ideal State perform functions prescribed for each one of them. E. Barker writes: "The justice of the state is the citizen's sense of the duty of his station, issuing before the world in public action; such a conception of justice is the final and ultimate answer to the individualism in life and in theory which Plato combated."<sup>5</sup> This principle is intended to ensure harmony in the state by ruling out rivalry between the three classes of people. Thus it is, in short, a moral principle and a human virtue. But Plato's three classes are neither hereditary, nor are they, in any sense, like the castes of Indian society. Gandhi was a believer in the true '**Varnashram-Dharma**', i.e., the four **varnas** or classes of peoples in the Hindu society performing their allotted duties. But he was opposed to the prevailing caste-system based on birth and characterized by the evil of 'high and low'. So Gandhi also emphasized the performance of duties. He says: "In **Swaraj** based on **Ahimsa** people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties . . . rights of citizenship accrue only to those who serve the state to which they belong."<sup>6</sup>

It would not be out of place if we compare Plato's conception of Justice with the Hindu concept of '**Dharma**.' It is true that both the philosophers emphasize the performance of their duties by individuals. But while Plato's justice is mainly a political and social phenomenon dealing with the life of man to man, the Hindu concept of **Dharma** is a moral principle of life applicable to whole life in this world as well as in the next.

#### Education

Both the philosophers have laid a very great emphasis on the role of education in the reformation of society. Plato has

given such a detailed scheme of education for the guardians in **The Republic** that some commentators have called it a treatise on education. While education in **The Republic** is a handmaid of justice, it is a handmaid of self-control in **The Laws**. Plato's scheme of education aims at the harmonious development of all faculties but it is controlled and regulated by the State. But Gandhi, taking into consideration the peculiar conditions of his country, gave to his people the scheme of **Basic Education**. Its object is the physical, intellectual and moral development of the children through the medium of a handicraft. The State is only expected to propagate and aid the scheme.

#### War and Peace

The views of Plato and Gandhi in this respect are very similar. Plato was opposed to all wars of aggression; he justified only defensive wars. According to him a war between Greek City States was not a war proper. He also laid down that Greeks should not enslave Greeks. This shows that he had an idea of a Greek society different from and also more civilised than the non-Greeks. However, he could not conceive of a world society. On the other hand, Gandhi was a true citizen of the world and the greatest advocate of peace and non-violence. He was an ardent nationalist, but at the same time a true internationalist in his outlook. He says: "My love of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may die so that the human race may live."<sup>7</sup>

#### Women

In his views about the role of women Plato was very far-sighted. Plato considered women as equals of men in all respects so they can be as good guardians of the State as men. So far as their education is concerned, there is to be no difference. But his views about family life so far as guardians are concerned, are not only very different from the conventional ones but

3. Laidler: *Social and Economic Movements*, p. 13.

4. Quoted by N. K. Bose in '*Studies in Gandhism*,' p. 67

5. *Greek Political Theory*, p. 177.

6. *India of My Dreams*, p. 19.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

also quite novel. He recommends a sort of community of wives, i.e., guardians are not to lead a married family life, in abolishing which he has two aims—emancipation of women and reform of marriage. His first aim is highly laudable and is in line with the modern view. Gandhi also deserves the credit for the emancipation of Indian women from the four walls of their houses. But Gandhi believed that man and woman are complementary to each other, though, in no way, the one is inferior to the other. He says: "The women keep and manage the homes. They supplement the meagre resources of the family, but man remains the main bread-winner . . . . The division of the spheres of work being recognized, the general qualities and culture required are practically the same for both the sexes."<sup>8</sup> This is why Gandhi also says: "Woman can run the race but she will not rise to the great heights she is capable of by mimicking man. She has to be complement of man."<sup>9</sup> Gandhi believed in monogamous marriage and usefulness of family life. In this respect Plato also revised his views later, as is clear from a study of *The Laws*.

#### Economic Ideas

In *The Republic*, Plato prescribes a kind of communism of property for the guardians. It was his conviction that those who possess political power should be deprived of the economic power. So the guardians are not to have any property or house of their own. He writes: "Gold and silver, we will tell them that they have from God; the diviner metal is within them."<sup>10</sup> That the guardians may not be thus corrupted they must be a class apart, consecrated to high and noble ends; they must be in the world but not of it; . . ."<sup>11</sup>

8. *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 272.

9. *India of My Dreams*, p. 65.

10. *The Republic*, Bk. III (Jowett's Translation, Vol. 3), p. 106.

11. *A Gray: The Socialist Tradition*, p. 18.

Barker rightly points out that Plato's communism is ascetic, a principle of self-abnegation. At the same time it is aristocratic; because it applies only to the two upper classes. It is very much different from modern forms of socialism or communism which aim at a more equitable and fair distribution of material goods. Plato's State in *The Laws* also controls acquisition and distribution of property.

Gandhi is thoroughly socialistic in his attitude, although he does not want the State to bring about any kind of socialism. According to him, every individual should be free to follow any trade or occupation, but his means of earning livelihood should always be pure and honest. Further, no individual should lead a life of luxury and keep more wealth with him than is necessary. He is an advocate of the theory of non-possession (*Aparigraha*) and trusteeship. The theory of trusteeship means that a mill-owner or a *zamindar* should consider himself as a trustee of his surplus wealth which should be used for the benefit of the workers or the peasants. Disagreeing with the Marxian theory of class-war, Gandhi recommends the non-violent way of converting the hearts of the wealthy people. Gandhi also advocated a very simple life for the people and he was against all kinds of exploitation.

#### Their Contributions

Plato's most characteristic ideas are: (i) rule of the philosopher-kings; (ii) scheme of higher education; (iii) the principle that political and economic powers should not be united in the same hands; (iv) that there is no material difference between the capacities of man and woman; and (v) the principle of justice. Gandhi's greatest contribution to political thought and practice is his technique of *Satyagraha*. Other important contributions of Gandhi are: (i) all men and women are equal and (ii) peace is the highest ideal for which all human beings should work.

## SOME POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE BEQUESTS OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA

By PROF. HARIDWAR RAI, M.A.

Department of Political Science, Patna University.

### I

"THE three hundred and fifty years the English spent in India", says Philip Woodruff "make one story, but a story which unfolds itself like a stage play in a series of acts".<sup>1</sup> This play, it may be added, sometimes tragic, sometimes comic, but eventually ending in tragi-comedy, produced both positive and negative results. However, for evaluating some of the positive results of the British rule it is not obligatory to accept the untenable thesis of "White men's burden" that was enunciated by the proponents of colonialism to make their rule look respectable to peoples of colonies. The thesis was intended to justify the colonising efforts of the British as "a responsibility" of the Victorian conscience to bring "light to the benighted Hindus abroad".<sup>2</sup>

Negatively, the British Rule in India kept people chained in slavery and made them forget their sense of honour and responsibility. It exercised an immense demoralising and pulverising influence. It undermined the traditional economy of India. Traditional institutions and methods for deciding and settling disputes were replaced by new ones. Ancient village institutions were deprived of their powers and authority by the new centralised government. The Indian village ceased to be self-governing and became, instead, a unit and part of the single administrative system. Besides, the State machinery that accomplished this task remained legally and technically responsible to the British Parliament and not to the Indian people whom it governed. "They constituted" says Dr. Desai in

1. Woodruff, Philip, *The Men Who Ruled India: The Guardians* (London, 1954), p. 13.

2. Rudolf, L. I. and Rudolf, S. H., *Towards Political Stability In Underdeveloped Countries: The Case of India*, published in *Public Policy*, (1959) Year Book of the Graduate School of Public Administration, (Harvard University), p. 152.

his book *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* "the inevitable undemocratic feature of the State structure set up by the British in India."<sup>3</sup> The new State was historically the offspring of the British conquest of India and was designed to subserve the political, economic and strategic interests of the British Empire.

Two American scholars, in an article, published in the *Public Policy* (1959) have assessed the results of the British Rule in India. Among other things, they maintain, "The forces of the indigenous economy, which rested heavily on handicraft self-sufficiency, were badly damaged while local entrepreneurship, for reasons of psychological outlook, financial resources and competitive disadvantages, among others, were unable to turn the new conditions to India's advantage. The relative weakness of technical, scientific, and managerial training in the new educational institutions meant that when independence came and the State was prepared to play a role in the economy, India was deficient in these key areas."<sup>4</sup> As primarily a peasant society, the Indian State lacks a stratum of highly-skilled industrial workers, technocrats and administrators used to the exercise of initiative and responsibility. The British system of education and economy created a widespread gap between the most powerful and most wealthy—plutocrats and quasi-feudal land-owners—on the one hand, and the least powerful and the poorest on the other. It has heightened the sense of separateness between the modern section of the population and the more traditional, less educated or utterly uneducated strata. This attenuates the sense of affinity necessary for the development of a modern political society and hampers its further growth. "It makes for mutual alienation and

3. Desai, A. R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Second Edition, 1954), Bombay, 144.

4. Rudolf and Rudolf, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

a failure of mutual identification."<sup>5</sup> Guy Wint divides British action in India into two compartments, destruction and creation. "In one of its guises" he observed, "British influence . . . was one of the principal disintegrating forces which have ever been turned upon an old society. It hampered and pulverised, transforming the ancient body of customs and public opinion which in the last analysis is what causes men to act as they do as members of society. It broke many of the old links between man and man and left man as so many separate atoms, and the problem ever since has been to bind them up again into society by new principles".<sup>6</sup>

## II

When the East India Company assumed the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, it found that there was a complete break down of law and order. Anarchical elements had taken possession of the situation after the collapse of the Moghul Empire. The rest of the country was also thoroughly fragmented and there were no political institutions worth the name. The lack of a sense of nationalism, the disposition of the Indian to think of himself as belonging to a caste or a religious community rather than to a country or nation, made the British conquest possible. Therefore, the restoration of law and order and the liquidation of anarchical elements was the first major task before the East India Company. This necessitated the establishment of a distinctly new type of State structure—highly centralised and ramified in the remotest corner of the country. Even in the villages there was upheaval. Former invasions and administrations had left the peasant life more or less unchanged. "When the British administration was set up", says Wint, "it was found that in parts of North India the rural society consisted virtually of a federation of village republics ruled by the Panchayats, served by hereditary village officers and hereditary police and lightly presided over by the monarchical government and so, apparently, it had been for centuries".<sup>7</sup>

5. Shiles, Edward, *The New States*, published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.—An International Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 3, April, 1960, p. 271.

6. Wint Guy, *The British in Asia* (Faber and Faber, Ltd., London, 1946), p. 55.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Under such circumstances, it was not possible for the British to enjoy the results of their conquest. Political unification and maintenance of law and order were, therefore, the imperative necessity. But there were two main obstacles in the way of political unification. First, the Indian villages were self-governing entities and the Panchayats formed the real government of the village population; and secondly, the country lacked a unified national economy and efficient and well-organised means of communications.<sup>8</sup> Naturally enough, the people were not socially and economically integrated. In the words of Dr. Desai, India was "a geographical and cultural continuum".<sup>9</sup>

Under the British, India was governed for about one hundred years under a unitary system. The whole country was brought under the umbrella of a single political rule. This period coincided with the rapid development of all means of communication. The British regime affected the very roots of national life. The new government, its vigorous hands reaching everywhere, touched and destroyed the age-old institution which had been the centre of rural Government. Instead of governing the rural areas through the hierarchy of petty hereditary officers, it decided to substitute for them "a new corps of petty bureaucrats, appointees of its own, and in a little while the whole hierarchy melted away; the work of Panchayats was transferred to government officers and judges and, therefore, they ceased to meet."<sup>10</sup> Thus the centralised State which was, in the words of Dr. Desai, "a historically progressive act"<sup>11</sup> produced what Wint describes as "the worst feature of Indian Social Life": that is, "the lack of natural cohesion and of social action by the people themselves".<sup>12</sup>

## III

Restoration of law and order and elimination of anarchical elements were achievements of great importance. But what is of even greater importance is its by-products which distinguished the British rule from earlier governmen-

8. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

10. Wint, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

11. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

12. Wint, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

tal systems in India. The first was the introduction of the rule of law. Government by law has been the peculiar mark of English political practice and influence. Sir Percival Griffiths, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, has written in his book *Modern India*: "This doctrine which binds the Government as much as the subject to justify its action in the courts was a typically British contribution to the Indian polity and was, in fact, a complete negation of the absolutism which characterised all earlier periods of Indian History."<sup>13</sup> There is no gainsaying the fact that earlier governmental systems were absolutist. Political rights and civic liberties have no place in those systems. The governed had no agency to influence the government of the day. Criticism of activities of government was construed as sedition and was dealt with as such. "The old link between man and man had been fear or personal loyalty; the new link (established by the British) was by means of institutions."<sup>14</sup> Government in the past were institutionalised in the persons of the monarchs. The result was a personal institution which, in the very nature of things, sacrificed the person. Instead, the British established an institutionalised impersonal government.

The most important corollary of the rule of law is the equality before the law. This was also a singular British innovation in India. "Law in the East", has remarked Wint, "had meant as a rule a traditional custom, not easily altered, but under the British it became a rational system which was understood to be changeable to meet changing needs."<sup>15</sup> This view is in line with one expressed by Dr. Desai who, in his above mentioned book has held, "The British established a uniform reign of law in the country. They enacted law and codified them. They established a new system of law and tribunals, and thus they had to supersede the customary law which prevailed in pre-British India and expropriate village and caste committees of their power to enforce the customary law which further varied from place to place in the absence of a uniform system of law."<sup>16</sup> The British introduced a legal system which was on the whole

equalitarian in contrast to the customary law which prevailed in pre-British India. That customary law discriminated between caste and caste, between community and community, whereas the new concept thus introduced was based on "the democratic conception of equality of all citizens before the laws of the State".<sup>17</sup> Though in the law of marriage and succession the British conserved the old system, in the civil and criminal law they wrote new codes copied from western systems and with little regard to Indian traditions. These proved very strong engines for change.

This does not, however, mean that the British Government in India was an exact prototype of the British Government in the United Kingdom. Some of the provisions of law gave the British Government in India a power of high-handed action which would never have been tolerated in England except in time of war. At the lower levels of justice, judiciary and executive were not strictly separated. Besides, there were some discriminative legislation in favour of the Europeans which placed them on a higher footing than the Indian citizens. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, there remains a substratum of truth that the subject in India was in fact guaranteed, to a far greater extent than was known before in Asia, against arbitrary proceedings by the executive. He enjoyed, within wide limits, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom from fear of arbitrary arrest. To this extent British rule promoted individual liberty, though it did not at first accord the liberty of self-government which is the greatest of liberties.

## IV

A highly ramified State structure which the British set up required an equally centralised administration so as to make possible the continuous flow of maximum profit from the business of government. The administrative system that they built up was not a product of any set political theory. It was as much the outcome of political situations as of chance circumstances. The East India Company was a trading company and, therefore, the administrative machinery, in the beginning, was designed to subserve the purposes of the Company. But with the assumption of the

13. Griffiths, Percival; *Modern India* (Ernest Beun Ltd., London, 1957), p. 47.

14. Wint, Guy; *op. cit.*, p. 59.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

16. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, the nature of the work of the Company started undergoing a gradual change. The administration of revenue and civil justice was vested in the Company's agents in these provinces. It also became slowly responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the administration of criminal justice.

For long the revenue administration was the only centre of government in the district and absorbed all governmental authority operating in the district. The power and prestige of the executive government were due to its own power. Even the origin of administrative courts and administrative law in India are traceable to land revenue administration.<sup>18</sup> Land revenue administration led to the growth of a system of proper keeping of records, which, in course of time, developed into red-tape and routinised system of administration. It is land revenue that initiated the people into the idea and institutions of State and business of government and taught them the practice of political obedience. This kind of administration, however, did not require initiative and creativeness. It demanded strict adherence to rules and precedents. The result was that by the end of the 19th century India became what Ruthnaswamy has described as a happy hunting ground of bureaucracy and bureaucrats.<sup>19</sup>

In a bureaucratic administration efficiency is regarded as the prime need. For achieving efficiency, centralisation becomes inevitable, and the British Government in India was no exception to this rule. Even as early as 1638, the Company's servants in India recommended a system of great centralisation. The Regulating Act of 1773 wanted a division of authority in the Governor-General's Council and by creating the Supreme Court, the Act intended to apply some checks to autocracy. But it interfered with efficiency and the Supreme Court had to retreat in 1781. In 1786, Parliament of Britain authorised the Governor-General and the minor Governors in Madras and Bombay to override their councils in extraordinary cases inasmuch as "such power would tend greatly to the

strength and security of the British possessions in India, and give energy, vigour and dispatch to the measure and proceedings of the executive Government."<sup>20</sup>

This centralising feature was very prominent till the first decade of the present century. But when in 1906, the Liberal Party formed government in Britain some attempts at decentralisation and decentralisation of governmental authority were begun. The Royal Commission appointed in 1907, to report whether through measures of decentralisation or otherwise the vocal and educated sections of Indians could be appeased, commented that the attitude of the Central and Provincial Governments was too much dominated by considerations of administrative efficiency. They paid too little attention to the importance of developing a sense of responsibility amongst their subordinates and of giving sufficient weight to local sentiments and traditions.<sup>21</sup> Till 1919, there was absolutely no distinction between government and administration because those who formulated policies were also in charge of implementation of those policies. It was only natural that such a centralised system of government and administration should have expropriated the functions and powers of village and caste communities and transferred them to the officials appointed by itself.

The centralised administration was matched by another remarkable phenomenon, that is, hierarchically graded public services, which further helped in the administrative unification of the country. The conception of an organised civil service originated with the East India Company.<sup>22</sup> In fact the term Civil Service was coined by the Company and applied to that part of the service of the Company which was carried on by the covenanted servants who did not belong to the Navy and the Army. "The term 'civil service,' says Dr. Gladden, "was first used in relation to the East India Company to distin-

20. Quoted by Dr. A. T. Markose in his book, *Judicial Control of Administrative Action in India* (Madras Law Journal Office, 1950), p. 92.

21. *Ibid*, p. 92.

22. Chanda, Ashok, *Indian Administration* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1958), p. 93.

18. Ruthnaswamy, M., *Principles and Practice of Public Administration* (Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1956), p. 69.

19. *Ibid*, p. 70.

guish between the military and civil sectors of the Company's personnel".<sup>23</sup>

Till the last day, the British administration remained bureaucratic and the Indian Civil Service continued to be the real governing corporation. "From the very beginning," says Dr. N. C. Roy, "they chose some functions as the essential duties of the Government. They concentrated all their efforts upon their performance and performed them with as much efficiency as their general education and special training might allow. . . . They had great achievements to their credit in maintaining law and order and in dealing with revenue problems. Beyond these they were loath to look".<sup>24</sup> The British civil servants were interested in the maintenance of British supremacy and, therefore, they felt concerned only with those duties the right performance of which might ensure this supremacy. They were, naturally enough, not interested in those functions "which might minister to the welfare of the people but might also have sown seeds of dissolution of the British Empire in India."<sup>25</sup> They did not want to interfere with the interests of the privileged classes because the latter in the words of Dr. Dwarkadas, served as "bastions of support"<sup>26</sup> to the British Government.

## V

The period of British rule in India was further characterised by the influx of ideas and

institutions of British form of representative democracy. From the late 19th century onwards, they set up semi-representative assemblies for every unit of government; there were district boards, municipalities, legislatures for the provinces and a central legislature for the whole country. Though they were mainly consultative, they succeeded in giving some training in the intricacies of Parliamentary procedure. They aroused the interest of the people in democratic institutions and egged them on to demand vigorous and powerful ones. Indian political development may be said to be both revolutionary and evolutionary. Broadly, the political development may be regarded as revolutionary in character where it relates to the process of freedom from the bonds of imperialism. It is the most important revolution of our time that we attained independence from the foreign yoke and our democratic polity achieved a sovereign status. But the Indian political development is also evolutionary in character inasmuch as the seeds of representative institutions were sown in the early part of this century and the last decade of the 19th century. Morris-Jones has observed: "the story of the development of legislative bodies in India is, of course, only part of the constitutional history of British rule. . . .".<sup>27</sup> Members of those semi-representative institutions learnt the difficult but necessary art of give and take of parliamentary life. That, it can be safely presumed, might have developed tolerance and respect for views of others. In any case, the ground was prepared for parliamentary institutions and when independence came, at least a section of the Indian people had become accustomed to parliamentary life, especially, its electoral vicissitudes and had realised the importance of the right to franchise.

23. Gladden, E. N., *Civil Service or Bureaucracy?* (Staples Press Ltd., London, 1956), p. 4.

24. Roy, N. C., *The Civil Service in India* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 9.

25. *Ibid*, p. 9.

26. Dwarkadas, R., *The Role of Higher Civil Service in India* (The Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958), p. 23.

27. Morris-Jones, W. H., *Parliament in India* (Longmans, Green and Co., Lond. 1957), p. 45.





here that China is aware of India's intentions. Had she known that India is going to join the Western bloc she would have taken control of all the territories over which she lays claim. Moreover, official statements from Peking go to show that she intends to settle the question peaceably. One may ask why China acted in such a manner? In fact friendly nations would have quarrelled over the border which has not been officially accepted by one or the other.<sup>5</sup> Upto 1941 the British were trying to put pressure upon China to accept the Mac Mahon Line. But she never accepted it. However, it does not mean that China is not at all guilty. In fact, China is guilty in two respects. The first and foremost is the mistrust China has shown to the Panch Sheel Doctrine to which she was a signatory.<sup>6</sup> Non-aggression and Peace-

Incidentally, Burma had already reached some agreement with China. General Ne Win of Burma had gone to China to settle the border dispute between them. It was expected that this arrangement would be endorsed by the Government of Burma, which had come into power through constitutional devices after the military rule. Mr. B. P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal, went to China in the second week of March, 1960, to seek solution of the outstanding problems facing these two nations.

When Mr. Chou came to Delhi Mr. Nehru stated, that the settlement of the border dispute might not be sought unless, the aggressed territories were vacated by the Chinese troops.

5. It may be pointed out that within federal states initially there are boundary disputes, as in the case of India, e.g., Maharashtra-Gujarat dispute, and Mysore-Andhra boundary questions are yet to be settled. However, border disputes between independent sovereign states and between states in a federation do not stand on a status of equal footing. The writer wants to emphasise that border questions are bones of contention even between neighbours and friendly states.

6. Prime Ministers of China and India, Mr. Chou En-lai and Mr. Nehru respectively, signed the Agreement on June 28, 1954, enshrining the Five Principles therein. This agreement was signed after an Agreement on cultural and trade intercourse, etc., between the two countries was signed on April 29, 1954. These Five Principles were accepted in the Bandung Conference by 29 nations of Asia and Africa. See: Mukerjee, S. K., "Panch Shila," *The Modern Review* (September, 1955).

ful co-existence are two of the five principles. Secondly, China has acted in contravention of the established rules of International Law, according to which India had a claim over the territory.<sup>7</sup> Thus, still another Panch Sheel principle is violated, i.e., mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

If the Sino-Indian affair is considered to be a test for India's foreign policy, it comes out clearly that her policy has not failed and for this reason has not been abandoned. India sticks to her policy of non-alignment with any bloc. On the other hand, India has got extremely friendly relations with the small neighbouring countries, such as Nepal, Burma and Ceylon, although with the latter she has the problem of Indian settlers.<sup>8</sup>

7. India's title to the territories in question may be established through, what is called, "Prescription" under International Law. (See, Fenwick, C. J., *International Law* (New York, 1950), pp. 356-358.) Under International Law China was wrong in resorting to violence through aggression without resorting to other means of pacific settlement of disputes. Although China is not a member of the U.N.O., it does not mean that China has no responsibilities towards other states, especially those who have recognized her as a *de jure* state.

The Chinese episode has revealed that in the matters of international relations states should not take the words uttered by statesmen of other states as implying real intentions of those states.

8. There are about two million Indians in Ceylon, mostly of Mannar and Tamil Indian origin. There are numerous stateless persons of Indian origin many of whom failed to apply for Ceylonese citizenship by August 6, 1951—the last date prescribed under the Ceylonese law—and in other cases the applications had been rejected. Regarding the figures of these persons see: Sarkar, Chanchal, "Indian Labourers' Case for Ceylonese Citizenship," *The Statesman* (New Delhi), July 4, 1959.

Mr. Nehru has held talks since 1947 with successive Ceylonese Prime Ministers. In 1954 an Agreement was signed by Sir John Kotelwala, the Prime Minister of Ceylon and Mr. Nehru—Sarkar thinks that the Agreement is still supposed to be operative; (Sarkar, *op. cit.*) On the other hand, there is a view that the 1954 Agreement is as good as a scrap paper in view of the abrogation by Ceylon of the constitutional provisions made under it. In 1956, Mr. Bandarnaike, the late Prime Minister of Ceylon, announced his inten-

Next in the chain come the neighbouring countries which do not touch the Indian border but nevertheless have powerful impact upon our national life. In this category may be included Afghanistan, Iran, Egypt, Malaya, Japan, Indo-China, Yugoslavia, the U.S.S.R., etc. With these countries India has friendly relations guaranteed by several agreements of cultural, economic and other character.

#### *India and the Commonwealth*

India's association with the Commonwealth cannot be cut off with just a single stroke. The link with the Commonwealth has developed for centuries, first as an Empire country, then as a dominion and now as an independent Republic enjoying the full membership of the Commonwealth. It is not only expediency that dictates India's attitude towards the Commonwealth.<sup>9</sup> She has been tremendously influenced by the liberal tradition of Great Britain which sets the pattern for other Commonwealth countries also. India has belonged so long, to the Sterling Area and she cannot get out of it without serious injury to her economy.

India's association with the Commonwealth has been much criticized because of the ideological differences between India and Great Britain. Great Britain has been and is even now a powerful colonial country. India, which has espoused the cause of the former colonies, is anti-colonist, and she had herself been a victim of the evils of colonialism. But the differences could not

tion of concluding a new agreement. The Agreement of 1954, could not be implemented because of differences over its interpretation.

The urgency of the problem is well recognised by the Government of India. The Prime Minister has indicated to the Cabinet that the Stateless persons should be induced to opt for Indian citizenship and then their reparation could be made. For these details see: *The Statesman* (New Delhi), May 2, 1959.

9. For further readings on India and the Commonwealth of Nations see: Mukerji, P. C., "India and the Commonwealth of Nations," *The Modern Review* (July, 1949); Banerjee, D. N., "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," *The Modern Review* (February, 1950); and Maity, A. B., "International Status of India," *The Modern Review* (April, 1954).

#### *India and the United Nations*

Some people have wrongly described India's policy as that of neutrality. In fact, it is quite the contrary, a policy of active participation, especially in the United Nations and secondly in the Afro-Asian cause. India views every problem on its merit, criticising and denouncing whenever a problem needs such a treatment.

In the United Nations India actively supports what the Charter stands for and in the real sense of the term she champions the cause of world peace by leading the bloc of non-aligned nations who initially did not stand anywhere in the battle of two blocs in this cold war. Now the icy hands of cold war have started melting and this bloc of nations has come to be recognized by both the blocs.<sup>10</sup>

The first aspect of India's policy in the United Nations is directed against the racial problem. Her stand is based on the United Nations Charter for Human Rights. She has strongly criticised the internal policies of some of the States which discriminate among their citizens on grounds of race. Unfortunately the U.N. is helpless because the States assert their internal sovereign authority. Thereby, nothing but an appeal to the moral conscience of the peoples of the world has been sought to be made by India. Her own nationals have been victims of racial indiscriminate in South Africa, Kenya and Ceylon. All that India can hope for is to solve in a peaceful manner. With Ceylon some progress has been made through this means.

The second aspect of her policy is her participation in the Trusteeship Council. She has al-

10. It is a matter of prestige for India that the Chiefs of the two power blocs came to New Delhi and tried to woo India. They stayed here for comparative longer periods than they stayed anywhere else on their tour. President Eisenhower of the United States came here in December, 1959, and Prime Minister Khrushchev visited India in February, 1960.

Every nation wants to behave in the international sphere in accordance with its distinctive national character. It is even more so in respect of those countries where resurgent nationalism attained national independence. Quite naturally, therefore, it was fired with a new mission to contribute something new to the modern civilization.

When India attained independence, she found the great nations of the world divided up into two opposing camps. One was headed by the United States of America which had attained preponderant and pre-eminent position in the Western civilization by virtue of its being the arsenal of the allied powers who fought the Fascist coalition. This camp believed in free enterprise and had the liberal tradition of Europe as its mainstay. The second bloc was headed by the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics which had emerged as a powerful country by virtue of its new realization of the strength of the socialist system which was manifested during the crucial stages of the Second World War, when the Nazi war machine was rolled back from Russia to its fiery doom in Berlin. In this victory of unprecedented magnitude the Soviet Union gained an immense amount of prestige. What is more, it advanced its military frontiers by adding the small countries of Eastern and Central Europe to the socialist system. This bloc of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union was proud of the Socialist system with its vast potentialities.

Both these blocs had the opportunity of co-operating with each other. Unfortunately, they fell apart at the fateful meeting in Paris convened in the year 1947 during the months of June and July, where the United States and the Soviet Union could not come to an agreement on the post-war economic problems.<sup>1</sup> The United States, through Marshal Plan, which Great Britain and France supported, sought to solve these problems by assisting the nations by aid from overseas. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted that each state must endeavour from within and not through spoon-feeding. Both these camps stuck fast to the different systems they believed in; and in their dealings with each other they

left no room for any toleration of each other's point of view. On the contrary, they were bent upon discarding and damaging each other as far as they could.

Such was the state of affairs when India attained her long-cherished aim, that is, independence. What contribution could India make in a world torn into opposing camps? At that time, it was not possible for India to measure her strength in terms of soldiers, guns and other material means at its disposal. However, India could offer a solution for the ills of the world based upon the glorious tradition which had been India's mainstay for generations. And that is what India actually did offer to the world. In March, 1950, Mr. Nehru during his foreign policy statement clearly stated: "It (policy of non-alignment) is a policy which flowed from our past."<sup>2</sup> What was that tradition of the past?

The spirit of Indian tradition teaches us to tolerate and respect each other's point of view, without any effort of causing damage to a man, and for that matter a nation, which does not believe in the same way. This tradition is based upon the Indian philosophy which teaches us that the ways to God are different, but the final destination is the same. Therefore, each system can contribute—and has contributed—to human welfare and it does not matter what the system actually is. India had been at the peak of her glory when the spirit of this tradition had been paramount in her national affairs, both internal and external. The ages of Asoka and Akbar are the most glorious periods of Indian history because of the manifestation of this tradition.

#### Consolidation of Independence

The foreign policy of a state is based on its self-interest, and it was in the interest of India to base her policy on this ancient tradition. Therefore, India behaved in an equally friendly way towards both these camps without regard to the systems they followed. It might have been a strange spectacle to those whose minds were prejudiced with exclusive philosophies of capita-

lism and communism to find India praising both these systems in the same breath; but anybody conversant with the glorious Indian tradition would have found nothing strange in it. It is true that for a time India "ploughed a lonely furrow." But eventually the people came to appreciate India's view-point. The United States began to take interest in India immediately after her first General Elections. By virtue of the Indo-American Agreement of January 5, 1952, the United States consented to give financial help. But the interesting side of the story is that the Soviet Union also developed great sympathy and affection for India and the Indo-Soviet Trade Pact was signed on December 2, 1953. This shows how willingly India invited foreign economic aid irrespective of the economic system of the country which gives it.

The first and foremost task before India was the consolidation of her independence. India had got independence through a dispensation of the British Parliament, viz., Indian Independence Act, 1947. But a written word can hardly be an adequate guarantee of Indian security and independence when, at the time of partition, India was dependent entirely upon United Kingdom for war supplies of all kinds. So long as India remained dependent on one single country for equipping her military forces, her independence could, at best, be a paper independence and nothing more than that. The first task of Indian foreign policy was, therefore, to expand the area of dependence for her war supplies. At the same time to make independence real, this dependence on foreign sources of supply was to be reduced as much as possible, with or without foreign help.

In order to effect this, India, by degrees, began to explore alternative sources of supply of war materials and equipments. It was in pursuance of this policy that India developed close relations with the United States and France, so that war equipments could be procurable from these countries. The area of dependence for war equipments now embraces the entire continent of Europe, the United States and Canada. Even the Soviet Union has made some offers in this regard. But the equally important task has not been neglected. In this regard, India has availed of the offers from foreign firms to develop war industries by the loan of foreign technicians, and licences for the indigenous manufacture of

patented and proprietary equipments and other material help in the shape of raw materials for the manufacture of military equipments in this country.

#### Pattern of India's Alliances

As a corollary to the above aspect, India's security and independence cannot be insured without friendly alliances with immediate neighbours. The principles, enshrined in the Panch Sheela Treaty signed first with China and then with Burma, have served as the corner-stones of India's policy of friendship with her neighbours. She has pursued this policy towards her immediate neighbours even in the teeth of grave provocations initially from Pakistan which had hitherto looked upon India with hatred, and now from China.

It is India's avowed intention that outstanding problems with her immediate neighbours should be solved peacefully and through negotiations, and not in the battle-field. It is true that much suffering and perseverance is involved in such a policy. But, India sincerely believes that ultimately the truth shall prevail. And so here India is solving her problems with Pakistan on the council tables.<sup>3</sup> In the near future, the border question with China will also be solved in the same manner.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to observe

3. India's relations with Pakistan seem to have taken a change for the better since the last year. Some of the outstanding questions are being solved peaceably. Although the Kashmir question is still dragging on, some of the other matters have been solved. Canal water *ad hoc* agreement had been reached. It expired at the end of March, 1960. It may further be extended till Pakistan has found alternative sources of water supply. Similarly, an extradition treaty between the two countries is expected to be signed very soon.

4. Some developments in Sino-Indian relationship have been noticed. Mr. Nehru had sent an invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai on February 5, 1960. The invitation had been accepted. Mr. Chou arrived in New Delhi in April, 1960.

Instead of indulging in wordy duels each one of them laid his heart open before the other. This course was in the interest of not only both the nations but also those who were keenly watching the developments in South-East Asia.

1. See: Leontyev, A., "The Marshal Plan in the Light of Realities," *New Times* (Moscow), Nos. 26, 27, 29 and 30, 1948.

2. Quoted by Srivastava, G. P., "Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Policy," *The Modern Review* (March, 1954).

ways championed the cause of trust territories and has in all ways asked for the benefit of the inhabitants of the territories. In this regard India's role in the case of South-West Africa is commendable.<sup>11</sup> The Union of South Africa's

11. About South-West Africa very little is known to laymen in India. A former German Colony, South-West Africa was placed as a 'C' mandated territory under the South African Government in 1920. After World War II the League of Nations was dissolved. But at the concluding session of the League of Nations Assembly in San Francisco in 1945 all the mandatory powers agreed to put their mandated territories under the Trusteeship system. With the exception of South-West Africa, all the former mandated territories had become Trust Territories by 1947. The Union of South Africa contends that the United Nations is not a successor to the League of Nations, hence she has refused to send annual reports to the United Nations. She has refused to give permission to some tribal chiefs who were invited by the Trusteeship Council.

Although South Africa is not legally bound to place South-West Africa under Trusteeship system, nevertheless, she cannot incorporate the former mandated territory. [See: *International Status of South-West Africa (Advisory opinion of July 11, 1950)*, *International Court of Justice, the Hague*.] The Court also stated that the provisions of Chapter XII of the U.N. Charter provide a means by which South-West Africa can be brought under the Trusteeship system. Moreover, South Africa alone is not competent to modify the international status of the territory. Besides, the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa is such that the natives could not be granted equal rights (of citizenship and property, etc.) with the non-coloured people of South Africa. Thus the purpose of the mandates ("a sacred trust" of the civilization) will be fruitless.

For further study see: Scott, M., *Shadow over Africa* (London, 1950); Yankson, J. A., *South-West Africa in International Scene* (1953); Oppenheim, L., *International Law*, Vol. I, Eighth edition (London, 1955), pp. 225-233. For South African point of view see: Van Pittius, G., *International Affairs*, 23 (1947), pp. 202-209.

India has always championed the cause of the natives of South-West Africa. Her statements in the General Assembly debates clearly indicate that the natives will be worse under South-African laws if South-Africa is allowed to incorporate South-West Africa.

arbitrary action in not sending even annual reports has been much criticized and it appears now that she has consented to send reports on the progress made for the welfare of the natives.

The United Nations is the chief instrument of world peace. The Charter is based on this ideal. The "big five" were expected to continue to be friendly to each other. But soon they ceased to act in unison, the hopes of the 'fathers' of the U.N. Charter were thrown back when the diplomatic duel between Washington and Moscow ensued. The race for nuclear armaments and the policy of "brinkmanship" hovered over humanity like the *Sword of Damocles*. Indeed, as Ahmed S. Bokhari has stated, "The gravest danger seemed to come, not from the smaller nations, but from a possible conflict between those that were elevated in the structure of the U.N. to be the custodians and guarantors of peace".<sup>12</sup> They were convinced of maintaining peace, in Churchill's words, "through power and strength". "The Cold War was," Charles A. Beard remarked "perpetual war for perpetual peace."

Under such circumstances, India led the vanguard in appeasing the two blocs and making them realize their true duty towards humanity at large through the United Nations. She always insisted on disarmament, a problem which baffled diplomats of both blocs, but fortunately which is going to be solved through negotiations. India must be congratulated for her efforts, though not selfless in the true sense of the term and one of the leaders of the Cold War has taken the initiative in this aspect, which had haunted humanity for well over a decade.<sup>13</sup>

#### India, Asia and Africa

Bringing forth a third force in the new world today is no mean an achievement. India's aim has been to secure political freedom for Africa and Asia and free this part of the world from

12. Bokhari, Ahmed S., "Parliaments, Priests and Prophets," *The Statesman* (New Delhi), May 15, 1959.

13. In the January Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Mr. Khrushchev announced the reduction of the forces. For a critical analysis, see: Deutscher, Isaac, "Reduction in Russia's Armed Forces," *The Statesman* (New Delhi), January 23, 1960. Before that Mr. Khrushchev made his intentions known in his U.N. General Assembly Speech.

the Western and Soviet blocs both of whom are defending the present iniquitous *status quo*. Most of the countries of the Afro-Asian world were former colonies and had acquired independence after much strenuous efforts. One more factor weighed in favour of the Afro-Asian solidarity. Whereas the Western nations, in spite of their common legacies, are split or are out of step with each other on almost all issues of world importance. Amongst the Asian and African nations there is, in spite of the diversity of governments, religion and races, a remarkable degree of unity on certain global issues, political and economic.<sup>14</sup>

Although India is herself faced with the problem of economic reconstruction, she has led the torch-light for all Africa and Asia in combating all imperialist designs in this part of the globe. India's stewardship of Asian and underdeveloped countries is undeniable. At Bandung these nations laid open before the world their concerted intention of non-alignment.<sup>15</sup> Like the Pan-American League of Latin American countries, this bloc of Asian-African countries has acted in collaboration in the United Nations. Through the Colombo Plan the member countries of this group have sought to solve some of their outstanding economic problems. Besides, loans from different countries of both blocs have been frequently taken, because the vital aim of economic development has somehow to be achieved in accordance with their basic policy of non-alignment.

#### Conclusion

India wants peace and is firmly convinced that peace would not be served by the policies which have culminated in cold war. India's foreign policy enjoys wide popularity throughout the world because it is a policy of peace which all peoples desire, a policy of friendship among all nations, large and small, a policy of equality and co-operation among states.

14. Bokhari, *op. cit.*

15. Bandung Conference, April 18, 1955, was held at Bandung, Indonesia. 29 Asian and African States participated. As regards the aims and objects of the Bandung Conference, see: *The Free Press Journal*, April 9, 1955. See also: *Ibid.*, April 3, 1955, for the manner in which the Conference was divided into Five Commissions.

Now I propose to state briefly the criticism levelled against India's foreign policy. Firstly, it is argued that we try to import the notions of individual morality in the field of international relations, but the formulators of our foreign policy should not forget that the laws of individual morality do not apply to states and state morality is something different from individual morality.<sup>16</sup> But, if we analyse this criticism, it appears that this does not represent the correct view. On the face of it, indeed, it appears moralist. However, our foreign policy is based on the evaluation of the realities of each situation. Besides, our attitude towards each situation, be it Kashmir question<sup>17</sup> or Chinese affair, has to conform with the broad outlines of our policy of non-alignment. We have to try to avoid ourselves falling prey to the politics of power blocs.

Secondly, some critics contend that the natural result of our non-alignment policy has been that none of these big blocs look upon us with favour. Words used by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his resignation letter of August 15, 1947 have been quoted time and again. "We have no friends left."<sup>18</sup> They argue that in the border dispute we have no friends. But we find that we have friends not only in the capitalist blocs but in the socialist bloc as well. The idea of having friends of the critics was well scented by Mr. Nehru, who in his foreign policy debate on Nov. 25, 1959 remarked: "Some (people) 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."<sup>19</sup> It may be pointed out

16. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

17. In evaluating self-interest some mistakes may be made. Thus, for example, in the Kashmir case when our representative in the beginning put our case in the U.N. our foreign office used leniency towards Pakistan's attacks. Later on it was found that our case had become somewhat different and we were in a position as if we were a contending party with Pakistan. Mr. Krishna Menon has put our case in the right way and thus Pakistan has been described as an aggressor in Kashmir.

18. Quoted by Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

19. *The Statesman*, (New Delhi) November 26, 1959.

that the idea of having military pacts goes against the basic principles of our policy.

Thirdly, some people have argued that India's policy is that of neutrality and rests on the sphere of idealism. They have cited the example of the United States. Foster Rhee Dulles in his *America's Rise to the World Power*, has given an interesting reading of American foreign policy since independence and has traced the factors leading to America's rise to world power. Critics have stated that "the policy of neutrality suits a weak and poor State which the U.S.A., undoubtedly was when she secured her political freedom."<sup>20</sup> However, legally and truly speaking the word neutrality is a misnomer. As students of International Law, we should not forget that during war or belligerency alone the word neutrality can be applied.<sup>21</sup> During peace time no question of neutrality arises, because there are no belligerents.

In conclusion all that is needed to be emphasised is that the policy of non-alignment is a

20. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

21. Fenwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 611ff.

means and not an end;<sup>22</sup> and as a means it has served India's purpose perfectly well. The policy of non-alignment does not mean isolation. Moreover, as Mr. Nehru remarked in 1951, our policy is not neutralist but is one of active endeavour to preserve, if possible to establish, peace on a firm foundation. In its true sense the policy of non-alignment aims at peace through a positive policy. The three aims of our policy can be enumerated in this way: (1) avoidance of war or if and where conflicts break out, to prevent its extension; (2) mediation wherever possible; and (3) to judge every question on merit, no matter if we have to vote with or against either power bloc.

Looking back in retrospect one can safely assume that the main purpose of our foreign policy has been achieved, at least the credit of making some concrete achievement goes to India. The two power blocs have been brought nearer. Ultimately when they will be brought together, peace will be secured and that is exactly what India's foreign policy aims at.

22. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

## IS SOCIALISM A MERE NEGATION OF CAPITALISM?

By AJEYA MUKHERJEE

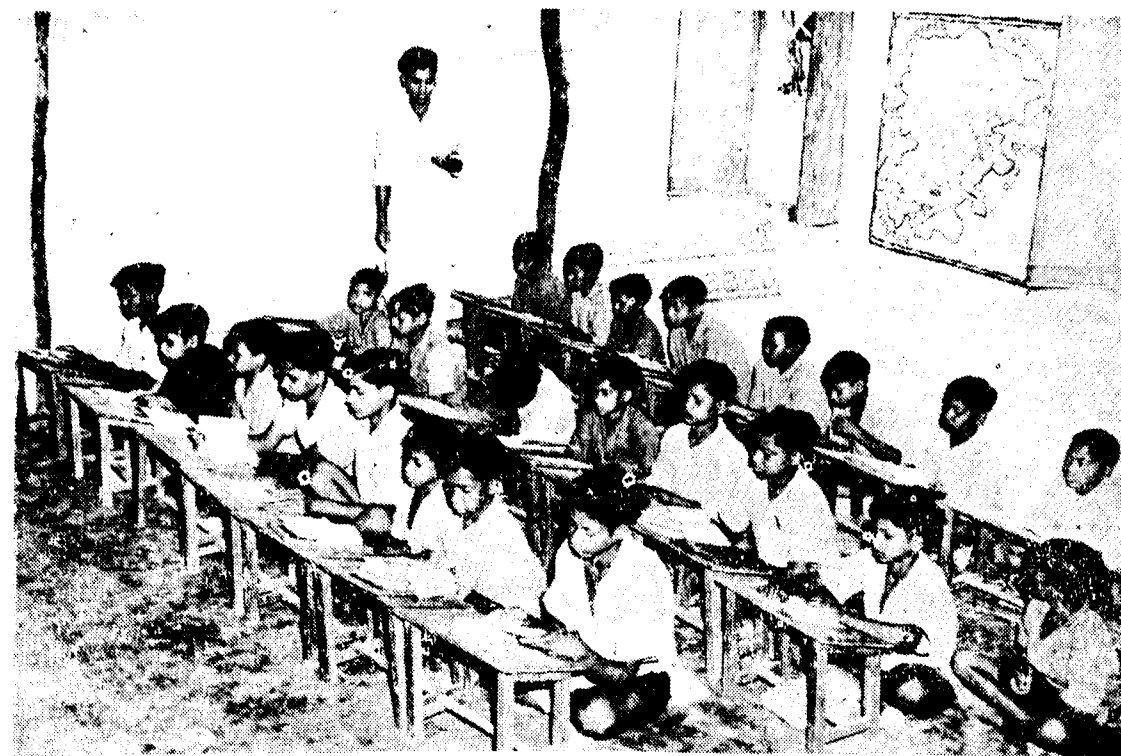
The failure of the Paris Summit positively calls for intense heart-searching on the part of those who count in world politics and the conflicting socio-political ideologies that are contending for world hegemony today. It is also high time that the common man and woman refused just to be mere pawns on the political chess-board and did some rational thinking of their own in order to avert an impending disaster. In the present article, an attempt is made to help develop a logical and perfectly unprejudiced attitude towards the oppositely orientated creeds of socialism and capitalism, which have given rise to the two major hostile camps in which the world finds itself divided, with consequences that bid fare to blot human civilization out of existence in the event of a third and last global conflagration.

There are many who beguile themselves with the utter misconception that the millennium of communism, via socialism

can be ushered into society only by smashing pillars upon which capitalism stands. The popularly held belief about socialism is that it is but a mere negation of capitalism. As capitalism is equated with ownership of land and means of production by a fortunate few, socialism is supposed to denote the common ownership of these factors. To such thinkers, while capitalism is a means for the exploitation of many by a few, socialism upholds the motto of equitable distribution of national wealth. But in reality, socialism is decidedly not just a negation of capitalism. It would be a logical fallacy to view socialism simply as an opposite creed of capitalism just as day is not merely the opposite of night and bitter is not that of sweet. Socialism is not a bare contradiction of capitalism, it has its own logic and path. It has come out of the heart-pangs of a world, groaning under the ravages of vitiated human behaviour. The tired world has seen the dream of a



President Dr. Rajendraprasad with Sri Bhimsen Sachar at Secunderabad

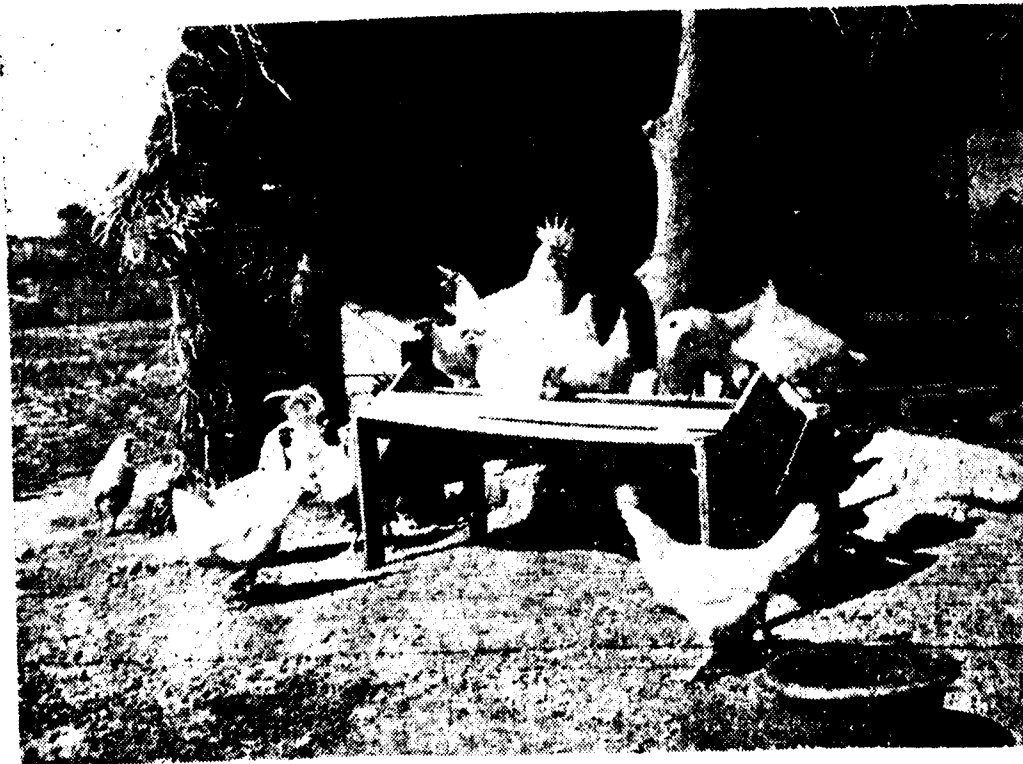


Adivasi boys in Orissa taking a lesson in Geography





Display of Indian goods at the fourth U.S. World Trade Fair in New York



A Poultry Section of the Indian Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar

better world. It puts its hope and faith into that land of fond dreams. Whether that vision shall ever be materialised or not, the earth goes on weaving the pattern of a glorious future. Socialism is said to be the half way house to communism. Communism is supposed to be the summum-bonum of human aspirations and socialism is the approach to that El-Dorado. The object of socialism, therefore, is not just to liquidate capitalism but also to lay the foundation of communism. Of course, it is a fact that in order to have communism, the causes of capitalism have to be uprooted, but socialism is not all complete within its destructive and negative action. It has its markedly positive contents based upon some inviolable axioms and principles which are too well known to need adumbration. Above all, it has its own way of reaching the universal goal of human happiness.

For lack of proper appreciation of the concept of socialism, external action in uprooting orthodox capitalism only leads to another brand of capitalism. In the name of socialism man has founded the authoritarian form of Government. Only in place of private capitalism man is proceeding towards State capitalism which is likely to prove a greater tragedy and a Frankenstein Monster that may eventually kill its own author. Socialism is not mere nationalisation of the means of production, yet this feature is alone being artificially emphasized to the exclusion of the other essential preconditions necessary for the emergence and establishment of socialism.

Socialism in its purest form is based on a consciousness yet to be born. It anticipates an ideal human nature which is perfect and flawless. It visualizes a society where giving is not conditioned by self-aggrandizement, where people work not for the mere satisfaction of selfish needs but for common welfare, where every individual spontaneously offers the best fruits of his labour as a tree gives its fruits and the river its water.

But such a stage, ideal or even nearer to the ideal, cannot come into being so long as human nature remains what it is. It is not a question of change of the form.

of Government, but that of a change of hearts. A nation which seeks to establish socialism en route to communism, must first prepare its soil for the reception and germination of the seeds of socialism. It is a pity that this fact is being completely lost sight of in certain underdeveloped countries like India, where prerequisites of socialism have yet to be created. Zealots of communism in such countries propose to short-circuit the natural process which throws up unhealthy pathological symptoms and causes undesirable political upheavals.

It must be conceded that capitalism, notwithstanding the stigma that attaches to it, has yet to perform a useful role in underdeveloped countries where mass initiative has still to appear as the harbinger of socialism and for that matter, of communism. Of course, capitalism has to be reformed and transferred to serve the needs of the interim period. The private profit motive must undergo a process of sublimation, ultimately identifying itself with the total social weal. The capitalists of backward nations would be well-advised to swim with the modern currents and willingly and gracefully submit to this metamorphosis not only in the interest of the starving and naked millions but also that of their own.

India is at the cross-road of her social and political destiny. We are passing through hectic times. We have to be extremely cautious and circumspect in choosing the path to be traversed by rejuvenated and resurgent India. A false step at this critical juncture will hurl the nation into an abyss. We shall thereby only invite another form of servitude in lieu of the one we have overthrown at such great costs. India has rightly decided to establish a socialistic pattern of society to suit the requirements of her teeming millions, steeped in ignorance, squalor and poverty. But are we really and sincerely doing our best to prepare our soil for the sprouting of the mighty banian tree of socialism? This is a question to be candidly answered by those who happen to be at the helm of India's affairs today.

## UNDERSTANDING THE MIDDLE EAST

By LAXMI NARAIN

The Middle East,\* which in recent times has appeared as the most discussed and talked of areas of the world, was to its inhabitants for many millennia the civilized world itself. Of the surviving world religions three—Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have their geographical sources in the Middle East. It would, therefore, be desirable and interesting to understand this area. The scope of this essay is confined to discussing the following two important aspects of the problem :

- (A) Rise of military dictatorships; and
- (B) Causes of instability in the area.

### I

During the last few years there have been six revolutions in Middle Eastern states—in Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Egypt (now United Arab Republic), Sudan, Cyprus, and a near-revolution in Jordan. Besides, there have been a number of interventions. The United States intervened in Lebanon and Great Britain in Jordan last summer, and Great Britain and France intervened in Egypt a couple of years earlier. Then there are also the chronic hostilities between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

The revolt against democracy has a pragmatic basis. It does not imply a repudiation of the ideals of democratic government. None of the new "strong men" in the Middle East is talking about the "putrid corpse of democracy," as did Mussolini in his balcony heyday. At the same time none has yet come forward with a permanent political alternative to the parliamentary regime he overthrew. The revolt was the outcome of circumstances within different countries in which the operation of parliamentary government has failed. This is given expression by Gamal Abdel Nasser's "Philosophy of the Revolu-

tion" which ascribes the Egyptian revolutionary movement to corruption, party strife, and royal interference rather than to a desire to get rid of democratic institutions.

Parliamentary democracy in the Middle East was imported from the Western World. It was foreign in most of its concepts to the Middle East traditions. Such abstract concepts as sovereignty, self-determination and democracy were forced upon an unwilling people.

Before World War I parliamentary regimes were established in Iran and Turkey though the motivating force of younger political leaders to curtail the absolute power of the Shah or Sultan. After World War I the mandate system spread parliamentary democracy in Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon.

What did the people expect of these parliamentary regimes? It was hoped that they would become instruments of national independence, that they would provide an opportunity for inclusion in the government of awakened political groups, and that they would become an instrument for social progress.

These hopes were not fulfilled or at best were fulfilled only partially. Parliaments were dominated by a few leaders and did not develop sound foreign policies. Thus in Iraq, before the *coup d'etat* of July 1957, the election that gave the Nuri el-Said Government an overwhelming majority was thoroughly 'controlled,' and repressive measures were taken to preserve its pro-Western orientation. Freedom of Press was strictly controlled, labour union disbanded and dissident officers retired from the Army. In Egypt the Wafd Government appealed to the widespread anti-British feeling. Popular clamour became decisive resulting 'inter alia' in the abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. However, the Wafd could not control the released forces and was discredited.

The parliamentary system was also unable to broaden the base of political life. The experiments of the new generations with parliamentary democracy were not encouraging. Complicated procedural problems of electioneering and parliamentary debates did not appeal to the people.

Elections were hardly honest. People viewed parliament and cabinet system as a device for forcing the traditional role of the "old men of politics." Also, in the West, democracy emphasized liberty more than equality. To people in the Middle East, accustomed for centuries to authoritarian regimes, liberty could not possibly be as much appreciated as equality.

However, in the social field parliamentary democracy was somewhat more successful. It was believed that an elected parliament would become an instrument by which the power of the hereditary land-owning group (basis of autocratic government) could be curtailed. Some significant social laws were passed. Great strides were made in such fields as national education, public health services, etc. In Egypt, for example, between 1922 (when the constitutional monarchy was promulgated) and 1950, the state budget for education increased over 1000 per cent and the number of students in schools over 1300 per cent. But the social progress lagged behind growing social discontent. Land-owning system and the privileges of the landlords were not touched. In Egypt, before the Revolution, the parliament enacted rural legislation but did not touch land-ownership and distribution in a country where 97 per cent of the area is infertile desert and only 3 per cent arable land.

In short, the performance of democracy in the Middle East was disappointing when judged against the hopes on it. The forces set in motion since World War I only artificially speeded up the process of Westernization beyond the ability of the people to adopt the imported ideas to their social needs. The basic pre-requisites of Western democratic life were found missing in the Middle East. These were participation of the people in the governmental affairs, sufficient public information on important issues so that the vote could choose wisely, and sufficient economic freedom so that each voter could express his political views without imperilling his livelihood. In the Middle East there is a long tradition of autocratic and centralized government, mass illiteracy, and economic dependence. The revolt against democracy in the Middle East is understandable both in terms of its "fruits and roots"—to quote a favourite Arab phrase.

### (a)

Opposition to democracy came from two sources—from the right (religion) and from the

left (socialist and communist) parties and groupings. As neither side mustered sufficient support to capture power, the army intervened to fill in the gap.

The Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun) best expresses the lay religious revival. It opposed the existing regime and criticized democracy. It accepted Western technological innovations but offered no constructive programme. It advocated re-establishment of theocracy and aroused religious fanaticism. As has been aptly put by Dr. Khadduri, leading authority on the Middle East, "The Brotherhood's program was too Calvinistic in spirit to be tolerated for any length of time. The re-establishment of theocracy would have been incompatible with the new international order."

In contrast, constructive programme was offered by the Communist parties. But even their outcry against exploitation, graft, and corruption proved ineffective. Islam is hardly to be reconciled with Communism. It is opposed to dialectical materialism and recognises the institution of private property and free enterprise. Factors operating against it are Communism's opposition to religion, its disdain for other mores, to say nothing of its affiliation with a foreign power.

The people looked elsewhere for leadership—towards the army.

### (b)

The Middle Eastern countries have a long established tradition of building up strong armed forces. In the modern times also keen interest has been demonstrated in organizing well-disciplined armies along European lines. This is true of both Iraq and Syria after they gained independence. Again, army played an important role in other countries like Turkey and Iran. The Kemalist and Pahlavi regimes owed probably as much to the army for their establishment as to the strength of character and statesmanship of their founders. In Egypt Viceroys spent lavishly for maintaining and enlarging the army.

However, the officers and not the soldiers were interested to involve the army into politics. The younger army officers organized themselves into small groups to discuss national issues. In the Palestine War the army blamed the government for the defeat and a reaction was set in to overthrow the politicians—the best way to punish them for their mistakes.

\*The Middle East, for purposes of this paper, consists of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Sudan, Turkey, Tunisia, and Yemen.

The chain of coups that occurred in the Middle East have been referred to in the beginning. The objective of these coups was to cleanse the existing democracy of evil influences which paralysed its working. It is true that there has been suspension of parliament and concentration of authority in the hands of a few leaders who rule *'de facto'*. But the regime of these army groups is not dictatorship in the sense that it is based upon a conscious political philosophy such as Fascism or Nazism. To quote Badeau, ex-President of the American University at Cairo, "In the Middle East the role of Nasser, Kassem and their associates is best explained in terms of the traditional 'strong man,' who has been such an important element in the Middle Eastern life in the past. These 'strong men' are followed, not so much because they are feared, but because they exercise dynamic and popular leadership."

## II

Even the establishment of military regimes did not make the area stable. The frequent coups, interventions, and existing hostilities are an evidence of internal instability. Why? Internal conditions, relations between the countries of the area, and the 'outside' influences—all contribute to instability of the area.

Economic poverty is rampant in most of the countries in this area. The average per capita income would be approximately \$100 per year. On the other hand, there are rulers and people who have amassed vast sums of money in oil-rich kingdoms and shaikhdoms. Due to the shrinkage of the world, people have become more aware of their acute poverty than ever before. It leads to frustration and dissatisfaction. There is a vast difference between the 'effendis' who own land and the 'fallahin' who do not. The prevailing social conditions of quasi-feudalism are not conducive to an improvement in economic levels. The people are constantly pressing for a higher standard of living.

Administrative inefficiency and political unrest also add to internal instability. Civil Services are not highly developed. The frequent revolutions indicate the lack of confidence in the Civil Service. It is also believed by a majority of the population, including the army, that military control is imperative to bring greater degree of

efficiency. The revolutions are a manifestation of the political unrest in the region. It could be said, in the words of Prof. Quincy Wright, that "the countries have become too advanced for the feudalism and absolutism which have existed there from time immemorial, but they have not advanced enough for democracy." As such the effort to make the transition from this feudal-absolutistic system to a more democratic-liberal system accounts for much of the unrest.

Relations among the states in the region also call for comments. The phenomenon of Arab nationalism needs examination. It emerged as a political force at the time of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and has been progressing since then. It believes in the revival of greatness of the Arab world by reviving the glorious period of the Arabs in the Middle Ages. It also aims to drive out those elements which jeopardize this revival and as such it is anti-Zionism and anti-imperialism.

There is also the question of leadership of the Arabs. Important aspirants for leadership are Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. Egypt under Nasser is aiming in the direction of Pan-Arabism. The beginning was made with the establishment of the U.A.R. Iraq has been always a traditional rival for leadership in the area and still is. The recent retaliatory speeches of President Nasser and Premier Kassem are a sufficient indication of that. Recently Kassem has endorsed the idea of a "Fertile Crescent" to unite his country with Syria and Jordan. He told a group of army officers that the Syrians were "spiritually attached to Iraq," and "no frontier exists between us and Syria." By endorsing the "Fertile Crescent" plan, Baghdad has in a sense thrown down the gauntlet to Cairo.

Oil-rich Saudi Arabia is another contender. Its people regard themselves as the purest breed of Arabs. They are advocates of the Wahhabi reform religion. Tunisia under Bourguiba could become another rival.

These rivalries militate against the establishment of a pan-Arab state. Most of the countries may not think of union into a single state. But some sort of loose confederation or some sort of "spiritual union" among the Arab states could work amicably.

Another important—rather very important—cause of instability is the Arab-Israel discord. The Arabs cannot reconcile to the establishment

of Israel—an encroachment upon natural Arab land. They remember the defeat of 1948. They fear Israel's expansion. They look upon Zionism as a necessarily imperialistic and expansive force. The invasion of the Sinai Peninsula in 1956 is an evidence of that, they say.

Influences and pressures from 'outside' also contribute to the instability in the area. The location (a bridge between the Indian ocean, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic) and the natural resources (oil reserves) of the Middle East need not be over-emphasized here. They have attracted rivalry among the Great Powers. It has become a centre of the "cold war." In the debates of the General Assembly of the United Nations one listens to the continuous recriminations between the United States and the Soviet Union, each of which accuses the other of stirring up troubled conditions in the area. The Iran-United States military pact of March 5, 1959 has evoked severe criticism from the Soviet Union. In view of the traditional Russian threat "Iran dare not remain neutral or isolated," said the Foreign Minister Hekmat.

All these conditions contribute to instability in the area, whether arising from internal conditions within the countries themselves, from rivalries among the states in the area, or from outside influences and pressures.

## III

The return to democracy seems to be the safest way towards ultimate stability and progress of the area. It is said that each Arab country needs its own Kemal Ataturk to execute reforms

democracy. However, as in Turkey, the alteration between politics and army has to be chosen. Social reforms have to be initiated and executed by democratic methods. Repressive measures have to be eschewed (Kemal took repressive measures only in 1925 in the Kurdish rebellion). By truly understanding the spirit of Kemalism can only the Arab countries be benefited. The people have to be cured from within—politically, socially and economically—before they can be expected to live in a salutary democratic way of life.

Sincere efforts would have to be made to settle the Arab-Israel dispute. Economic development would be greatly assisted by settlement of this quarrel. In the interests of their own progress and prosperity, both parties have to be realistic about it.

The West is also responsible for the ferment existing in the area. Western education and techniques have loosened the old bonds and foundations. The West, therefore, has a moral duty to help the area for finding a wholesome formula. Economic and political co-operation of the Great Powers can further the stability of the area. The Great Powers can seek co-operation of the United Nations for economic development of the region. Technical assistance in administration and education, as well as in economic development, will be essential. But needless to say that the basic moral decisions will have to be taken and the basic work will have to be done by the people themselves if the newly-devised forms are to endure. Time and understanding are required to establish stability in the area.



## PUNDIT ISVARCHANDRA VIDYASAGAR

## A Snap-Study

By JOGES C. BOSE

## I

If the imagery God creates man has any appeal, it has an added significance in contemplating that, at rare intervals, He creates one or other much above and beyond the pattern in content and richness. Such a man, without question, is Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar. He is unique in the leadership of Bengal—Raja Rammohun Roy to Netajee Subhas Bose.

Isvarchandra was born on 26th September, 1820, at village Beersingha, district Midnapur. His father, Thakurdas Banerjea, was very very poor. Despite an ardent desire for learning, he could create no scope for it and had to accept a humble job in Calcutta, when he was barely fifteen. Isvar's mother, Bhagabati Devi, never crossed the doorstep of even the apology of a school, but was highly educated in the tradition of values, fostered by the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. She delighted to recall that she was brought up by her maternal uncle,<sup>1</sup> noted for his erudition, large heart and strong principles; and that the family under his stewardship was never chary of succouring people in distress. A vital feeling of appreciation reared up Bhagabati to a noble height and she was a great influence in the making of Isvarchandra. In the twilight of understanding, the boy used to hear that his grandfather had left home as a recluse, but came back as he dreamt that a truly great man was about to be born in his line. Bhagabati Devi harped upon this fact to inspire her son to live down the squalor and hardships of life and be great. The teacher of the village *pathsala* was all-praise for his razor-sharp intellect, his tenacity and application. With the forecast of a high destiny, he prevailed upon

his father to bring him down to Calcutta for education.

An interesting story is told how Isvarchandra, as he was coming to Calcutta with his father on foot, learnt English numerals from the figures on road-side milestones. Thakurdas felt encouraged to spend a large part of his small income for his son and got him admitted into the Sanskrit College. The boy of nine by the stark simplicity of his coarse *dhooty* and *chadar* and by his sharpness and, what may be called, a determined bid attracted the attention of all and sundry. In the strange surroundings of Calcutta too, he came to be accosted by his teachers in the same old manner in respect of his future.

Within six months, he was awarded, on the result of an examination, a scholarship of Rs. 5/- a month.<sup>2</sup> He did not spare himself and since now captured all scholarships and prizes save one in the long twelve years, he was a student in the Sanskrit College. Finally, the Governing body and the teaching staff conferred on him at the age of twentyone the title of **Vidyasagar**. It means that his learning is only comparable in depth and vastness to the sea.

The hard struggle of Isvarchandra's student life is, pathetic, instructive and has the glamour of a legend. Each morning he did the marketing, cooking, cleansing and other odd jobs for a family of four to five people, relations and other guests not infrequently adding to the number. In between these daily toils he clutched at his lessons, the hospitable street lamp giving him the necessary aid at night. A square meal was out of the question and the details of frugality are distressing to read. What, however, reads surprising is that even in

this life of harrowing meagreness, Isvarchandra helped poor class-mates in trouble.

Principal Marshall made him a teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit in the Fort William College on Rs. 50/- a month. Immediately on appointment, he had his father released from the obligations of service and sent him home. Each month now, the first thing he would do on receipt of salary was to remit Rs. 20/- to his father. With the balance he used to maintain his Calcutta establishment of two brothers and four cousins to help them get a start in life. The man, who had hitherto lived in the rigours of denial, did not bestow a moment's thought on his personal comforts.

In closer association, Marshall's love for his erstwhile pupil Vidyasagar ripened into esteem. In those days the Fort William College counted much in influencing the educational policy of the Government. In every important consultation, Marshall pushed Vidyasagar to prominence. It was at his suggestion that Lord Hardinge established in 1846 one hundred and one vernacular schools in Bengal.

Except a scholarship of a very high order, what was there in Vidyasagar to give him the weight and standing he enjoyed even then? The following two are typical illustrations to justify the respect he commanded. The post of a Grammar-teacher in the Sanskrit College fell vacant. Vidyasagar was the inevitable choice. He, however, stepped back and pointed out that Pundit Taranath Tarkabachaspati, so well-qualified and so much his senior, was sitting idle. Principal Marshall was struck mute with admiration to note this spirit of sacrifice—the post carried a salary of Rs. 90 a month. As the matter was urgent and if delayed so many things might come in between, Vidyasagar himself went to Kalna, where Taranath was then living and brought his application and testimonials. A trip by boat taking a much longer time, Vidyasagar covered the distance, 60 miles each way, on foot. The other incident is that Vidyasagar was in charge of the vernacular examination, the English Civilians were due to pass before

joining service. One year, the number of failures was very large and Marshall asked Vidyasagar to revise the papers with an eye that those, who failed, would have to go back home disappointed, having lost a precious year of their life. 'Would Indian students', posed Vidyasagar, 'have such a consideration in their examinations in England?' 'Moreover those who came to serve in this country,' added Vidyasagar with a cold emphasis, 'needed first of all to learn the language of the people, otherwise, they would be failures for the very reason thereof.' Marshall was no sun-dried bureaucrat and did not push the matter any further.

Promotions came to him as a matter of course; and he was the Principal of the Sanskrit College at the age of thirty. Later on, he was, in addition, appointed Inspector of Schools on a consolidated salary of Rs. 500/- a month. For any of these preferments—from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 500/- in ten years—he never bent his knees or sought anybody, even by implication, to do this or that for him. In fact, his sense of self-respect passed into history. It was, as though, an obligation he owed to himself.

On one occasion, when he was the Assistant Secretary of the Sanskrit College, he went to Principal Kerr of the Hindu College. Kerr did not ask Vidyasagar to take his seat and remained reclined on his chair with feet stretched outright on the table in front. It so happened that a few days after, Kerr came to the Sanskrit College to see Vidyasagar. Vidyasagar, as he got scent of it, had his room emptied of chairs, except his own, on which he sat likewise reclined on the back-rest and legs spread out full length on the table. Kerr reported the matter to Dr. Moet, the Secretary of the Education Council, the same as Director of Public Instruction in later days. He called for an explanation. Vidyasagar, in explanation, narrated his experience. At the intervention of Dr. Moet, Kerr saw Vidyasagar and they shook hands over the affair. It is proper, we refrain from gloating on the incident even if it merits mention to mark off Vidyasagar from others. It was, however, a lesson to

1. Isvarchandar made provision for his two destitute daughters and one grandson.

2. Rice in those days used to sell at eight to ten annas a maund and other essential commodities in corresponding proportion.



the subject people in dazed awe of an Englishman representing the ruling race.

Service is a shackle. But it was impossible to coerce Vidyasagar into the iron jacket of 'Yes Sir'. As Inspector of Schools he was having sharp differences with the authority over matters of policy. With regard to an annual report, he refused to do the window-dressing as suggested by W. G. Young, the Director of Public Instruction. He would not budge an inch from the position he had taken up, nor would Civilian Young, naturally enough, take it lying down. Young had not forgotten that Vidyasagar had gone up to the Lieutenant-Governor Halliday to bring home to the Government the unwisdom of appointing this young Civilian in place of the level-headed Dr. Moet. Did Civilians, as a class, nurse a feeling that he had nipped so many of them in the bud? But Halliday was head over ears in love and respect for Vidyasagar and they had, therefore, to put up with him. Young only bided his opportunity. It came when Vidyasagar attacked the policy of the Government, making room, in progressively large numbers, for Englishmen in the Education Department. The point, he sought to make out was that money, saved by appointing competent Indians, would go a long way to spread education in the country. Young refused pointblank to sanction any money for the fifty girl schools, Vidyasagar had founded without his sanction. Vidyasagar resigned. A friend of his asked him, in utter dismay, how he would carry on without service. 'I shall,' roared Vidyasagar, 'sell potatoes in the streets of Calcutta rather than bow down to an insulting dictation'. Halliday suggested that since Vidyasagar had discussed the subject with him and had his approval, he would better sue the Lieutenant Governor. But Vidyasagar would not compromise the position of the well-intentioned Halliday. Rather, he faced the financial burden of these schools, where no tuition fees were charged and the students were otherwise assisted by books and other implements. It is, by the way, fair to state that Halliday, Beadon, Bethune and

a few other English high officials came forward to pay subscription for these schools.

It looks queer on the face of it, but nothing to surprise at, that he who commanded the loyal admiration, of men like Halliday, Beadon<sup>3</sup> and Bethune,<sup>4</sup> the man whom Lord Canning, the Governor General, would have by his side with Lord Bishop, while presiding over the First Convocation of Calcutta University, was no better than a piece of waste paper, fit to be twisted and thrown away by a few Civil servants acting in concert. This resignation of Vidyasagar all but confirms what Sir Thomas Munro<sup>5</sup> wrote to Governor General Lord Hastings that what advantages—honours and positions of profit—the Indians enjoyed were purchased by the sacrifice of independence and what other things render a people respectable.

## II

The most solid, notable contribution of Vidyasagar in the making of a new India is that he laid the foundation of Female Education truly and well. In fact, he translated into action the lesson, Raja Rammohun Roy sought to inculcate, that without imbuing our womanhood with a sense of their rights and dignity alongside their duties and obligations, India would as surely relapse into feudalism. Vidyasagar's efforts and sacrifice in the direction are without a parallel. Closely associated with him in spade-work was J. D. Bethune. They first of all founded a school for girls in Calcutta. Bethune left a large bequest for it, which, on his death, was named after him and subsequently developed into a college.

Like a lump of leaven that leavens the whole lump, Vidyasagar's attitude to womanhood is exemplified by one small incident, when he was yet a student of the Sanskrit College. His teacher Shambhu-

3. Succeeded Halliday Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

4. Secretary to the Governor General's Council.

5. Governor of Madras.

nath Vachaspati, a widower long past the seemly age of marriage, married a tiny young girl. It was so very distasteful to Isvarchandra that he washed his hands clean of his teacher, save what could not be helped, as in the class room. Shambhunath, who treated Isvar with affection, felt deeply hurt. One day, he could not contain himself any longer and caught hold of his pupil's hand, saying imploringly, 'Even if, I am in the wrong, how has my wife offended you? Should not you have gone to pay her your respects?' The ice broke; and Isvar went to his teacher's house. Immediately, however, as he saw the slip of a girl and visualised for her a widowhood of standing negation, he burst into tears and cleared out of the house, refusing to partake of even a glass of water there. This is Vidyasagar out and out, strong and headlong as a thunderbolt and soft as a lily, unfolding its petals.

He used to notice in his boyhood how visibly was his mother affected, whenever any girl in their known circle became a widow. The story goes, that on one such occasion when, by the time, his was a household name in Bengal, his mother asked him, if it could ever be true that Hinduism denied a widow the right to marry. As she was told 'no', she wished her son to do what he could to set things right by amending the law in force. The son stretched himself to the full length of his being to settle the question.

Each day, after college hours, he sat up far into the night for months together studying authorities on Hindu Sastras in order to justify widow-marriage. He then published a treatise on the subject. This was, as it were, a block of stone thrown into hornet's nest. Those who felt that the sanctity of Hindu homes was being invaded ransacked Sastras as much for counter arguments. They, as well, searched vocabulary for abuse to besmear the dear name of Vidyasagar. Not content with this, they threatened him with such dire consequences that Thakurdas felt called upon to send from his home a trusted servant, capable of wielding lathi, to keep guard his son's person.

It must not be understood that before Vidyasagar launched his move, there was no thought bestowed upon it. The truccule Raghunandan Bhattacharjea, as the gri irony of fate would have it, tried to have his widowed daughter married. So did Rajballav Sen. They, however, lacked the fibre and determination of Vidyasagar. And yet it is fair to note that by the time Vidyasagar took up the question, there had grown up in Calcutta—thanks to English education and the Hindu College influence a number of associations debating Literature, Science, Philosophy and Sociology etc. They began to question the existing order of things and break the tradition of the authoritarian mandate customs.

Vidyasagar was so thorough-going that he suffered no idleness or loopholes in his efforts. He moved about door to door to collect the support of men of lig and leading. A petition was then presented to the Legislative Council India 'to take into early consideration the propriety of passing a Law to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage Hindu widows.' The Law came into force in July 1856.

It was now a peculiar position with Vidyasagar. Every widow-marriage was his personal concern and, gradually as other people's enthusiasm fizzled away, his financial responsibility. On this account he incurred, according to one estimate, debt of Rs. 50 thousand. To add to this load of complications, he resigned his service, as we have seen, within ten years. Many an enthusiast, who gave Vidyasagar money in connection with widow marriage, now turned round and debited it to him as a loan. On the other hand, those who owed him money—as they were a legion—made themselves scarce. In fact, to cheat him like this became a common practice. There is an amusing story, that once, when a gentleman came to pay off a loan, Vidyasagar was literally at his wit's end and took some time to understand the position. As he understood it, he broke into a laughter, pleased surprise and would not let the

gentleman go without being treated to sweets.

There are good many anecdotes to illustrate how he offered to help people unsought. One evening, as he was having his daily stroll round about the site of the now Azad Hind Bagh, Calcutta, he noticed a gentleman struggling visibly to restrain his tears, as he plodded his way. Vidyasagar coaxed him to speak out what affected him like that and gathered that the High Court had decreed his eviction from the ancestral house. He took the details, but in a manner as to disarm suspicion. The next day, he sent to the aforesaid gentleman's Solicitor the full amount of satisfaction.

One day at Chandannagar, where he had gone to repair his health, he found a boy with one foot abnormally thin. He heard with a meticulous care from the boy's attendant how it was gradually thinning down and did not yield to any treatment. Vidyasagar saw the boy's parents. And as he learnt that they had exhausted themselves and were unable to go in for further treatment, he offered to house them at his in Calcutta and arrange for his treatment in the Medical College. The boy got fairly well and lived a useful life.

In days when there was no talk of classless society, his kind offices knew no bounds of class. One early morning at Karmatar, his *methor* came running to him to say that his wife was attacked with cholera. He lost no time to go to the *methor's* house in their colony and took up her treatment according to Homeopathy, in which he had acquired a considerable proficiency. He sat by her side till late hours of the night, when she showed definite signs of rally.

A word with regard to Vidyasagar's contribution to the growth of Bengali literature is called for. If to Raja Ram-mohun Roy goes the credit of creating modern Bengali prose, to Vidyasagar must be assigned the palm of combining for it, vigour and grace, even though, it may not be grudged saying, that he could not completely free himself from the cramps of highbrow Sanskrit. Bankimchandra Chat-

terji says that 'nobody before or after him has written such sweet Bengali'. Rabindranath Tagore says that 'he split up compound words of learned length into simple components and gave our language a natural stateliness, such as is possible, only of a great artist.'—(Translation mine).

Pressed so many times to be a member of the Text Book Committee, Vidyasagar declined the offer, lest the weight of membership influenced the selection of his books. Sashibhusan Chatterjea presented him a copy of his **Ramer Rajyabhishek**, intended to be a school text. He found it was quite all right and in order to make room for it, he cancelled the publishing of his book on the selfsame subject, even if its printing had gone more than half the way. He rescued Michael Madhusudan Dutt, stuck up in debts in distant France. He helped Akshoy Kumar Dutt grow up into a literary figure of great note. To simplify the labours involved in learning Sanskrit he wrote grammars like **Upakramanika** and **Vyakaran Koumudi**.

The first college under non-official Indian initiative is the Metropolitan College, he founded, and now named after him. To what extent he merged himself into its upbringing is borne out by the fact, that as in the very first year, a student stood second in the First Arts Examination, he hastened back to Calcutta from Karmatar, on receipt of the information, and went straight to the house of the student to bless him. He brought the boy to his house and presented him a set of very costly-bound Waverly novels.

Broken down in health and finance, Vidyasagar had at one time some discussions with Sir Cecil Beadon, about his re-entry into the Government service. But what he stated and stood by as his basic condition was again a challenge to what had been the basic principle of British rule in India. "I must say candidly," he wrote, "that notwithstanding the serious difficulties I am in, my vanity would not permit me to serve unless the salary, which European professors of that Institution (The Presidency College, Calcutta) draw, is allowed to me." It is possibly im-

possible to find any other to fit in into his mould. From a very humble position he rose to the pinnacle of greatness. Never, however, for a day he forsook his old simple way of life. For himself he indulged in nothing costly except that his library was well-kept and books were bound at a high cost. When, however, it was a question of making gifts to others he took good care to select the best possible articles of the market. He lived on spare diet, but was fastidious in preparing menu, when he invited anybody to dine at his place and felt particularly delighted to cook special dishes for his guests.

On 29th July, 1891, Isvarchandra Vidyasagar breathed the last drop of benediction. It was truly a 'benediction,' as at the Church, when the congregation disperses. A type by himself, he realised the solemnity of life by multiplying his obligations. At times they taxed him and even soured him. At times he looked wearing out under the load of ungrateful returns. They did not, however, deter him, even in desolation, emptying himself for others with the inwardness of a heart that never tired.

A man's correct obituary note is his testament. It is revealing how he disposed of his earthly possessions in contemplation of death. Vidyasagar by his will left Rs. 461 a month for his various relations; Rs. 100 and Rs. 50 a month for the hospital and the school respectively, he had founded in his village; and Rs. 100 a month for the Widow Marriage Committee, besides, a one-time donation to many a man and cause. On the top of all, he left for his countrymen the priceless legacy of a name to conjure with for generations to come.

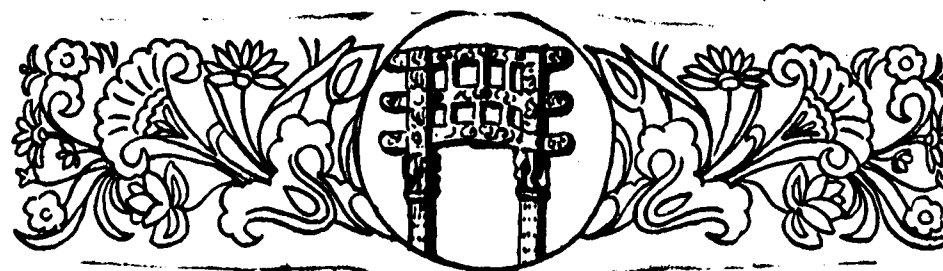
Great as he was in learning, manliness and charity, he was greater still in identifying himself heart and soul, with every

cause that would make his country great. No one has exerted himself to the extent he did to bring home to India, emerging out of medievalism, that no country can ever forge ahead by leaving her women-folk in the rear. He belonged to a subject-people, cowed down by a virile race, stringently organising their rule, but never under any circumstance he hesitated to look them straight in the face. In fact, he imparted a high moral tone to our national character, evolving under the new auspices. Rabindranath speaks of Vidyasagar as a class by himself, such as to make his difference with others not one of degree but of kind. And yet some of Vidyasagar's contemporaries, including Rabindranath's father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, were giants of men. I delight to think that Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar is, to all intents and purposes, visualised in the following lines of **Naivedya**, Rabindranath wrote some three years after Vidyasagar died:

*Karona karona lajjah hey bharatbashi  
Shakti madamatta oi banik bilashi  
Dhandripta paschimmer kataskhya sammukhey  
Shubhra uttariya pari, santo shamahita mukhey  
Saral jeebon khani karite bahan.*

Thou must not;  
And why at all shouldst Thou Oh India  
shy at the West, which by trade  
to the summit of affluence risen, is  
purse-proud and power-intoxicated.  
Have faith in thy own self to face her fair  
and square, attired as thou art in thy  
clean, simple habits, and with thy com-  
posed, tranquil smile and resolve un-  
flinching to stand by thy own.

—(Translation mine).



## SUDHIRKUMAR SEN (1888-1959)

By MONI BAGCHEE

Sudhirkumar Sen, or Mr. S. K. Sen as he was more popularly known all over India and abroad, was "an almost legendary figure in the annals of the Bicycle trade and industry in the Indian sub-continent. He entered the Bicycle Trade at the turn of the century when the bicycle was considered a luxury and after devoting his whole life to the pursuit of popularising the bicycle as the only means of personal transport for the people of this country, he left the world satisfied in the knowledge that his efforts had not been in vain and independent India had recognised the need for bringing cycling to the masses. It was not for nothing that he was acknowledged as the father of the Indian Bicycle trade and industry by the admiring trade of the country."

Mr. Sen started his career as an indenting agent and founded the House of Sen and Pandit in 1910. He did not simply buy and sell cycles, he did more than that. He brought about a revolution in this sphere and his was the shaping influence, acknowledged both by the dealers and the manufacturers. Any assessment of his magnificent achievements will be incomplete without a brief reference to the background of the period in which he lived and worked. What were the conditions prevailing in the country when young Sudhirkumar—an Honours Graduate in English from the Presidency College—entered into a field, then almost monopolised by some well-known British buying houses. No Indian before him had thought of taking up indenting business in competition with the foreigners who had the backing of the British Exchange Banks. The success of Sen and Pandit during the early years was by no means easy. He had to carve out his path almost unaided and against heavy odds. To make the long story short, it will be enough to say that since his association with E.A. Levetus & Co., one of the well-known shippers of those days, Mr. Sen was able to establish himself as the foremost indenting agent. The interest of the cycle dealers throughout India was always uppermost in his mind and so completely he identified himself with them that he considered himself always happy when he knew that his dealers were earning. He served the trade as no

indenting agent had done before him and thus he was instrumental in effecting a new outlook in this trade. To the dealers he would always say: "I regard each and everyone of you as the member of the Sen & Pandit family, that is my attitude towards you."

Hundreds of instances can be cited to show the greatness of Sudhirkumar in so far as his relations with the dealers were concerned. "From the very beginning of my business career I took it for granted that genuine human relationship is essential for healthy growth of life in any business organisation," so he once said to a dealer. Indeed, his kindest impulses remained strong and active and compassion if not magnanimity was rarely missing from the scale of his feelings. A dealer told me that "he could inspire devotion; all those who worked with him remember him with pride and affection."

From an indenting agent when he shot into more prominence as an industrialist, following the foundation of the Sen-Raleigh Industries, Sudhirkumar remained much the same man—the same sweet, sympathetic and considerate man and his affection for his dealers underwent least change. On the eve of his last journey to Europe in 1959, Mr. Sen visited Bombay in the month of March of that year, and the trade seized the opportunity to felicitate him. A party was given in his honour at the Radio Club and Mr. Sen also entertained the trade at Golmorh. There was a large gathering on that night. Mr. Babubhai B. Shah tells me in this connection: "Mr. Sen spoke to the dealers in such a feelingly manner that I shall never forget his touching words: "Consider Sen-Raleigh as your own Company: you are its real owner, I again repeat I am one of you." Who but Sudhirkumar could say this? It was no mechanical gesture or a stage performance, it was spontaneous, generous and considerate: out and out sanctified with his genuine feelings, seldom found in the life of an industrialist.

His last visit to the South at the end of 1957, was memorable in Mr. Sen's life on account of the spontaneous felicitations accorded to him at Rajahmundry, Madras and Bangalore. The following extract from a letter dated 6.1.1958, written by Mr. Sen himself to the Committee of

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Hosts, Madras Cycle dealers, after he returned to Calcutta, is worth remembering:—

"I hope the family of Sen-Raleigh and Sen & Pandit Private Ltd., dealers will prosper and grow from more to more and that this united family will do a great deal towards the growth of cycle trade and industry and continue in the same spirit of co-operation and that our levels and that of my sons, will grow stronger in a spirit of fairness mutual and profitable expansion for the benefit of the trade and industry with a code of conduct which will inspire other traders and industries as an example to emulate."

As far as I have been able to judge from the numerous anecdotes I have heard from his closest friends and numerous admirers, Mr. Sen could easily impart a moving quality of tenderness to his kindness perhaps because the guiding principle of his life seemed to be universal love which suffused his being. Perhaps this was the reason that his dominating personality drew admiration from all quarters. It is not for nothing that an eminent person like Mr. George Wilson, Chairman, Raleigh Industries, England, while paying his tribute to the memory of Mr. Sen, remarked that "he was greatly loved and respected in all business circle, particularly by the many dealers in the cycle trade to whom he was a good friend and in whom they had the greatest confidence."

Sudhirkumar was a man of exceptional force of character. He was uncompromising in his standard of rectitude and conduct. The association and the environment in which the young Sudhirkumar grew up, certainly contributed greatly towards it. Man truly reveals himself through his character. "It is character that pays everywhere," Mr. Sen used to say very often; "Give up jealousy and conceit. Be perfectly pure and straightforward in money-dealings. So long as you have faith and honesty and devotion to your work, everything will prosper." That gives a clue to the study of the mind and face of Sudhirkumar. It must be borne in mind that during the formative period of his life, he had the rare advantage of coming in close association with some of the best teachers in the Presidency College, both European and Indian, who inspired their students with the lofty ideals and higher values in life. It is said that Mr. Sen won many a battle by sheer force of his character. To

the present generation, the life of Mr. Sen offers many things of sterling value. He changed the common notion that honesty and business success are uneasy bed-fellows. It is known to all that Mr. Sen spent most of his time abroad, particularly in the U.K. and the Continent and he was privileged to gather inside informations, relating to the manufacturing progress in those countries. Any shrewd businessman would have



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kept these informations with him, but it was just the opposite with Mr. Sen. Immediately on his return to India, Mr. Sen would freely pass on those informations to all his dealers. When one day Mrs. Sen asked her husband, "Why don't you keep those valuable informations with you?", Mr. Sen at once replied, saying, "I regard the universe as an open book, printed in the language of universal love, of which, in our rare moments of grace, we are able to decipher a small fragment. This universe, you see, is so wide that anybody working honestly, is not destined to starve." This attitude clearly reflects the mind of the man. From this it is not difficult to trace the influence of the thoughts of Raja Rammohan Roy on the mind of Sudhirkumar.

Once a dealer came to Mr. Sen and asked him what he thought was the most important thing in the world. He got this answer from him: "Minding your own business with friendliness, humility and authority." Anyone acquainted with life and activities of Mr. Sen, will admit that in him was found a combination of these fine qualities—friendliness, humility and authority—not often found in one personality. At sixty years of age Mr. Sen was the most prominent man in the cycle world—both in India and abroad. He had wealth, place and power. He had shown to the world the stuff of which he was made. By sheer force of character he had converted his modest capital into considerable wealth. Riches give power and he could have been an autocrat industrialist. But he was not a money-maker in the ordinary sense of the term. There in the background of his life one would always find something which transcends the lure of wealth." During the Second World War the conditions in the Indian bicycle market afforded an excellent opportunity to the indenting agents to make money. Any cycle would be then sold at Rs. 300 per piece and even leaving out the dealers' margin of profit there was ample scope on the part of the indenting agent to earn extra profit. Wilson & Co., actually proposed to Sen & Pandit in Madras to put up their entire stock in a godown and sell the cycles to the dealers. That was against the principle of Mr. Sen and even Mr. Levetus could not prevail upon him to agree to this idea. "I am a man of strict principle and I hate to earn a penny beyond my legitimate share. I must follow the ethics of an indenting agent and I must remain satisfied with what I earn legitimately." This shows the metal of his character and this, I think, imparted a special hallow in the personality of the man. It was this combination of character and personality that paved the way to his eminence.

Sudhirkumar was essentially a man of action, and not of words. Perhaps he believed with Clemenceau that: "Words are enemies to action . . . . . we wonder passing among them as men without knowledge. Where you find the most words you find the least action . . . . . Action, not words, enlarges the soul, and makes for harmony and contentment." And this perhaps was one of the reasons why Mr. Sen never made himself (or even attempted to make him-

self) prominent as a public man, leaving public affairs and speech-making to others. His forethought travelled in many directions, expressing itself in a rare excellence of tact. He never indulged in tall talking. When on the occasion of his 70th birthday, he was given a reception by his office staff, Mr. Sen is said to have remarked to one of his assistants who had drafted the Address in the following manner: "Why can't you be more brief and less verbose in your adulations? You see, one of the drawbacks of the Bengalis is this that we love to make tall talks and this has been going on since the days of Bankimchandra, and again, this accounts for our deplorable position in the field of commerce and industry. Let us cultivate the art of talking less and doing more work. Work, work, work—that should be the guiding motto of the present-day Bengali youth." Even when Mr. Sen used to visit his dealers either in Calcutta or elsewhere, his talks to them would be invariably brief. A Bombay dealer told me: "Whenever Mr. Sen would visit us, he had only three things to ask us, viz: Are you satisfied? Are you earning? Any difficulty? And after that he would talk about the new items brought by him." "Work is the greatest blessing in human life," Mr. Sen is reported to have once said to a Delhi dealer when the latter came to seek his advice, just at the starting of his career: "You must work hard if you want to reap the harvest. All we need is the spirit of working hard and sincerely at the same time."

Sudhirkumar was a born Journalist and a born writer. He was a prolific writer and could write with ease. Those who have read his articles will find that his journalistic gift was remarkable. He had, in fact, a great desire to shine in this vocation and would have become a distinguished journalist had he devoted himself solely to this profession. The root of the matter was in him. At sixteen he was called upon to edit the College Magazine. This showed clearly, that he had a flair for writing. Most of his published articles bristle with originality and clarity of thought. Mr. Sen was the first man to realise the need of a journal to serve the Trade in which he was now fully engaged. India had then not yet developed the cycling journalism and he was destined to show the path. The *Indian Cycle and Motor Journal* was

born in the year 1917 with Mr. Sen as its editor and he remained as such till the time of his death.

Speaking about his aptitude for writing, one cannot help but recalling his love for books. At all times books supplied his most satisfying mental relaxation. There were always books by his side, wherever he happened to be. He could make many apt quotations from poets and authors. He had read widely and retentively but his reading was not always of a serious character. It was only in latter days of his life that he took pleasure in reading scientific and technical books. The cadences of Rabindranath's music and poetry also pleased his ears. Mr. Sen, it may be noted, was a life-member of the *Visva-Bharati* since its inception. His refinement of character can be traced to his inherent love of reading. Constant reading had also helped him to develop his power of sarcasm, which was sharp but not malicious, for his caustic wit was tempered by a kindly soul, and a genius for friendship. All who heard him, in his hours of relaxation, were impressed by his great versatility.

Sudhirkumar was a man of principle. Even those outside the cycle trade have expressed to me the same view. He set up a high standard of business ethics and the dealers had a great confidence in him. Here was a man who never compromised with principle. It is interesting to recall in this connection the following incident in the life of Mr. Sen. He was then handling the Hercules Cycles and at the same time Philips Cycle components—both with great success. The rest of the story has been told by his trusted lieutenant, Shri R. N. Das Gupta, in the following words:

"It so happened once that when the sales figure of the Hercules Cycle showed an upward trend, the manufacturers gave us an ultimatum to choose between Philips and Hercules. Perhaps it was their idea that with the sales going up, the commission earning had also gone up and Sen & Pandit might hesitate to give up this lucrative agency. But they were wrong in their calculation, for Mr. Sen was a man of strict principle and he was the last man to be cowed down or threatened by such ultimatum. So he told the Hercules people straight on their face, "If I am to leave either of you, I prefer to

leave you" and so he did. Then when he returned to India, one day I told him (showing to him the sales figure of the Hercules), "We should have retained the agency. To this Mr. Sen at once replied, "Why worry? If one brand goes out of our hands, another will follow; but if I sacrifice my principles, I shall never be able to recover it. I stand on principle and nothing else."

Mr. Sen knew that principle is more eternal than expediency, just as truth is more powerful than error.

Sudhirkumar was a product of the age in which he was born and educated. Nationalism was in the air when young Sudhirkumar came out of the Presidency College. Those were the days of the great Swadeshi movement and though he was not inclined to politics, yet nationalism had its deep root in his thoughts and actions and this remained with him all through his business career. And out of this love for nationalism there grew up in him a formidable spirit of independence which he maintained till the last day of his life. His leading position in the cycle trade is no doubt a glowing testimony of his imagination and his organising powers, but it owes no less to his spirit of independence. So successful had been his career that it is well to recall the difficulties which Mr. Sen had to overcome. There were times when Sen & Pandit was in low waters, and Mr. Sen himself had to experience heavy odds. These early difficulties only served to develop his character, and to exhibit his determination, his energy, and his integrity—all born of a keen spirit of independence. It was characteristic of Mr. Sen that he could hit hard when it was necessary and was not afraid of giving and taking blows in business deals as they came, but he never knowingly indulged in a malicious manoeuvre to outwit the other party.

Coupled with his spirit of independence there was his charming personality and business sagacity which contributed largely towards his phenomenal success. Mr. Sen preferred to remove all and every shade of association with the man who had proved to be false, but vindictiveness was not in his nature and he never went out of his way to harm any one. He practised a sort of self-abnegation and by virtue of this



admirable trait had turned many a foe into respectable admirers, and even admirer in matters of commercial policies.

Sudhirkumar possessed a growing and adaptable mind; his aim was success in business. There is such a thing as personal magnetism and we feel sure that he possessed the undefinable power which he exercised over his associates at any gathering. It was a common experience for people who came into intimate contact with him to realise within a few moments that they were in the presence of a forceful personality, which emanates a power that cannot exactly be defined, but which exercises slowly and surely and influence over their sundry wills. On countless occasions where personal contacts had been established it had been only a question of time when the opposing will came into line with Mr. Sen's own. Combine this inexplicable and enviable magnetism with the elements of superior reasonableness, industry and patience, and we will be very near an understanding of the secret of Sudhirkumar's success as a businessman. At the same time he never let sentiment sway over reason. His strong personality, as far as I have understood, was responsible for the enviable bulldog tenacity which Mr. Sen very often displayed in his long business life.

It is interesting to recall Sudhirkumar's passionate love for truth. In this connection I have heard from Mr. Jagadishkumar Lahiri the following: "Once Mr. Sen told me in course of discussion about the necessity of truth in our everyday life, 'I will give you a golden tip, Jagadish. Never budge an inch from the side of truth, it may not be helpful to your service career, your promotion may be delayed but mind it nobody can do any inherent wrong to a truthful man. Inherently dishonest people seldom shine or prosper. Money is not the criterion of a man, it is his character that ultimately counts and what is character without adherence to truthfulness and justice?'"

This love for truth was the very basis of Sudhirkumar's existence. It was born out of his abiding religious faith. It is equally interesting to note that the mind of the man who had seen half of the world and who had mixed freely with all sorts of men both in India and abroad and who had outlived two world wars—was fully saturated with deep and abiding religious faith. If Sudhirkumar was unique as a business-

man, he was equally unique as an idealist and philanthropist.

Never had his way of life been otherwise. He remained all through his life and till the last moment, the same truth-loving honest man adhering to principle and straightforward manners in his business-dealings. He never deviated from them—never thought of deviating. In fact he never went out of the path he had chalked out at the beginning of his career. Clear thinking and cool reasoning were his notable characteristics and they contributed largely to the success he attained. Methodical in his habits, his powers of observation were often striking. He was rarely doubtful about the results of his endeavours. He had an energy of mind that animated the lives of innumerable people who came within the orbit of his life.

Speaking about his own success, Mr. Sen once said:

"With honest and straightforward business principles, close and careful attention to details, and ability to take advantage of favourable opportunities and circumstances, there is always a scope for success."

He never alluded to his self-devotion, and even self-abnegation, which he exercised on all occasions in the matter of the development of the House of Sen & Pandit. He was never influenced by family or friendly recommendations, and did not choose any employee unless he was satisfied that he would lead to the Company's advantage. Sen & Pandit was the work of his own hands, although he never forgot to acknowledge the services of his able lieutenants.

Sudhirkumar impressed upon all those who served him that the relation between master and man should be regulated with due regard to mutual interest. The half a century old House of Sen & Pandit, the flourishing Sen-Raleigh Industries, the re-organised National Tannery Co., these remain his noblest monuments and set an example of achievement to his countrymen. The mental grasp, the power of will, and the habit of industry which enabled him to do all these things, gave him the unmistakable character of a man fashioned in a large mould. There was nothing small about him. He stood high in the companies of leading men, both in India and abroad. The impression he made wherever he went was of a great personal force with a hallow of charm. He exhibited a mind habitually taking

broad views and working for fine ends. His great experience, his tenacity of purpose and strength of conviction, as also his firm belief in the ultimate triumph of truth, are facts that might well serve as an example and inspiration to the younger generation of India. His resolute character, his kindness of heart, his quiet and dominating personality, and the great services

he had rendered to the trade with which he was chiefly associated will never fade away. His singular destiny had helped to make an epoch in the sphere of Indian bicycle trade and industry, and many who had known him in the years of his ascendancy felt that his death marked its close. More certainly they were assured of never seeing his like again.

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## BOROBUDUR

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

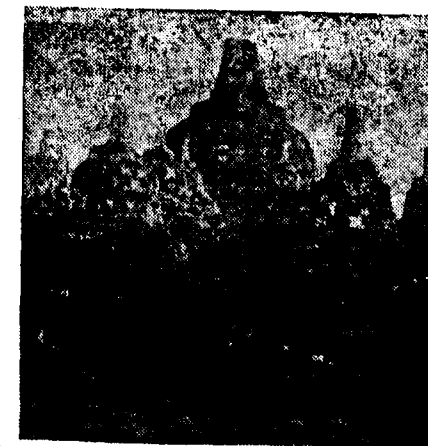
INDIAN civilization is ageless in the sense that its beginnings cannot be assigned to any definite epoch of history. Not many years ago it was believed that the Vedic Aryans laid the first founda-

India thus became a vast ocean of humanity par excellence.

The mills of the gods went on grinding at leisure till we reach the era of the Imperial



Surroundings of the Stupa



The Central Stupa (Marked X)

tions of civilization in India more than a thousand years before Jesus of Nazareth was born. The belief has since been abandoned. Far be it from us to suggest that the Indian civilization has existed from the beginning of times. All we mean to emphasize is that none can say definitely when the first seeds of culture and civilization were sown in this holy land of ours.

The picture of Indian civilization, however, becomes progressively more and more clear from the Vedic period. Water flowed down the rivers and Indian civilization scaled greater and greater heights. Invaders of different races and creeds poured into the fertile plains of Aryavarta. They were all absorbed into the body-politic of India.

Guptas, which is really a period of harvest-gathering, a period when Indian genius in all fields of human activity blossomed out like a thousand-petalled golden lotus. Like a mighty stream at the height of flood-tide it burst the barriers of the natural frontiers of its land of origin and enriched the life and culture of many a strange people in distant lands. India initiated not a few in the mysteries of civilized existence.

"From Persia to the Chinese Sea," writes Sylvain Levi, "from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Solobra, India has propagated her beliefs, her tales and her civilization. She has left indelible

imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her amongst the great nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity.”\*



Panel in Relief on the Wall

The island of Java in the Indian Ocean was once ruled by princes of Indian origin. Indian religions—Hinduism and Buddhism—spread over the island and Indian cultural influences are still discernible in the lives of the Javanese people. The period covered by the rule of the Buddhist Sailendra princes and the Hindu princes of Majapahit constitutes the most glorious epoch in the history of Java.

The ‘stupa’ at Borobudur built over the relics of Gautama, the Buddha, rightly regarded as the “Eighth Wonder of the World,” is a deathless monument to the glory of the mighty Sailendras. “My first impression on seeing the whole (‘stupa’) was,” writes F. C. (Frank Clune), “I don’t believe it. It seemed incredible that human beings could possibly have erected such a structure, so huge, yet delicate and elaborate. Reared on the tradition that the Pyramids of Egypt are the most wonderful examples of masonry, I had to admit immediately that the Borobudur far surpasses the plain-sided Pyramids of Pharaoh. . . . the Pyramid is a flop after you have seen the Stupa at Borobudur.”†

\*Progress of Greater Indian Research—1917-1942—Dr. U. N. Ghosal (Quoted).

†To The Isles of Spice with Frank Clune, p. 189.

Borobudur is an hour’s drive from Jogjakarta, an important university town in Central Java. The distance is 45 kilometres or 27 miles (1 kilometre= $\frac{5}{8}$  mile). A fine asphalt road links Borobudur with Jogjakarta. The riot of greenery—paddy fields and groves of coconut palms and bamboos—soothes the eyes. The landscape but for the undulations of the road and hills in the background is very much like the landscape of rural Bengal. The tiny hamlet of Mendut is 42 kilometres from Jogjakarta on the road to Borobudur. There is a Buddhist temple at Mendut known as the Chandi Mendut. Chandi in Javanese means a temple and ‘Mendut’ is the Javanese equivalent of a bamboo grove. The village might have been a bamboo grove when the temple was built. Chandi Mendut is a stone-structure facing the West. A large stone image of the Buddha in the meditative mood (*Dhyani* Buddha) is installed in the temple. There is a statue of a ‘Bodhisattva’ (Buddha in the making) on either side of Buddha’s image. Visitors place flowers before the deity. We purchased some flowers from the keeper of the temple and placed our humble offerings before the Buddha. There are stone statues of Buddha in sitting posture in some of the niches in the interior walls. Six niches are, however, empty, the statues having been removed to the museum at Djakarta.

The Chandi Mendut is traditionally attributed to Maharaja Pancapana Sailendra of Central Java (C.760—C.780). Some historians, however, do not accept the Sailendra Origin of Pancapana. He was, according to them, a vassal of Vishnu Dharmatunga Sailendra, who is believed to have ruled before 775-782 A.D.

Islam arrived in Java in the 14th century and the whole island was overrun by the “followers of the faith” in the 16th century. The Mendut temple was badly damaged by them. The spire was pulled down. Statues of Buddha in the niches of exterior walls did not escape the fanatic’s fury. The heads of many were chiselled off. The temple denuded of its spire and with a large number of broken images bear a mute yet eloquent testimony to Muslim vandalism.

Borobudur, a mere 3 kilometres from Mendut, came in view almost immediately after we had turned our backs on the Chandi Mendut. The grand ‘Stupa’ at Borobudur is built on a square pediment 350 feet each way and rises to a height of 150 ft. The monument with gates on all sides—East West North and South—rises in

nine terraces, each successive terrace being smaller than the one immediately below. A colossal stone cupola of Brobdingnagian dimensions dominates the whole structure. A stone lotus of suitable proportion forms the pedestal of the bell.

We entered into the monument by the northern gate flanked by two stone elephants. Centuries of sun and rain have left their marks upon the elephants. The first six terraces of the monument are all square in shape whereas the last three are circular. There were in all 72 stone cupolas on the latter—32 on the seventh terrace, 24 on the eighth and 16 on the ninth. They look like gigantic hand-bells. Each cupola contains a stone statue of Buddha in a squatting posture, which may be glimpsed through evenly spaced square diamond-shaped holes‡ in the cupola. One of the cupolas is, however, empty and the heads of the statues in some others have been chiselled off. One of the cupolas has been demolished and another, damaged.

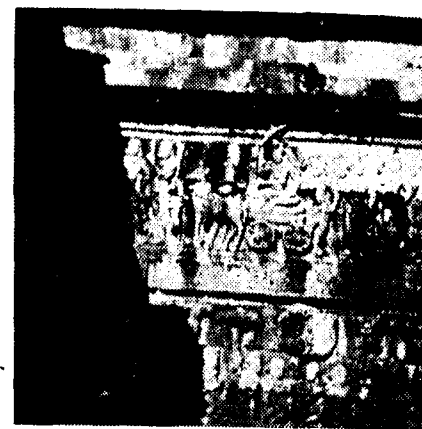
About 2,000 bas-reliefs on the six lowest terraces tell the story of Buddha’s life in progressive pictures “like the Stations of the Cross in the Catholic Churches.” We see Maya Devi, the Buddha’s mother, dreaming of an elephant of extreme beauty. The dream is an omen that Maya Devi will mother a godly child. The next panel describes the birth of the Buddha. Other panels describe various other scenes from the Buddha’s life, such as, his first acquaintance—he had not yet become a Buddha—with old age, sickness and death, the Great Renunciation, Buddha’s wanderings, the self-mortification and austerities practised by him, his conquest of Mar (the Tempter), dreams preceding Enlightenment, the Enlightenment, ‘Nirvana’ and the like. The sculptures become more and more serene as one ascends the terraces higher and higher. The Buddha also rises in spirituality to higher planes of existence. Besides the bas-reliefs where each picture tells a story, the walls are lavishly decorated with wreaths, scrolls, flowers, birds, beasts, trees, lions, elephants and sheep, all in stone, of course.

There was originally a stone statue of a meditating Buddha (*Dhyani* Buddha) in each of the countless niches on all sides of the terraces. It is said that there were in all 505 statues of

‡Some of the cupolas have diamond-shaped holes, while others have round ones.

Buddha in the ‘Stupa’. The number is smaller today. Some have been souvenired. Many of the remaining statues are mutilated and disfigured. The fury of Nature and Muslim fanaticism has each played a part in this sacrilegious iconoclasm.

A ‘Pepul’ tree in the north-east corner of the monument precincts is said to be an offshoot of the sapling of the Bo Tree from Buddha Gaya. A stone Buddha sits below the tree with a mysterious smile on its face.

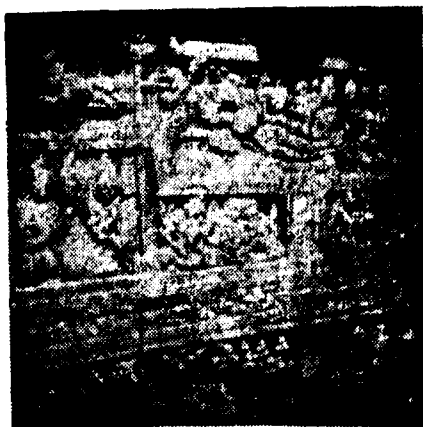


Panel in Relief on the Wall

There are at least three different opinions as to the genesis of the name of Borobudur. According to some, the word is a derivative of “Bahu Buddha”, i.e., (the place) with many Buddhas, which was the original name of the monument. It was so-called because there were a large number of Buddha’s statues in it. Some again contend that Borobudur is derived from “*Bhumisambara Bhudhara*”, the name given to the monument. There is yet another view—and this is the most widely accepted one—according to which the monument was at first called “*Vihara Bhudhara*” (lit. “monastery on the mountain”) which has been changed into Borobudur. The ‘Stupa’ is actually built on a levelled hillock at the foot of the currently erupting Volcano Merapi. It is almost certain that a monastery (*Vihara*) for Buddhist monks was built here. It, therefore, seems quite possible that the monument with the attached monastery was given the name “*Vihara Bhudhara*”.

The ‘stupa’ of Borobudur was built by Javanese King Indra (Sangrama Dhananjaya) of the Sailendra dynasty. He probably ruled from 782

, 812 A.D. The dynasty was founded in the 8th century A.D. The Sailendras, who were the followers of the Mahayana School of Buddhism held sway over the Malayan Peninsula and almost the whole of the Indonesian archipelago including Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. The Sailendras ruled with full vigour and in undiminished glory till the 11th century A.D. When



Panel in Relief on the Wall

King Rajendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.) from Southern India inflicted a crushing naval defeat on the ruling Sailendra and conquered Malaya and much of Indonesia. The Sailendra glory was retrieved about the middle of the 12th century when the Cholas were driven out from Malaya and Indonesia. The restored Sailendra glory was, however, short-lived. The Sailendra power finally

came to an end in the 13th century following a disastrous naval expedition to Ceylon. The Sailendras maintained diplomatic relations with both China and India. King Balaputra Deva Sailendra built a Buddhist monastery at Nalanda in the 9th century A.D. He sent an embassy to King Devapala Deva of Bengal requesting the grant of five villages for the maintenance of the said monastery. Deva Pala Deva acceded to the request of his brother monarch from across the seas.\*\*

Borobudur was abandoned about 915 A.D. The reason may be surmised only—plague or natural decadence. Jungles covered the deserted monument. The great work of art fell into ruins and was forgotten in course of time. Sir Stamford Raffles, the English Governor of Java in 1812, brought experts from India, who declared in one voice that the ruins of Borobudur were an "architectural treasure-trove without peer." The jungles were cleared and the ruins, repaired.

Borobudur enjoys an international reputation today and attracts visitors—tourists and pilgrims—from far and near.

\*\*According to Coedes and Vogel, Balaputra Deva, son of Samaratunga Sailendra (? 812—? 832 A.D.), was the first Sailendra King of Sri Vijaya in Sumatra. He perhaps came to power through his marriage with a Sri Vijaya princess. Balaputra Deva according to Coedes and Vogel, did not rule over the Sailendra dominions in Java.

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## EXHIBITION OF SOVIET PAINTINGS

By M. K. PANDEY

THE sultry and sweltering afternoon of typical north Indian summer was suddenly enlivened on the 14th of this month when the Hon'ble Minister Shri Gopal Reddy declared the exhibition of Soviet paintings open at the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society Building, New Delhi, and visitors trooped into the four large-halls where the exhibits were displayed. Praise must go to the Lalita Kala Akademi for sponsoring this fine exhibition.

In all there were 160 paintings including oil-paintings, gouaches, water-colours, pastels and graphic works. There is also one very fine marble

sculpture. These are the handiwork of 24 Soviet artists who visited India as members of various Cultural delegations during 1952-1959.

The exhibits were arranged with meticulous care. Even hurriedly going round the galleries one gets an impression of living, throbbing panorama of Indian life put on a canvas with a skill of a connoisseur and deftness of an adept. The colourful pageantry of Rajasthan, the bustling streets of Delhi and Calcutta, the unforgettable evening scenes of Bombay and Varanasi and the enchanting beauty of the sandal-scented Mysore have been caught with an unerring in-

## EXHIBITION OF SOVIET PAINTINGS

stinct by master Soviet artists and made to live on their canvas.



A Girl Student from Calcutta  
A. Chuikov

pathy and love for the Indian people have made their palette more delicate, more delightfully charming than the chemical composition of dyes and colour. A picture, however, technically perfect cannot attract if it lacks in this fundamental thing which imparts life, light and colour to a painting. All the paintings from a life-size painting portrait of Jawaharlal Nehru down to



Prime Minister of India  
A. Gerasimov

The hundred and sixty works of paintings were as varied and variegated as the Indian life itself. The artists have tried to portray not only the shifting scenes of landscapes, the age-old historical monuments, but also various types of Indian people. The night scenes of Delhi, Bombay and Varanasi, the Taj, the Old and Red Forts and the temples of Varanasi, the Indian coolie, student, the Railway worker, the snake charmers to name only a few is enough to indicate the wide range of their canvas. What is it that attracts a visitor to the galleries? What is it that fills him with a sense of the sublime? What is it that he takes back with him when he goes home after looking round the exhibition?

The thing that immediately attracts a visitor to the galleries is the generous and judicious use of the palette by the Soviet artists. The sym-

snake charmers are permeated with profound love and sympathy for India and her people. It is this love which makes the palette more lovely and colour more colourful.

It is the portrayal of spiritual and physical beauty, the inward nobility and human dignity of the men and women of India that seems to fill the visitor with a sense of sublime. A panorama of the vast sea of Indian humanity and vaster scenes of Indian landscapes is bound to overwhelm even an incurable cynic.

One of the visitors to the galleries when casually asked by the writer of these lines to give his impressions said that it was like going on a tour of the vast Indian sub-continent from Delhi to Mysore and far down to Cochin and from Bombay to Calcutta.

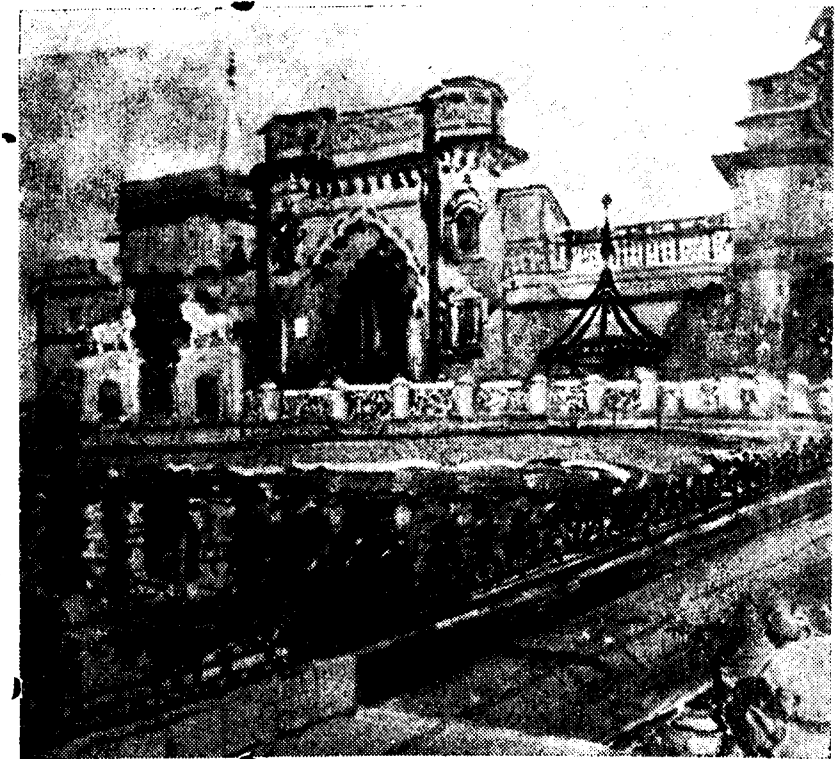
The impressions of the visitors to the exhibitions are bound to be diverse. 'De gustibus' 'supers' might feel that their favourite dish is *est disputandum*. Exponents of art and painting are not here but there is plenty of fare for the average



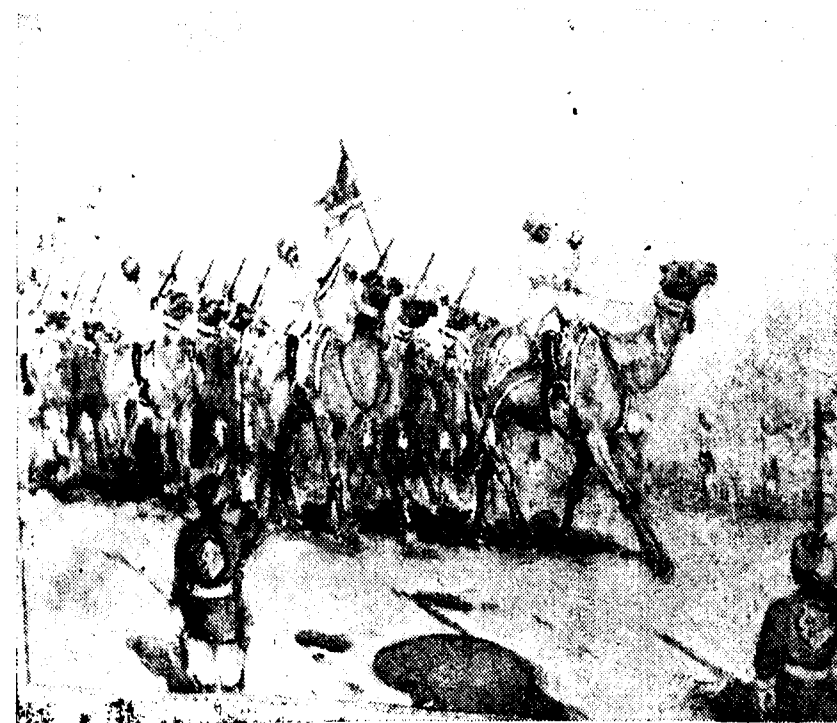
Street Scene of Jaipur



Evening in Bombay



Red Fort



Parade Camels





Snake-charmers



"Song of Koolie"  
S. Chuikov

common people. And, I may add that even for self-styled connoisseurs there is plenty of food for thought!

What goes by the name of 'ultra' in the present-day western world is not an art but a distortion of art. It is sheer daubing and blotching. It is pale, anaemic, lifeless and colourless. For real art, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru observed once, "springs up from the strength of a nation. If it has no connection with the problems and realities of life it is useless and dead like the pictures of women in Ajanta Caves."

Feeling utterly fed up with the lackey-like imitators of the west he observed with a sigh of despair: "The great artists in our nation had gone and only imitators had remained." There cannot be a better answer to the blind imitators of *Parisien Salon de peinture*, to a conceived art critic and to a doubting Thomas than this. What Pandit Nehru said years ago about Indian artists equally applies on an international scale even today. And judged in this context it would be found that it is the Soviet Union that is following a healthy line in art and paintings. It is because as late Prof. Harold Laski once

observed, "In the Soviet Union real renaissance is flowering in art and literature".

It is quite understandable that the exponents of a decadent art feel uncomfortable in the glare of the resurgent renaissance. Their mewling and squeaking tell its own tale of exasperation. . . .

As I am half closing my eyes in an afternoon siesta 'Parade Camels', 'Evening in Bombay', 'Square in Jaipur', 'Morning in an Indian Village', 'Road to Mysore', etc., etc., seem to pass in a kaleidoscopic manner before my mind's eye. Sometimes they all get blended into one and look like a riot of colour, a never-ceasing pageantry of light and colour, life and beauty; sometimes I find myself on the bank of the Ganges at Varanasi and peals of temple bells mingled with the sounds of the dipping of oars of boatmen in the Ganges produce soporific effect but slowly and slowly the last echoes of the temple bells die down, the Ganges is wrapped in black silhouette of the tropical night . . . . . din of the day gives place to the stillness of the night ('Night at Banaras') and things seen during wakeful moments re-appear in dream in the same never-ceasing succession. And thus the cycle continues. . . . .

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### INDIA'S EXPORTS IN 1959-60

INDIA's exports in 1959-60 hit the record figure of Rs. 641 crores. Marking an increase of 15 per cent over the previous year, this figure of foreign exchange earnings has not been equalled ever before. (Only during the Korean War boom in

1951-52, when prices had rocketed and many countries were stock-piling goods, a higher export figure had been achieved).

While major traditional exports like jute goods, cotton textiles, leather and leather manufactures, spices and ores showed considerable



Some of the latest Cotton Fabrics Made in India



India-made Bicycles for different age groups

By D. V. SAWHNEY

ADVERSE balance of trade has been one of the normal features of India's economy in the post-war years. This has not been due to a decrease in exports but an extraordinary increase in imports. Before partition, there was an increased import of consumer goods and machinery in order that the people could satisfy their pent-up demands on the one hand and the worn-out machinery due to heavy work during the War on the other. But in this process of liberal imports, there was an injudicious depletion of our Sterling Reserves and an unfavourable balance created. The partition had worsened the position as we lost most of the rice, wheat, jute and cotton producing areas which was always the reason of our foodgrains deficit and the scarcity of long-staple cotton and jute. The Government of India, alive of this alarming position, appointed an Export Promotion Committee, under the Chairmanship of Shri A. D. Gorwala whose main recommendation was that the Government should shift the emphasis from the Export Control Policy, as was practised by it during and after the War, to the Exports Promotions. Ever since then, export promotion coupled with restricted imports has become the guiding principle of our commercial policy.

The implementation of the First and the Second Five-Year Plans which involved the heavy imports of foodgrains, industrial raw-materials, capital goods and machinery demanding precious foreign exchange which our exports could not ordinarily compensate, has further increased the importance of the Export Drive, making both the Government and the business associations to take a keen interest in this respect.

But we should be reminded at the outset that the increase in exports has to remain within certain serious limitations. The partition of the country, the development of synthetic substitutes for some of our products, the slow recovery of German and Japanese industry and the growth of industries within India leading to an increased internal demand for raw materials (lest we may not invite the spiral of inflation within the country)—all these have affected adversely our ability to export. Nevertheless, every effort has to be made, within the limits set by these factors, to increase the volume of our exports. The shining

example of the United Kingdom should serve as a guide, which has increased exports to 62 per cent above the pre-war level.

The Government of India has tackled the problem from all sides—institutional, fiscal and destination. At the top, the Foreign Trade Board established since the year 1957, chalks out the export policy which is revised every six-monthly, in consultation with the Exports and Imports Advisory Councils and the trade associations. For the execution of its policies, there is a Directorate of Export Promotion. This Directorate, not only executes the policies framed by the Foreign Trade Board but also supervises the working of the Export Promotion Councils and Commodity Boards, besides attending to and guiding the Indian exporters and foreign importers. For the encouragement of exports of individual industries, we have eleven Export Promotion Councils in Cotton Textiles, Silk and Rayon, Plastics, Shellac, Engineering goods, Chemicals and allied products, Sports goods, Tobacco, Leather, Mica, Cashew nuts and Spices. In addition to six Commodity Boards, in tea, coffee, jute, handlooms, coir and rubber. These Export Promotion Councils and Commodity Boards undertake market studies, send out trade missions abroad, supply and procure information, arrange for the inspection of goods for effecting quality control, attend to complaints and act as arbitrators in disputes or make suitable arrangements for arbitration.

The importance of widest publicity has been equally realised by the Government and a Directorate of Exhibitions and Publicity has been permanently established, which arranges for the organisation of exhibitions within the country and our participation in international exhibitions abroad. The Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta, provides up-to-date statistical information on trade. Besides, the Trade Missions and Commercial Representatives abroad, are always absorbed in propagating the exports of India. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry reaches the educated masses through its publications—*"The Journal of Industry and Trade"* and the *"Vyapar Patrika"*.

In order to encourage India's trade with countries following controlled economy like Russia, and in order to promote trade in un-

productive but new lines of exports (where the private sector hesitates to come forward), a State Trading Corporation with an authorised capital of Rs. 1 crore has been established since May, 1956. The Corporation even if it lacks the experienced staff, has done useful job in the export of ores, shoes, handlooms, salt, tea, coffee and the import and distribution of cement within the country.

An Exports Risks Insurance Corporation with an authorised capital of Rs. 5 crores has also been established since October, 1957, with the object of insuring the credit-worthiness of the foreign importers and other risks which are not covered by the ordinary insurers under the marine policies. This has filled the long-felt lacuna.

On the Fiscal plane, the Government allows the drawback of import duty, rebate of excise duty on the import and or manufacture of commodities for exports. To help increase production, the Government grants easy and quick permits for the import of raw materials like pig iron for iron and steel manufactures and silk for silk manufactures, etc. The Railways provide cheap and quick wagons to exporters for carrying their goods upto the port towns. The Director General of Shipping, Bombay, ensures timely co-ordination and the availability of shipping space to the exporters. The recent creation of a Freight Investigation Bureau in the office of the Director General of Shipping, Bombay, to investigate the complaints emanating from trade interests regarding the higher ocean freight rates on goods exported from India is a welcome measure.<sup>1</sup>

For developing and canalising exports in a manner most suitable to subserve the exchange needs of the country in view of internal shortages of goods, Export Controls are used, though, in a liberal way. They are enforced through a network of licensing machinery. And finally, in order to provide standardised goods abroad, quality control has been introduced through Agmark grading of agricultural commodities and under the certification marks schemes of the Indian Standards Institution, although they are optional.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and other trade associations in the country conduct market research by sending their trade delegations abroad and

make available the results of their research to the trade community. Their timely suggestions to the Government go a long way in achieving the fuller objects of exports planning.

Of late, the grave foreign exchange crisis has been causing a great anxiety in the country. According to the weekly statements of the Reserve Bank, the decline in our sterling reserves since April 1958 has been in the neighbourhood of Rs. 5 crores per week and earlier in the year the rate was only Rs. 2 crores per week. In 1956-57 when the Second Plan was launched, they amounted to Rs. 748 crores. There has been a tremendous rise in imports rather than a fall in exports as is evident from the fact "that while exports totalled Rs. 596.6 crores (1954-55), Rs. 641.1 crores (1955-56) and Rs. 637 crores (1956-57), the imports rose from Rs. 683.8 crores (1954-55) and Rs. 750.6 crores (1955-56) to Rs. 1,076.5 crores in (1956-57). The very heavy imports in 1956-57 were about Rs. 260 crores higher than the average annual rate of Rs. 868 crores assumed in the Second Plan and Rs. 326 crores higher than in 1955-56."<sup>2</sup> And in view of the constant rise of population in geometrical progression leaving foodgrains deficit, the scarcity of industrial raw materials and the inevitable import of capital goods and machinery to effect industrialisation in the country the need of the time is that unless we want to invite national bankruptcy, which no wise nation would like, every effort must be made to cut down non-essential imports and to intensify the Export Drive on the following lines.

Maximization of exportable surplus through increased production in agriculture and industry is the condition precedent to a successful Export Drive. The abolition of zamindari, introduction of other land reforms, extension of improved irrigation and other facilities under the aegis of the Service Co-operatives and adequate credit facilities through the Reserve Bank and above all an export consciousness among the cultivators through government propaganda would go a long way in increasing agricultural production. Industrial production may be augmented by increased replacements and modernisation of old machinery, increased supply of essential raw materials to the factories and through labour welfare.

1. *The Eastern Economist*, Nov. 20, 1959. p. 819.

2. *Indian Economics* by K. K. Dewett & Singh, p. 506-507.

increases, the new products of Indian engineering industries also made a significant contribution.

time since Independence raw jute (value : Rs. 3 crores) was exported. There was, however, a slight decline in the export of tea, from 479



Jute Carpets (left), Gunny Bags (right)



A Variety of Footware on Display

Over 840 million yards of mill-made cotton cloth was exported, nearly 50 per cent more than in the previous year. With the improvement in handloom exports, cotton fabrics as a whole fetched Rs. 17 crores more in 1959-60 than in the preceding year. Jute goods exports were higher by about Rs. 10 crores and for the first

million pounds to 477 million pounds. Exports of iron ore have shown a distinct rise although there was some fall in the export of manganese ore.

For the first time Indian bicycles were exported in sizeable numbers (value : Rs. 11 lakhs). Sewing machines of Indian make are now being



A woman worker picking Tea leaves in a tea garden in Kerala

exported even to industrially advanced countries, including the United States.

Indian products are reaching all corners of the globe. Trade agreements have been entered into with many countries, with some of which there is an arrangement for rupee payments and annual balancing of trade. A number of measures have been adopted by the Government to provide a fillip to exports. These include rebate of excise duties, provision of raw materials, including import quotas where necessary, railway freight concessions, insurance against export risks, organisational assistance to small and

medium exporters and information and guidance on market conditions abroad.

Great emphasis has been laid on export promotion in the past few years. During the Third Plan a target of export earnings amounting to Rs. 3,450 crores (for the Plan period) has been suggested but it is stressed that, with sustained effort, this target can be considerably exceeded. To meet the growing requirements of a developing economy exports have to be increased so that at no distant date imports are paid for by current export earnings.—*PIB*



While placing an emphasis on raising the production of foodgrains, jute, cotton, consumer goods, chemicals, drugs and our other major heads of imports, an element of diversification should be introduced in production, because in the reorganisation of our exports, our trade should be diversified rather than based on lesser number of traditional exports, e.g., tea, jute manufactures, cotton textiles, hides and skins, vegetable oils, mica, manganese, etc. A greater diversification will not only prevent our export trade falling to low levels in case of a depression in one or two industries abroad, but, will also effect a tangible addition to our national wealth. In this context, it may be pointed out that within a comparatively short time of five to six years, Japan accomplished a diversification of her exports.

But the maximization of production will be fruitless unless there is a successful reconciliation of the external and internal needs. There has been a fall in exports in the past chiefly because there is an increase in domestic consumption unaccompanied by an increase in production. Increased domestic consumption should be met by increased production and not by a curtailment of exports. In some cases, we may have to export even at the cost of domestic consumption as the national interests demand some national discomfort and sacrifice.

A word about the type of production in future. By partition, we have ceased to be an agricultural country predominantly exporting raw materials. The long-term interests of the country's foreign trade will lie in the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods in which it may have a comparative advantage. But our export trade can best be expanded by concentrating on comparatively cheaper grade manufactured goods to be best suitable for sale in the Middle East and the Far East markets where they will have the least difficulty in maintaining its hold against competition from other countries. It is very heartening to note that in recent years there has been witnessed, a significant rise in the export of engineering goods as is evident from the fact that "excluding pig iron, the exports of engineering goods amounted to Rs. 4.7 crores during the first ten months of 1959 as against Rs. 3.25 crores during the corresponding period of 1958. Itemwise, export of electric fans in 1959 has increased by 68 per cent, diesel

engines by 98 per cent, sewing machines by 108 per cent and textile machinery by 392 per cent."

The Price problem is the second element which has assumed a very great importance in recent years, with the appearance of a buyers' market. Prices must be commensurate with the quality of goods and sufficiently low to compete effectively with the products of other countries in the market. The present high prices of Indian goods militate against any further expansion of export trade. The Indian manufacturers must realize that their primary markets lie in countries of low standard of living and, therefore, they should do everything in their power to reduce their cost of production, firstly by greater efficiency and secondly, by resisting the temptation to support demand for higher prices of raw materials and stores and by introducing rationalisation in industry. The Government can do well to provide adequate and timely supply of deficient importable industrial raw material where needed, concessional freight rates, enhanced relief in custom and excise duties on materials intended for exports, remission of sales tax and income tax earned through exports and the extension of cheap and adequate credit by the Reserve Bank.

Efforts should also be made to export goods of uniform standard because the retention and expansion of markets is only possible if they are supplied with quality goods. The reports of Indian Trade Commissioners are replete with complaints of malpractices and bad quality of goods supplied. The label "made in India" should be synonymous with quality and value in the mind of the overseas consumers and should not be a hallmark of shoddiness. Before granting an export licence, the licensing authorities should see that the goods intended for export are duly certified by the Agmark or the Indian Standard Institute.

Accompanied by quality, there is a need for better marketing methods to be followed by our businessmen like promptness in attending to queries, delivery of goods according to schedule and specimen and above all a high degree of honest business dealings. Not only that, proper packing and general presentation of the goods should also receive careful attention by our

3. *The Eastern Economist*, Dec. 18, 1959, p. 1001.

businessmen because it should be remembered that a large proportion of the population of our prospective markets in Asia and Africa is illiterate.

One of the important spheres demanding the attention both of the Government and the business community is the market research. The reason for the success of Great Britain in foreign trade is a handy example. It has been said that "Britain keeps one hand on the pulse of the world export markets and the other on production." Constant market research is needed on the types of goods in demand in foreign countries, evolving new uses of our traditional exports, reducing the cost of production, exploring new markets for our goods and above all disseminating the results of such a research amongst the business community. Since this will involve considerable expenditure and the results are to be shared by all, it is suggested that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry should establish a non-profit making research organisation on the pattern of the British Export Trade Research Organisation, which should also be helped financially by the Government. The said organisation should work in liaison with the Foreign Trade Board and the Directorate of Exports Promotion.

Our Export Drive will not be healthy if a proper thought is not given to the export duties. The export duties levied by the Government are most injudicious at times. They have been relied upon as the sources of revenue whereas the authorities forget the very basic economics of export duties. Export duties should be levied if either there is a complete or partial monopoly of any commodity and for which within a certain range of prices, no substitutes are easily available, or the cost of production of any commodity is much lower than the cost of competing goods or finally in order to discourage the export of any commodity for maintaining its supply in the internal market, though the

objective can be better achieved by imposing quantitative restrictions or by absolute prohibition. During the war where there was a Sellers' market, all was well but the position is not the same with the emergence of a Buyers' market. A judicious and proper review of the exports and imports duties from time to time is essential.

The Government should at the same time simplify the procedure for the refund of import duties on the import of commodities used in the manufacture of exportable goods and the excise duties, under the rules. Justice delayed is justice denied, also applies here though in a modified way.

Encouragement of our re-export trade, insulation of trade from politics, increased import entitlements to the business community to enable them to effect modernisation and to conduct business tours abroad in search for new markets, a wider publicity inside and outside and increased Indianisation of the shipping, banking and insurance services are the other steps requiring immediate attention. Institution of President's Republic Day Awards to distinguished Exporters would be another attractive measure.

Of late, lot of criticism has been levelled against the State Trading Corporation for its overlapping activities against the private sector and the slow disposal and high premiums charged by the Exports Risks Insurance Corporation. A proper vigilance on the working of the various agencies created for Export Promotion is very necessary.

Finally, sustained efforts should be made by all concerned to direct our exports on the one hand, to hard currency areas with whom we have developed balance of payments deficit and on the other, to our neighbouring countries of Asia and Africa who promise us a very bright future. Inspiration should be sought from the fact that in the long run, not only that our exports should pay for imports but that they should earn us surplus foreign exchange. This calls for a vigilant, judicious and uniform export policy to be followed by the Government.

4. *India's Foreign Trade During & After the War* by Dr. R. L. Varshney, p. 278.





## THE DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EXAMINATION AND HOW TO REMEDY THEM

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

Dominated by examinations as our present system of education is, the results achieved at the examinations have become the sole criterion of pupils' worth or merit, so much so that the real aim and objective of education are gradually being lost sight of. In fact, our whole educational system seems to have been geared almost entirely to the passing of the examinations, which is naturally regarded by students as the *summum bonum* of their life. As a result of this, a "spontaneous and disinterested desire for knowledge" on the part of the young has become very rare. The examinations have thus turned out to be so many 'stepping stones' to higher University education, rather than "a gateway to wisdom." These, therefore, constitute the hurdles to be crossed on the path of students' intellectual progress. This naturally leads them to look upon the examinations as hindrances to their education, and not as an important instrument of it. Success at these examinations, too, depends, to a great extent upon cramming and the pupils' capacity to reproduce at the examination hall the information thus crammed from a few prescribed text-books. The minds of the candidates, well prepared for an examination, become what has been termed "Packed storehouses of unassorted, unconnected, and unapplied knowledge of inert ideas" so to say. Attempts are seldom made to stimulate students' independent thinking and their desire to learn for themselves, as also, to test and apply the knowledge acquired to the new situations of life. Thus their memory is being over-burdened and over-axed, to the utter neglect of their other mental faculties, such as imagination, thought, reason, judgment and the like. Besides, the present mode of assessment being entirely subjective, it is anything but valid, accurate, and rational. So the present system of examination hardly per-

mits of a correct and valid estimation of a student's worth and personality. There must be some method of elimination, at different stages of education, as well as some reliable and rational mode of assessing the worth of pupils and the standard of teaching. So the necessity and importance of examinations cannot be minimised, inasmuch as these provide an effective means of checking considerable wastage in education, and consequent overcrowding at all stages of education.

### Efforts to Remove the Defects of the Present System of Examination

That the present system of examination is faulty and defective is admitted by all. As has been pointed out in the report of the Radhakrishnan Commission, it fails to "measure what it seeks to measure." A good examination, worth the name, must needs fulfil certain essential conditions. It should be "easy to administer, easy to mark and easy to interpret." Both the examiners and the examinees must have a clear conception of the aim and purpose of education as well as of examinations. The aim of the examinations should consist in testing how far the real objective of education has been achieved. It is needless to add that the examiners and the paper-setters should possess a thorough knowledge of the syllabuses. The questions should be carefully framed, keeping the requirements in view, and wordings should be clear, precise and unambiguous. The poor percentage of passes at the School Final and University Examinations is clearly indicative of the fact that the standard of teaching at schools and colleges is deteriorating from year to year. Nothing short of a thorough overhauling of the existing system of examinations will help to bring about any substantial educa-

## THE DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF

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ional reform. The problem as to how to evolve a more reliable and valid method of assessment, so as to replace the existing one, seems to have baffled all solutions till now. It is gratifying to note, however, that co-ordinated efforts are already being put forth to effect a satisfactory solution of the problem which seems to be in the offing. Under the auspices of the All India Council for Secondary Education, a seminar, —the first of its kind—was held at Bhopal in 1956, with the object of discussing the defects of the present system of examination and devising ways and means of removing the same. One evaluation Unit has also been set up by the said council for the purpose of achieving the desired results. In the wake of, and on the lines of the Bhopal Seminar, a few more seminars have since been organized at different places of India to consider how to improve upon the existing system of examination, and to turn the examinations into a more correct, accurate, and valid mode of assessment. The possibilities of gradually introducing the reforms suggested should be carefully investigated in the light of the defects of the existing system pointed out. It will not do merely to shift the emphasis from the subjective element of the examinations to the objective. Attempts should be made to effect a far more thorough reform by introducing a human element into the present system of examination. The new mode of assessment to be evolved should be a comprehensive and adequate test of not only students' intellectual and academic achievements and attainments, but also of the impact of education in general on their total personality.

### Essay-type Examinations

The main defect of the present essay-type examination is that it is subjective in character. The subjective factor, i.e., the personal bias or opinion, whim, mood and fancy of the examiners predominating in it, the mark is most inaccurate and unreliable. Altogether different marks were sometimes found to have been given to one and the same answerscript marked by different examiners, despite all the efforts

to fix a uniform standard of marking at examiners' meetings. The same examiner, also, happened to have marked one and the same answer differently at different times. So the vagaries of the examinations render the fate of the examinees quite insecure and uncertain, and the examiners thus make or mar the fortunes of the students. Still the essay-type examinations cannot altogether be replaced by the objective attainment and achievement tests. The advocates of the essay-type examinations hold that these are "easy to prepare and administer", and are suited to the needs of all the subjects of the curriculum, although, by themselves, these fail to satisfy some of the most essential requirements of a good and reliable test, due to their subjectivity and the consequent inaccuracy of marking resulting therefrom. So much for the defects of this type of examinations. Barring this defect of subjectivity, much can be said in favour of the essay-type examinations which have some distinct advantages over the objective attainment and achievement tests. In the essay-type examination, pupils are afforded ample scope for the cultivation of such powers of their mind as are brought into play in comparison, analysis, criticism, interpretation, etc. They are required to organize the subject-matters, and express their thoughts and ideas systematically. This power of expression is essential for the soundness of their education also. "No impression without expression," as has been remarked by an eminent psychologist. Indeed, no lasting impression can be made on the minds of students unless and until they can reproduce their ideas in a concrete outward form. So the essay-type examination cannot be totally dispensed with, inasmuch as it is really serving a very useful purpose. But the subjective element of this mode of assessment needs to be eliminated as far as possible. Now the question is how to do away with the subjectivity of this type of examination. Either this should be used in conjunction with the objective tests, as suggested by some of the eminent educationists, or its technique should be revised so as to make it much more objective. Much more attention should also be paid to

the other improvements to be effected in the selection of its contents, the framing of its questions, and the accuracy of marking.

### Objective Tests

The unreliability of the subjective method of assessment underlying the essay-type examination has led some to advocate the entire replacement of this type of examination by objective achievement and attainment tests which are by far more reliable. The main defects of the existing system of examination, viz., its subjectivity and inaccurate marking, resulting therefrom, can certainly be obviated by the introduction of more objective type of tests. In the case of the objective achievement and attainment tests, the marking is quite correct, accurate and valid, there being very little room for variation in this sort of assessment. The examiners are only to find out whether the answers are correct or incorrect. Both the correct and incorrect answers being given, what is required of the examinees is to spot out the right answers therefrom. More time may have to be spent on the planning and preparation of such tests, but the questions can be answered and the answerscripts can be marked in the minimum of time. So in the event of the objective tests replacing the present essay-type examination, a good deal of economy of time, labour, and money can be effected. The administration of the examinations, too, will thus be rendered much simpler, easier and more economical. Bigger number of external examiners is needed for the purpose of conducting the essay-type examinations, as it takes them a fairly long time to go through each of the answerscripts, as carefully as possible, in order to assess each answer by itself. The examinees, also, can be spared the tremendous strain and anxiety on account of prolonged waiting for the results to be out. But it is a pity that the objective tests aim at testing only the memory and the retentive powers of the pupils. The examiners are unable to assess their other intellectual powers with the help of these tests. So the objective tests, if applied by themselves, prove quite an inadequate

measure of pupils' intelligence and other potentialities of their mind, and, as such, these need to be supplemented by the essay-type examinations also, which call for higher mental activity.

### Internal Assessments and School Records

That in the external examinations, conducted by the Boards of Secondary Education and the Universities, the daily work of the students is not taken into account, is another serious defect of the present system of examination. The external examinations are thus reduced to a big gamble, in which the examinees are called upon to try their luck. Their worth or merit is solely judged on the basis of the answers written by them at the examination hall, to a few sets of questions in the course of a few hours allotted for the purpose. There is no denying the fact that the practice in question involves a big element of chance. So, practically speaking, an examination turns out to be a game of chance. The Mudaliar Commission have aptly observed :

"The final assessment of the pupils should not be based entirely on the results of the external examinations. Internal tests and school records should be taken into consideration, and due credit should be given to them."

That an important place should be assigned to internal assessments and school records admits of no doubt. But a great deal of care and caution should be exercised in the matter. The whole scheme is foredoomed to failure unless the internal tests and the school records prove reliable enough. Every endeavour should be made to maintain the uniformity of standards with regard to these. All teachers and heads of educational institutions cannot be expected to be strictly honest and fair. There is plenty of room for dishonesty, partiality, favouritism, and personal prejudice in such internal tests which are hard to guard against. The internal assessments can, therefore, be hardly relied upon unless these can be conducted on fair and proper lines. The safeguards to be imposed and the precautionary measures to be adopted.

to ensure the fairness of these tests should be carefully thought out by the educational authorities, in consultation with the heads of institutions. There must be some uniformity of methods, too, in the maintenance of the school records.

### Cumulative Record Cards

It should be borne in mind that education is not quite synonymous with mere schooling. Today the word "education," connotes a much deeper meaning, and is used in a much wider sense. The aim of modern education is to bring about an all-round development of the pupils' personality, the education of 'the whole man' being its object. The present system of examination is, therefore, no true and adequate measure of the whole of the students' personality, inasmuch as it aims at testing only their academic and intellectual progress and attainments. It does not seek to test their other mental and physical qualities, such as skills, attitudes, understanding, initiative, appreciation, etc. Neither is any attempt made to evaluate the effects of the impact of education on the conduct and behaviour of the pupils in their every-day life. So in every school a cumulative record card should be maintained for each pupil. These cumulative record cards should comprise not only a full history of the intellectual achievements and academic activities of the pupils but also a complete picture of the different stages of their physical, mental and moral development, right from the beginning of their school career. In these the gradual improvement or deterioration, as the case may be, of students' health, the different traits of their character, as indicated in the co-curricular activities, and the part taken by them in those, as also their natural inclinations and propensities, their hobbies, special tests and aptitudes will be clearly recorded. At the beginning, some difficulty is likely to be experienced by the

teachers in maintaining these records on proper lines. They need some training in the methods of keeping these. A course of practical training as to how these records should be maintained may be provided in the training colleges of the States. These cumulative record cards will also be of great help to the teachers in determining the natural bent of their pupils' mind, and will enable them to advise the guardians of students as to the suitability of the careers or vocations to be selected for their wards. Our students are badly in need of sound vocational guidance at the end of their school or college career. Lack of such guidance has much to do with the usual overcrowding at schools and colleges at present. In the new system of education to be introduced these cumulative record cards should be accorded the place they deserve.

### Intensive Psychological Researches

#### Needed

How to reform or overhaul the present system of examination with a view to effecting the reorientation of the entire educational system of the country should be the chief concern of the educationists of the day. Intensive researches should be carried on on these lines in the training colleges of the States, and eminent educationists and psychologists should also be consulted. The results of the experiments should be duly recorded for future guidance. These may be considered and discussed at the meetings of the different seminars arranged by different educational organizations and institutions. The educationists will profit by the mutual exchange of views. Important developments and noteworthy results may also be expected of the Bureau of Examination Researches, appointed by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.



## YASODHARA-GOPA, HOLY CONSORT OF LORD BUDDHA

BY DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, PH.D. (London).

Though the Literature on Lord Buddha, his Religion and Philosophy is not meagre, it is unfortunate that nothing much is known about Yasodhara-Gopa, His Holy Consort. On the other hand it is a matter of deep regret that even scholars like Rhys Davids could not recognise the identity of Gopa and Yasodhara and their remark that Lord Buddha married more than once is simply unjustified.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this appears to be that the name Gopa and Yasodhara are found in Sanskrit Buddhist works alone and not her other names such as Subhadra, Bhaddakacca, Bhadrakancana,<sup>2</sup> Bimba, Bimbasundari, etc., which are found in Pali Works only. Not infrequently she is mentioned in some Pali works only by the name Rahulamata.<sup>3</sup> Further, the name Gopa cannot be traced in Pali Literature. However, after analysing and closely scrutinising all the information about this noble lady whom her Siamese devotees call "Nag Phimpha" availed of from Chinese, Indian, Burmese and Sinhalese sources,<sup>4</sup> we have come to the definite conclusion that all the above-mentioned names refer to the same noble lady whom we have preferred to call Yasodhara-Gopa in this article and elsewhere, and this conclusion completely corroborates the statements of Lord Buddha himself in the *Dasaratha-Jataka* and other places where he refers to Yasodhara-Gopa as Sita and so on.<sup>5</sup> A thorough analysis of all the facts collected by us leaves no doubt as to the identity of Yasodhara-Gopa-Rahulamata-Bhaddakacca.

Now the reason why Yasodhara was so endearingly given so many designations, appellatives, etc., is that Yasodhara-Gopa completely dedicated herself not only to the cause of Religion her husband stood for but also for her magnetic personality and superhuman quali-

ties that led to the release of the then Indian women from tutelage in many respects.<sup>6</sup>

Though Yasodhara-Gopa was the Consort-Designate of Siddhartha, as will be evident from the list of qualities<sup>7</sup> he demanded from his bride that could possibly be traced only in one individual, viz., Gopa herself, still the Prince had to face many odds in having her as his wife.<sup>8</sup> Her father Sakya Dandapani Mahanama would not even listen to the name of Prince Siddhartha as the husband of her beloved daughter of outstanding qualities.<sup>9</sup> Finally, however, father had to yield.<sup>10</sup>

One of the conditions laid by Siddhartha in connection with the choice of his bride was that she would never wear a veil. After the marriage of Yasodhara-Gopa with Siddhartha, this absence of veil became a sort of gossip amongst the subjects of Father Suddhodana<sup>11</sup> and, therefore, Gopa decided to put an end to this trouble at the very outset.<sup>12</sup> The bride of Siddhartha was also to be a poetess. Now Yasodhara-Gopa, endowed with all poetic gifts, once addressed her countrymen on this very subject and made them understand in its true perspective why she did not wear a veil and why her husband, too, put this particular point forward as an essential condition of her bridehood.

Yasodhara-Gopa lamented not a little that Siddhartha did not awaken her from her sleep when he left the household-life<sup>13</sup> and particularly because he did not send any message for her through Chandaka which he did for his parents.<sup>14</sup> Kanthaka, the Horse, could not get over the

shock of separation from his Lord;<sup>15</sup> his death was only hastened by the rebuke of Yasodhara for not awakening her before her Lord had left her.<sup>16</sup> But all these only went to make this well-determined Lady Gopa far more determined about her future pursuits, viz., leading the life of a real Nun, practising all austere penances, in the palace itself. She fulfilled her mission in this regard so perfectly well that seven years later when Lord Buddha returned to Kapilavastu for the first time after his leaving household-life, kind Suddhodana praised her as the jewel of a lady—practising the penances as Siddhartha did for attaining *Nirvana*.<sup>17</sup>

This broad-minded, self-sacrificing lady went on sacrificing all she had. Thus, she herself arranged for the immediate renunciation of all worldly interests by her only son Rahula at the age of seven only.<sup>18</sup> This she did in spite of the vehement protests of her dear Father-in-law King Suddhodana. Again, on the decease of Suddhodana, when the whole territory under his rule was claiming her as their only rightful heir to the throne, she declined the offer in toto as a result of which somebody else outside the royal family had to be appointed King of her Father-in-law's realm. She was always absolutely determined about her own ways of life, even with regard to her day-to-day activities. Once she refused to leave her own room when her Lord came back to Kapilavastu after the attainment of Salvation. She said—"It is for my husband to come to me if I am worthy of him and not for me to go to him."<sup>19</sup> Lord Buddha appreciated her attitude and himself gladly went to pay her a visit in her own room—her own hermitage in the Palace of Kapilavastu. Only Sariputta and Maudgalayan accompanied him but even then, they were instructed by Lord Buddha not to stand in the way of her consoling herself in any way she liked. So determined she always was.

Yasodhara, ever since the *Maha-abhiniskramana* of Lord Buddha, was very anxious to

restore her mother-in-law Mahaprajapati Gautami's eyesight which she lost on account of constantly weeping for her beloved son—by her services, constant treatment or in any other way she could. Lord Buddha greatly helped her in having her wishes fulfilled in this regard as well.<sup>20</sup>

Yasodhara became herself a nun—an outstandingly great nun—on her own strivings to get herself and other women too enrolled as members of the Sangha.<sup>21</sup> Mahaprajapati Gautami was, no doubt, in the Vanguard of these activities but it was really her spirit that worked miracles.

When practically the whole of Northern India was won over by her husband as his adherent, at the ripe old age of seventy-eight, one evening she approached Lord Buddha for bidding him final good-bye. She was a very bold lady but even then—she would not like to face widowhood. The Buddhist Holy Scriptures reveal that she very piteously asked for final leave from her dear husband; she said, "For seventy-eight years I have followed you most faithfully—but if there has been any slackening on my part or I have ever taken any false step, unknowingly of course, would you not kindly forgive me?"

"Samsarantanca Samsare skhalitance tavam mayi Aroce ca Mahavira aparadham khamassa me."<sup>22</sup>

Lord Buddha very pleasantly said he would not stand in her way of final release from mortal coil but he would request her to reveal her miraculous and superhuman powers in order that the whole world might know what elements she was composed of, what vitality she possessed and what a potential Force she really was behind her Lord. This she did and finally bid her Lord good-bye for life.

The *Nidanakatha*, *Mahavastu-avadana*, and all other Buddhist works unanimously testify to the fact that Buddha and Yasodhara were born on the same day at the same time.<sup>23</sup> So it is now well-known that Lord Buddha's *Mahaparinirvana* too took place only two years later. This means that, in accordance with the consensus of opinion, Mother Yasodhara breathed her last 2585 years ago from today.

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 50 seq. "The Buddha's Former Wife", p. 208 of the *Mahavastu*, SBE, Vol. I.

2. Gautama Buddha's *Vaursa-varnana* in the *Buddha-Vaursa*, ed. by Richard Morris, London, 1882, p. 65.

3. *Vinaya-Pitaka*, *Mahavagga*, I. 54, etc.

4. *Life of Buddha (In the wheel of the Law)* by Henry Alabaster, London, Triibuer & Co., 1871, p. 211.

5. Fausboell's Edition of the *Jataka*, No. 461, Vol. 4, p. 78; also pp. 123-130, etc.

6. See our "Janani Yasodhara" in Bengali for full details. Also acts III-IV of our Sanskrit drama *Niskincana-Yasodharam*.

7. *Lalita-vistara*, *Bibliotheca Indica* ed., pp. 157-158.

8. See the present Author's Bengali work "Janani Yasodhara" for details, pp. 8-19.

9. See *op. cit.*, pp. 19ff *Amara-Jataka*, *Mahavastu Avadana*, Vol. II, pp. 83-89.

10. See *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24.

11. See *Lalita-vistara*, p. 179.

12. For details, see present author's *Janani Yasodhara*, Chap. IV, *Vivaher Par*.

13. Acc. to *Nidana-katha*, Bombay Univ. Press, p. 81.

14. *Mahavastu-Avadana*, p. 166.

15. *Buddha-carita*, Canto VIII, pp. 36-41.

16. See *Janani Yasodhara* by the present author, pp. 67-70. See also *Mahavastu Avadana*, p. 189.

17. *Nidana-Katha*, etc., Mahv. Av., Part II, p. 234.

18. *Mahavastu Avadana*

19. *Nidana-Katha*

20. See *Mahv. Av.*

21. See *Anguttara-Nikaya*, i. 25; *Autha-Katha*, i. 198; *ibid*, 204f.

22. *Yasodhara-apadana*.

## INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### Achievements And Future Prospects

By D. K. GHOSE

As the penultimate year of the Second Five-Year Plan draws to a close, we can say with a certain amount of satisfaction that after the anxious days towards the beginning, the Plan has meant another encouraging step towards India's economic development. Although many were the shortcomings, and many were the gaps in the implementation of the Plan, the four years of the five that have already passed showed a marked improvement in the growth of the economy. During the First Plan period investment in the economy was increased from 5 per cent of the national income to about 7 per cent. There has been since then a progressive increase in net investment to a level between 10 and 11 per cent of the national income. Some of the investments undertaken under the two Plans have begun to bear fruit, while several others would be completed in the near future. If this increase in the net investment is steadily maintained, it will not be long when the Indian economy would have reached the "take-off" point from where self-sustained growth would be the natural conclusion.

While the prospects of the economy appears encouraging, we can hardly recline ourselves on a bed of Elysian self-complacency, for, much of our development today could be attributed to generous foreign loans and grants. Not that foreign aid by any means weakens the structure of the economy but as a step towards self-sufficiency the foreign exchange component in the development programmes should not go beyond manageable limits. It is well-known in business circles that industrialisation in an under-developed economy like India, necessitates the import of machinery technical personnel and certain ancillary commodities. Much of these imports have to be met finally in the shape of export of manufactured goods where dynamic raw materials, such as, petroleum, uranium, etc., are not available in quantities to warrant exports. In the initial stages, therefore, the balance sheet would always show a short

fall on the export side, for, more capital goods are imported than we can pay for immediately in the shape of manufactured goods. During the period January-November, 1959, India's exports (including re-exports) of merchandise at Rs. 555.15 crores fell short of imports by Rs. 243.77 crores. And as a specific case we can see that during the same period India's imports from and exports to the U.K. amounted to £157.84 million and £125.19 million respectively, showing an adverse balance of trade of £32.65 million. All this clearly indicates that India will have an adverse balance of trade for sometime to come, particularly with the sterling and dollar areas. Exports from India which have been steadily increasing to the S.E. Asian and W. Asian countries, have not met similar success in the other regions. Much though India would have liked to export her manufactured goods to these countries, restrictive tariff barriers of the advanced nations have often meant a shrinkage in the total exports from India. While the onus of development rests mainly on the under-developed countries, one cannot deny the fact today that economic development is a world liability and since developed nations are better trading partners, the continuance of economically backward areas would only be to the detriment of world trade in the wider sense of the term.

#### The Home-Front Today

Recent trends in India's economy reveal a steadily creeping inflationary tendency. In the Economic Survey presented to the Parliament sometime back, agricultural production has increased impressively and industrial production reasonably. But the rise in prices, and consequently in the cost of living, is deemed disturbing. The principal conclusion drawn from the basic and yet paradoxical fact is that a "high degree of monetary and fiscal discipline" would be necessary to curb

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inflationary prices. A restriction on imports of necessary consumer goods has meant pressure on the meagre quantities of such goods which the domestic industrial units supply, thereby causing a rise in the internal prices. It is true that foreign exchange—the supply of which is already acute—should be judiciously utilised in the import of important capital goods which help in the industrial growth of India. But in the absence of sufficient supply of goods and a consequent rise in prices the strain on the income of the individual is obviously too much to enable him to accumulate necessary savings. And in the absence of sufficient savings, the economy has to fall back again on the help received from foreign countries to replenish her dwindling resources. This seems to be a vicious circle, extrication from which seems impossible for the economy, unless the fiscal and monetary policies are changed for the better.

Till such time as a new policy could be effectively framed, this paradoxical situation of increased production and a rise in prices could be checked if the rate of production of manufactured goods is raised further and greater restraint is enforced on consumption. The latter course would be necessary to adopt in the first instance. In the final analysis, internal effort in the field of development is essential and curtailment in the domestic consumption would not only inflate the exportable surplus but would also help improve the savings prospect. Today prospects of aid from foreign countries are brighter than before, but this should in no way be a passport to relax the rigid policies in the domestic front. As the Finance Minister has expressed in his Budget speech, "... the major factor in the stability of our foreign exchange position has been the larger availability of external assistance ... these indicate the need in the coming years for active vigilance in regard to domestic price trends and continued austerity in imports backed by accelerated effort to step up exports." Often honest attempts to accelerate development are thwarted in the presence of certain rigidities in the internal economy. Although

economists have often mentioned these obstacles to development, little effort has been made so far to remove them.

In the case of India, the relationship between the rate of flow of food resources and the rate of the growth of population is alarmingly incongruous. Already a good percentage of the foreign exchange reserves are drained off as a result of the import of food from other countries. Import of food-grains during the year 1958-59 were 3.4 million tons. It is true that natural calamities and unforeseen disasters leave the statisticians guessing. India's food production during the past few years has been encouraging. The shortage in food at present is attributed more towards increased consumption than to production. Hence a two-pronged measure to solve this problem would bring about the much-needed self-sufficiency in food production. While the Food and Agriculture Minister has asked the State Governments to take up reclamation of 53 million acres of cultivable waste lands on an emergency basis to give a fillip to the country's food production drive, the Government should at the same time devise a special programme of family planning in the Third Plan thereby reducing the rate of increase of population in the country.

#### Foreign Trade—the Other Alternative

Finally, as has been done in the past, the export promotion drive should be maintained with full vigour. All foreign loans—unless they are written off as a generous gesture by the countries providing such loans—would have to be paid back either in the form of goods or in the form of currency of the foreign or domestic country. Dwindling reserves of foreign exchange, and the rupee currency not commanding universal acceptance, the most acceptable and, therefore, the most convenient method for the repayment of loans is by way of export of manufactured goods or other raw materials. India's export of raw materials, which had hitherto been the principal foreign exchange earner, would now have a gradually diminishing trend owing to her increasing internal requirements. The export of manufactured goods and the tradi-



tional agricultural products like Tea, Jute, Spices and Condiments should find wider foreign markets. It is distressing to note that tea and jute do not enjoy any longer the former monopoly in the foreign market. They are gradually losing ground as more and more rival producer countries are entering the international market. For example, South Africa today competes with India in the exports of tea while Ceylon, China and Indonesia have increased their tea production with a view to capturing foreign markets. Production costs should be kept at a minimum with a view to encouraging exports but this seems to be less probable so long as heavy statutory obligations imposed on it makes it difficult for the industry to lower the cost of production to be able to compete in the international field.

The position of the Jute industry similarly had been equally disturbing. However, 1959 was a good year for jute when the export of jute was the highest during a period of more than ten years. Off-take of sacking last year was only about 22,000 tons more than in 1958. It would have been less but for the unexpectedly larger orders from China, which took about 50,000 tons more than usual. In contrast with sacking, jute exports improved in 1958 by 50,000 tons. More than half this rise was due to increased buying from the U.S.A., where the consumption was a post-war record. Besides the traditional export commodities, during the Third Plan, when the foreign exchange component would be larger than that of the Second Plan period, boosting up of export trade of other agricultural commodities and light engineering goods would be necessary. It is expected that the outlay of the Third Plan may even exceed Rs. 10,000 crores, and the foreign exchange component may come upto Rs. 3,000

crores so that the Government will have to explore all possible avenues to get foreign assistance to meet the various needs of our expanding economy. Where demand for exportable commodities is not readily forthcoming, and where a decline in certain exports is noticeable, bilateral trade agreements seem to be the obvious answer. And here we are in agreement with Mr. K. B. Lall, Director-General of Foreign Trade, that foreign trade is crucial to the success of India's development Plans and the best method of boosting it is the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements with particular countries. India's commercial policy contained within it the seeds of a self-sustaining process. The building up of exportable surplus, especially with neighbouring countries which supplied raw materials to Western Europe from where India imported much of her machinery, was the primary need, and as an auxiliary measure the conclusion of trade agreements in larger numbers was the need of the day.

Economic development in India has maintained a steady pace not without, however, weathering hard times of scarce resources and rises in the cost structures. While the draft of the Third Plan is on the anvil, the outlook for the future seems satisfactory. With efforts to increase exports and external assistance which is under negotiation, prospects for future development programmes are encouraging. The longer term problem, however, continues to be one of hastening the pace of development without causing excessive stresses and strains in the system both internally and externally. Maximum effort to increase productivity and private savings, a close watch on inflationary pressures and continued vigilance on the foreign exchange front, coupled with a drive to raise exports, will be necessary in the coming year.



# Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**SLAVERY IN INDIA:** By Amal Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1959, Price Rs. 10.

Written by a young and enthusiastic student of the Post-Graduate Department (in History) of the Jadavpur University of Calcutta, this work claims to survey in successive chapters the whole history of Indian slavery from ancient times down to the promulgation of the Indian Constitution on the 26th January, 1950, guaranteeing among other clauses that no man, woman or child can be sold out, leased, mortgaged or in any way dealt in. There is besides a separate chapter on the emancipation of slavery in the U.S.A. by the heroic efforts of Abraham Lincoln. It is evident that the work makes no claim to original research. In fact it omits all references to its sources. Even so, it would have gained largely in value by a considerable amount of condensation. On the other hand it contains a large amount of interesting and generally accurate historical information couched in a lively attractive style. It must, however, be admitted that the work suffers from an appreciable number of printing mistakes, not to speak of its want of diacritical marks. It is to be hoped that the enthusiastic author will reach a higher standard of scholarship in his future publications.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

**SYAMALI:** By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated into English by Sheila Chatterjee. Published by Visva-Bharati. Price Rs. 5.

A close study of Rabindranath reveals a cyclic development of his poetic life. A period of resplendence and dazzling imagery, of exquisite art-forms, of superb vitality gushing out like a stream, almost invariably alternates with a period of introspection, serenity and mellowness. The Poet dives deep into the innermost

recesses of his heart. Poetry, then, no longer remains a clarion-call to the world, nor is it the music of a high-strung lyre, but it becomes the soft whisperings of the soul, the outpouring of one's innermost feeling. The change so remarkably noticeable in *Balaka* after the very deep but very simple poems of *Gitanjali* illustrates the point. In fact it is not too much to say that this cycle runs more or less all through his poetic life, sometimes in a subdued manner, sometimes in a more perceptible fashion. But as the Poet approached the end of his life, this cyclical change gradually gave way to a steady transition towards the more serene, the more elemental and consequently the more 'pure' art-forms, till we reach, in his last four books, almost 'pure' poetry. In other words, life no longer remains a many-coloured dome that stains the white radiance of eternity, but becomes full of that white radiance itself in its pristine purity. The need for the usual art-forms,—for instance, superb rhyming, alliteration, brilliant imagery, is not so urgent in this type of poetry, which draws its strength from elsewhere. *Syamali*, *Seshsaptak* and other books, published a few years before the Poet's death, mark this turning point. The Poet was casting off all outward embellishments and standing more and more close to Life itself—Life in its elemental purity, Life without the meshes of hate or fear, Life which is a serene flow of never-ending joy. *Syamali*, apart from its intrinsic value, is also important from this point of view.

*Syamali* contains twenty-one poems. In another book *Seshsaptak* there is a poem which gives glimpses of the Poet's frame of mind at this period:

"The home of my last days I shall build of earth, and call it *Syamali*.  
When it crumbles,

it will be like a falling asleep of earth  
in the lap of earth,  
No broken pillars will be left  
to raise high their plaints in strife with earth,  
nor cracked walls with ribs exposed  
to harbour the ghosts of last days.

(Translation by Somnath Maitra).

It was in this frame of mind that Rabindranath composed the poems collected in *Syamali*. The subjects are wide and varied, but they avoid the traditional 'poetic' subjects and give expression to the Poet's thoughts and feelings provoked by homely incidents or subjects. One must read these poems in order to appreciate to what depths these homely incidents or subjects can lead us. The last poem of this book, called *Syamali*, is a beautiful expression of this attitude, addressing as it does the beauteous earth, dark and green. In another poem the Poet clearly says that he is no longer to be enmeshed in the webs of doubt that twisted and coiled about life. No knots of that web are any longer left. The travellers on their way have left behind no preparation, anxiety or desire. The Poet is full of the rhythm of love.

Mrs. Sheila Chatterjee has produced an excellent English translation of these exquisite Bengali poems. It is a remarkable performance. Translation itself is a difficult work, more so the translation of poetry. Unlike the novel or the short story, poetry depends heavily on fine shades of thoughts, or nuances, on the idioms of the language, on sound-harmony, on word-symbolisms and on various associations of idea that phrases gather around them. All these values are apt to be lost in translation, however fine and beautiful the translation may be by itself. Mrs. Chatterjee has however succeeded in not only making a literal translation, but also in conveying, in the English version, the mood and atmosphere of the original. This is no mean achievement. We quote below a few specimen lines :

You came with the soft grace  
of unripe life,  
You brought the first marvel into my heart,  
Into my blood its first tidal bore,  
Love's sweetness in imperfect acquaintance  
was like the fine gold-work  
On the black veil of dawn,  
The cover under which wedded eyes first meet,  
In our minds till then  
Distinct had not been the song of birds;  
The murmur of the forests sounded at times  
And at times died away.

Lovers of poetry would do well to acquaint themselves with this fine volume. One of the poems included in this volume is a translation by the Poet himself.

Bimal Chandra Sinha

THE PAGEANT OF LIFE : By B. G. Kher. Edited by S. B. Kher and G. K. Rao. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. August, 1959. Rs. 4/-.

This collection of the speeches and writings of the late Shri Balasaheb Kher has been lovingly edited by his son and private secretary. Balasaheb Kher was a cultured gentleman in the full sense of the term, and his interests were fairly wide, and the responsibilities of his office also prompted him to public utterances on various occasions. Collected, they may give an idea of the comprehensiveness of Balasaheb's mind, and the richness of its content. But it must be noted that these are no routine speeches; each of these utterances is distinguished by the impress of an individuality which has a charm of its own. Even when going through topics which have gone out of date, like the speech on the bill providing for Minister's salaries or that providing for abolition of titles, Balasaheb Kher was the best spokesman of his party, and that was due to his broad and philosophical view of things. One illustrative passage may be well quoted here : "Indeed, there are people who cannot resist the glamour of being treated as something superior. If I may say so, most of us are vain enough, are born with that frailty, with that little feeling behind the back of our minds which makes us want to draw invidious distinctions and wants us to feel that we are superior to others, may be perhaps because they are born in any of the upper castes—those who are considered the Holy of the Holies, the Brahmins or the other castes who look upon themselves as superior by birth, may be on grounds of personal appearance, may be on grounds of the possession of wealth, but we do flatter ourselves, we console our little minds by treating ourselves as a little better than our fellows, and this certainly ought not to be a feeling which ought to be encouraged on grounds other than those of intrinsic merit."

P. R. Sen

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AFTER HEGEL AND MARX : By Dr. Narayani Basu. Grantha Bhawan, 98, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta. Price Rupees Five only.

The book under review is a doctoral dissertation and as such it bears the marks of clear

thinking and sound scholarship. Political thought of the East, particularly of India, has been placed side by side and compared and contrasted with the classic and modern political thought of Europe and the book is commendable in this respect.

The treatise is divided in three books with sixteen chapters wherein Dr. Basu reviews the different trends of the modern political thought against the background of social and economic evolutions. The total philosophy of Hegel and Marx has been clearly presented. Their metaphysical doctrines, interpretations of history and their theories of State have been expounded with clarity and precision. Their criticisms have also been offered. They are included in the First Part of the book under review. The Second Part comprises discussions on the main political systems and thoughts of the West and the U.S.S.R. and China. Amongst the subjects discussed are such topics as collectivist doctrines, Imperialism, National Socialism, Socialism in the U.S.S.R., Democratic Socialism in U.K., smaller co-operative democracies, Sun Yat Sen's Three Principles and the new democracy in China and the People's democracy in Eastern European countries. The third part presents the political theories of Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi and Subhas. These theories have been pitted against their Western counterpart and a comparative study has been presented. The authoress rightly points out that these illustrious Indians beat new tracks and opened up new horizons for fresh political thinking. While discussing these theories they have been carefully analysed and compared with the political doctrines and theories of State as propounded by Hegel and Marx. Dr. Basu points out that Hegel is not so much dead as he is thought to be and Marx is not so much living as he is taken to be. The influence of Hegel has been lingering as a dormant force and that of Marx has been more apparent than real. Hegel has been criticised and accused of contradictory statements regarding his concepts of the Absolute and the Dialectics. Again, Hegel's world historical individuals are all conquerors and rulers. He could not correctly assess the value of the prophets, reformers and philosophers born in the Eastern Hemisphere as the cultural achievement of a weak state was not considered to be 'progress' by Hegel. The authoress, while discussing Marx, refuses to see any necessary connection between dialectical and historical materialism and thus takes away much of the wind out of the sails of Karl Marx.

We may or may not agree with many of the views presented in the book but it should be put

on record that her work bears marks of sustained research and a good grasp of the vast number of topics arranged in this book.

We recommend the book to all lovers of philosophy in general and political philosophy in particular.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

DISJECTA MEMBRA : STUDIES IN LITERATURE AND LIFE : By S. V. Mukerjee. The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore. 1959. Pp. 354. Rs. 13.00.

Rajaratna S. V. Mukerjee is to be ranked with the few top-ranking administrators that India has known in recent times. It is surprising that in a lifetime of incessant and difficult official work in several Indian princely states, Mr. Mukerjee could disengage his mind for serious and sustained studies in diverse facets of life and of the world's literature. The present work collects twenty-six select essays, speeches and radio talks from his writing. The essays are marked by a pleasing luminosity of mind and catholicity of taste. Chaitanya, Tagore, Toru Dutt, Andre Gide, the Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre, Chesterton and even Annada Sankar Ray come in for their share of some penetrating analyses. Mr. Mukerjee is never dogmatic about his views as he puts over his case with competence and clarity of purpose. The work should interest all serious students of life and literature.

Ramesh Ghoshal

#### SANSKRIT

MAHAPRABHU-HARIDASAM (Sanskrit Drama) : By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Published by the Pracyavani Mandir, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta-9, as Vol. XXIX of its Sanskrit Series. Also a Bengali version in Bengali Script with a long Introduction in Bengali. Price Rs. 3/-, (Rexin Rs. 4/-).

We hail Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, one of our eminent Research Scholars, as one of the best Sanskrit Poets as well. People who are prone to consider Sanskrit as a dead language, will suddenly be shocked to learn that a Sanskrit Drama composed only one and a half years ago have been staged in different parts of the country more than twelve times and thousands of the people congregated to see it staged. What is more, all people understand every word of it and clap and cheer appropriately with proper understanding and grasp of the whole subject-matter from the beginning to the end, particularly in

farical scenes. Sanskrit is rightly called the Language of Amaras or Gods and certainly, it knows no death or decay. It is the eternal language of India and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri's research works numbering more than a hundred, 12 Sanskrit Dramas, many poetical works including those of Songs and *Stotras*, in their immortal garb of Sanskrit will certainly be a source of joy and inspiration to scholars and connoisseurs for a long time.

The *Mahaprabhu-Haridasam* is based upon the life-story of Sri Haridas Prabhu, one of the foremost Disciples of Lord Srikrishna Chaitanya of Bengal. This Drama together with the *Priti-Vishnupriyam* and *Bhakti-Vishnupriyam* on Sri Vishnupriya, Holy Consort of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu of Bengal and the *Dina-Dasa-Raghu-natha*, which is really a companion volume of *Mahaprabhu-Haridasam* presents the *Prema-Bhakti Dharma of Mahaprabhu*, or in other words, the Religion, Philosophy and Culture of Medieval Bengal in its loveliest colour. Haridasa was *Namacharya* who used to count the Name of *Hari* three lakhs of times a day, and not unusually, loudly, because in the opinion of Haridasa, loud utterance of the name of *Hari* removes the sins of all who hear it. He was thirty years older than *Mahaprabhu* and had a voluntary death a few years before the *Mahasamadhi* of the *Mahaprabhu*. He considered himself unclean and wanted to keep himself aloof from the *Mahaprabhu* but the *Mahaprabhu* used to embrace him, openly declaring that the body of his great Disciple Haridasa was purer even than his own self. According to Gaudiya Vaisnava Theology, one of the main reasons of Sri Hari's Incarnation in the form of *Gaurasundara* was Haridasa's continued suffering culminating in his life sentence by the Muslim ruler of Bengal, as Haridasa openly declared that he would not under any circumstances give up the name of *Hari* which was his *Ista-Mantra*. All these marvellous incidents have been beautifully depicted in the Sanskrit Drama *Mahaprabhu-Haridasam* under review.

The long Bengali introduction to the Drama in Bengali Script is in itself an independent book and helps the reader a good deal in rightly understanding the delineation of the character of Haridasa in the Drama, and the true spirit of his religious preaching. Haridasa preached that a real *Vaisnava* would not care for Salvation or *Mukti*; what he cared for was really *Bhakti* or Devotion.

The Verses and Songs of this Drama are marvellously interwoven with the Drama but

even as independent *Stotras* or Songs they would serve as masterpieces for day-to-day use. The farical portions of the Drama are also equally fascinating and entertaining. The indices also have enhanced the value of the work.

What is most significant about this Drama is intense religious fervour with which, and the very beautiful, lucid Sanskrit in which, this work has been written. It would certainly serve as a model for the whole country to adopt in these days of linguistic differences in the country. Maharashtra, Gujarat—all these great Linguistic Units will sooner or later cause greater and greater troubles for the country until Sanskrit comes in as the real mother—as the saviour among the dissentient children. I do very fervently hope that people will very seriously go through the pages of the Dramatic and other Sanskrit works of Dr. Chaudhuri and see for themselves how Sanskrit may serve as the most fruitful instrument for bringing about a harmony of thought and fraternal bond amongst our countrymen.

Amareswar Thakur

#### BENGALI

**DIGHA** : Sri Kalipada Bhattacharya. Published by Sm. Sobhana Bhattacharya, 16, Amir Ali Avenue, Calcutta-17. Price Rs. 2/-.

*Digha*, the beautiful seaside resort of Bengal, had long been neglected. Now, thanks to the initiative of the West Bengal Government, it has been fast gaining attention and popularity. Sri Bhattacharya has, in this poem, described the scenic beauty and serene atmosphere of the place and the metaphysical yearning that he felt here.

**SARBAJANIN DHARMA** : Sri Haridas De. *Prajna-Mandir*, 22, Paikpara Row, Calcutta-37. Price not mentioned.

In this brochure the author tries to point out the principles of *Universal Dharma*. Dharma, etymologically meaning that which holds or sustains, is but the inherent power of Self, the Real Self. It is not synonymous with religion. In self-unfolding or self-realisation alone lies true joy. There is food for thought in these few pages of verse. We wonder if prose would not have been a better vehicle for these ideas.

D. N. Mookerjee

#### HINDI

**PADMASINHA SHARMA KE PATRA** : Edited by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Harishankar Sharma. *Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6*. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 6/-.

The late Acharya Padmasinha Sharma whose letters have been collected in this volume wrote books in Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and Urdu. But above all, he was a prince among men and, therefore, a prince among letter-writers. For, letter-writing is the most intimate and human of all arts and as such, the greater the man the more

his letters mirror forth his radiant and rich humanity, with all its light and shade. The present collection of a number of his letters, addressed to the editors of the publication, under review and several other friends, reveals him, indeed, as a master of the epistolary art. It is, therefore, a very valuable contribution to this branch of Hindi literature which as it is, is rather deficient in this respect. Acharyaji's epistles have, verily, something of the literature, which belongs to all times, in spite of "the intimate trivialities," with which they not seldom deal.

G. M.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Basic Education in Swami Vivekananda

In an article published in *Basic Education*, July-Aug.-Sept., 1960. Bhikshu Isabhdananda writes :

Swami Vivekananda could be studied as an eminent philosopher of Advaita Vedanta interpreted in twentieth century terminology, or as a whirlwind missionary of the gospel of Sri Ramakrishna, or as the Founder and patriarch of the great Ramakrishna Mission Order of monks, as a social and religious reformer, or also as an educationalist. It is in this last aspect that we intend to see Swami Vivekananda with a view to ascertaining his views on Basic Education.

To the youth of this country the message of Vivekananda on education is of practical importance, in that it gives us the philosophy of creative education according to the best of Indian traditions.

Swami Vivekananda, in a letter written to one of his disciples from Chicago, dated 3rd March, 1894, gave a terse definition of Education; comparable to the definition of Yoga by Patanjali, as *Yoga shchittavriti nirodha*, or as Bhadarayana's definition of God a *Janmadi asya jayatah*. Swamiji said :

"Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man, religion is the perfection of the divinity already in man.

"Therefore, the one duty of the teacher in both cases is to remove all obstructions from the way. Hands off ! as I always say, and everything will be all right, that is, our duty is to clear the way, the Lord will do the rest."

Now, creative education aims at removing those obstacles which stand in the way of the manifestation of the perfection already in man, of the divine element already immanent in man. We call this, the Ground, the Basis, because God-element is the source and sustenance of all beings, including human beings. We believe basic education is then only basic when our personality is built on a rock that cannot be shaken by every wind of passion and dust of emotion, but will stand firm on the divine basis of godliness, goodness, knowledge, gnosis, truth, purity, character and all those imponderable elements which must form the bulwork of our educational system. Education must bestow on man that

power to control himself, purify himself and stand firm under all circumstances on his own Self, even when a number of the university graduates and our so-called educated intellectuals would sell their soul, character and ethics for glittering gold, lucrative positions or for material aggrandisement.

Swami Vivekananda asks : "What is education? Is it book-learning? No. Is it diverse knowledge? Not even that. The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful, is called education."

These words of the Swamiji, being written two years before his passing away, shows how consistently the great prophet of Indian cultural renaissance held that formation of will, moral goodness and ethical imponderables should form the basis of educational system, not cramming up of books, injecting doses of graded courses, but discipline, character, godliness and self-realization. This is the basic education of Swami Vivekananda's conception.

All knowledge is potentially within us; all sanctity and sinfulness are also potentially within us. It is the environment, education, traditions we inherit, society and examples we see around that determine which of the seeds sown by Nature within us should sprout, whether we are going to be gnostics or sinners, saints or down-right scoundrels. What teachers, pedagogues, instructors, preceptors, professors, lecturers and masters do is to remove those enveloping sheathes which surround our hidden Self, our Immortal Soul within. . . .

The job of a teacher is to detect the capacities of each child, to till the ground, to plough it and remove all briars and braken and weeds that choke the life of the seed sown in each one of us by God and Nature. Says the Swamiji :

"You cannot make a plant grow in soil unsuited to it. A child teaches itself. But you can help it to go forward in its own way. What you can do is not of the positive nature, but of the negative. You can take away the obstacles, but knowledge comes out of its own nature. Loosen the soil a little, so that it may come out easily. Put a hedge round it; see that it is not killed by anything, and there your work stops. You cannot do anything else. The rest is a manifestation from within its own nature."

For Basic educators, a child or a student *Mokshartham, jagat hitayacha*—that we have to is like a marble stone. A wonderful statue is train ourselves, discipline ourselves, educate ourselves potentially there, if only artists like a Michaelangelo or Raffaello could put their hands to it. The chiselling and polishing and trimming and pruning are all aimed at getting the best statue out of a marble slab or a lump of clay. The strict discipline observed in the ancient Gurukul Ashrams, the stern discipline of students' chastity and *brahmacharya* are all meant to rid ourselves of those opaque dark coverings that hide the Light within. Says Swamiji :

"The old institution of 'living with the Guru' and similar systems of imparting education are needed. What we want are Western science coupled with Vedanta, *Brahmacharya* as the guiding motto, and also *Shraddha* and faith in one's own self. . . . The teacher spoils everything by thinking that he is teaching. Thus Vedanta says that within man is all knowledge—even in a boy it is so—, and it requires only an awakening, and that much is the work of the teacher. We have to do only so much for the boys that they may learn to apply their own intellect to the proper use of their hands, legs, ears, eyes, etc., and finally everything will become easy. But the root is religion."

Basic Education, not only in Gandhian sense, but as taught by all pioneers of creative education, must put ethical values before external facts, God-realization before gold-accumulation. It teaches that Self and Values have priority over everything else, and all our economic, social and material needs will be solved if we solved our ethical, spiritual and moral problems. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and righteousness, and all else will be added unto you," said Jesus. That is basic education. Vivekananda paraphrases the same idea when he said :

"To me the very essence of education is concentration of mind, not the collecting of facts. If I had to do my education over again, and had any choice in the matter, I would not study facts at all. I would develop the power of concentration and detachment, and then with a perfect instrument I could collect facts at will. Side by side, in the children, should be developed the power of concentration and detachment."

Vivekananda has given us a dream, an ambition, an enthusiasm which still vibrates in the hearts and minds of all those who have seen and sensed the spirit and ideals of Swami Vivekananda; His educational mission and Upanishadic message is all condensed in that terse aphorism of his saying which says: *Atmano*

## Nutrition and Health

In course of an article published in *Seminar*, August, 1960, C. Gopalan observes :

Among the nutritional disorders affecting children in India, those attributable to the deficiency of protein and vitamin A in the diet are the most important. The problem of protein malnutrition in children is now recognised to be a global problem common to most under-developed regions of the world, and has been found to be largely responsible for the high morbidity and mortality among poor children in these regions.

The problem of protein deficiency is particularly acute in the age period between 1 and 5 years. In early infancy, breast milk provides the protein requirements adequately. One of the most gratifying features of the nutritional situation of poor Indian communities is that poor mothers in spite of their unsatisfactory nutritional status are able to put forth milk of good quantity and fair quality.

However, even with the most satisfactory lactation, it would be impossible to sustain an infant on breast milk alone after the sixth month. Supplementary foods rich in protein, like cow's milk, become necessary after this period. Unfortunately, such foods are usually beyond the reach of the poor. It is for this reason that the manifestations of protein malnutrition are seen in poor children usually after their first year.

The manifestations of protein deficiency in children are stunting of growth, diarrhoea, discoloration and sparseness of hair, discoloration and peeling off of the skin, anaemia, swelling of the body and fatty liver.

The problem of protein malnutrition in children is thus an urgent public health problem of very serious magnitude.

Recent researches have indicated that though vegetable proteins, taken singly, are inferior to skim milk, judicious combinations of vegetable proteins may prove satisfactory in preventing protein malnutrition. Thus, preparations based on a combination of *Bengal gram flour with sesame flour and ground nut flour* have been used successfully. The answer to the problem of protein malnutrition in our country for some



years to come would seem to lie in the more extended use of such vegetable protein foods suitably processed to serve the needs of infants and young children.

It has been found that the number of blind people in India runs to several thousands. A great majority of these cases are known to be preventable. It is believed that the most common cause of preventable blindness is malnutrition due to the deficiency of vitamin A in the diet. Vitamin A deficiency is essentially a problem of children because the requirement for the vitamin is greatest in the period of growth.

The problem of vitamin A deficiency in children is one of considerable magnitude especially in South India and Bengal, where the number of cases of threatened or actual blindness from vitamin A deficiency runs to several hundreds. The immense social and economic repercussions of such a high incidence of blindness in young children are obvious.

Vitamin A can be obtained in the 'ready made' state from such foods as butter, eggs, liver, etc. These sources are, however, beyond the reach of the poor. Fortunately, there are alternative food sources of vitamin A. Many green vegetables and some fruits contain the substances known as carotene, which can be converted into vitamin A in the body. The average cost of the vegetables needed to provide the requisite quantity of vitamin A to a child would not work out to more than 2 naye paise daily in a city and probably would be even less in the countryside.

Among the nutritional disorders affecting pregnant women, anaemia is undoubtedly the most important. The great majority of cases of anaemia are due to iron deficiency and can be controlled with the administration of iron and by including in the dietaries, articles of food rich in iron. Pregnancy aggravates anaemia in women, and anaemia in turn may deleteriously affect the course of pregnancy. The control of anaemia should be considered a major challenge in the field of public health in our country.

### Lathyrism

Another dietary disorder of serious magnitude is the problem of lathyrism. This is a disease characterised by progressive paralysis of the legs, leading to permanent crippling. As most of the affected persons are young men, the disease has

serious economic repercussions. The disease is widespread in certain parts of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar and the number of affected persons is estimated to run to several thousands. In certain villages in this region, the entire male population has been found stricken with the disease.

The problem of lathyrism has been in recorded existence for over a hundred years in these regions and, till recently, no attempts were made to tackle it or to find a solution. The condition is known to be associated with the excessive consumption of a pulse known as *lathyrus sativus* ('khesari dal'). The actual toxic factor in the pulse has yet to be isolated. Evidently the consumption of small quantities of this pulse is not harmful, but in the areas in which the disease is rampant, the dietaries of the poor segment of the population are almost entirely constituted of the pulse.

### Question of Banning

It is agreed that the disease is unknown among populations not subsisting on *lathyrus*.

Attempts to find alternative para-crops which could take the place of *lathyrus* in these regions are being made. In the meanwhile, the poor segments of the population must be educated not to base their dietaries entirely on the pulse alone. Detection of cases in the very early stages and complete avoidance of *lathyrus* in such cases has been shown to abort the attacks.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Exploration of Outer Space

A. C. B. Lovell, Professor of Radio Astronomy, University of Manchester and Director of Jodrell Bank Experimental Station delivered a lecture on the Exploration of Outer Space, which has been published in the *Journal Of The Royal Society of Arts*. A few excerpts from this discourse are given here:

Since the dawn of consciousness man has used his eyes to study the stars in the sky, and for the last 300 years the development of the optical telescope has provided him with increasing powers of penetration into the heavens. In the decade before the Second World War the great optical telescopes on Mts. Wilson and Palomar in America photographed systems of stars and galaxies from which the light had taken a thousand million years to reach us after its journey through space. It seemed then that man was in possession of the ultimate tool for the exploration of space and that he would soon be able to reach a final decision on the processes of evolution and origin of the cosmos.

During those wonderful years of discovery the astronomers were almost intoxicated by the power of the optical telescope combined with the photographic plate and the spectroscope. Man had been blessed with senses of sight which enabled him to see the light emitted by the stars and galaxies, and although our terrestrial atmosphere was opaque to anything but the colours of the rainbow, there was no serious inquiry or anxiety as to the extent of any limitations which this might entail on our knowledge of outer space. However, at the very moment when these telescopes were in the full flood of discovery an American engineer, Karl Jansky, who was investigating thunderstorms with a radio receiver, made a simple observation which was to effect a transformation in the techniques for the investigation of outer space. He found that the background noise in the receiver, which should have remained constant if it was all produced in the components of the receiver, varied systematically throughout the day. Jansky noticed that this daily variation occurred within a period of 23 hours 56 minutes, which is the period of rotation of the earth with respect to the stars. The elegance of the observation lies in its simplicity and in

the unambiguity of the conclusion that whatever was responsible for the daily variation must originate from regions of space outside the solar system. This work encountered all the classic hindrances which nearly always accompany great scientific discoveries, and now it is with incredulity that one reads that Jansky's employers transferred him to other work, and that for nearly ten years interest in the subject was sustained only by the efforts of Grote Reber, who built apparatus in his own garden while carrying on full time occupation in an unrelated subject. In fact, Jansky and Reber had shown that the light from the stars and nebulae was not the sole means at man's disposal for investigating the cosmos, but that this so-called 'optical' window in the earth's atmosphere was accompanied by a much more extensive window at longer wavelengths in the radio wave region, through which radio waves were reaching the earth from outer space. The work of these pioneers remained almost unknown and the significance of the discovery was certainly not understood until the technical developments of the war stimulated a few scientists to study the heavens in this region of the spectrum. Now, radio telescopes are almost as common as optical telescopes, and astronomy is in the throes of a revolution which can reasonably be compared with that which arose from the investigations of Galileo.

As the technical legacies of one war were being woven into astronomical instruments, the fear of another conflict drove the Great Powers into the expenditure of unprecedented sums of money for the development of ballistic rockets. After ten years of progress towards purely militaristic ends, both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. found themselves possessed of rockets which could not only throw a hydrogen bomb across the Atlantic, but if otherwise employed might succeed in the almost fictional dream of placing in orbit an artificial earth satellite. The dramatic realization of this feat by the U.S.S.R. in October, 1957, was followed by a conflict for supremacy between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on a scale which could scarcely be maintained in the interests of fundamental research. Nevertheless, these efforts have provided astronomers with means of conveying their instruments to regions of space where the earth's atmosphere

ceases to influence or absorb the radiations reaching us from the sun and outer space.

During the span of our own lifetime the possibilities for the exploration of outer space have undergone two transformations, one by virtue of the techniques of earth-based radio astronomy, and the other through the opportunities offered by satellites and space probes which can carry the instruments of the astronomer in at least a temporary escape from their earth-bound environment.

After dwelling on different aspects of the exploration of outer space, such as the beginning of outer space, the interplanetary medium, etc., the distinguished Astronomer says about the Moon and the Planets:

A good deal of purely astronomical data about the moon and the planets can be found in the text-books. The distances, masses, sizes and many other facts have been deduced from a study of the motion of the planets by normal, visual and telescopic observations. There are, of course, some important gaps—Venus, for example is cloud-covered and has yielded little reliable information about its period of rotation. Also, the existing errors in the measurement of the fundamental unit of distance in astronomy—the solar parallax—means that we are uncertain of the distance of the nearer planets to about 10,000 miles. Rather a small uncertainty in terms of the distance of a near approach of a planet to earth of about 30,000,000 miles; but quite critical when plans are made to send a space probe to the vicinity of a planet. On the whole the essentially astronomical data are reasonably complete.

The astrophysical data are far less complete. The constitution of the planetary atmospheres has been inferred from spectroscopic observations but cannot be regarded as conclusive, and the density of the lunar atmosphere is below the limit of detection of any earthbound measurement. Nothing is known about the degree of ionization of these atmospheres. The geophysical information about the planets is fragmentary. The surface of Venus has never been seen, and we do not know whether it is a complete ocean or an arid desert. The largest optical telescope is still inadequate to provide decisive information about the surface of Mars, and the evidence about the lunar surface (of which we had only seen one half until the flight of Lunik III) is insufficient to settle the argument whether its surface features have been determined by volcanic activity or meteoritic impact.

The more detailed study of the moon and

the planets has for sometime appeared as a vital task for all who are interested in the problem of the origin of the solar system, and in the possible existence of organic material elsewhere than on earth. The impasse which the conventional techniques had encountered has now been broken by the tools of radio astronomy and the space probe.

Radio telescopes have now measured the radio emissions from several of the planets in the region of centimetre wavelengths. This is the thermal emission appropriate to the temperature of the body, and useful comparison with the temperatures derived by optical studies are being made. More surprising is the detection of large sporadic outbursts on long wavelengths from Jupiter. The energies involved in the generation of these radio waves must be enormous. There is some evidence that the events occur on the surface of the planet rather than in its atmosphere. Should this be the case the forces at work must be equivalent to the energies involved in several hydrogen bombs, or in giant volcanic eruptions like the explosion of Krakatau.

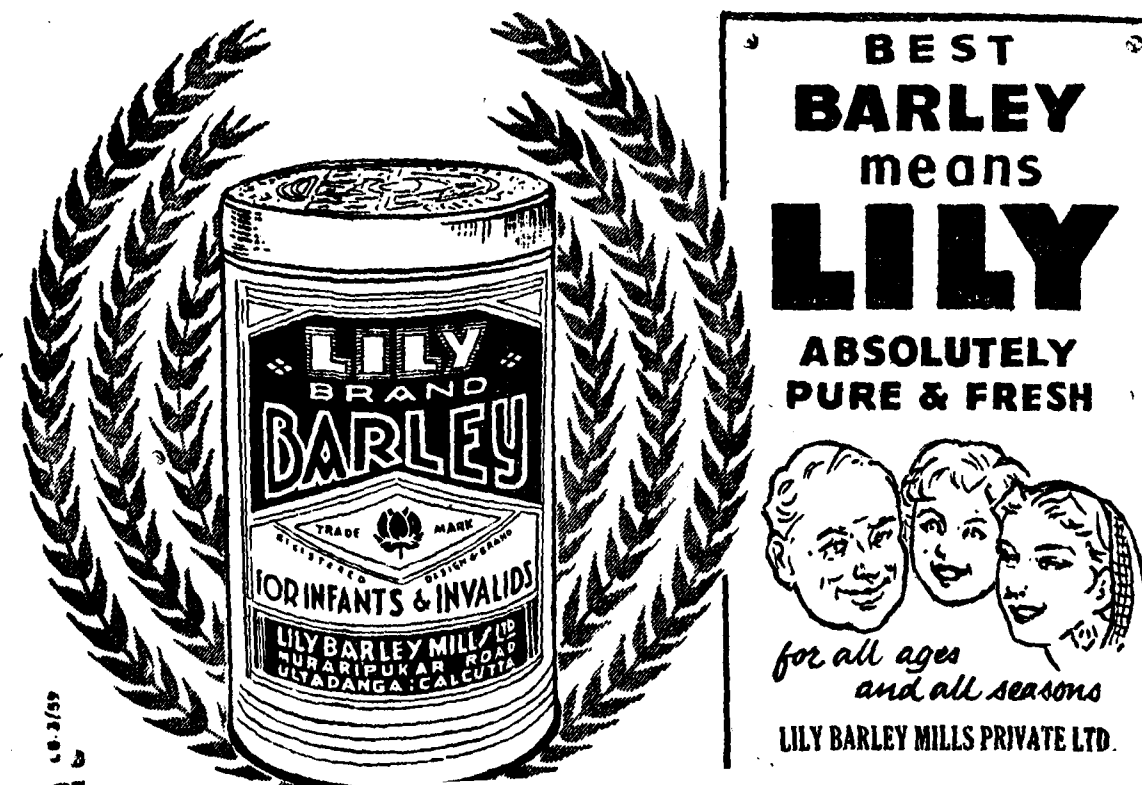
These passive radio astronomical studies are full of interest, but the greatest dividends are coming from the use of the radar or radio echo techniques of radio astronomy when applied to the moon and the planets. After the war the further development of radar to achieve sufficient power and sensitivity in order to send a pulse of radio waves to the moon, and detect them again on earth after reflection from the lunar surface, was soon accomplished. Some people thought this was little more than a stunt, or at most a stage in the technical development of radar. However, those who pursued the problem have been rewarded by a most striking series of results. As soon as large steerable radio telescopes became available the study of the lunar radio echoes was much easier. It was found that although the pulses sent out from earth remained always of the same strength, those that returned  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seconds later exhibited marked fluctuations in intensity. These fluctuations have been found to be caused by two different effects. First, in traversing the ionized regions surrounding the earth the plane of polarization of the radio waves is rotated. This effect has now been turned into an important new technique for measuring the total number of electrons along the line of sight between the earth and moon. Second, the libration, or movement of the lunar surface relative to the earth, causes a rapid fading in the reflected signals. The analysis of this fading revealed an unsuspected feature of the lunar

reflection. It was assumed that the whole hemisphere of the moon presented to earth would take part equally in the scattering of the radio waves. This is not the case. The bulk of the scattering takes place at a portion of the forward hemispheric cap which is only about one-fifth of the depth of the lunar radius. This had an immediate practical reaction because it was realized that if the moon behaved in this way as a reflector on radio wavelengths, then it should be possible to use it as a passive relay station for the transmission of intelligible speech over long distances. The excellent clarity of speech transmitted across the Atlantic in this way has been demonstrated, and since this is a form of long-distance radio communication which can be carried out on wavelengths which are not susceptible to ionospheric or other terrestrial disturbances, there is probably a commercial future in these techniques.

The extension of these lunar radar experiments to the nearer planets presented a major challenge. The moon is 240,000 miles distant and the return journey of the radio waves from earth takes  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seconds. At close approach Venus is nearly 30,000,000 miles and the radar signal would take over 5 minutes on the journey there and back to earth. In terms of sensitivity of apparatus it is ten million times more difficult to

achieve than the lunar echo. However, a beginning has been made. An American team with a transmitter of a very great power on an 80 ft. radio telescope, and a team at Jodrell Bank using a smaller transmitter on the 250 ft. radio telescope, have both achieved initial success in these Venus experiments. Even with these preliminary results a direct measurement of the distance of the planet has been made and the range of uncertainty about the value of the solar parallax has been significantly reduced. It is hoped that in the near future further extension of this work will enable the rate of rotation of the planet to be measured. It is likely, too, that the experiments will give some guidance on the nature of the surface of the planet.

At the moment no one can be sure whether the first determination of the rotation period of Venus will come from these radio astronomical studies, or from instruments carried in a space probe which either orbits or makes a close approach to the planet. There are, however, many aspects of these lunar and planetary studies which can only be achieved by the physical presence of instruments carried in space probes. Lunik II crashed its instruments on to the lunar surface. Soon we may expect control to be exercised in the final stages of flight. Then either a soft land-



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ing can be made and the instruments maintained in working order on the lunar surface, or the probe can be placed in close orbit around the moon. Then we shall have the potential of studying the lunar atmosphere, and magnetic field (if any exists); and of making the detailed measurements on the lunar surface which may well have a decisive influence on many outstanding conflicts of opinion. The history of many aeons of time is contained on the lunar surface, which must be almost untouched by erosion. Is there, for example, an identity of material between the meteorites which crash to earth and the surface of the moon? The analysis of certain meteorites made by Urey seems to indicate that at some stage in their history they must have gone through processes of heating which could only occur in the interior of a body of lunar size; and that these meteorites which we handle today are the result of a shattering of these moons in collision. If this is correct there must, at some stage in the evolution of the solar system, have been at least 10 objects the size of the present moon which eventually disintegrated in mutual collisions. It seems that these lunar investigations may well hold the key to a major problem in the evolution of the solar system.

#### Riddles of History Solved by an Atom

An article under the above-caption is reproduced here from *Science Bulletin*, July, 20, 1960.

Atomic radiations given off by radioactive atoms of carbon-14 are tapping out messages for scientists interested in discovering the dates of archaeological objects made as long ago as 30,000 years. As a result of this dating method amazing new facts have been uncovered, and beliefs long held by scholars have been upset.

Carbon-14 was discovered by two scientists at the University of California at Berkeley in 1941. Seven years later Dr. Willard F. Libby, then a Professor of Chemistry at the University of Chicago, got an idea. He knew that since the beginning of time the earth's atmosphere has been bombarded with cosmic rays from the outer space. Some cosmic rays strike nitrogen atoms about five miles above the earth and create radioactive atoms of carbon-14 which then come into contact with the earth. Carbon-14 in the form of carbon dioxide is absorbed by plants, animals and humans while they are alive. But, the moment they

die, the intake of carbon-14 ceases and begins to disintegrate at an absolute and known rate. Disintegration of carbon-14 proceeds on a half-life of 6,568 years. Roughly, every 6,000 years an object loses half of its carbon-14.

The amount of carbon-14 remaining in an object, an object which absorbed carbon-14 while alive, can be measured. Dr. Libby believed that by developing a sensitive instrument for measuring the amount of carbon-14 in an object he would know how much carbon-14 had been lost and thereby be able to calculate the age of the object.

Dr. Libby developed his idea, prepared the instrument and tested it on a piece of Egyptian wood. The wood was from a funeral boat found in the tomb of an Egyptian king, Sesostri III, believed to have died about 3700 B.C. The radioactive carbon-14 in the wood was measured. Mathematical calculations were made. Radiations from the carbon-14 tapped out the answer—King Sesostri did die about 3700 B.C.

Samples began pouring in from all over the world. Tests were made on them. Wheat and barley seeds from Egypt were found to be 5200 years old. A piece of charcoal from Iraq was 6600 years old. Wood found under stratified sand in Chicago proved to be 8200 years old. Organic matter from Monterey County, California, had been lying there for more than 17,000 years. A sample from Newberry Crater, Oregon, was about 20,000 years of age.

Carbon-14 was responsible for a story which reads like a detective story. Outside the wind-swept village of P'u-Ja-tien, Manchuria, lies a dried-up lake. No one knew when the waters had receded. Deep in the soil, a Japanese botanist found seeds of aquatic lotus plants which had been mired when the waters withdrew. The seeds were eventually dated by carbon-14 as being 1,000 years old; and thereby gave the date of the drying-up of the lake.

Some of the seeds were germinated. This confused botanists who had previously been certain that seeds over 200 years old would not germinate. Out of the confusion came a new fact—lotus plants 1,000 years old will germinate.

Scientists agree that the discovery of the carbon-14 dating process along with many other scientific research uses of this radioactive atom was the most important scientific instrument developed since the discovery of the microscope.

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Editor—KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

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# প্রবাসী

ষষ্টিবার্ষিকী স্মারকগ্রন্থ

বর্তমান ১৩৬৭ সাল প্রবাসী প্রকাশনার ষষ্টিতম বর্ষ। এই উপলক্ষে আগামী অগ্রহায়ণ-পৌষ মাসে প্রকাশিতব্য স্মারক গ্রন্থটিকে রচনা-সম্পদে সমৃদ্ধ এবং বহুচিত্র দ্বারা অলঙ্কৃত করবার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে।

#### এতে থাকবেঃ

বাংলার শ্রেষ্ঠ শিল্পীদের আঁকা অন্ততঃ চব্বিশটি তিন-রঙা ছবি।

অন্ততঃ কুড়িটি এক-রঙা ছবি।

এই গ্রন্থে সন্নিবিষ্ট গল্প, উপতাস এবং নাটকের অলঙ্করণের জন্ত অঙ্কিত ছবি।

এ ছাড়া অত্যন্ত নানান বিষয়ক বহুসংখ্যক ছবি।

প্রবাসীর আকারের ন্যূনাত্মক পাঁচশ পৃষ্ঠা সম্বলিত এই গ্রন্থে বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে ষাড়া লেখা পাঠিয়েছেন বা পাঠাবেন বলে প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছেন তাঁদের মধ্যে কয়েকজনের নাম :

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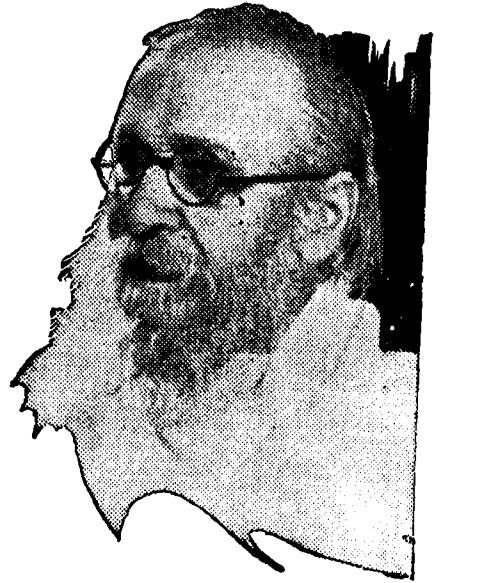
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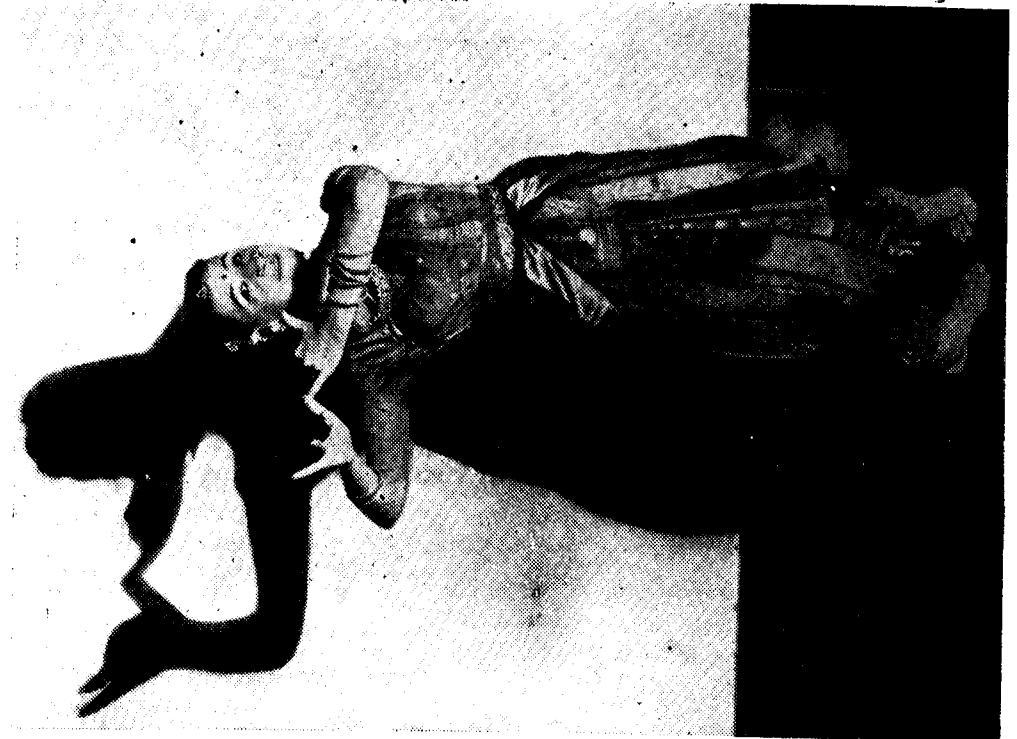
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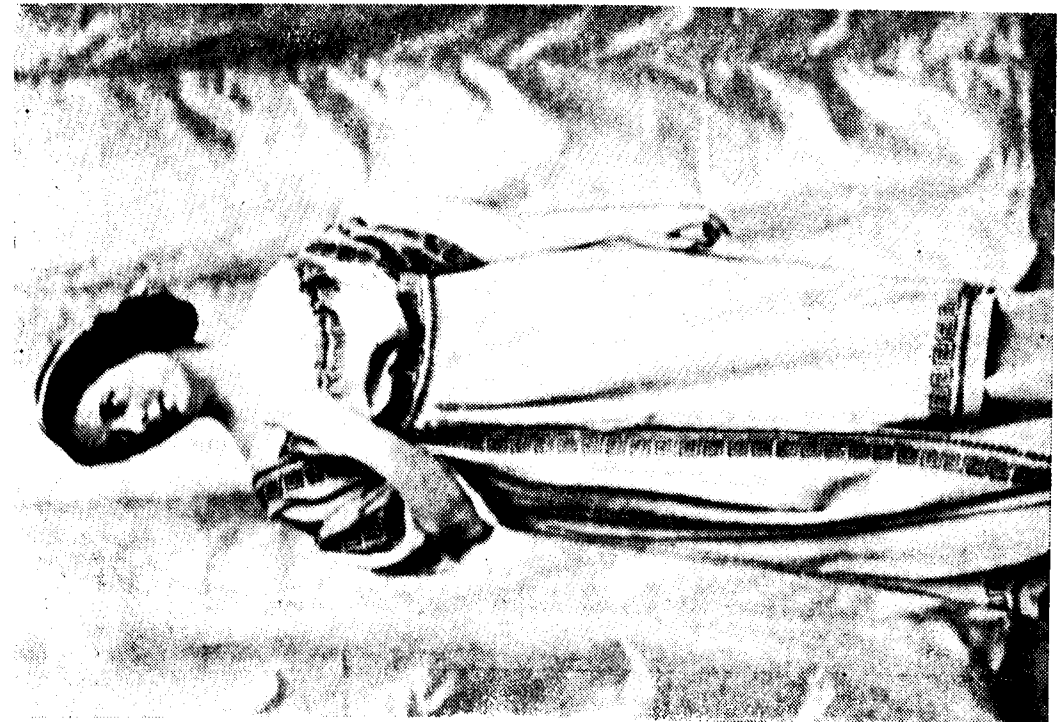
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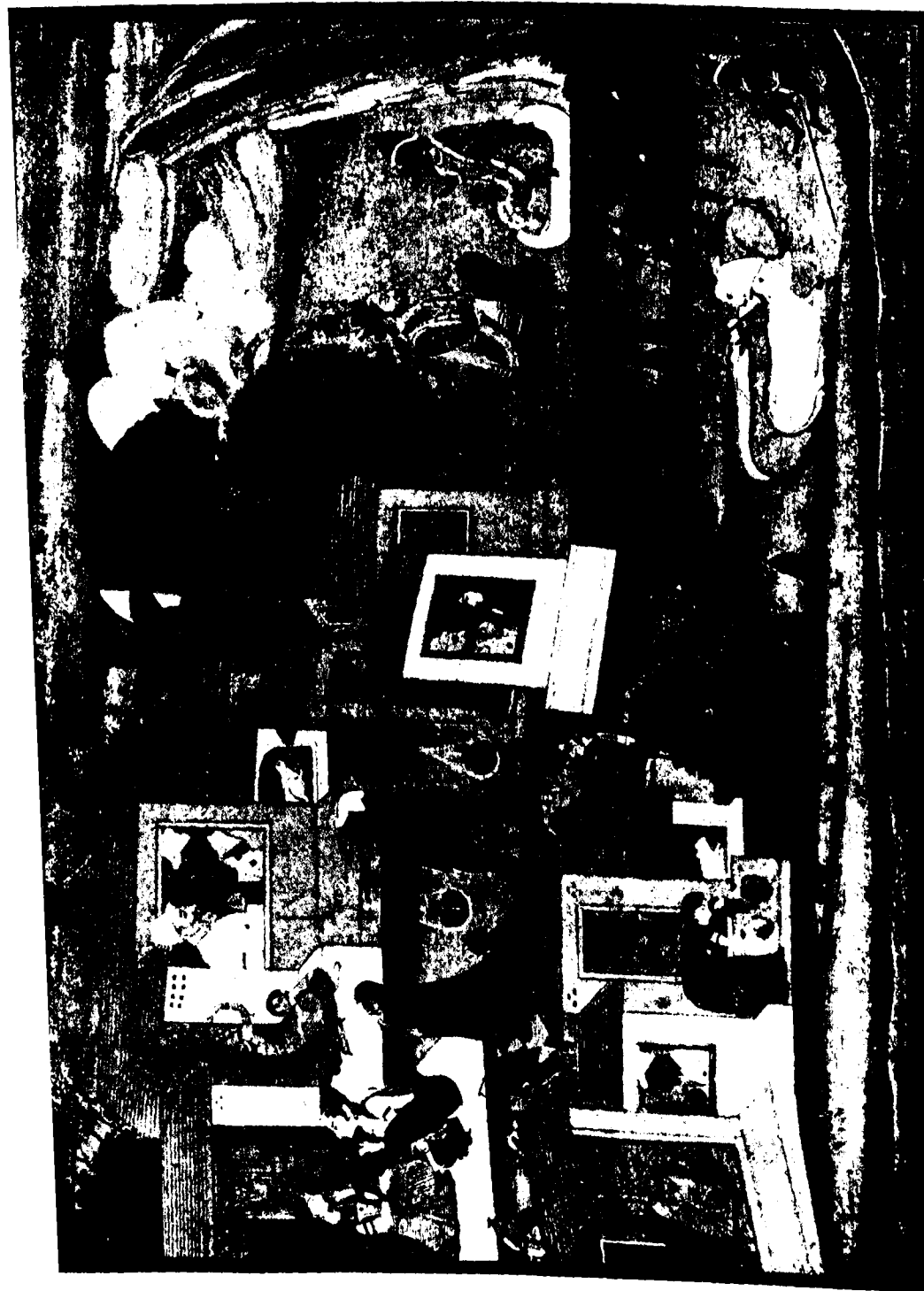


Miss Inez Metzl of New York in Bharat Natyam dance



Isadora Duncan in a graceful dancing pose

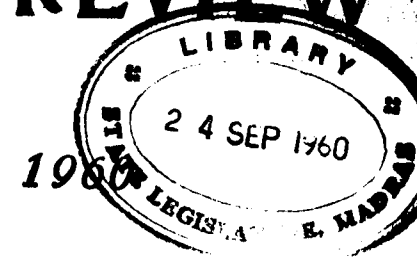




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# THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



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## NOTES

### At Home and Abroad

The news of the moment, at the time of writing, is undoubtedly the visit of the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev. The latest news say that as on one hand Pier 73 on the East River is busy with carpenters, painters and the crew of a dredger, feverishly completing a "face-lift" against the arrival of the Soviet liner **Baltika** with Mr. Khrushchev on board, on the other, the Dockers' Union and the International Longshoremen's Association is trying to give him 'as unpleasant an arrival as possible.'

Another unwelcome visitor to the United States, who is coming to join the other heads of States at the U.N., is the Cuban Premier, Dr. Fidel Castro. So far, it is reported, no accommodation has been secured for him as every hotel that has been approached by his agents has refused to provide any room for him.

With Mr. Khrushchev are going three other V. I. personages of the same ilk, namely, Hungary's Janos Kadar, Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov and Rumania's Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. The Russian chiefs aides number about 170. Poland's Wladislaw Gomulka is travelling separately.

The popularity of all these political personages being of a intensely negative nature—to put it mildly—where the U.S. citizens are concerned, the task of the security men and the police forces is complicated in the extreme. The U.S. State Department has handed a curt memorandum to the Soviet's U.N. delegation advising

them that Mr. Khrushchev should not make any plans to leave the island of Manhattan and should find quarters for himself, guests and entourage, as close to the U.N. as possible. The portents for this visit are anything but hopeful at this moment.

Pandit Nehru is going to the U.N. on the 24th September. We do not know whether a visit by him to the U.N. at this crucial stage in World Affairs will be of any positive value. But, of course, nobody really knows what will transpire at that Assembly meeting, with so much tension already generated by the happenings since last May. He will be in Karachi by the time this note appears in print.

In Congo, there is still wild chaos and disorder as shown by the restrained reports of our Shri Rajeswar Dayal, who is acting as the personal representative of Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the U.N. The entire Congo issue is going before an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet veto having been exercised against the Ceylon-Tunisia Draft Resolution on Congo, when it came before the Security Council.

In the Middle East, another assassination has taken place in Jordan, the victim being the Premier Hazza Majali. The King of Jordan, Hussein, has openly accused the United Arab Republic of knowledge of the plot beforehand and also of sheltering the plotters and the actual assassins. In Iran, the Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, has had to order a fresh election to the Majlis in response to the people's indignation over

the recent elections, which were "rigged" according to most informed people.

At home, we have to put on record our felicitations to one of the most distinguished of our fellow citizens, Dr. Visvesvaraya, on the occasion of his hundredth birthday. Few have had the good fortune to live so long, and far fewer still have had the brains, energy and dedication to serve his fellow-men so fruitfully as has this truly great son of India.

We have also to put on record, with great regret, the passing away of Feroze Gandhi on the 8th of September last. He was one of the very small group in the Congress camp, who were always on the alert for the detection of corruption and similar evils that are tarnishing the record of the Congress Government. A fearless champion in the cause of truth, he was outspoken in the extreme when the occasion rose, but in private life he was known as an unassuming and reserved man, of impeccable tastes, and charming manners. By his premature death, at the age of 48 years only, the nation has suffered a loss that it can ill-afford, and the Lok Sabha has lost a shining light in an assemblage not particularly remarkable for brilliance, either of intellect or of ideology.

### Student Unrest

In recent years most cities with a large student population have been troubled with disorders—sometimes culminating in serious rioting—in which students have participated with the reckless abandon natural for immature brains and unbalanced emotions. This rising tide of student indiscipline, with its attendant ills of falling standards in the educational equipment of passed-out alumni and the consequent shortcomings in their qualities as good citizens, have made our Heads of State somewhat apprehensive about the future of the nation. Heads of the great universities have met and discussed the problem in all its aspects and some degree of unanimity has been attained in their diagnosis of the academic side of the question. The remedies suggested are, however, as yet purely empirical, as the basic causes have not been analysed down to the fundamentals.

The roots of the evil has been allowed to go down deep, and it would take a painstaking and patient unravelling of the complex issues before anything like a complete survey can be made of all the causative elements. This would mean, likewise, a deep probe into the psychology of the student, individually and collectively, by skilled and tactful persons, who are equipped with the training requisite for such a task and who have still the capacity to feel and to rouse sympathetic impulses when in contact with the young. No dry or dessicated academician will be able to divine the causes that would rouse an average student into a state comparable to that of a frenzied maniac and nor would any amount of theorising provide any panacea for the evils that threaten to convert our nation-building dreams into nightmares.

The problems have been further complicated by the entry of intrusive elements, subversive and disruptive, into the student communities of the universities, colleges, and schools. These elements have been introduced by political organisations, through the medium of teachers, professors and political agitators who keep close touch with all the unruly elements commonly found wherever students congregate, after or between lectures or laboratory work.

Then again there are the "Passing Made Easy" organizations, usually composed of mercenary and nimble-witted teachers and professors with elastic consciences, whose tricks of the trade include the divining of likely questions. This giving cut of "sure" questions carries with it the safeguard—for these prophets—of a fine distinction between "fair" questions and "unfair" questions. If the questions tallied with those given out as being "sure" then all's well, if not, then there is a hue and cry and the students, who were fooled into seeking the easy paths to success in examinations, are incited into all sorts of excesses.

The picture is sombre, indeed, but it will further darken with the passage of time unless early and effective measures are taken to correct it. If the present policy of *laissez-faire* is allowed to continue the effects will be grim indeed.

Student unrest is not exclusively Indian in character. The rioting students of Korea, Turkey and Japan and the rebel students and present-day rulers of Cuba are of the same pattern, more or less with 'bus and tram-burning student rioters of Calcutta.' We reproduce below, in part, a study of the causative factors of the Cuban Revolution, by the highly trained journalist and historian, Theodore Draper, from the *New Leader* of July 4 and 11:

Every member of Castro's Government attended a university, came from middle or upper-class homes and became or intended to become a professional or intellectual. Of the 18 members of the Cuban Government in April, 1960, there were eight lawyers, one professor, one architect, one engineer, one naval captain, one doctor, three ex-university students and two unspecified. Castro's father was a well-to-do farmer who sent his son to Jesuit schools and the University of Havana for a career in law. Castro's most influential lieutenant, Ernesto Guevara, is a doctor whose father was an Argentine architect and builder. Castro will be 34 in August, almost exactly the average age of the entire group.

The Cuban revolution was not a rebellion of the workers and peasants; it was a rebellion by the sons and daughters of the middle class in the name of the workers and peasants. In its present stage, the peasants are benefiting from it the most, the workers very little or not at all, and the middle class as a whole has been marked for destruction.

I have tried elsewhere to define the nature of Castro's revolution and its place in the Communist family of revolutions. In brief, despite important differences in background between Castro's circle and the official Cuban Communists, the former seem to be heading toward a Cuban variety of "socialism in one island" which the latter can unconditionally support as the best available means for fulfilling their own long-range objectives. Yet the two groups have fallen out in the past and it cannot be ruled out that they may fall out again in the future.

In poor, backward countries like Cuba, revolutions still issue out of the middle class but not in behalf of the middle class. The sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie dedicate themselves to the destruction of their own class in the name of nationalism and socialism. In this respect, the House.

Cuba was particularly vulnerable because its middle class was relatively too big as well as too weak. The island's five universities enrolled about 25,000 students, with the University of Havana alone accounting for about two-thirds of the total, all turning out too many lawyers and too few engineers. Only a growing, dynamic economy could have assimilated so many would-be intellectuals and professionals. Middle class fathers provided their sons with education which their society was too constricted and stagnant to utilize.

The social conditions which led to Castro's victory were painfully familiar to every student of Cuban life. Ten years ago, the still unrivalled *Report on Cuba* of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development devastatingly exposed what was wrong with Cuba—dependence on a single crop, sugar; chronic unemployment of the mass of sugar workers for about three-fourths of every year; the appallingly high rate of illiteracy; the habit of rich Cubans of investing their capital abroad, hoarding it or sinking it into non-productive real estate; the "unstable and static nature" of the whole economy.

### Where has the Money Gone?

Sometime back the newspapers gave the startling piece of news that Pandit Nehru had suddenly become aware that the First and Second Five-Year Plans had not improved the common citizen's lot in the way that was planned. He was going to institute an enquiry, therefore, as to where all those vast sums of money, which represented the common citizen's life's blood, had gone.

Then came an announcement by Mr. G. L. Nanda, in the Lok Sabha on the 26th of August, which was reported as follows:

The Union Minister for Planning and Labour, Mr. G. L. Nanda, had said in the Lok Sabha that broadly the terms of reference of the expert committee to be set up by the Government to probe into the question of accumulation of wealth under the First and Second Plans will be to enquire into the distribution of additional income and changes in the level of living. What they needed was an enquiry not about honest earnings but wealth obtained by blackmarketing, he added.

Mr. Nanda was replying to the four-day debate on the draft outline of the Third Plan in

বিজ্ঞানের ষাট বৎসর—শ্রীদেবেন্দ্রমোহন বসু, শ্রীচারুচন্দ্র ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীপরিমল গোস্বামী।  
সঙ্গীত-নৃত্য-নাট্যাভিনয়ে বাংলার ষাট বৎসর—স্বামী প্রজ্ঞানানন্দ, শ্রীবীরেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী,  
শ্রীশান্তিদেব ঘোষ, শ্রীউৎপল দত্ত।

ষাট বৎসরের দার্শনিক চিন্তাধারা—শ্রীসরোজকুমার দাস, শ্রীমলিনীকান্ত সরকার।  
রাষ্ট্রচেতনায় ষাট বৎসর—শ্রীপ্রভাতচন্দ্র গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীঅমল হোম, শ্রীগোপাল হালদার।  
সমাজ-সেবায় ষাট বৎসর—শ্রীসুরেশচন্দ্র রায়, স্বামী গভীরানন্দ, স্বামী ত্যাগীশ্বরানন্দ, শ্রীবিজয়লাল  
চট্টোপাধ্যায়।

ষাট বৎসরের অর্থনীতিক অবস্থা—শ্রীদেবজ্যোতি বর্মাণ।

ইতিহাস-চর্চায় ষাট বৎসর—শ্রীবিমলাপ্রসাদ মুখোপাধ্যায়।

চিকিৎসা ও জনস্বাস্থ্যে ষাট বৎসর—শ্রীঅতুলানন্দ দাশগুপ্ত।

উপন্যাস—শ্রীমতী সীতা দেবী, শ্রীমণীন্দ্রলাল বসু।

গল্প—শ্রীতারাক্ষর বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, শ্রীশৈলজানন্দ মুখোপাধ্যায়, বনফুল, শ্রীঅন্নদাশঙ্কর  
রায়, শ্রীমতী শান্তা দেবী, শ্রীসরোজকুমার রায়চৌধুরী, শ্রীপরিমল গোস্বামী, শ্রীবিভূতিভূষণ  
মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীশরদিন্দু বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীমতী আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, শ্রীপ্রবোধকুমার সান্তাল,  
জরাসন্ধ, শ্রীমতী মহাশ্বেতা ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীহরিনারায়ণ চট্টোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীরামপদ মুখোপাধ্যায়,  
শ্রীনারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীবিমল মিত্র।

নাটক—শ্রীমনোজ বসু, শ্রীমতী বাণী রায়।

কবিতা—শ্রীপ্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, শ্রীকালিদাস রায়, শ্রীকুমুদরঞ্জন মল্লিক, শ্রীবিষ্ণু দে, শ্রীপ্রভাত মুখোপাধ্যায়,  
শ্রীঅমিয় চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীসাবিত্রীপ্রসন্ন চট্টোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীবিমল ঘোষ, শ্রীমণীশ ঘটক, শ্রীপ্রভাতমোহন  
বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীসতীশ রায়, শ্রীসুশীলকুমার দে, শ্রীমতী রাধারাণী দেবী, শ্রীমতী উমা দেবী,  
শ্রীনিশিকান্ত, শ্রীকামাক্ষীপ্রসাদ চট্টোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীসুধীর কর, শ্রীঅজিতকুমার দত্ত, শ্রীকৃষ্ণধন দে,  
শ্রীমতী হেমলতা দেবী।

এ ছাড়া কতকগুলি বিশিষ্ট বিষয়ে প্রবন্ধ লিখবেন—শ্রীহুমায়ূন কবীর, ডক্টর মুহম্মদ শহীদুল্লাহ, শ্রীচিন্তাহরণ  
চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীবিনয় ঘোষ, শ্রীসুধীরকুমার নন্দী, শ্রীআণ্ডতোষ ভট্টাচার্য্য, শ্রীপারেশচন্দ্র দাশগুপ্ত।

ছেলেদের পাতত্যাড়িতে লিখবেন—শ্রীমতী সখলতা রাও, শ্রীমতী আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, শ্রীকার্ত্তিকচন্দ্র  
দাশগুপ্ত, শ্রীশিবরাম চক্রবর্তী, শ্রীবিণু মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীশৈল চক্রবর্তী।

মহিলা মজলিসে থাকবে—শ্রীমতী বাণী রায়ের প্রবন্ধ-সংগ্রহ, শ্রীযোগেশচন্দ্র বাগল ও শ্রীমতী বেলা  
দে'র রচনা।

মূল্য :

এই প্রকাশের পূর্বেই যারা মূল্য পাঠাবেন তাঁদের জন্মে ২২,  
এই প্রকাশের পরে ১২ টাকা ৫০ নয়া পয়সা, ডাকমাওল আলাদা।

প্রবাসী প্রেস আইভেট লিমিটেড

১২০১২, আচার্য প্রফুল্লচন্দ্র রোড, কলিকাতা-২

পূজা কন্সেশন !

পূজা কন্সেশন !!

## রামায়ণ সংগ্রহে বিপুল সুবিধা

প্রবাসীর গ্রাহক-অগ্রগ্রাহকগণ যাহারা আমাদের প্রসিদ্ধ কৃত্তিবাসী “রামায়ণ” সংগ্রহ  
করিতে চান তাঁহাদের প্রত্যেককে পূর্ণ মূল্য টাকা ১০.৫০ নঃ পঃ এবং প্যাকিং ডাকব্যয় টাকা  
২.০২ নঃ পঃ স্থলে কার্যালয় হইতে লইলে নিম্নের কুপন সহ মাত্র ৬ ছয় টাকাতে আর ডাকে  
অগ্রিম সড়াক শুধু ৮ আট টাকাতে অনধিক একখণ্ড করে দেওয়া হবে।

মাত্র ৫০০ পাঁচ শত খণ্ড এই স্থলভমূল্যে পূজার ছুটির পূর্ব পর্যন্ত বিক্রয় হইবে।

প্রবাসী প্রেস আইভেট লিমিটেড

১২০১২, আচার্য প্রফুল্লচন্দ্র রোড, কলিকাতা-২

কুপন

স্থলভ মূল্যে একখণ্ড “রামায়ণ” সংগ্রহকারী

নাম.....

ঠিকানা.....

This of course clarified issues. Since the enquiry was not about honest earnings, all blackmarketeers on the donors' lists of the major parties were safe. For how could their earnings be termed dishonest, since they had bestowed largesse from the same source on all Parties that had power for good or evil and likewise had "serviced" the palms of officialdom with copious lubrication from the identical channel?

Then came the following bit of news:

New Delhi, Sept. 13.—The Prime Minister made an important announcement at the meeting of the National Development Council today that the Planning Commission would shortly set up an expert committee whose terms of reference would be:—

- (1) To review the changes in the levels of living in the First and Second Five-Year Plans.
- (2) To study the recent trends in the distribution of income and wealth; and in particular
- (3) To ascertain the extent to which the operation of the economic system resulted in concentration of wealth and means of production.

The Committee would be concerned with the collection of necessary statistical and economic data.

Since the proposed committee will only be concerned with the collection of necessary statistical and economic data only, no unnecessary—that is unpleasant and inconvenient,—data would be collected. And further if any such nasty details be collected by oversight, there is no proposal for further utilisation of the same. So all honest blackmarketeers and their henchmen are safe—provided they continue to purchase insurance in the usual fashion. The premiums may be increased somewhat during the enquiry, but that would only mean a little more intensive blood-sucking.

On the same day as when he made the enquiry announcement, that is on the 26th of August, Mr. G. L. Nanda further made the following momentous announcement in the Lok Sabha:

To Mr. Kripalani's criticism about heavy backlog of unemployment in spite of the plans, Mr. Nanda said that progressively they were

enlarging the employment opportunities and at the end of the Third Plan, they would be certainly in a better position.

While not dealing in detail with the resources and the size of the Plan for the simple reason that the Finance Minister had already dealt with it in detail, Mr. Nanda contented himself by saying that what was technically feasible could also be financially feasible.

Mr. Nanda declared: "The Third Plan is not going to fail. It cannot fail because of our confidence in the capacity of our people and from what we have seen about the performance in this country. That inspires confidence", he said.

Mr. Nanda said that by his saying that the Third Plan would not fail, he did not mean that every target in the Plan would be achieved. What he meant was that the people of India would march on the lines laid down in the Plan and would make their utmost efforts.

While assuring Mr. Nanda of our acceptance of his emphatic declarations regarding the Third Five-Year Plans we would suggest a motto for the Plans, First, Second, Third and soon, "Riches unto the Rich and Misery for the Poor." It goes against the holy text. "Daridran Bhara Kaunteya" . . . etc., but then ours is a secular State.

#### Security of the State

There was a piece of news in the papers to the following effect:

The Government of India will bring forward in the winter session of Parliament a legislation to penalise with two years' imprisonment any person undermining the security of India by questioning the country's territorial integrity or its frontiers.

The Home Minister, Mr. Pant, disclosed this today at an informal meeting of Chief Ministers of States. Mr. Pant said that a Criminal Law Amendment Bill will be brought forward to deal with this as well as to punish persons circulating rumours or reports prejudicial to the maintenance of peaceful conditions in areas adjoining the frontiers of India declared by the Government to be "notified areas".

The Chief Ministers endorsed the move.

Under the proposed legislation "whoever undermines the security of India by questioning by words, either spoken or written or by signs

or by visible representations or otherwise, its territorial integrity or its frontiers shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both."

Another provision in the Bill will provide that "whoever makes public, or circulates any statement, rumour or report with intent to prejudice or which is likely to prejudice maintenance of peaceful conditions in any notified area shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both."

A "notified area" means "any area adjoining the frontiers of India declared by the Central Government to be a notified area." Under the proposed law, the Central Government will have the offences proposed above.

It is a half-hearted measure at the best, but still it shows that the behemoths of New Delhi are at last becoming aware of their responsibilities towards a gullible public, whom they had fed on assurances all this while. There will be very little achieved by the proposed measure unless it be armed with real teeth and claws, as is the case in all countries really aware of the responsibilities of guarding the Liberty of their peoples.

#### The Editor

##### Starve for Plans

Among the various nationally broadcast bits of patriotic thought emanating from the Prime Minister of India at the National Development Council's meeting on September 12, 1960, were the following outstanding pronouncements. First he said that the country should starve itself of even essential commodities in order to augment exports. Other countries, said the Prime Minister, both Communist and non-Communist, had done so in the past and there was no reason why India should not do her best to overcome her foreign exchange crisis. We should like to tell the Prime Minister that we have already starved ourselves of the most essential commodities for a very long time and that our "starvation" has been much more intensive than anything that other countries have experienced. For, other countries were in a much better position to produce their own requirements

and their supply of essential commodities had never gone so low as it did in India. Then the Communist countries had to build up their industries on pain of death; for they were surrounded by foreign enemies who were planning to destroy the Communist countries. The military requirements were not obtainable anywhere else, as all possible suppliers were unfriendly to the Communists. We do not know what non-Communist countries the Prime Minister was referring to, but if any people "starved" themselves of essential commodities the reasons must have been of a military nature. The Indian Government do not believe in military preparedness of the type that Russia, China or the N.A.T.O. powers always plan for. In the circumstances the urgency of Pandit Nehru's plans cannot be compared to that of the Communists and non-Communists referred to by him. Judging by all the good Pandit Nehru's plans are doing to people of India and to the military strength of the country, we do not see why people should agree to "starve" themselves of essential commodities. India cannot agree to set fire to her homes in order to provide a background for Pandit Nehru's fiddling. The foreign exchange crisis has been created by Pandit Nehru's unbalanced approach to industrialisation. He and his "experts" never tried to do things in the manner that would have benefited the Indians suitably. His plans were all lop-sided and the foreign experts and collaborators paid more attention to the ease of construction and supply than to any fuller utilisation of Indian resources. The foreign experts, and the Indian planners, too, made use of imported materials, components, machinery, etc., with a lavishness, which was unparalleled in the history of any planning in any other country. Pandit Nehru gave the *carte blanche* to all sorts of people whom he and his trusted assistants chose to depend upon and the foreign exchange crisis was the result of that. The best way to remedy this would be for Pandit Nehru to "starve" his own plans of foreign imports and to build and construct his industrial units out of Indian materials and Indian technical skill as far as possible. We are quite sure that



if Pandit Nehru went about this in the right manner his foreign exchange requirements would be cut down by at least 25%. The next observation made by the Prime Minister was that some sections of the Indian population obviously had a lot of money—as was shown by the heavily over-subscribed market floatations—and the cry of the country being overtaxed was ridiculous. In this case also the Prime Minister has been quite illogical. If there are 10,000 millionaires in a population of 400 millions, who oversubscribe such market floatations as come in their way, that does not prove that the rest of the population of 399990000 are not overtaxed. In fact, when Pandit Nehru always thinks of raising an extra Rs. 5,500,000,000 in taxes on top his usual Rs. 10,000,000,000 in taxes, he cannot possibly raise Rs. 15,500,000,000 by taxing 10,000 persons whose total income will not come up to Rs. 5,000,000,000. In fact if 400 million people earn a total national income of Rs. 13,000,000,000 per annum, the per capita income will not exceed Rs. 325/- p.a. The present system of taxation in India will show that the per capita incidence of taxes is about Rs. 100/-. The millionaires perhaps do not contribute even 10% of the total revenue. Rs. 550 crores would be such a large sum compared to the total income of the millionaires less what they pay already in taxes, that the Government would never realise even a tenth of their requirements by taxing the rich to the breaking point. So, all taxation will eventually rest mainly on the ordinary people. And Pandit Nehru will be taxing the poor almost exclusively, for the reason that the size of his requirements will force him to do so and because the rich will shift the burden of taxes on to the poor to a very large extent. The Indian people are already over-taxed and they will be very heavily overtaxed if our Prime Minister is allowed to do what he liked by a Parliament which is packed by his own party men.

A.C.

#### The Public Sector in Sports

The achievements of India in the 1960 Olympics at Rome have been sufficiently inglorious to draw public attention towards

the encouragement that games and sports receive from the Government of India and their provincial branches and the methods adopted by these Governmental bodies to control Indian participation in the Olympics or other International Tournaments. We have had very close association with sports clubs and sportsmen for nearly half a Century and in our opinion the Government of India or the State Governments do very little for the encouragement, training and support of games and sports in India. They have, no doubt, games and sports in the Defence Services and also in the Railways, but the sportsmen that these services produce are purely incidental and not of the very first class. All big private clubs are run on private donations and that is a good thing; for had the Government aided the private clubs, the interference that would have gone with the aid might easily have destroyed the clubs. The Olympic representation of India was largely influenced by the V.I.Ps of the Indian sports world who were often the proteges of the big shots of Indian politics. Then, all sorts of obstructions were put in the way of good selection and the sending of sportsmen to Rome, by the various Government departments controlling foreign travel and exchange. Notable omissions were in the fields of Boxing, Weight Lifting, Cycling and long distance running. No efforts were made during the four years 1956-1960 to stimulate activities in these fields and what talent developed in spite of the neglect was very casually ignored by the bureaucrats who somehow managed to occupy the key positions in point of control and selection of Indian participants in the Olympics. India not only cut a very poor figure in the general events but also lost the Hockey Championship after holding it for more than 30 years. The whole thing was an extremely unintelligent pattern of mismanagement, control and selection by ill-qualified persons, bureaucratic interference, lack of imagination and knowledge at the top and all those other tit bits of jobbery, favouritism and "royal" benevolence or "we do not like you", which normally make things ugly, useless and ineffective in the Public Sector.

A.C.

#### "Trusts" and Trusts

The Banias of India have the ability to twist the law to their own advantage and they had formed many a "Trust" in the past to avoid paying income tax. These "Trusts" had beneficiaries who somehow benefited the Banias after a few subtle turns and twists. These tax evaders probably got their inspiration from the Brahmin *Sevaites* of some of our Temples in which the gods eat food, put on clothing, use scented hair oil and cosmetics and witness floor shows too. The *Sevaites*, no doubt, have to arrange for all these in order to carry out the wishes of their masters, the gods. In the case of the Trusts similar things happen and the vicarious enjoyment of large incomes takes place in order to carry out the aims and objects of the "Trusts". The Government of India have, in a rare fit of right thinking, discovered how the State was being cheated by the Banias, and have ordered that such "Trusts" will have to pay income tax hereafter. It would have been better, if the "Trustees" had been prosecuted and fined heavily in their personal capacity for joining in a conspiracy to cheat the Government and the people of India. Also the "Trusts" might have been assessed with retrospective effect from 1948. But that would be expecting too much. As it is, the Banias must be calling on Messrs. Nehru, Pant and others to arrange to take the edge off this order and to make it inactive as far as possible. In our great Socialist Republic, a man pays income tax on what he spends on his children's education and medical treatment. The Socialist Government neither provides free education nor free medical aid of any use to anybody. But people have to pay tax on their expenditure on these accounts. The "gods", the widowed aunts or the privileged orphans sponsored by Banias, are however allowed large incomes which are allowed to be spent for "godly" or ungodly purposes, and no income tax was paid on such incomes when these came out of "Trusts." We congratulate the Government on their moral awakening.

A.C.

#### The Languages of India

In the Indian Constitution, it is clearly laid down that India is a multilingual country and that at least 15 languages will be acknowledged by the Indian Government as officially recognised languages for all time. This was done with a view to placate popular feelings about their own languages and also to make it clear that though Hindi would eventually be the *Rashtrabhasha* of India, no undue advantage would accrue to Hindi speakers nor disadvantages devolve upon those who did not speak Hindi. The logical conclusion from this statement of the principles guiding languages in India should be that at least these 15 languages will be recognised officially as languages *everywhere* in India. The implication of these constitutional provisions could not have been that though a regional language would have equal status with the national language in its own particular region, it would have no status in a *Sub-regional* area. That is, if Bengali were to be equal to Hindi in West Bengal by virtue of being the regional language, it could not be abolished in a *Sub-region*, viz., Cachar, Dhanbad, Singhbhum, etc., where it had been the local language for a thousand years or more. The idea behind this schedule of languages is that all major languages will continue to be the official languages of their natural zones, irrespective of the fact that there may be a national language or any other officially recognised language used simultaneously within the same area. In this way, just as Bengali cannot be abolished from Bengal or Assamese from Assam; Bengali or Assamese cannot be abolished from an area outside Bengal or Assam either, provided these have been the natural languages of that particular area. This will be so, in spite of the fact that Hindi will be used in Bengal or Assam side by side with the regional language. Now, if it is the intention of the leading politicians of India that Hindi will eventually be the paramount language all over and will reduce the status of the other languages even in their own natural zone; such

intentions will be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. And all attempts at making Hindi paramount at the cost of the regional languages will be resisted. The value of India's English education, in terms of money will be several thousand crores. The intellectual momentum of this education is also very considerable. By replacing English by Hindi, the greatest losers will be the people of Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. The people of U.P., M.P. and Bihar will not lose much because they have not much English education. Also they will have an advantage in having their own language as the national language in place of English. It is not unlikely therefore that the Hindi speakers of India will try to push Hindi into the position of national language, by lawful as well as by illicit means. Something like what happened in Assam may slowly become possible in the whole of North India. People may not be killed or beaten up for not accepting Hindi; but they may be slowly thumb-screwed into a position where they will be forced to accept Hindi as THE LANGUAGE. The Assam incident should open our eyes and we should take timely steps to prevent the growth of this super linguism based upon the imposition of Hindi on all North Indian peoples. There have been attempts at imposing Hindi on the peoples of Dhanbad, Singhbhum, etc., by the Biharis. We should try to stop this and develop an Indian Nationalism unsullied by thoughts of pushing up or pulling down particular groups or clans of people.

A. C.

#### The Assamese Language

The Assamese language is one of the 15 officially recognised languages of India. The Assamese are less than 1½% of the total population of India. In spite of this very great minority in numbers, the language of the Assamese has been recognised by the Constitution which proves that the fact of minority in numbers does not disallow linguistic claims of even relatively small groups of people like the Assamese. Their idea that they can wipe the Bengali

language off the map of Assam proves that the Assamese do not know the true meaning of those provisions in our Constitution which have given the Assamese language a status among Indian languages. For, if the Assamese could wipe Bengali out, why should not India wipe out Assamese? This is cutting the branch on which they are sitting with a vengeance!

A. C.

#### The Language of India

Mr. Humayun Kabir, inaugurating the fourth all-India Punjabi Writers' Conference in Amritsar on September 10, 1960, said that Punjabi was the language of the Hindus and Sikhs from time immemorial. "Punjabi is not the language of the Sikhs only but is older than the Sikh religion," he said. Criticising the exploitation of the language issue by politicians for their own advantage, Mr. Kabir said that persons could change their nationality or religion, but language could never be changed. Language had no relation with religion, caste, creed or any particular script.

In the book *India in 1960*, published by the Government of India, we find Punjabi is bracketed with Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani, in order to inflate the percentage of Hindi speakers in India. In our youth, when science was science and facts were facts without reference to the evil desires of Congress politicians, we used to admire the folk-songs and folk-poetry of the Punjabis. These people who belonged to the outer ring of Aryan races in India, spoke a language which was akin to Bengali, Gujarati, Oriya, Assamese, Marwari, Mewari and was only a very distant cousin of Hindi, which, in its turn, was hardly a language in its own right. The abolition of languages like Maithili, Maghdi, Ardha Maghdi and Bhojpuri by the Biharis in order to prove that they were all a people whose "mother-tongue" was "Hindi", has been as great a political bluff as the two-nation theory propounded by Pakistanis. But, the Indian National Congress appear to be indulging in this lie behind their pretended belief in "Satyameba Jayate."

A. C.

#### In Proper Time In Assam

When a murder is committed or criminal arson, rape or robbery with violence perpetrated, the proper time and the suitable occasion for making enquiries into the crimes or for the apprehension of the criminals should be immediately after the incidents occurred. The Indian police, of course, arrive at the scene of the crime considerably later; but they do so, due to their tradition of ponderous movement and clumsy behaviour; or for a consideration at times. But when Pandit Nehru says that the mass murder, looting, rape, arson, assault and chasing out of hearth and home, that the Assamese carried out on their Bengali co-sharers of the State of Assam, should not be enquired into immediately, one cannot harbour any unworthy suspicions about the reasons for his advocacy of delay and procrastination. He did so for saving the face of his followers in Assam. But why did Atulya Ghosh have to go to Delhi to curry favour with Nehru? Is he hoping to succeed Dr. Roy in the Gaddi? God help West Bengal!

A. C.

#### Hindi

All persons who have studied the linguistic aspects of the population of India without reference to politics know that the importance granted to the so-called Hindi language in independent India, has been much in excess of what the language deserved. The Congress party and the people who were interested in making Hindi into something on which they could build their careers, naturally made much of Hindi and started an all-out propaganda to prove that Hindi was a great language with a long past and that about 140 million people spoke it in India. This propaganda was carried on at the expense of the people of India and no one started any counter-propaganda against it, to establish the truth, for the reason that all Indians thought that a national language would strengthen the nation and reduce differences. But people soon found out their mistake and came to realise that Hindi was

merely a vehicle which certain people in U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh used to move speedily towards the achievement of their own personal ends. Then, it dawned upon people that Hindi was no all-India language at all and that it was being manufactured in order to put certain people in power over certain others who spoke no Hindi. In the process of manufacturing this artificial language, Hindi, which was hardly anybody's mother-tongue, many Hindi-like languages of long standing were just rubbed out of existence, and those who spoke these languages swore that their mother language was Hindi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc., were just taken off the list of languages by the Government statisticians in order to make room for an ever increasing multitude whose mother-tongue was Hindi. If the mothers of these new-born "Hindi babies" did not know any Hindi it was their narrow-minded outlook which was responsible for the ignorance of their own language. We do not know whether the ladies of the families of many leading Congressmen of Bihar and the Bhojpuri districts of U.P. speak Hindi; but we have a feeling that many of them do not, which does them credit; for women do not so easily descend to pretension as do men.

Generally speaking, Hindi does not really exist. That language which is used by many North Indians as a Bazar patois is, firstly, not a uniform language and secondly, is not used quite as extensively as is made out by interested people. In the Bazars of Calcutta more Bengali and English is spoken than Hindi. Then they also speak Bhojpuri, Maithili, Marwari, Mewari, Gujarati, Punjabi, etc., in the Bazars of Calcutta. In Patna, very few people understand Hindi. Maghdi, Bhojpuri and Maithili are more commonly spoken. In the Punjab as well as in Delhi, the Punjabi language is quite extensively used and this language is no near relation of Hindi. So, this Hindi which is going to be our National language is a big stunt by which certain people expect to eventually rule over India. This language does not exist and 14 crores of Indians do not know

anything about it. May be 3 or 4 crores know most of its words and its grammar and syntax but the other 10 crores speak all kinds of other languages which do not resemble this Hindi to any great extent. Tamil, Telegu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati and Oriya are more homogeneous languages than Hindi and one might have made any of these our national language with equal facility. Before 1947 there were about 70 million Bengalis in undivided India. They spoke, read and wrote a language which had been highly developed and had retained a more or less uniform structure and form for nearly 700 years. Forty million people or more speak Bengali in Pakistan and it is jointly the State-language of that country along with Urdu. In India, there are over 30 million Bengalis who constitute a highly educated and cultured community. But the Indian Government have not tried to make the best use of the most highly developed languages of India. They have only one passion, which is Hindi and they think India will become more united and strong by using Hindi, than she had been by using English as her common language. Their idea is that by destroying the other languages of India they will create a new nationalism which will be better than the Indian nationalism of the *Swadeshi* days, and of the Gandhian period. These are eye-wash. The real reason for Hindi propaganda is an attempt to make some second-raters the top men in India. The recent eulogium flung by our President upon the "uneducated" who were more educated than the educated gave an indication as to what emotions stir up the souls of Congress leaders. We shall soon hear how much better washed were the unwashed clothes of the same uneducated scholars and philosophers. Also how well-mannered were the ill-mannered and what heights of morality were attainable through immorality. No wonder we are witnessing law-making through law-breaking, self-denial by means of self-indulgence and the establishment of truth by making an almighty stock pile of lies.

A.C.

### Punjabi and Hindi

The following P.T.I. news would suggest that Punjabi is a separate language from Hindi. In the Government publication "*India in 1960*," Punjabi has been bracketted with Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. The Punjabis should take action against this sort of travesty of facts.

*Amritsar, Sept. 12.—Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab announced yesterday that Punjabi would become the official language of the Punjabi region from October, 1. He was addressing a rural Conference at Khandursahib—P.T.I.*

According to the rulers of India, all languages are Hindi if the speakers of such languages can be won over to say that they were a Hindi-speaking people. In this way a host of languages have been merged into Hindi. Has Punjabi been merged into Hindi too? We sincerely hope not.

A.C.

### Nilratan Sircar

The great physician, educationist, industrialist and social reformer Nilratan Sircar was born on the 1st of October, 1851. The centenary of his birthday will fall on the 1st of October, 1951. With a view to celebrate this centenary in a manner befitting the greatness of Nilratan Sircar a committee has recently been formed with Dr. B. C. Roy as president, Dr. Nalini Ranjan Sen Gupta as chairman and the following, among others, as office-bearers or members of the executive committee: Dr. D. M. Bose, Director, Bose Institute; Prof. B. M. Sen, I.E.S. (Retd.); Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Lt.-Gen. D. N. Chakravarty, Lt.-Col. N. C. Chatterjee, Major H. K. Indra, Dr. R. N. Guha Mazumdar, Dr. Amiya K. Sen, Dr. J. N. Dutt and Dr. B. N. Banerji. The office of the Nilratan Sircar Centenary Celebration Committee will be at 93, Acharya Pratula Chandra Road, Calcutta-9, and a general subscription of Rupees Ten only will be charged for membership of the General Committee. Their will be a separate Trust

Fund for the advancement of medical and scientific studies, and research and donations to the Trust Fund will be invested entirely for creating resources for granting scholarships and for making other arrangements for study and research. Nilratan Sircar was the most outstanding medical practitioner of his time and he was very closely associated with the Calcutta University, the University College of Science, the Jadavpur Technical College, the R. G. Kar Medical College, the Jadavpur T. B. Hospital and various other institutions. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for some years. The British Government conferred the Knighthood upon him for his services to Society. He spent the major portion of his earnings in building up industries in India after the *Swadeshi* movement and never slackened his efforts in spite of very heavy losses. The centenary celebrations will include conferences and the publication of a biography and a Memorial Volume containing original monographs of medical and general scientific importance. All enquiries will be gladly answered by the Hony. Secretaries of the Committee.

A.C.

### The 2nd October

At one time, we hoped that Gandhiji had left us the legacy of a band of patriotic men to conduct the administration. They, at least, carried with them the aura of dedication to the ideal of service, which will break the tradition of bureaucracy. In the course of these few years, they have a bit too blatantly belied our expectation. We do not so much mind the priority they have given to promoting their individual gains and privileges—prerequisites, as they are commonly called—nay, luxuries and prodigalities. What, however, rankles in the heart of the rank and file is that they cannot resist the impression that the ruling class have proved more unwilling, rather than incapable of dealing with cheats and swindlers of the commercial world. The observations of Justice Chagla and Justice Bose disclose a state of things, which go deep down into the mind of the ill-clad, ill-fed millions. It reads fantastic that they cannot dis-

cover a tint in order to dye hydrogenated oil to preclude its use in adulterating *ghee*, even if the Union's Health Minister, quite honestly, accepted in Parliament that very large number of cases of coronary thrombosis might be due to it. Nehru's threat to hang the black-marketeers on the nearest lamp post survives as but a joke. People enjoyed it and were saucy and strident in their comments, as they saw his portrait hung on good many lamp posts during the first two general elections.

Stuck up in such unfortunate predicaments, we never bargained for, our thoughts, as of instinct, go to Gandhiji. This day, ninetyone years back, he was born to live a life of complete self-effacement for the nation. He reoriented and reorganised the Congress and it stood upon its feet 'an exceeding great army'. Was it his premonition that as far back as 1931, he desired the Congress to dissolve itself as a political organisation in independent India and convert itself into Lok Sevak Sangh, none of its members accepting a paid job under the State; and that the new organisation was to function as somewhat of a moral warden to whatever party might be forming the Government.

The great architect of our Freedom stole away from the furor of the first Independence celebrations and spent the day in fasting, prayer and meditation. His supreme virtue was his sense of limitations. He might have been stung with an awareness that India was cleft into two, bringing in its trail untold misery for thousands, whom he had most solemnly assured that he would never consent to its division. In any case, the man of boundless resilience must have sustained himself with the thought that at least those who swore by him would set things right by their integrity and steadfast adherence to the basic principles, he thought, he had imbued them with. What he said four months after abides as a lesson of vast, enduring moments—how he felt crushed under the achievement of what he strained every nerve to achieve. He said an emphatic 'No' to the Congress President Mr. Kripalani and few other veterans, waiting upon him to discuss the desirability of the Congress constructive workers' organisation, entering the Government in order to build up a new social order through the machinery of day to day rule. "Today everybody in the Congress", he said, "is running after power. That presages grave danger . . . . Today, politics has become corrupt. Anybody who goes into

it is contaminated". If this is what he felt after four months of the Congress Party's rule, we have reasons to congratulate him that he does not live to see what it is now.

J. B.

### The Nemesis

Assam has been remorselessly revealing. Assam is a portent; but Assam is a pointer, and not without some compensation to India. In the compulsion of extremes, President Rajendra Prasad is driven to the necessity of uttering a note of warning that 'regionalism' and 'linguism' are bars to our unity. There is a piquant, pathetic touch of realism in saying this on the thirteenth Independence Day, when Bengal—we say Bengal advisedly, because, there is no Bengali anywhere who is not cut to the quick over Assam and no less over the attitude of the Central Government—called for a moratorium on the pomp and pageantry of Independence celebration.

Some about fifty years back, Bihar was separated from Bengal and made a new province. To ensure its vitality and to obviate the necessity of a subvention from the Centre, the preponderantly Bengali-speaking area of Manbhoom, Singhbhoom and Purnea were made over to her. It was the master device of Lord Hardinge to make the entire Bengal statutory Moslem—precisely, what Lord Curzon intended East Bengal and Assam to be. In other words, the imperialistic rule saw to it, as much as human ingenuity could weave out the pattern, that Bengal majority must not line up with the Congress—'seditious opposition', as Lady Minto has it in her *Journal*. One of the early patriotic acts the Bihar leaders did, was to introduce 'Domicile certificate' for Government service and allied matters. A sense of 'regionalism', it fostered, was translated into action in the day-to-day life of Bihar without any compunction. It was, obviously, aimed at the Bengalis; but it was an insidious blow on India's national solidarity.

With regard to Hindi, possibly, nobody suffers from a sense of demur in developing it and otherwise facilitating its use, so that in the fulness of time, India shall have a language common to all, whether it is state language or not. But the overzealous advocates of Hindi have chosen the short cut of their numerical majority to have it enthroned, no matter how it hits and

handicaps the non-Hindi people. It is not suggested that the President of the Indian Union supports them turning into blinkered fanatics. All the same, there is hardly anything concrete to justify an impression that he or any of those in authority has done worthwhile things to keep them within bounds. This is why we have to behold the not-very-edifying spectacle that the President argues in apologetic terms that they never intended to impose Hindi upon India. In relation to the perspective, the incidents of Assam have been looming large before our eyes.

What of Assam runs the risk of being lost sight of, in the stress and hurry of the situation, is the attitude of Mr. Govind Ballav Pant, the Home Minister of the Indian Union. He was all along assuring us that he was awake to the developments in Assam. By now, it is obvious to the very casual that the Union Government's Intelligence Branch in Assam gave him ample indications of the coming events casting their shadow ahead. The Law Minister says on the floor of the Parliament that in June the Home Minister told him that he had addressed some communications to the Assam Government, which, in retrospect, seemed 'prophetic'. As a matter of fact, some feelings have accumulated over the point. To cut short, we feel constrained to say that the first probe regarding Assam should have been to ascertain what the chief custodian of India's Law and Order did to avert the crisis. It is our misfortune that he is physically incapable, and could not go to Assam to stand up to the malign forces, which were sleeplessly at work for months together. He, certainly, owes the people of India to explain why the machinery of the Government broke down in the manner it did and what proved fatal to its speedy recovery. It is sheer common-sense and, by now, there is evidence galore to conclude that it was the result of a long, sustained, desperate preparation, and that some officials at key positions were tainted out and out. We feel inclined to hold, as well, that if Mr. Pant was not delicately involved, Mr. Nehru would not have given Dr. Roy, who is unemotional and non-agitational to a fault, a go-by on so crucial a matter. Hardly had Dr. Roy been so pronounced; but to have endorsed his view-point was to cast an adverse reflection on the competence of the Home Minister of India.

Mr. Nehru has at long last conceded some of Dr. Roy's points. But he suffered the

chances of the moment to slip by. What, in fact, has, psychologically, told upon the lacerated heart of Bengal is that they miss an anguished soul in the vibrant, animated Nehru. Idealism is his one strong point; but he has woefully betrayed his own self. His condemnation of the frigid cold, calculated brutalities—murder, rape, mass-scale assault, arson and loot—is far too short of what the staggering episode calls for. Where is that moral strength, which, in 1916, threatened to shoot down *en masse* the Bihar Hindus, who, driven to desperation over the Calcutta Killings, attacked the Moslems? Today, he is so much a stickler for the niceties of protocol that he would not even give vent to an expression of opinion on a possible punitive levy. He would not accept that the shameful abdication of the Congress Government in Assam is the crux of the whole thing; and that Congress leaders of note and standing were up to the neck in the foul conspiracy, some of them being directly involved in acts of savagery. Would he yet have the candour to admit that it is factionalism in the Congress Party, which has a tremendous lot to bring about this nauseating, humiliating pass? Nothing, in a nutshell, is so dismaying as to have to face the fact that Mr. Nehru has placed the interest of his party above our national solidarity. Is this the culmination Gandhiji foresaw, when, after Independence, he once again desired the Congress to dissolve itself as a political organization, 'a parliamentary machine' running on party lines?

In a whiff of nostalgia, it flashes zigzag over our mind that in the first inauguration ceremony of Independence, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said on the floor of the Constituent Assembly, that they had one day 'made a tryst with destiny'. After a long spell of their rule extending over thirteen years, it is time to scan if it is with 'Destiny' or Nemesis that they made the tryst.

J. B.

### Light and Shade

Mr. Nehru in opening the Assam debate on the floor of the Parliament, trotted out his old, stereotyped 'larger context'. To eschew the immediate concrete in preference to the so-called 'larger context' argues, more often than not, a constitutional imbecility that avoids to grapple the stern real. The Prime Minister of India says

that 'what had happened in Assam was ghastly'. We have to read it in the context of what has never been disputed that it happened on a mass scale and on a concerted line of action and the whole thing was diabolically conceived. The result of all this, according to him, is 'a trouble of a new type in a big way, which rather shook the foundation of the country and its unity'. It is, therefore, admitted by the Prime Minister that a new sinister force has operated in a ghastly manner and it has shaken the very foundations of Indian unity—the unity which has been built up untiringly in the length of ages and in the teeth of opposition, that the most puissant race of the world could muster strong through a stringently organised rule. And yet, initially, Mr. Nehru opposed the demand for an inquiry. The reason he gave for this was that Mr. Chaliha was 'a tremendous cementing factor in the problem State of Assam' and, therefore, the prestige of his Ministry must be kept high.

A higher power than Mr. Nehru, we observe with a sense of relief, rules the destiny of men. And this is why we find him amplifying the Union Government's position in the manner he did the following morning. He has accepted that two types of inquiries are necessary. There is the great need of an immediate inquiry to bring the offenders to book and another inquiry to find out causes of the disturbance and evolve measures to prevent a recurrence of similar events. The inquiry, besides helping to punish the guilty, would yield scope to fix up the responsibility of political parties. So far so good; and we have every pleasure to record our sense of appreciation for this dawn of statesmanship. In fact, it reads like the amazing recuperation of a mobile, sensitive mind. We only hope and trust that it will be followed up by a firm, principled functioning, it being accepted as fundamental that no quibble or equivocation will impede its course.

As for Mr. Nehru's compliments to Mr. Chaliha, we have no manner of hesitation to say that they are misplaced. The Chief Minister, who could not scent the danger that burst out on such a gigantic scale and as the inevitable result of a long, strenuous preparation deserves to be condemned in no uncertain terms. Did his Education Minister doing atrocious things under his very nose to inflame the inflammable youth escape so completely his notice and that of the ubiquitous C.I.D.? It is, by the way, surprising that our



Prime Minister, who is subject to fits of righteous indignation, flopped in a matter like this and thought fit to pass over a rather rancid, pestilential affair merely as 'hanky-panky'. It is, certainly, true that Mr. Chaliha has earned a name for soft-peddalling the question of state language in Assam. Of what avail, however, are his mealy-mouthed utterances, when he lacked the will to translate his promise into action? From the pontifical height of New Delhi has emanated for him a certificate for 'wisdom'. But history shall have only one verdict that anybody having the brain of a cock at the barn door would not so ingloriously resign himself to be at event's mercy.

The other gentleman who has been given a certificate of honour for wisdom, better still, for good conduct is Mr. Ajit P. Jain, the ex-Food Minister, leading the Parliamentary delegation to Assam. His report, 'a good document and an able and objective survey', prepared as a result of the delegation's survey of the situation in the last week of August is perfectly in line with the Prime Minister's 'thinking' after his return from Assam, which he visited in the second week of August, when hardly fifty per cent of the true colour of the happenings and their perspective was and could, in the nature of things, be revealed to him. Our first impression of the report, as we read it, was and continues to be that if he has not actually infringed, he is perilously near infringing the trade mark of His Master's Voice. But he has to his credit one solid innovation. He has recommended for muzzling the Press and has launched a senseless attack on some leading papers of Calcutta. The Calcutta Press has to the best of our light and conviction, played a noble, manly role. When the Assam Government itself failed to keep intact their Press Note, the Calcutta Press maintained their service, even if there were bonfires of some of their papers and two reporters were done to death and few others assaulted; and when, in fact, nobody's security was worth a moment's purchase. There have, no doubt, been occasions when some of them suffered their emotion to get the better of a balanced presentation. Possibly nobody can escape it. We have it in the late Mr. M. R. Jayakar's autobiography that he and the late Mr. C. R. Das, pinned their faith in some cases, in connection with the Congress Inquiry of the Punjab martial law days, which, to their great annoyance,

Gandhiji rejected. In other words, the stories these two trained lawyers believed in toto were not worth full credence with Gandhiji, who was writing the Report. And the point to remember is that this was after the passion of the fray had, to some extent, cooled down by the efflux of time.

Slanting news in a manner as to rouse the anger and hatred of one community against the other is certainly bad. Any kind of presentation, however, of such enormities is bound to make the blood boil. Cumulatively, they make the mind sore against those, who perpetrated them, no less against those who directly or indirectly helped in their perpetration, as well as against those whose clear duty it was to avert them, failing which to fight them out. The point Dr. Kunzru makes out in the Rajya Sabha in order to have it cleared, why in spite of the presence of adequate military force the disturbances could not be quelled in time, and desiring to know if the troops were properly and timely employed by the Assam Government needs being faced squarely. The proper course—the one thing to restore normalcy, is not philosophizing and a gesture of commiseration at the expense of others, but to help the Law of the land vindicating itself. Mr. Nehru has cited the case of a man, reported as killed, but later on discovered as hale and hearty, falls flat because of its sheer inanity. He places himself truly in line with a Vincent or Maxwell of the British regime in debates on like events, taking precious good care to cite cases like this and then cudgelling the Press for the 'perversity' of their wrong emphasis and presentation. He will, at all events, be making a fatal mistake to initiate any law, curbing the freedom of the Press. In view of a feeling of affection, in which he is still held in the country, it is, however, open to him to call those, who have, according to his information, erred and whose actions are likely to stand in the process of rehabilitation and explain the position and consider what they have got to say. It is religiously incumbent upon him to be very circumspect. One thing is certain: the Bengal Press shall never flinch and cower to any kind of hectoring.

J. B.

#### Self-Sufficiency in Food

Mr. S. K. Patil took a sound view of the food question while discussing it with the

State Ministers on the 26th of August, at New Delhi. He is reported to have stated as follows:

Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, said here today that it should be the "supreme endeavour" of the Central and State Governments to ensure national self-sufficiency in food during the next five years or so.

Mr. Patil, who was inaugurating a two-day conference of State Ministers of Agriculture at Vijnan Bhavan here said that the food imports arranged through the recent P.L. 480 agreement were essentially a "stop-gap measure". It gave them only a "breathing space" during which they had to give their "undivided attention" to attaining a level of production adequate to meet the full requirements of the country in the years to come.

Mr. Patil emphasised that no large programme of agricultural development could make any headway unless the actual cultivator was given his due status and importance in society. "The cultivator has to be made to feel that he gets a fair deal", he said, "No doubt he has come to realise the value of fertilizers and other techniques which will secure for him a much higher return from the land. Even with these developments, I am convinced that unless the farmer feels an active sense of participation and is entrusted to carry out the programmes, the tempo of agricultural development will not gain momentum". He was, therefore, contemplating the setting up of the proposed Agricultural Commodities Advisory Committee. It will advise the Government not only on price policy for agricultural commodities but also on the various programmes relating to agricultural production.

#### The Chinese Conquest of Everest

Sometime about the end of May last the world was informed that a party of Chinese mountaineers, led by one Shih Chan-chun, a geologist from Peiping, accompanied by Chou Ying-hua a lumber jack from Szchewan and one Gompa a "Tibetan mercenary" had conquered Everest in one go, after performing feats of mountaineering and endurance that could only be described as supernatural, as they surpassed not only all the superlative feats—

described as superhuman by normal scribes—known in the history of mountain climbing—and approached those of mythical heroes. It was received without comments by common folk, who were not equipped with the special knowledge that would allow them to judge about the probabilities or possibilities of such an achievement, and therefore awaited expert analysis.

We have received by sea-mail copies of the *New Leader* of New York for July 4 & 11 and August 1 & 8, and the August bi-weekly issue contains just such an analysis, from the pen of Quentin Pope.

Mr. Pope first of all details the official Chinese story, step by step, as given by the leader of the expedition in the press release, with commentaries on all items of ultra-natural occurrence. The leader of the Chinese Everest expedition, Shih Chan-chun, has, of course, given the standard—almost obligatory, so to say—answer: It was all due to the leadership of the Communist party.

But that answer does not satisfy Mr. Pope, who, being uninitiated, is a doubting Quentin. He thinks it is a hoax, and proceeds to sum up his reasons for coming to that conclusion, which we append below:

Did they do it?

They did not. The Chinese claim that their climbing team lasted for 19 hours at the highest altitudes denies physical possibilities. When Edmund Hillary, a greatly experienced climber of the highest caliber, conquered Mt. Everest along with Tenzing, a man who was climbing the great mountain for the seventh time, it took them five hours to get from their 27,900 feet advanced base to the summit and two and a half hours to get back. When he had descended another 1,900 feet to the South Col, Hillary confesses he was exhausted. Yet the Chinese claim to have been able to send their fledgling team to the summit area (Gompa had made only one big climb before) and stay there almost twice as long as Hillary and Tenzing during the assault alone.

When Hillary calculated his oxygen needs for the climb, he set the cylinder flow for himself and Tenzing at three liters a minute. This is one liter a minute less than is desirable but he had to do this to make the oxygen last. Even so he was out of oxygen in seven and a half

hours. Even if the Chinese equipment were 50 per cent superior to that used in the British expedition, this still gives an oxygen supply lasting only about 11 hours which means the Chinese climbed for about eight and a half hours at the highest altitudes without oxygen.

It means, also, as far as one can judge from the Chinese story, that their oxygen would have run out before they were 400 feet above their assault base and with 800 feet of difficult climbing ahead. But what the Chinese claim is that after having used up seven hours of oxygen supply to get up 320 feet they managed to ascend another 700 feet before their oxygen cylinders ran out and did this in darkness and over an unknown route. In addition the New China News Agency claims that they climbed all night without oxygen.

The Chinese say that their success was due to their superior physique. But their own reports of the earlier climbs show that they were not equal to Western climbers. One example: The Chinese make a great deal of the fact that one of their acclimatization parties, using a prepared route, climbed from base camp at 16,700 feet to Camp III at 20,887 feet in one day. Yet Hillary and Tenzing running a test of equipment for Hunt, climbed from 17,900 feet to 21,200 feet in five hours, including a 45-minute rest. And in any event the problems of great heights are not merely a matter of muscles. Above 21,000 feet a man's resistance to cold drops, his mental activity flags, the acid-alkali balance of the blood is disturbed, the respiratory center of the brain is affected. There is great loss of water from the lungs due to the increased breathing rate in the thin air. There is also muscular wastage. To counter the fluid loss, from five to seven pints of liquid a day are essential. The Chinese say they just forgot about this.

And now let us look at the three final points which clinch the argument that the Chinese lied about the Everest ascent:

1. The day the Chinese launched their final assault, an Indian climbing team was also moving against the summit. The Indian team was driven off the mountain by conditions of intense

cold, high wind and snow. The Chinese say they had special weather on their side.

2. The Chinese assault team which toiled toward the crest for 19 hours had already been climbing for seven successive days. In fact, it had come straight up from the valley floor, from 16,700 feet to 27,790 feet, finishing the ascent the day before the summit thrust was made. And after these eight days of effort it was able to climb down to 27,790 feet on the ninth day and then continue climbing, "with a brief interruption for a snack" on the ninth night. That is not fit even to tell to the Marines.

3. The Chinese have no proof whatever that they were ever near the summit. Their description of scenery could not be more vague. They took no photographs "because it was too dark to do so," though it was light enough for them to collect rock specimens for Mao. They descended to 28,810 feet where they "took a few shots." Now that is interesting, because we know this altitude can be reached. It has been surpassed several times by British expeditions and it is below the spot at which the Chinese say their oxygen ran out.

On March 20, 1934, just one day under six years before the Communists held their planning meeting at the foot of Everest, *The New Yorker* published a cartoon of two mountaineers who had already climbed a long way and are now at the foot of an overwhelming peak. One says: "Hey, George, why can't we just fake the last couple of chapters?"

May be that's where the Chinese got the idea.

### NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja holidays The Modern Review Office and Press will remain closed from 26th September to 9th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedarnath Chatterjee,  
Editor.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN JUDICIARY

### (1) A General Discussion

By PROFESSOR D. N. BANERJEE

#### I

WE now propose to deal with some aspects of our judicial system.<sup>2</sup> Before, however, we do this, we should like to make a few preliminary observations of a general character, having a close bearing on the subject.

#### II

The importance of an able, pure, impartial, and independent judiciary in a State—and particularly in a State with a federal, or even a quasi-federal, form of Government,—can hardly be exaggerated. "Every student of history knows", says a former Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Hewart of Bury,<sup>3</sup> "that many of the most significant victories for freedom and justice have been won in the English Law Courts, and that the liberties of Englishmen are closely bound up with the complete independence of the judges. When, for any reason or combination of reasons, it has happened that there has been lack of courage on the Judicial Bench, the enemies of equality before the law have succeeded, and the administration of the law has been brought into disrepute."

Dealing with "the importance of the establishment of a judicial department in the national government" of the United States, Justice Story has said:<sup>4</sup>

"Every government must, in its essence, be unsafe and unfit for a free people where such a department does not exist with powers co-ex-

tensive with those of the legislative department. Where there is no judicial department to interpret, pronounce, and execute the law, to decide controversies, and to enforce its decrees, the government must either perish by its own imbecility, or the other departments of government must usurp powers, for the purpose of commanding obedience, to the destruction of liberty. The will of those who govern will become, under such circumstances, absolute and despotic; and it is wholly immaterial, whether power is vested in a single tyrant or in an assembly of tyrants. No remark is better founded in human experience than that of Montesquieu, that 'there is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive powers.' And it is no less true, that personal security and private property rest entirely upon the wisdom, the stability, and the integrity of the courts of justice . . . . In every well-organised government, therefore, with reference to the security both of public rights and private rights, it is indispensable that there should be a judicial department to ascertain and decide rights, to punish crimes, to administer justice and to protect the innocent from injury and usurpation. In the national government the power is equally as important as in the State governments. The laws and treaties, even the Constitution of the United States, would become a dead letter without it. Indeed, in a complicated government like ours, where there is an assemblage of republics, combined under a common head, the necessity of some controlling judicial power, to ascertain and enforce the powers of the Union, is, if possible, still more striking. The laws of the whole would otherwise be in continual danger of being contravened by the laws of the parts. The national government would be reduced to a servile dependence upon the States . . . . Power, without adequate means to enforce it, is like a body in a state of suspended animation. For all practical purposes, it is as if its faculties were extinguished. Even if there were no danger of collision between the laws and powers of the Union and those of the States, it is utterly impossible, that, without some superintending judiciary establishment, there could be any uniform administration or

interpretation of them. . . . . The consequence would necessarily be, that neither the Constitution nor the laws, neither the rights and powers of the Union nor those of the States, would be the same in any two States. And there would be perpetual fluctuations and changes growing out of the diversity of judgement, as well as of local institutions, interests, and habits of thought. Two ends, then, of paramount importance, and fundamental to a free government, are proposed to be attained by 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 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. . . . . The function of the judiciary, in deciding on constitutional questions, is not one which it is at liberty to decline. While it is bound not to take jurisdiction if it should not, it is equally true that it must take jurisdiction if it should. It cannot, as the legislature may, avoid a measure. . . . . It cannot pass it by, because it is doubtful. With whatever doubt, with whatever difficulties a case may be attended, it must decide it, when it arises in judgement. It has no more right to decline the exercise of a jurisdiction which is given, than to usurp that which is not given. The one or the other would be treason to the Constitution."

Again, while dealing with the expression "to . . . . . establish justice" in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, Justice Story has observed:<sup>5</sup>

"This must forever be one of the great ends of every wise government; and even in arbitrary governments it must, to a great extent, be practised, at least in respect to private persons, as the only security against rebellion, private vengeance, and popular cruelty. But in a free government it lies at the very basis of all its institutions. Without justice being freely, fully, and

5. See *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, Section 482.

impartially administered, neither our persons, nor our rights, nor our property, can be protected. And if these, or either of them, are regulated by no certain laws, and are subject to no certain principles, and are held by no certain tenure, and are redressed, when violated, by no certain remedies, society fails of all its value; and men may as well return to a state of savage and barbarous independence."

Further, "there is", says Viscount Bryce,<sup>6</sup> "no better test of the excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches the welfare and security of the average citizen than his sense that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice. Law holds the community together. Law is respected and supported when it is trusted as the shield of innocence and the impartial guardian of every private civil right. . . . . But if the law be dishonestly administered, the salt has lost its savour; if it be weakly or fitfully enforced, the guarantees of order fail, for it is more by the certainty than by the severity of punishment that offences are repressed. If the lamp of justice goes out in darkness, how great is that darkness!"

"In all countries", he continues,<sup>7</sup> "cases, sometimes civil, but more frequently criminal, arise which involve political issues and excite party feeling. It is then that the courage and uprightness of the judges become supremely valuable to the nation, commanding respect for the exposition of the law which they have to deliver."

"Nothing", he concludes,<sup>8</sup> "does more for the welfare of the private citizen, and nothing more conduces to the smooth working of free government, than a general confidence in the pure and efficient administration of justice between the individual and the State as well as between man and man."

And another eminent authority, namely, Henry Sidgwick, has gone so far as to say<sup>9</sup> that "in determining a nation's rank in political civilisation, no test is more decisive than the degree in which justice as defined by the law is actually realised in its judicial administration", both

6. See Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. 11, 1929, p. 421.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

9. See Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, 3rd Ed., 1908, p. 481.

"as between one private citizen and another, and as between private citizens and members of the Government." To attain this result we require, he says,<sup>10</sup> among other things, "legal knowledge and skill, impartiality, incorruptibility, and independence in the persons forming the judicial tribunals."

It may be noted in this connexion that in deciding a case the judiciary cannot act arbitrarily. "The judicial department", rightly said<sup>11</sup> Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court in 1824, in the course of his judgment in *Osborne v. Bank of the United States*, "has no will in any case. Judicial power, as contradistinguished from the power of the laws, has no existence. Courts are the mere instruments of the law, and can will nothing. When they are said to exercise a discretion, it is a mere legal discretion,—a discretion to be exercised in discerning the course prescribed by law; and, when that is discerned, it is the duty of the court to follow it. Judicial power is never exercised for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the judge; but always for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the legislature; or, in other words, to the will of the law."

### III

We have shown above, with reference to the views of some eminent publicists, the importance of the judiciary in a State—and particularly in a State with the federal form of government like the United States. Indeed, Alexander Hamilton was perfectly right when he stated in *The Federalist* (No. 22) "Laws are a dead letter, without courts to expound and to define their true meaning and operation." We shall now refer to some of the factors that contribute to "judicial impartiality and independence" and thus help to ensure a "pure and efficient administration of justice between the individual and the State as well as between man and man". We lay a special stress here on the question of judicial independence as "the independence of the judiciary", rightly says Justice Story,<sup>12</sup> "is indispensable to secure the people against the intentional, as well as unintentional, usurpations of the executive and

legislative departments." Now the question of judicial integrity and independence is closely connected with the questions of the mode of appointment of judges, their tenure of office and the adequacy or inadequacy of their salary.

Of the three modes of appointment of judges generally prevalent, namely, appointment by the Head of the Executive, election by the Legislature, and election by people, the first mode seems to be the best and most conducive to judicial independence as, under it, there will be very little scope for the operation of the forces of "cabal and intrigue" as well as of log-rolling tactics, and the responsibility for the choice of a judge will be upon one person. "The sole and undivided responsibility of one man", says Alexander Hamilton,<sup>13</sup> "will naturally beget a livelier sense of duty, and a more exact regard to reputation. He will, on his account, feel himself under stronger obligations, and more interested to investigate with care the qualities requisite to the stations to be filled, and to prefer with impartiality the persons who may have the fairest pretensions to them. He will have fewer personal attachments to gratify than a body of men who may each be supposed to have an equal number, and will be so much the less liable to be misled by the sentiments of friendship and of affection." As a safeguard against any possible favouritism on the part of the Head of the Executive, there may be a provision in the Constitution of the country concerned that in making an appointment to the office of a judge the choice by the Head should be confined to a panel of eligible persons selected by the judges of the Court of law in which the vacancy has occurred.

It may be noted here incidentally that in the United States the federal judges "are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate", and that in England<sup>13a</sup> the judges of the High Court are appointed by the Crown "on the advice of the Lord Chancellor" and "the Lords Justices of Appeal and the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary are (similarly) appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister."

Secondly, it is essential to judicial purity and independence that a judge should hold office

10. See *Ibid.*

11. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 391, footnote 3.

12. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Section 1613.

13. See *The Federalist* No. 76, Max Beloff's Ed., Oxford, 1948, p. 387.

13a. Berriedale Keith, *Constitutional Law*, 1946, p. 280.

during good behaviour, although, regard being had to climatic factors, a reasonable, maximum age of retirement from the office may be fixed by law. That is to say, subject to good behaviour and to a maximum age-limit, if any, a judge should have permanence of tenure in office. This will enable him to perform his judicial duties honestly and fearlessly. What Alexander Hamilton has said in this connexion is worthy of note here. Referring to the particular provision of the Constitution of the United States as drawn up by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, which declared that "the judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour", Hamilton observed:<sup>14</sup>

"The standard of good behaviour for the continuance in office of the judicial magistracy is certainly one of the most valuable of the modern improvements in the practice of government. In a monarchy, it is an excellent barrier to the despotism of the prince; in a republic, it is a no less excellent barrier to the encroachments and oppressions of the representative body. And it is the best expedient which can be devised in any government, to secure a steady, upright, and impartial administration of the laws."

Further, maintaining that "nothing can contribute so much" to the firmness and independence of the judiciary as "*permanency in office*", he said, "this quality may therefore be justly regarded as an indispensable ingredient in its Constitution; and, in a great measure, as the *citadel* of the public justice and the public security."<sup>15</sup>

"The complete independence of the courts of justice", he continued,<sup>16</sup> "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. . . . If then the courts of justice are to be considered as the bulwarks of a limited constitution, against legislative encroachments, this consideration will afford a strong argument for the permanent tenure of judicial offices, since nothing will contribute so much as this to that independent spirit in the judges, which must be essential to the faithful performance of so arduous a duty. . . . That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the constitution, and of individuals, which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by a temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence. If the power of making them was committed either to the executive or legislature, there would be danger of an improper complaisance to the branch which possessed it: if to both, there would be an unwillingness to hazard the displeasure of either; if to the people, or to persons chosen by them for the special purpose, there would be too great a disposition to consult popularity, to justify a reliance that nothing would be consulted but the constitution and the laws."

"There is", said Hamilton in conclusion,<sup>17</sup> "yet a further and a weighty reason for the permanency of judicial offices; which is deducible from the nature of the qualifications they require. It has been frequently remarked, with great propriety, that a voluminous code of laws is one of the inconveniences necessarily connected with the advantages of a free government. To avoid an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before them; and it will readily be conceived, from the variety of controversies which grow out of the folly and wickedness of mankind, that the records of those precedents must unavoidably swell to a very considerable bulk, and must demand long and laborious study to acquire a competent knowledge of them. Hence it is, that there can be but few men

in the society, who will have sufficient skill in the laws to qualify them for the stations of judges. And making the proper deductions for the ordinary depravity of human nature, the number must be still smaller, of those who unite the requisite integrity with the requisite knowledge. . . . Upon the whole, there can be no room to doubt, that the convention<sup>18</sup> acted wisely in copying from the models of those constitutions which have established *good behaviour* as the tenure of judicial offices, in point of duration; and that, so far from being blameable on this account, their plan would have been inexcusably defective, if it had wanted this important feature of good government. The experience of Great Britain affords an illustrious comment on the excellence of the institution."

The case for a good behaviour tenure can hardly be stated with a greater skill, ability and logic than has been done by Alexander Hamilton. His views are in effect endorsed by Justice Story. "If", says Justice Story,<sup>19</sup> "the judges are appointed at short intervals, either by the legislative or the executive department, they will naturally, and, indeed, almost necessarily, become mere dependents upon the appointing power. If they have any desire to obtain, or to hold office, they will at all times evince a desire to follow and obey the will of the predominant power in the state. Justice will be administered with a faltering and feeble hand. It will secure nothing but its own place, and the approbation of those who value, because they control it. It will decree what best suits the opinions of the day, and it will forget that the precepts of the law rest on eternal foundations. The rulers and the citizens will not stand upon an equal ground in litigations. The favourites of the day will overawe by their power, or seduce by their influence; and thus the fundamental maxim of a republic, that it is a government of laws and not of men, will be silently disproved or openly abandoned. . . . These considerations acquire . . . still more cogency and force when applied to questions of constitutional law. . . . No man can deny the necessity of a judiciary to interpret the Constitution and laws, and to pre-

serve the citizens against oppression and usurpation in civil and criminal prosecutions. Does it not follow, that, to enable the judiciary to fulfil its functions, it is indispensable that the judges should not hold their offices at the mere pleasure of those whose acts they are to check, and, if need be, to declare void?"

It may be noted in this connexion that in the United States the federal judges "hold their offices during good behaviour" and are, as Bryce has rightly stated,<sup>20</sup> "irremovable except by impeachment."

Closely connected with the question of tenure of office of judges is another question, namely, whether a judge should, either during his term of office or on his retirement therefrom, be eligible for "appointment to any but a judicial office". It appears to us that in the interests of judicial impartiality and independence he should not be so eligible. The appointment of one judge or ex-judge, say, to an executive office is likely to create expectations in the minds of other judges, and this may produce a deleterious effect on "the pure and upright administration of justice." "For", rightly says<sup>21</sup> the distinguished American publicist Mr. Tucker, "the hope of favour is always more alluring, and generally more dangerous, than the fear of offending."

Before we leave the question of judicial tenure, we may refer to what Maitland and Berriedale Keith have said with regard to the position of judges in England before, and since, the enactment of the Act of Settlement, 1701. "Throughout the Stuart reigns", says Maitland,<sup>22</sup> "judges have been dismissed if they withstand the King—too often they have been his servile creatures. All along they have held their offices *during beneplacito*—during the King's good pleasure. At once after the Revolution the question was raised, and William's judges were commissioned *quamdiu se bene gesserint*—during good behaviour. He, however, refused his assent to a bill for making this a matter of law—but the point was secured by the Act of Settlement (1 and 13 Will. III, c. 2). So soon as the House of

14. See *The Federalist* No. 78—*Ibid.*, pp. 395-402; also Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Sections 1600-1606.

15. See *Ibid.*

16. See *Ibid.*

17. See *Ibid.*

18. I.e., the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, 1787.

19. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Sections 1613-1614.

20. See Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

21. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 432-33 foot-note.

22. See Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England*, 1941, pp. 312-13.



Hanover comes to the throne judge's commissions are to be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries are to be fixed, but they are to be removable upon an address of both Houses of Parliament. This means that a judge cannot be dismissed except either in consequence of a conviction for some offence, or on the address of both houses."

And we find in Berriedale Keith:<sup>23</sup>

"An essential feature of the law of the (British) Constitution is the security of judicial tenure. Prior to that being granted under the Act of Settlement, 1701, the judiciary was always susceptible of control by the Crown . . . James II dismissed four judges to make him secure of a decision favourable to the dispensing power which he claimed. The solution of the Act of Settlement had the merit of giving tenure during good behaviour but permitting removal by the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament, as now provided."<sup>24</sup>

The next important factor that tends to contribute to judicial integrity and independence is the question of salary. A judge should, consistently with his social status and the dignity of his office, receive an adequate and, preferably, fixed salary. Besides, he should be entitled to a decent pension on retirement from his office after a specified number of years' service. Alexander Hamilton is perfectly right when he says<sup>25</sup> that "next to permanency in office, nothing can contribute more to the independence of the judges than a fixed provision for their support;" that "in the general course of human

nature, a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will;" and that "we can never hope to see realized in practice the complete separation of the judicial from the legislative power, in any system, which leaves the former dependent for pecuniary resource on the occasional grants of the latter."

#### IV

Closely connected with the question of independence of the judiciary is another question, namely, whether the highest court of law in a country should have or exercise any power of giving any advisory or extra-judicial opinion on any matter. Before we express our own view on this question, we may refer to the position in this respect in the United States and in England. So far as the United States is concerned, we find in Justice Story:<sup>26</sup>

"We have seen that by law the President possesses the right to require the written advice and opinions of his cabinet ministers upon all questions connected with their respective departments. But he does not possess a like authority in regard to the judicial department. That branch of the government can be called upon only to decide controversies brought before them in a legal form; and therefore are bound to abstain from any extra-judicial opinions upon points of law, even though solemnly requested by the executive."

And in a foot-note<sup>27</sup> to this observation Justice Story has stated that "President Washington, in 1793, requested the opinion of the judges of the Supreme Court upon the construction of the treaty with France of 1778", but that "they declined to give any opinion, upon the ground stated" above. Thus the Supreme Court refused to express any advisory or extra-judicial opinion on the question referred to it by the President.

We find a confirmation of what Justice Story has stated in the following extract from the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Muskat v. United States* (219 U.S. 346, 1911), delivered by Mr. Justice Day in 1911:<sup>28</sup>

26. See Story *op. cit.*, Volume II, Section 1571.

27. See *Ibid.*, p. 388, foot-note 1.

28. See N. T. Dowling—*Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 109-10.

"In 1793, by direction of the President. Secretary of State, Jefferson addressed to the Justices of the Supreme Court a communication soliciting their views upon the question whether their advice to the executive would be available in the solution of important questions of the construction of treaties, laws of nations and laws of the land, which the Secretary said were often presented under circumstances which 'do not give a cognizance of them to the tribunals of the country.' The answer to the question was postponed until the subsequent sitting of the Supreme Court, when Chief Justice Jay and his associates answered to President Washington that in consideration of the lines of separation drawn by the Constitution between the three departments of government, and being judges of a court of last resort, afforded strong arguments against the propriety of extra-judicially deciding the questions alluded to, and expressing the view that the power given by the Constitution to the President of calling on heads of departments for opinions 'seems to have been purposely, as well as expressly united to the executive departments'.<sup>29</sup>

So far as England is concerned, we have the authority of a Lord Chief Justice there, we

29. It may be noted here that "advisory opinions on constitutional questions are authorised by the constitutions" of some of the States of the American Union such as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Florida, Colorado, and South Dakota. Thus we find in Willoughby:

"In a number of the States of the American Union it is constitutionally provided that, upon request by the executive or the legislature, the judges of the highest court of the State shall give their opinion as to the constitutionality of proposed measures or actions submitted to them . . . . In general it may be said that these opinions thus obtained are purely advisory in character, and that they do not constitute judicial precedents to control the future judgements of even the courts that render them."—See W. W. Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., 1929, Vol. I, pp. 28-29; also Dowling, *op. cit.*, p. 120 n. 2.

We are, however, concerned here with the question whether the *highest* court of law in a country should have or exercise the power of giving any advisory or extra-judicial opinion on any matter.

mean Lord Hewart of Bury, to state<sup>30</sup> that, whatever might have been the position in the past, an attempt made in 1928, through Clause 4(1) of the Rating and Valuation Bill of that year, a Government measure, to obtain advisory judicial opinion on "doubtful points of law", in advance of actual litigation, was very strongly opposed in the House of Lords and had ultimately to be abandoned. Now the proposed Clause 4(1) wanted to provide as follows:<sup>31</sup>

"If on the representation of the Central Valuation Committee, made after consultation with such associations or bodies as appear to them to be concerned, it is made to appear to the Minister of Health that a substantial question of law has arisen in relation to the valuation of hereditaments or of any class of hereditaments for the purposes of rating and that, unless that question is authoritatively determined, want of uniformity or inequality in valuation may result, the Minister may submit the question to the High Court for its opinion thereon, and the High Court, after hearing such parties as it thinks proper, shall give its opinion on the question."

Thus, through this Clause an attempt was made "to obtain the opinions of His Majesty's judges beforehand" on some "doubtful points of law". This Clause provoked emphatic protests in the House of Lords both in the Committee stage of the Rating and Valuation Bill and on the floor of the House. Briefly speaking, it was argued<sup>32</sup> against it that the proposed Clause was "specious", "mischievous", "objectionable", and "unhealthy", that it would, in effect, "make the Judiciary Act in an ancillary and advisory capacity to the Executive, and confound the working of the judicial system with Executive administration"; that it would establish "a species of auricular relation between His Majesty's Administration and the judges, who had to be impartial in all questions affecting the subject"; that it was "no part of the business of His Majesty's judges", and never had "been part of their business, at any rate since the Act of Settlement, to have any advisory concern in the acts of the Administration, or to take any part in advising the Administration"; that the

30. For details see Lord Hewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-42.

31. See *Ibid.*, p. 119.

32. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 120-42.

23. See Berriedale Keith, *Constitutional Law*, 1946, p. 279; also p. 12.

24. We also find in Lord Chief Justice Hewart of England:

"There have been, in the long course of English history, periods and occasions when the Executive has endeavoured, not entirely without success, to control and to pervert the course of judicial decision. It was not without good reason that, in 1701, those who were responsible for the Act of Settlement were careful to provide that judges could not be removed except on the address of both Houses of Parliament. For more than two centuries and a quarter that secure position has remained unimpaired, with results which are well known."—See Lord Hewart, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

25. See *The Federalist* No. 79.

natural effect of associating the judges "with the Administration and attaching to them the responsibility for conclusions which are put forward by the Administration will be to weaken the authority of the Judiciary"; that there was no reason why the judges should be "brought in by this side-wind to help the Executive to carry on their business, to replace the Law Officers and to relieve the Executive of responsibility as to decisions that they ought to arrive at upon the law"; that the Clause raised "a question of principle" as it was "an attempt to introduce something quite novel", so far as the law of England was concerned—"to introduce the plan of enabling an abstract question, a question not necessarily relating to any concrete case but purely general, to be put before the judges", and the judges were "to be compelled . . . to give an opinion upon that question", that it would "prejudice future suitors"; that it would be "very embarrassing to future litigants" as any advisory opinion once given by the Court on what might be "a purely abstract question" might be "used as an authoritative guide" by it on a subsequent occasion; that it would draw "the judges into the region of administration"; that the Government would be well advised not to press the Clause to which there was a great deal of repugnance felt in the House (of Lords); that the "proposal"<sup>33</sup> is one that does conflict with what has been for generations the principle upon which justice has been administered in His Majesty's Courts—namely, that they decide questions that have actually arisen between subject and subject or subject and the Crown"; that the proposed Clause would introduce "a fundamental and constitutional change in judicial administration" in the country; that it would set up a "very grave and unparalleled system . . . of trying to rope in the Judiciary to the help of the Executive in their administrative capacity", and thus "introduce a novel principle . . . fraught with danger"; and that it would "convert His Majesty's Judges into departmental solicitors".

In view of this strong opposition to the proposed Clause 4(1) in the House of Lords, His Majesty's Government decided to withdraw it. What the then Lord Chancellor (Lord

Hailsham) said<sup>34</sup> in the House, while withdrawing the Clause, is worthy of note here. "Not only", he observed,<sup>35</sup> among other things, "is it important that the Judiciary should be independent of the Executive, but it is also of vital importance that the public should be satisfied that the Judiciary and the Executive are independent. We have thought that the undoubted fact that members of your Lordships' House occupying high judicial positions have seriously and sincerely believed that this principle of independence was being infringed, necessarily must arouse doubt and distrust in the public mind and that it was far better that we should abandon the effort to obtain a power of this kind than that we should run any risk of an impression being created, rightly or wrongly, in the minds of the public that there was any connection being established between the Executive and the Judiciary and any infringement of that independence of the Judiciary which is the palladium of the liberty of the subject".

We have shown above the position in regard to the question of advisory, judicial opinion in the United States and in England. We are on principle opposed to the idea that the highest court in a country should have or exercise any power of giving any advisory opinion on any question either to the Executive or to the Legislature. The expression of such opinion on any issue or issues that may be referred to it means a kind of pre-commitment on the part of the court to a certain point of view, and this may create a difficult and embarrassing situation later on when a concrete case involving more or less similar issue or issues comes before it for adjudication. Moreover, the litigant or litigants concerned may not quite feel confidence in the impartiality of the court in such circumstance. Nor do we think that it is consistent with the dignity and status of the highest court of law in a country that it should play, or be made to play, the role of the super-attorney-general either to its Executive or to its Legislature. It is true that under Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1833, "the King in Council may refer any matters other than appeals to the Judicial Committee for advice, and the (Privy) Council

34. On 1st May, 1928. See Lord Hewart, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

35. See *Ibid.*

33. I.e., the proposed Clause.

is bound to advise him".<sup>36</sup> It is also true that, on the analogy of this British law, there is a legal provision in Canada for the offering of advisory opinion by its Supreme Court to the Executive Government.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, we feel

36. See Berriedale Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 11, p. 1106.

37. See *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 571-72.

It may be noted here that in the Common-

wealth of Australia "it has been ruled that it is not the duty of the High Court to answer abstract questions."—See *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 1108.

## SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION IN POST-WAR INDIA

By Dr. J. N. RAY

The Union Public Service Commission and other bodies who are concerned with the selection of administrative and technical personnel have all remarked that there has been an amazing fall in standards of candidates who appear before them. Some suggestions have been made that this is due to poor emoluments that are offered in Government Services. This is not correct. I have been concerned with the selection of candidates both for the public and private sectors and I can say that the salary offered had no material bearing on the quality of candidates who appeared for interview. What then is the reason for this fall in standards that has undoubtedly taken place during the last decade or so? The answer to this question is to be found in the fall in the quality of teaching that has taken place since 1940.

During the last war a large number of university teachers were drafted into the service of the Government for furthering the war effort. Many of these men were unable to return to the universities for various reasons. Some who were anxious to resume their academic duties could not do so. Their places were taken up by younger people who were not quite mature enough to lead. Many such men were tempted to consolidate their position by seeking elections to different elective academic bodies. This introduced a certain amount of unhealthy politics in the universities. Much of the present-day troubles

in the different universities all over India are traceable to this cause.

The fall in the standard of teaching was inevitable. The older teachers who were able to withstand the temptation to leave the teaching profession were swamped by the tide of the growing strength of teacher-politicians. In most cases they had no voice in the things that were happening. Their junior colleagues found themselves called to serve on innumerable committees and sub-committees that were formed after the war by the Government. The students took these to be recognition of merit and whatever prestige the older men had as teachers was soon lost. The stage was set for budding politicians where teaching became a matter of secondary importance. Many new universities were created during the post-war period but the number of people for appointment to higher teaching posts are gradually diminishing.

Owing to the fall in standards the minimum qualification for a good job was set at a first class degree. This also resulted in the universities passing out a large number of men as first class. Since many posts are filled on an all-India basis, the competition to produce as many first class graduates as possible became more evident. I have found on investigation that the present-day students in some universities do not do half the quantitative estimations their predecessors used to do 40 years ago. They do not do any-

thing new that the earlier students did not do. Nobody can deny that there have been phenomenal advances in science. They should have covered much more ground, therefore, than students of 40 years ago. While this is generally true about all universities so far as practical work is concerned, the theoretical syllabus has been greatly expanded. Much of the things that are taught today could have been easily left out. But the eye is on making the question paper look imposing to an outsider. The questions that are set are often taught with great emphasis so that the students can reproduce the answers without difficulty. But if by any chance the expected questions are not set then there is a great deal of trouble. I have discussed this matter with some teachers who entirely agree with the above views. The remedy they suggest is rather drastic. In their opinion the B.Sc. Hons. and M.Sc. papers should be set for all universities by the Inter-University Board. If that were done there would be an automatic improvement in teaching. But in adopting this idea a great deal of opposition would be met from all quarters as the question of academic freedom would be raised.

If the employers continue to give their preference for a first class degree then some attempt at standardisation would have to be made sooner or later. I looked at the "situations vacant" column of a newspaper one day last month. There were nine technical posts advertised, all except one stipulated a first class degree. This was with respect to commercial firms. I understand that the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester and Leeds have now decided that they would admit none but first class degree holders of Indian Universities. This undoubtedly proves that they also feel that the quality of teaching in India has deteriorated a great deal. This attitude of the English Universities can be explained away by saying that this has been done because of great rush of students for whom seats cannot be found. I have spoken to some professors of British Universities who told me that they had also noticed an amazing fall in the quality of students from India.

Another factor that has profoundly affected the quality of education is the fact that English is now taught at a much later stage in schools.

The result has been that when the students join the college they are unable to follow lectures given in English. One Bombay College teaches English in the first year class for six months before they begin regular lectures. A considerable amount of valuable time is lost. Not only that, owing to imperfect grasp of the language the temptation to commit to memory all that is likely to be asked in the examination is great. Those who expected that learning the vernaculars first would help in developing the critical faculties better are clearly mistaken. I can give many examples to illustrate the amazing confused thinking of a present-day M.Sc. but all teachers know it very well. In some universities research work could be taken up as part fulfilment of the requirements of the M.Sc. degree. This system had to be discontinued owing to reasons which are not very creditable to the teachers concerned. I had a talk with some of the senior teachers of a university. They all bitterly complained that not only M.Sc. students who come up for Ph.D. degree are half-baked owing to their not having done enough practical work but their conceptions are so vague that it takes 2-3 years to train them in methods of research. Consequently the average age when a student gets his Ph.D. degree is about 30 years. The average English and American student gets his Ph.D. when he is about 23. Hence in a tropical country where men age quickly we lose seven years. These Ph.D. Students in India are often in receipt of fellowships sponsored by Government departments for furthering investigation in a particular field. These scholarships have a specific object but investigation on such lines may not qualify a student for his Ph.D. degree. Hence these investigations are a cloak to get enough to carry on till he gets his Ph.D. Hence many of these investigations are completely wasted.

This is also happening in the National Laboratories. A person, after his M.Sc., gets appointed as a Junior Assistant. He then concentrates his energies to theoretical problems till he is able to submit a thesis for the Ph.D. degree in one of the accommodating Universities. In one case I know it took about 15 years to do it. If this waste of valuable time, material and money is to be avoided, the C.S.I.R. should have a clear policy about the work that is to be done in National Laboratories. There should be a ratio fixed for technological researches and

researches in pure science in these laboratories. If that is done the quality of technological investigations would be much improved. There is no gainsaying that enough work in the technological field has not been done in these laboratories. This is the general feeling of every man engaged in industry with whom I have talked. If the craze for their personnel to get the Ph.D. degree could be stopped then we would not have the spectacle of a National Laboratory taking up subjects for investigations with which they are not even remotely concerned. If the National Physical Laboratory did take up the chemical investigation of separation of organic bases, it would indeed be a calamity. In order that proper utilisation of personnel takes place, inter-departmental transfer should be made possible.

I have mentioned that with the honourable exception of a few laboratories the average age of an Indian Ph.D. is about 30 years. He is now thrown on the employment market. He has nothing very much more than his Ph.D. degree to show. This does not bring him any gainful employment easily. He then turns his attention towards obtaining a post-Doctorate fellowship in the U.S.A. The value of these are often as high as Rs. 2,500/- p.m. They cannot expect to get this amount even after a lifetime of service in India. Many are able to secure these fellowships. The reason is that an American student gets a regular job worth much more than the value of these Scholarships, soon after his Ph.D. Therefore, he is not interested in these unless he is the academic type and wants to stay in research. There are not many of these men. Therefore, the American Professor has to cast his net far and wide. The first choice is on European students. Unless the professor is of the top-ranking variety he has to depend on whatever material is handy. Moreover there is a general feeling of sympathy for the Indians who are trying to come up in the world.

After obtaining the post-doctoral fellowship, the Indian student spends 3-4 years in the U.S.A. gaining valuable experience and getting used to a real socialistic pattern of society. Therefore, he is unwilling to return to his country where he will meet with a considerable amount of snobbery from politician-scientists. Some who have established their reputation generally manage to stay

abroad. I asked one of these men who had done most outstanding work, why did he not return? His answer was typical. He said that he would be placed as low in the hierarchy as would be possible to place him, because his reputation would be a source of danger to the boss. Moreover, he would probably get an assistant or two of the type I have mentioned whom it would take ages to train and the best part of his life would thus be wasted. He is now 35 years of age. Those who would return to India after their stay in America with a scholarship would also be about the same age. They also would find it difficult to get suitable emoluments to which they had been used to. There would arise considerable amount of heat in their dealings with men and particularly their superiors. These men who had spent more than half a life-time in pursuit of their vocation cannot but be frustrated.

The example of these men are having a further deteriorating effect on younger men the majority of whom are now convinced that if one has to get on in life, considerable amount of string pulling is necessary. The short-cut to success is through agitation. Hence, there are so many agitators in the field. These thoughts are ugly but to the writer these are matters which must be looked into if we want to avoid disaster. The reformation should, in my opinion, begin from school education. The vernaculars have not yet developed sufficiently to replace English as medium of instruction. Let us do all we can to develop the regional languages but in the meanwhile, let us not be swayed by emotion.

Recently, the Ministry of Education made a statement that in view of the congestion in the universities, higher education should only be open to the fittest. This has given rise to a lot of criticism but the truth has to be faced. Mass scale imparting of higher education has done no tangible good. If we are to get the best out of the material available, some sort of restriction has to be imposed. But the method adopted to weed out the so-called unfit should not be faulty. We know that the examination result is not a very good criterion to adopt. If those desirous of seeking admission are also subjected to a psychological test then some hardships can be avoided.

The real crux of the problem is to find teachers who would regard teaching as their only

occupation. Too much of their time is now occupied with outside activities. These should be curtailed. I know of a professor who is out of town half the days in the month with occasional foreign tours thrown in. He is not an exception. If the National Laboratories are to be really useful to the nation, they should have a clear-cut programme of work. Promotion should not be only based on seniority, merit should also be recognised. The machinery set up for determining merit should itself be such as would inspire confidence. Getting a Ph.D. has now become the be-all and end-all of life. This attitude should be

changed. I have heard teachers boasting that they have produced so many Ph.D.s. If that is the attitude of the teachers, one can understand the attitude of the students.

There are many glaring defects in our present system. One cannot discuss them all in a single article. The object of this article is to draw attention to the fact that all is not well. The writer has no doubts that the more thoughtful men, whose numbers are still many in this country, would be able to rectify the defects. The problem is urgent as it appears that we have slipped back a great deal in recent years.

## INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN SOCIAL WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

By SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI

Government today is the biggest social welfare agency in India. This is as it should be. The assumption of comprehensive social welfare programmes by the Government is not the outcome of certain vague but irresistible fad of those at the helm of governmental affairs at present, but a grave constitutional injunction. The Constitution of India enjoins upon the State to secure to all its citizens :

“Justice, social, economic and political;  
Liberty of thought, expression, belief,  
faith and worship;  
Equality of status and of opportunity”

The State in India is thus irrevocably pledged to the ideal of the Welfare State.

Engaged in the promotion of social welfare programmes are all the three levels of government—federal, state and local. Unlike most of the federal constitutions where the welfare matters are the exclusive concern of the federating units, the Indian Constitution has placed the welfare subjects either in the concurrent list or in the State list. This is easily understandable

in the Constitution with a pronounced emphasis on welfare within the framework of democracy. This system secures the desired elasticity inasmuch as the Union Government has the untrammelled freedom to implement her international commitments in the realm of welfare. Also, this arrangement rules out jurisdictional disputes and facilitates the Union leadership in the welfare field. It, nevertheless, must be conceded that clear-cut relationships and understandings between the several levels of government are basic to the unimpeded development and best utilization of the resources of all.

At the outset, it may be made clear that there is no single ministry at the Union level exclusively looking after the social welfare programmes. Social Welfare activities are distributed among the government organs on a functional basis. The welfare services are organized according to their connexion with Education, Health, etc., as is made evident in the following table :<sup>1</sup>

1. *Renuka Ray Committee Report*, p. 284, Annexure XI.

| Ministry                                | Subjects dealt with                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) Ministry of Education :             | (a) C S W B<br>(b) Youth Welfare and Recreational services<br>(c) Education and Welfare of the Handicapped<br>(d) Social Work Training and Research<br>(e) Social Education                                                                                                                                                                  |
| (2) Ministry of Health :                | (a) Maternity and Child Welfare Services<br>(b) Medico-social Work<br>(c) Rehabilitation of the Physically and Mentally Handicapped and of T.B. and Leprosy Patients<br>(d) Health Services for School-going Children<br>(e) Family Planning                                                                                                 |
| (3) Ministry of Home Affairs :          | (a) Welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes<br>(b) Beggary or Vagrancy<br>(c) Juvenile Delinquency and Probation<br>(d) Welfare of Prisoners<br>(e) Social & Moral Hygiene<br>(f) Rehabilitation of Persons discharged from Correctional and non-Correctional Institutions<br>(g) Emergency Relief Measures |
| (4) Ministry of Community Development : | (a) Welfare of Women and Children in the Rural Areas<br>(b) Social Education                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| (5) Planning Commission :               | (a) Examination and Processing of Development Programme and formulation of National Policy                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

The association of so many Central Ministries with the welfare matters has been conducive to neither economy nor efficiency in the utilization of resources; and constrained the Renuka Ray Committee (July, 1959) to make a plea for the pooling together of the welfare subjects under a separate department under the Ministry of Education. The Committee says : “The social welfare subjects (excluding the welfare of backward classes) should be brought under one administrative agency at the centre. A separate department may be set up immediately for the purpose under the Ministry of Education which may be appropriately redesignated as ‘Ministry of Education & Social Welfare’.”<sup>2</sup>

The existing constitutional provisions have induced the Union Government to perform a very important role in welfare administration

2. *Ibid*, p. 209.

and, as a consequence, relegated the states to a more or less secondary position. This trend—the centralization process—is being accelerated by some peculiar factors such as the overriding demands of the Five-Year Plans and the same party government at the Union and State levels. Important in this centralization process has been the historical fact that the unitary government was replaced by the federal one with the result that the units are not, either by habit or tradition, sufficiently assertive and resistant to the encroachments by the Union Government. The Union Government is directly responsible for implementing international conventions, co-ordinating inter-governmental activities, providing services in centrally-administered areas and administering the central institutions. The responsibility of the Union Government is of indirect nature in other respects and involves planning, research, direction and grants-in-aid.



It is the states which have the responsibility for the legislation and administration of welfare matters. The United Nations Survey of Methods of Social Welfare Administration calls the functions of planning, research, direction, etc., as performed by the Union Government as "standard-setting, promotion, subsidization and supervision." To quote from the Survey itself, "standard-setting, promotion subsidization and supervision are thus more important than direct administration in the promotion of many forms of social welfare activity."<sup>3</sup> The Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service of the Committee on Plan Projects says that in subjects assigned to the States the activities of the Union Government should be mainly assisting the State Governments with finances, co-ordinating research and evolving in consultation with the States a common national policy. Where the States and Centre exercise concurrent jurisdiction, the State Government should perform alone either in its own right or as agent of the Centre with wide discretion in regard to administrative details. It is the practice even in Unitary States to devolve social administration upon the local authorities. Of interest in this connexion may be the Study Committee Report on "Federal Aid to Welfare," submitted to the U.S. Commission on Inter-governmental Relations (June, 1955). It says:

"The Federal role should be that of research, special studies, compilation of statistical data, development of standards, consultation, advice, audit and reviews."

"The State (and local) role should be the responsibility for day-to-day operation of the Programme, experimentation, development of programmes beyond minimum Federal requirements with State (and local) financing, statistical reporting and programme analysis and review."<sup>4</sup>

The relations between the Union Government and the Governments of the States should be informed by the principle enunciated by John Stuart Mill to regulate the division of functions between central and local authorities in a unitary system of government: "The principal business of the central authority should be to

give instruction to the local authority to apply it. Power may be localised, but knowledge to be most useful must be centralized."<sup>5</sup> The Union Government should, as a norm, confine itself to standard-setting, recognition, registration, supervision, giving grants-in-aid, and training. It should devote itself to research and place the results of research at the disposal of the State Governments;<sup>6</sup> it may go a step further—it may draft bills on welfare matters for submission to the states on matters in which it (the Union Government) is interested and which it is ready to support financially. The training programme should include a common basic curriculum of elements of social work and welfare and social approach and techniques to prepare the trainees for a co-ordinated approach to the socio-economic development of the country. "The handling of complex problems of social, economic and human relationships requires certain types of knowledge concerning human behaviour, social institutions and economic organization and certain skills for helping troubled people, which can best be communicated through formal training in a full-time course of related theory and practice in a School of Social Work."<sup>7</sup> Training for social welfare must be standardised by the Union Government. The Union funds available to each state should be based upon the principle of equalizing among all States the fiscal burden of maintaining a minimum standard. Fiscal assistance should be extended in such a way as to stimulate states to assume their reasonable share of welfare activities. The system of matching grants, which requires a State Government to provide a matching grant to qualify for central assistance for any scheme, is meant to encourage the states to tax their own resources to the maximum. In practice it has been found that many of the backward states have not been able to raise the necessary funds to take full advantage of this system. Quite often central grants have lapsed for want of the matching grant from the state concerned. On the other hand, the more advanced states have been able

5. "Representative Government," p. 357.

6. Even J. S. Mill held that this was one thing which the Central Government should do for its subordinate units.

7. Report on Training for Social Work—An International Survey, 1950, p. 42.

to take advantage of this system, resulting in regional unbalance. It is, therefore, desirable that instead of insisting upon matching grants, the Union Government should announce grants for various items for each state at the beginning of the year. It may, however, be stated that the Union funds could be used only for the defined purposes.

As a number of organizational units are involved in welfare services at the Union level, problem of co-ordination has become an exceedingly crucial one. The Union Government created, in 1953, the Central Social Welfare Board, which performs the co-ordinating functions in addition to having administrative responsibilities. It has been created as an autonomous body responsible administratively to the Ministry of Education. As there is no Central Ministry responsible for social welfare, the C S W B is to fill up that gap. The evaluation section attached to the Community Projects Administration as an independent organ under the Planning Commission also sees that there is no duplication, overlapping or wastage and that programmes of various departments are dovetailed into one another in such a manner as to make for overall economy and efficiency.

As stated previously, the State Governments bear the prime responsibility for the legislation and administration of welfare subjects.<sup>8</sup> Most of the States—with the solitary exception of the State of Bombay—lack a separate department of Social Welfare. There would usually be a dozen of departments dealing with different aspects of welfare. The Education Department, the Home Department, the Legal Department, the Labour Department, the Development Department, the Health Department—all are concerned with

8. It may be interesting to note the following observation of the Study Committee on Federal Aid to Welfare (the U.S.A.):

"While interest in welfare is shared by the National, State and Local Governments, the primary responsibility for providing an adequate welfare programme clearly lies with the States and their political sub-divisions. For that reason there is a strong national interest in the maintenance and development of vigorous state and local Governments in order that they may discharge more effectively their responsibilities in the welfare field."—(Study Committee Report on Federal Aid to Welfare, June, 1955, p. 6.)

various aspects of social welfare. Incidentally, this is the reflection of the piecemeal basis on which the welfare activities have been developed over a series of years, each activity being developed with little relationship to what existed before or elsewhere. The pooling together of these fragmented parts is the first important requirement of a comprehensive integrated approach to the development of social welfare. Under the prevailing 'atomistic' approach to social welfare, the welfare matters are only incidentally attended to by officials whose primary duties lie elsewhere. Inevitably, therefore, welfare is deprived of the expert handling which would otherwise be available if all the experiences of dealing with different facets of social welfare were pooled together. The long and the short of this discussion is that there is an urgent necessity of a separate department of social welfare in the States. It is heartening that the Renuka Ray Committee has also come out with the enthusiastic support for "a unified department in each state dealing with social welfare as also the welfare of Backward Classes."<sup>9</sup>

The second comment one is provoked to make is that social welfare at the state level lacks the sustained, vigorous drive and initiative. Under the prevailing set up States are called upon to administer the schemes, in the planning and financing of which they have had little hand.<sup>10</sup> No wonder, their impulse for initiative gets deadened; and a feeling of utter dependence on the Union Government is generated and strengthened. This, to be sure, is detrimental to the cause of social welfare in the long range perspective.

This lack of integrated approach to social welfare at state level under one department headed by the elected Minister; and of sustained vigour and drive should be a plea for the institution, by the state governments, of a separate Department of Social Welfare. Such a

9. The Renuka Ray Committee Report, p. 213.

10. "To be sure, there is a risk that State participation in joint schemes, while bolstering the states as going organizations, may induce habits of subordination and deference to external initiative and guidance."—(Report of the Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, U.S.A., June, 1955, p. 67.)

3. The U.N. Survey of Methods of Social Welfare Administration, p. 112.

4. Report, p. 8.

Department of Social Welfare will, to begin with, thrash out a unified, comprehensive programme of social welfare. The welfare measures will, then, have the benefit of expert handling. This Department would co-ordinate the various aspects of social welfare and effectively supervise and assist the voluntary agencies working in different fields of welfare. It would enrich itself by freely drawing upon the varied experiences of the social workers engaged in different fields. A fear has been expressed that such a department will not have optimum social welfare work to justify the retention of a specially trained staff. This fear betrays an ignorance of the true scope of social welfare. The creation of a department will in itself be a significant step towards injecting the necessary drive and initiative to blow the contents of social welfare to the optimum size.

But the institution of a department of Social Welfare at the state level must be matched with the simultaneous building up of adequate base organizations for the co-ordinated pattern of welfare services.<sup>11</sup> The local self-government should be the base of the administrative structure which should be linked with the state and union levels through a process of co-ordination and devolution of sufficient powers. This implies a clear demarcation of functions and responsibilities between the different levels and bringing about the necessary co-ordination and effective control. There is evidence of a marked trend towards a decentralization of authority and responsibility for the administration of welfare programmes in most countries. The United States Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, in its Report, submitted to the U.S. President in June, 1955 has strongly recommended the strengthening of local governments by entrusting them with activities which can be handled by them together with the financial resources necessary for their support.<sup>12</sup> In India, too, there is a

11. "If decentralization of government is an objective to be attained, then it is not won when decentralized to the State, but only when as many powers and financial resources as possible are returned to the local governments where every citizen has a chance to exercise his will directly."—(*Report of the Advisory Committee on Local Government*, submitted to the Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, U.S.A., p. 29.)

12. *Vide Report*, p. 47.

growing feeling for making the local self-government welfare-biased. For example, the Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953) recognises the potentialities of local self-government—both rural and urban. The Report states:

"Local self-government has now become an integral part of the national administrative machinery playing the same vital role that has been assigned to local self-government in other independent democratic countries. Increasingly, it is coming to be recognised in this country as that branch of administration which must eventually take charge of the expanding social services of the State.

Similarly, the Second Five-Year Plan predicts:

"Eventually, the burden of maintaining social services has to fall in the main on local authorities."<sup>13</sup>

Clearly, the local area is the place where problems of different types and complexities easily make themselves detected. Action and reaction operate in it in an amazing way.<sup>14</sup> In a small community it is comparatively easier to assess needs and render services in a most efficacious way while keeping the organizational structure quite manageable. A welfare state lays the foundation of welfare at the lowest community level.<sup>15</sup> Resources and initiatives are, therefore, vitally needed at the local level to work for the triple welfare of the individual, the family and the local community. Rightly has Dr. B. H. Mehta commented that "the Central and State Governments *organise* a nation; but it is the local self-government in co-operation with the community that *manages* the nation."<sup>16</sup>

It is ironical that these bodies so full of promises and potentialities should be so anaemic

13. *Second Five-Year Plan* (1956), p. 601.

14. "Good ideas are likely to be discovered locally on the firing line of practice, but they do not reach fruition unless means exist to clear them centrally and spread them."—(*The Report of the Commission on Inter-governmental Relations*, U.S.A., June, 1955, p. 65.)

15. "It must be remembered as a dictum of social policy that it is ultimately the people whose welfare is to be achieved, and that it is not for them but through and by them that people's well-being could be best accomplished."—(*Social Welfare in India, 1955, Planning Commission*, pp. 617-618).

16. *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, p. 247.

## INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS . . . IN INDIA

at present. The relationship between the State Government and Local Bodies<sup>17</sup> is marked—or, marred—by an astonishing degree of centralization. This situation forced itself upon the Renuka Ray Committee, which observed:

"We feel, however, that in certain aspects, more especially at the district level, decentralization has not been given sufficient attention . . . . We are fully convinced that the move to transfer greater responsibility . . . . is a step in the right direction."<sup>18</sup>

Evidently, a radical change in the hitherto prevailing attitude is called for. They must be actively and increasingly associated with welfare administration. The local body should have links with the state and the Union on the one hand, and with the neighbourhood and local community on the other. The creation of a social welfare department,<sup>19</sup> in the local body would go a

17. Compare, for instance, the following observations:

"In emphasizing the interest of the community as a whole and in particular the needs of those sections which are at present handicapped in various ways, village panchayats along with co-operatives, can play a considerable part in bringing about a more just and integrated social structure in rural areas and in developing a new pattern of rural leadership."—*Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 151.

"The question of democratic decentralization in local self-government has a special significance in India in the context of the need for evoking people's co-operation and participation in the execution of the Five-Year Plans and the national objective of a socialist pattern of society in the democratic framework of government."—*The Administrative System of India (IPA)*, Part IV (B), p. 39.

18. *Ibid*, pp. 13-14.

19. It may be interesting to note the resolution, adopted by the Indian Conference of Social Work (January, 1958), on the role of Local Government in implementing Welfare Services:

"That the scope of work of the local self-government institutions be adequately expanded so as to include among other functions the implementation of social welfare services with the ultimate aim of bringing the benefits of the welfare state within the reach of every citizen; that in the local self-government institutions like Corporations and District Boards, there should

long way in developing a broad-based social welfare programme. Secondly, these institutions should, as a rule, establish close relations with the voluntary welfare agencies, operating in the area, and co-operate with them in working for the welfare of the people in their respective areas. Thirdly, these local bodies are ideal institutions for research and survey work related to the welfare problems in the region. But the proper discharge of these additional functions necessitates the granting to them of adequate powers and resources in the form of redistribution of funds by the State Government. States should make available to local government a large range of revenue sources consistent with their needs. The growth of private business into larger units has made it necessary to collect a greater percentage of the total revenue at the Union and State levels and a lesser proportion at the local level. This makes it essential to return part of these funds to State and Local Governments.

This part of our discussion would be incomplete without a reference to the Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service of the Committee on Plan Projects, popularly known as the Balwant-rai Mehta Committee Report. This Report has recommended the establishment of a single representative and vigorous democratic institution to take charge of all aspects of development work in the rural areas. This body—the Panchayat Samiti—should be statutory, elective, comprehensive in its duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery and in possession of adequate resources. The Panchayat Samiti which is to be constituted by indirect elections from village panchayats within the block area, would be in charge of the entire development work of rural areas. All Central and States funds spent in the block area should invariably be assigned to the Panchayat Samiti to be spent by it directly or indirectly. The Report further suggests that, to ensure necessary co-ordination between the Panchayat Samitis, a 'Zila Parishad' be set up, consisting of Presidents

be departments of social welfare to help them plan and execute their social welfare policies and programmes and to help them undertake necessary research and survey work related to the positive, promotive, preventive and curative aspects of social problems . . . ."

of the Samitis concerned, the members of the State and Central Legislatures, representing the area and the district level officers, the Collector being the Chairman.

The Balwantrao Mehta Report envisages a revolutionary change in the outlook, structure and procedures of the local self-government bodies; and endows them with a meaningful purpose.

We should here like to observe that there is nothing sacrosanct about the organizational structure. The framework of welfare is determined by the changes in social welfare goals. Changes in organization and administration should, as a rule, follow the declarations of purposes in social welfare programmes. New

purposes and higher goals are apt to reveal the inadequacies of older administrative structure; and demand the creation of welfare agencies commensurate enough to answer the new challenge, bearing in mind all the time the underlined truth, so nobly propounded by Prof. Leonard D. White:

"Many of the problems that lie ahead may be encountered as well, perhaps better, by the resilience of a self-propelling federation of self-governing states than by a nation in which the parts remain only hollow shells lacking energy or creating power and responsive only to orders received from above."<sup>20</sup>

20. L. D. White: "Introduction to Public Administration," p. 156.

## PROBLEMS OF JURISDICTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

As Illustrated in the Right of Passage over Indian Territory Case (1960)

By KALYAN KUMAR GHOSH,  
Lecturer, Jadavpur University.

"THE Right of Passage over Indian Territory Case"<sup>1</sup> illustrates some of the difficult problems of jurisdiction faced by the International Court of Justice. Questions of jurisdiction are often agitated before national tribunals, but "in Municipal Law, there is always some tribunal which has jurisdiction". In the international sphere, the issue of jurisdiction is of fundamental importance, for if the International Court of Justice (I.C.J.) lacks jurisdiction in a particular case, there is no other Court in the whole world which could try the case. Upto now, the basic principle governing the jurisdiction of the I.C.J. or of any other international tribunal, for the matter of that, is that it is the consent of the parties that gives authority to the Court to try a case. Unlike the position of a citizen in relation to the Courts of Law in his own country,

there is no obligation on the part of sovereign States to appear before the I.C.J. to have their disputes adjudicated, unless they have consented to do so in one or other of the prescribed ways. The rule that "no State can, without its consent, be compelled to submit its disputes with other States to mediation or to arbitration or to any other kind of pacific settlement", stated by the Permanent Court of International Justice (P.C.I.J.) in the Eastern Carelia case, was reaffirmed by the I.C.J. in the Anglo-Iranian Oil case. Both at the time of the establishment of the P.C.I.J. in 1921, and the I.C.J. in 1945, some nations advocated that the Court should have compulsory jurisdiction. On the whole, the Great Powers were opposed to this idea. The result has been that both in the case of the P.C.I.J. and the I.C.J., the Statute itself provides that a State may rely upon a number of "escape clauses". The principle that States may specify in advance the classes of legal disputes in relation to which they would accept the jurisdiction of the Court as compulsory, by means of bilateral or multilateral treaties, or may, by a

treaty, refer a dispute after it has actually arisen, has long been a rule of International Law. Article 36 (2) of the Statute of the I.C.J. provides for an optional "declaration" by States for the purpose of conferring upon the Court the right of compulsory jurisdiction over certain disputes, as did the Statute of the P.C.I.J. That clause lays down that "the States parties to the present Statute, may at any time, declare that, they recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto*, and without special agreement, in relation to any other State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning: (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature and extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation". The provision made by a resolution of the Security Council on October 15, 1946, for States which were not parties to the Statute, for making "declarations" is exactly similar.

The "optional clause", appears to be wide in scope but is actually of restricted operation. To start with, a "declaration" must be compatible with the Statute. As the P.C.I.J. observed in the Free Zone case, it "cannot, on the proposal of the Parties, depart from the terms of the Statute". Then, the Court is competent to entertain a case only if the "declarations" made by the Parties are in force at that point of time. Lastly, the effect of the "declaration" is limited to "any other State accepting the same obligation". To be more explicit, the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court under the "optional" clause will apply to a particular dispute only when the separately made "declarations" of the Parties to the dispute coincide to cover it. This "optional" clause has been interpreted to permit a State to modify or terminate its own "declaration". At an earlier stage of this very case between Portugal and India, the I.C.J. observed that the obligation assumed by a declarant State under the "optional" clause, should not be "irrevocably defined" at the time of the "declaration" "for the entire period of its duration".<sup>2</sup> From the principle of reciprocity, another corollary

follows—a State may exclude a dispute from the application of the "optional" clause by invoking a reservation in the "declaration" of its opponent State.

The "declarations" of many States are framed in such a way as to leave them largely free to accept or evade the jurisdiction of the Court when a dispute actually arises. The "declarations" of the two parties in this case, Portugal and India, furnish some examples. The "declaration" of Portugal of December 19, 1955, stated that it will remain in force for one year only, and thereafter until notice of its denunciation is given to the Secretary-General of the U.N. Moreover, Portugal reserved the right to exclude from its "declaration" at any time any given category of disputes, simply by sending a notice to the Secretary-General. "Declarations" of this type are only formal acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court. Portugal's acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court appears to have been made solely with the object of filing this case which was done three days after the making of the "declaration". So she took care to leave every door open for withdrawing from the Court as soon as her purpose would be served.

India's "declaration" had been made in February, 1940. She accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court over all disputes "arising after February 5, 1930, with regard to situation or facts subsequent to the same date". Then, all "disputes which by international law fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of India" are excluded. The Court will not have jurisdiction over disputes in regard to which (a) "the Parties have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other methods of peaceful settlement"; (b) or over disputes "with the Government or any other Member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth"; (c) or those which had their "roots in events occurring at a time when the Government of India were involved in hostilities". And the Government of India also reserved the right "to require under certain conditions that the proceedings of the Court shall be suspended in respect to any dispute which has been submitted to and is under the consideration of the League of Nations."

The issues which were raised as to the jurisdiction of the Court in this case were all based upon the reservations of the two parties.

1. Judgment of the International Court of Justice delivered on April 12, 1960, I.C.J. Reports, 1960; the quotations here are from the English text of the judgment reprinted by the Ministry of External Affairs to the Government of India.

2. I.C.J. Reports, 1957, p. 147—judgment on four preliminary objections as to jurisdiction.

The facts of the case are well known, and may be stated very shortly. Dadra and Nagar Haveli (spelt Aveli in the judgment) were two Portuguese enclaves surrounded on all sides by Indian territory. In July and August, 1954, the people of these two enclaves rose in revolt and overthrew the Portuguese rule. Portugal wanted to send troops from Daman which is on the coast, to these two places through Indian territory. This India refused. Then Portugal filed this case and claimed the following reliefs—a declaration that Portugal has a right of passage through the territory of India in respect of transit of persons and goods and of "authorities and armed forces necessary to ensure the full exercise of sovereignty," a declaration that India has prevented her from exercising that right, and an order upon India to put an end to this unlawful state of affairs.

India had raised six preliminary issues as to jurisdiction. Four of these were rejected by the Court by its judgment dated November 26, 1957, and two were reserved for consideration along with merits. In the final judgment of April 12, 1960, these two preliminary objections were also dismissed. As to the merits, the Court held that Portugal had a right of passage in respect of private persons, civil officials and goods in general, but no right as regards armed forces, armed police, and arms and ammunitions. Hence the case of Portugal failed. Here, we shall examine only the nature of the issues concerning jurisdiction. They may be divided into two sets, one being based upon the nature of the "declaration" of Portugal, and the other on the reservations made in India's "declaration."

It has already been stated that Portugal's "declaration" was initially for one year and that Portugal reserved a right to withdraw any type of disputes from the jurisdiction of the Court at any time, simply by sending a notice. The "declaration" was made on 19th December, 1955, the case was filed on the 22nd, and India got a copy of the "declaration" after about a month. India made two points. First, the "declaration" was such that in spirit, the "compulsory" jurisdiction of the Court was not accepted. Portugal purported to reserve a right to terminate or modify to nothingness its "declaration" at her own sweet will. This, India said, was incompatible with the "optional" clause. Portugal then may withdraw any particular dispute from

the jurisdiction of the Court if she feels that the judgment of the Court is likely to go against her. Reservations of this type introduce elements of uncertainty as to the scope of the "declaration" and other member States can never be sure about their own position. India's second point was connected with the right of "reciprocity" given by the Statute. The "declaration" of Portugal was such that she might refuse at any time to accept the jurisdiction of the Court on any dispute. But the reservations in her "declaration" were disclosed to India only after the case had been filed. India argued that if she knew that Portugal had made such wide reservations, she herself might have altered her position, and given herself the same rights that Portugal had reserved for herself. So India claimed that a State should not be entitled to invoke the jurisdiction of the Court in her aid immediately after the filing of her "declaration" with the Secretary-General, but only after other member States have seen a copy of the "declaration" and have had an opportunity to make any change with regard to their own position in relation to that particular State, in the light of the reservation in the "declaration."

On the first point, the Court held that the "optional clause" gave the States the right of terminating or modifying its "declaration" at any point of time, and so Portugal's "declaration" of 19th December, 1955, did not violate the Statute of the I.C.J. On the second point also the Court gave a clear verdict. It held that the Statute had not laid down that there must be a gap of time between the making of a "declaration" and the filing of a case. A State cannot invoke the aid of the Court till it has made a "declaration;" but a "declaration" takes effect as soon as it is filed with the Secretary-General. Other member States may not be aware of its contents, but this does not affect the validity or effectiveness of the "declaration."

Now we shall examine the other two points agitated by India which were based upon her own reservations. First, India claimed that whether or not she allowed any foreigner the right of transit over her territories was a matter exclusively of her own domestic concern. In her "declaration" of 1940, she had excluded such matters from the jurisdiction of the Court, and so she urged that this case did not lie. The Court rejected this contention. The Court

observed that here one Sovereign State was claiming a right of passage over the territory of another Sovereign State, and was alleging that the above right was being denied. "In support . . . (Portugal) invokes a Treaty of 1779, of which India contests both the existence and the interpretation. Portugal relies upon a practice of which India contests not only the substance, but also the binding character as between two States which Portugal seeks to attach to it. Portugal further invokes international custom and the principles of international law as it interprets them. To contend that such a right of passage is one which can be relied upon as against India, to claim that such an obligation is binding upon India, to invoke, whether rightly or wrongly, such principles, is to place oneself on the plane of international law . . . . To decide upon the validity of those principles, upon the existence of such a right of Portugal as against India, upon such obligation of India towards Portugal, and upon the alleged failure to fulfil that obligation, does not fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of India."<sup>3</sup>

The final preliminary objection of India related to the reservation as to date of the dispute in her "declaration." In her earlier "declaration" of 1930, India stated that she accepted jurisdiction of the Court "over all disputes arising after February 5, 1930, with regard to situation or facts subsequent to that date." India's point was that "the real dispute is with regard to the obligation of India, not with regard to her violation of that obligation; and the source of that dispute is the conflicting views taken by India and Portugal as to the true legal effect of the events from 1779 onwards. Thus put, it is clear that the situation and facts for the purpose of this objection took place prior to 1930."<sup>4</sup> This objection was also overruled by the Court. Answering the question, "what is the subject of the dispute," the Court said that the dispute was made up of three constituents, "(1) the disputed existence of a right of passage in favour of Portugal; (2) the alleged failure of India in July, 1954, to comply with its obligations concerning that right of passage; and (3) the redress of the

illegal situation flowing from that failure." "The dispute before the Court, having this three-fold subject, could not arise until all its constituent elements had come into existence. Among these are the obstacles which India is alleged to have placed in the way of exercise of passage by Portugal in 1954. The dispute, therefore, could not have originated until 1954. Thus it satisfies the time-condition to which the Declaration of India made its acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court subject."<sup>5</sup>

The Court added, "even if we consider only the part of the dispute relating to the Portuguese claim, which India contests to a right of passage over Indian territory, the position is the same. It is clear . . . that before 1954, passage was effected in a way recognised as acceptable to both sides." The parties had not adopted, prior to 1930, "any clearly defined legal position as against each other"—there had not been even a "conflict of legal views."<sup>6</sup> All that took place in 1954. "Upto 1954, the situation of those territories may have given rise to a few minor incidents, but passage had been effected without any controversy as to the title under which it was effected. It was only in 1954 that such a controversy arose, and the dispute relates both to the existence of a right . . . and to India's failure to comply with obligations which according to Portugal, were binding upon it . . . . It was from all of this that the dispute referred to the Court arose; it is with regard to all of this that the dispute exists. This whole, whatever may have been the earlier origin of one of its parts, came into existence after . . . 1930."<sup>7</sup> Thus, India's objection relating to the date of origin of the dispute could not be upheld.

The I.C.J. has not been endowed with compulsory jurisdiction over all international disputes. But the "optional clause" is there to develop under it a system of compulsory jurisdiction. The end of international law is the establishment of the Rule of Law, and the World Court is the instrument to achieve it. So, much depends on the effectiveness of the Court. The rulings of the Court on jurisdictional questions in this case constitute a long step in the development of a system of compulsory jurisdiction.

3. Page 30 of the Judgment.

4. Dissenting opinion of Judge Chagla, page 110 of the Judgment.

5. Judgment, pages 31-33.



## SUN-WORSHIP IN ANCIENT WORLD

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THE worship of the Sun is an outstanding aspect of Sky and Nature worship. Prof. Atkin says that it is difficult 'to find any primitive religion without some reflection of a Sun-cult.' The Sun, it was believed in the remotest age, was the giver of all desirable gifts. The primitive man knows that all the worlds have their origin in the Sun and only in the Sun the life-giving force rests; the withdrawal of Sun's rays and light means death and destruction. Thus by his inherent power of reasoning man began to adore and worship the mighty Sun and there is every justification in the saying that of all objects of Nature 'the Sun is the first to be worshipped by man.'

In the classical lore of Greece, we find Helios driving the horses of the chariot of the Sun with glorious mastery. The temple of the Sun at Rome housed the spirit from an older temple of the Sun-god at Palmyra. Shamash, the Sun-god, had his temples at Babylon, the ancient Egyptians had their city at Heliopolis, the land of the Sun. The mingled lights and shadows of Sun-worship still fall across India. The Emperor of Japan thinks himself to be a descendant of the Sun and white-robed Fujiyama is his shrine and altar. The aviator-comrade of the Sun himself looks down upon the ruins of the temple of the Sun in the jungles of Peru. The American Indians try to pacify him by offering incense of tobacco smoke. The Mexicans hailed the rising Sun with offering of their own blood. It has never been easy to disentangle an ancient and general Heaven-worship and assign to the Sun some separate adoration. With the march of time the Sun became a hero like Hercules or Samson of prodigious strength and mighty deeds 'to be said and sung around a thousand camp-fires'. The faith, devotion, the liturgies of many religions have associations with the Summer solstice, the term of the Sun in the sky in late December. 'Death and rebirth and resurrection are woven through all this marvellous and enduring fabric, till the phases of the Sun seem to date the supreme spiritual confidences to humanity.' The Christians of the 20th century sing John of Damascus' hymn:

'Tis the spring of souls to-day  
Christ has burst his prison;  
And from three days' sleep in death  
As a sun has risen:

Such music has a long ancestry; perhaps, John himself did not know how much was re-born in Easter or what far-off voices sounded through his lines (21-22).

In ancient Mexico the Sun was the great Chief and was worshipped in March, the vernal equinox time. The image of Totec or Tonatiuh, the Sun-god was adorned with solar symbols in the festival. In Babylon Eulil was the Sun-god but he was the storm-creating Sun. Ninib was the friendly life-giving Sun and Nergal became the noon and mid-summer Sun. But Shamash was finally taken to be the supreme and beneficent Sun-god. He was the only king of judgment busy in dispensing justice (the Moon-god had that office in Egypt); he was also the creator of prosperity and arbiter of fate.

Japan is called 'Nippon' or 'Nihon' meaning 'the Land of the Rising Sun'. The Nichiren (Sun-lotus) sect in Japan finds a sense of identity between the Buddha-reality in the Sun and the truth revealed in the Lotus of the Tone Law. The most honoured of all State shrines before 1945, was the Grand Imperial Shrine at Ise, dedicated to the Sun-goddess Amate-rasu. Ise is situated in the southern part of the mainland, along the Inland Sea, where the ancient culture of Japan originated. In the shrine are placed the "divine Imperial regalia", the three precious symbols of the Sun-goddess—a mirror, a sword and a string of ancient stone jewels.

In China the Supreme God brings his processes into full and equal action in the Sun. In Peru the temple of the Sun in the 'Town of Gold' was the most glorious, the walls were plated with gold. Behind the great altar was a golden plate encrusted with gems—the symbol of the Sun-god and around were seated many of the mummified Inca kings, each on his own throne with sceptre in his hand. In between Huaca cult and the Virarocho worship there was the official Sun-worship of Inti. The Incas

(meaning of the Sun) claimed their divine right of kingship from the all-powerful Sun. Their Sun-god Inti was believed to be a being who suffered and died at each solar eclipse but was re-born each time and was subject to a supreme divinity, the Creator of the universe or Pachakamak whose abode was Hanak-Pachak or heaven. The Incas' Sun-god Inti is usually represented either as a Sun-disc with jaguars' heads or a human-faced Sun-disc with jaguars' heads at each side, and very often with a beard. The greatest and the most sacred of all Incan festivals was the Kapak Raymi or the Birth of the Sun, the Incan New Year. The birth of the Sun ceremonies marked the end of a national holiday of five days' duration. The Inca regarded himself as a 'son of the Sun' and his birthday anniversary was coincident with that of the Sun itself. Architecturally the temple of the Sun is the most remarkable structure in the whole world.

The Mayan Sun-god or Kinich Ahan (Face of the Sun) was also analogous to the Inti of the Incas and was also known as Kinich Kakmo (Fire bird) and was identified with red macaw or Arara (Fire bird). In fact the Mayas were Sun-worshippers and in nearly all of their myths the origin of the race was solar. Different tribes in the Western part of the Plains adopted the Sun-dance which stimulated the Comanche tribe with courage to undertake the annihilation of the Whites.

Among agricultural and gardening peoples Sun, rain and fertility deities are very common. Solstitial rites marked the annual crisis of the Sun in the religion of the megalith builders of Neolithic Europe. Mysterious Stonehenge and Avebury in England, and the Cromlechs of Carnac in Brittany are aligned to the rising Sun at the time of the spring solstice, as is the Sun-stone in the famous Sun temple of Mesa Verde National Park, built by Pueblo Indians 700 years ago. In ancient Rome, the solstice rites of the Mithraic cult gave way to the Christian Christmas celebration of the birth of Christ as the new light of the world.

All the religions in the great Central American culture complex are closely connected with the Sun. The Pyramid of the Sun near Mexico city is one of the really great monuments of the people of that locality. The Natchez of Mississippi and the Incas of Peru built theocratic states around the principle of sun divinity.

The all-enveloping power and glory of the Egyptian Sun is a universally admitted fact in the Nile valley. The oldest notion of him goes back to the days when the pre-historic Egyptians were still leading a nomadic life in the Nile valley, when they pictured the Sun-god as a hunter poling or paddling himself across the marshes in a boat made by lashing together two bundles of reeds



Surya with Danda and Pingala  
(Bengal, 11th century A.D.)

'like a catamaran.' Ra or Re was the Sun conceived in human form especially the noon-tide Sun. The rising Sun was Kheprer (represented as a sky-beetle) and the declining Sun was Atum. But the Sun was also a bird (Horus), the high-flying falcon. At Heliopolis (the city of the Sun), in lower Egypt the priests of the Sun-god Atum coalesced him with Ra. He was the power of kings and the Pharaohs of the Pyramid Age (2600-2200 B.C.) assumed the title of 'Son of Ra'. Their obelisks were built as massive symbols of the Sun's rays and the Pharaohs lying in their eternal sleep within the mighty Pyramids (symbols of the Sun), were one with the Sun. The Sun, their father in life, was now their immortal life in death.' In around 1500 B.C. the queen became

the high-priestess of the Sun. By this time Amon, the local god of the Thebes in upper Egypt became one with Ra and the temple of Karnak became the abode of the Sun-god, Amon-Ra (2000 B.C.). 'A divine family was placed around Amon-Ra. Mut, the goddess of Thebes, with vulture head-dress, became his wife and the Moon-god Khonsu, became their son. The ram was his representative among the animals. Before him stood the cobra to signify that he was the king of the gods, and above him was the Sun's winged disc.'

The Sun-god in India was not only the remover of all darkness and gloom but also the stimulator and nourisher of men. He, it is believed, has the "all-seeing eye" witnessing all the good and bad activities of mortals whose daily work starts along with his rise in the morning. The Sun assumes the form of *Brahma* in the morning, *Vishnu* at mid-day and *Siva* in the evening. In the Hindu pantheon the Sun appears under many names: *Surya*, *Savita*, *Vishnu*, *Pusan* and *Mitra*. It may be that at first

these were the names given to the divine Sun by different Nordic tribes but afterwards they seem to have been used to indicate the Sun in different positions and under different aspects. The 'golden-text' of the whole of the *Rigveda* is the famous *Savitri* or *Gayatri* (Sun), the most sacred of all *Vedic* stanzas and the orthodox *Brahmans* repeat the *Gayatri mantram* each day in the morning, at noon and in the evening. *Varahamihira* in the 6th century A.D. refers to the 'spots of the Sun which indicate blessings in the form of good rainfall, or plentiful crop and also foretell evils such as famine, disease, death, war or the loss of a king.' According to some scholars the Sun-god was imported to India from Iran by the Magis, the priestly class of ancient Iran and first worshipped by *Samba* (the grandson of *Krishna*) in Mulasthanpur or Multan and that is why the Sun-god in Northern India wears a northern dress. Now-a-days offering are given to him in association with eight other planets sometimes not represented in images.



### DISCOVERY OF A DATTATREYA VISHNU IMAGE IN BENGAL

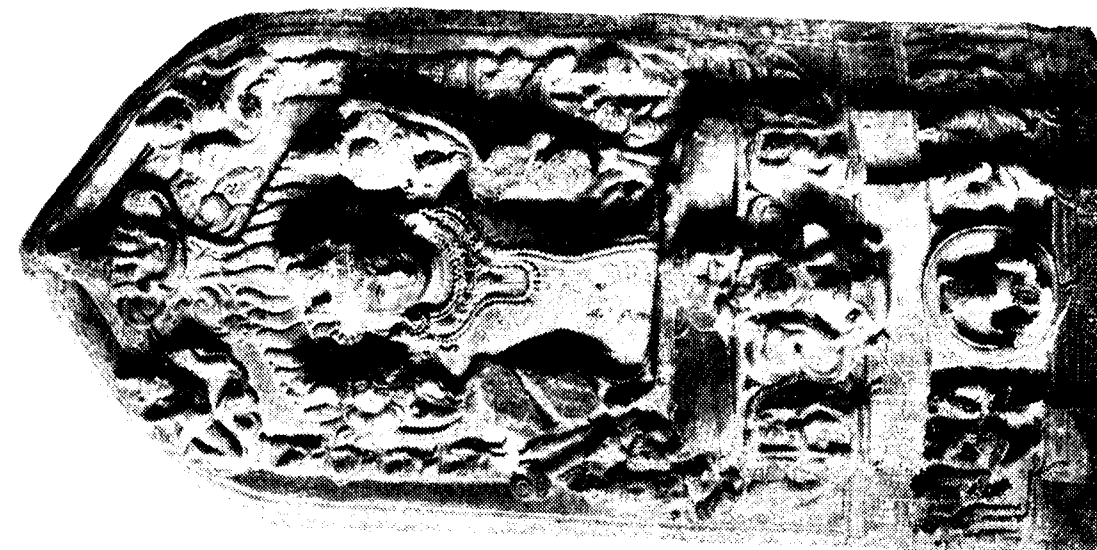
By MRINAL KANTI PAL, M.A.,

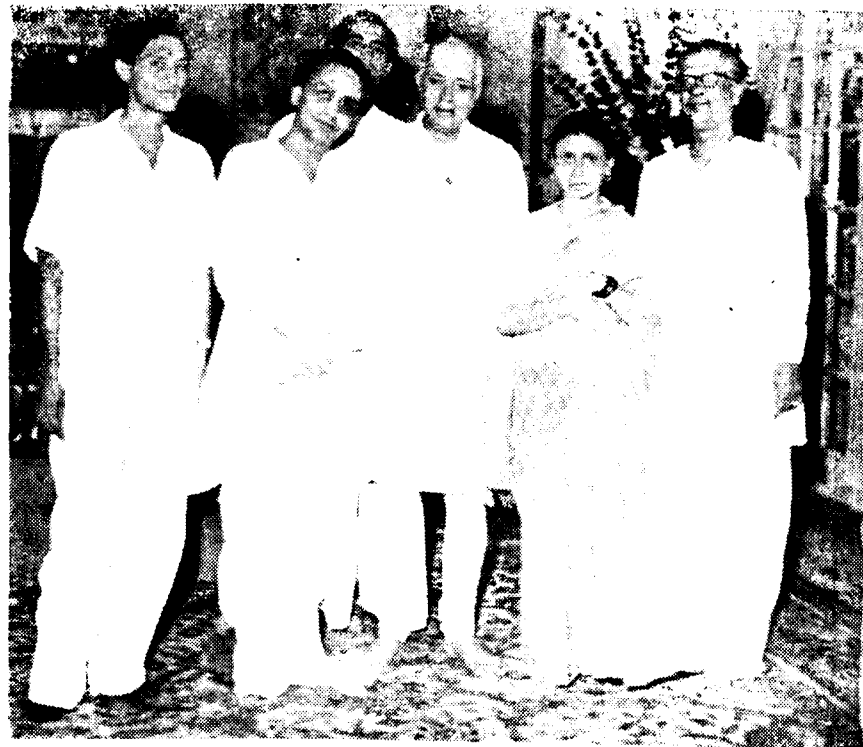
Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University.

THE Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University has very recently acquired for the first time, a rare and a unique type of *Dattatreya Vishnu* image (2'-10" X 1'-6") from Kaikala in Hooghly district. An enthusiastic local gentleman named Sri Ajit Kumar Sarkar informed the Curator of the Museum that a *Vishnu* image had been found in course of re-excavation of an old tank and subsequently the present writer was sent to the findspot to collect it and carry on systematic exploration in the region of Kaikala. As a result of survey the narrow course of a dried-up river, locally known as *Kausiki* was found out, which, as will be seen may have some connection with the famous *Markandeya Purana* legend concerned with a certain *Brahmana*, a leprous *Kausika*, who was rescued by his chaste, faithful and devoted wife.

The image of Dattatreya, finely executed in black stone, is shown standing on a full-bloomed

lotus pedestal in *Samapadasthanaka* posture between *Lakshmi* and *Saraswati* posing in beautiful gestures on either side of the main sculpture and at a level with its *Kirita-Makuta* are shown garland-bearing *Vidyadhara* couples flying among the conventional representation of the clouds. The image is moreover adorned with *Kundalas* (ear-rings) in the ears, with an elaborate *Hara* (necklace) around the neck, with *Yajnopavita* (sacred thread), *Udara-bandhu* (girdle) and *Vanamala* (garland of flowers) around the body and *Keyuras* (armlet) and *Balayas* (bracelet) on the arms, while, the attributes in its lower and upper left and upper and lower right hands are respectively *Sankha* (conch-shell), *Chakra* (wheel), *Gada* (mace) and *Padma* (lotus). On the stele are carved comparatively small figures of *Brahma* (three-headed and bearded) and *Siva* (holding trident by the left hand) seated in *Yoga* postures above the heads-





Musicians from Bengal with the Prime Minister at New Delhi



President Eisenhower examines the Discoverer XIII instrument capsule

## DISCOVERY OF A DATTATREYA VISHNU IMAGE

of *Saraswati* and *Lakshmi* respectively standing to the left and right sides of the central figure. In point of style and execution the image of *Dattatreya Vishnu* may be dated in the 10th-11th century A.D. having a good deal of iconographical similarity with the *Pala* sculptures of the same epoch found in Bengal. Profusion of ornaments and strict simplicity of design coupled with the pointing flame-like halo around the head of the image are typically *Pala* in artistic tradition and tendency.

*Dattatreya* as described in the *Pouranic* texts is one of the minor incarnations of *Vishnu*. "The story of his birth and life is given in details in the *Markandeya Purana*. There was a certain Brahmana, *Kausika*, in the city of *Pratishthana*, who was suffering from leprosy. His wife served him nevertheless as if he was a deity. Once it so happened that the sage *Ani-Mandavya* became annoyed with this leprous *Kausika* and uttered a curse that he should die before the next sunrise. Thereupon his chaste, faithful and devoted wife, relying upon the power of her chastity, ordered the sun not to rise; and for days the sun did not rise. The gods became frightened at this and approached *Anasuya*, the famous wife of *Atri*, and requested her to pacify the wife of the leprous *Kausika* and make the sun rise from day to day as usual. She agreed to do as desired, and went to *Kausika's* house. There she was received by his wife with all the due rites of hospitality and was asked the purpose of her most welcome visit. On being told that the object of her visit was to allow the sun to rise as before from day to day, she said that she would gladly do so, provided that thereby the threatened death did not befall her lord and master. On being assured of this, she allowed the sun to rise; and he rose. Her husband, however, fell down as if dead, but was immediately revived by *Anasuya* and made healthy, strong and beautiful. The gods became pleased at this, and asked the worthy and honourable wife of the revived and rejuvenated *Kausika* to receive a boon at their hands, to which she readily agreed. And the boon she wanted was that *Brähma*, *Vishnu* and *Siva*—the gods of the Hindu trinity—should be born as her sons. They were so born; and *Dattatreya* was the incarnation of *Vishnu*. He became in his life famous as an ascetic and great *Yogin*, and is even now considered to be worthy of worship as a god".\* It is

interesting to point out in this connection that in the *Dattatreya Vishnu* image all of the three gods are shown together, although according to time, place and religious customs prominence is occasionally seen to have been given to one of the gods, with which the devotee is mainly concerned; while the two other deities are found to have been attributed comparatively less importance in their execution. And it is for this reason that in the image of *Dattatreya Vishnu* from Kaikala the figure of *Vishnu* has been shown larger than *Siva* and *Brahma* who are obviously seen to have belonged to the accessory group of deities appearing on the stele. According to Prof. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of the Museum, "the Kaikala find probably indicates that in the 10th-11th Century A.D. there had been prevalence of *Dattatreya Vishnu* worship in the Hooghly region and it is not unlikely that the findspot may have concealed beneath its soil the ruins of a *Dattatreya* temple."

Trinity images are very rare in Bengal as they are generally characteristic of the Deccan. Outside Bengal *Dattatreya* images have also been discovered in Halebid, Ajmer and Badami.† According to some scholars such conception of trinity worship was also in vogue among the *Kalachuris* of Central India and in course of time this tradition retained a firm footing in the religious life of ancient Bengal. In this respect the recently discovered *Dattatreya Vishnu* image from Kaikala may, therefore, be taken to be a convincing proof of the close cultural relations that developed between Bengal and the Deccanese kingdoms including other regions of Western and Central India at least in the 10th-11th century A.D.

A general survey of the physical features of Kaikala and its surrounding regions as well as a careful study of its recent archaeological find may prove that like other neighbouring rivers the present dried-up river *Kausiki* was also once the venue of culture and civilisation of ancient Bengal. It is of course interesting to point out in this connection that the river bears a very significant name reminding us of the famous *Markandeya Purana* legend which may have

\*T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, P.p. 251-252.

†*Ibid*, pl. LXXII, figs. 1 and 2 also cf. pl. LXXIII.

persisted among the people through the ages. It should be noted here that there still survives a particular section of the Brahmanas in the *Radha* regions, who bearing the *Kausika gotra* claims their descent from Kusika. The discovery of the *Dattatreya Vishnu* image at Kaikala lying on the dried-up valley of Kausiki may, therefore, be taken to be significant. If regular and scientific explorations are carried out in this region more archaeological relics may come out to unfold a new chapter in the religious history of ancient Bengal.

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## METRIC SYSTEM AND THE SCHOOL SYLLABUS

By ANIL KUMAR ACHARYA,

*Joint Secretary, Indian Decimal Society.*

THREE years ago the decimal coinage was introduced in India and no one to-day seriously contests its advantages. Accounts and calculations in all offices, both in public and private sectors are now being done in terms of the new coinage. Its inherent simplicity and resultant economy in time and labour have been proved beyond doubts. In spite of initial difficulties the people adopted the new coinage with remarkable ease and alacrity. As such the new system is now well-established.

The reform of the coinage was, however, only a precursor to the bigger reform of weights and measures. With a view to simplify the endless variety of weights and measures at present prevalent in India, the metric system of weights and measures was introduced in India from October, 1958. For the present the new system has been introduced in the sphere of weights only in selected areas, undertakings and government departments, but it will be extended, step by step, to the whole of India and all the existing Units for weights, linear and liquid measures will be gradually replaced by the new units within the next few years. With this end in view elaborate preparations are now going on. Administrative machineries have also been set up and adjusted to suit the new reform.

The fact, however, remains that our children in schools are being denied the benefit of the new system, inasmuch as school syllabi of Arithmetic written on the basis of the old coins, weights and measures still continue. Not only that, children in primary schools are still now taught the tables of *Subhankari*, *Kara*, *Kranti*, *Ganda*, *Buri* and many other useless things which have no practical application in life. As

a result the younger learners are being compelled to drag on the irksome burden of heterogeneous syllabi getting more and more complicated through the introduction of conversion tables double coins, etc. This already too heterogeneous and complicated syllabus is going to be a serious strain on our little boys and girls and unless immediate steps are taken to relieve them, the result will be disastrous. In order to eliminate unnecessary labour and wastage of time and energy of our future citizens it is, therefore, essential that the school syllabus for Arithmetic should be completely revised and re-written immediately, more emphasis being given on the new system in the Secondary stage. In the case of beginners and students of primary schools there is absolutely no necessity for the old system. For, by the time they grow up, we have already had done with the old system completely.

In drawing up the revised syllabus for the primary classes reference to the old system of coins and measures should be completely eschewed. No more examples and exercises should be expressed in terms of *rupees*, *annas*, *maunds*, *seers*, *chhataks*, etc. Reference to the British units of coins, weights and measures should also be carefully avoided. As the students will no longer be required to learn the tables of *Subhankar* and *Dharapat* with all their paraphernalia, there will be a considerable saving of time in teaching Arithmetic in primary classes. In the Bangalore session of the Indian Science Congress Association, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis drew the attention of our countrymen to this vital point. By a practical demonstration he proved that at least 20 per cent of the time required for teaching Arithmetic

in primary classes on the basis of the existing syllabus could be saved by the adoption of the decimal coinage, weights and measures. Viewed from the perspective of the millions of young learners going to school, the value and the psychological effect of this saving are tremendous.

The surplus time and the vacuum in the teaching schedule which will be caused if the *Subhankari* and *Dharapat* tables are discarded, may be effectively utilised by the introduction of a graded syllabus, based entirely on the new system and carefully drawn up to meet the requirements of the present age.

### *The Revised Syllabus*

In drawing up the revised syllabus it should be borne in mind that the primary course is meant for infants and children who have to furnish the considerable effort of learning to read and write. Accordingly the instruction in Arithmetic should be very simple and presented in such a way that the children are attracted and find it very easy to pick up. Since the very purpose of the infant course is to induce the children primarily to observe, compare, question and express themselves the beginners should first be taught the concrete study of numbers from 1 to 100 in different stages (1 to 5, 5 to 10, 10 to 20, etc.) with the help of marbles, small sticks, etc. After the child has thus acquired a preliminary concept of numbers, he should be taught formation and decomposition and then to express in writing numbers 1 to 100. After the child has learnt this much, he should be taught the utilisation of 1, 2, 5 and 10 naye paise pieces and their relation with one another. He should also be taught how to write rupees and naye paise together with the help of decimal points. Thereafter, he should be taught the place-value system of digits and simple additions, subtractions, multiplications and divisions of one and then two-figure numbers. Very simple mental enumerations of the four simple rules with familiar examples taken from daily life should also be encouraged.

In the next stage the study of the standard units of the metric system, *viz.*, *metre*, *decimetre*, *hectometre*, *kilometre*, *gram*, *decigram*, *centigram*, *milligram*, *litre*, *decilitre*, *centilitre*, *hectolitre*, etc., should be introduced without using the decimal point. Simultaneously, the tables of months, days, hours and minutes should also be taught.

In the next stage the initiation into the decimal system should be developed by the introduction of decimal numbers together with the theoretical and practical units of money, length, distance, weight and volume. The child has already learnt the individual units and generally their relation with one another. Here at this stage the only change is the introduction of the decimal point. In other words, the child will now have to master the metric units as a coherent system, possessing a basic unit from which are derived, through multiplication or division by 10 all the multiples and submultiples in everyday use. The student has already learnt to express say, 3 kilogram, 7 hectogram, 5 decagram, 4 gram or 3 kilogram, 754 grams. He will now have to see that 3 kilogram, 7 hectogram, 5 decagram, 4 gram may be written more easily as 3.754 kilogram, just as he should express, 2 metre, 6 decimetre, 7 centimetre, 3 millimetre as 2.673 metre or 26.73 decimetre, or 267.3 millimetre. When a student has acquired a clear knowledge of the system in this way and has mastered the technique of converting one unit to another upward and downward the rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division as applied to these measures and simple problems based on these units should be carefully taught.

In the next and last stage simple fractions L.C.M., G.C.M., factors, average calculations study of simple geometrical figures, practical exercises of longitudinal measurement in centimetres, etc., simple problems of uniform movement and short-time placements, exercises on simple problems of area, etc., should be introduced. The children should also be taught how to convert fractions into decimal numbers and *vice versa* ( $6/100=6\%=0.06$ ). Here the curriculum of Arithmetic for primary courses should end.

It is needless to say that every effort should be made to give the mode of teaching a predominantly practical character. The main defect of our existing system of education is that it is more theoretical than practical. Even higher scientific education in our country is not absolutely free from this defect. As a result we have enough of "bookish theories". This bias should have to be rectified and the whole character of the education will have to be changed.

For practical formation of concepts right



from the beginning every school should have a full set of decimal coins, metric weights and measures, especially litre mugs of different capacities, and a metre stick with centimetre and millimetre marks. The length, breadth and area of each class-room in terms of metric units should be prominently displayed on a small board inside the class-room and every student should be encouraged to find out by actual measurement whether the figures written on the board are confirmed by his own findings. Similarly a Badminton court in the school compound should, if possible, be demarcated so as to help boys in forming practical concepts regarding area in the metric units.

The Union Public Service Commission has announced that with effect from 1960, the papers on Arithmetic and Mensuration for every examination for which these are the prescribed

subjects may include questions on the metric system of weights and measures. In view of the foregoing decision of the Union Public Service Commission the introduction of the decimal coinage, weights and measures should be expedited even in the Secondary stage of schooling. In order to ensure a complete break with the old system after 1960, no student should be made to learn Arithmetic based on the old system of coins, weights and measures.

The task of revision of school syllabus is not easy. But the initial difficulties are not insurmountable. The Government of India has already adopted the decimal coinage, weights and measures and the day is not far off when the use of these decimal units in every branch of our life will be mandatory. And the sooner the school syllabus is revised and adopted to the new system, the better for all concerned.

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## THE EARTH'S HEAT.

By V. MOYEV

In 1738

A fierce wind obliterated the tracks of the Dogsled. Krasheninnikov hugged his fur coat closer around him as he thought of the stuffy, crowded St. Petersburg taverns. A cup of tea was just what he needed now. There was no other way to get warm in this wilderness. Except for . . . Could the tales he had heard about the miracles of nature in this region be true?

He found they were true. There, amidst the sparkling white snow, he saw green grass and bright mounds of red, yellow and blue clay. Warm puddles bubbled underfoot. Jets of boiling water shot up with a roar from the cracks in the cliffs. Steam billowed and covered the surroundings in a hazy mist. It seemed that fate had brought the traveller to the secret nest of all clouds which then scattered about the Earth.

Krasheninnikov threw off his clothes, bathed in the stream, and then found a boiling spring in which he cooked some meat. Far below he could hear his Kamcha-

dal guides calling to each other in guttural voices. Tribal superstitions kept them away from "the forbidden place".

All this took place in 1738. The Great Northern Expedition explored the seas, the rivers and the forest trails of Eastern Russia. In the Kamchatka Peninsula Stepan Krasheninnikov, in charge of one of the expedition's groups, discovered hot springs, which periodically threw up fountains of boiling water and steam.

Hitherto, Iceland had been the only country that was known to have such springs; later they were discovered in New Zealand and North America. Scientists called them geysers, after the famous Great Geyser of Iceland.

The strange springs quickly won fame. Travellers called the terraces they washed out in New Zealand the eighth wonder of the world. The Yellowstone National Park owes its fame to its geysers, and the steady stream of tourists to Iceland can be explained by the same reason.

### Attention, Man!

This strange natural phenomenon amazed not only lovers of exotic sights, but scientists as well. Indeed, is it not strange that hot fountains suddenly begin to play as if on schedule, at a definite minute and hour! A geologist once said, "It's like exclamation marks!" It was as if nature had decided to say, "Attention, man! Try to puzzle out my secret. You, who worship the sun's heat, look underfoot and take what lies so near—the Earth's heat."

Hot springs occur in various parts of the world, regardless of whether there is a subtropical sky above or the light of the *Aurora Borealis*. The only significant feature of their "location" is the fact that they always lie in close proximity to volcanoes. Iceland, for instance, is a volcanic island by origin. Its people call it "the queen with an icy tiara and a fiery heart".

The geography of geysers has completely puzzled scientists. It seemed self-evident that the volcanoes were the water's source of heat. It was, besides, discovered that the hot springs were found in regions with rich deposits of coal and oil, which, oxidizing underground, create heat centres. This only corroborated the hypothesis that the water was heated by local sources of high temperature. The prevalent opinion was that there were very few hot springs among the underground waters.

However—and how many paradoxes there are in science!—the opposite proved to be true. Geologists were the ones to discover this fact. As soon as the turbodrills went really deep, it became clear that there was an abundance of hot water.

Far beneath the surface of the Earth lie the basic ores, and, at first glance, it would seem that those which lie closer to the surface present a picture of complete chaos. Centuries of cataclysms have jumbled and confused the various layers. It is no easy job for geologists to decipher the hodgepodge of depressions, cupolas, monoliths and hollows. But a small drop of dew travels freely through them, its fluidity is its pass.

The process whereby moisture becomes heated in the Earth's bowels is quite under-

standable: it is a known fact that the farther down the Earth's surface, the higher the temperature, and it usually rises three degrees per hundred yards, finally reaching extremely high levels. Scientists still do not agree on the origin of the Earth's heat, but it is a fact that this heat serves as a super-boiler for underground water.

### Enormous Resources

The Soviet Union's resources of hot or thermal waters, as hydrogeologists call them, are enormous. There are tremendous reservoirs of hot water in the Kamchatka Peninsula, in the Caucasus and Central Asia, where, at depths of from 3,000 to 10,000 feet—and sometimes considerably less—the temperature of water is 100° to 150°. Hot springs shoot up in the permafrost regions of the Kolima and Chukotka Peninsula. Geological reconnaissance teams have discovered vast underground reservoirs in various parts of the country. One of them, the West Siberian reservoir, covers an area of over 1,200,000 square miles, which is more than the surface of the Mediterranean and Black Seas combined.

There is natural boiling water everywhere. True, in order to find water with a temperature of 150°C. in Stavropol, wells of 5,000-6,000 feet must be bored; in Dagestan they must be 6,000-9,000 feet deep, and in Byelorussia 15,000-18,000 feet. However, our drillers do not quake at such figures: Soviet technology is as famous for piercing the depths of the Earth as it is for storming the skies. Plans are now being drawn up for drilling wells 30,000 to 45,000 feet deep.

The most far-reaching present-day discoveries and plans are all, in one way or another, tied up with the problems of heat and energy. Scientists are thinking of ways in which to use the heat of outer space, they are for ever extending the boundaries of the "Earth's" energies. The atom is "burning up" in boilers. Engineers have made waves the tides, the surf, and the wind—energy which formerly moved only the mills of poetry—work for them. Without exaggeration, one can now place the Earth's thermal hydro-resources side by side with the new and mighty sources of energy.

The hot waters are useful deposits, and, unlike all other deposits, they are inexhaustible, as they are for ever being renewed through the natural cycle of water.

The Earth's heat can be put to numerous uses. Underground water, for example, can be used for heating homes, hot-houses and plantations. Natural steam can successfully compete with artificial steam in turning the turbines of electric power stations. It may also be noted that underground water often shoots up from cracks under pressure of dozens of atmospheres. This hydraulic energy can also be turned into electric power. As a rule, water deep in the soil is enriched by various mineral salts, bringing up iodine, bromine, boric and carbonic acids, helium and lithium up to the surface of the Earth. In many cases, therefore, hot water springs possess great medicinal properties, and have been used for centuries for curing difficult and chronic diseases.

This is far from all. These are merely salient points.

### The Challenge

Man has known the use of thermal waters for centuries. Judging by the remains of settlements archaeologists uncovered beside the Caucasian hot springs, the wild tribes of the Bronze Age who knew all the joys of a warm bath. The Romans have never been excelled in their luxurious baths, built around hot springs.

The ancients knew how to derive chemicals from these underground waters. Etruscan potters made lacquers for their vases, Florentine wool carders made vitriol and alum from them.

It was, however, not until our century that thermal waters were seen as a major source of power. There are already geothermic power stations in Italy and New Zealand. In Iceland, several years ago every child was given a precious gift—a banana grown in his native land: the ovens deep underground took over the functions of a tropical sun.

Soviet scientists have shown great

interest in the hydro-resources of the Earth.

Soviet hydrogeologists are at work all over the country, computing resources and comparing them with the needs of the economy. The laboratories of Hydrogeological Problems and Volcanology of the Academy of Science of the USSR have made recommendations for utilizing underground waters for various needs in different parts of the country. They have specified the regions where complex use can be made of these waters and located sites for geothermic electric power stations on Kamchatka Peninsula, in Daghestan and the Tajik, USSR. A list has been drawn up of approximately fifty towns which could be heated by natural means. Among these are Stalingrad, Tashkent, Baku, Omsk, Krasnodar, Yaroslavl and others.

At Makhachkala, in the Caucasus, underground water is now used in industry and for heating buildings. Scientists of the Daghestan Branch of the Academy of Science are working on a project for a geothermal electric power station and drawing up plans for complex use of the Earth's heat. Moreover, in the Caucasus, underground water is used for manifold needs.

Preparations are under way at the opposite end of the country, on Kamchatka Peninsula, to build the first electric power station in that area driven by underground steam.

Hot springs are used to various extent in different countries. However, the experience gained so far on a world scale can only be considered as a small beginning, and mankind is as yet merely on the threshold of geo-energetics. But the challenge has been sounded, and man is boldly harnessing the primeval heat of his planet, to which all that is living owes its existence. In time, perhaps, water will fade into the background and its place will be taken by more modern "developers" of underground energy. Whatever the case, the Earth's heat will become a dependable aid to mankind. Specialists have calculated that it alone can replace all the fuel resources of the Earth's crust and atmosphere.

## ASSAM TRAGEDY AND ITS INNER STORY

By BIRENDRA CHANDRA PURKAYASTHA,  
Ex-Secretary, Cachar District Congress Committee.

ASSAM is the Easternmost province of India lying between longitudes 90° to 97° and latitudes 22° to 29° and has an area of 85,012 square miles and a population of 9,043,707. Though in area, it is roughly thrice the size of West Bengal, its strength of population is less than one-third

berately following a campaign of under-estimation and minimization. As per survey of the Congress President, there were twenty deaths and the number of persons affected amounted to twenty thousand. This is the total toll of the present riot and according to his statements still, the Bengali Press of Calcutta carries on a virulent propaganda of exaggeration. As per report of the Assam Finance Minister, as placed in the latest meeting of the Congress Working Committee, three houses were burnt in Assam and they all belonged to the Assamese. Besides, there is a feeble but pernicious attempt by the Assam Government to convince the public that the riot was started by the Bengalis. It is natural that the Assam Government, guilty as it is, will try to plead its innocence. But one cannot follow, why our Central Government, far from taking up the just cause of the unmerited Bengali sufferers, are following a policy of oscillation and vacillation, where firm determination is the dire need of the hour.



Evicted women yearn for home

of what West Bengal possesses. The present anti-Bengali movement in Assam is not a sporadic and momentary outburst, as one is led by the interested quarters to believe. It is a long-drawn history created by our foreign rulers and the proselytizing missionaries, with which unbalanced Ashamiya jingoism willingly co-operated and lastly since 1947, the Indian National Congress and the Congress Government of Indian Union, have unwittingly extended their helping hand to it, without realising the fact that the multi-racial region of Assam, always requires a watchful attention of the Centre and the charge of its Government should not be completely handed over to a particular community of doubtful capacity.

The depredation of the present anti-Bengali riot is much more greater and wider than what has appeared in Calcutta Press. The All-India Congress and its party Government at the Centre, without making any attempt at the proper assessment of the present Bengali genocide, are deli-



Victims anxious about their relations

Evidences are forthcoming to show that earlier in the month of May, feverish preparation for a riot was made by the Assamese. Even in Shillong, the Capital of Assam, the over-zealous Ashamiyas carried on street demonstration in May last, demanding 'Assamese' as the State language of Assam, which was later on protested

by a counter-demonstration of the Khasis and the Bengalis. The State Government, as well as the Central Government, was aware of what ominous ill-feeling and hatred was brewing all over Assam. But no precautionary measure was taken up by any of these two authorities. The actual push for the riot, in Upper Assam, however, came from Sibsagar, the boastful seat of the Ashamiya culture. It was reported in early June, that a secret meeting was held at night in a school at Sibsagar under the auspices of the Teachers' Association, where it was decided to take immediate action against the Bengalis. On the day following a students' strike was organised at Sibsagar and batches of students and youths were sent to Jorhat, Dibrugarh and other adjoining areas to communicate the decision of the



An oppressed woman praying for justice

meeting. On the 14th July, riot started at Sibsagar with the looting of Bengali shops and assault on the Bengali males and females. On the 15th July, all Ashamiya political parties called a public meeting where Bengalis were also invited. In the meeting a resolution recommending Assamese as the State language of Assam was unanimously adopted, which the Bengalis also supported. Unfortunately as it is, this support to the Ashamiya cause, did not save the Bengalis from the depredation of the aggressive Ashamiyas. In lower Assam (Kamrup, Nowgong and Goalpara) the riot first started at Goreswar Bazar (North Kam-

rup) on 3rd July. An Ashamiya mob, of 15,000 raided the shops and houses of the Bengali shop-keepers, with guns and other dangerous weapons. The whole area was ransacked. Nine Bengalis died on the spot and innumerable Bengalis were wounded and crippled.

At Gauhati, Kamrup, the students took the most aggressive part in hooliganism. All political parties also actively participated in the orgies of violence. The whole administrative machinery of Assam, acted as abetter and occasional participator in the unholy mission. Serious allegations of open participation by the Ashamiya police have been made by the sufferers. The police played another mischievous role. Where the Bengalis lived in a group and were in a position to defend themselves, it was the police who first appeared in the scene, arrested the able-bodied youths and then let loose the hooligans on the remaining Bengalis, who were then rendered unable to protect themselves. It cannot be imagined how demoniac and furious were the atrocities of the miscreants. The Bengali District Officer of Kamrup was stabbed by the Ashamiya mob and the same group assaulted the Bengali Deputy Inspector-General of Police of Assam. Act of dishonour was publicly done to Bengali women. Children were deliberately consigned to burning fire. It is also published in the press that some helpless children were bound hand and foot and then thrown into water. Another pathetic story has appeared in the Press, narrating how an innocent eleven year old girl was killed when she was taking her food with a few relations. Incidents are too many to narrate.

Due to lack of any impartial enquiry, it is very difficult to form a correct estimate of the casualties of the riot. On the basis of various press reports and the data, I have collected from the affected persons and their relations, I make the following assessment :—(1) Death—600 to 700. (2) Cases of dishonour of women, 300 to 400. (3) Incidents of assault, wound, grievous hurt and disability of limbs—4,000 to 5,000 and the number of persons affected by loot, arson and devastation of property—50,000. In 1919, the All India Congress instituted a public enquiry into the atrocities committed by General Dyer at Jalianwallabagh, Punjab. But such bold step cannot be expected of the same Congress which is in power now. But where the Congress and its

party Government fail, the courageous public may step up. It is highly desirable that eminent jurists, men of letters and leading social workers should set up a non-party committee to enquire into the carnage of Assam. Every sensible person wants that the true picture of Assam be brought to light.

#### *Relation Between Assam and Assamese*

The Assamese are one of the many races inhabiting the present State of Assam and they constitute a minority group only. The present Assam is much bigger than the old Kingdom of the Ahoms, from whom the British took over the region in the 19th century. The old Kingdom of the Ahoms comprised the plains of Assam Valley, consisting mostly the present districts of :—(1) Lakhimpur, (2) Sibsagar, (3) Darrang, (4) Kamrup and (5) Nowgong. The Hill regions of Assam were ruled by their chieftains and Rajas. The district of Goalpara was under the Cooch Kings in the 16th century. Since 1613, it formed a part of Bengal. The district of Sylhet was under Bengal since the 12th century. After the annexation of the Ahom Kingdom in the 19th century, the British pushed further into the adjoining hills of Assam and plains of Sylhet and thus occupied a very big area in the Eastern region. In 1874, they created the present province of Assam with (1) Ahom Kingdom, (2) Hill areas adjoining Assam, (3) Cachar and the adjoining hill region and (4) to this area were added the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara, then forming a part of Bengal, for efficient administration of the newly-created province. So the British Assam is quite different from what the Assamese meant and called "Assam" in the pre-occupation period.

#### *Assam in Post-Occupation Period*

In pre-occupation period Assam had some link with India through Bengal. The Ahoms who migrated from Shan States of Burma to Assam in the 13th century, were non-Hindus. When they ascended the throne of Assam, they, at their own initiative embraced Hinduism. Some Goswamis (*Vaishnaba Brahmins*) were invited by the Ahom King for his initiation to Hinduism. Before and after the advent of the Ahoms many *Brahmins* and *Kayasthas* from Bengal

came to Assam. Sankar Deb, the great *Vaishnaba* Preacher of Assam, was the great-grandson of a Bengali *Kayastha*, who migrated to Assam. *Brahmins* and *Kayasthas* of Assam are mostly of Bengali origin and Bengali blood is also tangibly visible in other strata of the Ashamiya society. But association of the Bengalis with the Assamese



Sufferers worried about their future became closer during British rule, mostly because of the inclusion of the populous Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet in Assam.

#### *Indian Nationhood in Assam*

Two important holy places, viz., *Kamakhya Pitha* and *Parasuram Kunda* lie in Assam. Inheritance in Assam is determined by the Bengali system of *Daybhag*. The Assamese also follow the Bengalee *Smriti* (Law of Social Code). But in spite of these affinities, Assam's cultural link with the rest of India is superficial. It is due to the following causes :—(1) It lies in the remotest Eastern corner of India and is separated from the rest of India by a belt of hills. Various races living here have not properly assimilated Indian culture, though the Assamese of the plains ostensibly profess Indian religion and culture. The expansion of Indian civilisation in this inaccessible remote corner is slow and tardy. The British at first, for the convenience of administration, created an unifying atmosphere in this heterogeneous region. But later on, sensing the danger of Indian national-

*Linguistic Position in August, 1947* (after fateful transfer of Sylhet to East Pakistan):

In 1947, the major portion of the Bengali-speaking District of Sylhet, with a population of 2.82 million was transferred to East Pakistan. The state of Manipur severed her connection with Assam. But the transfer of Sylhet did not disturb the population position of Assam Valley (not Assam). Let us first ascertain the Bengali population of Assam Valley on the Valley ratios. To the figure thus obtained, by addition of the Bengali population of Cachar and the retained area of Sylhet, we may find out the total Bengali population of the partitioned Assam. Other linguistic groups being unaffected by the partition, may be easily ascertained on the basis of ratios of 1931. It may be noted that 23 per cent was the ratio of the Bengalis of the total population of Assam Valley in 1941.

*Bengali Population of Assam after partition:*

- (1) 23% of Assam Valley Population (1941) of 5,919,228—1,358,401
- (2) Population of retained area of Sylhet .. .. . 291,320
- (3) Bengalis of Cachar (being 75% of total population of 641,181 of 1941) .. .. . 480,785

*Total population of Assam after partition:*

|                                    | Population | Per cent |
|------------------------------------|------------|----------|
| (1) Assamese (as per 1941 ratio)   | 2,350,032  | 31%      |
| (2) Bengalis, as ascertained above | 2,130,506  | 28%      |
| (3) Others                         | 3,112,499  | 41%      |
|                                    | 7,593,037  | 100%     |

This calculation is approximate, subject to a variation of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to 1 per cent. But still it will be found very useful to ascertain the correct linguistic position of 1951. The linguistic ratios, as shown by the Census Report, 1951, are obviously manipulated and incorrect.

*Linguistic Position in 1951:*

(a) *Position as per my account:*

After 1947, more than 6 Lakh Bengalis have settled in Assam. Therefore, making an allowance of 600,000 in favour of the Bengalis we have calculated the relative position of different groups as per ratios of 1941.

Total population of Assam in 1951 9,043,707  
Less influx of Bengali refugees 600,000

|                                   | Population | Per cent |
|-----------------------------------|------------|----------|
| Bengalis                          | 2,964,237  | 32.8%    |
| Add 28% of 8,443,707 .. .. .      | 2,617,549  | 29%      |
| Assamese—31% of 8,443,707 .. .. . | 3,461,921  | 38.2%    |
| Others—41% of 8,443,707 .. .. .   | 9,043,707  | 100%     |

(b) *Linguistic Position as per Census Report:*

| Group    | Population | Per cent |
|----------|------------|----------|
| Bengalis | 1,719,155  | 19%      |
| Assamese | 4,972,493  | 55%      |
| Others   | 2,352,059  | 26%      |
|          | 9,043,707  | 100%     |

*Position of different groups:*

|          | As per my account | As per Census Report |
|----------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Bengalis | 32.8%             | 19%                  |

The number of Assamese population in 1931 was 1,982,120 and in 1951, (that is after two decades), it has gone upto 4,972,493, that is, its increase is 250 per cent over the figure of 1931. As per calculation, the number of Bengalis are still greater than the Assamese by a little over 3 per cent. Will the Centre make proper arrangement of correct enumeration in 1961? I have already stated that the safety and security of this multi-racial Eastern region, can be ensured only by direct rule of the Centre.

## THE PROBLEM OF RATIONALIZATION IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF OUR EXPORT-DRIVE

By B. K. KUMAVAT, M.Com.

Of all the problems from which our industrial economy suffers, the problem of rationalization is the most predominant one. The old and antiquated methods of our production have caused a serious set-back in our export-earning capacity. As the London *Economist* observes: "India's payment difficulties have been heightened by a loss of export income". Not only the industrial development but the economic development of the nation as a whole depends, to a considerable extent, on the expansion of our exports. There can be no dispute about the indispensability of rationalization of our production (export-goods) which strengthens the edifice of our export-drive. As a matter of fact, the new slogan, "Export or perish" has replaced the old one, "Produce or perish".

### Meaning and Definition

Before we go into the details of the problem, it will not be out of place to know the meaning and definition of the term, "rationalization". The words "rationalization," "modernization" and "rehabilitation" have got synonymous meanings. According to the Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organization, "Rationalization, in general, is any reform tending to replace habitual, antiquated practices by means or methods based on systematic reasoning." In the narrower sense it refers to, "Any reform of an undertaking, administration or other service, public or private, tending to replace habitual, antiquated practices by means or methods based on systematic reasoning." In a wider sense it is, "A reform which takes a group of business undertakings as a unit and tends to reduce the waste or loss due to unbridled competition by concerted action based on systematic reasoning." Rationalization in the widest sense is, "A reform tending to apply means and methods based on systematic reasoning to the collective activities of large economic and social groups."

Thus, broadly speaking, the technique of rationalization is known as the reform on a rational and scientific basis and in all its facets—men, material, machine, management and

money—with a view to having the optimum of output with minimum of cost and effort.

### Gravity of the Problem

The present position of our cloth and jute exports bears an ample testimony to the gravity of the problem. The exports of our cloth have considerably declined as is evident from the following table:

| Year        | Exports in million yards |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| 1954 ... .. | 921                      |
| 1955 ... .. | 875                      |
| 1956 ... .. | 788                      |
| 1957 ... .. | 854                      |
| 1958 ... .. | 624                      |
| 1959 ... .. | 750                      |

Similar is the case with our jute industry. The position became worst in the year 1958. This has engaged an immediate attention of our planners. Doubts are now expressed about the fulfilment of the target for exports of 1,000 million yards of cloth by 1961. It is due mainly to the lack of rationalization of our production.

Besides, other considerations impart urgency to the need for modernization and rehabilitation of our cotton and jute industries. In the cotton industry, competition from Japan and China is becoming keener and keener not to speak of U.K., and the West and East European countries. Recently, China has started underselling her cloth in the international market by 10 to 15 per cent of its price and is holding new markets to bring about a reduction in the Indian exports. Our 90 per cent exports consist of coarse cloth while the world market is flooded with quality-cloth. In addition, a revealing fact to be noted is that the new machinery in the said countries represents about 60 to 90 per cent whereas this percentage is represented by our old and out-moded machines. Needless to say that rationalization has strengthened the competitive powers of these countries against India, which has been repeatedly pointed out by a number of Committees from time to time.

In the case of jute industry, it is held that



ism, which was pulsating through Bengal, they began to follow a policy of separation and alienation. Bengali was the virtual *lingua franca* of this Eastern region. Some hundred years ago, in their communication with the outside world, the Khasi Chieftains used to write in Bengali. Due to the missionary influence all the hill tribes now write their own dialects in Roman script. If they had their education in Bengali script, which was natural for them, they could with a little effort read the books of Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra and other notable litterateurs of Bengal.

Some fifty years ago, the Assamese boys were taught in Bengali. Then an over-night change for the Assamese language came through the British endeavours and our Calcutta University also recognised Assamese as the medium of instruction in Assam valley. But what is Assamese language? It is rather somewhat akin to colloquial form of Bengali tongue in Assam valley. It is written in Bengali script and is spoken barley by two and a half million people. Its vocabulary consists of innumerable Bengali words. In the year 1933, while in Jorhat jail I found, many ordinary Assamese prisoners, with rudimentary education, who could read the Bengali Ramayana with ease. Of course there was some difference in pronunciation and intonation. Any disinterested educated non-Bengali, who knows both Bengali and Assamese will admit that modern Assamese literature is greatly influenced by Bengali literature. It may, therefore, be surmised that the real issue behind the present Bengali genocide is not the establishment of Assamese as the State language of Assam. It is rooted to somewhere else.

#### *Fissiparous Tendency in Assam*

The hill people of Assam have been successfully alienated by the British rulers and the missionaries. The root of the recent Naga troubles is mainly the mischievous propaganda of the missionaries. The Assamese ruling party has added fuel to the fire by neglecting the economic interests of the Nagas. Our Prime Minister was right in saying, "What is the independence of the Nagas? They are the citizens of independent India." But he could not implement his decision and has now submitted to the Nagas, by yielding to their demand

for the creation of a separate Nagaland. Other Hill tribes have recently submitted a memorandum, demanding separate Hill States. The Indian Nationalism is also at a very low ebb among the Assamese. The 'Ahom Jatiya Mahasabha', an organisation of the Assamese, openly supported the Naga rebellion. The same Mahasabha has expressed that in time, Assam would become a sovereign state like Burma. An Assamese English Daily (which is presumably edited by an educated Assamese) editorially commented that Cachar (a Bengali-speaking District of Assam, adjacent to the Pakistan territory of Sylhet), should for the convenience of Assam, be handed over to Pakistan. The Assamese ruling party, though a minority, is running the affairs of the State with a parochial outlook, itself absorbing all opportunities, denying legitimate share to the majorities.

#### *Position of Bengalis in Assam subsequent to transfer of Sylhet to East Pakistan*

So long as Sylhet formed a part of Assam, the position of the Bengalis in Assam was secure. On the eve of Independence, late Gopinath Bardoloi, the ex-Chief Minister of Assam, proposed to Sri Nehru and Sardar Patel, that the Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet, which had a Muslim majority, should be transferred to Pakistan and they readily accepted his proposal, without realising its inner meaning. Sylhet, undoubtedly, had a slight Muslim majority. But Muslims of Sylhet were not very communal in their outlook. The nationalist Muslims of Sylhet controlled 40 per cent of the total Muslim votes in their election contest with Muslim Leaguers. With fair support of the National Government, they could improve their position much better. Besides, Bengali Hindus of Sylhet were a sturdy group. But due to colossal neglect of our Central Government, this district was handed over to Pakistan under a faked referendum, conducted by the self-same Bardoloi, who proposed its transfer to Pakistan. It was in August, 1947. After transfer of Sylhet to Pakistan, the Assamese ruling party carried on administration most wantonly, denying the legitimate rights and privileges to the Bengalis and other groups. It put all obstacles to the entry of the suffering Hindu refugees, while connived at irregular infiltration of lakhs of Muslim

Leaguers from Bengal. Malpractices were adopted in enumeration in the census of 1951. While many Hindus were omitted from census enumeration in Cachar, the Bengalis of Assam Valley were coerced to register themselves as Assamese. Due to this abuse of power, the Census Report of 1951 showed an increase of the Assamese population by 250% over the figures of 1931. On flimsy grounds, Bengali students were denied stipends and scholarships which they were otherwise entitled on the consideration of merit. Many complaints were put up before the Centre, which was found impervious to argument and reason. Centre's twelve years' inaction and passive support since 1948, so grossly emboldened the Assamese that they had at last plunged into a large-scale diabolical genocide against the Bengalis. And still the Centre does not appear to have mustered sufficient courage to tackle the situation. It is minimizing the magnitude of depredation and intends to shield the guilty on the plausible ground that any stern action by the Centre will worsen the situation. One cannot awake a person, who is not really asleep but feigns sleepy. But the public must be conscious about the disastrous effect of such acquiescence to widespread hooliganism, committed by the ruling party of a State.

Indian nationalism and independence is at stake in this Eastern region. Assam, with a population of 9 million, composed of at least twenty-five diverse races and clans, occupies a very important place in free India. What she badly needs today, is a strong Central rule, with an impartial programme of economic improvement for its diverse clans and groups, accompanied by a scheme of educational and cultural improvement of its inhabitants, with special stress on the removal of the prevalent insular jingoism. While setting up agricultural and industrial economy, special attention should be paid to the soil and environments. This kind of planning will produce best possible result and will also make a community of one region dependent upon the people of another region. This inter-dependence will foster mutual trust and regard and will also create an unifying and cohesive force within the hearts of the various groups. After a spade-work for a period of two or three years, the Centre, will, in consultation with different groups, decide whether Assam is to be divided into two or more States or to remain in one State, with two or three quasi-autonomous zones. But the task is not so easy. At least a programme of ten years should be chalked out and followed with impartiality, broadness and strong determination.

#### *Linguistic Survey of Assam*

How hollow is the Ashamiya claim for linguistic majority will be evident from the following statistics:

| Year | Total population of Assam | Assamese  |       | Bengalis  |       | Others    |       |
|------|---------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
|      |                           | No.       | P.C.  | No.       | P.C.  | No.       | P.C.  |
| 1911 | 7,061,034                 | 1,532,000 | 21.7% | 3,225,000 | 45.6% | 2,304,034 | 32.7% |
| 1921 | 7,790,775                 | 1,726,000 | 22%   | 3,526,000 | 45.3% | 2,538,775 | 32.7% |
| 1931 | 9,248,397                 | 1,982,120 | 21.5% | 3,954,435 | 42.9% | 3,311,302 | 35.6% |

It may be seen from the above statistics that from 1911 to 1931, the Bengalis were always twice as many as the Assamese. strength of different groups may be ascertained on the basis of ratios of 1931. The total population as per Census of 1941, was 10,930,388. The relative positions of different groups as per ratios of 1931, stood thus:

| Year | Total population of Assam | Assamese  |       | Bengalis  |       | Others    |       |
|------|---------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
|      |                           | No.       | P.C.  | No.       | P.C.  | No.       | P.C.  |
| 1941 | 10,930,388                | 2,350,032 | 21.5% | 4,678,203 | 42.9% | 3,902,153 | 35.6% |



Abanindranath Tagore

(From a painting by Elizabeth Bruner)

London Magazine received the enthusiastic attention of art-connoisseurs of Europe who welcomed his new experiments in Indian Painting as a new revelation of the national genius of Indian Art, free from any influences from European Art, which in the early days of British domination in India obscured the expression of the native indigenous spirit and technique in the field of Painting. But the triumph and spectacular victory of his original presentation of his new message in Indian Painting came in August 1914, when a representative exhibition of the Paintings of Abanindranath was opened by the French President Poincaré at the Pavillon Marson at Paris in the art-centre of Europe, where the foremost critics of Europe assembled and after a critical appraisal of his works lavished a chorus of praise and admiration which were published in the pages of the French Art-Journals—in the pages of *L'Art Decoratif*, *L'Illustration*,

*Arts et Decoration*, *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts*, and which were echoed and re-echoed throughout the art coteries of Europe. The Paris correspondent of the then News agency of Reuter flashed the news to the Daily newspapers of India, which published the reports in bannered headlines—*Exhibition of Indian Paintings in Paris—The Triumph of Abanindranath!!!* Indeed it was not only the personal triumph of Tagore but of the whole of India in the domain of Art-culture and it was the first World-wide recognition of the Language of Indian Painting of Unique values and peculiar characteristics, having a history spreading over five thousand years.

At the inception of the movement that he started about the year 1896, his paintings were designed as an organized protest against foreign influences and as a passionate plea for artistic expression through indigenous forms, a plea for

the use of the old vernacular art of India as the medium of a truly National Art. He came as a rebel against the domination of the Western standards of Art, and as an able demonstrator and interpreter of the finest elements of indigenous Indian Painting.

Many people wrongly believe that Abanindranath Tagore was a Revivalist, repeating the conventions and formulas of mediaeval schools of Indian Painting. His genius consisted of a wonderful power of assimilating methods and manners from all countries and schools. He had freely adapted secrets of pictorial art from East Asiatic as well as from European masters, in a liberal spirit of eclecticism and in his experimental creations he had used and utilized both Eastern and Western methods in a skilful fusion of a happy and well assimilated harmony. If Dr. Tagore had not left a single example of his brush, his place in contemporary culture would still be secure and unassailable. For, if as a wielder of the Brush—he had few equals in India—he was undoubtedly one of the World's greatest painters, as a Wielder of the Pen he had no equal. He commanded a prose style, which in simplicity and power of technique, as

in profundity of thought and in sparkling and surprising humour, is an invaluable and the most original contribution to modern Bengal literature. His earliest literary publications—*Sakuntala* and *Kshirer Putul* are the earliest contributions to juvenile literature in Bengal. When the Calcutta University honoured this artist writer, who had never matriculated or passed a single examination, with a Doctorate of Literature, everybody agreed that the honour could not have been conferred on a worthier literary genius. His brilliant series of lectures delivered as *Bageswari* Professor of Fine Art at the Calcutta University will stand as his solid contribution to Art and to Literature.

India has yet to pay her tribute and render her homage to her greatest genius in art, who was also one of the Greatest personalities in contemporary life and who has left indelible marks on the pages of the history of human culture, for Art is one of the most shining pages of that book, which he taught us to read and understand.\*

\*By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Calcutta.

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## BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

"Not by bread alone, neither for bread alone does man live. There are higher objectives yet to be attained, other truths to be learned."

It was with this purpose that the school, now Brigham Young University was founded. In 1875, Brigham Young, Head of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon Church), sent for Karl G. Maeser, German educator of note, to establish a school in the name of the Church at Provo, Utah. The school, named after its founder, opened in 1876 as Brigham Young Academy. In 1903, the school was enlarged, and the name changed to Brigham Young University.

The main buildings are on the University's hill-top campus, at the foot of the Wasatch Range, overlooking the modern

city of Provo and the Utah Valley. To the north-east, 12,000-foot Mount Timpanogos forms a backdrop of breath-taking beauty. Enclosing the valley on the west is Utah Lake, twenty-one miles long and seven miles wide.

The upper campus walk is lined with an unusual collection of petroglyphs—prehistoric rock carvings of the ages before man conquered the earth. The lower campus occupies a city block in the residential district of Provo. The Brigham Young's Business College, and McCune School of Music and Art are at Salt Lake City, Utah.

An Alpine Summer School was established as a branch of the University in 1923. It is conducted at Aspen Grove, near the summit of Mount Timpanogos. Here also is the Timpanogos Outdoor Theater, jointly

India has got a monopoly in the world markets over the exports of jute-goods. It is estimated that 20 per cent of our total foreign exchange earnings is contributed by this industry. To maintain the present level of 80 per cent of the total jute-exports and to retain India's sizeable hold in the international market, rationalization is essential. Further, the unrelenting competition from jute substitutes like paper bags, etc., and Pakistan's cheap exports indicate the adoption of a policy of rationalization of the industry. At the same time, a number of countries like South Africa, Brazil, Philippines and Japan have started building up jute manufacturing industries with completely modern equipments. They are offering their jute-goods to the international markets at a considerably lower cost than Indian goods. All these difficulties can be overcome only by accelerating the pace of rationalization. To quote from the Report of the Indian Jute Enquiry Commission, "Rationalization might temporarily cause unemployment but it is the lesser evil compared to the permanent damage to the industry, labour and to the growers who depend on it if the industry should be allowed to perish."

There is no denying the fact that with a view to earning considerable foreign exchange, we should maintain high level of exports. At a time when we feel the necessity of conserving every *naya paisa* of our foreign earnings and augmenting them by every possible effort, the urgency of rationalization can hardly be minimised.

### Objections

But the introduction of rationalization is not above criticisms. The most popular criticism levelled against it is the fear of unemployment caused by the replacement of man by machine. It is argued, of what use the scheme is which gives rise to another problem? Forced rationalization is like 'remedy worse than disease.' Whether the unemployment may be, short-term or long-term in character, rationalization does involve the reduction of labour. This is why the Government advocated the policy of, "rationalization without tears".

It should, however, be borne in mind that the perpetuation of inefficient and outmoded methods has more drastically reduced the employment than any scheme of rationalization could

have done. If we delay in implementing the scheme of modernization, we shall be losing our international market and consequent precious foreign exchange on which depends the success of our Five-Year Plans. Temporary or fractional unemployment is decidedly better than unemployment caused by the closure of mills on account of their failure to compete with the rivals. Rationalization leads to expansion of products, better quality which results in greater demand both in and outside the nation. Greater demand involves establishment of new units which in turn require a large number of labourers and so on. Thus in the long run the problem of unemployment is totally solved, and the fear of unemployment becomes groundless.

Another objection raised against rationalization is the financial stringency. The mills are already suffering from the shortage of not only of foreign exchange resources but also of Rupee funds. In spite of Government assistance, they will have to provide a substantial part of it from their own resources. It has been estimated that we need about Rs. 400 to 500 crores to modernize our Cotton Textile Industry. The progress of rationalization is bound to be slow, as such.

But it does not mean that for the sake of short-term difficulty we should sacrifice the long-term and ultimate gain. The Government of India has made substantial provision for financing the scheme of rationalization. Special mention may be made of the establishment of the National Industrial Development Corporation, Industrial Finance Corporation, State Financial Corporations and the like. At the same time the private sector should not hesitate in coming forward and initiating the scheme. The national interests and the economic development call for its immediate and active co-operation with the Government. As such, the problem of finance will hardly stand in the way of rationalization. What is wanted, is the need for a vigorous step in this regard.

A difficulty in the way of rationalization is stated to have been the Government policy to develop the decentralized sector at the expense of mill sector. This has proved to be a big handicap to the scheme. In addition, the imposition of rigid conditions on the development of mill sector and extraordinary concessions to the handloom and Khadi sector also worked against the implementation of the scheme.

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### Conclusion

If we want to promote our exports and to earn foreign exchange resources for the economic planning, it is inevitably necessary that the Government policies should be clear. It is admitted that the development of handloom sector is also necessary, but it cannot be done at the cost of our export promotion. As an expert has ably pointed out: "Certain compelling immediate problems should not be allowed to interfere with the ultimate and long-term interests of the nation." In the words of the Export Promotion Committee: "The Government should review the position and, as far as possible, relax these conditions with a view to making the scheme more attractive to mills without, at the same time, jeopardizing the objective of export promotion." It is obvious from this discussion that there is an urgent need for a revision of the Government policy so as to facilitate the scheme of rationalization.

To conclude, the fact, however, remains that the long-term solution of our economic difficulties lies mainly in the maximisation of our exports abroad. The export-drive launched by the Government of India can be successful through the expansion of our production—qualitatively rather than quantitatively. This can be achieved only with the help of rationalization and rehabilitation of our production. To be more precise, rationalization is the demand of the day, need for the hour and the slogan of the industrial age and, therefore, it deserves a square deal during the Third Five-Year Plan, to be launched very soon.\*

\*This article is written with special reference to our cotton textile and jute industries.

## DR. ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE A Birthday Tribute

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

WE are celebrating, today, the birth of Acharyya Abanindranath Tagore, who was born in this City on the 7th August, 1871, and who lived and worked in this City incessantly until the time of his death on 5th December, 1951, and, who has been justly hailed as the greatest artist of Asia in the 19th Century. He was one of a galaxy of brilliant luminaries who contributed richly to the building up of Indian national life in diverse spheres of activities—in politics and freedom movements, in Literature, in Drama and poetical creation, in Science and Industry, in Social Reforms, and in the foundations of fruitful educational activities, in new ways of spiritual vision and novel ways of religious practices.

In a brilliant and crowded gallery of Great Men, Abanindranath Tagore built his own seat of respect and honour as an original exponent of Indian National Art.

The poet Tagore had said, "Looking back at the fog end of my life, when I think of a person

who deserves respect and honour on behalf of the whole Indian nation, I find, above all, it is the name of Abanindranath which richly deserves that honour". Another great man, the World famous art-critic of Japan, Kakasu Okakura has claimed "that the talent of an artist like Abanindranath is born but once in the course of five hundred years."

The earliest date of the appreciation of Tagore's painting was in the year 1903, the date of the famous Exhibition of Indian Art held by Lord Curzon at the Durbar at Delhi, in which a small picture entitled, *The Last Days of Shah-jahan* won a Medal, in recognition of its high aesthetic merit. The next event in the appreciation of his new contribution to the development of Indian Painting was the publication of a group of his paintings in a series of colour-reproductions in the pages of the famous London Art-Journal, *"The Studio."*

These reproductions on the pages of the

autumn quarter of 1958 was about 10,000 married couples, with apartments at Wymount and Wyview Villages. Under construction at the present time is a new administration building, and a four-million volume library.—ITEM.

On-campus housing is provided for some 4,200 students and special provision has been made for the approximately 300

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### BASOHLI PAINTINGS IN THE SRI CHITRALAYAM, TRIVANDRUM

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

A small principality in the Punjab Hill States, Basohli, on the right bank of the river Ravi, was one of the most ancient states of the Western Himalayas. Now a forgotten place shorn of all its past glories, Basohli has left its indelible mark on the history of Indian art, for it was here that a distinct school of old, primitive Rajasthani Painting which endowed Krishna, the Divine Lover, with enraptured expression developed in the 17th century. The earlier name of Basohli was Vellapur which has a history dating from the 11th century. There is documentary evidence in *Chittarasamanjari* that it was written at the behest of Raja Kirapala of Basohli in V.S. 1752 (A.D. 1694). Vigne, the French traveller who visited Basohli during 1835-39, has recorded thus: "Bissuli contains a large and slovenly-looking bazaar, and the place would hardly as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the baronial appearance of the palaces of the old Rajas which I thought the very finest building of the kind I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies, and moat-like tank in front presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red-brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jammu, it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower ranges, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst with reference to more general effect of the line of snowy peaks, which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around

it are sufficient to render its relative position immensely superior".

The four centuries old, five-storeyed palace of the Basohli Rajas was perched on the summit of a steep hill commanding a picturesque view. With its exquisite rock carvings, grottos, and rich variety of sculpture and wood carvings, the palace was a repository of art treasures. J. C. French, an I.C.S. Officer, and authority on Rajasthani Painting, visited Basohli in 1930. In his most interesting book *Himalayan Art* (1931) he says: "The position of Basohli on a steep hill, girt with rocky precipices, overlooking a broad and swiftly flowing river crowned by one of the loveliest palaces in the hills, (for such was Basohli a hundred years ago) and the whole scene framed in the Himalayan snows, justified its claim to be one of the "Seven Wonders of the Hills". Thakur Kahn Singh Balauria, the author of *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan*, and the historian of Basohli, says that the palace was decorated with mural paintings illustrating *Navika* and other erotic themes. No trace of these old murals is left. The palace is now in ruins, evoking great and austere memories of the past. The present hill town of Basohli has a population of about 7000 and is a thriving village, with modern amenities though bereft of the ancient glories. No wonder that such a picturesque region inhabited by a race of active people, almost always at war with other clans or the aliens, yet deeply drawn to the pleasures of life, became the home of a rare kind of romantic art of abundant visual charm, an art which excelled in its passionate yet sublimated interpretation of eroticism.

The heyday of painting in Basohli was

### BASOHLI PAINTINGS IN THE SRI CHITRALAYAM



Sri Krishna combing the hair of Radha  
(A 17th century Basohli painting depicts a scene from *Gita-Govinda*)

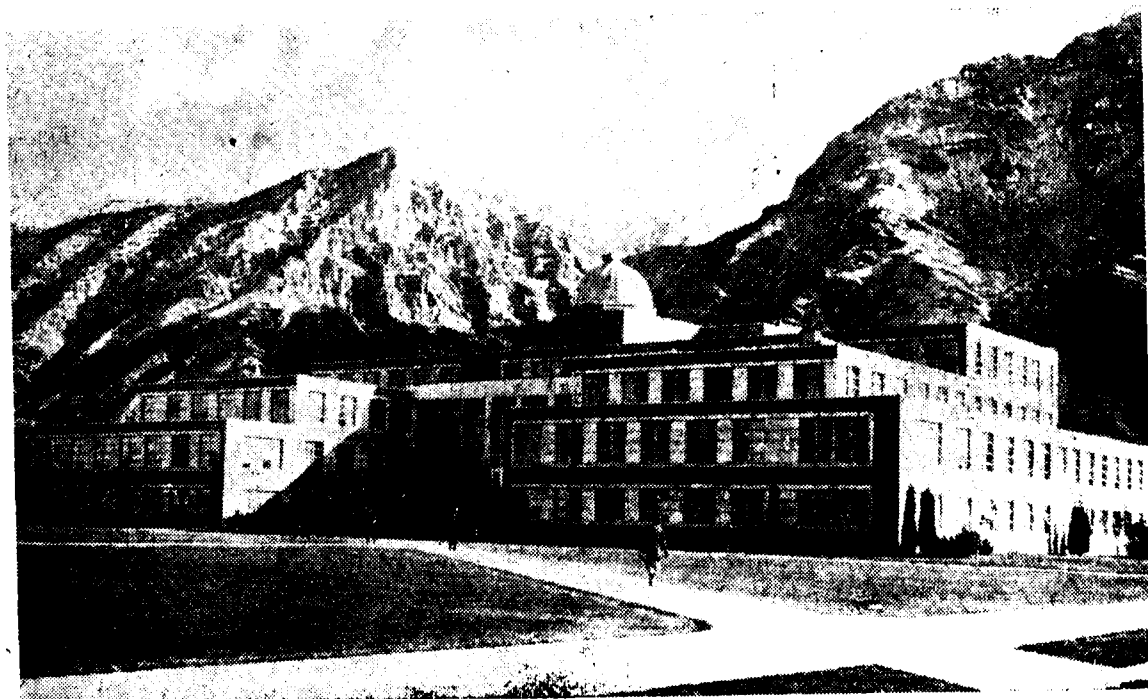
during the reign of Raja Amrit Pal (1749-1776). Situated on the famous trade route to Jammu which cut across Nahan, Bilaspur, Gular, and Nurpur, Basohli in the 17th and 18th centuries was well known and a flourishing principality where about 700 families of Kashmiri *Pashmina* weavers carried on a prosperous trade in exquisite handloom products. Basohli became a tributary of Maharaj Ranjit Singh in 1803-09, and in 1846 the State was handed over to Maharaj Gulab Singh of Jammu when Kalyan Pal the last chief of Basohli was pensioned off. With that the famous 'Basohli Kalam' (period) in painting ended.

The earliest official mention of Basohli Painting is made in the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1918-19. In the classification of "the School of Jammu", made in 1916 by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the greatest critic of Indian Art, would fall the Basohli School of Painting. Ajit Ghose and J. C. French were the pioneers to discover the ravishing beauty and interpret the unique charms of the Basohli school of Rajasthani Painting from which the other and more famous schools developed. Ajit Ghose visited Basohli in 1928, and J. C. French in 1930. Their on-the-spot studies and scholarly findings based on painstaking spade-work and authentic information aroused

great interest in Basohli Painting and blazed the trail for scintillating studies by later scholars. Ajit Ghose's learned article on Basohli Paintings published in *Rupam*, No. 27, 1929, remains the best essay on the subject. Dr. M. S. Randhawa, I.C.S., who has made a detailed and scholarly study of Basohli Painting, visited Basohli in 1957. He has described his visit to Basohli in an interesting and illuminating article entitled *A Journey to Basohli* published in *Roopa-Lekha* (Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1958).

Significant has been the unique and truly amazing contribution of the Basohli School to the development of Pahari Painting. The earliest and typically Hindu of the Pahari Schools, the Basohli 'Kalam' which flourished between 1752 and 1782 has all the qualities of exquisite mural paintings, with pronounced influences from Ajanta. During the reign of Raja Kirpal Pal (1650-1693) the art of painting in Basohli received a tremendous impetus. The finest and sumptuous efflorescence of Basohli Painting was during the reign of Raja Amrit Pal (1749-1776). W. G. Archer, in his masterly treatise, the *Loves of Krishna*, says that "the Basohli style with its flat planes of brilliant green, brown, red, orange, its savage profiles and great intense eyes, has obvious connections with Udaipur Paintings of the 1650-60 period." He





The Carl F. Eyring Physical Science Center at Brigham Young University

sponsored by the U.S. Forest Service and the University.

Fifty-nine separate departments in twelve colleges, schools, divisions and branches make up the University. A wide range of courses is offered for preparation in many areas of various fields, leading to a bachelor's or doctor's degree.

One of the University's most distinctive courses is the College of Family Living established in 1954. It is located in a recently completed Family Living Center, named after Joseph F. Smith, sixth president of the Latter-day Saints' Church. The courses offered in this college are designed to provide a background of educational experience which will prepare young people to be intelligent parents and effective members of a community.

A nursery school in the center provides training for both children and adults. Budgeting, food and nutrition, house design and decoration, clothing and textiles are also included in the course as important to family living.

The College of Arts is favorably known for the artistic and academic work under its direction. The Brigham University Sym-

phony orchestra has earned the acclaim of professional musicians, as has the A Capella Choir, the Male Chorus, the Madrigal Singers, and the University Chorale. Music students work with a professional staff of composers, performers, and music theorists, some of whom have studied and performed abroad as well as in the United States.

The University's Heber J. Grant Library contains one of the largest choral libraries in the western United States, and one of the best libraries of recordings in the country. It also has excellent band and orchestra libraries as well as about 3,000 books on musical subjects. It also contains some rare and outstanding book collections.

An Opera Workshop consists of two groups of well-developed Dramatic voices which prepare and perform operatic music at the University and on tour.

There are also two summer sessions in music providing courses in all spheres of music education, and improvement courses for professional musicians and educators.

The Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts offers courses and training in speech and hearing rehabilitation, public speaking, general speech for secondary school teachers,

radio and television speaking, and theater art. Instruction is also given in scene design, construction, and in costuming.

Ten major plays are staged yearly, and many have toured the Western United States. The Department of Music's Theater Orchestra provides music for the productions, and accompanies the plays on tour.

Experience in radio and television is offered through the KBYU University-owned, and student operated radio station. The station also provides Dramatic art students with experience in staging and acting in radio and TV productions.

The University numbers in its private collection over eight hundred original paintings and prints by leading western painters. It has, as well, facsimiles and slides of the works of most of the leading American artists. A continuous art exhibit exchange with other universities is also maintained.

Following the new trend in education which combines theory with practical ex-

perience, students of journalism have an opportunity to work on the student paper, and during the summer, students with a high average in the course have paying jobs on the **Desert News** and the **Salt Lake Telegram**. Salaries for the students are provided by the Utah State Press Association.

Students of Archaeology participate in excavations conducted at Indian mound sites in Utah Valley, and advanced students accompany the periodic archaeological expeditions to Mexico and Central America.

For students of Sociology, firsthand knowledge is obtained by visits to prisons, mental hospitals, and work with welfare organizations. The Church owns and operates thirteen hospitals which give in-training experience to nursing students.

The Division of Religion presents programs for persons wishing to study religion for general or particular purposes. The Business courses are designed to prepare students for increasing opportunities and

responsibilities resulting from changes made by the scientific innovations of our age.

The College of Physical and Engineering Sciences maintains modern, well-equipped laboratories to meet the requirements of the various courses. Five-year courses leading to a Bachelor of Engineering



Students excavate an archaeological site on a farm west of Provo

Science degree are offered in its engineering programs. The University is an institutional member of the American Mathematics Society, and staff members participate as well in the Mathematics Association of America.

The Department of Adult Education and Extension Services is part of the on-campus adult instruction. It has year-round credit and non-credit programs for groups of various ages and educational backgrounds.

An Athletic Clinic for boys between the ages of eight and fourteen provides recreation for youngsters within the area. A Summer Youth Clinic also provides about three weeks of sports for boys from twelve to sixteen years old.

Another summer program is an Institute for Nurses held for registered nurses in Utah and other mountain states who want a refresher course in nursing.

Enrolment in the University for the

tributing to emotional tension, and the amazing chromatic combinations in the pictures form vital elements of felicitous composition.

One of the *Gita Govinda* Pictures belonging to the Basohli School in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts collection, "Radha visits Krishna at night offering betel to him" has been reproduced in colours in the magnificent volume *India—five thousand years of Indian Art* by Dr. Hermann Goetz, the foremost living authority on Indian Art (published by Methuen & Co., Ltd. London). This 18th century painting, 5 inches x 8 inches, is different from the *Gita Govinda* pictures which are usually 3 inches x 12 inches.

The Central Museum at Lahore has a series of old paintings of the Basohli School illustrating *Gita Govinda*. Consequent on the Partition of India, 60 per cent of these Paintings were retained by Pakistan and the remaining 40 per cent, twenty-two in number, came into the possession of the East Punjab Government. The latest known set of *Gita Govinda* pictures of the Basohli School was commissioned in 1730, by a Basohli Princess. W. G. Archer opines that "this series of illustrations is in some ways a turning point in Indian Painting for not only was it to serve as a model and inspiration to later artists but its production brings to a close the most creative phase of Basohli Art".

Among the collection of sixty Rajasthani Paintings, by no means exhaustive but qualitatively outstanding, exhibited with unerring artistic taste under the guidance of Dr. J. H. Cousins, in the *Sri Chitralayam* (State Art Gallery at Trivandrum), there are three Basohli Paintings illustrating *Gita Govinda* painted in gouache on paper by an unknown artist during the middle of the seventeenth century. These paintings illustrate in a colourful and elegant manner, conveying an air of vivid sensual charm, three scenes from *Jayadeva's* famous scripture, the first Sanskrit Poem to immortalise Radha as Krishna's transcendent love. Of uniform size, 3 inches x 12 inches, these pictures have a plain deep brick-red border 1/3 of an inch in breadth. The blue sky with clouds of white is depicted at the top of the pictures from end to end occupying but half an inch of space vertically. The dominant colours are orange, blue, deep yellow, deep and light green, light maroon and light chocolate. These paintings which are felicitous in composition,

dazzling in the juxtaposition of contrasting and complimentary colours, outstanding in dramatic quality, and emotional intensity, strictly conform to the quality of *Gita Govinda* Paintings of the Basohli School which are in other States and private collections.

In the first picture Krishna is seen seated on a mount on the bank of river Jamuna, combing the hair of Radha. Krishna has a crown of gold, emeralds and pearls. He is deep blue-hued and has a yellow cloth around his waist. A gold-laced upper cloth is thrown over his neck. Radha has a yellow blouse and purple skirt. Her ear-rings of diamonds and emeralds are prominently rendered. She wears several bangles and necklaces. Two different varieties of trees with luxuriant foliage are noticed. They are treated in the realistic *cum* decorative style. A salient feature of Basohli *Kalam* is the power arising from the endowment of nature with romantic ardour, the forest being depicted as a highly sensitive and symbolic setting for the amorous exploits of Radha and Krishna. The background is in strong emphatic orange colour.

In the second paintings, Krishna and Radha are seated on a lawn rising from the bank of River Jamuna. Krishna is tying an anklet around the heel of Radha. Krishna wears the same dress as in the previous paintings. He wears *Vaishnavite* caste marks on the chest and hands. Radha wears a red blouse with white dots, and an orange-coloured skirt with a red and white-dotted scarf. At the left hand corner of the painting is a tree with rank luxuriance of leaves. On the right hand corner is a tree with yellow flowers in full bloom. Radha and Krishna are seated in the inviting shade of the flowering branches. The background is of light grey.

After a night of revelry of amorous adventures with Krishna, Radha beseeches the Great Enchanter to assist her in her toilet. Krishna the gallant lover readily complies with Radha's request. Radha begs Krishna thus:

"She said to the joy of her heart,  
Adorn the curl on my brow which puts to shame,  
my spotless brow,  
Make a beautiful spot on my forehead, a spot  
with the paste of the sandal.  
O giver of pride, on my tresses, untidy, now on  
account of desire, place flowers.  
Place on my hips the girdle, the clothes and the  
jewels.

Cover my beautiful loins, luscious and form,  
the cavern of Love to be feared.  
Make a pattern upon my breasts and a picture on  
my cheeks and fasten over my loins a girdle.  
Bind my masses of hair with a beautiful garland  
and place many bracelets upon my hands and  
jewelled anklets upon my feet". (from the English translation of *Gita Govinda* by George Keyt, foremost modern artist of Ceylon whose paintings of Radha and Krishna fully express the spirit of Indian Poetry).

The above-mentioned two paintings illustrate in resplendent colours this poem with sensitivity and elegance and ardent passion which knows no bounds.

In the third study, Radha and Krishna are seated on a blooming lotus, the largest one rising from the stream. Two lotus buds and two lotus leaves are also seen. Humming bluish black bees hover about. On either side is a tree. The one on the left has creepers studded with flowers. The flowers are scarlet with a surging vegetative rhythm. Krishna has a golden halo around his face. He wears different kinds of ornaments which are not found in the other two paintings. Krishna is depicted as Lord Vishnu, with disc, conch and lotus flower in his hands. Radha wears a purple *choli* and a red skirt inlaid with gold. Her hands are cupped in supplication. She is before her lord in a devotional attitude. This painting illustrates Radha's final apotheosis. The background is light green with a tinge of yellow.

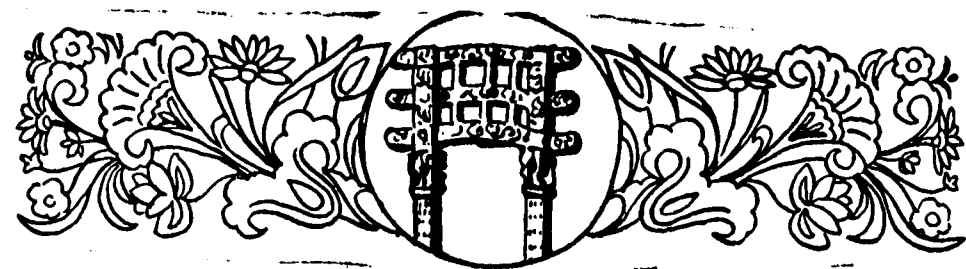
To accentuate decorative effect and visual resplendence, the painters cut beetle wings into tiny pieces of artistic and attractive shapes and used them in pictures to impart the suggestion of emeralds and pearl worn by Radha and Krishna. The three illustrations of *Gita Govinda* done by Basohli Artists of old, exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*, are certainly part of a whole series

of Basohli Paintings, extolling reverent devotion and ecstatic passion with intensity, brusque vitality and wild elation. The whereabouts of the remaining pictures in the set are not known. The three studies are quite similar to the illustrations of *Gita Govinda*, eight of which are reproduced in the publication "*Gita Govinda in the Basohli School of Indian Painting*". The paintings are not signed. Nor are there other evidences leading to authorship or exact date. Signed pictures are rare in the Basohli *Kalam*. Among the painters of the Basohli School there were Hindus (Manaku, Viradatta) and Muslims—(Khandoo, Ahmadoo).

In "*The Loves of Krishna*" by W. G. Archer are included reproductions of a couple of the Basohli Paintings depicting episodes from *Gita Govinda*. Of these, the one entitled "*The Last Tryst*" (original in the State Museum of Lahore), one of the series commissioned by a Basohli Princess in 1730, resembles in style and treatment the illustrations of *Gita Govinda* exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*.

Along with Ajit Ghose's scholarly article on *Pahari Schools of Indian Painting* published in *Roopa-Lekha* (Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1958), three outstanding Basohli Paintings are reproduced. Among them, the picture bearing the caption "*An illustration from 'Gita Govinda'*," has strong affinities with the illustrations of *Gita Govinda* exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*.

In these paintings the tumultuousness of passion and the stark nature of the encounters indulged in by lovers consumed by desire, find their most virile and poignant expression. The extant Basohli Paintings continue to be an intriguing and controversial subject of study and discussion among scholars who are on the alert for new evidences for assessing periods and locations.



adds that "even in its earliest examples Basohli Painting has a smooth, polish, a savage sophistication and a command of shading which suggests the influence of the Mughul style of Delhi". Certainly pre-Moghul, though some Moghul influence is observed in the 17th century Basohli Paintings, they are outstanding in masterly draughtsmanship, sensitive and sensuous

joy-imparting interpretation and colourful expression in these Paintings so full of philosophical import and yet intensely subjective and lyrical in the magnificence of the external milieu. The Basohli School of Painting has provided a new and rich ethos to Rajasthani Painting.

The bulk of Basohli Paintings illustrate the *Nayika* theme, *Rasamanjari* of Bhanudatta, and

*Gita Govinda*, the immortal lyric of Jayadeva (1178-1206). *Gita Govinda* which has no parallel in Indian literature for its lyrical sublimity, intensity of emotion and dramatic effect, the mellifluousness of diction and transcendent eroticism, has provided unlimited inspiration to the Basohli artists and they have left to posterity a number of exquisite paintings abounding in noble ideas and warm feelings depicting the amours of Radha and Krishna. The Basohli Painters were art-intoxicated people. Love of art was inborn in the people of the Punjab Hill States. J. C. French, in his *Himalayan Art*, mentions an



Sri Krishna and Radha seated on a lotus

colouring, and are sumptuous in lyrical and romantic appeal. Painted in gouache over paper on a flat background and devoid of the prettiness, rhythmic dalliance and smoothness of Kangra Paintings, with accent laid on the vivid expression of intensely emotional situations, decorative charm and diaphanous drapery, these paintings display in endearing, exquisite and vivacious terms the idyllic love scenes of Radha and Krishna in their divine, religious and mystical setting. Though deific in content, they are full of human appeal providing at once visual delight and aesthetical satisfaction. The human figures portrayed in the Basohli Paintings recall to mind the handsome men and charming women of the hills who love all that is romantic in humanity and nature. The most delightful pictorial representation of Vaishnavite Mysticism, the Basohli Paintings display a high level of technical and aesthetical excellence saturated with love and romance, the joy, passion and beauty of abundant vivacious life. The illusive beauty of the Rajasthani maiden and the ideal state of beatitude yearned for in Vaishnavite Mysticism find their supreme, sublimated, and

embroidered cloth decorated with figures he had seen, "a curious specimen of the old Basohli Art . . . . The colouring was delightful, bright and clear, but in perfect combination and taste". "The Basohli School is distinguished by an intense vitality and inventiveness. Bold compositions are set off by vivid contrasts of sparkling colours". W. G. Archer, an authority on Rajasthani Painting, says in his *Kangra Painting (Faber Gallery of Oriental Art series)*: "Basohli had owned the most flourishing School of Painting in the Punjab Hills. Marked by 'savage intensity', the style was noted for its burning angry colours, its violent distortions and for a certain suave barbaric grace". Ajit Ghose, an authority on Pahari Art, says that "the best of the Basohli pictures are the two series illustrating *Rasamanjari* of Bhanudatta and the *Gita Govinda* illustrations".

One of the finest examples of *Rasamanjari* Paintings, the original of which adorns the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, viz., A *situation* (1694) has been reproduced in colours in Basil Gray's authoritative book *Rajput Painting* in the famous *Faber Gallery of Oriental Art*

series. Another exquisite illustration to *Rasamanjari* appears along with Ajit Ghose's illuminating study of Pahari Paintings published in *Roop-Lekha* (1958). "Felicity of composition and the brilliant juxtaposition of colours" distinguish this painting as also the *Gita Govinda* pictures. The largest collection of *Nayika* Paintings of the Basohli School are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and in the Kasturbai Lalbhai collection at Ahmedabad. Basil Gray has observed that these paintings "are in a strongly individual style, rich

and pompous in spite of the monotony of composition, and lack of suppleness". Pahda Kunj Lal, a descendant of the royal physicians of Basohli Rajas, has made a gift of several *Rasamanjari* Paintings, and portraits to the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

Some of the finest Basohli Paintings illustrating the *Gita Govinda* have been reproduced in the beautiful publication, "*Gita Govind—in Basohli School of Indian Painting*" with an introduction by R. P. N. Sinha (Published by the Oxford Book and Stationery Co., Calcutta).



Sri Krishna tying an anklet on the foot of Radha

About forty outstanding Basohli Paintings are reproduced in Dr. M. S. Randhawa's "*Basohli Painting*" the best available and comprehensive scholarly yet popular work on the subject (published by the Publications Division, Delhi). Dr. M. S. Randhawa, whose knowledge of Basohli Painting is intimate and first hand, apprises the great art thus: "A style of Painting characterised by vigorous use of primary colours prevailed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the foot-hills of the Western Himalayas in the Jammu and Punjab states. The earliest paintings in this style originated in Basohli, from where the style spread to the Hill States of Mankot, Nurpur, Kulu, Nandi, Suket, Bilaspur, Nalagarh, Chamba, Guler and Kangra. While the beauty of the Kangra Painting lies mainly in its rhythmic line, the charm of Basohli Painting is in its colour appeal. Vibrant colours like yellow and red which the Basohli artists used so liberally seem to penetrate the eye and move us deeply".

The types of figures depicted in the Basohli

Paintings have receding foreheads, long noses pointing downward, very large lotus-shaped eyes, small mouths, receding chin, round and full cheeks, all expressive of passion, vivacity and charm. The women wear their tresses loose, a few of the curly hairs dropping in effortless ease and consummate grace on the forehead or the cheeks. The male figures do not generally have any dress above the waist. They wear *dhoties* of a golden yellow colour with a gold border. Both males and females adorn their bodies with a profusion

of jewellery. The females wear colourful *choli*, skirt and scarf. The drapery of the women folk is diaphanous, transparency being achieved through a masterly and delicate handling of colours. The drawing and colouring of trees in these paintings have highly individual characteristics producing most charming effects on the senses of the looker-on and creating a romantic alluring atmosphere. The trees are depicted as "small and summary symbols". The contention of the great art critic W. G. Archer that "elsewhere in India, painting had developed the expressive qualities of line and colour but nowhere outside the Punjab Himalayas were there achieved such exquisite renderings of the subtle ecstasies of romance", makes itself truly felt and fully appreciated when the illustrations of '*Gita Govinda*' by the Basohli Painters are examined. In all these lovely paintings only the profiles of love-intoxicated Radha and Krishna are portrayed with fervour. The studies are permeated with symbolism, imagery and rhythm. The gestures made by Krishna and Radha are full of meaning con-

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

AFTER the period of infancy the growing boys and daughters so that they may not fall in and girls in families require more attention and bad companies. In big cities like Calcutta, care from their parents or other relations if they Bombay, Madras and Delhi, people come to live are desired to become fit citizens of a great together from different parts of the country. country like India. First of all when they reach They possess different kinds of ideas and out- school-going age they should, as far as possible, look. Some of the films, both Western and Indian, may not be desirable from the moral point of view as they contain many episodes, which are not worth witnessing by boys and girls of tender age. But there are not sufficient means to prevent the growing boys and girls from seeing such films. The result is that some episodes in the pictures, which they see, leave a permanent impression in their minds and they try to imitate many of the vices, which seriously interfere with their studies.

It is the solemn duty of the parents and elderly relations of the young students to dissuade them from moving in bad companies and seeing undesirable pictures in cinema houses. They should be closely watched as to where they go after their school or college hours, or when they are free from their studies.

Due to lack of proper educational care or encouragement to imbibe discipline amongst students in ordinary Indian schools, the parents or guardians of the young boys and girls, who can afford to incur higher educational expenses, send their wards to some schools managed by Europeans or Anglo-Indians, where the teachers appear to be more sincere to their duties and responsibilities. In these schools more attention is generally paid to the students by the teachers than in the ordinary Indian managed schools. Boys and girls belonging to rich and well-to-do families and those of the families of our country's present-day leaders are invariably sent to such schools, so that on completion of education at these institutions these boys and girls can expect to secure and maintain better positions so far as their earning capacity and social status are concerned. It is one of the main reasons why not much attention is paid to the running and management of the ordinary type of Indian schools about which the well-placed men in our society or the country's leaders do not possess sufficient personal knowledge or information.

Next arises the difficulty before the parents and guardians to keep vigilance on their

As it is the duty of the parents and guardians to prevent the boys and girls in their care from witnessing undesirable films or from mixing with unwelcome friends, so it is also their duty to arrange for some sort of innocent entertainments for their wards in the family circle itself. For this purpose even the staging of a family drama or having a family orchestra can be resorted to for preventing the boys and girls from coming under outside evil influence. Morning and evening walk in family group or playing some light game like Badminton, if possible, can be of great help to keep the growing boys and girls in the careful and vigilant company of family members. The effort spent by the elderly members of the families will no doubt be amply rewarded when the minor boys and girls will grow and be able to keep the good name and prestige of the families they belong to.

Proper attention is to be paid at the time of selecting a tutor for a boy in order to see that the tutor is well-behaved and is serious in his duties. More attention, however, is needed at the time of selecting a male teacher for a growing girl to teach her academic lessons or lessons in music. The family connection of the tutor and the company he keeps are to be ascertained

beforehand at the time of engaging a teacher for a girl student. Besides this regular surprise visits should also be paid by female members of the families to find out whether the teaching is being conducted in a serious manner. A minor girl is by nature sentimental and imaginative and, therefore, much more care is needed for her than her brother to see that her sentiment and imagination flow through right channels.

It is the joint responsibility of the parents and guardians to take care and watch the movement of growing boys and girls in families from day to day. So long as the male members are in the house they should invariably take some interest in them, talk to them as friends, ascertain from them their difficulties and encourage them in their studies. When the male members are away from their domestic surroundings the duty of taking care of boys and girls falls on the female members alone. It is, therefore, imperative on the female members also to discharge their onerous duty of helping the society and the country in having good citizens

of the future by keeping a constant watch with care and affection on the movements of the boys and girls belonging to their families. They should remember that the freedom-fighters of our country of bygone days had always a great respect for the mothers and sisters as they are the true preservers of the country's independence by continuing to supply the right type of men and women needed during war or peace.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the present-day instances of indiscipline and disorder amongst the young generation of boys and girls are but warnings to the elderly members of society. Unless and until they take more care about them the very structure of our society will be damaged considerably. It is the young boys and girls, who are the future hopes of our country and on them depends the social and political advancement of our country. The care of the boys and girls is, therefore, the first duty of the elders in our society and should be discharged with absolute sincerity.

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## FINANCING THE SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

By PROF. T. S. KATYAR, M.A., M. Com.

### Introduction

It need hardly be said that the requirements of finance play a vital part in the development programmes for village and small-scale industries, but unfortunately the existing arrangements for provision of finance are far from satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> The same view has been expressed by the International Planning Team when they say, "In most of the workshops visited by us, real finance did not seem to exist at all and there was a severe lack of capital as well as credit."<sup>2</sup> The discussion of this subject can best be initiated with the sources of finance of this sector.

### State Aid to Industries Acts

Part of the finance is supplied by the Government under the State Aid to Industries Acts. In 1956-57 the States were given loans of Rs. 1.5 crores by the Central Government for this purpose

and similarly an amount of Rs. 1.5 crores was sanctioned for the year 1957-58. It is really gratifying to note that assistance to industries under these Acts has been recently liberalised to some extent and larger powers of sanction are being delegated to local authorities, but the amounts available from this source are yet meagre. It might be recalled that an enquiry<sup>3</sup> was conducted by the Government of India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, regarding the liberalisation of terms and conditions governing the grant of loans to small-scale industries. The replies given by the State Governments,<sup>4</sup> on the basis of analysis, can be regrouped in a tabular form as given below :

3. For details consult *Journal of Industry and Trade*, (July, 1957) : Reference Section : p. 1453.

4. There were in all at that time 25 States, out of which one (Himachal Pradesh) did not reply.

1. *Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 439.

2. *Eastern Economist* : 5.12.1958, p. vi.



## Analysis of the Replies given by State Governments

| Questions & Kind of replies | Loans upto Rs. 1,000 on personal land | Loans upto Rs. 5,000 on one or more sureties | Loans above Rs. 5,000 at 75% security of land, buildings, machine, stocks and shares | Reduced rates of interest upto Rs. 5,000 | Delegation of powers to D.I. to disburse loans upto Rs. 2,000 | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Yes—accepted             | 8                                     | 8                                            | 18                                                                                   | 15                                       | 9                                                             | 58    |
| 2. Under consideration      | 6                                     | 6                                            | —                                                                                    | 3                                        | 5                                                             | 20    |
| 3. Not accepted             | 1                                     | 2                                            | 1                                                                                    | —                                        | —                                                             | 4     |
| 4. Others                   | —                                     | —                                            | 5                                                                                    | 5                                        | 3                                                             | 13    |
| 5. No reply                 | 9                                     | 8                                            | —                                                                                    | 1                                        | 7                                                             | 25    |
| Total States                | 24                                    | 24                                           | 24                                                                                   | 24                                       | 24                                                            | 120   |

The above table shows that, on the whole, the response from the States to these terms was favourable. Moreover, in the present circumstances, when the policy of the Government of India, in particular, and that of the State Governments, in general, is of positive assistance, those questions which are under consideration would be favourably decided and the terms and conditions would be finally accepted. Further, in the case of a few States the terms and conditions of loans were more liberal than those proposed by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. For instance, in regard to Question No. 3, it was found that the existing provisions of the *Madhya Pradesh* and *Orissa States Aid to Industries Acts* were more liberal than proposed by the Central Government. In these States the percentage of security is 66 per cent and 70 per cent respectively. Similarly, in regard to the Question No. 5, the State of Assam, in special cases, charges interest at the rate of 3 per cent on loans advanced upto Rs. 50,000 and Saurashtra at the rate of 4½ per cent only.

It is interesting to note that the State of Kutch immediately incorporated all the proposals in the rules governing the State Aids to Industries Act. Hence, other States, if they really want to assist, encourage and develop small-scale industries and wish to establish socialistic pattern of society in India, should emulate the example set by the State of Kutch. Further, the Central Government should communicate to other State Governments the terms and conditions of granting loans of those States which are more liberal than proposed for. Moreover, the reply of Hyderabad Government to the proposal No. 3 and that of the West Bengal to the proposal No. 4 deserve special consideration of the Central Government. Furthermore, if other States are ready and willing to frame rules on the basis of the maximum liberal terms, as disclosed by the enquiry, not only will the technical efficiency improve but the recovery of loans will also be high. Finally, budget provisions for assistance under State Aid Industries Acts should be increased and efforts should be made to make the procedure of borrowing from them as simple as possible, so that full provisions may be utilised.

## State Financial Corporations

The Union Parliament passed the State Financial Corporations Act on September 28, 1951. The scope of the activities of State Financial Corporations is wider than that of the Industrial Finance Corporation for India, since the definition of "Industrial concern" has been broadened so as to include not only public limited companies but also private limited companies, partnerships and proprietary concerns. These Corporations are authorised to issue and sell bonds and debentures, accept public deposits, guarantee loans floated in the public market, underwrite the issue of stock and shares, bonds and debentures and can grant mortgage to firms which are run on a proprietary, partnership or limited company basis. The following table gives an analysis of loans granted by State Financial Corporations :—

## Analysis of Loans Granted by State Financial Corporations

| Year    | No. of operating Corporations | Loans sanctioned | Loans distributed | Loans outstanding |
|---------|-------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1953-54 | 2                             | 70               | 33                | 103               |
| 1954-55 | 8                             | 211              | 132               | 226               |
| 1955-56 | 12                            | 405              | 187               | 403               |
| 1956-57 | 11                            | 443              | 286               | 645               |
| 1957-58 | 12                            | 477              | 371               | 951               |

In 1953-54, two Corporations sanctioned and disbursed loans amounting to Rs. 70 lakhs and Rs. 33 lakhs respectively and the 12 States Financial Corporations operating in 1957-58, sanctioned and disbursed loans amounting to Rs. 477 lakhs and Rs. 371 lakhs respectively, and brought the outstanding loans at the end of the year to Rs. 951 lakhs, which was 76 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all the Corporations. During this period of five years the number of Corporations multiplied by six times but the

loans sanctioned and disbursed increased by over six and eleven times respectively and the outstanding loans by over nine times. While expressing his gratification at the results achieved by them the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India did not feel that it was spectacular in the context of the total needs because the possibilities in this field were quite enormous.<sup>5</sup> Hence, it is clear that the loan activities of the Corporations need intensification and, therefore, more funds should be made available to them. They should also raise their own resources through different methods as provided for in the Act.

The loans sanctioned by them to 15 Industries including miscellaneous group of small industries as on 31st December, 1957, amounted to Rs. 224.04 lakhs, which was only 13.95 per cent (approximately a little less than one-seventh) of the total loans of Rs. 1,606 lakhs sanctioned by all the Corporations upto the end of March, 1958. The details of the advances made by the 12 State Financial Corporations upto 31 December, 1957, are given in the following table :

Statement Showing Industrywise Loans sanctioned By the State Financial Corporations\* to Small-Scale Industrial Units as on 31st December, 1957<sup>6</sup>

| Industry                                                   | Amount<br>(In lakhs of Rupees) |
|------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Electricity supply and manufacture of electrical goods. | 10.91                          |
| 2. General Engineering and metal works                     | 31.16                          |
| 3. Pharmaceuticals and Chemicals                           | 8.97                           |
| 4. Cold storage, food preservation and canning             | 45.94                          |
| 5. Oil, rice and flour mills                               | 18.80                          |
| 6. Cotton, ginning and pressing                            | 5.85                           |
| 7. Paper, paper-board, stationery and printing             | 3.85                           |
| 8. Manufacturing of steel and steel goods                  | 2.80                           |
| 9. Cycle parts manufacture                                 | 3.15                           |
| 10. Textile and Hosiery                                    | 13.25                          |
| 11. Leather goods                                          | 0.60                           |
| 12. Confectionery                                          | 3.05                           |
| 13. Tea Industry                                           | 13.35                          |
| 14. Rubber, cashew-nut and coir                            | 11.85                          |
| 15. Miscellaneous†                                         | 50.51                          |
| Total                                                      | 224.04                         |

<sup>5</sup> Speech by H.V.R. Ienger at the IV Conference of the representatives of the States Financial Corporation held in November, 1957.

\*Excluding Andhra Pradesh State Financial Corporation and Orissa State Financial Corporation.

<sup>6</sup> Report of the Working Group on Industrial Co-operatives, p. 50.

†They include furniture, toys, cabinets for radios, boxes and/or accumulators for rails coaches, textile bobbins, sign boards, etc.

Of the small-scale industries receiving largest share were cold storage; food preservation and canning; general engineering and metal works; oil, rice and flour mills; textile and hosiery; confectionery; rubber; cashew-nut and coir; electricity supply and manufacture of electrical goods and pharmaceuticals and chemicals. It is, therefore, suggested that the loan policy of these Corporations should be so modified as to give greater preference to small-scale industries and less weightage to large-scale ones.

*Pilot Scheme of The State Bank of India*  
The State Bank of India in collaboration with the State Department of Industries, State Financial Corporations and Co-operative Banks initiated as pilot scheme<sup>7</sup> for the co-ordinated provision of credit to small-scale industries. In October, 1958, there were over 50 centres and by the end of March, 1958, the State Bank of India had sanctioned 280 loans for an aggregate limit of Rs. 1.18 crores as against 51 loans for an aggregate limit of Rs. 23 lakhs sanctioned at the end of March, 1957.

*Types of Industries which are Financed by the State Bank of India under the Pilot Scheme and the advances made to each Industry upto 31st December, 1957.<sup>8</sup>*

| Industry                                               | Amount<br>(In lakhs of Rs.) |
|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Handloom, textiles, rugs, carpets, hosiery          | 5.37                        |
| 2. Woodworking industries                              | 3.05                        |
| 3. Paper and cardboard work, stationery, etc.          | 3.38                        |
| 4. Paints, distempers and chemicals                    | 5.20                        |
| 5. Marble tiles, spun pipes, etc.                      | 2.00                        |
| 6. Domestic utensils—brass, copper and stainless steel | 1.31                        |
| 7. Printing and publishing                             | 1.36                        |
| 8. Sewing machine parts and buttons                    | 1.89                        |
| 9. Rubber processing including tyre retreading         | 1.29                        |
| 10. Military and police uniform and hosiery equipment  | 1.84                        |
| 11. Minor engineering industries <sup>9</sup>          | 46.19                       |
| 12. Miscellaneous                                      | 7.39                        |
| Total                                                  | 80.27                       |

The encouraging results beacon to the fact that in future years to come the State Bank of India will play an important part in financing the small-scale business units and thereby encourage the decentralised sector of Indian Industries.<sup>10</sup> With a view to intensify this scheme it is suggested that to overcome the difficulties and handicaps often experienced owing to lack of reliable data and background information a systematic study of each industry not in terms of abstract and general proposals, but in a practical and development context, be made. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the number of centres should be doubled.

7. The scheme was introduced first in the three circles of the State Bank of India, viz., Bombay, Madras and Bengal at nine centres only.

8. They comprise of automobile and coach buildings, iron foundry, radio parts, pipes and metal fittings, transformers, railways carriage and wagon components, rich hullers, bus bodies, agricultural implements, sugarcane crushers, steel furniture, wire mails, electric fans, etc.

9. *Report of the Working Group on Industrial Co-operatives*, p. 50.

10. The State Bank of India has also put into operation at all the pilot centres a 'Liberalised Credit Scheme' under which small industries will get relaxation in the rigidity of standards and administrative procedures, positive help from the Agent of the Bank and clean advances in appropriate cases.

#### *State and Industrial Co-operatives*

Organisation of cottage and village industries on co-operative basis has been accepted by the Government and is outlined in the Second Five-Year Plan. "To imagine an industrial India without co-operatives as an important factor is to ignore the basic economic facts of the present time and era."<sup>11</sup> Co-operatives have shown an admirable progress in the handloom industry; the number of looms increased from 6.25 lakhs in 1950-51 to 1.26 lakhs in 1955-56, which represents over 3/5 of the estimated total number of active looms. Assistance to weavers in share capital and in working capital is provided by the Handlooms Board. Industrial Co-operatives mostly cover metal, oil, hand-spinning, pottery, tanning and leather industries. The Government contributes as loan from 75 to 87.5 per cent of the share capital and the balance is provided by the weavers. Under State Aid to Industries Act the rate of interest charged in the case of co-operatives upto a limit of Rs. 50,000 is 2.5 per cent only. In the field of industrial co-operatives, it is essential that there should be co-ordination between the State Governments, State Financial Corporations and Co-operative Banks including industrial associations and regional industrial co-operative banks and urban co-operative banks for serving financial needs of processing and industrial co-operative concerns. The Village and Small-scale Industries Committee has emphasised that the Reserve Bank of India should have an overall responsibility of financing rural and co-operative industry in the same way as it now has in the sphere of agricultural credit.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the Apex Co-operative Banks should avail of the provisions of Section 17(2) (bb) of the Reserve Bank of India Act and should open a special department, viz., Co-operative Industries Finance Department, which will facilitate the adequate and regular flow of finance through normal channels to industrial co-operatives, co-operative mills, model co-operative factories and even to individual entrepreneurs of this sector.

11. *The International Planning Team, Small Industries in India*, p. 51.

12. *Village and Small-scale Industries Committee*, p. 28; para 63.

#### *The National Small Industries Corporation*

The National Small Industries Corporation was set up by the Government of India in February, 1955, with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs and it has expanded its programme of activities. The Corporation through four Regional Corporations<sup>13</sup> and its four divisions—procurement, marketing, hire-purchase and industrial estates—renders assistance to small-scale industries but on the financial side its hire-purchase division deserves special mention, which provides facilities to small units for obtaining machines on easy instalment payment terms. The efforts of the marketing division to boost up sales of small-scale industries in India and abroad, are by no means less helpful in easing their financial position. On 31st March, 1958, the division accepted 1,183 applications for 4,175 machines for a total value of Rs. 3.4 crores and on that date, the division placed orders for 1,898 machines of the value of Rs. 1.9 crores and delivered to the parties concerned 973 machines of the value of Rs. 0.8 crores. For the various activities of the Corporation finances have been provided by the Government through loans and grants. With the increased tempo of the Corporation's activities, its share capital has been increased to Rs. 40 crores, but the Government should add more resources by granting additional loans.

#### *Bank Credit*

The small industries cannot borrow from organised credit institutions. The bigger joint stock banks are unwilling to undertake the financing of small industries because of the inadequacy of security that the small industries can offer, lack of standardisation of products, difficulties of marketing such products, and unsatisfactory managerial ability. Delay in payments by Government and Government agencies against goods supplied to them is another handicap. Further, where small industries undertake the job of processing materials supplied to them by the Governments, they are often required to deposit an amount equal to the value of such raw material with the Government. All these result in locking up their slender resources. Thus, it can rightly be said that while there is a plethora

13. The four Regional Corporations are at Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta.

of bank money, the small manufacturers continue to suffer from scarcity of finance, and hence, he has to pay as high a rate of interest as 8 to 15 per cent.<sup>14</sup> This calls for a better integration of the system of bank credit with the financial requirements of the small businesses. It is high time that the commercial banks should emulate the example set by the State Bank of India. The commercial banks, in the meanwhile, should reorientate their ideas about the type of goods that can be accepted as realisable security and the basis of the risk of transaction and should also decentralise the authority for granting short-term credit.

In view of the lack of statistical data it is difficult to assess correctly the financial needs of the small-scale industries, but it is an accepted fact that the financial requirements of this sector are great and they are not being sufficiently met by the existing financial agencies. It is because of their strict loan policy, the complexity of loan procedure, the prevalence of red-tapism, nepotism and favouritism, the delay in advancing

loans, the laxity of integration between different financing agencies, nominal use of co-operative industrial finance, the paucity of loanable funds, the difficulty in obtaining the basic information about the small enterprises, the absence of adequate security and, above all, the indifference of the Reserve Bank of India in this respect. An attempt should, however, be made on a pilot project basis, whereby the provision of industrial finance in India, like that of Japan, should be regulated by the loss compensation system, the credit guarantee system and credit insurance system.<sup>15</sup> In this connection it is worth mentioning that the Central Government has suggested to the State Governments that the latter should introduce a system of guarantee of repayment of not more than 75 per cent of the fund advanced by the commercial and co-operative banks to the small-scale industries or industrial co-operatives, if the State Government suffers any loss, the Central Government would meet 50 per cent of this loss.

14. *Eastern Economist*, Small-scale Organised Industries Supplement, p. vi.

15. *Society for Social and Economic Studies, Financing for Medium and Small-scale Industries*, p. 100.

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## Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

### ENGLISH

**BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE:** Edited by Krishna Dayal Bhargava. *Indian Records Series*. Delhi, 1960. Price Rs. 15.00 or 23sh. 6d.

The history of Northern India and the Deccan in the last two decades of the eighteenth century presents a sad story of scramble for power among the ruling Maratha Houses, the contending factions at the court of the titular Emperor Shah Alam and the intrusive English and French East India Companies, not to speak of the successive risings of the Sikhs and the Jats within more limited areas. It was in this milieu that Warren Hastings during the latter part of his administration thought it fit to appoint one Major James Browne his personal envoy to report on the state of affairs at Delhi with special reference to the activities of the Indian Powers. Browne held his post from August 1782 to March 1785 when he was recalled by Warren Hastings' successor. Sir John Macpherson on Mahadji Sindhia's gaining the ascendancy at the Delhi Court. The whole correspondence between Browne and the then Governors-General, whatever might be its value for the student of Indian History, is published for the first time in the present volume. The editor has justified his choice by writing an Introduction and above all a number of informative Notes. Other notable features of this volume are a map of Northern India in 1775, a Bibliography and an Index. It is to be hoped that future volumes in the same series will deal with more important material for Indian history during the period under review.

Upendranath Ghoshal

**THE COMMONWEALTH ECONOMY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:** By T. H. Silcock. Durham, North Carolina. Duke University Press for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, London: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xvii+259. Bibliography. Price Rs. 30.

10

A dilemma inherent in colonial rule, Professor Silcock points out, that whereas "the problem of promoting economic development is largely one of the stimulating and guiding cultural changes in the direction of those activities which in the long run will raise the people's standard of living", it is not necessarily true that the group of Europeans temporarily resident in the colony are the best people to undertake the task.

A second dilemma is that "fitness for responsibility in a modern business or a modern state depends much more on certain developments of character (or changes in outlook) than on technical knowledge". But this development of character is a product not so much of a mere knowledge of English as of a certain culture which will vanish with the withdrawal of the European community. These dilemmas are at the heart of the problems which face any underdeveloped country on the threshold of independence from colonial rule and for a detached identification of them, a prerequisite for a proper study, much credit is due to this monograph of Professor Silcock.

He is a Professor in the University of Malaya and the book consists of the texts of three lectures delivered by him at the Duke University (U.S.A.) Commonwealth-Studies Center, one lecture at the International Economic Association meeting in Singapore and also a paper on the possible effects of the creation of the European Free Trade Area on Malaya's trade.

While to the federal mind of the Americans, the rationale of the Common Market or of the E.F.T.A., no less preferential systems, presents little difficulty of understanding the idea of the Commonwealth, for historical associations alone, meets with a peculiar psychological resistance. The task that the Professor has set himself is not that of systematizing apologies for the

Commonwealth. The lectures were designed to interest and the genius of the people. Plainly give his American audience a picture of the some adjustments will have to be made if only peculiar complexities which beset an economic for the institutional change that may come inevitably from the transfer of power. Professor system emerging from a colonial status to independence. The book discusses how far the economic institutions appropriate to a colony that a further volume from the Professor containing a solution of these fundamental problems geared to the mother country must be modified taining a solution of these fundamental problems both in direction and in content to fit it for the of direct interest not only to Malaya but also new role. Professor Silcock points out for instance that there is a suggestion that capital to other Commonwealth countries of South-East formation for industrialisation has been retarded in Malaya by past failure to grant the tontine Asia will be forthcoming before long.

Margaret Basu

**INDIA AND JAPAN :** By Chaman Lal. Published by Bhikshu Chaman Lal. C/o. The V. V. R. Institute, P.O. Sadhu Ashram. Distt. Hoshiarpur (Punjab-India). Price Rs. 20/-.

This book is not, however, concerned with abstract theories but rather more usefully with giving a case study of the Malayan economy about which Professor Silcock so eminently qualified by his intimate knowledge of the subject has many shrewd things to say. The separation of Singapore from the Federation of Malaya has resulted, as in the case of the division of East and West Bengal, in unfortunate economic consequences. Singapore is in effect the economic, the financial and commercial capital of the whole region of S.E. Asia and its separation from its hinterland has deformed the natural economic structure of the area. There is also a political problem, in that the population of Malaya is only 49 per cent Malaysians and the entrepot trade of Singapore is in the hands of the Chinese who have trade connections over the whole of South-East Asia as well as in Malaya. The tariff and industrial policy of Malaya is ridden by political problems.

The second striking point about the economies of Malaya and other Commonwealth territories in the area, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei is that their export trade in each case depends on a few major commodities such as tin, rubber, rice, copra and tea. Although this dependence has proved disastrous in the past in times of worldwide slumps the conclusion would seem to be that a high level of concentrated trade is better than a low level of diversified trade as the former encourages investment from overseas. Also the effects of mild recessions in trade are now eased by commodity stabilisation schemes and other international measures.

The stark economic facts nevertheless beg the question whether, with the elaborate apparatus of exploitation in a colonial framework dismantled, it would be more advantageous for the liberated to stick to the original productive pattern or to transform the economy to an alternative pattern more appropriate to the capacity,

The book seeks to draw attention to the traces of close cultural contact existing between India and Japan for a long period of time. The two countries are referred to in the sub-title of the book as 'friends of fourteen centuries.' It consists of twenty chapters written in the form of articles by Japanese as well as Indian writers. The first chapter, a tribute to Japan, is taken, it is stated, from a speech delivered by Poet Tagore more than forty years back. The next eight chapters are from the pens of eight Japanese authors, holding responsible positions in different walks of life. They deal with topics like 'Asia is one', 'Blessings of Buddhism', 'India the Mother', 'Japanese are India's grand-children' and 'Indo-Japanese Co-operation'. Of the remaining eleven chapters, one, the sixteenth, entitled 'Hindu and Shinto Philosophy' is from the pen of late Sri D. S. Deshpande, Secretary of the India Independence League of Japan. The rest appear to be the editor's own contribution though the name of the author is not mentioned. The subjects covered by the latter include interesting items like 'the Mantra Sect', 'Hindu-gods in Japan', 'Our Common Festivals and Rites', 'Imprints of India', 'Buddhist Deities', and 'Historic Temples and Shrines'. The book is an interesting compilation containing a good deal of valuable information about the cultural and religious life of Japan. A number of statements here and there would appear to be rather obscure or even inaccurate. The Japanese word *Obon* is traced to Sanskrit *Olan-ban* (p. 105), which is not known to Sanskritists. To say that *Kusa* is the Sanskrit name for grass or herb (p. 138), is far from accurate. The reader fails to appreciate fully the intention of the author when he says 'Jugoya (evening of Aug. 15, according to the lunar calendar) fell on Sept. 27, this year' (p. 116).

Chintaharan Chakravarti

**GOVARDHANRAM MADHAVRAM TRIPATHI'S SCRAP BOOK 1894-1904 :** Edited by K. C. Pandya, R. P. Bakshi, S. J. Pandya : N. M. Tripathi Pr. Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. (1959). Price. Rs. 5.

#### SANSKRIT

G. M. Tripathi (1855-1907), the author of that epoch-making novel *Saraswatichandra* and the doyen of modern Gujarati literature, had jotted down in his scrap-books his musings and comments on his own thoughts and plans, and the present volume is edited on its basis. The last volume of the scrap-books has already been published, it is understood. An eventful life, and also a philosophical life, of idealism sustained to the very end and in spite of storms and actual bereavements, presents to the reader of today a highly interesting human document which has not lost, nor is likely to lose, its appeal for readers of all ages. The eminent author's determination to live a dedicated life, his skilful self-analysis, his affection for his wife, for his children and even his servants, his great regard for his parents, all have come out through the pages of this scrap-book wonderfully vivid and real. At the same time, one gets a glimpse of what passes outside his window—the ravages of the bubonic plague in Bombay, the touch of the Indian National Congress upon public life, the socio-economic condition of middle-class families in the Western part of India, and the struggle between an idealistic view of life which seeks to retire early at 40 from money-earning vocations and the practical difficulties which confront at each step—are all shown in the form of a Kaleidoscope representation.

All this in a very forceful style which shows the impassioned though philosophical nature of the author.

It is a document which speaks eloquently for the author, and it is highly interesting reading—"interesting" and "fascinating" as one of the editors truly says—which can compare favourably with the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn, though it is not a diary.

It is a mingling of the best in Western and Eastern tradition which moulded the writer's mind—Wordsworth's Prelude no less than Bhartrihari's slokas. The editors are to be congratulated on the results of their labour devoted to the publication of such an important book—depicting the inner life of Govardhanram which was, to repeat again the words of one of the editors, both a *Dharmakshetra* and a *Kurukshetra*—an arena for performance of duties from Kusumbahen to Kasturba. Kakasaheb's

**CHANDRAMAHIPATI—KAMLA :** By Srinivasa Shastri. To be had of the author, 118, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. 295. Price Rs. 8/-.

This is, indeed, an outstanding work in Sanskrit. It is a novel in which the philosophy of *Sarvodaya* (the learned author prefers, however, the term *Sarvabhuyudaya*) is woven with exemplary felicity of style around the life of Chandra Mahipati, a 'king who distributes his wealth among his subjects' for the well-being of all. The transition from the rule of the prince to the rule of the people is vividly brought out with the aid of skilful characterization and inter-action of events in which history, jurisprudence, poetry, etc., are pressed suitably into service by the scholarly writer. The present publication, "Kamla", is only the first part of the projected work. The reader will now await eagerly the publication of the second part. The book certainly deserves to be approved as a text-book in colleges so that the students may be influenced by the ideals of *Sarvodaya*, the gospel of the new age and new humanity.

G. M.

#### HINDI

**BAPUKE PATRO, Vol. III. Letters written to Kusumbahen Desai. Edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navaiivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. December, 1959. Price, Rs. 1/25.**

This is a wonderful selection of letters written by Gandhiji to Kusumbahen from 22.7.27 to 23.10.46, covering the greater part of Gandhiji's political life in India for about 20 years. The history of Sabarmati Ashram can never ignore the contribution made by Shrimati Kusum Desai for the cause, and Gandhiji's letters to her present this able assistant in an agreeable light.

There is also a collection of letters, couched in affectionate terms, written by Kasturba to Kusumbahen which reveal the wealth of loving care bestowed on her by Kasturba: in this sense, it is indeed a rare collection; and the volume ends with an article—A Valedictory Tribute—Kakasaheb's



## GUJARATI

Introduction shows the importance of the publication.

P. R. Sen.

**MERE SAPNUN KA BHARAT** : By Gandhiji. Edited by R. K. Prabhu. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. 1960. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 2.50.

This is a compilation of extracts from Gandhiji's writings, bearing on the subject of India of his dreams, most of which, alas, still remain only dreams in spite of our having won freedom. Reading once again Gandhiji's views on the crucial problems like the education the country needs, the rural reconstruction projects required, the delegation or responsibility and the decentralization of power, which are the very essence of democracy, etc., one is constrained to observe as he looks around, in the manner of Hamlet, "Look at this and look at that!"

G. M.

**JIVAN DARSHANA OF SHRI DURKALJI**: By (1) Mrs. Neera Desai, M.A., (2) Miss Raksha Dhru, M.A., (3) Mrs. Maya Mehta, M.A., (4) Mrs. Uma Oza, B.A.: Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Jacket with Viswa Chakra. Cloth bound. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3.00.

J. B. Durkal, M.A., a retired Professor, a well-known Sanatani on whom Jagad-guru Shankaracharya conferred a distinction for his work in the field of our ancient culture on the occasion of his 75th birthday celebration his biography edited and published by his daughters and grand daughters was presented to him at a public meeting at Ahmedabad. He has written about 19 Gujarati and six English books on various subjects,—moral, ethical, and cultural.

K. M. J.

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### Rebellion, Lese-Majesty and Treason

Chowringhee, writes editorially :

Now that Pandit Nehru's gang of Congressmen have decided to whitewash the crimes committed by some leading men of Assam, who were members of the Assam Government, the Assam Congress and the Assam learned professions; we may well discuss what the nature of those crimes are and how those would be looked at by civilised people in civilised countries. The first name in the list of crimes that comes to our mind in Lese-Majesty, which according to the Oxford Dictionary means "hurt majesty, i.e., of the sovereign people. Any offence against the sovereign authority; treason." Arising out of the same root, to hurt, damage or injure, one gets Lese-Humanity or "an outrage upon the dignity of humanity."

Treason is dealt with at length by the same dictionary and means to "betray" or "the action of betraying; the betrayal of the trust undertaken by or reposed in anyone; breach of faith, treachery." In law treason proper is called high treason which means "violation by a subject of his allegiance to his sovereign or to the State;" Act 25, Edw. III, Stat. 5, C. 2, among other descriptions of high treason mentions, "levying war in the king's dominions." Also "actual or contemplated use of force to make the king change his counsels or to intimidate either or both of the House of Parliament." "Petit or petty treason" is "against a subject" of the king. "Constructive treason" is constituted by "action which though not actually or overtly coming under any of the acts specified in the Statute of Treason, was declared by law to be treason and punishable as such." Then there are many acts which are treasonable and treasonous and the general idea is that a high degree of treachery is akin to war against the State, the king or the law. The punishment for high treason and for acts that are treasonable had been DEATH for a long period in history. Pandit Nehru, who had studied law at one time, should know all about Lese-Majesty and High

Treason. And he can easily judge whether the V.I.Ps. of Assam have been guilty of treachery against the State, violation of the Constitution which is the expression of the sovereignty of the Indian people and of trampling the Law under foot in a thousand places in an organised manner which was certainly "levying war in the" sovereign peoples' "dominion" and, therefore, high treason.

Coming to Rebellion and Rebels we find in the same dictionary meanings and explanations which make it clear that the Assam insurrection against the State and law and many lawfully built and established homes and institutions, to say nothing of the many law-abiding and taxpaying subjects of the Republic of India who have been killed, assaulted and subjected to robbery with violence, arson, rape and other organised and criminal molestation; constitute in every sense a rebellion against the sovereign power established by law. For rebels are persons who refuse "obedience or allegiance" and offer "armed opposition to the rightful or actual ruler or ruling power of the country." The actual ruling power in India rests in the people of India. So, whoever attacks, kills and fights the people of India in an organised manner in any part of the national territory of India, is guilty of rebellion. The V.I.Ps. of Assam, including many Government servants, political party members, teachers, students, lawyers, etc., etc., did conspire to and actually engage in the mass-killing of a body of persons who were the lawful citizens of the Republic of India. This they did in defiance of the orders issued by the Government of India and in spite of the behests of the Prime Minister of India. If this is not rebellion, we should like to know what is. Those who thought that they could kill, assault and set fire to and loot the houses of all those who did not speak their dialect or language and did not declare them to be the sole power in the particular area; knowing all the time that they as well as their victims were the sub-

jects of the Republic of India, surely defied and violated the law and the Constitution and waged war against the State in a treasonable manner. Pandit Nehru may now try to explain away these terrible happenings by going to Assam personally or by sending a Bengali or a Marwari henchman there; but he must remember that there is no legal basis to the procedure he is choosing to adopt for whitewashing crimes which are mostly punishable by death. Aiding and abetting such crimes or becoming accessories after the fact of the same does no credit to anyone who claims to be an honourable man. It also puts him and his associates in a very unenviable position. For, there may not be any power to-day in India which can challenge Pandit Nehru's decision effectively. There were similarly no power at one time which could challenge Hitler's or Mussolini's acts of tyranny. But later on there were the war crimes trials and many great men faced disgrace and even death after those trials. No man is big enough to defy Justice and Morality in a contumacious manner.

#### Aetiology of Assam Atrocities

An article under the above caption published in *Vigil*, August 27, 1960, will be read with interest by all who are willing to know the main factors behind the recent happenings in Assam:

Assam was not touched by a barge pole by the States Reorganisation Commission. Its peoples,—Assamese, Bengalees, Hill Tribals (except the Nagas) and others—remain where they were and speak their own languages in their clearly demarcated areas: (a) Assamese in the five districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup, with half of Goalpara, being interspersed with nearly a million Bengalees. (b) Bengalees in the other half of Goalpara, and wholly in the district of Cachar. (c) The Tribal dialects, each in its own area of the four Hills Districts.

All these different races are 'sons of the soil,' being inhabitants of Assam since the creation in 1874 of that State, with the Hills Districts and the Bengal Districts of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara tagged on to it to make it viable. From the conquest of Assam by the British in 1826 till 1874 it was a Division of Bengal. The complaint now of the Bengalees dominating its eco-

nomy or occupying top posts in the Government is anti-national. And if the atrocities were a 'revolt of the sons of the soil against the Bengalees', it was only 'a revolt of the Assamese sons of the soil against the Bengalee sons of the soil.' The Chief Secretary is a son of the soil from Cachar and the I.G.P. is another from Goalpara.

After the sacrifice of Sylhet to Pakistan, the Assamese, though forming only a third of the population, became the dominant people, having a compact area to live in. The Bengalees also were equal in number, one-third, but scattered and weak, except in Cachar. The Hill Tribals and others also numbered a third and completed the total population of 9 million. In the Census report of 1951, however, the Assamese were shown as 49%, a growth biologically impossible and not wholly accepted even by the States Reorganisation Commission. On the contrary, the Commission recommended a 70% majority for any language to claim to be Regional.

But the Assamese wanted to export their 5½-district minority language out of its own boundary to the Hills Districts and beyond in Cachar where no Assamese is spoken. It is from these areas that protest against such imposition arose. The million Bengalees living among the Assamese in their 5½-district area not only acquiesced in, but vociferously agreed to accept Assamese as the Regional language which they spoke as well as the Assamese themselves.

The curious fact is that it is these Assamese-speaking Bengalees living in the midst of the Assamese who have been made the victims of the holocaust. Is it because they spoke Assamese? Can there be any 'linguistic' reason for such atrocities on them? Definitely 'No'.

What, then, is the reason? The reason is not fully economic either. There is no unemployed graduate in Assam, as her Finance Minister Mr. Ahmed and another Minister Mr. Tripathy have said. The cause of discontent may be found in the failure in competition against the Bengalee 'sons of the soil' in Assam and the desire to occupy all top-posts without competition. Not a single Assamese has since its introduction been able to find a place in the All-India I.A.S. examination. They wanted 'reservation' for them in that service when Pandit Nehru was in Assam early this year. The minimum qualification

was lowered for them for services in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and other Central undertakings. Four of them were included in the selection of ten Engineers sent to Rumania for training for the Oil Refinery at Gauhati by lowering the standard of qualifications. But the Bengalee 'sons of the soil' usually come out at the top in all competitive examinations—including the University. Yet the Assamese are taken in the State services by unconstitutionally discriminating against the Bengalee 'sons of the soil,' a practice condemned by the States Reorganisation Commission. Thus there is no unemployment in Assam—educated or uneducated—and no frustration on that score. The only frustration is generated by a reverse complex of the idea of being the 'Ruling Race,' so carefully fostered since independence and the amputation of Sylhet.

The Bengalee districts of Cachar and Goalpara and the Hills Districts speaking their own dialects object to their areas being called 'Assam,' which is the only ground for the Assamese people to consider these districts as their possession. They wanted to go out of that State. But the Assamese started a riot in Goalpara in 1955 to make the Bengalees there agree to remain in Assam when appearing before the S.R.C. This year, they started a riot against the Bengalees of all the six districts to expel them from that State. Why this paradox? Because they were, till lately, afraid if their five districts with a part of Goalpara alone could remain a State if the others went out; and yet they hated the Bengalees for their competitive superiority in every field—services (Government and private, as in the Oil industry and Tea gardens) professions, University examinations, agriculture by reclaiming land from the jungles, petty business and shop-sepping, and everything. In the Matriculation examination of 1960, for instance, 8 out of the first 10 places were occupied by the Bengalee 'sons of the soil.' Big traders in Assam are all Marwaris, but the Assamese have no feeling of jealousy with them. They claim 'Assam' (of eleven districts) for the 'Assamese' (i.e., the Assamese-speaking people of the five districts), a one-third minority claiming to rule over the other two-thirds. To this Mahatma Gandhi commented: "Some Assamese thought that Assam belonged exclusively

to the Assamese. If that spirit fired every province, to whom could India belong?" (*Harijan*, 7.9.1947, p. 311). The remark was called for by a statement to this effect by the then Prime Minister, the late Shri Gopinath Bardoloi himself.

The Assamese were thus faced with an insoluble enigma and felt at bay:

(i) How to retain political 'Assam' of eleven districts (then twelve, including Naga Hills District which later joined 'Nagaland') as a close preserve for the ethnical 'Assamese' living only in five and a half districts (and that also interspersed with a million Bengalees)—and yet get rid of the competition of the Bengalees.

(ii) How to export the minority language of the Assamese far over its 5½ districts' borders to the Hills Districts and beyond into Cachar and make it the State language?

Such a blind-alley situation has been simmering in Assam since after the Partition and, with every passing year, impatient rage and blind hatred were gathering momentum by repeated failures to push the Bengalee 'sons of the soil' out of every field. There was a riot in 1948 against the Bengalees of new Railway H.Q. There was another in 1955, at Goalpara, as already stated. There was the beating up even of the General Manager and Engineers of the Oil Refinery under construction at Gauhati. But an idea was being propagated for sometime, with the discovery of new oil fields at Naharkatya and Moran and the Oil Refinery at Gauhati progressing towards operation, that there would be enough revenue for the 5½ or 6 districts of Assam to make it viable as a State. And, if need be, the Assamese could now afford to part with Cachar and a part of Goalpara and the Hills Districts, and be free from the hated Bengalee 'sons of the soil.' Along with the sons, they were now prepared even to part with the soil. That will solve the problem of the language as well by showing them as a majority of 70% in the next Census.

But what about the million Bengalees living inside the 5½ districts? They turned their eyes to the south to East Bengal and remembered the way. The Government of India could be relied upon not to

interfere and jeopardize the Congress majority in the next election.

As to the immediate handle, the language question was ready. Politicians vied with each other, irrespective of Party affiliation, in their support to make it the Regional language all over Assam and make it an instrument to boost up their own stock against the others. The rivals within the Congress also saw their opportunity. If the Ministry agreed, they would come into a headlong collision with Cachar, the Hills Districts and also Goalpara. If they did not, there would be no vote for them from the Congress in the next election. The Government officials saw the prospect of getting rid of the sprinkling of Bengalee (sons of the soil) officers yet in some of the high posts of whom they complained; students, of their hated rivals in the University examinations and jobs; the shop-keepers and small traders, of the more efficient Bengalee businessmen; and the peasants, of the owners of the reclaimed lands which would then fall like ripe fruits into their hands. And lastly, the goondas were mobilised with the lure of loot in money and women with promise of no interference from the police. Thus most Assamese stood to gain something, none to lose any.

The stage was set accordingly by months of preparation and the fuse ignited. The Government pretended ignorance in spite of a wide and costly intelligence service. The political parties were busy organising and keeping watch that Government might not move. The administration went into mental hibernation, and the police either joined the looters or extorted money on the promise of protection that was not to be given. And the Central Government were kept in their place with the tried method of Party black-mail. In consequence, a reign of terror was let loose on the innocent and helpless Bengalees with uncontrolled violence. Property was plundered, houses reduced to ashes, men (even children) were killed and thrown into fire, women ravished and abducted or left bleeding, clawed and mutilated all over in certain cases. And there was not a man in authority human enough in all-Assam to raise even his little finger to stop this ghastly orgy for over three weeks. That was Assam between June 22 and July 12, 1960.

Since then, there has been no enquiry into the number killed or burnt alive (including women and children), number of women and girls ravished or abducted or mutilated, number of men and women missing and not accounted for yet. And this is India since July 13, 1960.

#### The New Science of Astro-Botany

Victor Bazykine, Director of Moscow Planetarium, writes in *Careers & Courses*, September, 1960 :

Fifteen years ago, a Russian astronomer, Gavril Tikhov, reported to the Alma Ata branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on the results of years spent observing Mars. A new word—astro-botany—was used to describe the budding science of the optical properties of the surfaces of far-off planets, and particularly of their plant life.

At the end of the 18th century, astronomers observing Mars through their telescopes detected dark greyish-blue areas on its reddish surface which they called "seas". But, in the following century, observers ventured the hypothesis that these "seas" were actually huge zones of vegetation. It was noticed that they changed colour with the seasons on Mars. These cyclical variations somewhat resembled the seasonal changes on Earth. This, however, was not sufficient evidence to prove the existence of plant life on Mars. In fact, the supporters of the theory soon ran into serious difficulties and even contradictions.

To determine the composition of a distant celestial body, astronomers study in particular how sunlight is reflected by its various parts. This data enables them to make comparisons with elements on earth, particularly plants, whose optical properties they know. These properties are colour and the ability to reflect various rays, notably infra-red rays.

To do this, scientists use spectral analysis. When sunlight passes through a triangular prism, it decomposes to form a vari-coloured line, the spectrum—red at one end and violet at the other. Beyond the visible red light, there are invisible infra-red rays bearing heat, while beyond violet light there is an ultra-violet zone, also invisible to the naked eye. When they pass through a transparent substance, the sun's rays are partially absorbed. At this point dark lines appear in the spectrum, whose

position is determined in each case by the composition of the different chemical elements or combinations.

Therefore, one need only know the spectrum of a given substance to be able to study its composition. For example, the spectrum of a green plant will show dark lines in its red range which indicate absorption by chlorophyll. Astronomers maintained that if the dark areas on Mars were really zones of vegetation, dark lines should also appear in its spectrum. But the most careful observations failed to detect them.

The climate of Mars is very harsh and its atmosphere is extremely rarefied. Sudden changes in temperature are noted: from 70 to 85 degrees F. during the day, it can drop to 40 below zero degree F. at night. There are no stretches of water on Mars and its atmosphere contains infinitely less water vapour and oxygen than that of the Earth. All these conditions, it seemed, were unfavourable to the existence of life on Mars.

But, in 1945, Tikhov put forward the idea that Martian plants had gradually adapted themselves over a long period of evolution to the stern conditions on their planet and that, as a result, their optical properties might also have changed. To support this theory, Tikhov and his assistants made a series of expeditions at various times during the year to high mountain areas, the polar tundra, and cold desert regions. They proved that optical properties actually can be modified under certain conditions. At very low temperatures, in particular, plants absorb solar energy not only in the infra-red range of the spectrum but also in the red and even the yellow-green range.

Plants on Mars, therefore, absorb all rays but reflect only violet and blue ones. That is why Martian "seas" have that greyish-blue colour. In other words these plants can not afford to be bright green. It is believed that this is the reason why the chlorophyll line is broader, less clearly-defined and, consequently, very difficult to detect in the spectrum of the Martian "seas".

This research marked the beginnings of astro-botany. The new science has enabled us to discover hitherto unknown optical properties in some of the Earth's plants. For instance, Tikhov and his assistants found that certain higher plants,

such as conifers (particularly, the Canadian blue pine) and even leafed plants have spectral properties similar to those of the Martian spectrum. That led to the hypothesis that Mars might contain not only evergreen plants but also species whose leaves change colour between the Spring and the fall.

From this, Soviet astro-botanists also draw conclusions regarding the climate which existed on Mars millions of years ago. In the early Spring (April and early May in the average latitudes of the U.S.S.R.) the undergrowth is reddish, pink and brownish-red. Obeying the general law of biology, each living being repeats in its own development that of its species. Thus, terrestrial plants reproduce the colour of their distant ancestors 100,000,000 years ago when the climate of our planet was much warmer. A somewhat similar phenomenon can be observed on Mars. When its polar ice-caps melt and dwindle in size, a reddish-brown rim appears on their edge, particularly around the southern ice-cap, and, in the summer, greenish and greyish-blue tints can be observed. Soviet scientists believe that on Mars too, many young shoots and leaves have the red and brown colour of their distant ancestors and that, consequently, the planet's climate was less harsh millions of years ago. It was probably at that time that life first appeared on Mars; later, it adapted itself to the severe conditions now prevailing.

The notion of a "harsh" climate, moreover, is very relative. There are plant species on Earth which are capable of standing sudden changes in temperature, of getting along with very little water and of living without oxygen. Lichens and mosses can resist 190 degrees of frost and certain spores of bacteria and ferns can survive at even lower temperatures. Recently, moss and lichens were found on the bare, frozen crust of Antarctica. And, in certain very dry areas of the Sahara where the temperature of the air is 120 degrees above zero, as many as 100,000 microbes have been found in one gram of sand. Plants in the Pamir and Tibet where the air is 60 times less humid than in a normal home easily survive not only the extreme dryness of the atmosphere but also extreme changes in temperature.

The red colour of Martian "deserts" has led to the belief that their sand may contain a great deal of oxygen. This in turn

August 19, 1960, published by the United States Information Service, has made an attempt to assess her influence on and contributions to the development of the art of Western dance in the 19th century. A portion of the article is reproduced here :

The facts of Isadora Duncan's early years are hardly a clue to the career that was to come. She was born on May 27, 1878, in San Francisco, California and had a poverty-stricken childhood. As a dancer she was largely self-taught, though she did have some old-fashioned ballet-dance training. Her first professional activity was as a teacher of ballroom dancing; she was only in her middle teens at the time.

Making her way east, she danced in music halls—billed as "The Californian Faun"—and in theatrical companies. But she was fated not to remain in obscurity. By the time she was 19, her picture was appearing in New York newspapers, with captions such as "Society's Favourite Dancer who had the good luck to create something absolutely novel in the way of dancing."

She went from New York to Europe and the early years there were years of education and inspiration for her. She saw the great French tragedian Mounet-Sully in "Oedipus Rex," heard Nikisch conduct Beethoven's Seventh Symphony in Germany, visited Greece, whose classic civilization she felt to be the source of her art. She established a German school of dancing near Berlin in 1904, and later another school in Moscow. Wherever she went, she tried to popularize the barefoot dance and was soon acclaimed by critics and audiences.

At that time, according to Isadora Duncan's latest biographer Macdougall, the Imperial Russian Ballet was petrified by rigid traditions, rigidly observed. He writes :

"Only a few of the leading members of the company were great dancers in the true sense of the word. A ballet dancer's work was measured by acrobatic prowess, *tours de force*, leaps, pirouettes, and *entrechats* performed faultlessly by seemingly steel-like limbs always kept in trim through long exercises constantly practiced from childhood. . . .

"To the public used to ballets staged in so spectacular a manner, the spectacle of a

solitary foreigner, barefooted, barelegged, with uncorseted body clad in a filmy tunic was undoubtedly a shocking sight. Dancing alone, moreover to music of the opera house and concert hall surely never meant by its creators to be danced too!"

But Isadora Duncan did have a profound effect on those who were eager to infuse a new spirit into the Russian ballet. Sergei Diaghilev, who was the imaginative driving force of the revival of the art of ballet, spoke with authority about the role played by Isadora Duncan in Russia, and her influence on Fokine's epoch-making choreographic creations. Diaghilev wrote:

"I knew Isadora very well in St. Petersburg and I was present with Fokine at her first performance. Fokine was mad about her and the influence of Duncan on him was the foundation of all his creation. . . . Isadora gave an irreplaceable jolt to the classic ballet of Imperial Russia."

Isadora Duncan's life was marked with tragedy. She married Sergei Esenin, a Russian poet and divorced him in 1922. In 1913, her two adored children had perished with their nurse when the taxi in which they were riding plunged into the Seine, a blow from which she never recovered. But she survived for 14 years more, a haunted, tormented woman. All her great hopes and plans, it seemed, had come to nothing.

On the morning of September 14, 1927, Isadora Duncan's prospects, her fortune and her spirits were at their lowest ebb. She appeared at a friend's door, saying : "I cannot go on like this. For 14 years I have had this pain in my heart. I cannot go on. I cannot continue to live in a world where there are beautiful, golden-haired children. I cannot, I cannot. . . ."

That evening, her spirits revived—the recurrent miracle of which she was always capable—she waved good-bye to her friends, saying, "Farewell, my friends, I'm off to glory." She got into a small sports car, a long scarf trailing outside. The driver started, the scarf became entangled in the wheel, and Isadora was instantly strangled to death, at the age of only 49.

The end of her life was not the end of her art, for that has become immortalized in the renaissance of the dance which we know today.



DEV SABHA

(From an old Kangra Painting)

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has led to the assumption that oxidation has taken place on Mars and is, perhaps, still continuing. And the melting of the polar ice-caps in Spring is thought to prove the existence of underground water tables.

According to Tikhov, low pressure cannot be considered a serious obstacle to the existence of life on Mars. Experiments made by Russian scientists prove, in fact, that maize seeds grown in conditions similar to those on Mars can germinate and produce leaves.

Recently, Kovalsky, a Ukrainian astronomer, carried out a new study of the surface of Mars based on its reflection of sunlight. He observed that the Martian "continents" are uniform surfaces whereas the "seas" are much less smooth. This discovery is extremely important. Until now, it was believed that both the Martian "seas" and "continents," had the same uniform surface, a fact which provided a strong argument for the opponents of the planetary theory.

Further, in 1958, the American astrophysicist, Sinton, succeeded in proving that the infra-red range of the Martian spectrum had the same dark line as the spec-

trum of terrestrial plants. In the latter, this line indicates the presence of organic matter. This is, therefore, a new and very strong piece of evidence in favour of plant life.

Tikhov also maintained that life was possible not only on Mars and Venus, but also up to a certain point, on Jupiter and Saturn. These remote planets receive very little of the sun's heat and the temperature drops to 220 degrees F. below zero in the outer layers of their atmospheres which contain a great deal of Ammonia and Methane as well as hydrogen. Methane and Ammonia are formed on Earth by the fermentation of a number of organic substances, but they can also be of non-organic origin. Their spectrum, however, differs considerably, depending on their origin. Tikhov compared the spectrum of "organic" Methane and those of Jupiter and Saturn and found that there were similarities. Before his death on 25, January 1960, he put forward the theory that micro-organisms exist on these two planets, probably in the lower strata of the atmosphere where the temperature is above freezing point.



**BEST  
BARLEY  
means  
LILY  
ABSOLUTELY  
PURE & FRESH**



## FOREIGN PERIODICALS

### First Publication of Tagore's Poems in the Western World

An article by John T. Reid, Cultural Attache, American Embassy, published in the *Cultural Notes*, August 19, 1960, casts new light on the first publication of Rabindranath's poems in the Western world. The credit goes to Harriet Monroe, who founded a small periodical called *Poetry: A Magazine of verse*, in the city of Chicago in the year 1912. Its appearance marked a glorious renaissance of American poetry. Poets of outstanding merit, like Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters and Ezra Pound, were among its early collaborators.

The connecting link between the magazine and Rabindranath was established by Ezra Pound. In this connection Mr. Reid writes:

When Ezra Pound, the magazine's foreign correspondent, was in London, he met Tagore, was impressed, and induced him to permit the publication of some of the poems from *Gitanjali* in Harriet Monroe's new poetry magazine. Although the young woman who had founded *Poetry* had never before heard of the Bengali writer, she and her colleagues were excited when they read his lovely devotional poems and six of them were printed in the December, 1912 number.

This was the first publication of Tagore's poems, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in the Western world. It undoubtedly assisted in the "discovery" of Tagore by the West. Equally important was that it signalled the beginning of America's long appreciation of the Indian poet and his ideals.

After this brief introduction Mr. Reid tells the following story about Rabindranath:

Rabindranath Tagore himself had in the meantime come to visit the United States. His son, Rathindranath, had studied at the University of Illinois from 1906 to 1909, and in 1912 had returned from India to Urbana, Illinois, with his newly-married bride to study for his degree in agriculture. In October, the poet took up residence with the young couple in the quiet, mid-West university town, where he busied himself writing a series of lectures later given at Harvard University. He was so busy, indeed, that Rathindranath could not complete his post-graduate thesis because he had to type

his father's lectures. These were later published under the title, *Sadhana*.

The Tagores learning of the publication of the poems in the magazine, wrote to Miss Monroe and in reply received a warm invitation to come to Chicago, heartily seconded by Mrs. William Vaughan Moody, the widow of a well-known American poet. Let me tell the rest of this tale in Harriet Monroe's own words:

"Soon after New Year's Day Mr. Tagore arrived with his son and exquisite little daughter-in-law, and during that winter the visit was repeated three or four times. This was the year before his Nobel Prize award and all its attendant publicity. So we were able to get acquainted with the poet without interference from the world's curiosity. We used to spend evenings around Mrs. Moody's fire listening to the chanting of poems in Bengali, or the recitation of their English equivalents, and feeling as if we were seated at the feet of some ancient wise man of the East, generous in his revelation of beauty. . . ."

### Isadora Duncan : Her Influence on Modern Dance

Isadora Duncan, called "America's most famous dancer," died in 1927, in a tragic and highly dramatic accident. S. J. Harry in an article under the above caption in *Cultural Notes*,

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Rabindranath Tagore with his wife Mrinalini Devi

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**NOTES**

**Khrushchev at the U.N.**

The United Nations had a most momentous session in September-October of this year. The 15th General Assembly session soon assumed a semi-Summit conference look with the arrival of Mr. Khrushchev on the scene on September 19. He went to New York accompanied by the Communist leaders from Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and the Ukraine, who travelled with him on the Soviet liner "Baltika." Mr. Gomulka of Poland and President Antonin Novotny of Czechoslovakia had arrived by air on the previous day and were waiting on the pier to greet Mr. Khrushchev on the pier.

Mr. Khrushchev lost no time after his arrival in broadcasting the objectives of his visit—under extremely unfavourable circumstances—to the U.N. Headquarters. He had come to put up for consideration by the General Assembly of the U.N., the cardinal question of present-day international relationships, he declared on his arrival in New York, which was closely linked with the problem of general and complete disarmament. He further said that "if certain individuals declare that Khrushchev has come to the United Nations' General Assembly to indulge in propaganda" he would only take pride in such a mission and spare no pains in the efforts to further the same "until even the thick-skulled convinced themselves of the necessity to reach agreement on general disarmament."

Yeralding his advent and intentions in

these more than plain terms, Mr. Khrushchev started his campaign to align the uncommitted nations in the U.N., to his way of thinking on the essentials he had in view. He attacked Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, for his intervention in Congolese politics, with a great deal of heat. The result, however, of all the attacks on Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld was not what was expected, where the African members of the U.N. were concerned. When the issue came to the point of voting in the Assembly, Quaison-Sackey of Ghana requested Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Valerian Zorin to withdraw his resolution condemning Hammarskjöld for exceeding his powers in the Congo. On Mr. Zorin complying with this request, coming as it did from an African politician, Hammarskjöld had his policy in Congo endorsed by a vote of 70 to 0 in the Assembly.

This action of Mr. Zorin was in line of Mr. Khrushchev's policy of giving consideration to the opinions of the uncommitted, where it concerned the specific interests of a particular group. This policy of Mr. Khrushchev effectively convinced the Western Bloc that Neutrality was not immoral, as had been propounded by the late John Foster Dulles.

The neutral Big Five, Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Nkrumah and Soekarno, met and discussed the situation, and tried to pass a resolution asking President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev to resume contact. This evidently did not suit the Big ones of the West and so it had to be abandoned.

The West had many opportunities to seize the initiative during the first fortnight of Mr. Khrushchev's manoeuvres in the U.N. But neither President Eisenhower nor Premier Macmillan could decide on anything in the nature of a positive strategy which the West could pursue in order to deal with the Cold War situation. Indeed, in comparison with the Soviets, their standpoints on the crucial questions of Disarmament and Colonialism seemed singularly barren to the neutrals. Further, in the matter of Colonialism, Algeria, South Africa—with its brutal and uncivilized attitude towards the non-white—and Portuguese colonies were major handicaps.

Towards the end of the 25-day sojourn of the Soviet's Premier in New York, the tempo of his attack on the West became intensified, both with regards to frequency and virulence. The ten-nation disarmament committee was like a stable—a stable with a stench that “an honest man could not breathe,”—the Security Council was “worse than a spittoon, it was a cuspidor,” Nationalist China was “a corpse we have to cast right out of here, straight to hell,” and so on and so forth. The reaction to all these was not exactly as was expected by Mr. Khrushchev, as shown in the case of the debate on the Soviet resolution demanding immediate freedom for all colonial peoples everywhere. This move was ‘countered’ by the Philippine Delegate, Lorenze, Sumulong urging that the resolution be widened to include discussion of “the inalienable right to independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe.”

Something like a pandemonium is reported to have broken out. Rumania's Deputy Foreign Minister, Edward Mezincescu, rose on a point of order, Khrushchev took off his shoe, waved it and pounded with it and then marched down the aisle to pour vituperation on Sumulong, whom he called a twister and a lackey. The same was repeated when U.S. Delegate Francis Wilcox brought up the same subject, i.e., Communist subject nations. President Boland tried in vain to control the uproar, his gavel breaking under the strain of continuous pounding. Finally he adjourned the Assem-

ly with the cold, remark, “Because of the scene you have just witnessed, I think the Assembly had better adjourn.”

But the next day was a day of surprises. Sekou Toure, the 38 year old President of Guinea, who had a distinct leaning towards Communism, appealed to the Rumanian Delegate and the group to which he belongs, to recognize that the U.N. ideal is “freedom, the right of every people to self-determination”, and he firmly asked the Communists not to smother the debate with propaganda. The end of colonialism, he said, “was imperative and irreversible. Therefore why not do it in an atmosphere of understanding and collaboration, instead of stirring up the fires of discontent and discord, which, in the final reckoning amounts to mounting casualty lists, engendering of hatred and the digging of a grave for history. His speech was applauded by the entire assembly and was followed by that of Nepal's representative, Rishikesh Shaha who declared his concern over “all this sound and fury, all these ugly gestures.” He gave the warning that Asia and Africa was “not going to be bullied by gestures of superiority, which were insulting to our intelligence.”

Premier Khrushchev took all this in a composed good-humoured fashion. He made amends by asking for the indulgence of the Assembly for speaking out of turn. He referred to the delegates from Philippines and Nepal without any animus while bidding good-bye to the U.N., to the astonishment of the members of the Assembly, who had expected something quite different. Evidently the Premier of the Soviets was not giving away any more of the advantages he had in dealing with the Afro-Asiatic group of Uncommitted Nations and he very considerably retrieved his lapses by this last gesture.

What is the position of the Cold War now? The report submitted by Mr. Khrushchev, on his return to Moscow, seems to show that he is well satisfied that the visit was worthwhile.

The head of the Soviet Government was reporting to the working people of Moscow on his trip to New York. He stressed that “it was

not only worthwhile but necessary to go” to the session. The current session of the General Assembly is of an extremely great importance, he observed.

“The speeches of the leaders of the delegations of the socialist countries resounded as the voice of a new, equitable world bringing happiness and prosperity to the peoples.

The head of the Soviet Government described as a “major contribution to the struggle for peace, for the abolition of the colonial system hateful to the peoples” the speeches made by Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Soekarno, Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sihanouk and other representatives of independent states.

Our trip was also useful in that we have had numerous meetings and exchanged opinions with statesmen of different countries on a whole number of international questions of vital importance, Khrushchev said: “All this contributes to the attainment of better mutual understanding and the establishment of closer relations between states.”

After noting the tense international situation, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said that “we are not to blame” for the deterioration of relations between the USSR and the United States. We are confident, Khrushchev declared, that time will come when the relations between our states, between our peoples, between our governments will improve.—TASS.

The following extract from the *New York Times*, gives the position where the West is concerned, at the time of Premier Khrushchev's return to Moscow:

Within the U. N. several main issues—all of them linked to the cold war—had come into focus for the remaining weeks of the General Assembly session. There was disarmament, once more back in the lap of the U. N. with Russia threatening to boycott the deliberations if it did not like the course they took. There was the issue of colonialism, proposed for plenary debate by the Soviet Union and unanimously accepted by the Assembly. There were the questions that had been raised about the structure of the U. N. There was the prospect of a new summit conference, which Mr. Khrushchev's pressures to that end apparently destined for success.

As for the West, recent events have left their scars. The increasing number of abstentions by Afro-Asian members on key votes in the

U.N. raised the possibility that the West may ultimately have difficulty marshalling a majority. **Emergent Africa**

The last few years have witnessed many things that will find places in the records of the history of the present times. But nothing could surpass in importance or significance, both with regard to history as well as that of the cause of human liberty, the dawn of independence in the darkest regions of the “Dark Continent.” For, since the dawn of human civilization uptill the culmination of the concept of human liberties, at the end of the first quarter of this present century, the only areas in this vast Continent of 11,500,000 sq. miles, inhabited by about 230,000,000 peoples, where liberty or nationalism had any meaning in the modern sense of the term, were those bordering the Mediterranean Sea on its northern regions, together with a solid block of mountainous country on its North-East with coastal approaches to the Red Sea, now known as Ethiopia. The rest of this continent was inhabited by primitive peoples who were hardly given any recognition as being fellow humans by their more fortunate brethren of the civilized world.

It was only when it was plain to the world that the days of colonialism and ruthless exploitation of the weaker peoples were over, that the decision to give the peoples of colonial regions of Africa a place in the sun was arrived at. The British took the first steps, followed by France under De Gaulle and Belgium followed suit this year by setting an end to the colonial rule of Belgian Congo. The results have been almost uniformly good, with the exception of Belgian Congo, in regard to the peaceful transfer of powers. Stability of Government is another question altogether, of course, in this Cold-War torn present-day world.

But Africa has to travel a long way yet before the entire Continent, with its variegated texture of peoples with widely divergent States and standards of life, emerges completely into the sunlight of freedom. The Union of South Africa with its “apartheid” is still negating

human liberty to the Africans and the "coloured" peoples. Portugal is still persisting in the denial of any rights to its Colonial African subjects and the "Colours" of Algeria have placed even De Gaulle in a quandary over Algeria, where freedoms battles are being fought against truly desperate odds. Similarly the British settlers in the Southern Rhodesia, led by their reactionary Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky, are trying to flout the recommendations of the Monckton Report, which was published on October 11th last. The British Cabinet, however, seems to be determined on taking drastic action. The South Africans have decided in favour of becoming a Republic, as a result of a nationwide plebiscite—confined to the "White" rulers, who are a minority—taken in the first week of October. The decision was arrived at by the narrow majority of 88,000 in a white population of over 3,000,000. The 9,500,000 native Africans, over 1,000,000 coloured and 500,000 peoples of Asiatic origin, had no say in the matter needless to say.

The Monckton Report, submitted by a 26 member commission led by Lord Monckton, clearly recommends that the present central structure has to be altered into a loose association of three semi-autonomous States—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This should entail new voting rules which would immediately put African majorities in power in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, while the White Colonials may continue their domination for a time in Southern Rhodesia. Needless to say this does not suit the colonialists of the present Federation.

The position of the peoples of Africa at present is given in the following summary.

#### **Africa To-day** **Independent States**

##### **Cameroun :**

West Africa, area 16,489 sq. miles.

Independent republic, formerly a United Nations trust territory administered by France. Population : 3,250,000. Capital : Yaounde. Premier : Ahmadou Ahidjo, who is friendly to France but has kept his country outside the French Community.

##### **Central African Republic :**

Equatorial Africa, area 238,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly known as Ubangi-Shari. Population : 1,250,000. Capital : Bangui. Premier : David Dacko.

##### **Chad :**

Eq. Africa, area 496,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community. Population : 2,600,000. Capital : Fort Lamy. Premier : Francois Tombolbaye.

##### **Congo Republic :**

Eq. Africa, area 132,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly known as the Middle Congo. Population : 749,000. Capital : Brazzaville. Premier : Abbe Fulbert Youlou.

##### **Dahomey :**

W. Africa, area 45,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French community. Population : 1,700,000. Capital : Porto Novo. Premier : Hubert Maga.

##### **Ethiopia :**

N. E. Africa, area 398,000 sq. miles.

Independent Empire, ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie I. Population : 18,000,000 (official estimate), of whom rather more than half are Coptic Christians. Capital : Addis Ababa.

*Eritrea* : a former Italian colony (population 1,000,000) has since 1952 been federated with Ethiopia under the Ethiopian Crown.

##### **Gabon :**

Eq. Africa, area 103,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community. Population 400,000. Capital : Libreville. Premier : Leon M'ba.

##### **Ghana :**

W. Africa, area 91,843 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the British Commonwealth, formerly known as the Gold Coast. Population : 4,500,000. Capital : Accra. President : Kwame Nkrumah.

##### **Guinea :**

W. Africa, area 96,865 sq. miles.

Independent republic which opted out of the French Community in 1958. Population : 2,500,000. Capital : Conakry. President : Sekou Toure.

##### **Ivory Coast :**

W. Africa, area 123,200 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Com-

munity. Population : 3,250,000. Capital : Abidjan. Premier : Felix Houphouet-Boigny, originally among French African leaders the staunchest supporter of close links with Metropolitan France.

##### **Liberia :**

W. Africa, area 43,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic. Population : 1,000,000 of whom about 2 per cent are of American Negro stock. Capital : Monrovia. President : William Tubman.

##### **Libya :**

N. Africa, area 679,358 sq. miles

Independent kingdom under King Idris el-Senussi. A former Italian colony now a federation of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan. Population : 1,000,000. Capitals : Tripoli and Benghazi. Premier : Abdel Majid Kuhar. Member of the Arab League.

##### **Malagasy Republic :**

East Coast of Africa, area 241,094 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly known as Madagascar. Population : 5,000,000. Capital : Tananarive. President : Philibert Tsiranana.

##### **Mali :**

W. Africa, area 531,100 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, consisting of a federation between the former French colonies of Senegal and Sudan. Population : 6,000,000. Capital : Dakar. President of Assembly : Leopold Senghor (Senegal). Premier : Modibo Keita (Sudan).

##### **Morocco :**

N. W. Africa, area 172,104 sq. miles.

Independent kingdom under King Mohammed V, who is in effect his own Premier. Population : 10,000,000. Capital : Rabat. Vice-Premier : Crown Prince Moulay Hassan. Member of the Arab League.

##### **Niger :**

W. Africa, area 494,500 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community. Population : 2,500,000. Capital : Niamey. Premier : Hamani Diori.

##### **Nigeria :**

W. Africa, area 339,169 sq. miles.

A fully independent member of the Commonwealth (Oct. 1, 1960). Population : 35,000,000. Capital : Lagos. Federal Prime Minister : Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Regional Premiers :

Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto (Northern); Chief S. L. Akintola (Western); Michael Okpara (Eastern).

##### **Republic of the Congo :**

Eq. Africa, area 904,757 sq. miles.

Independent republic, formerly the Belgian Congo, which became fully sovereign July, 1, since when internal turmoil and conflict with the departing Belgians have led to United Nations involvement in the state to keep it going. Population : 13,250,000. Capital : Leopoldville. President : Joseph Kasavubu. Premier : Patrice Lumumba.

##### **Somali Republic :**

E. Africa, area 262,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic consisting of the former Italian-administered UN trust territory of Somalia and the former British protectorate of Somaliland. Population : 2,000,000. Capital : Mogadishu. President : Aden Abdullah Osman. Premier : Abdi Rashid Shermarke.

##### **Sudan :**

N.-E. Africa, area 967,500 sq. miles.

Independent republic. Population : 10,000,000. Capital : Khartoum. President : General Ibrahim Abboud, who heads an authoritarian military regime. Member of the Arab League.

##### **Togo :**

W. Africa, area 21,893 sq. miles.

Independent republic, formerly the French-administered UN trust territory of Togoland. Population : 1,000,000. Capital : Lome. President : Sylvanus Olympio, who has kept his country outside the French Community.

##### **Tunisia :**

N. Africa, area 48,313 sq. miles.

Independent republic. Population : 3,750,000. Capital : Tunis. President : Habib Bourguiba. Member of the Arab League, but boycotting it at present.

##### **Union of South Africa :**

S. Africa, area 472,359 sq. miles.

Independent member of the British Commonwealth, voting on Oct. 5, whether to become a republic. Population : 14,500,000 of whom 9,500,000 are Africans, 3,000,000 whites, 1,000,000 Coloreds (mixed race), and 500,000 Asians. Political power is in the hands of the white minority, but since early 1960 their authority has been increasingly challenged by Africans. Administrative Capital : Pretoria; Parliamentary



Capital: Cape Town. Prime Minister: Hendrik F. Verwoerd.

**South-West Africa:** Territory administered under a League of Nations mandate by the Union of South Africa, which has refused to accept UN trusteeship. Population: 415,000 of whom 366,000 are Africans and 49,000 are whites. White representatives of the territory sit in the South African Parliament. Area 317,887 sq. miles.

**United Arab Republic (Egypt):**

N. Africa, area 386,193 sq. miles.

Independent republic, now the Southern Region of the United Arab Republic, which was formed when Syria opted for union with Egypt in 1957. Population (of Egypt): 25,000,000. Capital: Cairo. President: Gamal Abdel Nasser. Member of the Arab League.

**Voltaic Republic:**

W. Africa, area 105,900 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly Upper Volta. Population: 3,250,000. Capital: Ouagadougou. President: Maurice Yameogo.

Independence Scheduled Or Expected:

**Mauritania:**

W. Africa, area 415,900 sq. miles.

Autonomous republic within the French Community, expected to become fully independent within the Community, Nov. 1960. Claimed by Morocco as part of its kingdom. Population: 624,000. Capital: Nouakchott. Premier: Mokhtar Ould Daddad.

**Sierra Leone:**

W. Africa, area 27,925 sq. miles.

Self-governing colony within the British Commonwealth. Scheduled to become fully independent within the Commonwealth, April, 27, 1961. Population: 2,500,000 including Creoles or descendants of liberated slaves. Capital: Freetown. Chief Minister: Sir Milton Margai.

United Nations Trust Territories:

**British Cameroons:**

W. Africa, area 34,031 sq. miles.

Comprises two noncontiguous areas, Northern Cameroons and Southern Cameroons. Population: 1,500,000 of whom rather more than half are in Southern Cameroons. Northern Cameroons is geographically and racially akin to the Moslem northern region of Nigeria. Loyalties in Southern Cameroons are divided between those who favor

union with Nigeria (led by E. M. L. Endeley) and those who favor union with Cameroun (led by John Foncha). Plebiscites are to be held in both Northern and Southern Cameroons early in 1961, to decide the future of the territories.

**Ruanda-Urundi:**

E. Africa, area 20,540 sq. miles

Belgian-administered territory comprising the African kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi each headed by a Mwami, or King. Closely linked economically and politically to the Belgian Congo until the latter became independent, July, 1, 1960 but the latter event has raised the question of Ruanda-Urundi's future. Population: 4,500,000. Capital: Usumburu.

**Tanganyika:**

E. Africa, area 363,699 sq. miles.

British-administered territory scheduled for internal self-government, Oct. 1. Population: 8,600,000 including 95,000 Asians and Arabs. Capital: Dar es Salaam. Chief Minister-designate: Julius Nyerere.

Dependent Territories

**Algeria:**

N. Africa, area 852,600 sq. miles.

Administered as part of France, whose Delegate-General in the territory is Paul Delouvrier. Population: 10,000,000 of whom 900,000 are of European and 140,000 are of Jewish origin. Capital: Algiers. Since Nov. 1, 1954, the Moslem majority has been in open revolt against French rule. Leaders of the rebellion are the National Liberation Front (FLN). The FLN's government in exile has as its Premier Ferhat Abbas.

**Angola:**

W. Africa, area 481,351 sq. miles.

Portuguese overseas province. Population: 4,200,000 of whom about 30,000 are Europeans. Capital: Luanda. The Portuguese are intolerant of any African nationalist movements, but lately there have been reports of local political stirrings.

**Cabinda:** a Portuguese enclave north of the mouth of the River Congo is administered as part of Angola.

**Basutoland:**

S. Africa, area 11,716 sq. miles.

One of the three British High Commission Territories in Southern Africa controlled by the Commonwealth Relations Office (not the Colonial Office) in London. Basutoland is an enclave within the Union of South Africa, and its peculiar

position is irritant in relation between the latter and Britain. Population: 642,000 of whom 2,000 are Europeans. Capital: Maseru. The Basutos were granted in late 1959 a large measure of self-government under their Paramount Chief, Bereng Seeiso. British High Commissioner (who is also British High Commissioner to the Union of South Africa) is Sir John Maud.

**Bechuanaland:**

S. Africa, area 275,000 sq. miles.

British Protectorate which is also one of the High Commission Territories in Southern Africa. Population: 300,000 of whom about 33 per cent belong to the Bamangwato tribe. Administrative capital: Mafeking (which is outside the protectorate in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa). British High Commissioner (resident in Pretoria): Sir John Maud.

**Central African Federation:**

Central Africa, total area 486,973 sq. miles.

Federation under the British flag comprising the self-governing territory of Southern Rhodesia and the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland—as it is sometimes called—does not have fully independent status within the Commonwealth. A constitutional review is to be held in 1961. Capital: Salisbury. Prime Minister: Sir Roy Welensky.

**Southern Rhodesia:** Population: 2,600,000 of whom 200,000 are Europeans enjoying a monopoly of political power in the territory. Area, 150,333 sq. miles. Capital: Salisbury. Prime Minister: Sir Edgar Whitehead.

**Northern Rhodesia:** Population: 2,300,000 of whom 74,000 are Europeans. Area, 287,630 sq. miles. Capital: Lusaka.

**Nyasaland:** Population: 2,700,000 of whom 8,000 are Europeans. African nationalists in Nyasaland, led by Dr. Hastings Banda, are determined to end the federal link with the Rhodesias. Dr. Banda has secured agreement in London to an early African-elected majority in the Nyasaland Legislative Council. Area 49,000 sq. miles.

**French Somaliland:**

E. Africa, area 9,071 sq. miles.

Overseas territory of the French republic. Early independence is unlikely. Population: 63,000 most of whom are Moslem but of whom less than half are Somalis. Capital: Djibouti.

## NOTES

**Zambia:**

W. Africa, area 4,005 sq. miles.

British colony and protectorate. Population: 275,000. Capital: Bathurst.

**Ivory:**

N. W. Africa, area 140 sq. miles.

Spanish province administered from Madrid, whose future has been a subject of discussion with Morocco. Population: 40,000 of whom 4,000 are Europeans.

**Kenya:**

E. Africa, area 224,960 sq. miles.

British colony and protectorate in which Africans are to secure a majority on the Legislative Council within the foreseeable future. Population: 6,800,000 of whom 200,000 are Asians and Arabs and 65,000 Europeans. Capital: Nairobi. African nationalist leaders include Tom Mboya and James Gichuru.

**Mozambique:**

E. Africa, area 297,731 sq. miles.

Portuguese overseas province. Population: 5,700,000 of whom 50,000 are Europeans and 13,000 Asians. Capital: Lourenco Marques.

**Portuguese Guinea:**

W. Africa, area 13,948 sq. miles.

Portuguese overseas territory. Population: 511,000. Capital: Bissau.

**Sao Tome and Principe:**

West Coast of Africa, area 372 sq. miles.

Islands in the Gulf of Guinea which are Portuguese overseas territories. Population: 60,000.

**Spanish Guinea:**

W. Africa, area 10,852 sq. miles.

Spanish colony comprising mainland Rio Muni and the Island of Fernando Poo. Population: 200,000. Capital: Santa Isabel (Fernando Poo).

**Spanish Sahara:**

N. W. Africa, area 105,400 sq. miles.

Spanish province, also known as Rio de Oro, administered from Madrid. Population: 37,000. Capital: Villa Cisneros.

**Swaziland:**

S. Africa, area 6,704 sq. miles.

British High Commission territory in Southern Africa. Population: 237,000 of whom 6,000 are Europeans. Capital: Mbabane. Paramount Chief

of the Swazis : Sobhuza II. British High Commissioner (resident in Pretoria) : Sir John Maud.

#### Uganda :

E. Africa, area 93,981 sq. miles.

British protectorate, much of which comprises the territories of four hereditary rulers—the Kabaka of Buganda, the Umukama of Bunyoro, the Mukama of Toro, and the Omugabe of Ankole. Population : 5,000,000 of whom 35,000 are Asians. Capital : Entebbe. Implementation of proposals for an elected African majority on the Legislative Council is under way.

#### Zanzibar :

E. Coast island, area 655 sq. miles.

British protectorate governed by a Sultan, Seyyid Sir Khalifa bin Harub, in collaboration with a British resident. Population : 300,000 of whom 47,000 are Arabs and 18,000 Asians. Proposals for an elected majority on the Legislative Council are to be implemented in 1961.

#### The Tokyo Murder

In Japan there is a Conservative Liberal-Democrat Government under Premier Hayato Ikeda, who took office after Premier Nobusuke Kishi was forced to resign following weeks of violent demonstrations, set off by leftist parties, in which snake-dancing students took the lead. These demonstrations were started by the Chief opposition party, the Socialists, as a mark of severe resentment following the signing at the White House in Washington, on January 19 last, of a treaty reviewing the U.S. right to maintain troops and military bases in Japan. These demonstrations failed to stop the ratification of the treaty, but they effectively prevented President Eisenhower's visit to Tokyo and forced Mr. Kishi to resign. His successor, Premier Ikeda, took office on the promise of new elections, in which the said treaty would be the Chief issue.

The elections are due about the end of this November and the election campaigns are in full swing. Premier Ikeda's Conservative Liberal-Democrats hoped to maintain their present strength in the Diet where at present they hold 286 out of 467 seats. They even had hopes of even increasing their strength through a split among the Socialists a year ago. But the

position has been complicated by the murder of the Chairman of the Socialist Party Inejiro Asanuma, by a student during a meeting held on the 12th October last at Tokyos Hibiya Hall before an audience of 3000 and a nation-wide television broadcast. The sponsor was a committee for fair campaign practices. In the midst of a speech by Inejiro Asanuma, the Socialist party chairman, a youth in school uniform dashed up to and across the platform, shouting wildly. With a foot-long Samurai sword, he stabbed and killed the Socialist leader. The Assassin, Ota Yamauchi, 18, the son of an Army colonel and a member of various fascistic groups, was arrested.

The murder was expected to strengthen the opposition in the election and, in the wake of increasing neutralist sentiment, raised new doubts about the future of the military pact with the U.S. It revived memories of the pre-war decade, when secret fascist societies organized a series of political assassinations that destroyed moderate government in Japan and brought about a militarist dictatorship.

#### Krishna and Godavari Waters

It should be plain to the mighty ones of the Congress High Command by now—as it is to any intelligent person—that the Union of India is coming apart at every joint, thanks to the extreme laxity of Central control and the general deterioration in moral values all over our land. The unfortunate nationals of the country are being led on promises and likewise are being led into perdition by people, who themselves are guided by the most primitive of human motivating factors. These invariably lead to conflict in interests and if no persuasion or firm intervention is tried or imposed at an early stage, disastrous consequences follow. These consequences fan dislikes into hatreds and enmities, and our people being what they are permanent injury is inflicted on the cause of fraternal unity amongst the nationals of the union.

Such a conflict in interest has arisen over the waters of the Krishna and Godavari, between the States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Mysore, as is evident from

the following piece of news from the **Hindu**.

Bangalore, October 21.—The Mysore Government, it was learnt here to-day, have addressed a communication to the Union Government, urging the need for the Centre taking immediate steps to see that Andhra Pradesh did not exceed her rightful share of the Krishna and Godavari waters, in the execution of her irrigation projects, like the Nagarjunasagar and the Pochampad Projects. The Centre's attention has been drawn to the need for meting out justice to Mysore and Maharashtra.

It is expected that the Union Ministry for Irrigation and Power would use its good offices and allocate the Krishna and Godavari waters between the States concerned in a just and equitable manner and on a rational basis, as such a course would obviate Mysore and Maharashtra seeking legal remedies under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956.

It was learnt that the Government of Maharashtra have also made a similar request to the Centre.

It may be mentioned that both Mysore and Maharashtra have been urging the need for a *de novo* allocation of the Krishna and Godavari waters among the States concerned, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Andhra Pradesh is not for doing away with the existing agreement but is prepared for some minor adjustments.

It is plain from the above that the question has now passed the stage at which inter-State negotiations would be fruitful. There is further a veiled threat of legal steps being taken and also a plain indication that Madhya Pradesh and Orissa might also be involved in the dispute. The reply to the above is contained in the following news, also from the **Hindu**.

Hyderabad, October, 22.—Mr. A. Satyanarayana Raju, Public Works Minister, told a Press conference here to-day that after carefully going through the case of Maharashtra and Mysore for increased allocation of the Krishna and Godavari waters, he was convinced more than ever that the most appropriate manner in which this question could be resolved was on the lines indicated by the Government of India, i.e., the 1951 agreement, making only the adjust-

ments consequential on the territorial alterations in the States concerned.

Mr. Raju added that no new facts had arisen that could change the very basis of the 1951 agreement, which provided for a review after 25 years. "Any attempt for a change in the 1951 agreement will only lead to bitter controversies between the various States and greatly jeopardise the fulfilment of the Third Plan undertakings in the irrigation and power sector and seriously affect our planned growth," he declared.

The Public Works Minister said that Mysore and Maharashtra wanted a *de novo* examination of the allocation of the Krishna waters.

"Andhra Pradesh," Mr. Raju said, "required far larger quantities of water than what were given by the 1951 conference, but due to their accepted principle of honouring the agreement solemnly entered into, they wished to limit their projects in accordance with that agreement."

Here clear indication is given that bitter controversies will result, causing damage to the Third Plan, and further a stand on rights together with a statement that concessions have been made already are also indicated. The Andhra Minister also indicated the views of his Government regarding the request of the Mysore Government in the following statement.

Mr. A. Satyanarayana Raju, Minister for Public Works, to-day described as "unreasonable", the request of Mr. H. M. Chennabasappa, Mysore's Minister to the Central Government to stop the execution of Nagarjunasagar Project.

In a talk with Pressmen, Mr. Raju said that this step would be against the interests of the country. Nagarjunasagar might be situated in Andhra Pradesh, but it was not a Project of a single State. It was a national project though technically the Centre might not treat it so, he said.

Mr. Raju said that Mr. Chennabasappa also wanted that Pochampad and Srisailem Projects should not be taken up. His entire request was rather "fantastic".

At the time of writing the A.I.C.C. is sitting at Raipur. It is to be seen what indications are given by that august body regarding this new problem, that threatens to cause an wide-open impasse between five States.

#### The Census and the Plans

There is a growing sense of disbelief

amongst the literate and knowledgeable section of our peoples regarding the real efficacy of the Plans. The reasons behind the scepticism is, of course, the want of any plainly visible signs of improvement, either the living standards of the people or in the decrease of unemployment. Statistical figures are often quoted by officials or ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, proving that the entire process of uplift is going according to Plan. But uplift or nation-building, like justice, must be both apparent as well as technically or legislatively correct. The average intelligent person in India views with strong suspicion figures emanating from our statistical departments—and with good reasons too.

But it is imperative that this question of the plans misfiring should be settled once for all or else there would be chaos very soon. The suspicion that all is not well in the implementation of the Plans, seems to have risen even in Pandit Nehru's mind—which in itself is a minor miracle.

The Census work has started on its preliminary work. We do not know what exactly will be asked by the enumerators, but in a small leaflet, which has strayed into our hands, the common citizen is addressed thus by the powers-that-be.

**"Census-Taking**—Census work consists of two stages: first, the numbering of houses and preparation of house-lists and then enumeration of residents of those houses. The work of the first stage, i.e., House-numbering and House-listing will begin from the 6th October 1960 throughout the State of West Bengal and continue up to the 31st of October. The Enumeration stage starts from the 10th February 1961 and ends on the 5th March.

"Sometime in October 1960 a person from the Census department will call on you. He will ask for information on some points. He will write down the answers to these questions on a form termed 'House-list'. He will also paint a number on your house with coal tar.

"The enumerator expects to be received with courtesy and given all the information he asks for. He is a representative of your own Government. The success of the Census

depends upon your co-operation with the Enumerator. So welcome him in your home, answer to his questions promptly and accurately and help him painting the Census number on your house."

**"Census Information is Confidential.**—You may take it for granted that your Census answers will always be treated with utmost secrecy: only authorised Census Officials will see your answers. Further, it is unlawful for the Government to disclose any facts, including names or identity from your Census slips. Moreover, no Census information can be used for purposes of Taxation. These privileges are guaranteed to the people so that they may give correct answers without any reservation."

It is evident from the above that intimate financial details would be asked for. We have no objection whatsoever regarding that. But we would suggest that a comparative questionnaire be put forward, which would give approximate details about the 1951—and if possible 1946-47—income of the same person. We mean that when the present income is asked, the approximate income of the two past periods be called for. There should be also questions regarding the rise or fall of the standard of living of the same person or persons during the decade from 1951-61. This would provide figures regarding the real increase or decrease, in the absolute terms of income expenditure ratio of peoples in the different strata of the nationals of India. Any householder should be able to give a comparative statement regarding his standard of living, where essentials are concerned.

We do not know what are the probes that the Census authorities have devised to ascertain the actual income of the people, classwise and/or stratawise. Mere averages are not only useless, they are the loopholes through which corruption and inefficiency penetrate and flourish. Comparative statements, together with the actual poll of people are needed to determine whether the country as a whole is on the way to progress.

Pandit Nehru's question *re.* the fruits of Planning, may be answered in a number of ways. But the common citizen believes that

they are being consumed exclusively by the corrupt, aided by the boot-licking sycophants of our Great.

#### Nagaland

The following piece of news indicates the position of Nagaland, the new State about the formation of which Pandit Nehru came to an agreement with the spokesmen of the different tribal units.

"Shillong, October, 21.—Dr. Imkongliba Ao, President of the Naga People's Convention, which concluded an agreement with the Government of India in July last regarding the setting up of Nagaland as a separate State, arrived here this evening to hold talks with the State Governor, General S. M. Shrinagesh and the NEFA Adviser, Mr. N. K. Rustomji, on the implementation of the agreement.

Dr. Ao is accompanied by a few other leaders of the convention.

Mr. Rustomji gave the news to-day that elections to the 39-strong interim body envisaged under the agreement as consultative body, had been completed by all the 14 major tribes except the Angamis (from which Phizo came) and the Lothas. The Lothas were expected to complete their election on October 25 and Angamis immediately after.

With the hill-peoples of Assam openly resentful of Assamese being imposed on them and the Bengali-speaking majority of Cachar equally against it, the territories lying in the North-East region of India is in an unsettled state. The formation of a new State in this perspective is neither easy nor particularly safe, under the circumstances prevailing on border areas, unless the Government of India devotes some realistic attention towards it. It has not been very evident, however, that our Central authorities have shifted from their ostrich-like attitude towards unpleasant facts.

#### THE EDITOR

#### The Bengalis

Since some leading political partymen of Assam worked out a criminal scheme for chasing out the Bengalis from Assam, and, actually arranged the looting of Bengali homes and organised murder, assault, arson and rape in order to achieve their ends, the Bengalis, strangely enough

have come in for a lot of criticism for their ways, outlook and behaviour. A Marwari-controlled newspaper of Bombay took a leading part in this anti-Bengali propaganda. The same Marwaris were also connected in a manner with anti-Bengali propaganda and activities in Calcutta, Patna and in Assam. The Marwaris seldom, do anything unless they gain substantially on this earth or in heaven by their action; and we think the particular group of Marwaris had some interests in Assam which would have been helped by the removal of Bengalis from Assam. Had India any worthwhile organisation for the detection of crime and had Pandit Nehru's party been deeply concerned with the Prevention of Crime in India; it would have been easy to find out why some people were inciting certain forces to attack the Bengalis. But *there is a taboo on Truth in India*. One must not try to find out the truth. The Bengalis, therefore, must take the blame for the atrocities committed upon them in Assam. Among all the Great men and women that India has produced within the last 150 years there are numerous Bengalis. Rammohun Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Debendranath Tagore, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Surendranath Banerji, Aravinda, Jagadishchandra Bose, Prafullachandra Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Chittaranjan Das, Subhaschandra Bose and all those who died and suffered for India must now be forgotten to make room for evil self-seekers and their associates in crime!

A. C.

#### Assamese Crimes

When, back in the late forties of this century, India was passing through her last moment spells of conspiracies, banditry and gangster activities for the capturing of political power by unscrupulous self-seekers; the Muslim League took a lead in this kind of low criminal organisation by setting up bodies of paid hooligans to capture the city of Calcutta for their own land of Pakistan. Murder, loot, arson, rape and all lesser degree crimes against property and persons were committed on a scale unknown in the history of crime. Even the German armies of invasion did nothing comparable in any occupied city of France or any other country during the two World Wars of 1914 and 1939. The Muslim League Ministers and V.I. Ps of Bengal made cold-blooded plans about their orgy of frightfulness and when "direct action day" arrived

thousands of professional and amateur hooligans raided the Hindu homes in Calcutta and committed revolting atrocities on a big-scale which need not be described here. The name of Pakistan will stink for ever in Calcutta and in all those other places where the Muslim Leaguers "fought" filthily to create a holy land.

The Assamese who had been committing similar crimes and behaving like the Muslim Leaguers against their Hindu Bengali brethren in order to drive them out of Assam and to create a purely Assamese State, could be called dirtier criminals than the Muslim Leaguers of the Suhrawardy-Ispahani days in so far as they had no religious fanaticism to explain away their extremely base emotions.

They had lived with the Bengalis for generations and their sudden awakening relating to the urgency of upholding Assamese as their sole State language had no background of any fanatical attachment to that language. If the Assamese really are 5 million in numerical strength or even 3.5 million as they should be; their 10 periodicals with a total circulation of 34,000 copies do not point to any great desire to develop their language. In fact, at a low estimate, there should be nearly 400,000/500,000 educated Assamese and their total purchase of Assamese periodicals would work out at less than 10 per cent of their educated population and less than 1 per cent of the total population. Such facts and figures belie the truth about their alleged love of Assamese as a language and point to the existence of other motives for their crimes against the Bengalis and Humanity.

Now, the Assam Congress, which took a leading part in all these bestial upsurges against fellow Indians, are beginning to feel shaky about their *crime festival*. An offensive being the best form of defensive, they are now taking up their cudgel against the West Bengal Legislature for discussing the Assamese criminals and their crimes. This, they say, violated the Indian Constitution! A clear case of the Devil quoting from the Bible! Where was the Indian Constitution or even the Indian Penal Code when the Congressites and other educated political party-men of Assam were planning their rape of the Bengalis? These men should now atone for their sins by committing mass suicide. That will make India a cleaner country.

A. C.

### Assam Resents Criticism

There is a vulgar saying in Bengali which describes the conduct of persons who use the public highways as latrines and abuse other users of the highways pugnaciously for interfering with their privacy by looking at them. Naked persons may similarly order all probable spectators to keep their eyes shut. The Assamese people in high position have felt it very strongly that their conduct has been discussed by the legislative bodies of West Bengal. They are seeking the protection of the Constitution to safeguard their rights. This is indeed highly comic though it has its source in a gruesome tragedy. Thousands of people in Assam have been subjected to looting, arson, assault, murder, rape and everything else by some of these Assamese and about half a lakh of persons have been chased out of Assam into Bengal, and the West Bengal Legislatures cannot discuss this great tidal bore of indecency and crime! We thought that criminal too had a sense of shame; but we now find that some criminals stay unashamed through thick and thin.

A. C.

### Qualifications Degrees and Diplomas

With the growth of State Capitalism in India, the distribution of the National Income will be progressively carried out through employment under the Governments of the States and the Centre and in the various corporations set up by the Governments. In fact within about twenty years most of the persons in the higher income groups will belong to the category of government servants which will include officers engaged in work of administration of the various public corporations and other national institutions of economic importance. Employment in various capacities even now depends on academic and other qualifications which are generally shown and demonstrated by the Degrees and Diplomas held by the persons concerned. Interviews and tests are no doubt arranged by the various Boards and Committees entrusted with the selection of persons for employment, but, generally speaking, no one is called up for interview or examination, without certain minimum of qualifications expressed by Degrees or Diplomas. Thus only Graduates in science, engineering or Doctors of "Philosophy" may be invited to apply for certain jobs and those who possess the highest qualifications may be called for interview. The possession of a higher class of academic qualification, therefore,

### NOTES

determines the choice of persons who will be granted interviews. A first class honours graduate will get preference over a second class candidate and a D.Sc. or Ph.D. will be naturally considered superior to an M.Sc. or a plain B.Sc. These various Degrees and Diplomas and their class will decide whether a person will be at all considered for a particular job.

Are all the Universities and educational Institutions in India run on a more or less uniform basis in point of standard of education and examinations? Most definitely not. We very often come across Doctorate holders or persons holding first class degrees who surprise us with their relative ignorance of their own subjects as well as by their lack of general knowledge and ability. In India, therefore, there are places where one can acquire a Ph.D. degree with less effort than one has to make for a B.Sc. in some other institution having greater regard for intellectual quality and proprieties. At present many colleges, universities and other Degree or Diploma granting Institutions are cropping up in order to help the undeserving to get on in life. In the near future there may appear yet other institutions which will grant Doctorates or first class engineering degrees on caste, tribe or dialect basis and really qualified engineers will often not succeed in obtaining employment in competition with these fakes. Bad money drives good money out of circulation. Similarly, when undeserving people are forced into circulation in the field of employment, deserving men get pushed out.

In order to save India's youngmen and women from falling victims to a new and subtler form of jobbery and favouritism, all genuine universities and other educational institutions should now combine to check up on the fakes. Three or six month courses in this subject or that in foreign educational centres should also be scrutinised. These are yet other sources of fake qualifications and some foreign countries try to create closer connections with India by attracting a class of persons from India to go over to them for "study" or "training" which may be just for show. Indians waste a lot of money and energy in obtaining certain types of foreign degrees and diplomas which are no better than the degrees granted by the properly managed universities of India. The Indian Constitution guarantees to all Indians a certain degree of fair play, equal opportunities and undiscriminating rights in the

fields of business and employment. These provisions are slowly becoming mere words and phrases in a forgotten book by reason of the weakness displayed by the Central Government in maintaining law and order, justice and respect for the Constitution in many parts of India. The fake or easily obtained qualifications described above are a new source of danger to our freedom. There are already a large number of "duds" in important jobs all over India, who have been selected for reasons other than merit. If now, we grant special privileges in the field of employment to persons who are not properly qualified but hold spectacular degrees and diplomas of Indian or foreign origin, we would be reducing further our fast vanishing rights of citizenship.

A. C.

### Lorries and Buses

In West Bengal with special reference to Calcutta all roads are meant for road hogs and jay walkers. And between them they kill and injure a few thousand persons every month. The police are very high brow in West Bengal and they think and act in a manner which is totally untouched by facts, necessities or practical considerations. There are very elaborate road signs, traffic protocol, staggered parking and lanes of traffic all over Calcutta's business and political centres, but lorries, buses, hand carts, rickshaws, beggars, loafers, kite flying urchins and pedestrians who are tired of life dominate the roads and pavements. There are also shop-keepers, taxi, lorry and bus owners who use the roads and pavements as their godowns, showrooms, garages and workshops. And the police look on with serene unconcern. For, we have been told, the top men have been trained in Switzerland, and there, they learnt nothing about controlling such lorries, buses, taxis, shop-keepers, kite fliers and road crossers. The last group give Calcutta roads their New Look. Even on the Chowringhee one will find a man or woman crossing the road every two yards and traffic weaves its way in and out of this human maze.

The lorries and buses on the high roads of West Bengal never travel below 50 m.p.h. and many of the road accidents are caused by this speeding. The drivers are often under the influence of liquor and the roadside eating places for drivers (known as thieves corners) sell illicit liquor and also arrange the transfer of loads from



lorry to lorry for "business" reasons. Some of the lorry drivers playfully drive on coming traffic off the road by driving along the centre or the wrong side of the roads. They never dim their blazing headlights at any time and they have an idea that the roads belong to the lorry drivers. The West Bengal Traffic Police cannot cope with these drivers and pedestrians. The only way one can bring traffic under control, therefore, is to put the roads under Marshal Law and to employ soldiers to enforce traffic rules. We do not think our Government will have the courage to do this just before the elections; but they may keep this in mind for the second part of their Third Five-Year Plan.

### J. P. On Languages

Sri Jai Prakash Narain is a national leader in the national sense. He has never exploited nationalism for the benefit of his party or personal followers. His words have some value in India; for most of our other leaders, from the highest to the lowest suffer from a poisoned outlook. Sri Jai Prakash Narain said to the Sarvodaya Press Service that he was not in favour of having numerous "State Languages". There could be and should be a number of national languages as India was too big a country to have one national language. Switzerland has four national languages. He thought the Assam tragedy had shown up the dangers of disintegration inherent in the political methods now in use among our top rankers. Sri Jai Prakash Narain thought that the price was rather high for gaining this knowledge; but he thought it should save India from disintegration. Bengal, particularly Calcutta, he thought, had shown great forbearance during those tragic days.

A. C.

### The Acid Test

With the progressive deterioration of the food position in the country, it is getting manifestly clear that there is a progressive deterioration in the capacity to tackle it. In fact, food prices have, since 1955, risen by 42 per cent and that of raw material by 40.6 per cent. This is the estimate given by a resolution passed in a conference of economists, trade union leaders and re-

presentatives of co-operatives at Bombay in the last week of September. It deplores the Government's complacency standing in the way of a hard and fast rule of policy as an integral part of the nation's development plans. Whether it is complacency paralyzing the power of action or lack of the requisite capacity and sense of dutifulness inducing a supine, complacent outlook is more than we can hazard a guess for. This much, however, is certain that a competent man—the man of will and purpose—can and has actually shown surprisingly good results. The late Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is an illustration in point. He turned the food position from one of acute scarcity to one of sufficiency. Nobody claims for him that he was a man of extraordinary parts. But nobody, likewise, must grudge saying that he was always alive to his responsibility and steadfastly geared it to an unflinching honesty of purpose. The result, in the sum total, was that he confounded sceptics.

The conference has done well to emphasize that the distribution of the burden of economic development is anything but fair and equitable. Unless it is closely checked, it will cut at the roots of a socialistic pattern of society, we talk of at random. Already people are labouring under an impression that those who have drawn up the Plans have displayed no proper appreciation of balanced taxation with an eye to give what relief it is possible to give to the poor in the circumstances. To allow such a feeling to grow is just to give a handle to publicizing the notion that with the working of the much-advertised Plans, the rich is getting richer and the poor poorer. This is, by and large, a severe handicap to those who have set to work them out. At the same time, it tends to rob the Plans much of their emotive appeal.

J. B.

### Divided Loyalty

Shri Atulya Ghose, the Vice-President, rather the *de facto* President of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has at long last made an on-the-spot study of Assam. In his statement, he has care-

fully toed the line of the Assam Congress Government's version in respect of rehabilitating the uprooted. And yet the arresting snatch of a qualifying clause here and there is eloquent. In fact, we are left on tenter-hooks to have to read him in between the lines.

Mr. Fakruddin Ahmed, who as the officiating Minister of Law and Order has made history, has been telling us *Ad nauseum* that the rehabilitation work has been 'progressing remarkably well'. Does he think that if what Mr. Nehru said in the full blaze of July describing the conditions in Assam as 'excellent' and the position of the Bengalis there as 'absolutely secure' can pass muster, he is safe in respect of what he has been saying with regard to the progress in rehabilitation? Goebles seems to be living with vengeance. An ounce of fact is, however, worth cart-loads of such utterances. There is yet the flow of refugees, miserably huddled together at the Sealdah Station. Is Calcutta flowing with milk and honey? Shri Atulya's tremendously meaningful, 'on the whole', hemmed in his reference to rehabilitation, gives a jolt to wishful thinking. Why 'on the whole'? Why should he not be speaking out what yet impedes the progress? It is high time to bring home to Mr. Nehru that his fixing the target of rehabilitation by 'three weeks' has been reduced to a miserable caricature. Either he was grossly negligent in making the estimate and said things in a cavalier fashion; or he minimized the extent of the havoc, because he held party interest dear—dearer than the national solidarity; or the Assam Government can afford to snap their finger of scorn at him and be miles behind his directives. Either of the aforesaid alternatives is afflicting beyond measure and bears witness to the extremely slipshod manner of check of the Indian Union on a State, charged of a headlong suppression of the minority. The crux of the whole position is if the mass of people in Assam have realised the colossal folly of what has happened and are disabused of the notion that the Government of the day can at will be made to surrender to the hooligans. It is all very well to hear that some Assamese have been fraternizing with the Bengalis to help them build up their dwellings. But so did a number of them save some sure victims from destruction. Such isolated acts of humanity, even if they need being duly com-

mended, do not go far enough, unless the policy of the State gives the needful drive.

In this hapless Assam affair what strikes us as most mischievous is for the Congressites to have given their party interest the priority consideration. Gandhiji, possibly, foresaw this and enjoined on those who habitually stood by him, even a month before he was done to death, to disband the Congress organisation as a political party, craving for personal gains, power and perquisites, but to convert itself into Lok Sevak Sangha to function pre-eminently in the economic and social sphere and act collaterally as a moral ally and warden to whatever party might be forming the Government. It is just to cover this that Sri Atulya has hastened to give the Assam Congress Committee a certificate for 'the good work', it is now doing. The less, however, such attempts are made the greater is the chance for the people to forget what it did. The one service that anybody who wishes well to the country can do in respect of Assam is to accept as the basic truth that the recent flare-up and all its ugliness, as Shri Atulya too has stated without any equivocation, is 'no language riot'. It is suicidal to indulge in such rigmaroles. The question, 'what it is due to?' is of major importance and needs being faced fair and square and probed deep. What else but a Judicial Inquiry can do this? We do not know what the West Bengal Congress Committee is doing to see to it that under the saving clause 'at the proper time', much of the closeness of the promised inquiry is not being rubbed out.

J. B.

### The Worldly Wise

Mr. Nirmal K. Siddhanta, the outgoing Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has done well to refer to the complexity of the two problems besetting the University education. One is that the number of students enrolled is much in excess of what can be pressed into any justice being done to them; and the other is that the complicated system of examination yields no scope to adjudge their merits. Either, in our opinion, was a problem even in days when Mr. Siddhanta was himself a student; and it continues to be the talking points of as much the academicians, as of the lay public. Instead of some well-worn commonplaces what we need him, supposed to be an expert in the line, to tell us is what mea-

asures have been tried to combat it and with what result and what he should consider as well worth trying. A pleased dispersal of students by the creation of new Universities is a remedy so far as the number is concerned. Proper tutorial courses in colleges, no doubt, afford materials for study and reflection; and the initial handicaps need not deter us giving the experiment a trial. The craze for white-collar avocation needs being curbed at all stages of growth.

We are fully at one with Mr. Siddhanta for the suggestion he has made that occupational institutions, polytechnics and apprenticeship in industrial concerns should be tapped on a chalked out plan to provide accommodation to students in increasing numbers. It is an accepted truth that a good many students prefer University course because of the dearth of opportunities elsewhere, but no less because of its comparative ease. There is, therefore, the need for a rigid screening, even if in the process some possibilities get throttled.

We are, however, afraid we might be treading on sensitive corns if we happen to say that the greatest problem which confronts our University education is the growing lack of idealism. Here as elsewhere we woefully miss the 'Noble Forms', which to look on make noble. Here, as well, the same cliquism, wire-pullings and other seamy factors of life rule the roost. The disclosures that are often made through Commissions and Committees are distressing to read. But there is the same brazen facedness to pass over. It is as much our duty to say that we do not feel happy to read what Mr. Siddhanta says that in the present set-up and conditions of the University he feels that he cannot do it any lasting good. He, therefore, we should think, owes it to himself as a gentleman to set out what precisely stands in the way of improvement and a healthy state of affairs. Since when has this consciousness dawned on him? Is it after enjoying two extensions and only when he has seized a better job with longer tenure and the vicinity of the fountain of all patronage—the Delhi gods?

These are trivialities but difficult to resist, when a job-seeking mentality becomes attributable to the Vice-Chancellor of a University. It is, after all, not conducive to the growth of a sturdy citizenship.

J. B.

### The Peace-maker With Vengeance

It was, hitherto, the privilege of a State Government to add supplementary questions to the Central Census questionnaire. The Census Commissioner, presumably in consultation with or under the orders of the India Government has, in the stress of circumstances, withdrawn it. Is it to be construed as a slap to the Assam Government, which under cover of 'supplementary question', overshot all biological probabilities in the 1951 Census? Indeed no Government with any sense of delicacy and respect for truth could have done it and no final authority, as the India Government in this case is, would have accepted such monstrous manipulations, possibly on the faulty complacency 'let bygones be bygones'. The one honest course for any Government should have been to scrape it *in toto* and debit the cost to those who were guilty of wilful perversions, failing which to act upon the last Census figures. We shall not be surprised to be told that nobody paid for it, and no enquiry worth the name was made in respect of this. This is how they flourish their motto 'satyameva jayatey', the truth triumphs.

The Assam Government is, however, to be congratulated on the skill and daring with which they propose to outwith and outflank the Census, which is to take place a few months off. Before the ashes of the burnt-down dwellings of over fifty thousand people—most of them are as much sons of the soil—have turned cold, the Assam Government rushes through the Legislature the Bill making Assamese the State language of Assam. It gives a complete go-by to the well-thought-out recommendation of the State Reorganisation Committee that no States should be considered unilingual, unless one language-group constitutes at least 70 per cent of the people. Having very carefully considered all the relevant facts and circumstances, the S. R. C. recommended that Assam be recognised as a bilingual State. The India Government is to be congratulated not only on its sublime connivance at this grossly unfair, controversial deal, but as much as the consummate diplomacy of its Home Minister, for having taken advantage of a mess to smuggle Hindi into Assam. Is there none to stop these blinkered fanatics of Hindi reducing the country into shambles of blood, anarchy and ruin?

J. B.

## MAHATMA GANDHI AND HINDU TRADITION

By INDIRA N. ROTHERMUND, M.A., Ph.D.

MAHATMA Gandhi's approach to the Hindu tradition was an intuitive one. He was steeped in folk-tradition which has preserved the essentials of Indian religion. His mind reproduced these essential features clearly. However, since he was not concerned with a reconstruction of the Hindu tradition he never tried to give a systematic account of his insights. Therefore the coherence and basic relation of his thought to the fundamental precepts of Indian religion have tended to be overlooked. In this article an attempt is made to place Gandhian thought into the perspective of the Hindu tradition. The central concepts which we shall investigate are the *Vedic* concepts of "binding truth", the *Gita's* emphasis on "detached action", the idea of freeing oneself from bondage by restraint, and the sum total of these concepts in a programme of "truthful action".

### "Binding Truth"

Gandhi defines Hinduism as a "search after truth through non-violent means".<sup>1</sup> It is therefore important to discuss the full meaning of the word "truth". The common Indian word for truth is "satya", a word that exists already in the *Vedic* language. More central to the *Vedic* concept of truth, however, is the word *Rta*, which according to modern research can be translated as "truth".<sup>2</sup> *Rta* is a word that has become obsolete since *Vedic* times. The concept of *Rta*, however, has implications which have lived on in the concept of "satya" and "dharma", and it is therefore important to pay attention to its meaning. For a long time the word *Rta* has been interpreted in varying ways by different scholars. Most of these interpretations projected the essentialism of later Hindu philosophy back into the *Vedas*. They translated *Rta* by the words "law" or "cosmic law".<sup>3</sup> In recent years, however, Luders<sup>4</sup> has been

able to prove that *Rta* means "truth" and that this meaning makes the best sense when consistently applied to all passages of the *Vedas* in which *Rta* is mentioned. A concept of truth begs the question of verifiability. It is precisely with regard to this verifiability that we must qualify the *Vedic* concept of truth. We might therefore suggest the translation "binding truth" for *Rta*. By "binding" we mean to convey the existential obligation which ties man, God and the world together in a very direct way. It is the invocation of this bond which seems to characterise most passages in the *Vedas* which mention *Rta*.

In order to find out this "binding" quality of truth, it is important to take a look at the chief guardians of *Rta*, the Gods Mitra and Varuna. As Dumézil has shown<sup>5</sup> Mitra and Varuna are a pair, with divided functions. Mitra is a god of contract, Varuna a god of oath. Mitra has a positive and protective task, Varuna a punitive and restrictive one. Thus while Mitra would stand for truth, Varuna stands for the binding. Mitra later merges with the Brahman-idea and with the "essential" concept of *Sat* and *Satya*—which we shall discuss later. Varuna, however, has the existential task of binding those who deviate from the path of truth; therefore, he vanishes, together with the term *Rta*, when the existential aspect of early Indian thought gives way to the essentialism of *Vedanta*.

schaft d. Wiss. (Goettingen, 1915) and Bernhard Geiger, *Rta und Verwandtes*, Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, Vol. 1, 1934.

4. Luders, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 55. Vol. 2, p. 411.

5. George Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna* (Leroux: Universitaires de France, 1940) Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes Études-56), pp. 79-146. "Varuna est le 'Lieur'; quiconque respecta le 'satyam' et la 'sradha', C'est à dire les diverses formes de exactitude, est protégé par mitra, mais quiconque pêche contre le 'satyam' et la 'sradha' est aussitôt lié au sens le plus matériel du mot, par Varuna." This can be compared to the 'self-binding' quality of the oath as stressed by Luders, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

1. *Young India*, April, 24, 1924, (New York; Viking Press, 1927), p. 13.

2. Heinrich Luders, "Varuna" (Goettingen, Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1951), Vol. 1, p. 40, p. 55. Vol. 2, p. 411.

3. Hermann Oldenberg, "Zur Religion und Mythologie des Veda," *Nachrichten d. K. Gesell-*

In keeping with his task, Varuna is described as having magic power: he commands "*maya*", his powers are irresistible; unlike Indra he never fights, for no one ever tried to stand up against him. He is, therefore,—as Dumézil points out—a perfect symbolization of sovereignty as understood in antiquity. Why is Varuna irresistible, why is he sovereign? There seems to be a good reason: the binding power of *Ṛta* which Varuna administers is largely automatic in so far as any invocation of *Ṛta* contains implicitly a grave risk for the man who invokes it. This point is made very explicit in the case of the oath, because every oath is nothing more than the invocation of a curse upon the man who takes it, in the event that he does not fulfil his promise. Varuna is only a witness to this act, being usually represented by his favourite element, water; and in the case of the breaking of the oath he becomes the administrator of the curse—thus he "binds" the man. It is probable, incidentally, that the very name Varuna means "binder".<sup>6</sup>

A similar role is assigned to Varuna in the water ordeal, in which a man, in order to prove his innocence, is required to remain under water for a certain length of time. If he can manage to do so, it means that Varuna has not evicted him from his element and that his integrity is proven.<sup>7</sup> It should be mentioned in this context that *Ṛta* is often equated with water, and that it is called the water of the highest heaven. The term "the lap of *Ṛta*" (*Ṛtasya yoni*) is translated in the oldest Vedic dictionaries as "water" (*udaka*).<sup>8</sup> Here, as in many other ancient systems of mythology, we encounter the fact of mythological identification, which is so alien to the modern mind and its scientific classifications. What is manifest in the cases of the oath and the

protection or praise of the Gods. Since the invocation is implicitly true about all other invocations of *Ṛta* which are made for magic efficacy, invocation involves a risk, it is best made by addressing oneself to well-known attributes of the Gods and making them one's own truth (*mā Ṛtam*). The most important point is that all these oaths and invocations are the responsibility of the man who invokes them: the initiative is his, the invocation then brings God, man, and world together; and herein lies its strength and its danger. Invocation is, therefore, an act of existential significance. The risks are not to be avoided; they must be taken. Truthful invocation in song and praise strengthens the Gods, who are described as *ṛtaṛdh* ("one who increases in strength by *ṛta*").<sup>9</sup> In invocation man asserts his truthful bond ("religio") to the Gods.

Mahatma Gandhi sums up this whole philosophical position of the *Vedas* in one sentence: "God is the essence of the vow" (*vow-vrata*).<sup>10</sup> This sentence would seem enigmatic at first glance, but after our discussion of the term *ṛta*, it assumes the character of a clear and concise conclusion. Gandhi recovered the meaning of *ṛta* in his own "experiments with truth". Seen in this light these "experiments" lose their casual pragmatic appearance and reveal their true character as grave risks taken at the cost of relapse into "bondage". This problem of "bondage" as the result of untruthful action looms large in the Mahatma's thought, and we shall discuss this concept later with regard to his interpretation of the *Bhagavadgita*.

In the *Upanishads* "Sat" or the essence, the being within, is the transindividual self, the *Brahman*. "Tat tvam asi" (That thou art) is the famous formula of identification of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*. Gandhi's summary of this philosophy is his saying, "Truth (*Satya*) is God." This saying parallels the ontological equation *Satya-Brahman* of the *Upanishads*.<sup>11</sup> *Satya*, how-

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, RV. VIII—100-04.

Indra is said to grow in strength on *ṛta*. See also RV. X-65-63.

10. Professor Massignon, in *Gandhian Outlook and Techniques*, (New Delhi, Ministry of Education, 1953), p. 59.

11. *Taittiriya Upanishad*, I—1: "He who knows *Brahma* as the real (*satya*) . . . obtains all desires".

ever, was not an exclusively ontological term. It was more than the philosophical truth of the *Vedanta* philosophers. It retained its magical connotations which it had inherited from the defunct term *Ṛta*. This magical tradition of *Satya* was kept up by the "heterodox" schools of Indian thought like Buddhism, Jainism, and Tantrism (Tantra—a system of doctrines). This character of *Satya* is obvious in the "*satyakriya*". This special form of invocation is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* ("*Satyam Kṛnomi*", 'I do this truth', says the magician)<sup>12</sup> and in the *Rigveda* it might be compared to that invocation of "*mā Ṛtam*" which we referred to above. The legends which relate the "*satyakriya*" are numerous and most of them are based on the invocation of one's personal right conduct.

The invocation of personal right conduct brings us to the other term which assumes more and more importance as Indian thought develops through the centuries. This is the term "*dharma*". *Dharma* is derived from *dh-*—to be firm, to uphold, support, sustain. In Vedic times the term *Dharma* refers to "benefits accrued from sacrifices".<sup>13</sup> Monier Williams points out that the older form in the *Rigveda* is "*dharmān*", meaning "that which is firmly established, steadfast; decree, . . . ordinance, law, virtue, morality, religion".<sup>14</sup> The word would thus stand not only for righteousness or duty, but also for the universal ordinance by which the cosmos is governed and sustained.<sup>15</sup> We may suggest that "*dharma*" inherited the element of obligation, from the term *Ṛta* while *Satya* inherited the element of truth. In other words *Ṛta* is "*satya-dharma*". In the Vedic philosophy of *Ṛta*, ontology and ethics are one. As philosophical speculation develops, these two realms receive special treatment. Their common root, however, remains the dominant feature of Indian philosophy. The combination of the two realms is illustrated by numerous examples. "*Satyakriya*" on the basis of the

*dharma* of personal conduct is only one of them. We can therefore characterise "*dharma*" if we translate it as "ontological ethics". Radhakrishnan says,<sup>16</sup> "*Dharma* gives coherence and direction to the different activities of life . . . . It is the complete rule of life, the harmony of the whole man who finds a right and just law of his living. Each man and group, each activity of soul, mind, life, and body, has its *dharma*".

The connotation "benefits from sacrifice" which we have mentioned above remains always implicit in the term "*dharma*", and it is the view of life as an offering, which became more and more important in Indian philosophy after Vedic times, that really brings "*dharma*" into prominence. The term *Yajna*—offering, sacrifice (as in *Bhūdan-yajna* of Vinoba Bhave) assumes importance. To conduct one's life as a proper *yajna* to God, that is "swadharma", one's own "*dharma*". This sacramental view of life is typical of ontological ethics. The ontological character of this ethic becomes particularly evident, when the principle of *dharma* is applied to society or humanity. Since *dharma* is transindividual, no social contract is necessary: harmony is attained when everyone follows his own *dharma*. The individual "swadharma" cannot be in conflict unless *dharma* as a whole disintegrates. Consequently *dharma* will be at its best when it is in accord with *satya*, i.e., when ontological ethics is combined with ethical ontology. The Golden Age in India has, therefore, the name "*Satyayuga*"—the Age of Truth.

Tilak expresses this in the following way:<sup>17</sup> " . . . all human beings are held together by *dharma*. . . . Therefore, when this *dharma* ceases to be observed the binding-ropes of society may be said to have become loose." Sri Aurobindo points out that<sup>18</sup> everyone has his *swadharma* and that in an entirely right and sound condition of man, individual and collective—a condition typified by the legendary golden age "*Satyayuga*", the Age of Truth—there is no need of political government, or state or

12. Luders, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 507.

13. S. Dasgupta, *Indian Idealism* (Cambridge University, 1931), p. 2.

14. Sir Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1891), p. 510.

15. Henrich Zimmer, *Philosophy of India* (New York, Meridian Books, 1956), p. 163.

16. S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought* (London, Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 353.

17. B. G. Tilak, *Gita Rahasya*, Vol. I (Bombay, Tilak Brothers, 1925), pp. 90-91.

18. Sri Aurobindo, *The Spirit and Message of Indian Culture*, (Pondicherry, 1946)

6. Luders, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 40.

7. Luders, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 31ff. (Vol. 1.) "*Satyam mahānirakṣasva varuṇety abhiṣāpya kam / nā bhidaghnodakasthasya grhitvoru jalam viset/samākṣam imsum muktam anayed yo javi narah/gate tasmin nimagnangam pasyeccheit shuddhim āpnuyāt.*" (Quoted from *Yajñavalkya-smṛiti* II, 106f). Translation: Him, who takes the oath 'O Varuna, protect me by the truth! enter him in water. . . .

8. *Ibid.*, p. 9. *Ṛta-Satya* and water are mentioned in RV. VII—49—3.

artificial construction of society because all then live freely according to the truth of their enlightened self and God-inhabited being, and, therefore, spontaneously according to the inner divine *dharma*". Accordingly Gandhi asserts in his Autobiography<sup>19</sup> that *dharma* and politics (*rājaprakarna*) cannot be considered in isolation, and he says: "I do not believe that the spiritual law works in a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, the social and political fields".<sup>20</sup> We have now seen how *dharma*, *satya* and *Ita* are related to each other, how they developed in Indian philosophy as the need for differentiation in philosophical speculation became more obvious. We have also seen how Gandhi finds the way back to the Vedic roots of Indian thought by asserting that the search for truth is the *dharma* of Hinduism, that Truth is God, and that God is the essence of the Vow. He has thus restated the divine quality of the "binding truth". From here we have to turn to the problem of right action, the kind of action which is compatible with this system of ontological ethics.

#### Right Action—the Problem of the *Bhagavadgita*

As Albert Schweitzer says:<sup>21</sup> "The *Bhagavadgita* continued what the Buddha began . . . . The supreme inactivity it teaches is when one performs actions as if one did not perform them. . . . . If God himself practises activity in creating and maintaining the Universe, then man also must devote himself to action". This activity—according to the *Bhagavadgita*—must be based on *dharma* with no attachment to the results of action, or any desire for reward. The spirit of detachment advocated is "self-surrender to God". Thus Schweitzer admits: "The charm of the *Bhagavadgita* is due to this idea of spiritualised activity which springs only from the highest motives".<sup>22</sup>

19. M. K. Gandhi, *My Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 10th ed. 1956), p. 453.

20. *Young India*, op. cit., quoted by N. K. Bose.

21. Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought* (Boston, The Beacon Press, 1936), pp. 186-187.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

This spirit of detachment, however, involves some deep problems. Behind it are the Indian ideas of *advaita* (non-duality) and *avidya* (ignorance, viz., false consciousness) in their relation to *karma* (action). As we have mentioned, the early *Upanishads* had arrived at a philosophy of non-dualism by identifying subject and object, man and Godhead. The clarification of this concept posed a problem, since it became necessary to explain why duality and diversity are perceived. This is the same problem that presented itself to Western philosophy under the heading "the One and the Many", but with the difference that Western philosophy had to look for unifying factors of the perceived diversity; while Indian philosophy had to look for diversifying factors which might explain the manifold appearance of the One (*Brahman-Sat-Atman*). *Avidya*—false consciousness—was postulated as the source of the manifoldness of perception. All appearance is only an epiphenomenon. But what is the cause of *avidya*? What falsifies the consciousness? Karma—action—falsifies the consciousness.

The *Mundaka Upanishad* says this bluntly:<sup>23</sup> Since doers of deeds (*karmin*) do not understand, because of passion (*raga*)

Therefore, when their worlds are exhausted, they sink down wretched . . . . . They re-enter this world, or a lower.

Here we have the whole doctrine in a nutshell: the relation between *karma* and ignorance, the relation between *karma* and passion, the doctrine of rebirth, and the additional manifoldness of a hierarchy of worlds (" . . . this world, or a lower").

This fits well into the general system, since it is easy to reason from the manifoldness of appearance to an ever greater manifoldness beyond appearance (multiplicity of births, multiplicity of worlds), once the direction from the One to the Many (rather than from the Many to the One as in Western philosophy) is accepted.

The statement that there is a lower and a higher world and that action becomes the cause of ignorance because it is accomplished by passion, leads to the conclusion that only dispassionate action—if any action at all—would lead into a higher world, or at the end to the true awareness of identity with the Godhead.

23. R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Upanishads* (London, Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 369.

The *Bhagavadgita* recommends dispassionate action following the lines of "*swadharma*". The *Mundaka Upanishad*, however, recommends the extermination of action:<sup>24</sup>

— Having scrutinised the worlds that are built up by work, a *Brāhman*

Should arrive at indifference. The (world) that was not made is not (won) by what is done.

All later commentators had to face this problem. They had to take a stand for either the one or the other opinion, or they had to re-interpret one position in the light of the other, or *vice versa*. Shankaracharya, as a *Vedanta* Monist has interpreted the dispassionate activism of the *Gita* to fit in with his Monistic essentialism. He accomplishes this by maintaining that the *Gita* presupposes a higher and a lower level of '*Brahman*'. The device of the two levels is of course not without support in the *Gita* itself, since Lord Krishna presents himself the greater part of the time as a human incarnation, but once, on Arjuna's request, reveals his awe-inspiring form as Godhead, which is unbearable to human finitude. The hypostasis of the two respective levels of perfection is, however, Shankara's own contribution to the reading of the *Gita*. From there he can go on to point out that for the man who has overcome '*avidya*' there can be neither "action" nor "non-action". Accordingly the action prescribed in the *Gita*—including the personal God—is only an epiphenomenon; the true, the higher message of the *Gita* is that of renunciation in general, the ideal type toward which it is aimed is the *sannyāsin*, the ascetic.

The interpretation of the *Gita*, however, remained a touchstone for ethical philosophers. And everyone who dealt with the subject after Shankara had to discuss the question of the two levels, and if he advocated action he had to combat the subtleties of Shankara's arguments. Once action is advocated the question of the standards of right action arises. In a spiritual sense action can be right action only if it does not lead the soul into bondage by clouding the spirit with '*avidya*' and chaining him to the wheel of rebirth by the accumulation of *Karma*. Action, therefore, must be not only dispassionate but it must be made a *yajna*, an offering to God. This reflection on right action became of course of great importance in the struggle for national independence. Tilak,

24. R. E. Hume, op. cit., p. 369.

the orthodox nationalist, therefore, wrote a great commentary on the *Gita* while he was in prison. He wrote, "Action alone must be our guiding principle . . . . and self-sacrifice would be necessary for such action". Whatever a man does must be taken to have been done by him for the purpose of sacrifice (*yajna*). In order to prove the authenticity of this idea Tilak quotes the *Gita*: "Actions performed for the purpose of *yajna* do not create bondage".<sup>25</sup> According to Tilak the *Gita* expounds the "science of right action"—*Karmayoga*. Thus Tilak asserts: "Shri Krishna says in the *Gita* that there is nothing in all the three worlds that he need acquire, and still he acts. He acts, because if he does not the world will be ruined. If man seeks unity with the Deity, he must necessarily seek unity with the interests of the world also, and work for it. . . ."<sup>26</sup> Tilak was so unflinching in his emphasis on action that he was not contented to see *Karmayoga* (the science of action) as one possible path to perfection—equal to the paths of devotion or of contemplation—but would demand action in all cases and in all phases.

Tilak emphasized the importance of non-attachment to the results of right action; but Gandhi went deeper into the matter and tried to find the root of non-attachment. He saw that there had to be an attachment to something else in order to arrive at a detachment from the results of actions. This attachment, he found, should be to truth and *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa*, however, means non-violence; and that fact created a new problem of interpretation, since, after all, in the *Gita* Krishna admonishes Arjuna to fight on the battlefield. Gandhi, therefore, accepted (like Tilak) the "*Karmayoga*" of the *Gita*, but on the other hand he refused (like Shankara) to take the text of the *Gita* simply at face value. Thus he says that on a closer study of religion and the *Gita* he discovered that the *Gita* does not refer to any physical warfare, that non-violence rather than violence is the central theme. Thus according to Gandhi Arjuna never discussed war with Krishna, he merely recoiled from killing his own kith and kin. Therefore, Lord Krishna says to Arjuna: "Thou hast already done the killing. Thou canst

25. Tilak, op. cit., pp. 72-73. and 70-71.

26. Ram Gopal, *Lokmanya Tilak*, (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1956), p. 344.



not all at once argue thyself into non-violence. Finish what thou hast already begun".<sup>27</sup> Lord Krishna thus advised Arjuna to follow his *swadharma*—the essential duty of the warrior (*kshatriya*). Non-violent Krishna could give Arjuna no other advice. "But to say that the *Gita* teaches or justifies war . . . is as wrong as to say that *himsa*, (violence, killing) is the law of life," says Gandhi.<sup>28</sup> And then he transposes the teaching of the *Gita* to a higher level and points out: "The field of battle is our own body. An eternal battle is going on between the two camps (of higher and lower impulses). Krishna is the Dweller within, ever whispering in a pure heart."<sup>29</sup> In this context Gandhi also notes 'Abhaya'—freedom from fear—which the *Gita* teaches. He says, "He who fears, who saves his skin . . . must fight the physical battle, whether he will or not, but that is not his *dharma* . . . *Himsa*—violence will go on eternally in this strange world. The *Gita* shows a way out of it. But it also shows that the escape out of cowardice and despair is not the way. Better far than cowardice is killing and being killed".<sup>30</sup>

Gandhi boldly declared that the *Gita* tries primarily to prove the futility of physical warfare, and that it shows an excellent way for man to become "like unto God" through renunciation of the fruits of action. He thinks that the *Gita* pronounces this in a definitive language: "By desireless action, by renouncing the fruits of action, by dedicating all activities to God, i.e., by surrendering oneself to Him body and soul, man can make his body the temple of God".<sup>31</sup> In keeping with this declaration, Gandhi once said that if only the first verse of the *Isha Upanishad* were left intact in the memory of Hindus, Hinduism would live for ever, and he translates this verse thus: "All that we see in this great universe is pervaded by God. Renounce it and enjoy it or enjoy whatever He gives you, do not covet anybody's wealth or possessions".<sup>32</sup> He tries to read this verse in the light of the *Gita* and finds the *Gita* to be a commentary on the contents of this verse. According to Gandhi, the act of renunciation which is

stressed here is not merely a physical act but "represents a second or new birth. It is a deliberate act—not done in ignorance. It is therefore a regeneration . . . . Do not covet anybody's possessions. The moment you carry out these precepts you become a wise citizen of the world living at peace with all that lives".<sup>33</sup>

#### Freedom from Bondage by Restraint

Two major foundations of detachment, as emphasized by Gandhi, have been mentioned above: truth and *ahimsa*. The concept of truth has been described earlier, and we know that since truth contains the highest being (*Sat-Brahman*) it follows that attachment to truth can be considered as complete freedom, perfect detachment. Being bound by truth means freedom from all other bondage.

*Ahimsa* was mentioned as another foundation of detachment. With this term Gandhi draws on the Buddhist and Jainist tradition. Lord Buddha says: "Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred—hatred ceases by love . . . let a man overcome anger by kindness, evil by good".<sup>34</sup> And the highest sacrifice according to Buddha, is "love of humanity and mortal life".<sup>35</sup> Similarly Lord Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, declares: "*Ahimsa*—non-violence, non-killing—is the first principle in the *dharma* of the saint and sage, the first step to the self-mastering by which the great *vogis* lift themselves out of the range of normal human action".<sup>36</sup>

Gandhi adopts the well-known Buddhist formula "*Ahimsa Parmo Dharma*" (non-violence is the highest duty) as his own. He gives a more universal meaning to *Ahimsa* and points out that *Ahimsa* "may entail continuous suffering and the cultivating of endless patience". Any evil thought, undue haste, hatred and wishing ill to anybody—not killing alone—have to be avoided by the votary of *Ahimsa*. Finally he widens the meaning of *Ahimsa* to the general meaning of love, and he tried to incorporate the essence of the Sermon on the Mount into *Ahimsa* as well.

Truth and non-violence, however, have to be achieved by discipline of mind and body. This

discipline is described as "*sannyasa*"—the equanimity of mind and soul (As Sainni—literally "renunciation" in which the state of mind is completely at rest.)<sup>37</sup> This state implies restraint as a most important foundation of detachment, and leads us to the core of "*yoga*". As far back as the *Vedas* it is mentioned that one can obtain supernatural powers through the practice of austerities, and in this connection the word *Tapas* appears to have been used in place of *sannyas*.<sup>38</sup> The mystic way of knowing Brahman—Truth-God, as described in the *Kena Upanishad*, is thus: "Austerity (*tapas*), restraint (*dama*), and work (*karman*) are the foundation of it (viz., the mystic doctrine). The *Vedas* are its limbs, Truth is its abode".<sup>39</sup> The *Upanishads* thus speak of *Tapas* as capable of producing great inner strength; it is this inner strength that Gandhi stresses. Fasting and observing celibacy and other aspects of bodily discipline are only the outward means to the attaining of this strength. In this way he refers to the ethical preparation (*yama* and *niyama*), which he also terms the "eternal guides of conduct" as the essentials for the realisation of truth. He enumerates: (1) *ahimsa*, (2) *satya* (here verifiable truth), (3) *asteya* (non-stealing), (4) *aparigraha* (non-possession), (5) *brahmacharya* (celibacy—originally the first stage of life, that of a student). These he calls the "five restraints".<sup>40</sup> It is clear that these controls are set up voluntarily—we might almost say, in the same way as a scientist sets up his controls for an experiment. Unfortunately this part of Gandhi's teaching has been misinterpreted, even by sympathetic writers. Thus Frank Moraes sees in it "a repressive attitude which saw life as a series of taboos".<sup>41</sup> But as we have seen in the preceding pages it is freedom from bondage not repression, conscious self-control not "taboo", that is the aim of Gandhi's

life and thought. Only if we keep this in mind can we understand his "*satyagraha*"—his summary of all that we have tried to discuss up to this point.

#### "Holding fast to Truth": *Satyagraha*

*Satyagraha* emphasized not only *satya* but also the means of holding on to it; and in these means Gandhi again drew on the entire Indian tradition, from the oath or vow (*vrata*) of the *Vedas* to the *tapas-sannyasa* of *Vedanta*, from the detached action of the *Gita* to the *Ahimsa* of Buddha and Mahavira.

The vow is of importance in the *Vedas*; the *Rigveda* calls a pious and devoted man "*Anuvrata*".<sup>42</sup> In Gandhi's *Satyagraha* the vow is the starting point; it constitutes a "bulwark of strength", as he says. And he insists on purificatory vows such as fasting and celibacy which demand self-control, since voluntary discipline and restraint are the essential prerequisites of *Satyagraha*. Gandhi resorted to the vow of fasting whenever he felt a need for self-purification, and he called such a fast *Tapas* (austerity). His fasts on behalf of the Harijans were intended to purify the hearts of the higher castes from the evil of Untouchability. He had "faith that it must lead to the purification of (him)self and others and that workers (his co-operators) would know that true Harijan-service was impossible without inward purity".<sup>43</sup>

In short, *Satyagraha* itself assumes the character of a vow. And it also assumes the character of *ahimsa*, since non-violence was another prerequisite; it commanded action, since the "*karmayoga*" as recommended by the *Bhagavadgita* was also a prerequisite. The Mahatma sums up these prerequisites by saying that the *Satyagraha*-leader must be a "man of God who will compel reverence and love even of the opponent by the purity of his life, the utter selflessness of his mission and the breadth of his outlook".<sup>44</sup>

37. Bohtlingk-Roth, "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch," Vol. VII, (Kaiserl. Akad. St. Petersburg, 1855-75), p. 654.

38. S. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-10. And also Luders, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 644ff. Luders points out that in RV. X—190-1 *Rta* and *satya* are said to be born out of *tapas*.

39. Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

40. M. K. Gandhi, *Hindu Dharma*, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-292.

41. Frank Moraes, "Gandhi ten years after", *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1958, pp. 257-258.

42. W. N. Brown, "The Basis for the Hindu Act of Truth", *The Review of Religion*, Vol. V, Nov.-May, 1940-1941. Columbia University, p. 41.

43. Gandhi, *Hindu Dharma*, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

44. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*, (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1951), p. 203.

27. M. K. Gandhi, *Hindu Dharma*, (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1950), p. 155.

28. *Ibid.* p. 155.

29. *Ibid.* p. 156.

30. *Ibid.* p. 156.

31. *Ibid.* p. 160.

32. Gandhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

34. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923), Vol. I, p. 475.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 692.

36. Heinrich Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

This character of *Satyagraha* implies certain lines of procedure, and thus Gandhi demands of the *Satyagrahi*: "All his actions must be transparent through and through. Diplomacy and intrigue can have no place in his armoury".<sup>45</sup> Consequently *Satyagraha* cannot be conducted secretly: the *Satyagrahi's* intentions have to be clearly stated and publicly announced. The *Satyagraha*-campaign can also become a mass movement only to the extent to which every participant is willing to comply with the prerequisites which have been mentioned above.

With this short survey we hope that we have shown how Gandhi and his programme were an integral part of the Indian tradition, and how *Vedic and Vedantic* truth, detached action, non-

violence, restraint and self-control are interrelated in this tradition, and in the Mahatma's life-work. We can now perhaps understand better why Nehru considers Gandhi to be the "link between all the past and all the future revolutions of India":<sup>46</sup> it was because Gandhi intuitively grasped the "existential" content of the *Vedas* as well as the later achievements of Hindu thought and pitted them against the petrified social customs of contemporary Hinduism. We may say that he could do this because he derived his insight into the Hindu tradition not from the study of numerous commentaries but rather from the living folk tradition; this was his source of inspiration and at the same time the basis of his intimate communication with the common people.

46. Tibor Monde, *Nehru: Conversations on India and World Affairs*, (New York, Braziller, 1956).

45. M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*, op. cit., p. 203.

—O—

## BORIS PASTERNAK

By ANNADA SANKAR RAY

There was a time when the name Pasternak was understood to mean the famous artist Leonid Pasternak. He was a professor at the Moscow Art College and a close associate of Tolstoy. It was Leonid Pasternak who drew the pictures for "Resurrection." His wife, Rosa Kaufman, was a well-known pianist before her marriage. Tolstoy brought his daughters to her flat to hear her play.

The eldest son of this artistic couple, Boris Pasternak, was brought up in the atmosphere of music and art. He filled his eyes with pictures. He filled his ears with melody. He sat at the feet of the gifted and great. Tolstoy was a presence in his home from the start. For twenty years he lived and breathed in an atmosphere permeated by that great man. Once a young foreigner came to visit him. Boris Pasternak was ten years old at the time. He was returning to Moscow with his family. The young foreigner and a lady travelled by the same train. The train stopped between stations to allow

them to get off. A carriage and pair had come from Tolstoy's residence to receive them. They got into it and drove away. The boy Boris did not know the name of the foreigner at the time nor the name of his companion. He did not know he was a poet. Ten years later a book dropped out of a book-case he was tidying and fell to the floor. He picked it up and began to read. Rilke's poems. The poet had presented the book to Leonid Pasternak. Another of Rilke's books came in the mail not long after. This one also was a present. Who was Rilke? His father said he was the young foreigner who had travelled with them.

The internationally famous Russian composer Scriabin took a *dacha* in the country near the Pasternak's. His music moved young Boris to the point of deciding to become a composer himself when he grew up. Like Ekalavya, unknown to the master Dróna, he devoted himself to the study of music. Any other mother and father would have placed obstacles in the way of their

son. But Boris's parents were of a different kind. They did not object to their son earning his livelihood by music. He met Scriabin again after he had spent six years in intense study. Scriabin made no comment at all when one of Boris's compositions was performed for him. He merely advised him to study philosophy at the University of Moscow instead of law. Boris received his first shock when, at the age of nineteen, he realised he had no future in music. Then where was his future? In law? No. In philosophy? who could say?

Self-confidence, once destroyed, is not easily restored. If fate had not helped Pasternak he might not have found a way out. When one bank of a river is washed away the other is built up. He used to frequent the gatherings of a group of young men who welcomed him not because he was a poet but because he understood music and art. Poets were among them. He made their acquaintance. When he discovered Rilke's poetry he read it out to them. Rilke's poetry was the gift of God in his time of crisis. Two more years passed. One day his mother put two hundred roubles into his hand and said, "I have saved this money over a long period of time and with a great deal of privation. Take it and go abroad." The gift was a surprise. The chief centre of neo-Kantian philosophy at the time was the University of Marburg in Germany and Boris had wanted to study under Hermann Cohen there for a long time. But he lacked the means. No money. With the money his mother gave him he decided to spend the summer vacation at Marburg. The University is open in the summer. German Universities follow a different schedule.

He was progressing nicely at Marburg. He liked Cohen very much. But a strange and unanticipated thing happened. In Moscow he had been tutor to a young lady of wealthy family. The young lady and her younger sister passed through Marburg while travelling in Europe. They were unchaperoned. This was his chance to test his old flame. Pasternak plucked up his courage and proposed. His sweetheart, as

politely as possible, told him he had no hope. The world was a different place for Pasternak from the very next day. It was his second blow. At the age of nineteen he had lost music. At twenty-two he lost love. But poetry came, by unknown ways. Pasternak found himself writing poem after poem. Goodbye Marburg! Goodbye philosophy! Very little was left in his pocket. He managed to see Venice and Florence. Then he returned to Russia and graduated from the Moscow University in 1913. In the same year he dedicated himself to poetry.

The First World War started a year later. His lame leg proved a blessing in disguise. He had fallen off a horse and broken his leg at the time Scriabin was their neighbour. When his leg healed he found it shorter than the other. Such a man was not eligible for military service. His friends of the same age all left for the army. His poet friends too. He was a member of a branch of the Futurists called Centrifuge. And he had already made the acquaintance of Mayakovsky and become his friend. Mayakovsky belonged to another group. In those days differences were accentuated to the exclusion of similarities and it was the custom for one group to invite another and rail wittily at it. There was a movement called the Imagists. They were really rowdy. Esenin was their best poet. Mayakovsky was the star of the extreme Futurists. Pasternak's group was moderate. He was, compared with the others, less advanced for he had begun to write poetry later.

When the February Revolution took place Pasternak was very far from Moscow, working as a clerk in a munitions factory at the foot of the Ural mountains. The closest post office was a hundred and seventy miles away. When the news came he set out in a troika for Kazan. From Kazan he travelled by rail to Moscow. His book, "My Sister, Life," was written that year. It was not published until five years later. Pasternak took his place beside Mayakovsky and Esenin on the post-Revolutionary heights the day it appeared. Blok was dead. The days of the Symbolist poets

were gone. Gumiliov, the leader of Acmeism, had been killed. His wife, Akmatova, was alive but their movement had lost its influence. Only the Futurists and Imagists were prominent. They accepted the Revolution. But Pasternak did not become the voice of the Revolution as Mayakovsky and Ecenin did. Never, at any time in his life, did Pasternak take part in politics. He did not concern himself with it at all. In 1905 he was fifteen years old and from then on he knew that a revolution was inevitable. One of his books is written around the events of this year. War and revolution are to the life of man what storm and flood are to the life of nature. This was Pasternak's philosophy of life.

If Pasternak had been opposed to the Revolution he would not have stayed in Russia for he might have lost his life if he had. One by one his relatives and friends left Russia. His parents left in 1921. Pasternak had to work as a salesman in a writers' bookshop. The following year he became famous as soon as his book, "My Sister, Life" was published. He married and took his wife to Berlin to meet his parents. They stayed in Berlin a year and it was there that his son was born. His second book, "Themes and Variations", was published in Berlin and Moscow simultaneously. Pasternak could have stayed of in Germany if he wished. He spoke German almost as well as Russian. He was under no obligation to return to Russia. He had no property there, no job, no house. Why then did he go back when everyone who could was leaving? The answer is that he composed poetry in the Russian language, the language not of books but of the people, the language fresh on their lips. He was a magician with the spoken language heightened into literature. And he was spiritually akin to the common people of Russia. Although he was not a Tolstoyan he had been brought up under the influence of Tolstoy. His place was with the common people. And he also liked to experience the tug and pull of historical events. He was a Russian fish in the stream of Russian history. To live abroad was for him to be a fish out of water. Lenin was still alive. Though Lenin

was a Russian moujik to the bone he was also a European intellectual as Marx himself was. He did not want Russian thinkers to be cut off from the main stream of European thought because a revolution had taken place in their country. During his long residence incognito in the different countries of Europe Lenin had felt and become familiar with the greatness of this thought. He himself thought, argued and wrote with complete freedom. No one denied his freedom as an individual. He had become a Marxist of his own accord, as a free man. He hoped and believed others would also become Marxists in the same way. He did not want to force the creed upon anyone. Of course it would have been easy for him to subject the intellectuals of Russia to various pressures but the intellectuals of Western Europe would have been alienated if the first peasant and workers' state in the world set such a bad example. Revolution, in that case, would not spread; it would be limited to Russia. If the spread of revolution were checked it would not be safe even in Russia. It was imperative that revolutions occur in Western Europe. The intellectuals of the European countries should be drawn in and the surest way to attract them was to establish the individual freedom of Russian intellectuals.

Gorky was Lenin's adviser in literary matters. He also, like Lenin, believed in individual freedom and association with the West. Therefore all the miscellaneous 'isms' of Russian writers and their various groups remained the same after the Revolution as before. Those opposed to the Revolution left of their own accord. Those who remained or came back were all free writers sympathetic to the revolution, even if they were not themselves revolutionaries. Lenin and Gorky acknowledged them. Pasternak was able to write in his own way. He wrote much even after Lenin's death: poetry, narrative verse, short stories, an autobiography in prose. He refused to be like anyone else and his difference gave him distinction. It even became popular. Gradually the temper of the country changed. First Ecenin committed suicide in 1925. In 1930 Mayakovsky did the same.

In 1932 Pasternak withdrew of his own accord. The vow of silence he took at that time was broken briefly when the country was attacked during the Second World War. He resumed his silence when, after the War, he observed the attitude the victors took towards cosmopolitanism. Those who had been his friends before the War became his enemies. An Iron Curtain was drawn to keep the West out. European culture also. They insisted upon no less. The Slavophiles had advanced the same claims in Czarist Russia. There had always been a body of opinion in favour of participation in the main stream of European thought and culture and there had always been a body of opinion devoted to the soil of the country with a patriotic fervour that inculcated hatred for the West.

It should be said that although Pasternak stopped all original creative writing his pen was not altogether idle. He translated the work of others, the poems and plays of Goethe, of Shakespeare, the poetry of Shelley and of his Georgian friends. He maintained his connection with European culture as a whole in this way. He had not become a fish out of water by running away from his country and he did not become a frog in a well because he remained in it. He was not therefore any less a Russian. His roots were in his native soil.

There is much to be said from Stalin's point of view. Lenin, Trotsky and their associates believed that revolution would spread to other European countries and that the Russian Revolution would thereby become established and secure. But there were no signs of a revolution taking place anywhere else even after a wait of eight or ten years. How then could Stalin be sure of the Russian Revolution? How far could Russia go alone? Enemies surrounded her. A big change in the Kremlin took place. The results were far-reaching. Everything and everybody was mobilised. No sphere of life, no part of society, was exempt, neither poets nor poetry. Did anyone think he would be excused just because he had accepted the Revolution? Stalin was not to be taken in. If a man

knew how to write he must write about factories, about machinery, about mines, about big industry. Whether he liked it or not. Whether he understood or not. He might be a poet of the heart, a poet of visual experience or a poet of aural experience. He might be one who refused to cultivate the mind lest it spoil his poetry. All objections, whatever they were, went unheeded. He had to learn Marxist dialectic, at least some slogans and catch-phrases. Did he hope to be let off? No. If one were exempted others would claim the same privilege. Everybody would have to be exempted. Whoever a man might be, however great, he was not given any consideration.

Gorky was still alive in 1936. But towards the end he was helpless and unhappy. The steam-roller had crushed him. The turn of others came later. One by one the literary groups were broken up. All 'isms' were replaced by a single one—Communism. Groups and sub-groups were all absorbed into one single organisation, the Russian Proletarian Writers' Association. Later it became the Writers' Union. This Union, off-stage, bossed over the writers. Its wishes were obeyed. But Stalin was really a kind man. Even though Pasternak had forgotten to write he was made a member of a delegation and sent to Paris to the Anti-Fascist Writers' Congress. He was given a dacha to live in at a writers' colony not far from Moscow. But Pasternak was as inflexible as he was stubborn. When he was asked to sign a declaration approving the death sentence passed on Marshal Tukhachevsky and others he refused. At that time, that is, in 1937, Gorky was no longer there to protect him. In that year and the year following many people were liquidated. Not a few writers were among them. Pasternak's friends too. Many committed suicide or disappeared.

Where physical existence is precarious spiritual survival is even more difficult. Pasternak survived both in body and spirit. He also took a young dramatist named Afanogenov under his wing. Would this have been possible if Stalin had not been merciful? But the person to whom he showed

mercy was a satyagrahi. And not only a satyagrahi. His greatness as a poet is attested by Prince Mirsky in the Fourteenth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Mirsky writes:

"Boris Pasternak (b. 1890), unquestionably the greatest living Russian poet (principal book of lyrics, *My Sister, Life*, written in 1917, published 1922) is externally connected with some aspects of Futurism, but in substance he is nearer to the traditions of Tyutchev and Fet. His poetry is marked by an absolute freshness of perception and diction combined with a tensivity of lyrical emotion that is to (sic) found only in the greatest. His prose (*Tales*, 1925) is also of the highest order, and being concerned with the realities of the soul stands apart from that of his contemporaries." (*Russian Language and Literature, Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 19, p. 757).

Mayakovsky was still alive when Prince Mirsky wrote these words. He did not give him either the first or the second place. The second place is given to Marina Tsvetayeva.

Revolutionary critical circles did not acknowledge Pasternak's rank. What could they do with poetry that was patently of no use in the struggle to reform the state and society, the futurism of which was confined to literature? It was true that Pasternak did not write poetry with an eye to the needs of the state or society. He was concerned with truth, with the individual, with beauty, with passion, with statement, with the meaning of statement, with life and what is relevant to life. His sense of history was keen. He did not want to ignore history. But what could he do with poetry that deviated from the objective of poetry? In this matter he had grave differences with the rulers of his country, with the critics, and with the vocal section of the people. After suffering for a year or more from insomnia Pasternak, in 1935, began to show signs of mental disturbance. How many of his associates committed suicide, disappeared, were executed or exiled! Marina Tsvetayeva, the brilliant poetess, lived a rootless existence abroad from 1922 to 1939. No sooner did she return in the

hope of re-establishing contact with the soil of her country than the poor woman's husband was arrested and shot for anti-revolutionary activities in the past. Her son was sent to the battlefield and died there. Her daughter was arrested and dispatched to an unknown destination. Marina herself was commanded to reside in a small country town where she could not obtain employment even as a charwoman. In 1941, she bade her country a final farewell and hanged herself.

Were those so lost, who were defeated, who were silenced, who broke down, who, though they survived physically, were dead souls, never to be heard? Who was to speak for them? Who had enough courage? Who was to give voice to the voiceless? Pasternak. No one else was there. Must he therefore break his self-imposed silence? Pasternak took time. The whole of the decade of the forties passed. He was in no hurry to begin *Dr. Zhivago*. He was a poet. The novel was not his medium.

Yet there was no peace for him until he wrote it. He was suffering intolerably. He had to pour into literary form all that had accumulated in his heart during the past twenty years, to empty himself. The appropriate form was the novel. Only so could he find release from his pain. Stalin was still alive. Who knew how long he would live? There was no hope of publication. Still the book had to be written. The writing itself was publication. Stalin died during the course of its composition. His death was followed by a 'thaw' in the literary world. A novel by a new writer, Dudintsev, was published within a year or two, *Not By Bread Alone*. Would not *Dr. Zhivago*, by a writer of Pasternak's standing, also be published? The MS. was sent to a journal, *Novy Mir*. To publish it in book form would be easier after it had appeared in a magazine. The time was 1956.

*Novy Mir* returned the MS. for alteration. The editors objected to certain passages. They explained their objections. They showed no disrespect to Pasternak. They did not intend to reject the MS. outright. They published Pasternak's poetry after

this incident. If there had been any ill-will this would not have been possible. And truly the writer of *Dr. Zhivago* had kept nothing back, he had not glossed over anything nor made any effort to please. The writing of the book would have brought him no release from pain and no peace of mind if he had done so. How long could he keep the truth about life concealed? He was sixty-six. How much longer did he have to live that he should risk keeping the book hidden in his heart? Pasternak had always been plain-spoken. Here is an example:

"In time to come, I tell them, we'll be equal to any living now. If cripples, then no matter: we shall just have been run over by 'New Man' in the wagon of his 'Plan.'"

And when from death the tablet doesn't save us then time will hurry on more freely still to that far point, where 'Five-Year Plan' the second prolongs the dissertations of the soul. Don't kill yourselves, don't grieve. I'll still be with you that day; by all my weaknesses I swear. And the strong men are promised their survival From the worst plagues that have subdued us here."

—(Second Birth, translated by J. M. Cohen).

*Dr. Zhivago* is written about a weak man. But the man who wrote it was a man of great strength. In soul, in heart and in body, he survived a massacre. Nothing had been able to weaken him or defeat him. He had not lost hope. He had not become embittered.

If the international situation had not changed suddenly and the 'thaw' brought to an abrupt end *Dr. Zhivago* might have been published in Russia first. Pasternak was not skilled in international affairs. He had already consented to the publication of an Italian edition. Why should the Italian publisher forego his rights? He ignored the

ban imposed by Russian authorities and the book appeared. Pasternak's heart was immediately laid bare to Europe, to America, Asia, Africa, Australia. His own country was the only exception. The same thing happened once to Tolstoy also. One of his books could not be published in the Russia of the Czars. It was printed in Paris, in French. The Czar did not dare to lay hands upon his person. In revolutionary Russia also a similar incident had taken place. The publication of Pilnyak's *Mahogany* was banned. It was printed in Berlin. Pilnyak was expelled from the Writers' Union. Eight years later, in the purge of 1937, he disappeared. It is rumoured that he was shot.

Pasternak's plight became desperate when *Dr. Zhivago* was published abroad. The people of his own country were alienated and people in foreign lands began to dance him about on their heads as if he were a saint born into a family of demons. The sight might well have driven him to pray, "God, save me from my friends!"

The motive behind the exaggerated adulation of his admirers was not to honour Pasternak so much as to decry Soviet Russia. Pasternak's rejected novel became a stick in the hands of the anti-Russian propagandists. As if no novel by anybody in any country has ever been rejected by a periodical before! Mahatma Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj* and Rabindranath Tagore's *Letters from Russia* (English edition) were both at one time banned. We need not mention the banning of *Ulysses* by James Joyce and of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* by D. H. Lawrence. An amusing fact is that Forster's *A Passage to India* was not allowed into India at first. The reprinting of most of Dostoevsky's books was suspended in Soviet Russia itself. Only recently has the attitude to him changed. Sholokov's novel *And Quiet Flows the Don*, published in 1929, was expurgated some time after its appearance. Strange statements were made during the farrago over Pasternak's novel. It was claimed that the book was in the tradition of Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and belonged to the same category. Strangest of all, Pasternak was spoken of and came to be



regarded as an opponent of the Revolution. If that were so why had he not left the country like Bunin and Tsvetayeva? It was during the days of the Revolution that he discovered himself as a poet. His life would have been most uneventful if the Revolution had not taken place. Would he have found his vision? That does not mean that he was either a revolutionary or an advocate of revolution. He was an individualist. Because he was an individualist he could not consent to write to order. The conflict was not a political one. His countrymen also misunderstood him. He was called a traitor. That in itself would not have harmed him for he was too well-known a Brahmin of his country to be adversely affected. But those who, up to that time, had not regarded him as worthy of the Nobel Prize and who had awarded that prize to many lesser writers, suddenly remembered him. What happened is what happens when butter is added to a fire. Pasternak was expelled from the Writers' Union as a matter of course. He was told, "Go and take your prize. You need not return." To the Soviet Union.

A writer writes a book to give expression to an inner truth, not to win a prize. There is no objection to the acceptance of a prize which is given without any ulterior motive. The Nobel Prize was awarded to Pasternak at a time and in circumstances that for him to accept it would mean that he had been rewarded for betraying his country with two hundred thousand pieces of silver. His enemies would most certainly have made the allegation and perhaps these new friends of his would also have done so. They knew nothing about his antecedent achievement, extraordinary as it was, or they would have proposed his name for the Nobel Prize years earlier. In that case Russia as well as Pasternak would have been honoured. But to confer an honour on the novelist Pasternak overnight for the picture of darkness and light he draws in this book was to reward him for showing the shadow that had fallen across the face of Russia. The honour bestowed upon Pasternak was therefore not Russia's. To reward him in such a manner was to censure Russia.

Pasternak had grown wise through the practice of silence. In the words of Sholokov, he was a 'hermit crab.' He had consistently shunned fame, public acclaim and prizes. When his book of poems was running into edition after edition and passing from hand to hand Stalin issued a statement acclaiming Mayakovsky as the greatest poet of the post-Revolutionary era. Pasternak wrote Stalin a personal letter of thanks. Why? Let me quote a passage from an essay which gives the answer:

"... for it protected me from the inflation of my role; this began about the time of the Writers' Congress in the middle thirties. I am satisfied with my life and fond of it. I like it as it is, without any extra gold leaf. Nothing is further from my mind than a life stripped of privacy and anonymity and displayed in the glass glitter of a showcase."—(An Essay in Autobiography, translated by Manya Harari, Collins and Harvill, p. 119).

This essay was written after he had finished *Dr. Zhivago*, as the preface to a new edition of his poems. Did he know then that his novel would be published in a foreign country and bring him the Nobel Prize and with it a great deal of 'extra gold leaf'? He defended or tried to defend the privacy and anonymity of his life by rejecting the dubious benefit.

In the same essay he says that all the poetry he had so far written was a preparation for and culminated in *Dr. Zhivago*. Many are of the opinion that the hero of the novel is Pasternak himself. This is incorrect. As much of his own life as he cared to show is told in the essay mentioned above and in *Safe Conduct*, an autobiographical study written much earlier. The truth portrayed in this novel is not the truth about himself but truth about life. It is also a kind of *My Sister, Life* in an extended, final, well-concluded and refined form.

"My sister, life's in flood today, she's broken her waves over us all in the spring rain, but people with cheap watchchains go on grumbling and, like snakes in the grass, politely sting."

## BORIS PASTERNAK

The older folk, of course, have got their reasons, but really your reason's quite absurd, for in the thunder eyes and lawns are lilac and the horizon smells of reseda.

For when it's May, and in the railway carriage you read timetables on a local track, they are far grander than the holy scriptures or coachseats that the dust and storms made black. . . ."

(*My Sister, Life*, tr. J. M. Cohen, Pasternak Prose and Poems, Benn p. 260).

In the poems written not long after the February Revolution flood and revolution are accepted without assigning any reason. Storm and lightning is intermingled with fragrance and beauty. The Time-Table of travel is exalted above the scriptures. Pasternak was not a preacher or a propagandist; he was a poet. His pen sang and drew at the same time. What he says is oblique and symbolic. Let me quote what he has to say about his methods of composing poetry:

"... my concern has always been for meaning, and my dream that every poem should have content in itself—a new thought or a new image. And that the whole of it with all its individual character should be engraved so deeply into the book that it should speak from it with all the silence and all the colours of its colourless black print. ... I was concerned neither with myself nor with my readers nor with the theory of art. All I cared about was that one poem should contain the town of Venice, and the other the Brest . . . railway station." (An Essay in Autobiography, *ibid*, p. 81).

Pasternak preserved his own dharma with the greatest care. He kept his eyes fixed upon nature, upon history and upon his own role through revolution and famine, planned industrialisation and collectivisation, world war and cold war. He never thought of exiling himself even in the days of greatest sorrow. Was he to leave his country for a reward, for acclaim?

Was he to abandon for the sake of a prize the weak, the defeated, the helpless people whom he had never abandoned in any circumstances? There were many who derived moral strength from his moral strength. Was he to let them down? Pasternak could not do it. He refused to accept the Nobel Prize. Was that rude? No. It was self-denial, the self-denial which had become a part of his nature.

Pasternak's life is scoured with self-denial. He gave up music. He gave up philosophy. He gave up a means of livelihood which suited him when he was very young. About a year after he made the acquaintance of Mayakovsky and devoted himself to poetry he began to feel that he lacked the poetic gifts of the latter. He thought of giving up literature. He became obsessed with the idea that he had to give up something, that unless he did there was no hope for him. The passage given below is taken from *Safe Conduct*:

"But a whole conception of life lay concealed under the Romantic manner which I was to deny myself from henceforth. This was the conception of life as the life of the poet. It had come down to us from the Symbolists and had been adapted by them from the Romantics, principally the Germans. This conception had influenced Blok but only for a short period. It was incapable of satisfying him in the form in which it came naturally to him. He could either heighten it or abandon it altogether. He abandoned the conception. Mayakovsky and Esenin heightened it. In the poet who imagines himself the measure of life and pays for this with his life, the Romantic conception manifests itself brilliantly and irrefutably in his symbolism, that is in everything which touches upon Orphism and Christianity imaginatively. In this sense something inscrutable was incarnate both in the life of Mayakovsky and in the fate of Esenin, which defies all epithets, demanding self-destruction and passing into myth. . . . When *My Sister, Life* appeared, and was found to contain expressions not in the least contemporary as regards poetry, which were revealed to me during the summer of

the revolution, I became entirely indifferent as to the identity of the power which had brought the book into being because it was immeasurably greater than myself and than the poetical conceptions surrounding me." (*Safe Conduct*, tr. by Beatrice Scott, Pasternak Prose and Poems. Benn. p. 110)

It is now apparent that Pasternak's fate was different from the fate either of Mayakovsky or of Esenin because he did not choose to go the way they went. What is called self-denial is a kind of choice, the choice of a destiny. Through the things he denied himself Pasternak fashioned his own fate. The refusal of the Nobel Prize was also a fateful choice.

No one can safely pass through storm and revolution without unusual power of self-denial and wisdom. For mere physical survival elaborate preparation is not necessary. If a man compromises, if he submits to commands and talks like a parrot, he will continue to reside safely in his body's cage. But the soul dies. In Pasternak the soul of Russia lives.

Since the Revolution it has seemed to me that the whole of Russia was singing in unison, a single tone in hundreds of throats, without a second note. I thought Tolstoy's stream was lost in desert sand both in the life and literature of the country. Pasternak's writing corrected me. I shall not go so far as to say that he was exactly in the Tolstoyan tradition. There is no reason why the poet Pasternak should be influenced by the novelist Tolstoy. Mirsky has mentioned the influence of two 19th century poets, Tyutchev and Fet. Others speak of Rilke. Both are right. Tolstoy undoubtedly influenced Pasternak as a man and probably influenced him as a teller of tales but not as a poet. The man Pasternak was the direct descendant of the man Tolstoy. In the ascertainment of truth, in the telling of truth, in true living, in living by the truth, Pasternak had Tolstoy's interest and keenness. Therefore he considered no sacrifice too great. How great a sacrifice was his vow of silence! How painful!

Pasternak said to Padmakanta Tripathy, "Perhaps you do not know that my poetry was in the syllabus of the Moscow Univer-

sity in 1933. Professors of Russian language and literature considered me a great poet at that time and construed a single poem in at least four different ways. But suddenly the same professors announced that I had moved too far away from the common people, that I was an egocentric, that I was a symbolist. The influence of bourgeois culture, it seemed, was still strong in me. A certain journal wrote that the poetry I composed was intelligible only to myself. And after that . . ."

"After that . . ."

"After that I no more remained a poet not only that, I never existed as a poet."

"What did you do then?"

"Nothing. I stopped writing. I ceased to be a writer. The Writers' Union gave me a very important assignment. To write about the oil workers at Baku. I could not do it. Why not? Baku was known to me and I also knew something about the workers there but I had forgotten how to write. I told them I had lost my ability to write. The Writers' Union pityingly acknowledged the fact and threw me aside like an egg that has gone bad. The great Stalin was kind. He did not send me to prison."

Pasternak seemed to return to memories of the past. He was silent a long time. The visitor lighted another cigarette. Suddenly he said of his own accord, "Do you know what it means not to write for twenty-five years? Sometimes I think of myself as a football player in whose right leg a ligament has been torn. He cannot lift his leg any more to make a kick. For twenty-five years he watched others play. Little boys who did not even know how to raise their feet became famous players. Fame, wealth, state protection—they had everything. Then his leg healed but he could not go back to the playing field."

"Why not?"

"Because the rules of the game had changed. And he did not want to be a player as long as the new rules were in force. Even though he knew he would not win either fame or wealth or anything else!"

(Pasternak, *An Interview*, Padmakanta Tripathy. *Desh*, 29th Nov., 1959).

How heartbreaking! Yet how heroic! Pasternak was strong because he was spirit-

ual. Otherwise he could not have held himself aloof from the game. He would have played on any terms. Or he would at least have kept on writing secretly. But he did not do even that. Once he had declared that he had forgotten how to write, that he had lost the ability to write, he really had to stop creative work. Otherwise it would have been said that he was not writing to order although he knew how to write and was therefore disobedient to official directives. Does anyone in Soviet Russia have two heads to lose that he dare disregard official directives? For the sake of the truth he had to become incapable of writing. He did not pretend to be unable to write, he really was.

This was not, however, his greatest sacrifice. There is not enough proof with me but from what I can gather a greater and sadder sacrifice was made in 1923, when he came back to Moscow from Berlin. His relatives did not return nor did they intend to return. They did not trust the Revolution. To them it was a troublesome nuisance. To Pasternak it was a natural phenomenon. Did he ever find any compensation after his return to Russia for this break with his people and the loneliness that comes with such a break? I have an idea that this break eventually led to the disruption of his marriage seven or eight years later. In the whole of Moscow there was no place where he and the woman who was to become his second wife could stay. He was forced to become the guest of a poet friend, Yashvili, in Tiflis, the capital city of Georgia. Yashvili committed suicide in 1937.

*Zhivago* was unable to get over the suffering of family separation. He was defeated. Pasternak recovered and won through. *Dr. Zhivago* is not a historical novel. In all countries and in all times the fate of the bird whose nest is broken by the storm, whose home is swept away as flood waters destroy the shore which was its sanctuary, is tragic. All this is real. The flood is real, the nest is real, the bird is real and the disaster is also real. Tolstoy was a soldier and a witness as well. He both saw war and fought. Pasternak was not a revolutionary. He witnessed revolution and shared in its effects.

But however great a reality a storm may be it does not last for ever. When he broke his silence Pasternak wrote a poem about the aftermath. It is unpublished in the Russian original. An American of Russian extraction, Prof. Kayden, received the poem from Pasternak himself as a gift and translated it into English. Let me quote the whole of it:

"The air is heavy with the passing storm,  
The earth lies calm and free and glad again.

Through all its pores the flowering lilac  
bush  
Drinks deep the pure cool freshness of  
the plain.

The world's reborn, transfigured by the  
storm.  
The gutters shed a flood of rain. Now fair  
And vast the blue beyond the shrouded  
sky,  
And bright the ranges of celestial air.

But more exalted far the poet of power,  
Who washes clean the dust and grime  
away,  
When by his art emerge transformed the  
harsh  
Realities and truths of naked day.

Then memories of decades with the storm  
Retreat. Free from the past of tutelage  
Our century demands the time has come  
To clear a passage for the coming age.

No swift upheaval swelling of itself  
Can make the way for our new life to be;  
Our hope—the message of a spirit kindled  
By truth revealed and magnanimity."

(tr. Eugene M. Kayden, *New Statesman*,  
27th December, 1958)

Before Pasternak took leave of the earth the conviction was born in him that if death is real resurrection is equally real. In that sense he was a Christian. He sat in the theatre of history and watched the drama of death and resurrection unfold in an eternal play upon the vast stage of the

universe. All his sorrow and all his grief softened and merged into a single feeling of appreciation. "When The Blind Shall See" is the name of a drama in the composition of which he was engaged at the time of his death. I do not know whether he was able to complete it. But the blind shall see. They shall. They shall see. They will see for themselves some day, understand by themselves. And they will remember the man with eyes. They will place a sprig of lilac on his grave. Pasternak also will be resurrected.

The following lines from one of his own poems make a fit epitaph for him:

"So that he'd master well his life in  
bondage,  
In famine, in defeat, without a fault,  
And thus abide a model through the  
ages,  
A man in sturdiness as plain as salt."  
—(tr. Eugene M. Kayden, New Statesman,  
27th December, 1908)

Translated from the Bengali by Lila Ray.

## THE CHEAT

By PREMENDRA MITRA

EVEN in daytime, the light had to be turned on there.

The house was dilapidated and old and seemed haunted. Through one of its dark corridors, you had to get access to the shop.

It was a tea shop. They did not advertise, but business was good. It opened in the morning, and remained open till midnight, but there was no dearth of customers.

By sheer good luck, I discovered the shop. But, by far more amusing was my discovery of Apurba.

It was not easy to ascertain his age from his face or his figure. He was slender, almost thin, and his face was lined and wrinkled all over, due perhaps to a very dissipated life. But there was a sort of sweetness in his expression.

The day, I first met him, he sat down by my side and suddenly threw into his mouth a small round ball of opium, as big as a boy's marble. After swallowing it, he looked askance at me and said, "Don't get frightened, it is nothing but a digestive pill."

We became more intimate in a curious way. He had two cups of tea, one after another. Then came the time to pay for them. He put his hand in his pocket to take out the money. Then he stood up in consternation and amazement. He turned his pockets out over and over again,

searching for money, then cried out piteously, "Where has my money gone?"

The proprietor of the shop was standing in front of him, stretching out his hand for the money. "In which pocket did you put it?" he asked. "It has perhaps fallen through?"

"How can it fall through? My pocket has no hole in it. There was one ten-rupee note and some small change. Everything's gone."

The shopkeeper lost his temper now. "I don't care what has happened to your money. You just give me the price of my tea."

Apurba repeated his words in mimicry, "Give you the price of your tea? How? Where shall I get the money to do it?"

"What? You had the tea, without paying for it, and now you are showing your temper?"

Apurba suddenly caught hold of my arm, crying, "I am ashamed to ask you, but you see with your own eyes, the sort of insult, I am subjected to. And for a filthy two anna bit! If you would kindly—"

I paid the two annas and came out of the shop. Apurba too, walked out with me expressing his gratitude vociferously, "You don't even know me. Still the way you saved my prestige—words fail me. Please, let me know your address."

I said, "Oh no, no need of that."

"No, please, let me have it. Your two annas

are worth two ten-rupee notes. Still I shall try to pay back as much as I can."

Even on that first day, I thought the man very garrulous; still, somehow I liked him.

But when I came back home, I could not find my money bag.

The very next morning Apurba arrived in person, at my house. He was wearing a tattered "Punjabi" (Indian style shirt) and torn shoes. He came in and smiled broadly. "I have thought about you, all night," he said. "Had you not been there, what indignities would I have been subjected to, in that den of thieves! And for a paltry two-anna bit too!"

"You are making too much of that two-anna bit, Apurba Babu," I said. "You make me feel ashamed."

"It is not at all a paltry matter, Sir. For two annas these people can commit murders. You don't know how awful that place is."

"How do you come to know so much about them?"

Apurba smiled slightly and said in a low voice. "We have to know these things."

"Why?"

His voice became still lower, "These jobs in the police force, Sir, mean no end of trouble. Now I am off to a drug addicts' den. My life is hanging by a thread. Even God Almighty does not know, whether I shall succeed in capturing any one, or be captured myself."

"Are you a detective?"

"Please leave out the name. I know it is a dirty job. But I have to do it, because I have to eat."

He took out my money bag from his pocket, and placed it on the table in front. "Because we do this dirty work, you people can go about in ease and comfort. That is our only solace, look it over, isn't it yours?"

"Where did you get it?" I asked in amazement.

"We have to play the thief, over other thieves all the time," he said, "Do you remember when you lost it?"

"No", I said.

Apurba smiled and said, "I had to retrieve it out of the shopkeeper's pocket. When you paid that fellow for the tea, the wallet never went back to your pocket."

Apurba was adamant that day. He insisted

on paying that two annas back, thanked me about two hundred times and delivered a long discourse about the frightful risks one ran in those dope fiends' dens, when out to capture those criminals. Finally he decamped, with my cigarette packet, pushing it inside his pocket as if unmindfully. He took two hours about it. When alone, I opened the wallet, and I found it empty.

After this Apurba turned up again and again at my "mess". He was over talkative, still he had something about him which charmed people very easily. In a few days, he became quite intimate with everybody in the house, as if he knew them for ages. He could show magic tricks, talk incessantly about his ability for crime detection and so acquired a special place for himself in our midst.

He had many faults, one has to admit. There were times when I returned in the evening to find my room open, and many articles of my best dresses missing. I knew that he had come and dressed himself in these and gone away.

But he would never give one time to accuse him. He would come the very next day and apologise a thousand times, till one got thoroughly embarrassed.

Benoy Babu, who lived in the next room, came in once and said, "Apurba Babu says that he is a detective, and say, then why is he so short of money all the time?"

"How do you know that he is short of money?"

"He owes everybody money. Some five rupees, some ten rupees. Only the other day I found him borrowing five rupees from the cook. He borrows from us all. I don't mind that, but if he borrows even from the servants, it hurts our prestige."

I became angry, and decided to take him to task, about this.

But the man must have been a thought-reader. He was just entering my room, when he stopped suddenly as if reminded of something. He got out again, saying, "Just a moment, my friend, I must go and pay back the cook his five rupees. I was in such dire distress, that I had to borrow even from him."

He came back and told me such a tale of dire distress, that one could not but believe him.

He flung himself into a chair, very tired and depressed. "To hell, with this spying business. I

feel like throwing it up altogether. One has to be so cruel at times."

It was a piteous tale. The police had got information that someone was selling cocaine in an Anglo-Indian quarter of the town. But they could not arrest anyone. Apurba went there in course of business and found out that a small Anglo-Indian girl of about eight years was the central figure in this drama.

Apurba's eyes filled with tears as he went on speaking, "She was such a small kid, my friend, could not have been more than seven. Small bare feet, white as lotus petals. These reminded you of the feet of the image of Lakshmi, even when stepping through the dust and dirt. Her dress was tattered and dirty, and two big eyes looked out of a pale face. The eyes were so full of innocence and fear. Even a flint-hearted villain would have felt pity for her. If you looked at her face, you would think that she had been crying a minute ago, and had just wiped her eyes. If you found her selling the drug, you would not believe your own eyes. I understood then why the police failed to find the culprit. The girl went about begging. She would stretch out her hand before a likely customer and if she was paid, would ask, 'It is not a fake, is it?' The common answer would be, 'It is quite all right,' and the man would pass on. But there are some, who would answer, 'No, it is not all right, I shall change it.' This is the signal. Then the drug changed hands and the girl was paid.

"But I had no alternative. As soon as she took out the cocaine, I had to arrest her. Her arms were so thin, one wrench would have broken them. As I caught hold of her arms, she tried to pull away, crying, 'Let me go'."

"I tried to be stern and said, 'Why are you selling drugs?'"

"The girl began to weep then. It was hard to endure the sight of tears rolling down her pale cheeks. I took out the packets of drugs from inside her frock and let her off. I did not want to succeed any more. Others had failed to find the culprit, I too shall fail.

"But the girl stood there crying. She would not go.

"I was surprised, 'Why do you cry?' I asked, 'You are free to go'.

"She did not want to tell me anything at first. I tried to comfort her as best as I could and

coaxed her for a length of time. Then she said, 'If I don't sell these and take the money home, they will kill me'.

"I knew who 'they' were. They always employ such innocent and weak people to do their nefarious work, and if there was any hitch anywhere, there was nothing that these criminals could not do. At first I thought of capturing the whole gang with the help of this little girl. I would have done it too, had it been anybody else but this child. But I knew very well that if I did so, the little girl would be in imminent danger of death. So I asked, 'How much was the drug worth?'"

"She said, 'They wanted ten rupees'.

"I had only five rupees with me. Where could I get another five? I came here, and as I was in great hurry, I borrowed the five rupees from your cook."

He finished his tale, then said, "If the police come to know about it, I shall lose my job, and my life also will be in jeopardy."

I did not disbelieve him, but there was somewhere a false ring in it. A small girl of seven, now a Bengali, then a Hindusthani or an Anglo-Indian, appeared all the time in his stories.

When the cook brought up our dinner that night, I asked, "Did Apurba Babu pay you back?"

He looked embarrassed and said, "No, sir."

Apurba appeared, as usual, next morning. I was terribly displeased and said, "You are making up stories all the time. You never gave the cook his money back."

He appeared extremely surprised and aggrieved. "I never said that I had given it back to him. When I went down, I did not find him in the kitchen, so how could I pay him back? I have just paid him."

Finally, one day he was thoroughly exposed. All his stories about crime detection were made-up stories. Benoy Babu rushed in, extremely excited and burst out, "I knew all the time that Apurba was a swindler and a rascal. I have just been cheated out of twenty-five rupees, because I relied on your word."

Benoy Babu went on abusing Apurba for a few minutes more, then said that Apurba had just been arrested for attempted murder and selling cocaine. He was never a detective. He was a receiver and disposer of smuggled drugs. He lived in a prostitute's house and carried on his

## THE CHEAT

nefarious business. He fell out with her on some pretext, and the woman threatened to expose him to the police. In his rage, Apurba had tried to murder her, by putting poison in her betel. The woman did not die, but she divulged everything before the police when she was taken to the hospital and the police arrested Apurba at once.

Through some legal fluke, Apurba was acquitted of the murder charge, but he was sent to prison for three years on a charge of selling illicit drugs.

In course of that three years, I had nearly forgotten all about Apurba. But suddenly one day as I entered my room, after my bath, I found Apurba lying quite comfortably on my bed.

He sat up as soon as he saw me. "I know what you are going to say. But believe me, this time I am really going away from here."

I was really displeased, but I could not show it. He gazed at me for sometime, trying to fathom my thoughts, then said, "I do not want to irritate you. If you want me to go away, I shall do so."

"You don't have to go away", I said, "Did you have your lunch?"

He smiled rather sadly. "I was let off from prison, only yesterday," he said.

So he had lunch with me. After finishing it he said, "Please don't mind, if I stay on for a bit. As soon as the afternoon is over, I shall go away."

"Where will you go?"

"I shall go to my village." His eyes began to fill with tears. "I had no news of them for three years. I don't even know whether they are still alive."

His gaze wandered away from my face. Then again he looked at me and said, "I have been lying to you, all along. The first day I cheated you out of two annas for that tea. It was I, who stole your wallet and made up a story about my being a spv. So if you disbelieve me now, I cannot blame you. But please my friend, believe me to-day for the last time. I am not lying."

"I did not say, that I would not believe you."

"You have not, but I know how hard it is for you to believe me."

He went on talking, incessantly. I inter-

rupted him saying, "Out with the real motive. What do you want?"

He wanted fifty rupees. His wife and children lived in his village home. For three years, he had heard nothing from them. He was frantic now for a sight of their faces, especially of his youngest daughter.

If I would just give him the train fare and a few rupees over and above that. He could not go otherwise.

"Alright," I said, "I shall give you the money. But on what are you going to live, when you reach home?"

"I have some cultivable land, I shall manage with that," he said.

I smiled. "Are you going to give up your old profession?" I asked.

A sad smile was his only answer.

He flung himself on my bed, and went on talking about his youngest daughter, Dolu. She was only seven, but had such high spirits, that everybody at home, and even the neighbours were afraid of her.

"You won't believe me, my friend, but the child is absolutely fearless. If her mother says, 'Don't be naughty Dolu, the bogey will catch you,' Dolu would retort at once, 'Where is it? I want to see it'."

I laughed and said, "Children always seem like that to their own parents."

Apurba sat up excitedly and protested, "Certainly not," he cried, "Why, there are the other children. There is that eldest boy of mine, is he like that?"

One should not say anything more at this stage, so I remained silent. Apurba went on talking. "You could never scold her for anything. She would raise hell at once. But if you explain things to her in mild terms, she is all docility."

He remained silent for a time, then went on again, "Once she became ill. I was in a fix, I can tell you. She would allow no one else than her father to sit by her. Nobody could make her swallow the barley water. But whenever I said, 'Please Dolu, take your barley water, else you won't be able to eat rice soon and you won't be allowed to go for walks with me, she would comply at once.'"

He stopped again and asked, "Are you sleeping?" "No," I said, "I am thinking of your Dolu."



he darkness. Into this vaster battle-ground it was inevitable that Timur should go.—(Ib., p. 67).

No doubt part of the dramatic success of Timur was caused by the depopulation of the areas he invaded.

The Arab conquest of Spain in 712 A.D. was aided by famine and pestilence. Beloch estimated the population of Spain at the death of Augustus (14 A.D.) to have been 6 millions. It is generally recognised that the total population of the Roman Empire increased during the first two centuries after Augustus. It reached the peak at the death of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (180 A.D.). According to Vandellos the population of Spain rose until about the middle of the second century it reached a peak. The initial decline which followed has been ascribed to "intrinsic circumstances." Thereafter, invasions from Europe and North Africa presumably caused decreases alternating with slow increases. The estimated population was 10 million at the end of the fifteenth century, about the time of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, but had declined to about 6 million at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Goths were defeated at the battle of Xeres; and when Tarik proceeded to occupy the central and northern parts of Spain, the will and strength to resist was gone. "That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence," writes Gibbon (Ch. 51, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*).

4. These demographic effects on movements of population are on a large scale of battle time and space. Even within limited space and a short period of time population strengths of rival states, and their consequent resources go very much to explain the historical drama played by them; and may enable us to appraise their conduct. The fall of the Athenian Empire after the siege of Syracuse was hastened by the shortage of Athenian man-power.

5. We all admire Rana Pratap's heroic resistance to Akbar over many years. But our admiration is heightened when we compare the relative resources in men and money between Mewar and Moghul India.

In 1594 the land revenue of Akbar's twelve subahs amounted to Rs. 9,07,43,881; and that of Sarkar Chitor (=Mewar) to Rs. 7,51,041 as given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* or in the proportion of 12:

6. The population of India at the death of Akbar has been estimated by Moreland to be 100 millions. Kingsley-Davis thinks it to have been a little higher, say 110 to 120 millions. We have after comparing the progress of land-revenue during the Mughal period come to the conclusion that it was about 110 millions.

Northern India's share has been estimated by Moreland to be 70 millions. This seems to be a little too high. The population of India under Akbar's control (C. 1580) could not have been much more than 70 millions. This is a cautious estimate. The relative population strength of Akbar's Empire to Mewar as we shall try to show presently was of the order of 500:14 or 35:1. It may have been greater in favour of Akbar.

7. We shall now try to estimate the populations of Rajputana and Mewar about that time. The populations of Rajputana and of Mewar have changed thus during the fifty-years 1881—1931:—

|           | Variation per cent |       |
|-----------|--------------------|-------|
|           | Rajputana          | Mewar |
| 1881-91   | +20.6              | +23.5 |
| 1891-01   | -20.5              | -44.8 |
| 1901-11   | +6.9               | +25.8 |
| 1911-21   | -6.5               | +6.7  |
| 1921-31   | +14.2              | +14.6 |
| 1881-1931 | +9.3               | +4.9  |

The Goths were defeated at the battle of Xeres; and when Tarik proceeded to occupy the central and northern parts of Spain, the will and strength to resist was gone. "That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence," writes Gibbon (Ch. 51, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*).

|  | 1881-1931    |       |
|--|--------------|-------|
|  | Rajputana    | Mewar |
|  | +9.3 - 3.5 = | +5.8% |
|  | +4.9 - 3.5 = | +1.4% |

8. Rajputana is an arid land; and its western half is a desert; the rainfall is scanty and erratic. It is subject to frequent famines and severe scarcity, during



Russian Film actress Rufina Nifontova  
Photo by D. Kozlov



The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with President Sockarno  
and President Naser at New York during the U. N. General Assembly  
Meeting

"I should never have come, leaving her behind. I would have gone back as soon as possible. But this craze for quick money obsessed me. I thought if I could collect enough to last me all my life, that would be just grand. I did not think I was really injuring anyone. But let that go."

But Apurba could never remain silent for any length of time. He burst out again, "As soon as she sees me, she will come running and ask, 'Have you got lockets (A kind of fruit), for me?' Once I took this fruit for her, she liked it, and wanted it whenever I went. But this is not the season for lockets, I don't know where I shall get them."

I laughed and said, "Your daughter is no longer a child of seven, Apurba. She would be a girl of ten now, and might not want locket fruits."

His face clouded over at my words. He looked at me with a bewildered expression, then turned his face away. But he thrust away this sadness and said, "And she is so very fond of me. She would not allow anybody to touch my things, not even her own mother. 'Don't touch them', she would say. 'These belong to my father'."

"But who are you?" someone might ask.

"I am Apurba's mother" she would answer."

Apurba went on in this strain, the whole afternoon. In the evening, he started on his way back. As I gave him the money he suddenly caught hold of my hand and burst out crying, "I have no words to thank you, for the service you have done me."

As soon as he had gone, Benoy Babu came in, asking, "Who was that? Was not he that swindler and murderer Apurba?"

"Yes," I replied.

"He came for money, I suppose? Oh, I have seldom met such a shameless fellow! And the impudence of it! How could he ask you? What did he say?"

"He says he wants to go home to see his wife and children, whom he has not seen for ages."

"And did you give him the money?"

I smiled rather wryly and said, "Yes, I did." Benoy Babu looked petrified with amazement. Then he said, "You believed him and gave him money? Just because he said that he wanted to go and see his family? You have some faith in mankind. The brazen liar! He does not have any wife or children. I know all about him, I have had enquiries made."

"About what?" I asked.

"About everything," he said. "He does not have anybody, anywhere. He did marry once, but that wife committed suicide ten years ago, due to his ill treatment of her. He had one daughter, aged seven. But he took her to some fair and there lost her. He said he had lost her, but I believe he was lying. He must have sold the girl to somebody. These villains are up to any sort of crime. But why did you believe him and waste so much money? He has swindled you completely."

"I knew everything, you have told me," I said.

"You knew it? And still you gave money to that swindler? But perhaps you are not really believing me. I tell you, he has no wife, no child. I have had enquiries made."

"But I have some more information Benoy Babu. For ten years, he has neither wife nor child. But these ten years, he had been moving heaven and earth for that child of seven. All his crimes and sins, had not been able to erase her memory from his heart. Wherever he has heard of a child of seven he has run there and fondled her. He has asked impossible questions. He does not even realise that she, whom he had lost, would now be a girl of seventeen and no longer a child of seven. He is a fool, on this point. All the tales he told me might be false, but his heartache for this child of seven is not false."

Benoy Babu did not like my long harangue and left the room in displeasure.

I have never met Apurba again. I do not know whether he ever got back that child of his, who remained for ever a child of seven.

Translated by Sita Devi from the original Bengali.

## DEMOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO HISTORY

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

1. The influence of geography is well known; and it has been demonstrated in the case of the Greeks. The formation of the vast Empires in the Indo-Gangetic plains of Northern India is aided by the geography of the region. "The northern plains, the Aryavarta of the old books, and the Hindostan of more recent times, always have been the seat of the principal empires and the scene of the events most interesting to the outer world. The wide waterways of the great snow-fed rivers and the fertile level plains are natural advantages which have inevitably attracted a teeming population from time immemorial. The open nature of the country, easily accessible to martial invaders from the North-West, has given frequent occasion for the formation of powerful kingdoms ruled by vigorous foreigners. The peninsular, tropical section of India, is isolated from the rest of the world by its position, and in contact with other countries only by sea-borne commerce, has pursued its own course, little noticed by and caring little for foreigners. . . . No southern power ever could attempt to master the north, but the more ambitious rulers of Aryavarta or Hindostan often have extended their sway far beyond the dividing line of the Narbada."—(Vincent Smith, *History of India*, p. iii.)

2. Various kinds of evidence indicate that man's numbers become adjusted to the food-producing capacity of the land in ancient times—increasing as it rose and declining as it fell. The emergence of cities was dependent on, and became complimentary to the development of primitive agriculture. But the emergence of nomadic societies in Central Asia, South-West Asia, and North Africa created an antagonistic type of economy. At the start, pastoral economies were stimulated by the development of animal husbandry in association

with agriculture. Once they were established, the tendency of the expanding nomadic populations to raid or invade the lands of sedentary peoples became a recurrent source of calamity, since any extension of cultivated land reduced the reserves of the nomads. The hard grass lands were not adapted to cultivation by digging sticks or hoes, and the later plough culture was excluded from these lands by the prior occupancy of powerful nomadic tribes. Recurrent military invasions by forest dwellers and by desert nomads checked the growth of population in the Mediterranean region, South-West Asia, India and China until the expansive force of the nomads was broken by the re-establishment of European power in the Mediterranean region and by the expansion of European civilisation on the Russian plain.

3. About 1360 A.D. Samarkand was invaded by the Jat Tartars. There was no prince to lead them, and the people defended themselves as best as they could.

"Then by the will of God a plague spread among the horses of the Jats. Three-fourths of the horses died, so that they lacked even mounts for the couriers. They retired from the country, most of them with quivers and packs on their backs and their swords on their shoulders. Surely never before in this world was an army of Jats seen walking afoot."—(Horace Lamb, *Tamarlene*, p. 96.)

Timur "was 34, when he set upon the white felt (i.e., throne) at Balkh in the year 1369. And beyond his borders, in all the quarters of the four winds, warfare smouldered. Upon the track of the Black plague that swept from Asia into Europe earlier in the century, unrest stirred, and dynasties fell. The trade caravans turned aside into new channels. Men sought the armed camps, and horsemen appeared in deserted fields, and flame moved through



A still from the film "Nasreddin in Khodzhen".

Photo by K. Farafonov



A class of 'The School of Performing Arts', New York, presents the classical ballet, "Les Sylphides."

the fifty years 1881-1931, there has been de-growth of population twice. In historical times it has frequently suffered from famines.

"A terrible famine, as bad as any recorded in the long list of Indian famines, desolated the whole of Hindostan or Northern India and Kashmir for three or four years from 1595 to 1598." (Vincent Smith—**History of India**, p. 332). He then quotes a minor historian:—

"A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal."

In 1630-32, "an appalling famine of the utmost possible severity desolated the Deccan and Gujarat." "It extended to Persia and many parts of India."—(Ibid, pp. 393, 394.)

1647—This year the rains failed in Rajputana and "occasioned a famine, in so much that those parts either by mortality or people's flight, became wholly depopulated or impassable."—(Moreland, **From Akbar to Aurangzeb**, p. 209.)

Todd in his **Annals of Rajasthan**, Vol. I, p. 310, gives a vivid description of the horrors of famine as experienced in Mewar in Samvat 1717=1660-61.

"The Rajput War (of 1679-80) was a drawn game so far as the actual fighting was concerned, but its material consequences were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects; their corn-fields in the plains were ravaged by the enemy; they could stave off defeat but not starvation. So, both sides desired peace. Maharana Jai Sing personally visited Prince Muhammad Azam (14th June 1681), and made peace with the Empire."—(Sir Jadunath Sarkar, **Short History of Aurangzib**, p. 182).

The above list is not exhaustive, but illustrative to show the frequency and the severity of famines in Rajputana, often accompanied by pestilence.

The population of Rajputana and

of Mewar in 1931 were 1,12,26,000 and 15,67,000 respectively.

Assuming the growth of population to have been uniform or linear during the previous three centuries and a half, the estimated populations in 1580 and 1530 were:—

|           | 1580     | 1530       |
|-----------|----------|------------|
| Rajputana | 80 lakhs | 75 lakhs   |
| Mewar     | 14 lakhs | 13.8 lakhs |

If we assume the growth to have been in geometrical progression, as is more likely, the respective populations were:

|           | 1580       | 1530       |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| Rajputana | 75.5 lakhs | 71.3 lakhs |
| Mewar     | 14.2 "     | 14.0 "     |

10. The strength of the various castes, tribes or races of the Rajput origin in Rajputana in 1931 was:

|                  |    |             |
|------------------|----|-------------|
| Pure Rajputs     | .. | 6,69,516    |
| Jats             | .. | 10,42,153   |
| Daroga           | .. | 1,77,104    |
| Dangi            | .. | 50,898      |
| Sondhia          | .. | 34,257      |
| Total ..         | .. | 19,73,928   |
| Total population |    | 1,12,25,712 |

The Rajput tribes form 17.6 per cent of the total population. Assuming a uniform distribution throughout Rajputana, and assuming further that the proportion to have been the same throughout the last three or four centuries, for Mewar's population of 14 lakhs, the strength of the Rajput tribes would be 2.43 lakhs, and of the pure Rajputs 83,000.

11. Sündbarg has shown that men between the ages of 15-50 are always half the total; so one-fourth of the population is between these ages. One-fifth to one-sixth of the total population is regarded as men of military age. In medieval times when physical strength and endurance were more important the proportion is likely to be less.

12. We shall now try to estimate the strength of men of military age about Akbar's time:

| 1580              | 0-15      | 1/6 th    | 1/5 th    |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Mewar             |           |           |           |
| All Rajput groups | 62,000    | 41,000    | 49,000    |
| Pure Rajputs      | 21,000    | 13,800    | 16,600    |
| Total population  | 3.5 lakhs | 2.3 lakhs | 2.8 lakhs |

|                   | Lakhs | Lakhs | Lakhs |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Rajputana         |       |       |       |
| All Rajput groups | 3.5   | 2.3   | 2.8   |
| Pure Rajputs      | 2.2   | 0.8   | 0.95  |
| Total population  | 20    | 13.3  | 16    |

13. Rana Sangram Singh met the army of Babur in 1527 at the battle of Khanua with "an enormous host composed of the contingents of 120 chiefs, and including 80,000 horses with 500 war elephants."—(Vincent Smith, *History of India*, p. 323.)

In 1568, Akbar captured Chitor, the Capital of Mewar. Apart from the garrison and the women, who perished in its defence or in the dread rite known as *jauhar*, "Akbar was so enraged by the fierce resistance that he massacred 30,000 of the country people who had taken part in the defence." (*Ibid*, p. 350). In 1576, Rana Pratap of Mewar was defeated at the

battle of Haldighat. He met the Moghuls with an army of 22,000, of whom 14,000 were slain.

*Ain-i-Akbari* (1595) says:—"The present local militia consists of 16,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, but Mewar formerly controlled much more extensive territories, so much so that Rajah Sanka (Sanga) possessed a force of 180,000 cavalry and a numerous infantry." (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition, p. 276.)

14. If we assume that Rana Sanga's army represented the entire Rajputana, he enrolled almost all the men of military age of the Rajput groups. Similarly Rana Pratap inspired not only all the Rajput groups but other non-Rajputs in fighting the Moghuls. We know as a matter of fact that he was helped by the Bhil archers at the battle of Haldighat.

15. There are errors in our estimates of the populations of the several categories; and our knowledge of Rajput history is meagre. But from what we have stated we can gather the intensity of Mewar's resistance to Moghul aggression. It was not merely the heroism of Rana Pratap but a national resistance to Akbar for preservation of their independence; and the entire manhood took up arms to resist the aggressor.



## THE CALL OF STATESMANSHIP

By JOGES C. BOSE

It is definitely no good taste to have caught hold of the Assam disturbance in order to admonish the Bengalis on what they are charged of, e.g., superiority complex, brash boasting, parochialism, etcetera. Assuming that the accusation is not, altogether, without a foundation, the occasion is singularly inappropriate. Just as they were dumbfounded by a mean, brutal, concerted attack, without a check from an imbecile Government, both local and Central, it was a jolly good time to have a dig at them and, if possible, trump up a feeling. Were the aberrations, caviled at, of a nature and kind that the homilies brooked no delay? Whatever it is, some points of the rapier-thrusts call for scrutiny.

In no spirit to justify that two blacks make one white, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, it may be stated, has invariably drawn the largest number of Ministers for his Cabinet from U.P., and so also recruits for Foreign and External Affairs Service; he has, for what 'nationalistic elements' there were in the Sepoy Mutiny, which his historical sense refuses to call any other than 'a feudal rising', trotted out 'my own city and district of Allahabad'. Is this parochialism? My answer is one absolute 'No'.

In proof of the charge of parochialism, they allege that the Bengalis lose their temper should anybody criticize Tagore or Netajee Subhas Bose. And yet the incontrovertible history is that either has had to face sharp, truculent criticism, nowhere so acutely as in his province—not unoften belittled, lampooned, caricatured. But at the same time, there has been no dearth of Bengalis running into hysterics over Gandhiji—hero-worship as often gliding to idolatry. It is the privilege of a normal human being to be capable of deep emotions, but it is, certainly, no good of any people to be swayed by the stir of blood or gusts of emotion in judging of men and things and, particularly, in taking decisions on crucial matters. Has Bengal defaulted in this respect?

Tagore categorically warned India to help save being stampeded into 'the age of stone', but, nonetheless hailed Gandhiji into the field of Indian politics as 'truth itself', 'so much distin-

guished from quotations.' Bengal energetically endorsed either; as much the appellation 'Mahatma' Tagore gave him. Despite ideological conflict, another Bengali, Subhas Bose, hailed Gandhiji as the 'Father' of our nation, even if it is too obvious an anachronism historically. It is, however, an unsavoury bit of history that nowhere, except in Bengal, is Surendranath Banerjea called 'Rastraguru', the Bengalis delight to honour him with. The acid test in matters like this is whether the Bengalis have been chary of or remiss in rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's. Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was ploughing a lonely furrow, and some of the Western India leaders had the effrontery to characterise his utterances as 'whining'. They pooh-poohed him as 'the boss of the market place'. He was hauled up to answer the charge of sedition—and the word 'sedition' carried with it a sense of terror in those days. But Bengal, at the instance of Surendranath Banerjea and Rabindranath Tagore, took the initiative to raise funds for his defence; and had him defended by eminent Calcutta Counsels. Such, in fact, was the awesomeness of the ruling power and the mentality of the local leaders that in the 1897 Congress at Amraoti, there could be no resolution on Tilak's imprisonment. But in the open session of the Congress, Surendranath Banerjea, as he was speaking on the resolution regarding Nattu brothers, brought in Tilak to say, 'Though I am here physically, my soul is in gaol attuned with Tilak's; the entire nation is in tears for him'. The house rose to a man in one spontaneous outburst of hallelujah, 'Tilak Maharaj ki Jai'. The ice broken, Tilak, since now, trod on the Indian scene with the sure-footed trod of a giant.

In the first decade of this century, Bengal launched Boycott and Swadeshi to fight her Partition and set out to live anew in affirmation of India's right to Freedom. 'The dramatic appeal of Bengal', says Hector Bolitho in his official biography of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, 'against the British startled all India'; it galvanised the Congress 'so mild up to then'; and leaders like Gokhale and Nourajee had to assume a more



belligerent look'. In the stress and urgency of a major challenge, Bengal evolved the techniques of Civil Disobedience. She had on the 7th August, 1905, started the ball of anti-Partition agitation rolling and in April, 1906, she raised at the Barisal Provincial Conference the cry, 'Here and now was the beginning of the end of British rule'. In fact, the real issue, since now, was not, as Sir Valentine Chirol has noted in his *Indian Unrest*, whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure. Events moved in the track of a century and heralded for Bengal an epoch of crowded glory. Without pushing the comparison to any extreme, her answer to the proud claims of racial domination may fitly be likened to Martin Luther's voice of protest at the Diet of Worms. Luther struck the Pope at the crown and the monks in the belly. Lord Curzon had already given up all respectable pretence and enunciated Britain's policy of administration and exploitation pushing ahead cheek by jowl. Bengal struck at the British rule and trade all at the same time and breathed into the pages of history a new life for India.

It was now that Imperialism, as though brought to bay, tore off the velvet gloves, which had all but concealed the mailed fist. It resorted unabashed to the policy of scorpion whips and iron bars, heavily putressed by the most ingeniously, stringently organised Black and Tan, passing for communal barbarities. Much worse, however, than all the flash and steel of an open war, mediaeval fanaticism was, without let or hindrance, geared to make the common man act as a fuse for barbarous explosions. Nothing daunted, Bengal steadfastly toned up the struggle by an all-round economic and cultural reorientation. It saved the sudden onrush of patriotic enthusiasm any fizzle. In fact, it is an accepted truth that no economic or cultural regeneration of a country can be achieved, unless national consciousness provides the necessary setting. It was for the impetus of this Swadeshi movement that the old cloth mills of Bombay were rehabilitated on modern lines and new mills set up in Bombay, Narnur and Bengal. Banking, insurance, pharmacology and the industry of leather had their foundations laid truly and well. Dr. Meghnad Saha, whose name remains associated with our Five-Year Plans, says that but for the atmosphere created by the

Swadeshi Movement, the Tatas would not have been able to raise within so short a time the requisite capital for their Steel Plants. Regarding the cultural drive of the movement, Ramsay Macdonald, who came to India for an on-the-spot study of the situation, devotes much thoughts in his *Awakening of India*—how Bengal was paving the way for a bloodless revolution. He sums up her efforts by the eloquent tribute, 'Bengal is idealizing politics into Art and Literature'. Gopal K. Gokhale said at a public meeting at Manchester in October, 1906, that all the repression on Bengal was for the reason that she would not let Britain go back on promises given in the past; and spoke of the Bengalis as, 'intellectually one of the finest people of the world'. He did not let the grass grow under his feet and told Lord Minto on the floor of the Indian (Imperial, as it was then called) Legislative Council, 'What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow'. I, however, sincerely wish that Gokhale had not said this. It has fostered a sense of flamboyance in some Bengalis; and it has stuck in the throat of some non-Bengalis, who do not feel happy in having to contemplate what made Gokhale say this so feelingly. Either has proved bad.

Parallel to the national struggle, moving apace over Swadeshi-cum-Boycott and Civil Disobedience, as the exigencies of the moment justified, there forged ahead the Revolutionary Movement in order to force the issue. They took to living dangerously and across their path the shadow of the hangmen fell. By now, the two movements created forces which constituted, as Great Britain was constrained to admit, 'danger' to her rule in India. Prime Minister Asquith spoke of the India Act, 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms) in the House of Commons as 'a step which will avert the danger confronting us for the last few years'. Fairly thirtysix years after, i.e., almost on the eve of the British Parliament passing the Indian Independence Act, 1947, under which Britain quitted India, Professor Sir Reginald Coupland gives a clue to the Morley-Minto Reforms in his *India—A Re-statement*. "The Indian Act, 1909," he says, "was an attempt to control and canalise the now fast-flowing current of nationalism." If ever it is true that History is made by a minority with conviction, here is one such—Bengal generating 'the fast-flowing current of nationalism' at a time, when 'the rest of India', as Gandhiji so handsomely

acknowledges, 'was almost asleep'—Prayer meeting, 23rd August, 1947, i.e., seven days after India had won her Freedom.

In 1911, the Bengal Partition, which was like the veritable Pandora's box to the ruling power was annulled. It was, however, Bengal's Pyrrhic victory, inasmuch as three of her Bengali-speaking Hindu districts Manbhoom, Singhbhoom and Purnea were made over to the newly-created province of Bihar and Orissa. This brilliant, master device of Lord Hardinge made the entire Bengal statutorily Moslem, i.e., non-Congress—precisely what Lord Curzon intended his new province East Bengal and Assam to be. It was, in fact, the crowning fulfilment of British policy, which made no bone of its pleasure to split the Bengalis in such a manner that the nationalists might not form a majority in Bengal. To anticipate events, by the way, Sir Samuel Hoare—later on Lord Templewood—chuckled in the House of Commons, while sponsoring the India Act, 1935 (Hoare-Willingdon autonomy) that he could not imagine of a 'landslide' by which Bengal would run counter to British interests. What a position for the rebel Bengal! And what a triumph of British statesmanship—'statesmanship', as Lady Minto understood it, in connection with her husband's part in incorporating the Separate Electorate into the Indian Statute!!

As though to make the cup full to the brim, Lord Hardinge created the Dacca University in line with Aligarh, nursing pro-British and anti-Congress sibboleths. And by making the Senate and Syndicate function on the basis of separate representation all through, and emphasizing, at the same time, the study of Islamic culture and all that, it was avowedly aimed at strangulating Bengal's composite culture right from the plastic youth of a man. This was, truly, in the nature of a counterblast to Bengal's cultural-cum-political revolt, and in fact, a masterpiece, such as to turn Pericles, in his grave, green with envy. I have my doubts if Bengal leadership, initially, could size up the sinister potentials of Lord Hardinge's two-pronged attack. In any case, it could not oppose the terms of the unsettling of Lord Morley's 'settled fact', for the one simple reason that it could not, on the one hand, alienate the Moslems and thus block what chance there was for their entry into the Congress-fold, and, on the other, stir up inter-provincial jealousy. In the circumstances, they displayed, what

I believe, the height of patriotism and statesmanship in trusting, without qualification, to what the 1911 Indian National Congress said in respect of it by Resolution III. The Resolution, which was moved by Tej Bahadur Sapru of U.P. and seconded by Parameshvarlal of Bihar, begged of the Government 'to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration'. The British rule did not do it. There was the question of vitality of the new province. No less important for the ruling power was to see to it—and the most efficient and well-posted rule of the day saw to it—that the imperialistic purpose, as explained above, was not stultified. The Indian leadership, naturally, felt satisfied with this move, seeking to undo, as the time came and India was free to conduct her affairs, the great wrong, which was, again, as wickedly designed against the go-ahead, turbulent Bengal. That will of our sires has been without compunction ignored—should one hesitate to use the word flouted—by the Congress Government.

Bihar, after separation from Bengal, introduced 'Domicile Certificate' in order to ward off non-Biharis—evidently the Bengalis—from Government Service and allied walks of life. It was an insidious blow on our national solidarity, which was a slow growth under the auspices of the Indian National Congress in the teeth of so many odds. The Bengalis, who were thus discriminated against are in independent India, as well, face to face with a hard-boned, wanton discrimination in Assam. It has taken a shape and colour, of which untutored savages are likely to have qualms of instinct to blush.

Before, however, I proceed to Assam, I may say, in passing that I have grave doubts if those whose destiny it is to rule India today have any proper understanding of the trials and tribulations of Bengal's baptism for the Nation. The gallows and transportation for life, the deportation and internment without trial, imprisonment, confiscation of property and punitive tax, their cities and villages being honeycombed with spies and dotted with military and the sanctity of their homes invaded, lathi-charge and mounted police galloping full length at them in processions and meetings—all came to constitute a routine of their existence. They stood it admirably well, as much they stood the blandishments to draw them away from the national struggle and all attempts to waylay and circumvent its headlong

course. The eminent jurist Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, who would not commit to an allegation of oppression, particularly in so far as it relates to the policy of playing off the Moslems against the Hindus, unless he was cent per cent satisfied as to its veracity, indicates its character but not the extent in his 1906 and 1907 Congress addresses. It is observable that Ambikacharan Majumdar while thanking the Government for annulling the Partition—the achievement over which they were so voluble with hiccups of gratitude and self-satisfaction—could not help saying, 'Let suspicion and distrust, malice and rancour, rage and repression—those evil spirits that revel in darkness—vanish from the land and let cavil and calumny be hushed into silence'. The Bengalis might be pardoned for their 'chauvinism' if they would not let the memory of those days willingly die.

Assam, originally a division of Bengal, was made a separate administrative unit in 1874, with five districts of Surma Valley, four hill districts and three districts of Bengal—Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara. It is, therefore, noteworthy that Assam, since when it came into being, is cut into well-defined ethnic and linguistic groups. A common system of education and the use of English language for official purpose giving the one tangible incentive for its cultivation, did go a long way to compose the differences. The national-cum-political sphere of life was, no doubt, being controlled for a long time by the Bengalis. Gradually, however, as Bengal tended to cut adrift from British moorings, English civilians, tea-planters and missionaries applied themselves with an unwearied zeal to drive a wedge between the Bengalis and the rest of the people. Since then, the notion of an interloper, clinging round a Bengali, was fast coming into vogue. As the Hoare-Willingdon autonomy was ushered into existence, Assam came under the sway of the Muslim League, headed by the blindfold, pro-British Sadullah. Patel yielded to the stern insistence of Subhas Bose, the man of vision, and this is how Bardoli came in as the Chief Minister of a Congress-controlled Government. Despite Abul Kalam Azad's coaxings, Bengal rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan because it was manifestly unjust to Assam being linked with Bengal and thus being thrown into the orbit of the Muslim League. Then came the days of unexampled stress for the Partition. And, by now, it is no longer a secret that Assam deliberately pushed down Sylhet to Pakistan in order to cut

down the numerical strength of the Bengali Hindus. It is no use blinking at the fact that the unfortunate part of this episode is that the Prime Minister of India is alleged to have been consulted in the matter; and he agreed to this. I, for one, shall feel happy to see this involvement of Mr. Nehru being contradicted. After all, by virtue of his position and intellectual catholicity he is regarded as an ally of each and every community of India.

In the 1951 Census, the Assamese jumped to 4,972,493 heads from 1,992,346 of the 1931 Census. The Central Government, all the same, swallowed this biological impossibility. There was a mass-scale attack on the Bengalis in Goalpara on the eve of the State Reorganisation Committee visiting Assam. The Central Government again took no note of it. During the last riot the hooligans were openly incited to violence with the assurance that, just as in the last Goalpara riot, no action would be taken against them. Why is this hostility of the Assamese against the Bengalis and what all this pother is due to?

In independent India Assam's Governor Akbar Hydari had the incredible folly to call the Bengalis there as 'settlers'. Any semblance of regard being had to the facts and circumstances of the Bengalis being in Assam, the Central Government should have pulled the Governor to nullify this.

There is and can absolutely be no difference from the standpoint of the 'sons of the soil' between the Bengalis and the Assamese there. The canard that the Bengalis have been dominating the economy of Assam\*, and filling up top posts in the state service† has been discussed threadbare with statistics and nailed to the counter. The *Vigil* of New Delhi, dated 27th August, has made an illuminative, instructive study of the question under the title 'Aetiology of Assam Atrocities'. In the sum-up is the issue clinched—that it is an attack of the 'Assamese sons of the soil' on the 'Bengali sons of the soil', because the former have been worsted in competition with the latter in every sphere of life. "Not a single Assamese", says the paper, "have, since its introduction, been able to find a place in the all-India

\*Big traders in Assam are all Marwaris.

†The Bengali I.G. of Police belongs to Goalpara; and the Chief Secretary to Cachar.

I.A.S. Examination. They wanted reservations for them in that service when Pandit Nehru was in Assam early this year. The minimum qualification was lowered for them for service in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and other Central undertakings. Four of them were included in the selection of ten Engineers sent to Rumania for training for the Oil Refinery at Gauhati by lowering the standard of qualifications. But the Bengali sons of the soil usually come out at the top in all competitive examinations including the University‡. Yet the Assamese are taken into the state service by unconstitutionally discriminating against the Bengali sons of the soil, a practice condemned by the States Reorganisation Commission. Thus there is no unemployment in Assam—educated or uneducated—and no frustration on that score. The only frustration is generated by a reverse complex of the idea of being the ruling race, so carefully fostered since independence and the amputation of Sylhet."

It has been proved to the hilt that the recent outbreak of savagery in Assam was no sudden, sporadic, cutaneous eruption. It was premeditated, preplanned and carried out with the rigours of a military discipline. And, above everything else, it was endemic. The most melancholy, inglorious part of it is that the Home Minister of the Indian Union, as the chief custodian of Law and Order was posted well in time with at least such facts and circumstances that to imagine that he could not foresee the happenings—may not be to the extent—is to insult his intelligence. Yet India is not vouchsafed any information as to what actually he did to avert the crisis of singular cruelty, when for days together no life, no property of a Bengali in Assam was worth a moment's purchase. No less amusing is that Assam's Minister of Law and Order was all along smoking peaceful pipes on a stack of dry hay; and he left for Kashmir just as the inevitable spark was to ignite hooliganism ablaze. It is difficult to imagine of a more scandalous incompetence of a State as to suggest, even by implica-

‡In the 1960 Matriculation Examination, eight out of the first ten places were occupied by the Bengalis.

tion, that things would not have happened in the manner they did if the Chief Minister were not ill, and the Law and Order Minister away from the place. Is there a state of interregnum in administration? Anyway, the Congress Government of Assam has by a shameful abdication made history. And the Central Government owes it to the people of India to compel the maker of history to make suitable amends. According to all canons of democratic rule both Mr. Pant and Mr. Fakhruddin should have tendered their resignation, unless, of course, we should be prepared for a new type of democracy—it is totalitarian democracy.

Article 15 of the Constitution of India lays down that, 'The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them'. But, because of Article 16(4) nothing shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the Central Government having discriminated against the Bengalis in favour of the Assamese, without having, by an Act of Parliament, placed them in the category of people, who are entitled to a differential treatment, has violated the Constitution. What is suicidal, they have fostered a belief in the mind of the Assamese that they are a pampered lot. I am prepared to concede that it is in no spirit of violating the Constitution that they have done it. It is the curious amalgam of Mr. Nehru's Messiah complex and 'I am the State' complex, which has to answer for it.

Be that as it may, it is not yet too late for Mr. Nehru to retrace his steps and endeavour to see that the 'Rule of Law', which India has so recently installed is not in anyway hurt. That 'Rule of Law', it is an accepted principle of civilized jurisprudence, revolves on the two pivots—the one of which is embodied in the maxim, 'Justice delayed is justice denied'; and the other is 'Right to Equality', which, again, is the A.B.C. of democracy and given the priority consideration in the Constitution of India.

## ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

By SRIMATI B. SHALINI DEVI, M.A.

For some time past public opinion has been slowly but steadily gaining ground for abolishing capital punishment and the recent case of Caryl Chessman has further intensified this agitation. Once again a hue and cry has been raised over this punishment all over the world, capital punishment has been severely criticised and condemned and the demand for its abolition has increased. This case attracted a lot of public attention all around, more because of Chessman's success in staying off the punishment for twelve years, through legal technicalities. He utilised this period, besides other things, for putting his jail experiences into writing thereby converting his personal fight into an issue against capital punishment. As a result, overnight he became a hero and while his victim was still suffering in a lunatic asylum, attempts were being made by the public to save him from the gallows. Demonstrations were held outside the prison condemning capital punishment and demanding a reprieve for him. We are even told that a film will be shortly made on him, in which emphasis will be laid on the horrors of capital punishment. All this is bound to create a great impression upon the public and it looks as if the demand for the abolition of capital punishment will increase in the future.

The conception of crime and criminal having undergone a vast change since the beginning of this century, it is not surprising that public opinion to-day seems to be in favour of the abolition of capital punishment. But while the gathering of the momentum of public opinion for the abolition of capital punishment is understandable, one wonders if it is wise to give in to this agitation and abolish it completely, and whether the reasons put forth for its abolition are weighty enough to justify its abolition.

Capital punishment is only one of the modes of punishment and so a discussion of capital punishment necessarily involves a discussion of the general theory of punishment. The whole theory of punishment

is closely and proportionately related to the theory of crime. It is as a result of this that only the most heinous of crimes are declared in law as capital crimes. So, while advocating the abolition of capital punishment, its possible repercussions on the whole theory of crime and punishment must be taken into consideration. If capital punishment is to be abolished the whole theory of punishment in proportion to the theory of crime might have to be changed, for if this is abolished then there might be an equally intense agitation for the decrease in the other kinds of punishment as well and this may have an adverse effect on the crime situation.

It is contended that in the States where capital punishment has been abolished capital crimes have decreased and hence the argument that the abolition of the capital punishment would lead to increase in capital crimes has been proved groundless. But as against this it must be said that in the States where capital punishment is abolished, capital crime was very rare and consequently capital punishment was seldom awarded. Further, the rise or fall in the homicidal rates of any particular country depends on a plurality of causes in which the social, economic, industrial and educational factors play a predominant part. As such, it is only the professional and the vicious and unscrupulous murderers who, perhaps, think of this punishment while committing murder. But those who commit this crime due to some impulse, inferiority complex or some other mal-adjustment seldom think of this institution. To him who is engrossed in his own troubles and who in an unguarded moment commits this act, the existence of this instrument of punishment is immaterial, for he never thinks that he will have to answer to the State and society for the act he has committed. It is only the professional murderers and those murderers who murder after premeditation who think about this instrument of punishment and take precautions to escape the law.

Much importance has been attached

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the retributive nature of capital punishment. But capital punishment being only one of the modes in the theory of punishment, if the retributive nature is to be attributed to capital punishment, then it is equally applicable to the whole theory of punishment. Hence if capital punishment is to be scrapped off, the theory of crime has to go also. The rule of law, State and Government will also disappear, society will degenerate and it will become in the Hobbesian phrase "brutish, unbearable and nasty."

It is further contended in support of the abolition of capital punishment that such a punishment is not sanctioned by the scriptures. Scriptures are quoted as saying: 'Thou shalt not kill' and that man shall not sit on judgment upon another man. But it is completely forgotten by those who quote scriptures that the injunction of the scriptures is meant only for the individuals and not for the State. The State being an abstract entity, sin or virtue cannot be attributed to the State. The Modern State is a welfare State: as such it is neither irreligious nor anti-religious but is only a Godless State. Its duty is to create an atmosphere for man in which he can grow materially, morally as well as spiritually. The sayings of the scriptures which are quoted above also say: "Thou Shalt not covet other's wealth." This includes human property as well as life. And it is to protect this human life and property and create an atmosphere in which man can develop himself morally and spiritually without any fear that the State has come into being.

Another important fact which seems to be forgotten while scriptures are quoted in support of the abolition of capital punishment is the common religious belief—to be found in all religions—that the man who commits sin cannot escape retribution in one form or other. There is the famous dictum of the scriptures that man reaps what he sows.

Humanitarians advocate its abolition on the ground that it disregards the progressive view-point of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal. How far is this true? Is there a better substitute which will not

only serve the ends of justice but also tend towards reforming and rehabilitating the criminal? If capital punishment is abolished then the highest punishment would be imprisonment for life, i.e., twenty years of imprisonment. Is this a good substitute for capital punishment from the point of view of the humanitarians? It is said that prison turns man into beast. Separated from his family, relatives and friends and leading a life of repression and hard labour for twenty years is bound to sap his strength and kill his initiative. Added to this there will be the mental worry he will have to undergo for this long period on account of his family—any dire misfortune might befall his family in his absence—and also about his own future after he is released from jail. All this is sufficient to make him a broken man mentally and physically and it is this broken man, his strength sapped and initiative killed, who will have to face the world, after his release from prison and take up the threads of life he had left behind him. Will it be easy to rehabilitate such a man? Will not life and life's problems be too much for him to face, immediately after such a long period of repression driving him to despair and even perhaps to suicide, or to his old game of crime? Is this method of long period of imprisonment more humane and more in tune with the progressive point of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal?

Another reason put forth for the abolition of capital punishment is that it has not that much of the desired deterrent effect, as its protagonists claim. This also cannot be said to be true. Capital punishment is usually associated only with murder. Murderers are usually said to be of three types, viz., the professional killers, those who suffer from some kind of inadequacy, mental, physical or cultural and those who commit murder under the stress of some intense emotional crisis. And the contention is that capital punishment will act as a probable deterrent only for the professional killers and not for those belonging to other categories, as these murderers are not in the least affected by the fear of capital punishment. This contention cannot be accepted.

Professional killers know that, if caught, they have to pay the penalty. So only those who are ready to suffer this punishment usually opt to become professional killers. As to the murderers belonging to the other two categories it must be remembered that not every murderer is sentenced to death. Every consideration is shown to them by the jury and the court and very seldom is a death sentence passed on such murderers. Capital punishment does serve as a deterrent, if not for the majority, at least for a small minority, as man, uncertain of the attitude of the jury and the court, will not resort to this short cut, viz., murder, for the solution of his problems but will try to face his life's problems. The abolition of this punishment will lead to unfortunate consequences, for the man will offer the least resistance to his life's problems and will take the easy way out. Not only this, its abolition will deprive the State of the power to punish the unscrupulous and vicious killer who kills for the sake of killing or for material gain and mints money on human sorrow and misery.

Further, if the argument that capital punishment has not the desired deterrent effect is to be accepted then the same argument holds good as regards other modes of punishment as well. Just because thefts and other kinds of crime are in existence in spite of punishments, it cannot be argued that these punishments should be abolished. Then there would be no theory of crime or of punishment and consequently no law and peace and no security of life and property. The State and Government would be a cipher and it would simply mean the survival of the fittest, for crime is usually aimed against the weak by the strong.

Yet another reason put forth for the abolition of capital punishment is the untold suffering it inflicts upon the family, relatives and even friends of the criminal, as a result of the stigma which attaches to them because of the crime committed by the murderer. But this does not seem to be a sound argument for modern society is progressive, as is reflected in its treatment of the criminal with consideration and sympathy and in its demand for the abolition of capital punishment. In these conditions it is hard

to believe that society will stigmatise the relatives of the murderer as such and inflict untold suffering upon them. But even if this is true, will the abolition of capital punishment relieve the relatives of this stigma and the consequent suffering? Further, are relatives stigmatised because of the capital punishment the murderer has to face? Is it not true that the stigma is more due to the crime committed than due to the punishment inflicted? Other crimes like forgery, theft, etc., are not capital crimes and yet the relatives of those criminals are branded with the stigma. It is not only the family of a murderer who undergo untold suffering but also the family of any other criminal. So infamy is connected not only with capital punishment but also with other modes of punishment. Crime by itself is a tragic thing and once it is detected and punishment follows, then the suffering it inflicts on the criminal and his relatives is inevitable.

Finally, it is argued that capital punishment does more harm to the rest of the society than to the criminal himself. It is said that it has immense potentialities for harm in brutalising the community and lowering its sense of ethical values. This aspect was stressed by viscount Templewood while testifying before the Royal Commission on capital punishment. Said he: "It makes people gloat over crime and I think, however much you safeguard the actual carrying out of executions, they also pander to those morbid feelings that lie very near the surface in most of us and that would be much better repressed."

This might have been true in olden days when executions were held in public and the criminal was treated like a hunted animal. But modern executions take place within the closed walls of the prison and in the presence of a few prison officials including the chaplain and the doctor. Also the criminal is treated with great sympathy and consideration by the society. In fact, public opinion to-day seems to be swaying to the other extreme. The society is more in sympathy with the murderer than with the victim and demonstrations, if any, are held for demanding a reprieve for the condemned criminal rather than for hang-

ing him. Further modern society is no more narrow in its outlook. It is too engrossed with its diverse actions and ideals to have time to gloat over crime. Modern society is interested in a murder only when the murderer or the victim, or sometimes both, happen to be prominent members of society and then too only in so far as the crime affects it.

To sum up, are the reasons put forth for its abolition weighty enough to justify such an action? Its retributive nature cannot be regarded as of much importance, for, punishment as such, in whatever form it is given, contains a retributive element. Scriptures cannot be quoted in its favour as their injunctions are for the individuals and not for the State which is only an abstract entity. The humanitarians who advocate it on the ground of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal have yet to discover a substitute which satisfies the ends of justice as also the humanitarian principles. Its deterrent effect is not capable of being measured from the point of view of statistics and it must also be admitted, that its existence does serve as a possible deterrent if not for the majority at least for the minority. The murderer's family is no longer stigmatised by society. In fact, when the modern society's sympathy lies more with the murderer than with the victim and when it is demanding the abolition of capital punishment it is surprising as well as incredible that it should stigmatise the relatives of the murderer. Nor does modern society gloat over the horrors of capital punishment.

The only possible argument against capital punishment is perhaps its inhuman nature. And even here as the years have advanced this aspect of the punishment has been changing. The old crude forms of stoning to death, mutilation, hanging by the neck, etc., have been abolished and the modern gas chamber has been introduced. This form inflicts but little pain on the sentenced criminal. This system is introduced only in a few States of America but it is sure to be introduced all over the world within the next few years. Another

step that could be adopted for lessening the inhuman nature is by reducing the forward for its abolition. The reasons for

time to the greatest extent possible between the actual passing of the death sentence and the date for which the execution is fixed, thereby lessening the mental agony of the condemned prisoner. This suffering is something which could be done away with great benefit, for it does no good either to the criminal or to the State and society. So the prolongation, of the date of execution only results in the prolongation of the agony of the condemned man as well as his near and dear ones. Further, some prisoners, we are told, who are condemned to death suffer acute mental agony owing to the fear of death. This fear of death is common to man and it is only a few who at the last moment conquer this fear and face death bravely. This is more so to those who are told the time and date of their death and some condemned criminals become nervous wrecks by the time the actual date of execution comes and many instances are to be found where some had to be carried forcibly to their doom. This sort of agony does not benefit anyone and can be done away with completely either by drugging the prisoner before his execution or by withholding the actual time and date of execution from him until the last crucial moment. The judge while sentencing him can declare the period before which he should be executed, instead of specifying the date and time of the execution. The prisoner can then be told of the execution only at the last moment or it will be better still if he is put to death without his knowledge, i.e., he could be electrocuted in his sleep. Finally, the scope of capital punishment could be limited to the barest minimum possible. It could be limited only to those vicious and unscrupulous murderers who kill for the sake of killing or for material gain and become rich on human misery. These are some of the steps which deserve serious consideration of the authorities, for once the scope of capital punishment is limited and its inhuman nature minimised to the greatest degree possible, then much opposition to capital punishment is bound to disappear.

To conclude then, capital punishment has to continue in spite of all the reasons put forward for its abolition. The reasons for



its continuance are weighty enough to maintain the institution. Capital punishment should be regarded as a mode of punishment and should be treated as such. It does not seem to be as cruel an institution as it is depicted by the advocates for its abolition. The modern criminal procedure code is not as harsh as the old Draconian code. It contains many loopholes as it is drawn up on the belief that it is better to allow 99% of the criminals to escape the law than to send one innocent man to the gallows. So where the evidence is insufficient the criminal is given the benefit of doubt even though the authorities might be fully convinced of his guilt. Capital punishment is made more humane today and is reserved only for the most heinous crimes, usually murder. Even here, not all murderers are sentenced to death. The condemned are given a further chance of winning a reprieve from the Head of the State. Further, if it is used with sympathy and consideration and with its scope limited and its inhuman nature minimised as much as possible it will not result in undesirable repercussions, for mere retention of an institution does not necessarily mean its frequent utilisation. All this does not mean that the criminal should not be reformed or rehabilitated. Steps should be taken for his reformation and rehabilitation, but while steps are taken in this direction the various types of punishment should not be abolished. If this happens then the effort to reform and rehabilitate the criminal will not have that much of success as is essential, for its abolition will lead to the changing of the whole theory of crime and punishment as a result of which crime will increase. And especially in modern times when crime is on the increase all over the world the theory of punishment and the administration of justice should neither be weakened nor slackened. So if society is to be protected, law and order maintained and an atmosphere conducive to the development of man, socially, and spiritually, created, then the demand for its abolition should not be acceded to. Instead of inciting public opinion to demand for its abolition the institution of capital punishment should be presented to the people in its proper perspective and it should be retained at all costs, but its scope should be limited and it should be more humane.

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## TWO MARY ANNES

By P. L. STEPHEN

Spanning the nineteenth century there lived two famous Mary Annes—one in America and the other in England. The American was the wife of Abraham Lincoln, and the English woman the wife of Benjamin Disraeli. These contemporary Mary Annes were remarkable not only for their famous husbands but also for many interesting characteristics of their own.

Some four thousand books have been written about Lincoln and many of these have a great deal to say about his Mary Anne; for she was a woman with a definite character. Unfortunately her husband's law-partner Herndon had a dislike for her, and as he happened to be the first important biographer of Lincoln, he set afloat many uncomplimentary observations about Mary

Anne. Scandals and calumnies have always a way of winning their way throughout the world, and hence Mary Anne got a bad name. Stories of her husband's martyrdom at her hands were blindly accepted by people who had no better source of information. But dispassionate later research has shown that many of Herndon's stories were untrue. One of the latest writers D. H. Elletson shows that Mary Anne was quite different from the termagant that Herndon has pictured.

Although Abe was immersed in his work he did not marry in utter blindness a woman of ugly features as Herndon would have it. It is now established that she was "radiantly pretty with clear blue eyes, long dark lashes, a lovely complexion and

a winsome dimpled smile." Nor was she any fool. Look at her ideal of marriage. She had said, "I would rather marry a good man—a man of mind—with a hope and bright prospects, a head for position, fame and power, than to marry all the houses and gold in the world." It was this ideal that was tortured into Mary Anne setting her cap for Abraham Lincoln to be the President's wife. After the marriage, again, she did mother Abe a little, and he needed it too; but she was also a good mother to their children. She conscientiously attended to the children's upbringing. To them and to her husband she did make a pleasant home.

Lincoln had his appreciation for all this. When he got his nomination as Presidential candidate he thought immediately about telling the good news to Mary Anne. He said affectionately, "I reckon there is a little short woman down at our house that would like to hear the news."

She had, of course, her own weaknesses. Who has not? She was outspoken. Referring to the first occasion when she met Abe she says he asked her: "May I dance with you the worst way, Miss Todd?" and she remarks, "And he certainly did." She was a spendthrift too. As soon as she became the President's wife she began spending money extravagantly. Nothing was too good for her. One dinner service alone is said to have cost 1,100 dollars. Her dress too became outrageous. On one occasion Lincoln caustically said of her dress, "Our cat has a long tail to-night." Perhaps she was a little too possessive of her famous husband, and rather jealous of the many brilliant women he had to meet and move with.

But when all is said and done, it is now clear in the light of the fuller information that we now have, that she was a true helpmate to her husband. If she had her peculiarities he had them too, with his untidy dress, pockets bulging with papers, annoying forgetfulness of social manners, and abrupt movements and actions often disconcerting to the wife. But as husband and wife Abraham Lincoln and Mary Anne did get on sufficiently well and enjoyed normal domestic happiness.

Disraeli and his Mary Anne were, however, no mere work-a-day couple. They were truly romantic in many ways. If Lincoln was older than his wife by twelve years, Disraeli was younger than his by a dozen years. She was, besides, a widow, with quite a tidy sum of her own, which led to its being even suggested that Dizzy married her for her money. But that was not true, though the money was, of course, useful to him. He married her because he found in her qualities that made it possible for him to love her ardently and remain attached to her all through the many years of their long lives.

In one of his letters to her he wrote about it. He said: "I found you, as I thought, amiable, tender, and yet acute and yet gifted with no ordinary mind—one whom I could look upon with pride as the partner of my life, who could sympathise with all my projects and feelings, console me in the moments of dejection, share my hour of triumph and work with me for our honour and happiness."

If there was thus a sort of wise calculation in the choice of his wife, Disraeli was by nature romantic in his attitude towards the partner of his life. In spite of his busy political life and the demands on his time with his many preoccupations he was ever eager for the company of his beloved. He hated separation. On one occasion he wrote: "My present feelings convince me that there is no hell on earth like separated love." On another occasion he wrote: "I wish to be with you, to live with you, never to be away from you—I care not where in heaven or on earth, or in the waters under the earth."

Usually such an extra passionate attitude brings on a certain kind of nemesis—quarrels and other misfortunes. But Disraeli and Mary Anne had a perfectly happy domestic life continued unimpaired until the very end. Disraeli had made quite a good judgment of Mary Anne's character. She was entirely devoted to him and studied how fully to meet his needs. In all his activities she took an intelligent interest, and aided and helped him most effectively. She was a careful housekeeper and she had



Elina Bystritskaya as Aksinya in the film "And Quiet Flows the Don"

Photo by Mikhail Trakhman

contain profound ideas? The filmgoer wants a good laugh in the cinema—and it's our job to provide him with it."

This, roughly, is the gist of the argument put forward by some comedy producers. But their opponents demand comedy with content. Stale gags, they say, are no substitute for thought.

Of course, no one can possibly disagree with those who say that a comedy must be gay and entertaining. And, personally, I make no complaint if a highly amusing comedy, played with good taste, contains no important moral idea.

But if that type of comedy becomes the prevalent type, if entertainment is its main or sole purpose, then this is a bad thing.

#### What Sort?

Laughter? Yes, of course, we want it. But what sort of laughter? There is the laughter of Rabelais, Swift, Gribboyedov and Shchedrin. There is the humour in Chaplin's pictures and the humour of *Charley's Aunt*. That comparison requires no comment.

The discussions and debates now going on

among film workers cover a wide field. There is the question of national form, the attitude to neo-realism, the problem of evolving a modern style and a host of others.

But the main direction of all the discussions

and arguments resolves itself into a struggle against inartistic and hackneyed work in the cinema, no matter in what form it appears, and the proclamation of an art of great ideas and noble sentiments.

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## IDEALS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

By C. R. RATHEE

Vice Principal, Nehru College, Jhajjar (Rohtak)

The period that has elapsed since the advent of freedom is too short to enable one to measure the extent of the changes that have taken place in the various aspects of our national life. It required years of toil and struggle to achieve that freedom, but the responsibilities it has brought in its train call for an even greater and more sustained effort from all who value that freedom, because of the opportunities it has placed within our grasp.

We are here concerned with only one branch of national activity namely, university education, which unfortunately has not attracted as much attention as it deserves. Until recently, the scholar and the scientist, both here and in the West, were so deeply engrossed in their own work that they rarely came in contact with the bustle of business and politics in the world outside. The average citizen saw little of them, and knew less about their achievements, which lay buried in learned tomes and in scientific journals, and, if they caught the public eye at all, it was only on rare occasions such as the award of a Nobel Prize. This was the outcome of an unrealistic approach to life on the part of both the academic man and the man in the street.

Fortunately, forces have been at work which have broken down the walls shutting off the activities of the workers in the universities from the common gaze. Democracy was the most important of these. Next in importance was the impact of the two World Wars. The Wars only hastened the action commenced by Democracy, and

the scientist who had previously been leading a sheltered existence within the four walls of his laboratory was dragged out by the force of circumstances and compelled to align himself with the ordinary citizen to share in the life and death struggle in which civilized humanity was engaged to make the world safe for freedom.

Although India was not in the thick of the fight, she could not but become aware of the importance of scientific research and training to national security and welfare in the world as it is constituted today. Now that she is free to shape her destiny with her own hands, she can no longer afford to be indifferent to the need of reorganizing university education in the context of her freedom. The existing universities and those which are springing up in several parts of the country are responsible to the nation, not merely for conserving the best that was in India's glorious past in the domains of the mind and the spirit, but also for providing the instrument of progress in her material prosperity by training up leaders of men and of scientific thought.

What is required for a proper integration of universities with national life is faith in the function and purpose of university education on the part of the powers that be, and self-confidence and determination to fulfil their high destiny on the part of the universities themselves. It was the realization of this fact that elicited from Sir Ernest (later Lord) Simon the remark that "the most exciting thing in the United States is their faith in education as measured by the amount of money they are pre-

an eye for glamour. If Disraeli was flamboyant she kept up with him. Even at fifty-four she was glamorous at court functions, as shown by her own description of her dress on one such occasion: "A point lace dress over rose-coloured satin and deep point lace flounces with rosettes and diamonds; bodice of rose satin trimmed with point lace, stomachin of black velvet studded with diamonds. Head-dress a wreath of splendid diamonds, green velvet leaves, feathers and lappets." This might appear ridiculous to others, especially as she was an old woman; but it suited her husband all right; and what does a loving woman need more? So they lived their life for thirty-three years, an unusual example of love and harmony in a high and in many ways stormy life. When she died there was nothing but a chorus of praise for the way

she had remained an ideal wife. James Antony Froude declared: "She was a heroine if ever woman deserved the name. She devoted herself to Disraeli with a completeness which left no room in her mind for any other thought. She was his helpmate, his confidante, his adviser."

But then married happiness, like many other things, is a two-way traffic. The husband and the wife have to respond to each other if happiness is to be ensured. And that is what happened in the life of the Disraelis. If she was devoted to him, he in his turn, "In defeat or victory he hurried home from the House of Commons to share his vexation or his triumph with his companion." No wonder Gladstone in spite of all their political antipathies declared that he would honour Dizzy for his behaviour to his wife.

## SOVIET CINEMA—ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES

By YURY KHANYUTIN

At the Cannes Festival the Soviet Union was awarded the prize for "best participation" as the country which, all in all, had contributed the most interesting films.

good dozen other pictures recently released are, to say the least, well worthy of attention.

These and other films justify our claim that the Soviet cinema is thriving—but, of course, this does not mean that we have no unsolved problems! All is still far from well in the film world.

For one thing, the obvious gap between our best pictures and the common run of films cannot but alarm us. Recently both critics and audiences have been repeatedly stressing that trite, commonplace and mediocre films are still appearing.

Some of our film workers consider this no cause for worry.

"What do you expect?" they ask. "You can't expect the screen to be filled solely with masterpieces!"

They stress the great increase in output of films, the large number of newcomers among script writers, directors and so on: "It is only natural that there should be many things they are unable to do!"

*Make no Allowances*

These reassurances were sharply rejected by



A still from the film "Captain's Daughter." Actress I. Arepina as Masha Mironova

Apart from *Ballad of a Soldier* and *The Lady with a Dog*, highly praised at Cannes, a

## SOVIET CINEMA—ITS ACHIEVEMENTS & WEAKNESSES

producer Ivan Pyriev at a meeting of the Film Workers' Union organisational committee, held it with his mother. some time back.

"We must not make allowances for inexperience," he stressed, "nor be complacent in the fact that we produce many good pictures."

"It's true that failures are to be expected—but if we are going to justify mediocre pictures, if we don't sound the alarm every time such a picture appears, there will be more and more poor films."

After critically analysing a dozen or more unsuccessful pictures, it became clear to the committee that the main trouble was not technical weakness, poor direction or action, but primarily poverty of thought.

In the past, there have been two points of view on this.

Some believed that the most important thing was the subject matter of the film.

If, for example, it was devoted to a tremendous construction job, to space flight, or to the life of a huge factory, then this alone invested it with significance.

But others argued that the subject did not matter nearly as much as the thought—if any!—that lay behind it.

Practice confirms the correctness of this second point of view.

Take, for example, one recent film, *Ardent Soul*.

At first glance this film seems to have an extremely important theme: a steel mill, the struggle there for new progressive methods of work, the clash between people hanging on to the old ways and bold men with initiative and the pioneering spirit.

But all this is only on the surface of the film. In reality the plot and the principal conflict are woven round the traditional love triangle. The characters are stereotyped and no serious problems are posed.

*Real Insight*

On the other hand the film *A Ballad of a Soldier* apparently deals merely with an unimportant story: a soldier who performs a heroic

deed, gets a short leave and goes home to spend it with his mother. Through this simple story, however, the makers of the film succeeded in depicting the life of the nation in the trying war years, and showed real insight in their character study of an ordinary Russian lad.

The significance of a film, it was clear, depended not on the situation or the scene of its action, but on the weight of the problems it poses.



A still from the film "The Story of Fiery Years."

Actor N. Vengranovsky as Ivan Orlyuk

Photo by B. Petov

Shallow themes (an expression current among our critics) mean shallow thoughts. And certain films, it is regrettable, have more than their share of shallow thoughts.

Sergei Gerasimov and other Directors strongly disagreed. The chief damage done by such pictures, they said, was precisely the fact that they discredited an important theme, and damped public interest in it.

The debate was even hotter with regard to the superficial themes of most of the comedies.

Comedies are usually very popular, but although we have produced a number of highly entertaining pictures, the general standard leaves much to be desired. Here too there are different standpoints.

*Providing the Laughs*

"Shallow themes? What has that got to do with comedy? Who says that comedies must

pared to spend on education in general, and on university education in particular." As everyone knows, our country is poor, and it has to depend chiefly on the State for the supply of the necessary finance for implementing its educational programmes.

As university education in India has been freed from the control of the foreigners, it need no longer aim at supplying an army of quill drivers and minor officials to run and oil the administrative machinery of Government. The Indian universities have for many years ceased to be the recognized agencies of Government for examining candidates and awarding them certificates for employment, which they were for a long time under the old regime. They have now come into their own, and are free to perform the function which universities in all advanced countries are intended to fulfil. Proper planning is, however, essential, on both a short-term and a long-term basis. In the desire to work out an elaborate plan, which may take years and years to implement, the immediate needs cannot be overlooked.

Looking at things from the point of view of immediate needs, it is clear that a young republic like ours, with an immense manpower and considerable potential material wealth, but suffering from various major wants, such as those of food and other necessities of life, physical health, literacy, or technical skill, should devote its efforts to the removal of all these deficiencies with the utmost speed. India has yet to build up a strong army, an efficient navy and an up-to-date air force to defend her frontiers against attacks by enemies. She has also to tap her rich mineral and other natural resources, increase the production of consumable goods and improve her means of transport, if she is to compete successfully with other progressive countries in the world's markets. All this requires the efficient training of an army of engineers, metallurgists, chemists, doctors, teachers, managerial staff, and officers for the fighting forces. A programme which leaves these needs out of account would not only be unpractical but ill-conceived.

At the same time, it must be remember-

ed that university education to be worthy of the name, must have a high purpose. As a French writer once put it, a university is built of men (*batie en hommes*). It is the students and the teachers who constitute the university. No university education can be said to achieve its purpose, if it does not help build the personality of its alumni. Character building, though important at all times, is most important to India at the present moment, when she has to work out her own destiny among the world's nations. With the deterioration of moral standards everywhere in consequence of the anti-social elements which gathered strength during the last war, and which are thriving today in spite of legal inhibitions in the shape of post-war controls and emergency measures, the inculcation of civic responsibility and integrity of character is a matter of the highest importance to the community. The students need to be trained to become not only worthy patriots but also true citizens of the world. The building up of a sound national character must be in the forefront of the aims of university education for without it the other aims, such as the conservation of learning, the diffusion of knowledge and the extension of its frontiers, are valueless.

To achieve the object indicated in the preceding paragraph opportunities should be provided for greater contact between teacher and student, and student and student. In non-residential universities this contact is only possible through corporate life outside the classroom, social and literary activities, sports and games in which both teachers and students can meet on equal terms. The best results can only be expected where the teachers, or at least some of them are persons who can inspire their students with their own ideals and zeal. This can only happen if the best intellects are drawn to the teaching profession by attractive conditions of service and adequate salaries.

Unfortunately, the teaching profession has not hitherto received its due recognition from either the public or the State. The teacher's economic and social status leave much to be desired. Curiously enough, the

average citizen expects the university or college teacher to lead a life of selfless service abjuring the comforts of life which money can provide, forgetful that lofty idealism which spurns material comforts is not frequently to be met with, and that there is no justification for condemning an important section of society to a life of comparative poverty coupled with strenuous intellectual effort. The teachers in the ancient Indian universities were treated with the greatest respect and consideration by the public and by their own students. They enjoyed the privilege of occupying the best apartments in the monasteries housing those universities, were waited upon by their students and were honoured by being carried about in sedan chairs in recognition of their dignified status. The picture today is quite different. The average teacher in a modern Indian university or college is distinguished by the badge of poverty, and, if he asks for the betterment of his economic condition, he rarely receives a sympathetic hearing. A contented teaching profession is indispensable if we expect our universities to impart instruction of a high quality and to influence the lives of their students through teachers from whom they can catch the fire of inspiration.

It is not enough to improve the economic condition of the teachers. They must be made masters in their own houses. The legislation and administration of the universities must be left in their hands. They must be given a free hand in shaping the courses of study, in selecting persons for teaching posts and in managing the affairs of the universities. It is unthinkable that they should be prevented from offering themselves for election to the executive bodies of universities on the ground that they are academic men as contrasted with men of the world. Consistently with their duties and obligations they should be free to express their opinions on all matters connected with their subject, whether in the classroom or in public.

The universities cannot produce the best results unless they enjoy full autonomy

in all matters which concern them. University education is the joint responsibility of Government and the people. There is a vague feeling among the public that the State in India is not keen on encouraging university education in spite of the increases which have been made in Government grants since the end of the last war. To allay all apprehensions in the public mind, it would be worthwhile for the Central Government to make a public declaration of policy by means of a Resolution, indicating its faith in and desire to support and encourage university education, and assuring the public as well as the universities that Government have no desire to interfere with the autonomy of the universities on the plea that financial assistances must be accompanied by control of some kind or other.

The universities have a very important mission to fulfil in India's national life. That is the mission of cultural unity. Appeals to narrow loyalties are harmful, especially at the present time when unity is essential for the progress of our country. Disruptive tendencies which, before the declaration of Independence were kept in check in the desire to present a united front to foreign rule, are now becoming a source of danger. The 'Two Nation' theory was responsible for the division of India less than thirteen years ago and we have not yet got over the effects of partition. While we are trying to eradicate the evils of communalism in all possible ways, new forces of disintegration, more dangerous because they wear the semblance of unity based on linguistic or regional loyalties, are weakening the bond of national unity. One would perhaps meet with as little success in resisting the advancing tide of sentiment based on such loyalties, as Mrs. Partington did in trying to keep the Atlantic out of her house with a mop. The only safety lies in clinging fast to the unfaltering ideal of India's cultural unity and what better custodians can there be to take charge of this ideal than the Indian universities?



## ANIMALS AND FOOD SUPPLY

By S. C. GARG, M.Sc.

### *Menu of our Ancestors*

The existence of man on the surface of the earth has largely been dependent upon the animal life existing besides him. Nothing definite can be said about the stage or date in history, when man began the use of animals as food. The fact that thousands of years ago, man consumed the animals and also domesticated them becomes clear from the study of contents of caves and tombs. Man became more and more dependent upon animals and their products as he began to step up on the ladder of civilisation.

History tells that the Aryans settled in India as agriculturists and their wealth was assessed in terms of cattle. This sort of association naturally led our ancestors to give a due importance to these creatures, so much so that in many of our religious books, a good bulk is devoted to animals.

In the modern era, nearly half of the total food supply of man is contributed by mammalian, avian and aquatic life. The various foods of animal origin are meat from domestic and wild animals, eggs from domestic and wild birds, milk from cattle, goat and sheep and lastly fish of varieties. Besides these major food products, various other animals are consumed in different parts of the world. In countries with abundant land areas where animal life can be more economically maintained, the tendency is towards higher consumption of animals and animal food products.

### *Fish as a source of food supply*

Next to Agriculture and Animal Husbandry comes the fishing industry. Fish forms a valuable source of easily digestible animal protein for human diet and this must have led man from very early times to regard it with esteem. Fishes are caught from every piece of water and consumed by human beings in various ways. At some places it is consumed fresh while at other places it is eaten after being salted, smoked or preserved in one way or the other.

Fish abounds in all kinds of waters of the world. Of course the marine fish excels in quantity since sea alone covers about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the surface of the globe. Apart from the seas, there are the fresh waters of the land like the rivers, streams, ponds, lakes, etc., containing a host of fish. Today more than 20,000 different species of fish are known to the scientists and many more are discovered every year.

Fish has solved the food problem of various nations of the world particularly in the Western countries. In India, it is only after the war that fish has been looked upon as an important food for millions of people. Even to-day fish is not taken as food in many communities due to their religious prejudices. "In 1928 F.A.O. carried a survey and the Royal Commission of India commenting on the fish as an article of diet observed and reported our failure to develop the fisheries as a source of food. They further reported that in certain parts of the country, there are religious prejudices to use the fish as an article of diet, but in Assam, Bengal and Orissa it is readily taken and much relished by  $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of the population. In U.P., Bihar and other states percentage of population take it when they can get it." In the Punjab there had been, since the war, an increased demand for it.

In India the total annual consumption of sea fish is estimated at about 156 lakh maunds. The marketable surplus of fresh water fish amounts to about 90 lakh maunds. A considerable quantity of preserved fish is imported in India but practically no import of fresh fish is made. In India the average consumption per capita of fish is very low. It is only 3.45 lbs. as compared to 23 lbs. per capita annually in the United States. However the fish is a very popular item of food for a Bengali and the per capita consumption of fish in the state is about 6.75 lbs. while the consumption of fish in the Punjab is the lowest being only 0.09 lbs.



A part of the catch of fish in the cold storage hold of Ashok, a fishing vessel

Broadly speaking, the word fish includes not only the members of the finny tribe but also crustaceans like prawns, lobsters and crabs and molluscs like oysters, clams and pearl oysters. Prawns constitute a very important part of our fisheries and in some places are more important than any other kind of fish. The economically important prawns are the sea prawns, some of which grow to a size of one foot or more in length. Apart from the sea prawns, there are the prawns of the fresh waters which are fished in the lakes, jheels, rivers, etc. Prawns and their relatives all constitute about 10.5 per cent of the total sea fish consumed.

Shell or Oyster fisheries are more or less a monopoly of the poorer class of people along the sea coast. The clams are cheap and tasty and are generally marketed alive. The fishing of clams is generally done at low tide and largely by the womenfolk. Oysters are known to be delicious and easily digestible but in India, they are not liked by higher communities. They are fished from November to March when they are exposed to low tide. After the collection of the oysters, their shells are opened and the meat scooped out which is stored in sea water in earthen pots.

Fishing industry to-day in India is mainly dependent on the fisherman community which is an illiterate, poor, socio-economically low community in the country. Further, the fishing industry has not been developed due to the

existing caste barrier in our country and it still remains a cottage industry with the minimum of organisation and capitalisation. During the last few years some attention has been given to the development of fisheries in order to cope with the ever increasing demand of food stuffs. It is only about 0.75 per cent of the population of our country that is interested in this industry. There is no doubt a relative abundance of various types of fishes in the country and the industry can be expanded to a very great extent by making use of the educated young men and women who are facing the problem of unemployment. In the Third Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 33 crores has been earmarked for the development of marine fisheries. Fish culture should be encouraged to its maximum in the country. Centralised fishery research stations should be set up at various important places in the country to guide the fisherman community in the proper use of various types of fishing grounds. The various types of fishing methods may be improved and introduced in the industry.

### *Birds and Food Problem*

Like any other class of animals, birds also provide man with a variety of products. The most popular are the fowl and eggs. In the present century, poultry farming has assumed the status of industry largely by the demand of its products and also by the relative economy of its production. Varieties of poultry besides fowl include turkey, peacock, duck, goose and various pigeons and partridges. In the United States, during the last fifty years, the consumption of eggs and poultry products has increased almost two and a half times. The improvement methods of breeding and feeding on balanced diet have brought about an entire change in the poultry industry. It is remarkable, that the poultry industry of the United States has grown to such a proportion that this country leads all other nations from the standpoint of poultry population and the number of eggs produced annually.

In the modern era, poultry farming occupies an important place in agriculture. This is due to the fact that poultry utilises enormous quantities of waste products including grains, the value of which can hardly be recovered otherwise in

is passing at present through a phase of development and the country's future is being moulded through the planned developments like the Five-Year Plans. For such an era, it becomes very essential for every citizen to explore all possible means for getting food. Animals are an immense

source in this direction. Hence in a country like ours which is passing through a development phase, animals and particularly the food animals must be considered a national wealth and should be given a due share of attention which they deserve.

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## PROBLEM OF STAGING SANSKRIT DRAMAS ON MODERN STAGE

By DR. J. B. CHAUDHURI

WHEREAS the origin of Sanskrit dramas is still shrouded in mystery, it is evident that Sanskrit dramas gained in popularity by the beginning of the 3rd Century B.C. Bhasa and Asvaghosa are the first two celebrated names in the long and chequered history of Sanskrit drama. Since then, there has been an incessant succession of Sanskrit dramas, composed with various objects—some for ceremonial shows, some for celebrating royal conquests, some for general merriment, others again for religious propagation and so on. As regards the last category, not a few Sanskrit dramas were composed by the Gaudiya Vaisnav Saints for propagating their religion and philosophy and all these were frequently staged on various occasions and proved to be a very popular medium for the spread of religious teachings amongst the masses.

While discussing the question of staging Sanskrit dramas on the modern stage, we shall have to deal with the problem of staging two kinds of Sanskrit dramas, viz., ancient and modern.

### Ancient Sanskrit Dramas

First, let us deal with the ancient Sanskrit dramas. There are eight points that require our serious consideration.

Firstly, though Sanskrit is understood by many, it being the source of almost all provincial languages of India, the Prakrits, very many in form, are not quite intelligible even to Sanskrit-knowing people. Still, as they form an essential feature of ancient Sanskrit dramas, there are

some who do not like to have the Prakrit portions Sanskritized for modern stages.

As to this, our feeling is that the original Prakrit should be retained and not Sanskritized while staging ancient plays. The Prakrit is an important branch of Indian Learning, and through dramas, it has survived conspicuously. By eliminating Prakrit portions from Sanskrit dramas, we should not render disservice to this Literature.

Secondly, though there are 10 varieties of *Rupakas* and eighteen varieties of *Uparupakas*, still one is bound to feel that the plots of Sanskrit dramas are rather stereotyped in nature, e.g., the Chief Queen is usually tolerant and not infrequently agreeable to the marriage of her husband with some lady who is her relative—often a very close relative, a first cousin or maternal uncle's daughter, not previously recognized by her as such for some reason or other.

As to this, our reaction again is that Sanskrit dramas are not so frequently staged as to create a sense of repetition of plots; the feeling of lack of variety of plots is really an academic one and does not very much bother the audience.

Thirdly, the verses in which Sanskrit dramas abound are reproduced on stages in different ways in different provinces in India. In some provinces they are simply recited, and in others again, they are, without exception, set to tune.

In recitation or singing of verses of ancient Sanskrit dramas many of course follow its tradition in different parts of the country. We do, however, feel that those verses which have not been marked out as songs by the dramatists themselves should only be recited in order that

## PROBLEM OF STAGING SANSKRIT DRAMAS

the audience may distinguish; between these two categories, viz., verses for recitation and songs.

Fourthly, intonation and pronunciation are different in different provinces.

Really, this is not a big problem at all. Practice makes one perfect. It is not at all difficult to get over these difficulties if one is only willing to do it. All attempts must be made for accuracy in this connection.

Fifthly, the description of Nature in most ancient Sanskrit plays is much too lengthy, and at times, hackneyed.

Here, again, we do stress that the prolonged description of Nature in Sanskrit dramas may profitably be shortened in a modern adaptation of an ancient Sanskrit play. We must, however, remember that Nature plays a very important role in Sanskrit dramas and we should allow its preponderance even in our modern adaptations.

Sixthly, in some dramas, there is not much action and matters move very slowly for modern taste.

As to this, our reply is that ancient Sanskrit dramas are, as a rule, quite lengthy and in our modern adaptations, we can easily choose those portions which would infuse in the whole play a feeling of good dramatic action and of rapid developments of situations.

Seventhly, the question of costume, music, atmosphere, etc., as befitting ancient times is a difficult one.

Certainly, the costumes, etc., should represent those ages in which the respective dramas were composed. Even then, these are bound to vary from province to province as we have never been uniform in India with regard to our dress, etc., at any time.

Last, and though not least, it is, as is natural, quite difficult to get good actors and actresses for Sanskrit dramas, for it is often found that

those who act well cannot speak Sanskrit properly and *vice versa*.

Here also the question is that of perseverance and practice. As a rule, those who volunteer for Sanskrit acting, are dedicated to the cause of Sanskrit Learning and would leave no stones unturned for the sake of their own perfection.

### Modern Sanskrit Dramas

Some new problems arise in connection with the staging of modern Sanskrit dramas as well. In this connection, the fundamental point for consideration is how far a modern Sanskrit dramatist should deviate from the rigid rules laid down in Sanskrit rhetorical works.

As to this, our reply is that new scientific discoveries have brought in new developments in technique. A modern dramatist must also cater to suit the tastes of his own time. Nor need he take up the same subject-matters as prescribed in the *Rasasastra*.

Regarding language itself, the use of Prakrit must not be deemed compulsory now-a-days for a modern dramatist. Really in these days of feminine franchise and mass consciousness, no distinction should be made between men and women, nobles and serfs—by putting Sanskrit in the mouth of some and Prakrit in that of others.

It is indeed a matter of great gratification that within a very short span, the staging of Sanskrit dramas has become very popular all over India and this definitely proves that, like English and Vernacular dramas, Sanskrit dramas also may serve the purpose of both enjoyment and instruction even in modern times. The importance of the staging of Sanskrit dramas can hardly be overrated from the point of propagating Sanskrit Learning amongst the masses in particular.



as efficient a manner as in the production of eggs and poultry meat.

In India, poultry farming is more or less in a neglected state and has hardly attained the status of cottage industry. Poultry keeping is only confined to villages except a few cities. Many people in India have tried poultry as a business but sooner or later, every one failed due to inexperience and lack of capital. During the present decade, government has been helping private enterprises to start poultry farms but hardly any success could be claimed in this direction.

Many suggestions could be made for improving poultry farming in rural areas. Poultry keepers do not provide proper accommodation to birds and it is not so because it is expensive but they are ignorant about it. Many birds in this condition become the prey of jackals, cats, etc. So for improving poultry farming in the rural areas, it is very important to provide proper accommodation to the birds. Furthermore, in *kacha* houses or *khadas*, the birds become infested with various types of ecto-parasites like ticks and lice; and once the birds become infested with such creatures, the escape from death becomes impossible. Feeding is the most neglected part of poultry keeping in the villages. Experiments conducted in this direction have conclusively shown that good food alone will improve the egg laying capacity and the rate of the growth of the fowl. Another improvement that can be brought about in poultry farming is the introduction of improved varieties of male birds.

#### *Mammals as a Source of Food Supply*

Various mammals which supply food to us include beef cattle, dairy cattle for milk, pigs, sheep and goat.

**Beef:** Beef is the principal product of the beef cattle. The dietetic value of beef is well known and it occupies an important place in the human diet by virtue of its taste, health giving qualities and its calorific value. In European countries, the prosperity of the people depends upon the supply of more and better quality beef. The flavour of beef stands at the top of the list of all other meats in its appeal to the human palate. It is this quality of beef that accounts for its larger consumption as food in so many countries. The annual per capita consumption

of beef varies widely in different countries. In the United States, during the last five years, its consumption has varied from a minimum of about 45 lbs. to a maximum of 70 lbs. per capita annually.

**Veal:** Veal is a bye-product of dairy industry rather than a product of beef industry. No doubt calves produce the highest quality of veal but it is not profitable to market them as veal. This is due to the fact that the cost of producing them is higher than the value of calf as veal. The veal has a milder flavour than beef and the annual per capita consumption in the United States was 8 lbs. in 1938. Practically there is no consumption of beef or veal in India due to the fact that in our country slaughtering of beef cattle is against Hindu religion. In 1942, the annual per capita consumption was only 0.85 lbs. and it must have considerably decreased since then.

**Milk:** Milk is the principal product of dairy cattle and beef and veal are the bye-products of this industry. When man first began the use of milk as food is not known but the earliest writers have inferred that it was used as a whole in the early ages of civilisation and the other products were tried later. It is a valuable food product and is well suited for direct consumption. The consumption of milk in India is much higher as compared with its yield from the cattle maintained in our country. The composition of milk is 3 to 6 per cent fat, 4 to 5 per cent sugar and 3 to 4 per cent protein and 86 to 88 per cent water. Because of its wide variety of nutrients and their high digestibility, milk is a wholesome and healthful food.

In the United States, the annual per capita consumption of all dairy products in terms of milk varies around 800 lbs. and to produce this supply of milk, 25,000,000 cows are maintained for milk production. On the other hand, India produces about 800,000 maunds of milk a year. This is the second largest country in the world in the matter of production of milk, the first being the U.S.A. But the quantity per capita is so small that in India each person gets about 7 ounces of milk or its equivalent in milk products daily whereas each person in the United States gets about 35 oz. of milk daily. Nutritionists have estimated that daily average diet of a growing child must contain about 32 oz. of milk while that of the adult about half of it.

## ANIMALS AND FOOD SUPPLY

Each cow in India on an average produces 625 lbs. of milk annually and if this yield is increased to three times, only then it will be possible to meet the minimum needs of our people. This can be done either by increasing the number of cows or by enhancing the yield per cow by giving them more food of quality. As for the former suggestion, to increase the number of cows, it is not possible because there would come up the problem of food for those extra cattle. Hence for increasing cattle population, food resources must be increased likewise. The greatest need of milk lies in the villages since the villagers have to put in very hard work in the fields. Hence it should draw the attention of all those persons who are interested in national or public health and human nutrition.

**Pork:** Pork and lard are two food products which are got from pigs, hogs and swines. Pork is the highly flavoured food for human beings because of its taste and its suitability to curing and smoking. The annual per capita consumption of pork varies widely in different countries of the world depending upon its availability, cost, taste preference and, in some instances, on religious beliefs. During the last fifty years, pork consumption in the United States has varied from a minimum of about 50 lbs. to a maximum of 80 lbs. per capita annually.

**Lamb and Mutton:** Lamb and mutton are meats of very high flavour but not so much liked as beef or pork. The consumption of pork and mutton is largest in those countries where conditions favour the economic production of sheep and the lowest in those countries where other kinds of animals can economically be maintained. The consumption of lamb and mutton is also influenced to some extent by religious beliefs, for instance in India where beef is not taken by Hindus, lamb and mutton find man's favour. Orthodox Jews who do not take pork, eat larger quantities of lamb and mutton. Taste also determines the consumption of lamb and mutton, as for example in Britain 30 lbs. of mutton per capita annually is consumed while in the United States only 6.6 lbs. per capita annually is the consumption.

In India sheep and goat are a valuable wealth. It has now been conclusively shown that four or five goats can easily be maintained

#### *Other Animals as Human Food*

It has been known since many centuries that insects are eaten as delicacies in many parts of the world. Honey has been regarded as a prized food from times immemorial. Even to-day honey is highly appreciated as food in India as well as abroad. It has been conclusively shown that honey builds haemoglobin in the blood of infants. Almost every animal from fly to a man was consumed by Australian aborigines. Apart from insects, man has consumed shell fish like mussels and cockles. Before the penetration by the Arabs and whitemen, primitive Africa was almost without food of plant origin. At many times they even consumed lizards, porcupines and even monkeys. In Tropical Asia, all sociological and economic stages of development from primitive food gatherers to the highly specialised agriculturists are still co-existent. Many of the peasants of China and Japan improve their daily rice meals by addition of small quantity of meat of any kind of animals from toads and mice to insects. In Burma, fried locusts are considered a delicacy while in the middle-East, locust and honey form an important item of food.

#### *Conclusions*

From the foregoing account, it will be seen that animals are an important source of human food supply. In India also, animals can play an important role in solving the food problem. No doubt India's population lives mostly in the villages and the prosperity of the country depends upon the maximum production from their agricultural land by introducing better methods of farming, etc. But animals as an important source of food supply must be given their due share. Side by side with the main profession of agriculture, a few animals must be maintained by every grower which can be used for food purpose and such animals so maintained can be an extra source of income to the grower. Not only that, such animals can provide food to the ever increasing population in our country. India

By K. R. RAJAGOPALAN

THE nucleus of the present State of Kerala is composed of the twin States of Travancore and Cochin. Both were princely States with long traditions comprising together an area of 9,144 sq. miles and a population of 9,280 thousand. In 1935, the Maharaja of Cochin had formed a Legislative Council with a majority of elected members and in 1937 a new constitution was introduced by which the "Nation-Building Departments" were assigned to a minister chosen from among the elected representatives of the Council. In Travancore also, there was a representative assembly called the **Moolam Sabha**. But the main role of these Councils was advisory and the real power was vested with the Diwans appointed by the Maharajas. Both States were fortunate in having a series of able administrators, had not the backwardness usually associated with Indian princely States. The Maharaja of Cochin was the first to hail the merger of princely States. Elections based on adult franchise were held in 1948 in both the states separately.

For the first time, an Interim Constitution Act was promulgated in Travancore by which Pattam Thanu Pillai, leading the Congress Party in the Legislature with 65 out of 96 members, formed the first popular ministry in March 1948.

But this Ministry resigned, following factions within the Congress Party and a new leader Parur T. K. Narayana Pillai was asked to form the Ministry towards October 1948. The two States were merged into the United State of Travancore-Cochin on 27th June 1949 with the Maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh. The same Narayana Pillai ministry continued with two more ministers from Cochin State in the cabinet. At this time, the Congress Party had a strength of 44, Socialists 12, Communists and Allies 32, other parties 9 and Independents 11.

Within 3 years, however, this ministry too resigned and a care-taker ministry led by Kesavan was functioning till March. After the General Elections of 1952, the

Congress party formed a Ministry led by A. J. John. This Ministry continued for nearly 18 months and failing to get a vote of confidence from the Legislature, had to resign in September 1953. The Assembly was also dissolved and fresh elections were arranged by the Central Government.

In February next year, elections took place and the first Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.) ministry was formed by Pattam Thanu Pillai (who headed the First Congress Ministry in 1948) on the basis of the support from the Congress Party. But this too fell, owing to a vote of no-confidence in February 1955. The same month saw the formation of another Congress Ministry headed by Panampilli Govinda Menon but after only 13 months in office, this ministry in turn, had to make way for President's rule from March 1956.

The reorganisation of States followed and elections to the new Kerala State took place along with elections all over the country in 1957 and the First Communist Ministry was formed (headed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad) in April, 1957. This Ministry was dissolved by the President taking over the Administration in July-August 1959 and the Second Mid-term elections or the fourth election after the merger were held in February 1960. Congress Party then returned with a majority and a Government formed by both the Congress and the P.S.P. members had been installed in office.

The aim of this article is to present an analysis of the results of voting or expression of popular will in the Four Elections of 1952, '54 '57 and '60. The first two were for the erstwhile Travancore and Cochin State only but before the Mid-term elections took place, there had been a good deal of changes in the constituencies following fresh delimitations. Thus these two results too are not strictly comparable. Elections of 1957 and 1960 were for the enlarged state and after another delimitation of constituencies. So of all the Elections, only those of 1957 and 1960 are comparable.

## 1952 Elections

A number of parties contested with a large number of Independents which is characteristic of Indian elections. The important among them were: The Congress, Socialists, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (T.T.N.C.). The last one was a State-party formed on the eve of elections asking for separate representation on the basis of languages. There was a ban on the Communist Party which was lifted only a few days before the elections and so the members of that party had to stand as Independents mostly. Out of the 12 seats to the Parliament, Congress won six, the R.S.P. and the T.T.N.C. one each and the remaining went to the Independents. There were 47 contestants in all. Polling was quite heavy with an average of 71 per cent. Electoral participation was highest in the Kottayam constituency, (which was a record for the whole country), with more than 80 per cent of voters casting their votes. Congress won 35% of votes, the Socialists 13 per cent, the R.S.P. 6 per cent and other parties and Independents 46 per cent.

For the Assembly which had 108 seats, there were 441 contestants or roughly 4 per seat. Nearly 34 lakhs of valid votes (percentage 70) were polled in the Assembly Constituencies also and the following table gives the details of candidates sent up, votes won, votes polled, etc., along with percentages:

TABLE I.

|            | Seats     |     | Votes    |                  |
|------------|-----------|-----|----------|------------------|
|            | Contested | Won | Per cent | Secured Per cent |
| Congress   | 104       | 44  | 40.8     | 1204364 35.4     |
| R.S.P.     | 11        | 6   | 5.6      | 118333 3.5       |
| Socialists | 70        | 11  | 10.2     | 485194 14.3      |
| T.T.N.C.   | 14        | 8   | 7.4      | 201118 6.0       |
| Others     | 242       | 39  | 36.0     | 1389184 40.8     |
|            | 441       | 108 | 100.0    | 3398193 100.0    |

Electoral participation was highest (92.6 per cent) in the Bharanikavu Constituency (again, All-India record for Assembly constituencies). It will be seen from the above table that Congress, T.T.N.C. and the R.S.P. have won a larger percentage of seats than votes and for the other two groups—Socialists and others including Independents—it is the converse. There were only four districts, viz., Trivandrum, Quilon, Kottayam and Trichur. Analysing the results districtwise, the Congress has come out successful only in Kottayam securing 14 out of the 20 seats; and fairly good in Trichur securing 13 out of the 27 seats. In the Trivandrum district out of 24 seats, Congress had secured only 3, Socialists bagged 7, T.T.N.C. 6 and the Leftist group 6. In Quilon (the merged Cochin State formed part of this district) out of 36 seats, Congress secured 14 and the Leftist group 17 seats. We look at this from another angle also. A win will be characterised as an 'outright' or a 'majority' win if the winning candidate polls more than 50 per cent of votes cast in that constituency—or alternatively he polls more votes than all his opponents put together. In the other case, the win will be characterised as one by 'split of votes'. For the sake of this analysis only 83 seats have been considered excluding the double-member constituencies, and uncontested returns. For the whole state, 34 have been 'outright' wins and 49 have been 'split of votes' wins. Congress had 10 of the first category and 21 of the second kind; Socialists had 3 each and for the other parties the distribution was—R.S.P. 1, 5, T.T.N.C. 4, 1; others 16, 19. It is clear that the Congress had benefited largely from split of votes securing 68 per cent of its wins by 'split' only. The smaller group of T.T.N.C. had registered 'majority' wins in 4 out of 5 cases showing its strength in those constituencies. The highest votes secured by a winning candidate were in Karthigapally where a Socialist won and in Alleppey where an Independent won, each polling more than 70 per cent of the votes cast in that constituency. The lowest percentage was 24 in Nagercoil



## 1954 Elections

After a fresh drafting of the constituencies, elections in February 1954 were for 117 constituencies and the Rajpramukh had the power to nominate one Anglo-Indian Member to the Legislative Assembly. When another election was held immediately after the first, the percentage of voters increased to 80. The total electorate increased by about 2 lakhs but nearly 5 lakh more votes were polled than in the 1952 elections. The number of contestants was very small, being only 260 for the 117 seats (average 2.2 candidates per seat, compared to 4 in 1952). The number of contesting parties and independents was also smaller—the Congress, T.T.N.C. and the Leftist parties—who had electoral understanding amongst them. The Communist party, for the first time, contested the elections under its own name. All the parties were eager to see that Congress was not elected to power and in as many as 90 consti-

tutes, the fight was a straight one between the Congress and one of the Leftist parties. There were only two constituencies which had more than three candidates in the field. The Socialist party was fighting this election under its new banner, viz., the Praja-Socialist Party (P.S.P.)—again led by Pattom Thanu Pillai, the veteran. It made an Electoral 'Arrangement' (and not an 'Alliance') with the Leftist parties to avoid multi-cornered fights and hence splitting of the votes. After the Elections, the P.S.P. was able to secure the active support of the Leftist parties in the seats where it was pitted against the Congress—but it had not committed itself in supporting the same group in the Post-election Assembly. But it was widely believed that the P.S.P. would not support any Ministry which might be formed by the Congress, if it failed to secure the majority mandate from the people. The details of seats contested and won, votes secured, with percentages, are given in the table below:—

TABLE II.

| Party                          | Seats     |     |       | Votes     |       |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------------------|
|                                | Contested | Won | %     | Polled    | %     | Average No. Per candidature |
| Communist                      | 35        | 23  | 19.7  | 641,046   | 17.0  | 18,316                      |
| Congress                       | 115       | 45  | 38.5  | 1,762,939 | 45.0  | 15,330                      |
| P. S. P.                       | 38        | 19  | 16.2  | 631,622   | 16.0  | 16,622                      |
| R. S. P.                       | 12        | 9   | 7.7   | 212,354   | 5.5   | 17,686                      |
| T. T. N. C.                    | 16        | 12  | 10.2  | 237,408   | 6.0   | 14,838                      |
| Other parties and Independents | 44        | 9   | 7.7   | 403,182   | 10.5  | 9,163                       |
| Total                          | 260       | 117 | 100.0 | 3,888,551 | 100.0 | 14,955                      |

As in the 1952 Elections T.T.N.C. and R.S.P. and to some extent the Communists also secured a larger percentage of seats than votes. The P.S.P. had the percentage as before and the Congress and the 'others' group won more votes than seats. Comparing the figures with those in Table I, we see that the Congress had been able to secure practically the same number of seats as before—but this out of 115 seats compared to 104 seats in 1952. It has already

been remarked that most of the Congress seats in the previous elections were won by 'split of votes' and in this election (1954), there were only few (27 to be exact) seats which did not have a straight fight. The Congress polled 5½ lakh more votes. The T.T.N.C. polled almost the same number of votes and the R.S.P. about 1 lakh more votes. The Socialist (P.S.P.) party also polled more votes than before—1½ lakhs. Hence the larger number of votes available

## ELECTIONS IN KERALA—A FACTUAL STUDY

through heavier polling appeared to have been shared by the Congress and the P.S.P. mostly. A better indication of the support that each party had, could perhaps be got by taking the average number of votes polled for each party. Working these figures out, we get the figures given in the last column of Table II. These averages show that the Congress and the T.T.N.C. are both at the bottom (excluding the 'others' group). The two leftist parties, the Communist and the R.S.P., concentrated in only those places where they had a good backing and hence secured high averages. The low average of T.T.N.C., which is such a compact group is rather surprising and it may be due to the fact that it was involved in more triangular fights than the others. While the P.S.P., R.S.P. and the Communists had an understanding amongst themselves and against the Congress (and T.T.N.C. too), T.T.N.C. had no such understanding. The P.S.P., as a part, was able to present a better account, mainly by reducing the number of candidates. Congress was able to win only 39 per cent of its contests (compare this figure with the percentages for majority wins in the previous elections, which was 31 per cent). The Leftist parties together won 60 per cent of the votes.

Analysing the results districtwise, we get the following figures:

TABLE III.

|                 | Seats Won By |      |     |      |        |
|-----------------|--------------|------|-----|------|--------|
| District        | Congress     | UFL* | PSP | TTNC | Others |
| Trivandrum (27) | 1            | 8    | 8   | 10   | —      |
| Quilon (38)     | 8            | 23   | 7   | —    | —      |
| Kottayam (23)   | 15           | 3    | 2   | 2    | 1      |
| Trichur (29)    | 21           | 6    | 2   | —    | —      |

Thus the Congress retained its position in the Kottayam district and gained noticeably in the Trichur district, losing heavily in the Southern Districts of Trivandrum and Quilon. In Trivandrum, the three parties—U.F.L., P.S.P. and T.T.N.C.

\*U.F.L.—United Front of Leftists includes Communists and other pro-Communist candidates.

appeared to be of equal power and in Quilon, U.F.L. led over others.

Thus the picture that emerged from this Mid-term elections was also a nebulous one. The Congress (even taking the T.T.N.C. along with it) got 57 seats, P.S.P. 19 seats and the other Leftists 40 seats with a solitary Independent. It was never expected that T.T.N.C. would make common cause with Congress, and so the position was far from being satisfactory. Soon after the Elections, Pattom Thanu Pillai expressed his support for a U.F.L.-P.S.P. Ministry and was immediately elected almost the leader of the combined group. The T.T.N.C. was a party set up on language considerations and the Leftist parties being more amenable to linguistic provinces than the Congress, it supported the Leftist Ministry for its own interest. In spite of the alliance, the Leftist Ministry had a majority (59 out of 117). Moreover, the Rajpramukh nominated an Anglo-Indian Congress member. In the political wranglings and bargainings behind the scenes, and with a verdict from its Head Quarters, the P.S.P. openly repudiated the agreement made with the Leftist groups. Congress was not inclined to form a ministry with the meagre following it had in the Legislature. PSP claimed that it was the only party which could form a clean and good Government—even though it had only 19 seats in a House of 118 and it opined that once it formed the Government, support would come gradually. Congress though not anxious to form a Government, nevertheless wanted 'to avoid President's rule' once again and so it decided to support the P.S.P. Ministry 'without any political commitment'. The Rajpramukh took perhaps the only course possible under the circumstances—even though there were many who questioned this—and asked the P.S.P. to form the Ministry. Thus once again, Pattom Thanu Pillai headed the cabinet with his small following of nineteen and two weeks after the elections, he was elected the Chief Minister. It was widely acclaimed as a move which had no parallel in the history of Parliament anywhere in the world. This ministry, as has been stated, fell after being in office

only for 11 months, followed by Congress Ministry, which also fell after another 13 months. So, President's Rule had to be introduced once again, two years after the Mid-term Elections.

#### Reorganisation of States

On the 1st November, 1956, most of the States of India were organised on linguistic basis and the present Kerala State was formed by adding the Malabar District and the Kasargod Taluk of South Kanara District from the Madras State excepting the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Four Taluks of Trivandrum, and a part of the Shencottah Taluk (predominantly Tamil-speaking areas, where the T.T.N.C. was stronger) were merged with Madras State. Thus for the first time all the Malayalam-speaking peoples were brought under one State. This part of the country has had a cultural and social distinction of its own right through historic times. The density of population is very heavy and the percentage of literacy is also high. The North-Western part is a rich plantation area growing coffee, tea, rubber, pepper, etc., and with the addition of the forest areas of the Madras State, the forest wealth of Kerala has increased.

Consequent on the Reorganisation of States, a further revision has been made in the distribution of constituencies and the New Kerala State sends 18 representatives to the Lok Sabha and has 126 members in its Legislative Assembly.

#### Bye-Elections

Before analysing the other elections, the Bye-Elections that took place between 1952 and 1957 will be briefly reviewed. There was only one Bye-Election to the Lok Sabha from the Meenachil Constituency and the Congress was able to retain its seat. Four Bye-Elections took place for the State Assembly in the following constituencies—Chavara, Chengannur (General and Reserved) and Trichur.

Congress won three of the seats, the lone seat going to the R.S.P., all other parties retaining their seats. Generally speaking polling was higher in the Bye-Elections

than in the General Elections in all cases, showing thereby that a good deal of importance was attached to these elections.

#### 1957 Elections—Parliament

All the 18 seats were contested and the parties were—the Communist, the Congress, the Muslim League (ML), the P.S.P. and the R.S.P. and a number of Independents. 58 candidates or a little over 3 contestants per seat were in the contest. The details of votes secured and seats won, with percentages are given below:

TABLE IV

| Party        | SEATS     |     |      | VOTES     |      |
|--------------|-----------|-----|------|-----------|------|
|              | Contested | Won | %    | Polled    | %    |
| Communist    | 15        | 9   | 50.0 | 22,67,888 | 37.5 |
| Congress     | 17        | 6   | 33.3 | 21,02,887 | 34.7 |
| M. L.        | 4         | 1   | 5.6  | 3,51,940  | 5.8  |
| PSP          | 8         | 1   | 5.6  | 4,38,459  | 7.2  |
| RSP          | 3         | —   | —    | 3,08,742  | 5.1  |
| Independents | 11        | 1   | 5.6  | 5,80,536  | 9.7  |

Thus while for the Congress the two percentages are almost the same, for the Communists, the seat-percentage is much higher. **It almost always happens that the party with the majority (or at least, the largest number) of seats in the Legislature will have polled a lesser percentage of votes.** The number of independent contestants has been reduced considerably. Out of the 13 whose deposit amount was forfeited, Congress 1, P.S.P. 5 and others 5. No Communist lost his Deposit. In all 66 per cent of 92 lakh voters exercised their franchise. The largest majority secured was by the Communist candidate (108,393) in a three-cornered contest in the general seat of Quilon constituency and the smallest was 1,382 secured by a Congressman in the Tellicherry constituency which was also a three-cornered one. In the Palghat double-member constituency, both the elected candidates belonged to Scheduled Castes, and both had filed their nominations for the Reserved Seat only. The election law provides that in a double-member constituency, when two scheduled caste candidates poll a larger number

of votes than the other, then irrespective of whether their nominations were for the general or reserved seat, they should be declared elected. A number of such cases occurred all over the country during this election wherein both the elected candidates had contested only for the Reserved seat. The matter was taken to the Law Courts also by the contestant candidates for the general seat but the Courts ruled that the procedure was justifiable according to the existing provisions of Electoral Law. The provision still continues on the Statute Book, and we might have many more cases of that type in the ensuing elections also.

#### For the Assembly

More than 58 lakhs of voters participated in the Elections with a percentage of 65.5. The highest figure of 83% was in Karungapally and the lowest of 41.6% was recorded in Kasargod. The table below gives the relevant details of seats and votes for the various parties, one seat (Manjeswar) was uncontested and so the analysis will be only for 125 seats.

TABLE V

| Party        | SEATS     |     |       | VOTES     |       |
|--------------|-----------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
|              | Contested | Won | %     | Polled    | %     |
| Communist    | 101       | 60  | 48.0  | 20,59,547 | 35.3  |
| Congress     | 124       | 43  | 34.4  | 22,09,251 | 37.8  |
| M. L.        | 17        | 8   | 6.4   | 2,70,470  | 4.6   |
| P.S.P.       | 64        | 9   | 7.2   | 6,28,261  | 10.8  |
| R.S.P.       | 27        | —   | —     | 1,88,443  | 3.2   |
| Independents | 55        | 5   | 4.0   | 4,81,605  | 8.3   |
| Total        | 388       | 125 | 100.0 | 58,37,577 | 100.0 |

Again, the largest single party in the Legislature—the Communists have secured more seats than votes and for the Congress it is just the reverse though the difference is not much.

The Communists have won 60% of their contests and have lost deposits only in 4 cases: for the Congress the percentage was 35 and 4. The full figures of all the parties are given below:

TABLE VI

Percentage of winning party and forfeiture of Deposit

|              | SEATS     |     |                     |                          |
|--------------|-----------|-----|---------------------|--------------------------|
|              | Contested | Won | % of Win-ning party | % of Deposit forfei-ture |
| Communist    | 101       | 60  | 60                  | 4                        |
| Congress     | 124       | 43  | 35                  | 4                        |
| M. L.        | 17        | 8   | 47                  | 0                        |
| P.S.P.       | 64        | 9   | 14                  | 44                       |
| R.S.P.       | 27        | 0   | 0                   | 82                       |
| Independents | 55        | 5   | 9                   | 55                       |

82 per cent of the R.S.P. Party lost their deposits. While in the previous elections they contested for only a dozen of seats, now they have sent up as many as 27 candidates. The P.S.P. also did not fare well. Their position is almost similar to what it was in 1952, when they had 70 contestants in the field. The lesson of 1954 elections (when they sent up only 38 and won 50%) does not seem to have had the desired effect. Thus the record of the P.S.P. is only a little better than the motley group of Independents. Communists have registered a very convincing percentage of success, the Congress lagging far behind. While in 1952 the Congress won 42% of its contests, the percentage went down to 39 in 1954 (45 out of 115) and in 1957 it had further gone down to 35. The Communists who did not contest in 1952, secured 23 out of 35 seats in 1954 (65%) when they had an Electoral understanding with other parties; in 1957, the percentage of wins had been reduced only by 5%.

There were 101 single-member constituencies and 12 double-member constituencies or 24 seats. The Communists won 14 double-member seats, and 46 single-member seats: the figures for Congress were 8 and 35 respectively. Thus the Communists appeared to have won more in double-member areas than in single-member ones. In three constituencies, both the elected members belonged to the scheduled castes alone: thus there were 27 scheduled caste mem-

bers in the Assembly, as against the reserved strength of 24.

The representation of women in the Legislature is good indeed, there being six of them in the two major parties. The only woman member of the Cabinet won a straight fight and in all other cases, the contest was between three or more.

The analysis is carried a step further by examining the nature of wins. There have been only 29 seats in which the contestants were more than three. The number of seats won by each party with majority and without majority (or split of votes) is given below:

TABLE VII

|             | Without majority | With majority |
|-------------|------------------|---------------|
| Communist   | 28               | 32            |
| Congress    | 21               | 22            |
| ML          | 5                | 3             |
| PSP         | 8                | 1             |
| Independent | 2                | 3             |
| Total       | 64               | 61            |

Thus the Communists have registered a slightly higher proportion of wins by majority than the Congress. The other two minor parties, the M.L. and the P.S.P.—much more so the latter, have won more seats by 'split of votes'. Again out of 23 straight contests (where there were only two candidates contesting), Communists and their supporters won 13 in all, the Congress won 9 only.

We next give a pointer to assess the organisational strength of the contesting parties. Three averages for each party would be computed—(1) A general average vote per candidate of that party, e.g., the 124 Congress contestants in all have polled 22,09,251 votes and so the average would be 17,818. (2) A "Success" average, e.g., the 60 winning Communists have among themselves polled 14,70,136 votes and so the "Success" average for that party comes up to 24,502. (3) Lastly, the 'Failure' average. The votes secured by only the

unsuccessful candidates of that party is divided by the number of losses of that party. The full figures for the four parties are given below:—

TABLE VIII

Three Average No. of votes

|           | 'General' Average | 'Success' Average | 'Failure' Average |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Communist | 20,595            | 24,502            | 14,735            |
| Congress  | 17,818            | 21,398            | 15,915            |
| M.L.      | 15,900            | 17,807            | 14,224            |
| P.S.P.    | 9,817             | 20,912            | 8,001             |

Some explanation would be given. So far, in all the analyses of Election, the total votes secured by a party as a whole in the elections has been the main point of consideration for assessing the 'backing' of that party among the electorate. It is submitted for consideration by all concerned that this figure is grossly inadequate for the purpose and usually leads to fallacious reasoning. In a Democracy, it is not enough for a party to have 'some' following in the areas of its operation (as revealed by the total votes it polls) but it must be able to muster such a backing as to win the Election. Usually parties appear to overestimate their strength and send candidates without trying to assess whether they are likely to win or not—perhaps in the fond hope that they might secure a win by the 'splitting of votes'. Also the total votes polled by a party may be 'inflated' unduly by the presence of a few important individuals in the party who would have won the Election on whichever party ticket they contested. Many such instances can be cited in support of it. Voting in India is still largely for the individual (more especially when he is a "big one") than for the party. So, the average vote of the party per candidate will give a better picture than the total votes of that party. Elections are won by the margin of a few thousand votes on the border and so if the party has really good backing among the people, it must be able to poll almost the same number of votes

(on the average) whether its candidates form the Cabinet. On the 5th April 1957, win or lose. Hence there should not be any divergence between the three averages defined above for each party.

From this point of view, the figures for the M.L. alone are pretty close, this is because it has concentrated locally in a few places where there is a large Muslim population, and in other places, it has not ventured to contest. The other extreme is presented by the figures for the P.S.P., where a winning person polls 21,000 votes and a loser has only 8,000 voters behind him. The General average and Success average for the Communists are pretty high—the highest of all parties (more than 3,000 than the next figure in the table) and even its 'Failure' average is lower only than that of Congress and higher than the others. Thus the success of this party is convincing.

Next we consider the difference between the winning candidates and the next contestant regarding the votes polled. There have been 23 cases where the 'majority' has been more than 10,000 votes and out of these the Communist party has secured 18 seats, Congress 4, the odd seat going to a Communist-supported Independent. Incidentally, this particular Independent (Tellicherry Constituency) has polled the largest percentage of votes—64.20% cast for that election. The next high figure is 63.14% polled by a Congress candidate in the Thodupuzha Constituency.

The picture that emerges out of the foregoing analysis is that the Communist party has quite a strong following in the State and organisationally also it is powerful. The Muslim League too had considerable support in a smaller area. In the P.S.P., the question of only a few individuals matter and as a party it does not have much backing in the State. The number of Independents has been going down at each election and much need not be said about them. The Congress Party appears to be sending candidates in places where it had the least chance of winning.

#### After the 1957 Elections

The Communist party being the largest single party in the Assembly was asked to

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, a Communist veteran and a member of the Politburo for over 20 years, formed the first Ministry headed by the Communists. It is a fact that the Communists were able to muster only 35% of the voters to vote for them.

If elections were held under a more complicated system of Proportional Representation, then only the number of votes cast would assume more importance. This latter system had its enthusiastic supporters in the United Kingdom more than anywhere else in the world and even they have given up this method now. The method is suitable when the number of electors is not unduly large and each of them is politically conscious and discerning in the exercise of his franchise. All these conditions are not satisfactory in our country. But we too have retained the system of Proportional Representation in other restricted elections—such as elections to Legislative Councils, Election of President and Vice-President, etc. Enough material has been presented above to show how to assess the organisational strength of political parties. Considered from this point of view, the Communist Party appeared to be quite a well-knit one. It would be quite pertinent to point out in this connection, that the Congress Party, which holds a very comfortable majority in the Parliament and had formed the Government in almost all the States in the country (after 1957 elections) had been able to secure only 48% of votes cast in the country. None would dream of saying that the Congress Party does not have the backing of a majority of the people.

#### Bye-Elections

The only bye-election that took place between 1957 and 1960 came off on 19.5. 1958 in the Devicolum Constituency and there was a marshalling of strength by both the Congress and the Communist parties. Devicolum is one of the few places in Kerala State which has a large Tamil population. (There are even now, parties in Madras which blame the present

We next have a glance at the average number of votes secured by the major parties. As usual, three averages will be presented—the **general** average, the **success** average, and the **failure** average. The numbers on which each average is based, are given in brackets:

TABLE XII

Average No. of Votes per Candidate

|            | General      | Success     | Failure     |
|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Communist: |              |             |             |
|            | 29,169 (102) | 34,958 (26) | 27,189 (76) |
| Congress:  |              |             |             |
|            | 34,891 (80)  | 36,712 (63) | 28,730 (17) |
| M. L.      | 33,327 (12)  | 34,508 (11) | 20,339 (1)  |
| P.S.P.     | 34,728 (33)  | 35,990 (20) | 32,787 (13) |

The last two parties may be left out as depending on small numbers. Comparing only the Congress and the Communists, the difference between the two is seen to be about 4,300 in the case of the general average and only about 2,000 in the other two cases. But the difference in the case of the Communist party among the three averages is about 7,700 whereas for the Congress contesting a lesser number of seats, it is 8,000. From this it appears that both these parties are almost equal in their organisational strength, the Congress being slightly more powerful.

Because of the reduction in the number of contestants per seat, there has been an appreciable decrease in the percentage of success by 'split of votes'. In the last Election, there were only 61 cases wherein winning candidate polled more votes than all his opponents put together. This time 107 contests have resulted in 'successes' by absolute majority and out of these 82 have gone in favour of the Front, 24 for the Communists and the Independents with support of the Communists. Out of the 19 'split of votes' successes, the Front has checked 12, while 5 have gone to the other groups.

Lastly, we analyse the 'successes' by taking into account the 'majority' by which the candidate have been elected. The difference between the votes of the suc-

cessful candidate and his next rival is termed the 'majority'. Except in a few cases, contests have generally been won by quite large majorities. There have been 71 cases in which the 'majority' was more than 5,000 votes and out of these 60 have been won by the Front and 10 by the Communists. Only in 19 cases has the winner secured a majority of less than 1,000 votes—out of these the Front got 10 and the Communists 7. Fuller details are given in the following table:

TABLE XIII

| Majority      | United Front | Communists | Others |
|---------------|--------------|------------|--------|
| Less than 100 | 1            | 1          | 1      |
| 101—1,000     | 9            | 6          | 1      |
| 1,001—5,000   | 24           | 12         | 0      |
| 5,001—10,000  | 25           | 7          | 0      |
| Over 10,000   | 35           | 3          | 1      |

This shows that 'marginal' constituencies are few. The largest majority in a single-member constituency has been 23,647 in Kuthuparamba where the P.S.P. won over a Lohia-Socialist. The smallest is 23 in Tellicherry where a Congress candidate beat down the Ministry of Law in the Communist regime. Among double-member constituencies, in Nileswar the contest has been the keenest—the majorities being 106 and 283 for the two seats. Both have been won by the United Front. In Wynad, both Congress candidates have secured majorities of over 37,000.

103 members of the dissolved Assembly stood for re-election and their party-affiliations and successes are given below:

TABLE XIV

|             | Stood     | Elected  |
|-------------|-----------|----------|
| Communist   | 46        | 18       |
| Congress    | 38        | 35       |
| M. L.       | 6         | 6        |
| P.S.P.      | 9         | 9        |
| Independent | 4         | 3        |
|             | <hr/> 103 | <hr/> 71 |

13 women candidates contested the elections and 7 came out successful—5 belonging to the Front and 2 to the Communist group. In the last election, six women candidates, three from the Congress party and three from the Communist contested; except one Communist candidate, all other five were re-elected.

Thus the success attained by the United Front is quite decisive. But, perhaps, it is mainly due to the fact that it was a 'United' Front. The Communists might have improved their position if they had sent up a lesser number of candidates and concentrated their activities in fewer places. No doubt, as a single party they secured a large number and percentage of votes. But, as has been pointed out earlier, what counts is the winning of seats and not amassing of votes.

The important dates and events in the political history of Kerala and the neighbouring States are given below:

24-3-1948—Interim Constitution, Act passed by which Pattom Thanu Pillai formed the first **Congress** Ministry in the Travancore State (1).

19-9-1948—General Elections based on Adult Franchise took place in Cochin.

20-10-1948—Parur T. M. Narayana Pillai was elected leader of the Travancore State Congress in place of Pattom Thanu Pillai who resigned. Narayana Pillai formed the new Ministry (2).

27-6-1949—The merger of the two States into the United State of Travancore and Cochin with the Maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh. The same Chief Minister continues to head the Cabinet.

10-2-1952—The Congress Ministry resigns and a care-taker Government is formed by Kesavan (3).

11-3-1952—Another Congress leader A. J. John forms the Congress Ministry (4).

23-9-1953—Motion for vote of confidence in the Ministry fails and the Assembly is dissolved from 24-9-1953.

15-12-1953—Central Government announces its decision to hold Mid-term Elections before 1st March, 1954.

3-2-1954—Travancore-Cochin Ministry resigns.

15-2-1954—Mid-term Elections begin in Kerala.

16-3-1954—First P.S.P. Ministry formed with Pattom Thanu Pillai as Chief Minister on the strength of the support promised by the Congress (5).

12-12-1954—Congress decides to withdraw support and co-operation to the P.S.P. Ministry.

8-2-1955—The fall of the P.S.P. Ministry following a vote of No Confidence.

14-2-1955—New Five-men Congress Ministry headed by Panampalli Govinda Menon installed (6).

11-3-1956—Congress Ministry resigns.

24-3-1956—President's rule proclaimed (7). Dec., 1956-Jan., 1957—General Elections.

5-4-1957—First **Communist** Ministry formed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad (8).

12-6-1959—Direct Action by Vimochana Samara Samiti led by Mannath Padmanabhan.

31-7-1959—President's Proclamation dissolving the Communist Ministry and introducing President's rule for the second time (9).

1-2-1960—Fourth Elections to the State Assembly—2nd Mid-term Elections.



Ministry for not insisting that Devicolum and Peermedu should be included in Madras State when the States were re-organised). The State Congress invited a number of Congress leaders of Madras to canvass for them. It was perhaps a strange sight to see the Chief Minister and other Ministers of one State to go and canvass against the constituted Government of a neighbouring State in a bye-election. Both the parties staked a good deal on this fight which was a straight one. Electoral participation was high indeed—72% against 55% in the General Election—and the same Communist candidate won with a comfortable margin of 7,000 votes.

Perhaps this was the pinnacle of popularity for the Communist Party and then the anti-climax started—so much so fourteen months later it was dismissed by a Proclamation of the President. The factors that brought about this state of affairs had been many. But chiefly the following may be mentioned. The 'freedom' given to workers to strike and an 'assurance' that the police would not interfere, corruption in the Communist Party prevailed in all the stages in the Governmental hierarchy. The Education Bill, was not very revolutionary, but its provisions were opposed by two very influential sections, namely the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. A Vimochana Samara Samiti was set up with a view to compelling the State Government to resign and the 82-year old veteran Social Leader Mannath Padmanabhan led this movement. After six weeks of Direct Action, the President's Proclamation followed and the first Communist Ministry relinquished office on 31st July 1959, and Mid-term Elections once again took place.

#### Elections of 1960

Election took place in 1.2.1960 throughout the State for the same constituencies as in 1957. The conduct of the election was orderly and satisfactory.

This particular election had many interesting features. This was the first mid-

term election in the country after the re-organisation of States. This was the first time that a non-Congress party Government was dismissed and fresh elections took place even though the ruling party continued to command a majority in the legislature. Till then the voter was required to put the ballot paper in the box containing his candidate's name and symbol. So, each contesting candidate had a separate box. In this election, the voter was required to make a mark against the candidate he wanted to vote for and so there would be only one box per polling booth, for all the candidates together. This was the first time that this 'marking system' of voting was tried for the whole State—even though in many bye-elections this method had been applied. The number of invalid votes in this election had been 89,369 out of 81,93,127 votes polled (roughly 1%). In the last elections, the number of invalid and rejected votes was 47 thousand. This increase was not a significant one. This is the first time in the history of elections in this part of the country that two General Elections have been held for the same constituencies. The electoral participation has been very high indeed as many as 81 lakhs of votes were polled, as against 58 lakhs in the 1957 elections.

The Congress, the P.S.P., and the Muslim League (M.L.) had electoral understanding amongst themselves and contested the elections as a United Front, the candidates themselves retaining their Party symbols and the propaganda was carried on by all the three parties together and the election meetings were addressed by the leaders of all the three parties jointly.

For the 126 seats, the Communists sent 102 candidates and supported 23 other independents. The United Front in all sent 125 candidates. Others in the field included 18 of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), 14 of the Kerala Socialist Party (K.S.P.), 4 of the Lohia-Socialists, 3 of the Jan Sangh nominees, 2 of the Karnataka Samiti and 21 independents. The average number of contestants per seat was 2.5 as against 3.1 in 1957.

#### ELECTIONS IN KERALA—A FACTUAL STUDY

There were 78 straight fights as against 23 on the previous occasion. 58 of these have been won by the United Front and the rest by the Communists. Out of the 42 constituencies in which three candidates contested, the Front won 31 and the Communists 8. Only in 6 cases the number of contestants was 4 and the Front won 5 of the seats. It will thus be seen that the Front has been quite successful in all Constituencies.

Out of 126 seats, 102 are from single-member constituencies and 24 are from double-member ones—with 12 seats reserved for Scheduled Castes. Only 12 scheduled caste candidates have been elected as against 15 in the past election. The Front won 77 of the single-member and 17 of the double-member seats, figures for Communists and the independents were 22 and 7.

The results partywise reveal that the other parties left little impression on the Electorate. All the 14 candidates of the K.S.P., 3 of the Jan Sangh, 3 out of the four Lohia-Socialists and 15 out of the 18 R.S.P. candidates failed to poll one sixth of the votes and so their deposit money was forfeited. As against this, none of the major party candidates lost his deposit money. In the last elections, the results were as follows: the Congress 5, the Communists 4, the P.S.P. 28 and the R.S.P. 22.

It has already been mentioned that 81 lakhs of votes have been polled this time as against 58 lakhs in the 1957 Elections. Out of the extra votes of 23 lakhs, Communists secured 9.2 lakhs; Congress 5.8 lakhs; M.L. 1.3 lakhs; P.S.P. 5.2 lakhs. Thus a large number of the extra votes have been polled by the Communist party which had practically the same number of contestants in the two Elections.

The P.S.P. which polled the lowest number of votes in 1957 occupied almost the first place this time (see table VIII and XII). A better idea could be formed by comparing the total votes polled by the following two groups in the two Elections—(i) Communists and Independents sup-

ported by them and (ii) Congress, M and P.S.P.

TABLE IX

| Votes Secured by the Party-groups. |           |           |          |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
|                                    | 1957      | 1960      | Increase |
| Group (i)                          | 22,51,750 | 35,50,136 | 12,98,4  |
| Group (ii)                         | 30,98,982 | 43,37,248 | 12,38,2  |

Since the two groups had sent up same number of candidates in 1960, figures in the last column show clearly that the Communists have been able to secure a large number of votes this time.

For purposes of comparison, the percentages of votes and seats secured by major parties in the two elections are given below:

TABLE X

| Percentages only |       |       |       |       |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                  | 1957  |       | 1960  |       |
|                  | Votes | Seats | Votes | Seats |
| Communist        | 35.3  | 48.0  | 36.7  | 20    |
| Congress         | 37.8  | 34.4  | 34.5  | 50    |
| M. L.            | 4.6   | 6.4   | 4.9   | 8     |
| P. S. P.         | 10.8  | 7.2   | 14.2  | 15    |

Thus the larger electoral participation has resulted in higher percentages in the case of the Communists and the P.S.P. only; for the M.L., the figures are almost the same; the Congress has polled a smaller percentage of votes. Again, the largest single party in the Legislature viz., the Congress has secured a large percentage of seats. The Congress sent 124 candidates last time whereas it sent only 80 this time. Full details are presented below:

TABLE XI

| Number of Seats |           |     |           |     |
|-----------------|-----------|-----|-----------|-----|
|                 | 1957      |     | 1960      |     |
|                 | Contested | Won | Contested | Won |
| Communist       | 101       | 60  | 102       | 2   |
| Congress        | 124       | 43  | 80        | 6   |
| M. L.           | 17        | 8   | 12        | 11  |
| P.S.P.          | 64        | 9   | 33        | 20  |



# Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**INDIA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE EAST:** By B. A. Saletore. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay. 1960. Pp. 524 and 4 plates. Rs. 30.00.

This scholarly monograph is a complement of the author's earlier volume entitled *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West* (1958). The prefatory part (Introduction, Chs. I-II) briefly deals with such topics as Chinese historiography and an outline of Chinese history and chronology, the beginnings of contact between India and China, and a sketch of the political history of India from the downfall of the Maurya Empire to the 13th century. The main portion of the work gives an exhaustive and critical account of the exchange of diplomatic missions by the rulers and of visits by pious Buddhists between India and China down to the 13th century, references being made to the occasional exchange of missions between India and other Eastern lands during the same period. Accordingly, the subject matter is distributed between two chapters, Ch. III ("Early Embassies . . . A.D. 600") and Ch. IV ("Later Embassies A.D. 600-A.D. 1300"). The concluding chapter, which is the most original, is devoted to a detailed study of Indian diplomatic etiquette (based chiefly on an extract from Bana's *Harshacharita*) and its comparisons and contrasts with its Chinese counterpart. Of the three valuable Appendices, Appendix A contains a chronological account of the visits of Indian Buddhist missionaries to China and Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India between the 7th and 11th centuries A.D., while Appendix C contains a synchronistic table of 77 diplomatic missions between India and China between the 1st century B.C. and the 13th century A.D. A good Index brings this useful work to a close.

It is not possible for us to agree on all

points with the author, as when he traces back the beginnings of contact between India and China to a time before the 4th century B.C. We are again not very happy over the title of the work, although the author is repeatedly at pains to explain that the exchange of visits between pious Indian and Chinese Buddhists (whom he describes again and again as "pilgrim-ambassadors") had the effect of diplomatic missions. We are again unable to account for the discrepancy between the words of the Preface announcing the beginning of the work from c. 300 A.D. and its contents tracing back its history to the 1st century B.C. We have however nothing but high praise for the author's immense industry and learning, for the independence with which he evaluates current authoritative views on many points, and for his skill in presenting his arguments and conclusions in a clear-cut style.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

**A HISTORY OF CAMBODIA:** By Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D. Published by J. K. Gupta, Saigon, Vietnam (1960).

Within 300 pages the veteran translator of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, Prof. Ghosh (now on deputation in Cambodia) has given a continuous history—political and cultural of Cambodia and her neighbours like Laos, Annam (ancient Champa) and Siam (Thailand). All of them were colonized by the Hindus (2000 years ago); and inscriptions both in Sanskrit and local dialects have been found and published. These have been revised and newly interpreted by Dr. Ghosh who is an expert in Pali Prakrit and Sanskrit. So, we recommend his new book to all interested in the history of Greater India, extending from Burma, Malaya and Indonesia to Champa and Camboj (former French Indo-China). The author has utilized

## BOOK REVIEWS

the earlier works—mostly of French scholars—like Barth Finot and Coedes—and also recent studies of Indian savants like Prof. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. B. R. Chatterjee and American publications like *The Ancient Khmer Empire* by L. P. Briggs, 1951 and *South-East Asia in Perspective* by J. V. King (1956). So, Dr. Ghosh's book is quite up-to-date and scholarly. Always he has given full narrative of Cambodian political history referring to Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions; at the same time he has discussed the cultural and other conditions. So his book (although disfigured by printing mistakes which should be corrected in the next edition) is very useful and readable to general readers. He is the first to give the inner history of the "colonialist" intrigues of French officials which often remind us of the British Residents and our Indian Native States.

Art and Architecture of the world-famous temples of Angkor and other groups have been ably described and partly illustrated.

We recommend Dr. Ghosh's *History of Cambodia* to the college and university libraries of India.

Kalidas Nag

**OUR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS: THEIR NATURE AND EXTENT.** (As Judicially Determined): By D. N. Banerjee, Published by The World Press Private Ltd., 37, College Street, Calcutta-12; Pp. 483; Price Rs. 25/- or 37s. 6d. net.

The major part of the material published in this book, under review, has appeared in print in this and other journals, and has been duly acknowledged by the author in foot-notes in appropriate places. It gives in an analytical form the nature and extent of our Fundamental Rights, as judicially interpreted. Its value is considerably enhanced by referring, side by side, to many a case-law of U.K. and the U.S.A. on a particular point or aspect of a question with copious reference to such authorities on constitutional law as Dicey, Bryce, Keith, Kent Willoughby and others. Chapter I, as introductory, deals with the preamble to the Constitution of India. It is as illuminative as it affords food for study and reflection. Such discourses on Nationalism, Democracy, Republic etcetera have an interest all their own. The reader is served well in having them all together in a nutshell.

It is one of the fundamentals of our Indian Constitution that the Judiciary is vested with

absolute power to interpret its Articles in order to apply them to the facts of the case before it. The essence of that system is that the highest executive authority of the land is bound by and must obey that interpretation. Captain Nanavati's case, by the way, is an illustration in point.

The author is quite happy in emphasizing that the expression Democracy has been used in the Indian Constitution not so much in its political sense as in its social, economic and its spiritual sense. In other words, the entire purpose is to secure to all the citizens of India without any qualification whatsoever.

- (1) Justice, social, economic and political;
- (2) Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
- (3) Equality of status and of opportunity;
- (4) And to promote among them fraternity assuring the dignity of individual and the unity of the Nation.

In enunciating the above, the author is well within his rights to say that Democracy in the political sphere has really no meaning for the common man, unless it is accompanied by Democracy in the social, economic and the spiritual sphere; and to justify his view-point by quoting Tagore to say that it is idle to 'build up a political miracle of freedom upon the quick sand of social slavery'. I am also fully at one with those who believe that caste is the most blighting of all human institutions. It is inhuman, because of the sense of physical repulsion it carries; it is an indelible blot on what is even an apology of civilization and needs being swept clean without a moment's equivocation. But then I equally believe—and it needs being as much emphasized in a political discussion—that if political democracy is worked out in its true spirit and not in vote-catching as its be-all and end-all, it has vast potentials to negotiate the handicaps arising out of social and economic inequality. As regards economic equality, if it means a progressive liquidation of great inequalities it is all right, but it must be clearly understood that equality is absolutely out of the question, however much we wax eloquent over it. At the same time, it is as absolute that without a due toning up of the economic level from the bottom the political power must be in the pocket of the privileged few.

The author is to be fully complimented for this well-digested, painstaking study. It is a rich storehouse for those who should feel any interest in seeing how the Constitution of India is being judicially determined and worked out. Its manner of presentation makes it an eminently readable book.

Joges C. Bose

**A TRACT ON MONEY :** By Prof. Rabindra Nath Mitra and Prof. Himansu Roy. Published by The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta-12. Pages 256. Price Rs. 8.50.

This is the second revised edition of the book which first appeared in 1958 and was reviewed in these columns in October of the same year. This is an attempt to explain the essence of monetary theories. The authors have covered a wide field and have discussed the most modern views and contributions on different theories.

The subject has been discussed in seventeen chapters, viz., Money, Value of Money, Index Numbers, Quantity theory of money, Saving and Investment, Multiplier and Acceleration theories, Theory of interest and money, Theory of Inflation, Monetary standard, Gold standard, Exchange Rates and Paper Standard, Exchange Control, Business cycle, International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Development Association, Banking, Monetary Objectives and Underdeveloped Economy, Money and Banking.

In these days of Planned Economy and Five-Year Plans, the Third of which begins next year, even a layman has to know something of industries, money and banking because economy, prices and inflation touch the rich and the poor alike. The simple language of the book and avoidance of technicalities, will help even lay readers to understand some of the intricate problems of the day if he goes through the pages of the book under review.

The present edition incorporates a lot of new materials and each chapter has been dealt with in greater details.

We are confident that the interested readers among the public, will welcome this volume which it fully deserves.

A. B. Dutta

**THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA :** By V. P. Menon : Orient Longmans : Calcutta. Pp. 543. Price Rs. 25/-.

We have already reviewed the author's book *The Story of Integration of The Indian States* in these columns. This is his second book equally important as the first one. The former book may be treated as corollary to the present one. It is an important publication and, as the name indicates, the important events leading to the transfer of power have been very ably narrated in this volume.

The book under review has been divided into twenty chapters and appendices, no less than twelve, have been added to it explanatory to the

main chapters. The first two chapters of the book, e.g., (i) The goal of British policy and (ii) All-India Federation—A lost ideal deal with briefly the historical background of our national endeavours for the attainment of freedom. In spite of a few discrepancies and mistakes the reader will find in them very useful material for preparing his mind for the later events. During the Second World War situation rapidly changed in India and abroad. The freedom-struggle launched by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi made it critical for the allies to prosecute war successfully in the East. Cripps Mission came to India and went without any appreciable effect. As the war proceeded, grave disasters fell on the people of India, particularly Bengal. The war came to an end early in 1945, but with discontented India the hope of reconstruction in Britain and elsewhere was remote. The result was the Cabinet Mission. These important events have been narrated in these chapters : War and the Deadlock ; The August Offer and After ; The Cripps Mission ; The Stalemate Continues ; A New Approach ; The Simla Conference ; The General Election ; The Cabinet Mission I ; The Cabinet Mission II.

As constitutional Adviser to the Government of India since early forties the author was intimately connected with the constitutional developments of this period. How the Cabinet Mission proposals were first welcomed and after some time were relegated to the background and how some important events and incidents changed the whole outlook of both the Congress and the Muslim League leaders with the inevitable result of transfer of power on the basis of division of India have been faithfully recorded, of course, with some liking of the author this way or that in the following chapters : The Interim Government I ; The Interim Government II ; The Constituent Assembly ; The Evolution of a Plan ; Acceptance of the Plan ; The Implementation of the Plan ; The Birth of two Dominions. A perusal of these chapters will bring to light many things that were not possible for us to know from any other quarter. From this point of view the importance of the publication cannot be over-estimated. The transfer of power was stipulated on two main conditions, e.g., (i) Dominion status and (ii) Division of India. The nationalist leaders, whether of the Congress, League or Sikh brand had to bind themselves on these two fundamental conditions. And the result was the creation of two dominions—India and Pakistan. The last two chapters, e.g., The Aftermath of Partition and Conclusion are not at all pleasant reading

## BOOK REVIEWS

because the communal frenzy which was sought to be allayed by partition ran rampant in both the dominions.

In the appendices the author gives us relevant documents, statements and the Independence Act, 1947, along with other materials which will be very much useful not only to the reader of the book but to the future scholars as well. Since the transfer of power there have appeared a good many publications on our Independence struggle but this book will surpass them all in importance so far as the story of the transfer of power is concerned. We welcome this publication as we have done the author's other book.

Jogesh Chandra Bagal

### HINDI

**PUSHPANAGAR :** By "Adarsh", (Aradhana Prakashan, 64/44, Gola Dinanath, Varanasi, U.P. 1958. pp. 281. Price Rs. 6.

The well-known poet has this time presented to the readers an epic in free verse. Among the chief characteristics of an epic, it is usually said, two are—"grand matter and grand manner." The subject matter of the present work is certainly grand; it is the plea that only in observing pancha-

sheela,—the five principles of conduct, as laid down by the Buddha, of course, in the changed context of the modern age there is hope for the people to achieve true and lasting peace individually as well as collectively. But as regards the "manner" of the epic, it is rather doubtful if it is fully in keeping with the canons of an epic. However, the poet's style of fantasy and fluency of style are commendable.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**TWO YEARS IN CEYLON :** Translated by Prof. Nagnidas N. Parekh, Published by Gujarat Sabha, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 86. Price Re. 1.00.

Prof. Padmanabh Jaini, M.A., of the Banaras University, went to Ceylon at the instance of scholars of Pali, like Pandit Sukhlalji and others and stayed there for two years with the eye of an observant learner. The life of the people of Ceylon, the belief in and practice of the Buddha Cult and many other interesting things have been presented in Hindi by Prof. Jaini, which Prof. Parekh has ably translated into Gujarati.

K. M. J.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Schopenhauer Died a Hundred Years Ago

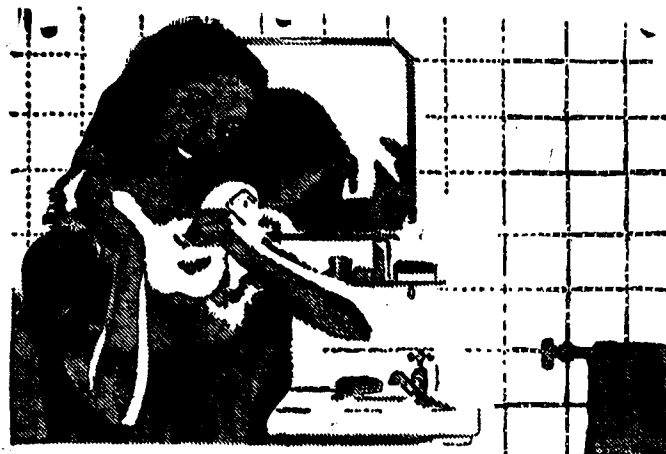
The German Philosopher, Arthur Schopenhauer, whose life's work revolutionized the thought of his own and of the next generation of philosophers, died in Frankfurt one hundred years ago. A short biographical sketch of this great Savant published in the German News Weekly is reproduced here:

Arthur Schopenhauer was born in 1788. At the age of fifteen he accompanied his father, a wealthy merchant in Danzig, on a long trip through the Netherlands, Belgium, England, France, Switzerland, and Austria; it was undertaken for the purpose of broadening the boy's education. After the untimely death of his father, Arthur Schopenhauer became a student at Goettingen University. He took his doctorate at Jena, where he associated himself with Goethe in nearby Weimar. At the University of Berlin he established himself as a teacher of philosophy. But the last

thirty years of his life were spent in Frankfurt as a private scholar.

A gaunt, inveterate bachelor, he hated "the womenfolk," and carried on a life-long battle with the officially installed academic philosophers—a battle in which he was generally victorious, if only because of his grim and sarcastic sense of humour.

Schopenhauer considered himself a pupil of the great Koenigsberg philosopher Immanuel Kant, whose theories he thought out to their radical conclusions. Schopenhauer laid down his fundamental theories in a volume entitled "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung" (The World as Will and Idea). This title alone indicates his entire philosophy. In this work his definition of the world is that it is a dream world, as it were. He finds the truth of things in a will that is unaffected by conscious motives. He sees in the will and the passions the determinants of intellectual life, and in the character and temper the source of theories and beliefs.



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# Indian Periodicals

## Population of India in 1600 A.D.

In an article, published in **Indian Population Bulletin No. 1**, April, 1960, Sri Jatindra Mohan Datta has made an attempt to estimate the population of India in 1600 A.D. W. H. Moreland was the first man to estimate such population and he found it to be 100 million. He has been criticised on the ground that the factual basis of his estimate is slender. Sri J. M. Datta has, after examining various possibilities independently, found it to be 110 million. He has examined at length the growth of land revenue in Bengal since 1582, has shown that population growth is proportional to increase in land revenue and he has found Bengal's population in 1582 to be 22 million. We give below his reasonings and facts about Bengal and the rate of growth as well:

Todar Mall, the great Dewan of Akbar, settled the land-revenue of **khalsa** lands, i.e., lands not held in **jaigir**, of Bengal in 1582 at Rs. 63.44 lakhs. Sultan Shuja, son of Shah Jahan, who was for several years Subahdar of Bengal, increased it by

Rs. 9.87 lakhs in the hey-day of Mughal rule (1658). Assuming that this increase was solely due to increase in cultivation of additional lands (an assumption for which there are good historical reasons) and assuming further that this increase was due to the growth of population, the rate of increase of population may be estimated thus:

|                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
|                        | Log 7331 = 3.865,1632 |
|                        | Log 6344 = 3.802,3632 |
| Difference in 76 years | 0.062,8000            |
| ∴ Difference in 1 year | 0.000,8263            |

This means an increase of 1.921 per cent per decade.

The next Mughal settlement was made by Jaffar Khan (Murshid Kuli Khan) 64 years later in 1722.

|                                                                                                         |                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Land revenue of <b>Khalsa</b> land, including fresh annexations, according to Sultan Sujah's settlement | Rs. 87.67 lakhs |
| Increase in 64 years                                                                                    | Rs. 11.72 lakhs |
|                                                                                                         | Rs. 99.39 lakhs |

But Murshid Kuli Khan's assessment was somewhat arbitrary, and not strictly proportional to the increase in **raiya** assets of the zamindars, and thus not strictly proportional to increase in cultivation. For these reasons Murshid Kuli Khan's son-in-law and successor to the Nawab Nazimi of Bengal reduced the total assessment six years later in 1728. The decrease in assessment works out to 0.392 per cent. Applying this correction to Murshid Kuli Khan's total of Rs. 99.39 lakhs for **khalsa** lands, the total is reduced to Rs. 99.00 lakhs in 1728.

Let us take this increase of Rs. 18.33 lakhs to be solely due to increase in cultivation, on account of increase in population between 1658 and 1728—a period of 70 years.

$$\text{Log } 9900 = 3.995,6352$$

$$\text{Log } 8767 = 3.942,8510$$

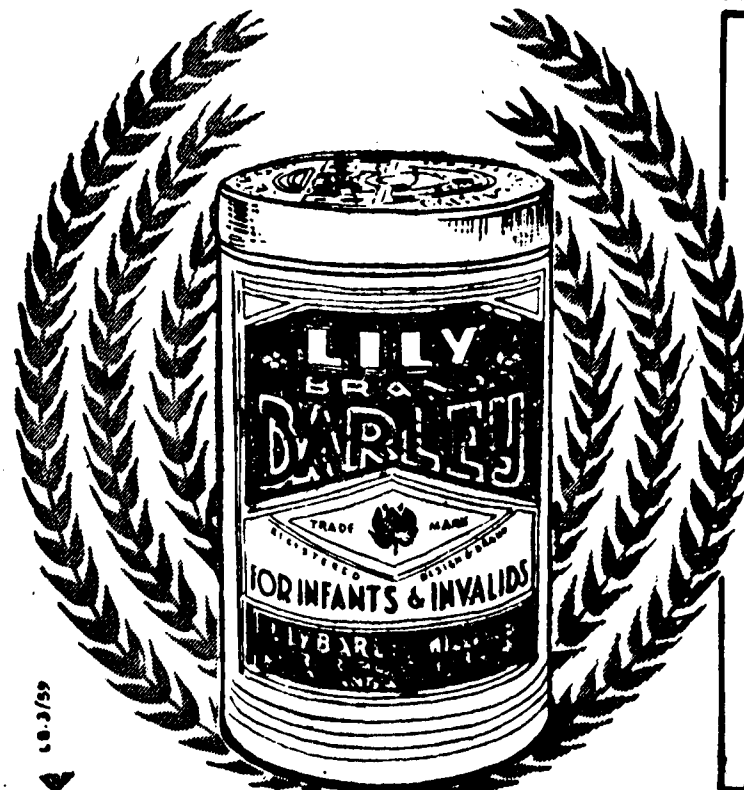
$$\begin{aligned} \text{Difference in 70 years} & 0.252,7842 \\ \therefore \text{Difference in 1 year} & .000,7541 \end{aligned}$$

This means an increase of 1.751 per cent per decade. The previous growth of population appears to have slowed down.

The population in Bengal has thus varied for two centuries.

|      |                                          |
|------|------------------------------------------|
| 1582 | 1000                                     |
| 1601 | 1036.8                                   |
| 1658 | 1155.6                                   |
| 1728 | 1305.9                                   |
| 1771 | { 1306 before Famine<br>871 after Famine |

The population which was 1037 in 1601 was reduced to 871 after the Great Famine.



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1960



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## NOTES

### India's Foreign Policy

In the recent Foreign Policy debate in the Lok Sabha, which ended on Nov. 24, it was apparent that the more thoughtful members—who number only a few—were not only getting doubtful about Pandit Nehru's omniscience in matters pertaining to Foreign Affairs but were also getting restive about the arrangements regarding the defence of India's northern borders against aggression by a ruthless and power-drunk neighbour. Even a seasoned Congress stalwart like Dr. Ram Subhag Singh was critical of the Government's neglect of the vital issues facing the country, like the border dispute with China, and devoting its attention on Disarmament and other world problems. He wanted that retaliatory restrictions be imposed on Chinese trade representatives in India, which was refused by Pandit Nehru. He also wanted our Government to take up the cause of the Tibetan people.

But the debate was really raised on a higher level by Acharya Kripalani, who is now an asset to the House after being freed from party trammels. He described China as "our arrogant and power-intoxicated Communist neighbour" and plainly stated that China did not believe in peaceful co-existence, however much she might profess her faith in Panch-Sheel outwardly. He said:

"China believes in the inevitability of war with all nations which are not Communists. Even Russia is charged with being Rightist or what is called revisionist, because she believes in co-existence. China's appetite has been growing on what she has been allowed to swallow. We have to be careful of our enemies inside and outside India if we value our freedom and our way of life."

He said, "it is no use minimizing the character of Chinese aggression against India whereby we have lost as many square miles as make up a small kingdom in Europe."

As the latest White Paper pointed out, Acharya Kripalani said, "the recent Chinese action on India's borders is a serious matter which may finally lead to very unfortunate consequences for the two countries and the world. However, our Prime Minister calls these unfriendly acts, merely petty and minor ones which have nothing to do with the wider question of India's relations with China. . . . Small things are not small when they are symbolic of what has been done before and what is likely to be done later. Small acts of aggression are not small when they show clearly the intention of the aggressor."

"I am afraid, as in the past so also now, our Prime Minister's utterances about Chinese aggression have not only been taken advantage

of by our enemies inside and outside the country but they have also put our friends in confusion."

Dealing with the Prime Minister's remarks that not a blade of grass grew and nobody lived in the areas occupied by China in Ladakh, Acharya Kripalani said that while he was in the USA recently people asked him why India was bothered about Chinese occupation of areas where not a blade of grass grew.

Acharya Kripalani said that he could not give an adequate reply but asked his questioner what would be the attitude of the USA if the Soviet Union occupied parts of Alaska which was covered with snow and where not a blade of grass grew. The Americans had no reply to this.

He regretted that the Prime Minister described in the U.N. General Assembly, "the invasion of India by China not even as aggression, not even as conflict, but only as a theoretical controversy" and added, "This has been done after the warning we got last April from Mr. Chou En-lai when he reached Kathmandu from Delhi that in his talks with Mr. Nehru, the latter had never mentioned the word 'aggression'. As soon as Mr. Chou En-lai turned this back, Mr. Nehru had accused China of aggression."

"To minimize evil is to excuse it and partly to justify it," Acharya Kripalani said, adding "apart from what we have lost, it had a demoralizing effect on Sikkim, Bhutan and other Himalayan regions. The pro-Chinese propaganda by the Communists in these areas would have no effect if our policy and its execution had shown enough determination to hold what is rightly our own."

Pandit Nehru, as usual, lost his patience, and was not very successful in defending the Government policy—which was, and still is confused and confusing, despite all said to the contrary by our Heads of the Union. Mr. Krishna Menon took upon himself the task of a categorical reply to all these criticisms. His defence was strong and lucid in expression, but on a critical examination, it seems to be mainly based on assumptions that might or might not stand, under the impact of circumstances now prevailing in World-politics.

Pandit Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon can really be likened to two professors who are both propounding profound academic theories, based

on pure idealism in an atmosphere intensely charged with the *Real-Politiks* of the Cold War. For example, Mr. Krishna Menon's assumption, that Portugal has been isolated in the U.N. and recognized as a Colonial Power by the U.N., even if theoretically correct may not be conducive of any concrete or effective results. South Africa has been isolated in the U.N. to a far greater degree, on the questions of racial inequality in the Apartheid laws and Colonialism in its refusal to release South-West Africa. No concrete results have followed even though U.N. resolutions, etc., were passed quite a while ago. In the matter of Disarmament, we must confess that we are unable to even imagine how the rosy dreams of Disarmageddon could mitigate the cold evils of Chinese aggression, even though India might have helped in changing Disarmament from "one of the more important items" to one of "total concern to the world peace." We fail to see what would stop an aggressive neighbour from making inroads into the coveted territories of a neighbour who is unable to see hard and cold facts that bang against his nose—drawing blood and humiliation—because of being obsessed with theoretical considerations. We still remember what happened in China in the years between 1932 and 1938, while Japanese aggression was being condemned by the majority vote in the now defunct League of Nations.

Kautilya,—who is supposed to be Chanakya, the mentor and adviser of Chandragupta Maurya, the first puissant King of Kings in India—wrote in his *Arthashastra* that *Arthashastra* was above all the Vedas and the other Sastras. He very clearly demonstrated how this Science of State-craft ruled the destinies of man and was, therefore, of supreme importance to all mankind. It was because of this teaching that India was strong and could bear up against all invaders, from the Fourth Century before Christ till the end of the Ninth Century of the present era.

A great Sanskrit scholar, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Jogendranath Tarkabhusan of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, expounded in his treatise on *Bharatiya Rastraneeti* (Indian Political Science) that it could be proved that until the end of the Ninth Century A.D. Political Science was placed in the highest position, in the education of Princes, and no Minister of State could gain in rank unless he was fully equipped in respect of that. After the Ninth Century the

Priests and soothsayers prevailed in the counsels of Kings and Princes, with their Shibboleths and rituals, thereby displacing the *Arthashastra*—which propounded state-craft and statesmanship in the terms of hard realities—from its place of supreme honour. Over a thousand years of slavery began from those days, when Heads of States refused to view realities for considerations that were not only abstract and ethereal but in effect as lethal as poison gas. It seems obsessions persist even though the World may have changed, where we are all concerned.

It is perhaps, this cloud of obsessions and inhibitions, which obstructs the vision of even our highest executives, that makes it so difficult for those who are in charge of our Foreign Affairs and the Defence of India, to understand the real implications of unfriendly moves by our neighbours. And undoubtedly that is the reason why the utterances and actions of our great ones seem so puzzling and haphazard to the rest of the World.

It is all very well for Pandit Nehru to warn the country to be prepared and ready for eventualities. Does he not understand that the morale of the people is perhaps at an all time low, does he not realise that moral values—out of which come patriotism and dedication, the mainstay of all truly courageous persons—have been nearly wiped out due to the unchecked prevalence of black markets and corruption—which latter has penetrated to the highest places—that has gnawed into the very vitals of the Nation?

What can the finest army in the world do, unless it has the masses of the nation solidly behind it? Pandit Nehru stated in the Rajya Sabha on Nov. 28, that he did not think that there was any noticeable change in the attitude of the Chinese in regard to the border, in view of the official talks that have been in progress at Rangoon. Is that at all surprising?

As for our Mr. Krishna Menon, he is perhaps the superlative in optimism. He stated in Bombay on Nov. 27, that the liberation of Goa was easier to achieve by "pulling down" the whole of "the Portuguese Empire." This was being done at the U.N., according to him. Does he really think that pulling down the Portuguese Empire is that easy? If so then he should tell the people how it is going to crumble and when?

We are no prophets ourselves and we have little faith in prophecies that have neither any

time limit set, nor any clear indication as to how the events will materialize.

### The Congo Incident

There has been an outburst of indignation in the Lok Sabha on November 24, over the news of the beating up of Indian officers by the Congolese troops at Leopoldville. The Government was accused of lack of farsight and effectiveness in dealing with the Congo situation. The Prime Minister himself joined the House in expressing his feelings of indignation and concern. He said that he had forebodings that the U.N. structure was breaking up and mob rule of the Congolese troops was spreading, which was a scandalous state of affairs. What we would like to know, is what else could be expected in Congo, in view of what has happened before.

### The Tangle in South-East Asia

For some months now the region known as "South-East Asia" in World politics, has been experiencing troubles which indicate that Communist China's attempts at expanding her sphere of influence—if not domination—towards the Indian Ocean are in the active state, though there is no indication of a major eruption of expansionism. In Laos, there is a complicated three-cornered struggle for power. The parties or factions involved are known to the outside world by the names of their leaders, as the political implications of the struggle are so involved that no clear definition can be found, since they range from the supposed Rightist supporters of the King to the clearly Communist-trained and indoctrinated guerrillas of Pathet Lao.

Laos is a country which was a part of the former French Indo-Chinese states. It is bounded on the North by Chinese territory, on the East by Vietnam, on the South by Cambodia and the West by Thailand. Its estimated area is (approximate) 89,000 sq. miles and the estimated population (1956) 30,00,000. It became a French Protectorate in 1893, after the French and the British took away large slices of Siamese (Thai) territories to be assimilated into French Indo-China and Burma (Shan states). The French incorporated it into the Indo-Chinese Union in 1899. After the nationalistic movement gained ground

during the last war, the King promulgated a Constitution (11th May, 1947) providing for a constitutional monarchy under the Luang Prabang dynasty, over the area of the two former kingdoms of Luang Prabang and Vientiane.

Laos became an independent Sovereign State, by a treaty with France in July, 1949. It became completely free after the cease-fire agreements were signed with France in Geneva on July 21, 1954, and it joined the U.N. in December 1955. The King is Somdet Prachao Sisavang Vong and the present capital is Vientiane.

The former pro-Western Ministry of Premier Phoui Sananikone, was overthrown by the present neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma last summer and the present Premier has been seeking negotiations with the Communist Guerrillas in the North. There were reports of large scale Communist terrorist activities in the northern provinces bordering North Vietnam in July and August, 1959, and there was very considerable political unrest when the former Premier failed to stabilize the situation, after neutral reporters gave a statement which was at variance with the reports of infiltration and invasion by Communist forces.

But even after the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma's Government started these negotiations with the Communist Guerrillas, the disturbed condition continued and then the anti-Communist forces came into action, resulting into the present highly confused three-cornered struggle. The parties involved in the struggle are (a) The neutralist Government under Premier Souvanna Phouma with its headquarters at Vientiane in Central Laos. (b) The forces led by General Phoumi Nosavan, who was the Defence Minister in the deposed regime. The General's stronghold is in the area around Savannakhet in South Laos. (c) The forces of the Communist Pathet Lao groups, whose Guerrilla forces are said to have been trained and armed by Chinese and North Vietnamese Communists.

Laos, which has been receiving 40,000,000 dollars annually in U.S. aid for some years now, is regarded as a key out-post by the West, in its defences against Communist infiltration and penetration of the South-East Asian "democracies" of South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. The latest news that emanated from Radio Vientiane (on Nov. 18), of Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma having agreed to admit pro-

Communist Pathet-Lao representatives into his Government and to accept aid from Communist China and North-Vietnam, would be considered therefore as being disturbing by the Western Powers.

The other disturbed area is South-Vietnam, which consists of the 30 provinces, South of the 17th parallel (N. Latitude), with an approximate area of 65,000 sq. miles and an estimated population of 12,000,000. It is bounded on the North by the North Vietnam Government under Ho-Chi-Minh, on the South and the East by the South China Sea and the West by Cambodia and Laos. The seat of the Government is at Saigon.

Vietnam is one of the three former French Indo-Chinese Associated States, and consists of the former French "Protectorates" of Tonkin and Annam and the French Colony of Cochinchina. It was under the French from 1889. It was occupied by Japan in 1940 and during the occupation nationalist forces were formed in the shape of a number of groups which formed the Viet Minh (Independence) League, headed by Ho-Chi-Minh. The Viet Minh forced out the puppet Emperor Bao Dai of Annam. And then followed a long War, 1945-54, with a French Expeditionary force. France suffered heavy losses, in men, prestige and money (5,000,000,000 dollars, of which 2,000 millions were misused U.S. aid) and the U.S.A. did not show any political knowledge of Asiatic conditions either. Indeed it might be said that the U.S. was "played for a fool" by the French with the aid of some U.S. diplomats, who had neither political acumen nor any knowledge of Asiatic peoples.

A cease-fire was signed at Geneva in July, 21, 1954, after which the area was split between two Governments, the Communist regime under Ho-Chi-Minh in North-Vietnam and the Republic of Vietnam, also known as South-Vietnam, under Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, who later proclaimed South-Vietnam as a republic, ousted Bao Dai from his position as the Chief of State and became the President of the new Republic of Vietnam. South Vietnam is receiving U.S. aid to the tune of 180,000,000 dollars currently.

But Ngo Dinh Diem has practically established an authoritarian regime as the following extracts from the *New York Times* of Nov. 13, show.

"South-Vietnam's position has been precarious ever since France yielded North-Vietnam to

the Communists in the 1954 truce which ended the Indo-China fighting. The United States has been giving the country considerable military aid—currently about \$180,000,000 a year—in an effort to strengthen it against communism. But both the North-Vietnamese and Chinese Communists have exerted strong pressure against South-Vietnam. Communists have infiltrated the country and terrorized South-Vietnamese villages. South-Vietnam's fall to the Communists would almost surely set-off a chain reaction that would undermine the non-Communist regimes in neighboring Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

On the ground that the Communist threat required it, South-Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem has established a strongman regime. He has made the National Assembly a rubber stamp, interfere with elections and the press, and restricted anti-Communist opposition parties.

Six months ago a group of anti-Communist leaders, including ten former Cabinet ministers, drew up a manifesto charging that the President's policies had "only oppressed the people, not protected them from Communists." United States officials in Saigon privately urged President Ngo Dinh Diem to liberalize his policies.

Before dawn of 11th November, the opposition to the President broke out in armed revolt. Three thousand paratroopers led by Col. Nguyen Chanh Thi seized key points in Saigon and laid siege to the Presidential palace. The rebels said their aim was to end the "totalitarian" methods of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime and strengthen the country in its fight against communism.

For nearly twenty-four hours the rebels held control of most of the capital while the President entered into negotiations with them. But Ngo Dinh Diem evidently was only stalling for time. Early next day, troops loyal to him entered the capital and routed the rebels. Scores were killed or wounded, including a number of civilian bystanders. At the week-end President Ngo Dinh Diem seemed to have reestablished control and Col. Nguyen Chanh Thi was reported to have been captured.

### Algeria

At the beginning of November, President de Gaulle again seemed to be determined to move on towards a solution of the Algerian problem

on his own. He declared that "an Algerian republic was inevitable" and made a statement that he was going to advance the solution of the Knotty Algerian question to a decision by himself. He indicated that a unilateral ceasefire might be proclaimed by him—which would open a way for political negotiations with the rebels. He further said that he would call for a country-wide popular referendum to rally support for himself against his foes.

The Rightists of France are again openly assailing the de Gaulle Government on several fronts. In the Senate the *Algerie Francaise* (Rightist) partisans combined with the Communists and the European-Unity protagonists to defeat the Government Plan for a French atomic force by 186 votes to 83, which means that President de Gaulle, who is the father of this plan, will have to go to the National Assembly a second time for a re-affirmation of its first approval, in order to nullify the effects of that defeat. Again, during the trial, before a military tribunal at Paris, of the sixteen leaders of last January's Algiers insurrection, the defence attacked the de Gaulle Government on the ground that it had betrayed the Constitution and the Republic. In the government itself there were signs of discord. Two days after President de Gaulle's speech Andre Jaconeet, the Second-in-Command of the French administration, submitted his resignation as an indication of protest. The de Gaulle Government rejected his resignation and sacked him instead, and deprived him of his Civil Service status and pay, as a measure of punishment, in order to stop any further resignations on the same grounds. Further as a precautionary measure President de Gaulle consulted his Cabinet Ministers and decided to send Pierre Messmer his Defence Minister to Algeria, in order to feel the pulse of the army, in case of the unilateral ceasefire declaration as a preliminary for the final negotiations for an "Algerian Algeria."

But colonialism which is based on the ruthless exploitation of the children of the soil for the sole benefit of the colonial exploiters, dies hard, particularly where the exploiters have firmly embedded their tentacles in the soil, as in Algeria where the French *colons* number about a million. This Algerian issue has caused a war that has gnawed at the vitals of France for six years now. It has drained France's finances in such a fashion that but for the U.S. aid she would



have been on the rocks long ago, it has further alienated France from the Arab world and placed her own friends in the West, particularly the U.S.A., in a fix. Soviet propaganda has gained greatly thereby. For example, during the Khrushchev visit to the U.N., the statements made by the Free Algeria delegation, placed the U.S. in a false position as the following extract from the *Christian Science Monitor* of October 4, indicates :

"Spokesmen for the Algerian rebel government now attending the United Nations sessions are openly bitter at their inability to undertake "serious discussions" with the United States Government.

Although unwilling to be quoted by name, one of the Algerian leaders indicated that relations between the rebels and the United States are purely on "a lobby level." By this, the spokesman explained, he meant that occasionally both sides meet in passing in the delegates lounge of the United Nations General Assembly building and, as the spokesman put it, "We say hello to each other and that's all."

Added the Algerian spokesman : "We sometimes meet at a reception and say hello there, too."

The attitude of the Algerian rebels, it can be stated, is shared by the Tunisian Government which feels strongly that the United States should demonstrate "some sympathetic understanding" in the Algerian crisis.

[From the State Department's point of view, of course, the situation is difficult in the extreme because of the alliance with France in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Government officials do not usually consort with representatives of an organization in rebellion against an ally.]

"The seriousness of this Algerian rebel attitude is to be weighed against the two-hour meeting, Oct. 2, between Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and three ministers in the Algerian rebel government-in-exile—Belkacem Krim, vice-premier and foreign minister, Ahmed Francis, minister of finance, and Mohammed Yazid, minister of information. What was discussed there was still a secret, but persons in a position to know said, Mr. Khrushchev had indicated his fullest sympathy with the Algerian rebels.

Premier Khrushchev at a reception of the Bulgarian Government, Oct. 3, went even further

in his support of the Algerians. Greeting Mr. Krim, the Soviet leader said :

"I salute you and I wish you victory."

When another Algerian jokingly said that Gen. Charles de Gaulle might not like the Khrushchev greeting, the Soviet Premier replied :

"Why should I be more French than the French President? He negotiated with you [the Algerians, last July] and that means *de facto* recognition."

Another reporter pointed out that there were 1,00,000 Europeans in Algeria. To which the Soviet Premier replied :

"It's their (Algerian) country. Let them have self-determination and then let the different peoples live side-by-side as in the Soviet Union."

For the past years, the Algerian rebel government has been veering in the direction of the Sino-Soviet block. Military supplies reportedly have come from Communist China. Recently, Premier Ferhat Abbas visited Moscow and Peking, having been preceded by Algerian rebel delegations to both Communist capitals.

Algerian rebel publications have been replete with news and photographs from China and the Soviet Union. An Algerian spokesman asked about Algerian policy toward the Communist countries said :

"When you're drowning, you don't ask who has thrown out the life preserver."

President de Gaulle evidently has the support of the plain French citizen who wants an honourable end to this six years old carnage and drain of money, which if anything has damaged the good name of France all over the World. The President was loudly cheered by a crowd of over 45,000 when he rode in state on Nov. 11, (Armistice Day) to lay a wreath on the tomb of France's unknown soldier at the Arc de Triomphe. But his old associate Marshal Alphonse Juin refused to take part in the same ceremonies and in Algiers itself there was the worse rioting since the January insurrection, the slogan being "*Algerie Francaise*" Algeria is French, the rioters being mainly students, this being the third riot within thirty months by the European settlers in the streets of Algiers. In May, 1958, right-wing demonstrators, joined by the paratroops of Gen. Jacques Massu, toppled the Fourth French Republic and brought Gen. Charles de Gaulle back to power..

Last January, when President de Gaulle dis-

missed General Massu, Algiers was the scene of a week-long insurrection, which ended when the Government persuaded the Army to remain loyal.

Colonialists are particularly thick-skinned and thick-skulled reactionaries and their reactions are the same, whether they are Boers in South Africa, Britons in Kenya and South Rhodesia or the French in Algeria. At the same time President de Gaulle is not likely to bow down again, if he feels he has the weight of public opinion behind him, however tough the task.

### The Presidential Election in the U.S.A.

Mr. John Fitzgerald Kennedy has won the latest Presidential Election in the United States of America, defeating Mr. Richard Nixon by an extremely narrow margin of popular votes. The counting is not yet over, but at the time when this is written Mr. Kennedy had 33,896,551 popular votes and Mr. Nixon had 33,699,777 votes. The U.S. Presidential Election is finally decided by the Electoral College System, by which a candidate gets *all* the Electoral Votes—which finally decides the issue—in a State where he has won a majority of popular votes, even though some of the Electoral Votes might belong to members, belonging to the opposing party. In this Electoral Vote count Mr. Kennedy holds 300 votes as at present to Mr. Nixon's 223. The candidate who wins 369 votes or more finally, succeeds in winning the contest. The counting of popular votes is still proceeding due to the complex system of recording absentee votes, and it has been hinted that Mr. Kennedy might be another President elected by the Electoral votes in spite of the popular vote majority being held by his opponent like 14 of the Presidents elected in the U.S. previously in that way.

Mr. Kennedy is the youngest President since Theodore Roosevelt, and the very first Roman Catholic, the actual transfer of the Presidency, that is Mr. Kennedy's inauguration, will take place on January 20, 1961. The process of transfer is likely to be a little complicated, but there is not much reason why all the likely causes might not be allowed and arranged for during the course of next two months. The Party system in the U.S. is not of the type that we have

copied from Britain, and as such there is a great deal of common ground for both. The Administration will undoubtedly be changed to some extent but the U.S. Government remains the same.

It is not useful therefore to make any predictions about the future, particularly where Foreign Relations are concerned.

### Industrialisation and the South

At the South Zonal Conference of the Chambers of Commerce held at Madurai on November 18, there were resolutions passed asking for a fair deal for the South. The conference called, by a resolution, for a shift in emphasis from centralised to decentralised planning, to check inflation and to correct regional imbalance in development. In the course of moving the resolution on the Third Plan, Mr. P. L. Bhandari, the President of the Federation of Andhra Pradesh Chambers of Commerce, remarked that the attitude that inflation and high prices were inevitable in a developing economy should be oriented and prices should be brought down to a fair and stable level by providing a climate for maximum production.

The main emphasis was laid by all speakers on the point that the South was not being given a fair deal in the matter of industrialisation and that remedial measures must be undertaken. The quotation given below from the *Hindu* amply illustrates the view-point of the conference.

Mr. Sarangapani Mudaliar of Mysore, sponsor of the Zonal Convention scheme, moving the resolution on better development of South India said that the four Southern States with 26 per cent of the country's population accounted for 14 per cent of India's industrial production and contributed 26 per cent of the country's foreign exchange earnings but received only Rs. 500 crores in the Rs. 4,800-crore Second Plan. He said, the zone contributed about 26 per cent of the country's exportable surplus but got only 10 per cent of the country's imports.

Mr. S. N. K. Sundaram, seconding it, said North India was highly industrialised and North East India had established the reputation as "the

at Cranwell therefore, with the approval of his parents. He was one of the first group of R.I. A.F. officers to be trained at Cranwell, he was also the first Indian officer to be commissioned in the R.I.A.F. He was likewise the first Indian to Command a Squadron and the first to be put in Command of an Air Force Station.

He started his career in the Indian Air Force in April, 1933. He was at Peshawar and saw action in Waziristan. He was mentioned in despatches for saving an Army picket that had been cut-off by tribesmen in the North-West Frontier. He became the first Indian to Command the Kohat Air Station in August 1943, and later earned promotion as a group Captain. He became an Air Commander and was both appointed Deputy Air Officer-in-Charge of administration prior to the Partition of India.

He became Deputy Air Commander and Senior Air Staff Officer after the partition of the country and the division of the armed forces. He became the Chief of the Air Staff in command of the I.A.F. in 1949 when Air Marshal Edmbirst went on leave. He became Air Marshal in command of the Indian Air Force in 1954. After completing his four year tenure as Air Chief he was given an extension for another four years from 1958.

"Subroto" was a very fine specimen of a man, physically and mentally, and apart from his extreme efficiency in his chosen profession—of which his distinguished career is ample evidence—he possessed a very likeable personality and was a very good and helpful friend to have. His popularity amongst his acquaintances and the deep regard in which he was held by his friends, was based on the sound intrinsic qualities of character that he possessed. His death is indeed a grievous loss, not only to his aged parents and sorrowing relatives and friends, but to a far wider circle of acquaintances.

#### M. S. M. Sharma

The death took place through a heart attack while travelling in the Toofan Express, on the way to Patna, of Shri M. S. M. Sharma, the Editor of the English daily of Patna, *Searchlight*, on the morning of Nov. 27th. Shri Sharma had a long career as a journalist, which he started in the early twenties. He had served in the Associated Press and for a good few years was the

Editor of the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi, which he left about a year after partition. He had worked for the *Hindu* and the *Hindustan Times* and he joined the *Searchlight* as Editor in 1950.

Shri Sharma was a professional journalist who observed the old Code of journalistic practice, both with regards truth and that regarding the guarding of confidences given in good faith. We know that he had suffered loss and prestige, because of holding to these principles, in the days prior to his going to Patna.

#### THE EDITOR

#### Dandakaranya

The Dandakaranya scheme is now looking up and there are hopes that a large number of East Bengal refugees will find their home in that area. It is a rich, fertile and beautiful region of India and the peoples of riverine East Bengal will have to change their ways of living and cultivation there; but, generally speaking, it will not be a change for the worse in point of work, profit or comfort. They will not be struggling for space, for one thing and they will have as much land as they will be able to cultivate by their own efforts. The only thing that has to be guarded against is clash of culture and of economic interests between locals and immigrants. In the Orissa region, we are told the refugees are being settled in small pockets set widely apart and separated by other habitations of local people. This is a very unwise thing and if allowed to develop will eventually create strained relations between the two groups of people who will not adopt each others' ways. In the M.P. area the pattern of settlement is quite different, we believe. Here the refugees are settling in a large area which has no pockets of local inhabitants. This will eventually create a large homogeneous block without any differences of a Socio-anthropological variety. And that will mean that the Dandakaranya area will develop as India and not as a reserve for this type or that. Wherever in India the State Governments lack the National outlook and try to create a state within a state by acting unjustly towards and dealing iniquitously with all minorities, the national outlook vanishes and nationalism and true patriotism succumbs to narrow caste cliques, linguism or just gangsterism

#### NOTES

of a larger variety. In Dandakaranya, the East Bengalis should not forget that they are Indians first and Bengalis after that. They must not form cliques and coteries which will try to interfere with life and work of others. Their spirit should be one of independence; but with full co-operation with others. The other groups in the area too should be taught to co-operate with all and not try to impose their own ways on others. If these ideals are maintained from the beginning; then cultural freedoms will be preserved and full economic co-operation developed between all groups of people who will live in the area.

A. C.

#### Berubari

The transfer of land from one country to another is a very troublesome business. If it has any historical, moral, economic or cultural basis to it, things may not prove so difficult. But where such transfer is purely a matter of expediency, which expediency is considered advantageous by persons who have no stake in the area thus transferred, such alienation of somebody's hearth and home in order to appease the whims, fads or "policy" of politicians who are total strangers to the owners of the hearths and homes; this kind of transfer will surely create resistance, ill feeling and a mounting sense of being subjugated, suppressed and treated as subjects of an absolute overlordship. Bengal's relations with the Central Government cannot be described as subject and suzerain relations. The people of Berubari are as much Indians as are the members of the Central Cabinet. If Pandit Nehru thought it expedient to give away Berubari to Pakistan, he should have thought first of the feelings of the people directly concerned. There being no history of Pakistan previous to its creation by the British the Congress and the Muslim League, Berubari could not have belonged to Pakistan historically or even logically, ethically or culturally. There is, as we have said, no history which justifies the transfer of this small area to a country, which itself has no history and has been the pure and unmixed product of British imperial expediency.

Then, perhaps the Central Government will say, there are economic, moral, cultural and logical reasons for such transfer. We would ask

where were these considerations when Pakistan was created? Economically the Partition of India in 1947 was entirely disruptive and did no good to the people of any of these newly created separate States. The Jute workers of West Bengal will bear testimony to the truth of this statement. All loom sealing and partial or total unemployment of thousands are the result of that partition. Culturally the East Pakistanis are Bengalis and they should have stayed within Bengal, rather than attached to far away Sind, West Punjab and Pakhtoonistan. So that *no part of Bengal can now be considered logically, culturally, economically or historically* as a part of East Pakistan. All considerations considered, there are no grounds for the transfer of Berubari to East Pakistan, excepting that Pandit Nehru thought it expedient. But we think Pandit Nehru had no right to do so. What he is now doing; viz., making his servile Parliamentary majority back up his past indiscretion (*ex post facto*); he should have done before he discussed Berubari affairs with Pakistan. His idea and, what is worse, his habitual practice of doing things on his own without consulting his people, who have given him his power and position; and then insisting that his actions must be ratified, are a very poor proof of his greatness.

A. C.

#### NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number, are requested to send the next year's subscription quoting their respective serial subscribing numbers early, by postal order or by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

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Manager, The Modern Review

Ruhr of India." Western India had a concentration of financial institutions and it was from Bombay that their monetary controls emanated. The major market for Government securities existed in Bombay only. It had fallen to the lot of South India to provide stenographers, ledger-keepers and accountants. In other words, the South had a concentration of unproductive intelligence. The perpetuation of this anomalous situation had almost killed the spirit of enterprise in South India. South India needed urgently the establishment of an iron and steel industry and at least one major project in each of the four southern States was a "must." To remedy this imbalance and the extreme dependence of the South on the rest of India, there should be decentralisation of power of the Central Government in the matter of industrial licensing, Mr. Sundaram said.

#### Premier U Nu in India

The Prime Minister of Burma is on a visit to India in the course of which he had conversations "on all interesting subjects", though Indo-Chinese affairs were not particularly discussed. He is rounding up his visit with a round of visits to the sacred Buddhist sites in India, and he is presenting a picture of calm reserve that is a reflection of the change in the political and administrative atmosphere of the Burma of to-day.

It is over seven months since Premier U Nu took over from General Ne Win, who had conducted "a benevolently authoritarian caretaker regime." Some time after taking over he had said, in the course of a state of the union address to Burmese Parliament—where his party has a large majority—that "there is calm, peace and lack of tension in the political sphere, and no one can deny it." He further stated on that occasion that the country was in "a frightening state of affairs" when he took over—in April last—from General Ne Win. He had realized at that time, that if the country was to be saved, it was up to him to teach tolerance, self-restraint and self-improvement to his Union Party followers and to his Government. He said that was

what he did and that is how the present placid condition of the country was achieved.

Joseph Lelyveld, foreign scholar studying the political scene of the Burma of to-day, commented in the *New Leader* of New York that stripped of "dramatic exaggerations", his report was substantially correct. Had he allowed his more ravenous followers to exploit their victory at the expense of the opposition and the Army, there might well have been serious trouble. But U Nu deliberately refrained.

Burma has suffered greatly at the hands of its politicians, the foreign commentator remarked, and "not all of their mistakes could be attributed simply to inexperience." The same is the case here. The commentator further said, "U Nu's efforts to soothe bad feelings will not succeed for long if he governs poorly. In the past, his impatience with the details of administering a government and his readiness to leave them to less qualified underlings—once he had set the policies—were his great limitations as a leader." He quotes the Burmese English-language newspaper *Nation* as saying that with U Nu Burma has had "world's best Prime Minister and the worst administration".

The meeting between U Nu and our own Prime Minister must have been interesting. There is so much in common between the two of them.

#### Leo Tolstoy

Tolstoy died on the 7th November, 1910, full of years and famed throughout the educated world. His writings, with their clear and vehement insistence on the rectification of ills and wants of deprived and oppressed humanity and on the restitution of the God-given birthrights of Man along the ancient and hallowed paths indicated by seers the world over, exerted a profound influence all over the world. It is said that his works have been translated into 82 languages with a total of 97 million copies published.

His technique of writing was so vivid and there were further so much intensity in the display of emotion and passions in his portrayal of characters, good or evil, that the usually un-

surmountable barriers of language could not prevent the transmission of the full play of human sensibilities during translation into a foreign language from the original. This is the reason why his writings wielded such a profound influence on all cultured persons, whom Tolstoy helped in their efforts to understand the real value of truth, justice and honesty in a world that was getting saturated with the idea that might was right and that the ends justified the means. He convinced millions of bewildered people of the tremendous life-giving and sustaining power of Truth and Justice when opposed to the destructive forces of Evil in the shape of lying and destructive oppression. He was the "voice of conscience" in all truth, as declared by Francois Mauriac, the French writer.

He was always quick to respond whenever there was a call to him to lend his voice and the weight of his judgment in aid to suffering humanity, and he never ignored any such request, however unknown or negligible the status of the applicant. An unknown young Indian, who was driven into exile from his homeland, because he had joined the band of those who had rebelled against the oppressive foreign yoke, wrote to him in the early days of this century, in order that he might gather strength from the soul-inspiring fountain that flowed from the pen of Tolstoy. He was not disappointed though he was but a poor young rebel with neither status nor fame, and further was a member of a subject race. The response was quick and a long and inspiring correspondence followed. The whole correspondence was published in a book-form by the same exiled Indian, Dr. Taraknath Das, a few years back. Similarly, he gave his fullest appreciation to Gandhiji's Satyagraha Movement in South Africa, and Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged him as a great teacher. He was not only a Titan amongst the writers of world standing, but was a seer whose sight ranged all humanity and whose pronouncements reached the farthest corners of the earth. Truly, he was very close to us spiritually, as has been said by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, the Chairman of the All-India Tolstoy Anniversary Committee.

Just to show how this mighty wielder of the pen attained his stature, through immense toil and a patient and meticulous insistence on perfection, we append a few particulars, as supplied by the U.S.S.R. Information Department.

The total number of Tolstoy autograph (manuscript pages) in the manuscripts archives of the Tolstoy State Museum exceeds 170,000 pages.

There are 15 versions of the beginning of "War and Peace", 11 of the beginning of "Resurrection", and 11 of the beginning of "Anna Karenina".

Tolstoy rewrote 20 times the 14-line description of Katyusha Maslova, heroine of the "Resurrection."

More than 100 of Tolstoy's diaries and notebooks are preserved. He made his last entry at the station of Astapovo on November 3, 1910, four days before he died.

Tolstoy had an excellent command of the chief European languages—French, English and German—and also knew and used Latin, Italian, ancient Greek, Hebrew, Old Slavic, Ukrainian, Tatar, Polish, Czech and Serbian. He knew a total of 15 languages.

In May, 1909, 3,000 Negroes in the city of New Albany, Indiana, the USA, wrote a letter to Tolstoy asking him to intervene and protect them against being lynched by the whites. In his reply Tolstoy forcefully condemned "the equally criminal behaviour of the mob which commits those horrors (the lynchings) and the still more flagrant shamelessness of a government that tolerates and connives at those crimes. . . ."

#### Air Marshal Subrata Mukerjee

India lost one of her most efficient and gallant sons in the death through an accident of Air Marshal Subrata Mukherjee, at Tokyo on the evening of November 8. It was an almost unbelievable piece of misadventure through which he lost his life—by choking to death through a piece of meat blocking his windpipe—in the prime of his life.

He was born in Calcutta in 1911, as the youngest child of Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee. He was educated in Calcutta and Howrah in his early days. He went to England with his parents in 1929, while studying at the Presidency College, Calcutta. It was intended that he would be trained for a medical career, but he saw an announcement by the Government of India, soon after reaching England, that Indians were to be admitted—in the regular way—into the Air Force, and he got admitted into the training institution

## ACHARYA JADU NATH SARKAR

By JOGESH CHANDRA BAGAL

ON the 10th of this month falls the ninety-first birth anniversary of Acharya Sir Jadunath Sarkar, D.Litt., (Hony.) the doyen of Indian history. He breathed his last on 19th May, 1958, at the ripe old age of eighty-seven, but his zeal for research never abated, and almost like a young man he continued his work till the last day of his life. His death has left a vacuum in the world of historical research, which would take many years to be filled up.

Acharya Jadu Nath told me that he had imbibed his love for the study of history and biography from his father, Raj Kumar Sarkar. Raj Kumar was a public man of Rajshahi in those days and participated in all the progressive movements, political and social, of the district. Jadu Nath spent some of his early years, between seven and nine, in Calcutta, as a student of Hindu School. He attended the prayer meetings of Brahmananda Keshab Chunder Sen, and, because of his tender age, was always given a seat just in front of the altar and had the privilege of listening to his lectures. He vividly remembered, once he told me, the memorable day of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir on the Cornwallis Street.

Jadu Nath's later student life was divided between Rajshahi and Calcutta. He passed his B.A., and M.A., from the Presidency College of Calcutta with brilliant success, in 1891 and 1892, respectively. He started life as Professor of English Literature first in Ripon College (now The Surendranath College) and then in the Metropolitan (Now Vidyasagar) College. While in the Metropolitan College he won the Premchand Roychand Scholarship. Success in this led him on to hard and strenuous research for more than fifty years.

Jadu Nath was soon grafted into the Government Educational Service. He served the Presidency College, Patna College and the Ravenshaw College, (Cuttack) for thirty years. His services were lent for three years to the Benares Hindu University as the Head of the

Department of History. It should be noted that with the progress of research and publication of his historical treatises, the Educational Department gradually recognised his talents and allowed him to teach history along with English and lastly they appointed him a full-fledged professor of history.

Literature, History and Economics were the then forte of Acharya Jadu Nath. In the late nineties he even wrote a book on Economics. But History had the greatest attraction for him and he began to devote his spare time for the study of this branch of knowledge. By the dint of strenuous research for over two decades Jadu Nath produced the famous history of *Aurangzib* in five volumes. He always tapped the sources where only the first-hand material is available for writing, compiling and reconstructing the Indian history. Jadu Nath learnt Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Marathi and French along with the cognate languages in which historical material was lying hidden. To decipher the Persian MSS is a very hard job, and Acharya Jadu Nath had often to overcome this difficulty with the help of Maulavis. Jadu Nath supplemented this monumental history with various other original works. He edited William Irvine's two volumes of *Later Moghuls* (1707—1739) with meticulous care and continued it in two further volumes, all his own.

*Aurangzib's* counterpart, *Shivaji*, did not fail to attract his notice. The battles and on-slaughts as well as the diplomatic manoeuvres of these two contemporaries induced Professor Sarkar to ransack Maratha sources, and as a result we have his *Shivaji and his Time* (1919) and the *House of Shivaji*, the two monumental works. In his research in the Maratha history, while compiling the histories of *Aurangzib* and *Shivaji*, Jadu Nath travelled the North and the South more than forty times to personally see the fields of exploits and activities of these two giants and to ascertain the facts as such from the locality with a view to supplementing information and material found in the MSS and

sometimes in printed books. While in Maharashtra he made friends with Rai Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, another labourer in the cause of history. Jadu Nath's critical estimate of the life and character of Shivaji could not satisfy many a Maharastrian. But Sardesai like a true historian, extended full support to Jadu Nath.

Jadu Nath's works are mostly in English. But he never forgot his mother-tongue. His articles and essays on various subjects of history as well as on educational, cultural and literary subjects appeared in many reputed Bengali Journals. Some of his writings, have no doubt been published in book-form. Many are still lying hidden in the pages of the journals, some of which are not extant and are rarely available. These, if published after suitable classification, will certainly enrich our literature.

A true educationist, Acharya Jadu Nath, just after retirement from Government Service, accepted the honorary but onerous office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He served his full term, 1926-28, but as he told me once, he could introduce no reforms whatsoever in its academic side, which he had adumbrated for many a number of years in the pages of this *Review* owing to stiff opposition from both expected and unexpected quarters. He, however, was able to make some improvement in the University administration.

Since the attainment of Independence, Acharya Jadu Nath wielded his pen for the improvement of our social and economic structure. A patriot to the core, he lent his unstinted support to the organisation of the N.C.C. He thought that Free India demands every family to co-operate with the country's defence by lending at least one young member to its various forces. He once said that this consideration had led him to give some of his grand-children opportunity to enter the ranks of the Army and the Navy. Acharya Jadu Nath wrote a series of articles on the modes of warfare in ancient India. He laid bare in these articles the national defects and drawbacks of

our war tactics, to remove which it is imperative on our leaders of the defence and the State. His papers on *The Rani of Jhansi* revealed how he had minutely and thoroughly followed the soul-stirring exploits of the Rani, and the statesmanship which she possessed. I asked Acharya Jadu Nath whether he would publish those articles on the Rani in book-form. He said, "yes," but he added, "the Introductory Chapter requires to be recast and a Concluding Chapter is to be written anew, to complete the narrative." But alas! Death intervened, and he could not finish his work.

A personal note should be added to this memoir. Jadu Nath Sarkar, an intimate friend of Ramananda Chatterjee, the founder-editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* (Bengali Monthly), contributed profusely to both the journals and to *The Modern Review* from its first issue January, 1907. Jadu Nath often expressed the desire that the golden jubilee of the *Review* might be celebrated with due solemnity. On one occasion he told me that in the long career of its fifty years only two first contributors had survived, namely Rai Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri of Bombay and himself. Acharya Jadu Nath ardently desired that he would write for the fifty-first anniversary number, January 1957, of this *Review*. But he could not do so owing to family mishaps. He remembered this, and contributed an article to the January, 1958 number. This was perhaps his last public writing. Acharya Jadu Nath got eulogium from the eminent historians here and in England with the publication of his volumes on *Aurangzib*, one by one, since 1912. Before this, when his papers were published in this *Review*, Sister Nivedita, the highly-talented lady, welcomed Professor Jadu Nath as a profound scholar and historian of India. Acharya Jadu Nath died full of years and honours. He received honours, academic and otherwise, both from home and abroad. We pay our humble and sincere tributes to his memory.





## NATIONAL Vs. REGIONAL LOYALTIES

By A. C.

Throughout the millenia that Indian civilisation has existed in this vast sub-continent there have been concentrations of various tribes, families and clans in the different zones of India; and these groupings have been similar culturally in fundamentals, though they often developed characteristics which separated them superficially. They would often speak different languages but would understand each other because of the similarities that existed between the different languages and dialects. In dress, food, social manners and customs the differences would not be so pronounced as the similarities. They would know the differences and yet not consider each others peculiarities as totally outlandish, strange and meaningless. Very often they would easily adopt the ways of others, even eat, speak and dress like the others. Food, clothes, social custom, rituals, dance, music, festivals, games and pastimes would mostly resemble those of other groups and nothing would be really a great barrier to unity, even inter-marriage and general movements of population between zones. Thus India developed her many races, and cultures with an essential similarity which wove all of them into one overall design which fitted the pattern of civilisation of any part of India. Great saints and preachers found followers and disciples in many parts of India in spite of differences of language, food or clothes. Men like Guru Nanak, Sri Chaitanya, Kabir and others were the preceptors of all Indians without reference to language or social manners and customs. Before these great men there had been others who were also universally followed, worshipped and accepted as one's own spiritual preceptor. Gautama the Buddha, Mahavira Tirthankar, Shri Sankaracharya and all those **rishis** who composed the **Vedas** and the **Upanishadas** were inhabitants of different areas of India; but their sphere of activity was spread all over India and no one thought that Gautama was a Nepali or a Bihari, nor that Sankara was a Madrasi or Chaitanya a Bengali. The mythical heroes of India like Shri Krishna or Ram Chandra found no difficulty in being accepted into the heart of the whole of India though they were born in Mathura or Ayodhya and probably spoke in this dialect or that or preferred one kind of food to another. Even in modern times Sri Aurobindo was respected and taken as their own by persons speaking Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati and all the other languages and dialects of India, Burma and Ceylon. Swami Vivekananda, Raja Rammohun Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose, transcended their mother language, diet and dress and were true Indians, in so far as all India called them their own leaders. Among India's great men of the ancient past and of recent times we find no Bengalis, Assamese, Orissan or Biharis. We find only Indians and whoever challenges the truth of this will stand defeated right from the word "go!"

In the field of dance, drama, music, ritual, festival, arts, crafts, architecture and learning the whole of India has always thrived upon the same inspirations, ideals and standards. Beyond the Himalayas, in China or beyond the seas in Africa; these inspirations, ideals and standards have been entirely different and Chinese music or African rituals struck no familiar note in Indian hearts. Chinese houses, dress or delicatessen may not please Indians and African ideas of medicine or theology may not rhyme with our ideas. So that the question of true and real differences in civilisation and culture do not rest in the linguistic field nor in the variations of the same themes in art, music, dance or cuisine. Fundamental differences have to be fundamentally different and not merely different

in a superficial manner. The same is true of ways of life. Where different races, tribes or groups of people have superficial differences in their ways of living, they can fit into each other's ways without any great effort. That is how it is in India. All our so-called diverse zonal "races", tribes, etc., are essentially similar and they can easily adopt the ways of one another. That is not true of the Negroes and the Burmese or of the Indians and the Chinese. These different groups of humans are fundamentally unlike one another and they cannot constitute one homogenous nation. Indians, on the other hand, in spite of being Bengalis, Tamils, Biharis and Gujaratis, can always fit in with one another and integrate themselves into one Nation. The Swiss are one nation with four linguistic groups of people. The Italians have become one nation with many widely divergent dialects. The Russians have now many language and culture groups. Even the British have four Sub-nations in their land—the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the Welsh. It is only by heavily emphasising their points of similarity that these nations live so well and compactly as one. Their differences are merely decorative and they are not anxious to emphasise these trivialities. They know what is good for them.

Historically India has often been under one Government. In pre-history we find the **Kurus** and the **Pandavas** aligned against one another on the battlefield of **Kurukshetra** and their forces were representative of all regions of India. When **Karna** attacked **Arjuna** so furiously that not even the dexterous manipulation of **Arjuna's** chariot, by the Lord Sri Krishna could assure his safety, the King of **Vanga** (Bengal) threw himself at **Karna** and was killed in order to save **Arjuna**. Thus **Anga**, **Vanga**, **Kalinga**, **Panchal**, **Sindhu**, **Madra** and all other kingdoms of **Bharatvarsha** lived up at **Kurukshetra** with one of the two contestants and the chivalry of India of the Second millenium B.C. died on that great battlefield fighting for something which was not regional nor for holding up a language, creed, caste, tribe or local

clique. The **Rajachakravarties** of India, who were the overlords of all the local kings, united India quite easily; for India had always been culturally a single nation. There had been other far flung empires in India after that and the names of **Chandragupta**, **Asoka**, **Harshavardhan** and others stand out as symbols of the oneness of Indian culture and civilisation. When the **Pathans** and **Moguls** ruled India the names of **Sher Shah** or **Akbar** tell us about the unity of India and not about this dialect or that caste. In fact all internecine squabbles throughout our history have been based on such petty desires and cheap emotions as tribal, caste or clan designs upon one another, and the motives have always been vendetta, gain or power hankering. This is not peculiarly Indian. The history of all great nations and civilisations give us examples of such evil expressions of human greed, jealousy and hatred.

Coming to modern times, the British thought of India as one land and the Indians as members of one nation and civilisation. They studied our differences minutely and took full advantage of our limited outlook. Three hundred and forty four languages, innumerable tribes, castes, creeds, clans and mutually exclusive economic, feudal and dynastic interests: they knew all about these and divided us in order to rule and exploit all of us as common slaves of the British. This unity in slavery slowly made us conscious of the oneness of all Indians and the national movement was born in which all regional groups joined without any thought of the differences that existed between them. Bengalis, Biharis, Marathis, Punjabis joined hands to overthrow the British and went to jail together or died on the gallows for the same cause. Towards the end of this great national upsurge the Indian National Army, led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose invaded British India for the liberation of all Indians. It failed physically to achieve this, but the British saw in it the writing on the wall, so to speak, and gave up their political suzerainty as well as their rights of exploitation of India. And we became a free nation. This freedom came to India

as a whole and not to Bihar, Assam or Bengal separately. The idea that all these ex-British Indian provinces were separate States emanated from the greedy hearts of the low grade politicians who manned the Congress and the Communist ranks and who wanted to be at the helm of affairs in their own right, so that they could gain in money, power and prestige. The unfortunate part of this miserable aspirational war on the Nation was that these Congress or Communist big shots were all utterly small in point of intellectual capacity, political vision and a true sense of patriotism. They began dividing India for their own advantage without realising that their "gain" will boomerang back upon their own flimsy structure, fake sovereignty and destroy it completely, as they destroyed Indian Nationalism. The sword that these petty minded politicians have forged will first cut to ribbons all that we call our national ideals, and, then it will utterly annihilate its own makers, who will die miserably in the same ditch out of which they had emerged as false leaders of an ignorant nation.

The Congress and the Communist party have one thing in common. They have both destroyed our national unity by using two different methods. The Congress has cut our patriotism up into a hundred small pieces until we have ceased to be Indians and we are vast medley of Sikhs, Aryas, Bhatias, Bangals, Ahoms, Oriyas, Keralawallahs, Madrasis, Bhojpuris, Kayasths, Bhumihars, Hindus, Jains and what not? All the ideals that were preached, expounded and established by Rammohun Roy, Vivekananda, Gokhale, Tilak, Chittaranjan Das, Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose and a thousand others; have been jettisoned by the Congress and we are all thrown into a political rubbish heap.

The Communist party wanted to sell India as a whole to the Sino-Russian group of unhistorical materialist, who thought man could live very well by bread alone. All past ideals which had made humanity great ethically and had saved mankind time and again from the

deadly folly of discarding moral considerations as against material advantages, were disowned by the so-called Marxists whose faith was a mania.

Democracy is supposed to be a product of political party organisations. This may be true of Euro-American countries where cliques cannot dupe the nations nor conspirators sell their peoples to foreign interests. It will be quite impossible for the British Conservatives or the American Republicans either to make Scotland fight England or to arrange to murder all Texans living in the State of Illinois. These political parties cannot hand over the peoples of Great Britain or the United States of America to the tender mercies of China or Russia. As a matter of fact we doubt if any political party of the U.S.A. or U.K. will secretly collaborate with any foreign enemies or invaders of those countries. We are absolutely certain no political party will dare to do so. We also have a very clear-cut conviction about the integrity of the foreign political parties who do not usually engage in earning party funds or individual profits for their leaders out of manipulations connected with the affairs of their nations. We have no such conviction about the Congress or the Communist Parties. They habitually exploit the peoples of India directly as well as indirectly by mismanaging things deliberately and by settling the affairs of Trade Unions to the advantage of capitalists. In short Indian political parties have not increased public freedoms nor enhanced the economic or political status of the nationals of India.

Indian political parties stand condemned in the eye of the Indian public. Indian leaders are either proved faithless to their declared ideals and to the overall patriotic considerations which all people of all nations are expected to faithfully cherish, conserve and protect. Our parties and their leaders are untrue to our nationalism and our national ideals. As such the people of India should abolish these political parties and set up Governments by utilising the services of good men everywhere who will have no loyalties other than those they pledge to their nation and their people.

## EVOLUTION OF PORTFOLIOS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE

By SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI

A STUDY seeking to trace the evolution of portfolios<sup>1</sup> in the Central Government is pitted against heavy odds. Very often, the creation of portfolios or the abolition of the existing ones are not accompanied by formal official statements justifying the steps; invariably they are utterly inadequate and, therefore, search for other really sustainable arguments and versions is to be made. Recourse to it, again, has its intrinsic handicaps and impediments. Yet, an attempt in this direction is worth its while; and it is with this hope and expectation that an endeavour has been made in the succeeding pages to discuss the problem.

The present paper confines itself to the post-independence development. As the position stood on August 15, 1947, the powers and functions of the Government of India were divided into eighteen Ministries, a new designation given to erstwhile departments; and these eighteen Ministries<sup>2</sup> were organised into fourteen portfolios.

1. The word 'portfolio', made of two words, 'Porta' (to carry) and 'Fogli' (leaves, sheets of paper), means 'such a receptacle containing the official documents of a state department, figuratively, the office of a minister of state'. Portfolio is thus synonymous with a minister's charge.

2. The following were the eighteen Ministries in 1947.

1. External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations ;
2. Home ;
3. States ;
4. Information & Broadcasting ;
5. Food ;
6. Agriculture ;
7. Education ;
8. Railways ;
9. Transport ;
10. Defence ;
11. Labour ;
12. Commerce ;
13. Communications ;
14. Health ;
15. Law ;
16. Finance ;

The grouping of portfolios is indicated below :

1. External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Scientific Research ;
2. Home, Information and Broadcasting, and States ;
3. Food and Agriculture ;
4. Education ;
5. Railways & Transport ;
6. Defence ;
7. Labour ;
8. Commerce ;
9. Communications ;
10. Health ;
11. Law ;
12. Finance ;
13. Industries and Supplies ;
14. Works, Mines and Power.

The arrangement and number of portfolios were a hang-over from the past. The Interim Government, too, consisted of fourteen Ministers—the strength of the Council had *per force* to be kept at the accepted figure of fourteen, distributed in the ratio of 6:5:3 between the Congress, the Muslim League and the minority interests. The arrangement of portfolios under the Interim Government was retained, except that the departments were given the designation of Ministries, and that the Legislative Department was named the Ministry of Law. As independence involved the partition of the country resulting in the exodus of a large number of people from Pakistan to India, posing thereby a serious problem before the Government, a new portfolio of Relief and Rehabilitation was constituted in early September, 1947, and a Minister of State was put in charge of it. Also, a Minister without portfolio was appointed, and he was empowered with

17. Industries and Supplies ;
  18. Works, Mines and Power.
- (The Organisation of the Government of India; Asia Publishing House, has put Food and Agriculture in one Ministry, (P. 31) which, however, is wrong.)

the task of suggesting proposals on the reorganization of the governmental machinery.

In 1948, it was felt necessary to expand the Council of Ministers by creating new portfolios evidently to afford the much-needed relief to some of the over-worked Ministers. It is gathered that a proposal was discussed to find another Minister to take over the portfolio of External Affairs from the Prime Minister. Anyway, it was palpably felt that, the Ministry—with 16 Ministers—was by no means too large for a country like India<sup>3</sup>; and a new portfolio of Information and Broadcasting emerged as the successful claimant for the services of a Minister, though not a member of the Cabinet.<sup>4</sup> This measure, to be sure, provided relief to the over-worked Deputy Prime Minister. In May, 1949, the Chief Whip was elevated to the status of a Minister of State and named Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, empowered with the task of supervising all matters relating to the conducting of official business in Parliament. Nevertheless, a position unprecedented in the annals of Parliamentary history was created with the putting of three Ministers of State in charge of independent portfolios and it led Asok Chanda to observe :

"The arrangement of ministers in three tiers (Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State, and Deputy Ministers) and without any distinction between those Ministers of State who were in charge of ministries and those who were not, was introduced without sufficient consideration being given to their functions and responsibilities; nor were their relations with the permanent Heads of Ministries clearly defined. This created difficulties and misunderstanding later . . .".<sup>5</sup>

As mentioned earlier, a Minister without portfolio was appointed in September, 1947, and asked to make proposals on the organization of the governmental machinery. He submitted his Report, (known as Report on Reorganization of the Machinery of Government) in November, 1949. This Report<sup>6</sup> recommended that the

Central Secretariat should be divided into 28 Departments to be accommodated in 20 Ministries. This, says the Report :

"does not mean that each Ministry should always remain an independent portfolio. In fact, it would be an advantage to combine more than one Ministry within the portfolio of one Cabinet Minister in a number of cases. It would also be an advantage to combine such an arrangement with the provision of assistance to the Cabinet Minister concerned through a Minister of State, and even in exceptional cases more than one such minister."<sup>7</sup>

Other important recommendations of this Report related to the splitting of (i) the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power into two Ministries of Works, and of Mines (including Coal) and Power;<sup>8</sup> and (ii) of the Ministry of Industries and Supply into two Ministries of Industries (including control of supplies and prices of industrial products, but excluding coal), and of supply (proper) including disposals. Also, the Report recommended the merger of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs in the Law Department on the ground that the former was not viable.<sup>9</sup>

No significant changes in the administrative pattern could be brought about until the inauguration of the Constitution; the country was ostensibly busy absorbing the shocks of partition. A significant step towards the reorganization of portfolios was undertaken in February, 1951 (not in December, 1950 as mentioned by Asok Chanda) with a view to "effect economy and achieve administrative efficiency".<sup>10</sup> The existing Ministries of Commerce; Industry and Supply; and Works, Mines and Power; and the Department of Scientific Research were merged to form three new Ministries of :

- (i) Industry and Commerce;
- (ii) Works, Production and Supply; and
- (iii) Natural Resources and Scientific Research.<sup>11</sup>

7. *Report on Reorganization of the Machinery of Government*, p. 27.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

10. *Indian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 5th February, 1951 (Questions and Answers), p. 1151.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 1151-52.

The Ministries of Industry and Commerce were joined together. The idea probably suggested itself in one of the meetings of the State Trading Committee as a result of the evidence tendered by the officials of these two Ministries.<sup>12</sup>

Also, the Ministries of Food and Agriculture were merged into one Ministry known as Food and Agriculture Ministry.<sup>13</sup> The economy brought about by the reorganization of portfolios is made evident by the following cut in staff.<sup>14</sup>

|                         |     |    |
|-------------------------|-----|----|
| (i) Secretaries         | ... | 2  |
| (ii) Deputy Secretaries | ... | 1  |
| (iii) Under Secretaries | ... | 2  |
| (iv) Superintendents    | ... | 3  |
| (v) Assistants & Clerks | ... | 37 |

Consequent upon these changes, the number of Ministries stood at 18 in 1951.<sup>15</sup> In addition to these Ministries, there was, of course, the Department of Parliamentary Affairs. The reorganization involved the reorganization of subjects—the subjects 'Mines and Power' were transferred to the newly-created Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, and it assumed the charge of 'Production and Supply' from the late Ministry of Industries and Supply.

12. *Indian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. X, No. 1, March 31, 1951, p. 5584.

13. *Indian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 5th February, 1951, p. 1153.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 1153.

15. The set-up in 1951, was as follows :

- (1) External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations ;
- (2) Home ;
- (3) States ;
- (4) Information and Broadcasting ;
- (5) Food and Agriculture ;
- (6) Education ;
- (7) Railways ;
- (8) Transport ;
- (9) Defence ;
- (10) Labour ;
- (11) Industry and Commerce ;
- (12) Communications ;
- (13) Health ;
- (14) Law ;
- (15) Finance ;
- (16) Works, Production and Supply ;
- (17) Natural Resources and Scientific Research ; and
- (18) Rehabilitation.

These changes indicated the keenness of the Government for a greater co-ordination in the economic sphere. The grouping together of 'Production, Works and the state industrial undertakings under one Ministry may, perhaps, be explained by the desire to keep the distinction between the government's participation in industrial products, and the overall responsibility for industrial development in which it has to be in contact with the private enterprise as well. This arrangement, however, created the problem of co-ordination. Also, it was suspected that the separation of the responsibility for coal production and distribution both from the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and of Natural Resources and Scientific Research would create problems.<sup>16</sup>

These changes, not well-thought out, of course, marked but the beginning of changes which are unfortunately but partially explained by the problems that emerged on the horizon as a result of the impact of rapid economic development and industrialization, postulated in the Five-Year Plan. The reconstitution of portfolios and the readjustment of Ministries, sadly enough, betray lack of logic and system in viewing the question as a connected whole. We are left with the uncomfortable feeling that, sometimes, the convenience of ministerial changes is the driving force ; at other times, the promotion of the Secretariat personnel originates the idea. After Sardar Patel's death in December, 1950, the portfolios of States and Home were separated—the decision, clearly, violated the general principle of distribution. With the coming into operation of the Constitution the portfolio of States had ceased to be as exacting as it was during the first three years of independence. It could have remained associated with the Home Affairs to ensure unity of practice and administration in the maintenance of public security. This change understandably militated against homogeneity of subjects.

Another milestone in the evolution of portfolios was the 9th June, 1952, reorganization,<sup>17</sup> which created two new portfolios of Production, and of Irrigation and Power. The Ministry of Works, Production and Supply was split up to form the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, and the Ministry of Production.<sup>18</sup> There was

16. *Vide The Eastern Economist*, January 5, 1951, p. 8.

17. *The Statesman*, June, 10, 1952, p. 1.

18. *The Statesman*, June, 10, 1952, p. 1.

3. Cf. *The Statesman*, 9th November, 1948, p. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, 4th December, 1948, p. 1.

5. Asok Chanda : *Indian Administration*, pp. 64-65.

6. Called the *Gopalaswamy Ayyangar Report*.

doubtless ample justification for the creation of these two Ministries. In the tapestry of the Five-Year Plan were woven the schemes of industrial development in the public sector and plans for harnessing the rivers, with the dual purpose of arresting floods and providing power and irrigational facilities. The two Ministries emerged, therefore, to address themselves to the major postulates of the Plan. As regards the adding of a new item<sup>19</sup> of Housing, its need could hardly be disputed. National responsibilities in regard to housing were emerging as important undertakings. They had hitherto been shared between a whole congeries of Ministries, with consequent fragmentation and overlapping which greatly hampered clear and cogent planning. Two presidential orders were issued to define the field of responsibilities of some Ministries.<sup>20</sup> An analysis of the re-arrangement of portfolios makes one aware of the emphasis being laid on economic matters, particularly River Valley Projects; for the first time the River Valley schemes are mentioned as a ministerial department. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power covering Power, Irrigation, Flood Control and River Valley Projects, could, however, be carved out in August, 1952, as it took time to separate the work from the parent Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

We may now come to the Ministry of Production. Its importance in the context of a rapidly expanding public sector could hardly be questioned, but it was born ill-proportioned, thanks to the powerful opposition from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for the control and expansion of Steel Plants. Iron and Steel should have been normally the charge of the Ministry of Production, but it was kept away from it and tagged on to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on the ground that as import and distribution of steel was the responsibility of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the latter should be made responsible for the production of steel also, in order to ensure effective co-ordination of policy in regard to steel. The logical development of the Ministry of Production was arrested as the 'Departmental

opposition hardened and the prestige of the Ministers came into play to defeat the necessary measure of rationalization'.<sup>21</sup> However, it waited for the major set-back which came in May, 1955, when the state steel plants were placed under the charge of a new Ministry of Iron and Steel<sup>22</sup> as a recognition of the 'importance of developing and expanding the iron and steel industry'. In point of fact, however, this Ministry was born of a desire to appease the Commerce and Industry Minister, and to resolve the crisis precipitated by the latter's reluctance to share the responsibility for the development of the steel industry with the Minister for Production. Still, the development in the private sector continued to be the look-out of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry—an anomaly, soon detected and rectified by making the Ministry of Iron and Steel what it already was in name; it acquired undivided responsibility for the expansion of steel industry in both the sectors of economy—private and public. Based on the Soviet model, this Ministry struck a discordant note and could not fit into a Cabinet constituted on different lines.<sup>23</sup> What appeared more incongruous, however, was its being made a charge of the Minister for Commerce and Industry;—logically it should have gone to the Minister for Production. The Profiles of Ministries and portfolios were demarcated on personal considerations. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari had been, from the beginning, associated with the government's policy of developing the iron and steel industry in the public sector; he, therefore, held the newly-created portfolio of Iron and Steel. Personal considerations can carry such things too far. Soon Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari would migrate to the Finance Ministry, but with this portfolio, the babe he has nursed,—and odd combination on all accounts! The Ministry of Production, Iron and Steel could hardly be viable—no tears were, therefore, shed on its final disappearance in 1957—a death by starvation!

In September, 1956, a new Ministry of

21. Asok Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

22. 'The Organization of the Government of India' says: 'Government constituted a separate Department of Iron & Steel in May, 1955 . . .'. The use of the word 'Department' is unfortunate and need to be replaced by 'Ministry'. (Vide p. 119).

23. Asok Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Community Development emerged to focus the effort on agricultural development. The elevation of the Community Projects Administration which had so long been a wing of the Planning Commission to a full-fledged Ministry ended, in fact, an anomaly in that the CPA, an administrative department, was placed under the Planning Commission which is a staff body, with no administrative function. This is as it should be, for the change leaves the Planning Commission as a purely recommendatory organ. That the CPA was not merged in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, but rather raised to the level of a ministry could perhaps be explained by P. N. Thaper's (Secretary of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture) Report on 'Agricultural Organization and Planning in China'. By 1956 it was being increasingly realized that the success of the Second Five-Year Plan hinged on the realization of higher target of food production without a corresponding drain on resources.<sup>24</sup> This necessitated close co-ordination between the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, and of Community Development. By making the former represent the latter Ministry in the Cabinet, unity of policy has been largely assured. The scope of this Ministry was enlarged with the addition of the subject 'Co-operation' to it, making it the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. 'Co-operation' was hitherto with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

We have already discussed about the February, 1951, reconstitution of portfolios, resulting in the emergence of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. On August 30, 1956,<sup>25</sup> it was split up into two separate Ministries:

(i) Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industry;<sup>26</sup> and

(ii) Ministry of Heavy Industries.<sup>27</sup>

On the economic front were thus ranged four Ministries, in addition, of course, to the Finance Ministry. The other two were:

(iii) Ministry of Production;<sup>28</sup>

(iv) Ministry of Iron and Steel;<sup>29</sup>

24. *Vide Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. V—No. 73, 26th May, 1956, p. 9622.

25. *The Organization of the Government of India* puts the date as September, 1956, vide p. 95.

26. This Ministry dealt with the following:

1. Plantation Industries
2. Textiles

The emergence of the Ministries of Commerce and Consumer Industries, and of Heavy Industry, was in harmony with the Second Five-Year Plan's overall industrial policy—the development of heavy industries being its major aim. All these four Ministries were represented in the Cabinet by one and the same Minister. This arrangement permitted growth by fission and co-ordinated approach. It, however, proved to be a short-lived phase. When the Minister concerned became the Finance Minister (30th August, 1956), he did not relinquish his charge of the Ministry of Iron and Steel. Finance and Steel cannot be combined very well for purposes of administration. The Ministry of Heavy Industries was made a charge of the Minister for Home Affairs. This combination, again, was as unusual as that of Finance and Steel but lacked the justification, if any, which past association and experience furnished in the later case. At best, these could not be more than stop-gap arrangements.<sup>30</sup> Efforts were made in some quarters to build up the thesis of concentration of economic power and responsibility in the hands of Sardar Swaran Singh and Pandit Pant who with the Prime Minister, formed, so to say,

3. Food, Drink and Tobacco Industries
4. Domestic and Toilet requisites
5. Cosmetics and Toilet requisites
6. Stationery and Office Equipment
7. Sports Goods
8. Leather, Rubber, Plastic and Celluloid Goods
9. Agricultural implements and tools
10. Bicycles and Sewing Machines
11. Musical Instruments
12. Small Scale Industries

27. It was concerned with the following:

1. Cement, Iron and Steel
2. Automotive Industries
3. Electrical Engineering Industries
4. Engineering Industries
5. Chemical Industries
6. Films
7. Pulp
8. Arms and Ammunition
9. Refractories

28. It disappeared in 1957.

29. It was abolished in 1957.

30. *The Economic Weekly*, October 20, 1956, p. 1233.

19. It is wrong to presume as has been done in *The Organisation of the Government of India*, that a separate portfolio of Housing was created. (p. 312).

20. *The Statesman*, June, 10, 1952, p. 1.



the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.<sup>31</sup> Of the four Ministries, one (Production) was abolished and the Ministries of Commerce and Consumers Industries and of Heavy Industries were combined, as before, to reform the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; and the Ministry of Iron and Steel was merged to form a new Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel in 1957. It may also be mentioned that the Department of Company Law Administration was taken away from the Ministry of Finance and added to that of Commerce and Industry in February, 1958.

In October, 1956, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was bifurcated. Explaining the reasons for creating the separate Ministries of Food and of Agriculture, the Government Press Note said :

"The Government have always attached great importance to maintaining the prices of food grains at a reasonable level and ensuring adequate supplies to meet the demand in different parts of the Country. Increasing outlay during the period of the Second Plan carries with it the risk of a corresponding increase in demand for food grains and other essential consumer goods. In order to meet this situation and prevent the prices of food grains from increasing it has been considered necessary to strengthen the machinery of food administration and put it under a whole-time secretary."

The new Ministry of Food was concerned with import of food grains from abroad, as well as internal procurement, fixation of selling prices for food grains and their allotment to different states organizing machinery for their distribution and other functions necessary for the discharge of its responsibility. It also dealt with all the work relating to sugar and vegetable oil products. The rest of the business hitherto transacted in the parent Ministry of Food and Agriculture was the charge of the new Ministry of Agriculture. One Minister, however, held both the portfolios thus avoiding division and weakening of responsibility.

Nevertheless, the working of the separate Ministries of Food and Agriculture prompted the States to pick up less scrupulous habits. Since States had to deal with two Ministries, they found

31. *Vide The Economic Weekly*, September 8, 1956, p. 1062.

advantage in submitting two varying sets of production figures—lower figures to the Ministry of Food, with the hope of larger allotment of food grains; and higher figures to the Ministry of Agriculture in the expectation of increased grants under the 'Grow More Food' programmes.<sup>32</sup> It was, therefore, an act of *Real Politik* to unite the two Ministries. And, this happened in April 1957, when a major reorganization of portfolios and Ministries was undertaken.

The April 17, 1957, re-organization created two new Ministries—of Steel, Mines and Fuel; and of Transport and Communications. The former replaced the Ministries of Production, and of Iron and Steel (which became a department in the new Ministry) and took over 'Natural Resources' from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, and the work relating to 'Oil and Petroleum Products' from the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. Constituted into the two Departments of Iron and Steel, and of Mines and Fuel, its functions included the exploration of crude oil, the control of oil refineries, the distribution and determination of sale price of petroleum and oil products. The Ministries of Transport and Communications were united to form the Ministry of Transport and Communications, consisting of two Departments of Transport, and of Civil Aviation and Communications. The portfolio of Natural Resources and Scientific Research was abolished, and the work transacted in this Ministry was divided between the two new Ministries of (i) Educational and Scientific Research, and (ii) Steel, Mines and Fuel. Employment was the new adjunct to the portfolio of Labour and emphasized the importance that the subject has in national objectives. This major re-organization sought to remove some of the persisting anomalies; cottage industries<sup>33</sup> were brought within the ambit of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; ship building<sup>34</sup> went

32. We are grateful to Sardar Patel for bringing to light this 'Human factor' urging the two Ministries to 'speak with a united voice'. *Vide The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 459.

33. This was hitherto the charge of the Ministry of Production.

34. Hitherto a responsibility of the Ministry of Production.

appropriately with shipping in the Ministry of Transport and Communications; and Scientific Research with Education.

With this reconstitution, the portfolios of Law and Health have been down-graded from the Cabinet rank and are placed in charge of Ministers of State. The demotions of the Law portfolio is indeed unfortunate. The executive process in India is patterned after the British Executive process; in England the Lord Chancellor is as important a member of the Cabinet as the Prime Minister, who is the Head of the Cabinet. This is the position in the Commonwealth countries also.

A further change occurred in March, 1958, after the death of the Education Minister. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research has been bifurcated into the Ministries of (i) Education, and (ii) Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (the Department of Scientific Research and Physical Education under the Ministry of Education), both placed under two independent Ministers of State.

Though there is happily a Ministry of Natural Resources and Cultural Affairs, it is, surprisingly, not in charge of the development of Atomic Energy, which figures as a separate Department in the Government of India, with the Prime Minister as its political chief. This Department of Atomic Energy, created in August, 1954, was carved out of the late Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, perhaps to suit the caprice of the contemplated appointees.

The Ministry of States had ceased to be exacting with the coming into operation of the Constitution in 1950.<sup>35</sup> Created on July 5, 1947, this Ministry confined itself to the questions relating to Parts B and C States and the matters relating to the merger agreement in respect of those princely states that later became Part B States. It was, however, merged in the Ministry of Home Affairs on January 10, 1955. Also, the Ministry of Rehabilitation, created on the clientele—principle, is in the process of being wound up.

To sum up, the present number of Ministries

35. The suggestion to wind up this Ministry was perhaps first made in the Parliament on 3rd April, 1951. *Vide Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. X, No. 1, 31st March, 1951, p. 5786.

in the Central Government is twenty-one including the Departments of (i) Parliamentary Affairs, and (ii) Atomic Energy :

1. External Affairs;
2. Defence;
3. Finance;
4. Home Affairs;
5. Law;
6. Commerce and Industry;
7. Steel, Mines and Fuel;
8. Railways;
9. Labour and Employment;
10. Transport and Communications;
11. Food and Agriculture ;
12. Irrigation and Power ;
13. Education;
14. Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs;
15. Health;
16. Information and Broadcasting;
17. Works, Housing and Supply ;
18. Rehabilitation;
19. Community Development and Co-operation;
20. Department of Parliamentary Affairs; and
21. Department of Atomic Energy.

These twenty-one Ministries (including two Departments) have been grouped into twenty portfolios, twelve held by Cabinet Ministers, eight held by Ministers of State.

It would be pertinent in the end to make certain observations, at least in the nature of *obiter dicta*, which a careful analysis of the evolution of portfolios and Ministries seems to support. They may be thus listed :

First, an outstanding Minister can impart towering importance to any portfolio as Morley proved it in the Irish Office, Joseph Chamberlain in the Colonial Office, Lloyd George in the Ministry of Munitions, Abul Kalam Azad in the Ministry of Education and Dr. Ambedkar in the Ministry of Law. Conversely, a Minister of short stature can bring down the biggest portfolio, almost equating it with a lifeless routine. Secondly, a portfolio should not change hands too frequently. Otherwise, the ad-

ministration would be loser inasmuch as the experience gained by a Minister would be lost. Ministers are architects of policy, at least in a general way; their rapid transfer is likely to weaken the position and prestige of the political Head, and make permanent officials the fountain head of power. This possibility must be guarded against in an infant democracy where conventions have not yet had the time to be stratified.

Thirdly, repeated reconstitution of Ministries and portfolios reveals lack of systematic, integrated approach, and smacks of a tendency to accommodate individual caprices and conveniences. In the process, therefore, efficiency and stability of administration receive but secondary importance. One, therefore, feels the necessity to undertake a comprehensive review of the inherited machinery of govern-

ment and to re-arrange business in departments so as to bring about rationalization and homogeneity, to provide for better co-ordination of inter-related functions and to make the constituted charges speedy in movement and purposeful in action.<sup>36</sup>

Fourthly, the demarcation of Ministries concerned with economic matters has been recurrently modified—and, to an extent, this is to be looked upon in the context of a fast developing economy.

Fifthly, and lastly, Ministries devoted to furthering Social Welfare—Ministries of Education, of Health, of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs—are placed in the lower rungs of the ladder, being the preserves of the Ministers of State.

36. Asok Chanda : *op. cit.*, p. 258.

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## THE FALL IN STANDARDS OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

By KAILASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B.

THE Judicial system of this country is one of the priceless legacies of the British administration in India. Of late, those connected with law courts, be it in the capacity of litigants or lawyers, have become painfully aware of widespread and rampant corruption, corroding the entire judicial framework. If a rustic cultivator and an ignorant pedestrian is presumed to know the law, it should not sound irksome to those connected with the judicial administration in our country, that the judges should be presumed to know the prevalence of this canker, which is sapping the foundations of that magnificent citadel, which the renowned British jurist Dicey termed as the 'Rule of Law'. Times without number, we have heard the pronouncements of respected judges of our law courts, on the decaying standards of public administration, of perjured evidence, and of fictitious investigations; but every time, while these were condemned, we have been rudely reminded of the fall in the standards of judicial administration in our land. In a country, committed to democratic processes, it

is always worthwhile to scrutinize every department of administration in an objective manner and to see, if an honest beginning can be made to rekindle the flame of public confidence by taking recourse to effective steps, aimed at counter-acting the evil which has assumed rather formidable proportions. It would be an honest endeavour in these lines to go into the causes of this decadence, find ways and means and see, if a situation can be averted where the executive and judiciary cease to vie with each other in encouraging a steady fall of standards.

The first thing that catches our imagination is the general slackening of a sense of discipline in the whole country. It is true that, after the attainment of independence, the functional aspect of the State has undergone a vital change—from a Police to a Welfare State. It is also true that the burden on the country's administration has increased as a sequel to a spate of legislations, adding to the problems of those whose business it is to deal with them. But it is also true that the vigilance of those who man the

state judicial personnel, has slackened and instead of tightening the reins, they are allowing them to slip from their hands. It is here that the ministerial staff has stepped in and has begun fumbling with the authority, by confronting the easy going judges with the technicalities of law. In small day to day routine matters, orders are procured in the chambers, in flagrant contravention of the laws of procedure. It is only a truism to say that trivial matters could not have been made subject of appeal or revision, for two reasons. Firstly, because this gives rise to a highly, technically cumbersome machinery, bringing in its train an inevitable scope of wilful exploitation and the consequent delay in the dispensation of justice. In the second place, it means, a virtual censure of the judicial conscience at every stage of the judicial hierarchy. Both these create an impossible situation. There is widespread talk of corruption in high places and large schemes for the amelioration of the lot of the common man, but seemingly petty swindlings, at the subordinate level, make the smooth functioning of a department an unworkable proposition. It is common knowledge that the Reader by the side of the presiding officer and clerks at their desks behind him, and in the offices, have been seen, day in and day out, fleecing the ignorant multitude that throng the law courts. Is it not a travesty of truth to assume that the activities of these persons are hidden from their officers? The higher judicial officers or executives, content themselves with pre-arranged routine inspection rounds. Even if one superior judicial officer, of the rank of Additional District Magistrate (J), in those parts of the State, in which the so-called separation between the executive and the judiciary has been effected, honestly takes pains to see that such obnoxious activities are check-mated, he can do so in a few surprise rounds, every week, followed by drastic handling of the culprits. At the magisterial level, most of the routine orders are often drafted by the subordinate officials and the officers content themselves by appending their initials. The result is that 'deals' are undertaken and the officer is dubbed as dishonest, and perhaps rightly so because to assign one's own jurisdictional functions, however trivial, to anybody else is also an instance of dishonesty. This is in regard to courts exercising civil, revenue and criminal jurisdiction.

Agricultural Income-tax Act, now Large Land Holdings Tax Act and scores of such enactments, have scared the magistracy to such an extent, that their technicalities not unoften deter them from looking into the cases themselves, and they complacently leave them to the dealing clerk, and, in the process, the result is, what is bound to be with a thoroughly discredited staff. It may be that because of lop-sided legislation, those for whom they are meant find it safer to arrange things at the lower rung of the ladder, rather than to risk their fate at the hands of a person who has less time and lesser inclination to do justice and to embroil himself in what he assumes, an intractable web of technicalities and mathematical jigsaw puzzles. But it is so, merely because of the apathy, indifference and judicial dishonesty of the presiding officers. It has been frequently seen that this culpable laxity on the part of the officers, results in the victimization of those poor or self-respecting litigants, who are compelled by their poor resources, or by a false notion of principles, not to pay Bakshis to the demi-gods who cluster round the deity of justice. Have those in authority ever cared to be vigilant about the bank balances, acquisition of landed and house property, and other acquisitions by these persons and scrutinize them in proportion to the comparatively slender remuneration that they get by way of their salaries? It may be further pointed out in this context that these unofficial, extraneous emoluments are steadily becoming extortionate. Even under courts subordinate to High Courts these small gratifications have become a regular feature, from the Munsarim to a petty clerk, acquiring immutable sanction and sanctity of a rightful appendage to an office, no longer confined to a fixed amount at the end of each month. Immersed in Sessions trials the Sessions Judge has hardly any time left for such petty affairs and contents himself by devoting an hour or so, in initialling the papers in his cosy chambers in a routine time-worn manner. In the subordinate courts matters are worse. The relatively new officers, dependent helplessly on their own sectional secretariats, bide time by listening to the old and seasoned crooks, who have grown grey in the department and have become well-versed in the tricks of the trade.

Inter se the officers, the social affability and fellow-feeling have become more intense with the passage of years. Most of the superior

ordinates, indulging in light *tele-a-tete*, with the result that regard and fear of the administrative Head is fast disappearing. There is no time for the commencement of work, no fixed duration for the lunch interval or for leaving the court room. The worst sufferers are obviously the litigants, who pay these officers their rich emoluments by an exorbitant levy of court-fee and stamps. We are told that the Honourable High Court in each state has an Administrative Judge, but experience has shown that he has hardly any time, in view of his crowded judicial preoccupations, to spare even a routine, pre-arranged, conducted inspection once every year in each district. The whole administrative vigilance is merely on papers, which go on piling in the administrative section without any earthly good for those who are called, day in and day out, the masters of the country.

Most of what has been pointed out in the above lines can be set right by a correct code of conduct and vigilance of the officers, with condign departmental punishments for those who violate the law. We are not unmindful of the constitution of a high power committee, for tackling the incidence of corruption but only strict administrative vigilance of each officer and a stern view of the lapses would be enough to tone up the entire judicial administration.

A few years in the life of a country mean nothing. India is yet passing through a transitional period. With a measure of authority, which still vests in the departmental Heads, a great deal of corruption can be easily eliminated by taking recourse to drastic action at every rung of the ladder. Governance is impossible without a certain amount of fear complex and a vigilance which instils into the minds of the personnel, from the judge to a petty clerk, a certain awe, for every sin of omission and commission in the discharge of the duties assigned, in their respective spheres. Apart from this it has been often complained that those connected with the judicial system, *viz.*, the litigants and the lawyers, have never done their part of the duty. It may be that the years of unabating corruption and the lure for expeditious or dilatory tactics, purely in the selfish interests of clients may have been the factors, for acquiescing in the prevalent state of affairs but their indifference and apathy are largely due to the lack of administrative control, they

experience in day to day administration. Those engaged in activities, giving incentive to any form of corruption should be strongly dealt with in accordance with the provisions of law. It is needless to recount here, the difficulties and inconveniences, the clients are subjected to, in petty matters. The summoning of records, the putting up of applications for interlocutory orders, the applications for bail and innumerable such other miscellaneous petitions, have their own different stories to tell at the inception, in between the time they are submitted and brought before the presiding officer for disposal. And strangely enough, after the orders this way or that are passed, the tale is more grim. In urgent matters, such as suspension of execution of sentence, stay of fine, or an interim injunction, extra remuneration is easily had from those who obtain them. If perchance the day of the order is followed by a Sunday or other holidays, the demand for this extra remuneration becomes easily extortionate and for those refusing to oblige the dealing clerk, the matter is delayed with a technical objection in the garb of which the official concerned glibly takes shelter before his helpless superior officer. Only if the presiding officers realise that it is not merely a part of their duty to pass the orders but also to see that they are expeditiously implemented, much of the trouble and corruption can be eliminated. For such urgent business they should be easily accessible, and they should see that such orders are prepared and signed by them as expeditiously as possible. Such contingencies are more or less of a routine nature. The Reader can well be directed to have a catalogue of all such orders with him and see that they are all finally disposed of by the rising of the court.

Yet another difficulty is that the litigants coming from long distances on foot have to wait till the evening shadows fall, and it becomes impossible for them to return home while a mere night's stay in the urban areas means an expense, which they are, normally, hardly capable of. If the date perchance is fixed for hearing, the whole retinue of witnesses have to be fed and attended to. These are practical difficulties of which no presiding officer is unaware. Both in courts of civil or criminal jurisdiction, hundreds of such persons have to return every day and the tale is repeated many

## THE DRIFT OF INDUSTRIES FROM WEST BENGAL

a time, before the case matures for final hearing. The consequence is that, till the time the case concludes the poor litigant who had knocked at the portals of justice is exhausted both physically and materially. The cause lists are kept unduly crowded and in the day's time at the disposal of the courts, is it not possible to consult the counsels and fix only such work as is possible for the day, at the commencement of the sitting and fix dates for the rest?

Notwithstanding political acclamations, justice is becoming steadily inaccessible because of the rise in the levy of court-fee and stamps. With every amendment in the statute relating to these laws, the so-called 'equality of opportunity' is being rendered a dead letter on the country's Constitution. It would not serve any useful purpose to recount the stages in which these laws have made justice more and more expensive day by day. Before the Amendment, any petition under the Hindu Marriage Act, necessitated a levy of fee which was, ordinarily, fixed for an application. The legislature, with a view to augmenting the revenue of the state, by taking recourse of Article 21A, now levies a court-fee of no less an amount than

Rs. 37.50nP for any petition under the Hindu Marriage Act or the Special Marriage Act. The amount is patently a deterrent. It is true that the spirit underlying the scheme of legislation pertaining to these Acts discourages easy recourse to them, as would be apparent from the injunction for conciliation for the competent courts; nevertheless, to make it so exorbitantly expensive, means eliminating the redress of wrongs and rendering courts of law inaccessible even to deserving cases. In fact the amount of court fees defeats the very purpose of the Act by making it accessible only to the affluent sections of the population, and inaccessible to the common populace who are 'the hewers of wood and the drawers of water'.

It is hardly any use multiplying such instances. The miserable tale of these men crowding in the gangways and court corridors is too painful to recount. Now that more than ten years have passed since we achieved independence, will it be too much to expect from our judiciary and executive, to see that the vision of a free and rejuvenated India is not stained by these repugnant, clumsy and avoidable shortcomings?

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## THE DRIFT OF INDUSTRIES FROM WEST BENGAL

By Dr. J. N. RAY

Wherever a few Bengalees foregather, the one topic of discussion is the rapid shifting of industries from Calcutta. The unanimous verdict is that this is due to the apathy of the Central Government who are not concerned with what happens to Bengal. I have never heard anyone trying to analyse the real causes of this decline. Unless we get to the roots of this we cannot hope to rectify matters.

I have discussed this question with several Europeans and non-Bengalees. Their views are worth considering. They state that living conditions have fast deteriorated in this city. The small area bounded on the north by Park Street and by Lower Circular Road on the south which happened to be the former residential area for the executives now have no vacant rooms. A two-bed-room Flat costs about Rs. 1000/- a month.

Alipur houses are all occupied by the new-rich business community of Calcutta. Tollygunge is no longer the green spot it used to be. Hence it is not possible to locate any industry in or around Calcutta because of dearth of accommodation. Calcutta has grown fast in a haphazard manner. The green trees have nearly all gone. That once beauty-spot, the Eden Gardens and the riverside, is now an eyesore. The overcrowding of Calcutta has resulted in difficulty of transport of workers from their place of residence to the factory site. In monsoon season the streets often get flooded with the result that transport is paralysed for hours on several occasions. There is no beauty left in Calcutta owing to the construction of buildings violating every bye-law of the Corporation. One European gentleman showed me that 80 per cent of the houses

constructed during the last 15 years have been constructed in flagrant violation of all bye-laws. The authorities fully know of all this but no attempt has been made to stop the malpractices as too many vested interests have to be tackled. There is no place within 150 miles of Calcutta where one can spend a restful week-end. The roads leading out of Calcutta are always congested and it is no pleasure to motor out of Calcutta. I took a party of Americans to the Durgapur area by road. They told me that they had not seen anywhere in the world so many people out in the streets at all hours of the day and night as they did on that occasion. They had a mind to locate an industry here but they remarked that Durgapur, which is a new township, could have been made a little cleaner and beautiful. I do not know the reasons but Durgapur is fast becoming a big slum. They remarked that in Calcutta there is no Prohibition but a visit to the different Clubs made them feel that congenial club life would not be possible as most of these clubs have persons from new-rich communities as their members and their numbers are many. He pointed out that despite the superficial veneer of polish these gentlemen lacked the necessary culture to be sociable club mates.

Formerly Industries had to be located in an area most suitable with respect to raw materials and nearness to the consuming centres. Those considerations do not matter now. India was a signatory to the General Agreement On Trade and Tariffs whereby every signatory country was precluded from imposing quantitative restriction on imports from another country except on the ground of shortage of Foreign Exchange. India has chronic shortage of Foreign Exchange. Therefore once an article is produced in the country, it enjoys virtual protection as it has not to compete with other countries. The purchaser has to pay gladly whatever price is asked for the article. Therefore why should the manufacturer bother about the best location for his Industry. He will go anywhere his convenience suits him. If there had been internal competition then that would have been a

sufficient reason for caution. But the Industries Ministry of New Delhi will refuse permission to others who want to come in the field on the ground that this will mean finding more Foreign Exchange to the new comer for import of Capital goods from abroad. Therefore an established concern gets not only protection from outside sources but also from internal competition. Hence industries can be located anywhere. The extra cost would be borne by the consumers. It does not need any high powered committee to find out why there is inflation and where the extra earned money of the man in the street during the Second Five-Year Plan has gone.

Another reason presented to me by certain foreigners about their difficulty of locating industries in West Bengal is the insistence of the Central Government that majority in the management should be Indian nationals and Indians should hold 51 per cent shares. In West Bengal the money is in the hands of certain communities with whom they find difficulty in collaborating as they are hampered at every step. If they move to the other parts of India they find capitalists who are more reasonable in their dealings. The fate of Tea and Jute Industries would teach us a good lesson but the cost may be too great for the nation.

The labour in West Bengal is stated to be the most difficult in the whole of India. I have discussed this matter with all sorts of people. The Bengalees themselves admit that this accusation is correct. The Europeans say that labour demands do not trouble them so much as the constant threat of strike, endless processions and slogan shouting. The budding Labour leaders are not afraid of drifting away of Industries. In their opinion 70 per cent of Labour force being non-Bengalees the harm would be more to the others! According to them no loaf is better than half a loaf! I pointed out that Kipling called Calcutta 'the city of dreadful nights' and Nehru has called it 'the night-mare city of endless processions'. So we have got the same compliments from foes and friends alike! Happily certain recent events have exposed these teachers of indisci-

pline and it is to be hoped that Labour has learnt a good lesson.

The question is often raised what will be the fate of the Bengalees who still constitute about a twelfth of the population of India? The rapid decline of the Bengalees was noticed by Acharya P. C. Ray and he had suggested that unless social workers took to rectify the defects of Bengali character, the doom of Bengal was inevitable. The social workers are busy otherwise. These small matters had not received their attention. It is enough to lead processions of Displaced persons to persons in authority. The Bengalees remain as lazy as ever but in a Welfare State everyone has a right to live. All that matters is to get the dole increased. It is easy to blame the Bengalees that they are lazy and therefore they deserve the fate that is waiting for them. But we have to remember that they constitute a large part of the population of India and will always be a drag on the rest of India till they perish. It may take a century or two before that happens. Will the whole country's progress be halted till then?

But can Bengalees be redeemed? The Chairman of a big British concern told me that Bengalees from outside Bengal make the best Executives. But if a Bengali from Calcutta is recruited, he gives endless trouble. He told me that once there was a proposal to stop recruitment of all Bengalees in his concern but he opposed it. He decided to transfer these troublesome elements to up-country stations for a year or two and the transformation was amazing. They were completely transformed beings. This led to the conclusion that the environment of their residence had a lot to do with their indiscipline. This concern and several others then decided that the Executives must live in certain specified areas. So it is evident that the environment plays a great part in determining the character of a man. The decline of the Bengalees started from the time when highest ambition of a Bengalee was to build a house in Calcutta. This not only resulted in the over-congestion of Calcutta but the youths became unmanageable and all discipline,

parental or otherwise, vanished. The Bengalees living outside Bengal do not suffer from this over-congestion, lack of amenities of every kind that go to make the mind and body healthy. Therefore it is small wonder that they make good. Recently a Punjabi pupil of mine who holds a very high position in an English firm told me that he had independently come to the same conclusion as the above. Hence if the environs are proper the Bengalee is still able to hold his own with the best. Therefore those who are responsible for making Calcutta the forest of ill-planned buildings will have a lot to answer for. This craze for living in Calcutta has resulted in the other towns of Bengal being neglected. I know clerkships are easy to obtain in Calcutta but to-day even in clerical jobs we are ousted because of our fallen efficiency. Last April one of the aspiring politicians of Calcutta started the slogan, "employment for the sons of the soil". Within a few weeks the answer came from Assam. This gentleman was quietened for the time being but the recent decision to Provincialise all appointments upto Rs. 750/- p.m., will no doubt gladden the hearts of short-sighted people like the above gentleman.

The movement of Industries from West Bengal will not materially affect the Labour population. 70 per cent of the Labour Force even in Bengalee concerns consist of non-Bengalee Labour. The reason is not far to seek. Bengalees with their dietary habits and living under dreadful conditions in Calcutta are simply not able to put as much work as they should. I know that some Bengalees have won prizes in International contests for possessing sturdy muscular physique. A change of diet and the habit of taking regular exercise have been the cause of this success. Therefore if the masses were instructed in changing their dietary habits a considerable amount of improvement could have taken place. The traditional fish and other protein diets of the Bengalees are not within the means of an average Bengalee. He subsists now on rice and vegetables. The vegetarian labour from up-country also does not eat meat and fish yet his physique is better. What are



our nutrition experts doing? What steps they have taken to teach these people what is good for them?

The only salvation for the Bengalees is to spread out from Bengal. Under the constitution they are at liberty to live in any part of India they like. We know what has happened in Assam. Those responsible for these happenings would have been charged with genocide in other countries. In this country also the conscience of men will be awakened soon and these things will be things of the past. Let us remember that persecution cannot stop any people from thriving. We have the example of the Jews in Europe. So, let us take our chance and move out. If we stop here we will surely perish. So why worry?

We have been told that Calcutta could have been made more livable if we had satellite towns with green belts. If we had made these towns, each would have been self-contained units relieving congestion. After we have seen what is happening in new townships like Durgapur, it would be best not to hope too much in this direction.

Acharya Ray advocated that Bengalees should take more to business. His preaching had some effects. But recently there has again been a set-back. The Bengalees were doing well in some retail trades such as cement, paper, cloth, stationery, etc. During the last few years they have been pushed back from these. There has been allegation that a great deal of unfair trading exists in these trades in violation of the provisions of the Company Act. We do not know it for certain. But has the Commerce and Industry Department of the State probed into the matter? Probably they have and taken up the subject with the Central Government. Now that the Centre controls and regulates Industry and Commerce in every way, the only justification for having this department in the State is to investigate all cases of unfair competition and other causes of hardship and report to the Centre for rectification of glaring defects. The Handloom Industry of West Bengal is in a deplorable condition. The departmental experts who have no doubt gone to the root cause of the trouble,

we hope, will publish their finding and what they are doing about it for the benefit of those concerned in the trade. The country would eagerly wait for these reports if they are ever prepared as a lot of lessons can be learned from these and mistakes can be avoided in the future. There are a lot of ugly rumours, probably baseless. It would be in everybody's interest to clear these up.

I have been told by a businessman that except one State, West Bengal is perhaps the most corrupt State in India. Here again these allegations whatever is the truth make one hesitant to start any venture in West Bengal. There is an anti-corruption department to go into these cases but apparently the existence of this department has not inspired much confidence as otherwise these allegations would not have been openly repeated. Therefore it is now for the citizens of Calcutta to have their own non-official Watch Committee headed by men who have no axe to grind, political or otherwise, to investigate the types of cases where corruption is possible and submit their report to the Government for whatever measures the Government wishes to take to stop these. If the Government does not do anything, in a democracy there is always the final appeal to the ballot-box.

If Bengalees are to survive they have to put down the false prophets whose numbers are many. The growth of Calcutta has to be stopped. Satellite towns have to be built avoiding the congestion which has been the bane of Calcutta. Municipal administration in these new areas has to be ruthless. The youth can be reclaimed. We had an instance at Durgapur. A lot of unruly youths from Calcutta were drafted to brick making but at first it did not prove a success. But with the introduction of military training, these very people proved to be just wonderful and were able to earn good money but what is more important their physique improved tremendously. Let the Industries move from West Bengal if this results in lessening the congestion of Calcutta. Bengalees will not be greatly affected as all that they get are a few clerkships and a few semi-skilled technicians' posts. The plum

posts are not theirs. If trading conditions could be made fair more people would have taken to shop keeping and other aspects of the retail trade. The loss of a few clerical posts should not matter so much. But Bengalees must move out of Calcutta. They are even averse to go 50 miles out of Calcutta. There are very few doctors in the rural areas. The reason is, that all doctors like to practice in Calcutta hoping that they will reach the top rank some day. In the meantime to keep the wolf from the door, the oath of Hippocrates is often forgotten. This has resulted in the influx of doctors from other parts to Calcutta. We welcome this influx as

in our opinion the local Medical profession will be purged of some of its evils. That will be good for all concerned. Moreover we do not for a moment believe in the theory that employment should be for the sons of the soil only. Those who come here and have something useful to contribute, are our friend and will get full co-operation from us. In turn we expect that they will treat us in the same manner if we go to their State and have something useful to give. Once the Bengalees were welcome everywhere as they were men of sound character and were regarded as educators of India. I we have fallen from that position the fault is entirely ours.

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## HOW STABLE IS INDIA'S UNITY?

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE question of the stability of Indian unity has been forced upon public consciousness with a renewed sharpness by the ghastly tragedy of the Bengalis in the easternmost State of Assam, although it cannot be truthfully said that the full significance of the occurrences in that region has been grasped by many even among the national leadership. Many people outside West Bengal (which could not overlook the fearful dimensions of the monster of Assamese parochialism if only because it had to struggle hard to support around 50,000 refugees coming out as a result of the disturbances in Assam) are not even aware of the true magnitude of the disaster that had overtaken the Bengalis in Assam. Even among those who had knowledge of the happenings, many failed to infer the necessary conclusions about their cause and effect.

### Most "Ghastly" Tragedy

The Prime Minister, after a personal visit to some of the riot-torn areas in Assam, described the anti-Bengali pogrom perpetrated there as the "most ghastly occurrence" that had taken place in this country during the past thirteen years; he called the happenings in Assam "inexcusable and unpardonable". Thus he was fully aware of what had happened in Assam. Yet even

he also was not able or willing to make the necessary inferences for policy, so that he was found opposing the move for an immediate high powered comprehensive probe into the disturbances through which alone it could be possible to lay bare the forces and factors operating below, what on the surface was sought to be passed over as an agitation to make Assamese the State Language of Assam. Had the request for an immediate enquiry of this type been accepted it would have enabled a knowledge of the relative importance of the various economic, social, sociological and emotional factors in generating tensions or in resolving them.

The Prime Minister was merely giving vent to his feeling of despondency when, winding up the three-day debate on Assam in the Lok Sabha on September 3, he said, "This great country of ours itself became a haunted place with all kinds of ghosts and spectres, ghosts of the past, of the distant past and the recent past". But despondency is the last thing we can afford to indulge in if we want to live as a united nation.

### Need for Objectivity

If we are to survive as a nation, we must necessarily have to try to understand the various factors that are operating under the surface to

sustain or to destroy this unity. Being ourselves part of the process we often fail, not very surprisingly, to disentangle ourselves from our subjectivism. Here we may profit from the observations of serious foreign students of Indian affairs, since they enable us to have a glimpse of how our actions and utterances stand to be interpreted by others. This benefit can be derived without having necessarily to agree with their entire analyses or their conclusions. Mr. Selig S. Harrison's *India: The Most Dangerous Decades*—[Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. 350, \$6.50.] deserves particular mention in this connection.

Mr. Harrison's analysis follows the line of the Prime Minister's thinking. His thesis is that India is being rent by narrow linguism on the part of various linguistic groups and even the homogeneity of the linguistic areas is being undermined by inter caste and intra-caste rivalries. He has sought to support his thesis by scholarly references to the events of the past and the present. Easily he has been able to demonstrate that, despite a long history of the possession of a common cultural outlook, all the peoples who now constitute India had never lived in political unity before the advent of the British. (Even during the British rule, about one-third of the total population remained outside of that political unity so that, truly speaking, it was not until after the achievement of independence that geographical India really became one political unit). The sense of unity during the days of British overlordship was fostered by the common interest in doing away with the political dependence and survived the British rule by a few years even after independence. It was not very long, however, before the latent divergences and rivalries came to the fore. In their new awakening the various linguistic groups are falling back upon the history of their past glories which in most cases does not offer a common meeting ground for them. The period of one's historical glory is often the period of another's shame, caused probably by the other group. Even in the present their willingness and ability to co-operate mutually is seriously circumscribed by their competing economic and social needs.

#### *The Most Serious Challenge*

According to the author of the book the most serious challenge to Indian Unity is posed

by language rivalries which in most cases coincide with caste rivalries. With the wider spread of education and the accelerated development of the regional languages, will be generated a tendency to depend more and more on local parochialism for support for political power and to that extent the unity of India will suffer a decline. Undoubtedly there is much truth behind this analysis, although the same is true also of newspapers in English with only a local readership. Even the most cursory comparison between the contents of the newspapers in English and the language newspapers published from New Delhi, Bombay, Madras or Calcutta will illustrate this thesis with particular vigour. The language dailies have an unmistakably larger bias towards regionalism than the English language papers. And the Assam riots are before us to show to what dangerous lengths this parochialism could go.

#### *An Important Failure*

This is, however, one side of the picture. No sane person would seriously suggest that the forty crores of Indians could be educated in English or Hindi or, for that matter, in any one language in the foreseeable future. If the dead-weight of illiteracy, ignorance, incompetence and diffidence is to be removed, this can only be done through a rapid expansion of education through the mother tongue of the people. Unfortunately, there has been extremely deplorable indecision. Though as early as in 1948 the Inter-University Board had urged education to be imparted upto the university level through the mother tongue, neither the State Governments nor the universities have shown any keenness in implementing that decision. The Gujarat University offers a flagrant instance of such inaction. The University's foundation charter had clearly laid it down that the University should adopt all measures so that after ten years (*i.e.*, by 1960) the University can offer education through the medium of Gujarati. That was not done and the situation had been saved by effecting a special amendment to the University Act. In West Bengal also, the initial start given by the Ghosh Ministry in 1947 was allowed to lose momentum by the Roy Ministry and the Calcutta University also was not particularly enthusiastic to adopt Bengali. The basic lack of perspective of the Central move-



Air Marshal Subrata Mukherjee



Dr. Oliver Cromwell Carmichael at the children's corner of the Ramkrishna Mission Library, Calcutta



Princess Alexandra of Kent at the Nigeria Exhibition in Lagos



Students from Asian countries aboard the S.S. President Cleveland sailing across the Pacific toward San Francisco

reflected in such curious moves as the introduction of Hindi as the medium in the multi-lingual Delhi University while Hindi is still to be made the medium of instruction in any of the respectable universities in the predominantly Hindi-speaking region.

The continued failure of the administration and the universities to change into the regional languages has led to a feeling of frustration among a considerable section of the population. Another result of this failure has been that very few, if any, among the non-Hindi speaking populations have recognized the virtue or the necessity of introducing Hindi at the Centre in place of English. The logical course would have been to try Hindi first in the Regional Governments and Universities in the Hindi-speaking area and only thereafter to introduce it at the Centre. But then, reasonableness has been the chief casualty in the contemporary political life of the country. This illogical action also has encouraged fissiparous tendencies.

#### *Basis of Indian Unity*

What is the basis of Indian Unity now? Apart from the constitutional provisions and the general desire to live together which is being violently shaken by the worst type of contradictions in the attitude of the people in authority, there seems to be no objective factor favouring Indian Unity. Religion no longer provides that binding faith as it used to before. In the case of recent Assam riots the Bengali Hindus actually suffered more than the Bengali Muslims at the hands of their Assamese-speaking Hindi compatriots. Apart from the small Central Government controlled sector, there is, really speaking, no Indian sector of the Indian economy. It is either Marwari, Gujarati, or Tamil. The Marwari or Gujarati employer in West Bengal, for example, is very much unwilling to employ the local Bengali youths in his undertaking. This reluctance has little relation to the needs of economy or efficiency. The situation has assumed such a serious proportion in view of the extremely high incidence of educated unemployment in West Bengal (which is one of the worst sufferers in this respect) that the West Bengal Legislature, which includes a number of non-Bengalis in its membership, twice considered it necessary to voice its feeling of regret at this

non-co-operative attitude of the business community. This has so far had little effect on the latter's morale and it has taken advantage of the introduction of the Central legislation regarding notification of vacancies to the employment exchanges to stir up a campaign of anti-Bengali propaganda. (For example, see the despatch of Shri Rangaswami on Assam and the New Delhi Special Correspondent's report on Dandakaranya in the *Hindu*, Madras, August 22, 1960. P. 1). Although it is not altogether improbable for him to be able to secure a job or a scholarship in the U.K., or the U.S.A., it is impossible for a non-"domiciled" Bengali to get a job in Assam Government or even to receive a scholarship when he merits it, and it is so difficult to get a "domicile" certificate! It is doubtful if Indian unity can endure for long unless this fragile economic basis is altered by nationalization at the earliest possible time along with national economic integration.

#### *Congress*

So long the Congress party with its control over the Central and State Governments has contributed to the growth of Indian unity. But apart from its external political loss in several States it is itself rent with internal strife and the party is perilously dependent for its unity upon one man—Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The current crises in Andhra, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa,—to name only a few States, does not augur very well for the future of the Congress Party. The way the Congress Members of Parliament coming from Assam and West Bengal differed in their statements of facts about the recent anti-Bengali developments in Assam as well as in their interpretations, was a remarkable evidence of the potential vulnerability of the organization along linguistic lines. The Praja-Socialist Party did not fare any better and its inability to put a principled stand has led one of its most prominent leaders,—Shri J. B. Kripalani, to tender his resignation from the party.

#### *The Communists*

Does the Communist Party of India with its inclusive philosophy of universal communism offer a hope for Indian unity? Apart from the

fact that the rise of communism in more than one country has proved too much for its monolithic character to be able to endure, in India also it has proved particularly vulnerable to the influence of caste and language. While the Congress party, especially after independence, has derived its main strength from the Hindi-speaking regions, the Communists are stronger in the non-Hindi areas. Mr. Harrison has analysed the Communist electoral performances in Andhra during the decade 1946-55 (there has been no further election there) to show that its influence is strong among only one of the caste groups (the Kammas) while in another (Reddis) Congress is the stronger influence. His another conclusion is that the relative inability of the Communists to gain strength in Tamilnad and Maharashtra has been primarily due to the fact that the Party's leaders in these predominantly non-Brahmin areas have been Brahmins. "Conceivably", writes Mr. Harrison, "Indian communism will in time yield up pan-Indian leadership so dynamic, so cohesive, that the future Indian political alignment will bear only slight resemblance to the past. But if the past is any guide, Indian Communism will not, by itself, provide a pan-Indian alternative to the Congress Party. Indian communism is a loose federation of regional units that have succeeded, where they have in fact succeeded, *only on regional ground*. The uneven pattern of communist strength corresponds to the pattern of *communist identification with regional forces*. The pattern of failure, too, corresponds to regions in which rivals have monopolized regional patriotism. With its strength dispersed in scattered regional strongholds, Indian communism *seems committed by its past to a separatist future*". (P. 178) (Italics ours). The analysis is certainly not to be lightly dismissed though it cannot be accepted in full without further study. The current ideological differences within the party also can be resolved into regional differences. On the other hand, during the gloomy days of the anti-Bengali pogrom in Assam, the communists alone seemed to have kept their heads and by all account their contribution to arson and looting there has been the minimum. But even here the Communist inability to stick to principles was reflected in the party's acquiescence to making Assamese the official language of the State to the exclusion of the claim of Bengali to an equivalent status not only in one district of Cachar but for the entire State,

and against the wishes of non-Bengali linguistic minorities.

#### *Future of Indian Unity*

What is the future of Indian Unity? The question is admittedly exceedingly difficult to answer. "Although on the one hand", Mr. Harrison writes, "development demands central direction, the economic upheaval set in motion by planning on a sub-continental scale carries its own endemic challenge to national unity" (P. 320). The validity of this observation can be seen in the wranglings in the National Development Council over the allocation of Plan resources to the various States. "The period now beginning in India", he adds, "presents striking similarities to the rise of nationalism in nineteenth century Europe, especially the nationalist upsurge in the Balkans which culminated in the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire . . . . The Balkanization of eastern Europe along linguistic lines occurred, to be sure, in a particular historical context. Imperialism has provided a rallying-cry to the nationalist leader in multi-lingual India or Indonesia which distinguishes the new Asian experiments from previous European experience. But the East European outcome did come as the climax of the same historical processes now occurring in India; more and more education and literacy, more and more popular participation in political life, more and more economic opportunity, and at the same time, more and more identity of linguistic and state boundaries" (Pp. 320-321). The change to Marwari power by the regional forces, he adds, offers a "striking parallel to the contest between the Balkan nationalist middle-classes and the Viennese financiers" (Pp. 321-322).

#### *Role of the West*

Yet Balkanization offers no solution. The contemporary sad plight in which the small nations of the world now find themselves should be a warning to even the most parochial Indian leader. Mr. Harrison for one, also cannot approve of Balkanization which, in the age of space travel and the multilingual state, "is out of date." "To-day", he writes, "a repetition of Balkan economic rivalries can only lead to an impasse in economic development, and, as a consequence, to increasing social and political tension" (P. 322). He

does not seem to be so sure, however, that India would retain its political unity in practical life during the coming decades and thus offers a prescription for Western policy on the assumption that probable victory of centrifugal forces cannot altogether be ruled out. "At times it will not be clear whether assistance to a particular central regime in India will necessarily promote long-run stability. A regime which uses authoritarian power to put down the claims of aggrieved regions in the name of stability might, depending on circumstances, merely aggravate the strains of the Union" (P. 339). Yet his conclusion differs in two significant respects from the prescription of many other Western writers. First, he has recognized that the pattern of political development in India may depart from what exists in the West or what the West might like to see in India. Second, the West should refrain from interfering in India's internal affairs. "The West can have a constructive role in the long struggle to establish a stable Indian Union if it recognizes that outsiders can temper and mould events but cannot determine them, if it acts always on an awareness that international, quite as much as domestic, politics is the art of the possible", he concludes (P. 340). A public declaration of the acceptance of these principles by the West would undoubtedly go a considerable way to remove the mistrust with which many Indians look upon it.

#### *Task Before Indians*

Yet the Indian cannot stop at this point. He has to grope for a definite answer to the question, can Indian unity endure? If the existing policies of discrimination and favouritism go unchecked, it may fairly confidently be predicted that this unity will not endure, and that even if it endures, its basis will constantly be undermined by many-pronged attacks robbing the unity of any of its purposeful attributes. Several things are immediately necessary to be done. Rejection of English at the State level both in administration and education, retaining it, however, as a compulsory second language at the secondary stage. People can then come to appreciate the meaning and responsibilities of freedom. They will come to feel that they have also a stake

in the affairs of the State. Second, there should be a firm declaration of principles of national policy which should be made justifiable, if necessary, and which should be obligatory for all the State Governments. There have been too much of vacillation and submissiveness on the part of the Central Government which has generated a feeling among many that it favours some and discriminates against others. The Central Government's refusal to act in Assam did not rest on any alleged lack of constitutional authority to do so. It is idle to pretend, as some well-meaning persons also seem to do, that the remedy lies in merely increasing Central authority. Its conduct during the entire Assam crisis has further shown that it is not adequately responsive to public suffering or to public suggestion even from best quarters. Shri K. M. Panikkar and Shri H. N. Kunzru, who made forceful speeches in the Rajya Sabha in support of a motion for an immediate high powered probe, cannot be accused of having any partisan motive simply because they had happened to see the utter injustice done to the Bengalis and the utter criminality of the entire proceedings in Assam during July, 4-14. The suggestion for an increase of Central authority in such a context hardly bears any meaning and may, in the absence of any check, conceivably degenerate into authoritarianism.

#### *Reorganization of Economic Set-up*

Thirdly, without a quick reorganization of the pattern of economic activity no constitutional or political method could sustain the nation's unity in the face of so many challenges. It is significant to recall that the first organized move towards violence in Assam found expression over the question of the location of the site of the oil refinery. And Assam is by no means the only State to have economic discontent. In the existing pattern of development, the scope for participation for the majority of the people is extremely limited and the benefits of the exploitation of the national resources and energy go to only a handful of persons. All the political parties seem to recognise the truth of the need for a change, but progress in the direction of its realization has been dangerously tardy.

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## SOUTH-EAST ASIA: SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.,

*Gadjah Mada State University, Indonesia*

THE post-World War II era will go down in history as the era of human emancipation. Between 1945, the last year of World War II, and 1960, the face of Asia and Africa has changed almost beyond recognition. Vast colonies and dependencies with their teeming millions tied to the apron-strings of Euro-American imperialism till the other day have recovered their national heritage and have been admitted to the comity of free nations. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Vietnam (North and South), Laos, Cambodia, Malaya, Singapore, the Philippines, Syria and Lebanon in Asia have attained the status of nation-states. Much of colonial Africa has been emancipated and in a year or two the whole of the 'Dark Continent' is almost sure to shine in the sunlight of independence. Asia and Africa are, in a word, on the march.

Almost the whole of South-East Asia is free to-day. The region consists of Indonesia, North and South Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya (including Singapore) and the British Borneo possessions. The entire region was in the backwater of world-politics till World War II, which broke out in 1939.

For centuries the Western World knew next to nothing of the lands East of India and South of China. They were little more than names. Japanese push in South-East Asia in the forties 'dramatically emphasized the strategic importance of the region. Interest sharpened when the loss of China left to the free world only the fringes of the continent and the off-lying islands and insular countries'.<sup>1</sup>

It was Spring, 1954. Nearly a decade had passed after the capitulation of Japan to the Allies (August, 1945). The eyes of the world seemed focussed on South-East Asia by the French debacle in Indo-China climaxed by the fall of Dien Bien-Phu to Ho Chih Min's Communist forces.

Located strategically at the south-eastern extremity of the great Asian land mass, South-East

1. *South-East Asia Among World Powers*—A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell, p. I.

Asia's boundaries isolate it effectively from the nearest land masses on all sides. Tall mountain ranges separate it from India on the west and China on the north except the north-east coastal region of Vietnam.

Cora du Bois in his *Social Forces in South-East Asia* aptly describes the region as a 'low pressure area'. All through its history, the whole area has been subjected to pressures from all sides. Population has been one of the most important pressures. With an area of 1,600,000 square miles, South-East Asia has a population of 170,000,000. It is peopled for the most part by successive migratory waves forced to move south by constantly rising pressure upon them, 'stemming in the last analysis from the Chinese'. South-East Asia, having a lower population density than China, has been constantly subjected to Chinese pressure. Its population, it should be remembered, is less than one-third of China's. There has been some pressure of population from India as well. About ten million Chinese and 1.5 million Indians have made South-East Asia their home.

Culturally too, South-East Asia has all along been a 'low-pressure' area. The Sailendra and Majapahit periods of Javanese history and the Srivijaya epoch of Sumatran history, no doubt, witnessed the rise and fall of great civilizations and empires in Indonesia, one of the more important countries of South-East Asia. But these are to be attributed to the penetration of the area by Hinduism and Buddhism. Much that owes its origin to Indian cultural influences—Hindu as well as Buddhist—is still clearly discernible almost all over South-East Asia. Some Chinese and Arabic influences too are visible on South-East Asia's cultural life. In modern times Europe too has 'to an ever-increasing extent left a pronounced imprint on virtually all aspects of life in this part of the world'. It should be admitted at the same time that South-East Asia adapted many of these borrowings to its particular needs. Cultural influences, in a word, converged upon the South-East Asian world from India, China, the Middle-East, Europe and America. None was rejected. All were accepted. No cultural influences, it should be noted, ever emanated from South-East Asia.

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From the economic point of view too South-East Asia is a 'low-pressure' area and has all along been subjected to pressures from outside. In ancient and medieval times, Indians, Chinese and Arabs fostered the commerce of the South-East Asian world. The end of the Middle Ages introduced new factors in its economic life and the modern age in South-East Asia was ushered in by novel economic factors. The economic structure of South-East Asia underwent a revolutionary transformation with the establishment of European supremacy. Its self-sufficient subsistence economy received a rude jolt. South-East Asia became instead a supplier of raw materials to the industrialized countries of the West. It became simultaneously a leader in the rice trade of the world.

South-East Asia 'has been an area of convergent political interests' as well. An aggressive China moved south on several occasions in the past to enhance its own power and territory. Vietnam was long under Chinese rule. Kublai Khan invaded Burma, Cambodia and Champa (a part of Vietnam). He sent a punitive expedition to Java because the Javanese King had helped the monarch of Champa in the latter's war against China. Emperor Yung Lo (1403-1424) of the Ming Dynasty occupied much of Vietnam, controlled Upper Burma and sent expeditions to the lands of the South to collect tributes from the local rulers and to persuade them, if possible, or to force them, if necessary, to accept Chinese overlordship. In contrast with the Sino-South-East Asian relations, Indo-South-East Asian relations have been peaceful on the whole. The successful onslaught on the Sailendra dominions by Rajendra Chola I of Tanjore (1012-1044) in Southern India shows what an expansionist India could do. Japan struck at South-East Asia only once. She overran the whole of South-East Asia during World War II (1939-1945). She carried everything before her in the earlier stages of the struggle but had to retreat in the end before the massive Anglo-American counter-offensive. Japan would certainly have been successful in her venture, if she had encountered only South-East Asian resistance and not that of the Anglo-American allies. European powers—England, France and Holland—and the U.S.A. for a time established full political control over South-East Asia, which

thus became the happy hunting ground of Euro American colonialism for many years.

Foreign penetration of South-East Asia in the past was easy due to weakness consequent on the division of the region into a multitude of small political units. "South-East Asia at the beginning of the 16th century", observes H. J. Van Mook, was "covered by a patchwork quilt of kingdoms, principalities, tribal chieftainships, independent cities, and local or regional confederations. Most of their rulers were, in Western eyes, absolute monarchs or 'kings', but their power depended to a great extent on the loyalty of noble or prominent subjects and even on their tolerance, if not the affection, of the people. Religion and law could never be ignored, and constant rivalries exposed almost every court and country to possible attack and overthrow".<sup>2</sup> Every new force entering the South-East Asian world was sure to meet with stiff resistance and also to get local allies. "Ships from many directions" we quote Van Mook again, "entered these sheltered seas; the riches of all those courts aroused the greed of neighbours and of intruders from distant lands; the abundance of valuable agricultural and mineral products like rice, spices, pepper and cinnamon, gold and precious stones, silk and cotton textiles drew the ambition and the imagination of the whole civilized world to the legendary coasts of Taprobane (Ceylon), Java Major and Minor (Java and Sumatra), the Moluccas, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia and Quinam (Annam)".<sup>3</sup>

The situation has changed to-day. Gone are the tribal chieftainships, petty principalities, independent cities and local or regional confederations. A number of nation-states have taken their place. Weakness, however, persists. The division of the region into a number of small political units, in part a result of its marked geographical fragmentation, a characteristic of South-East Asia when the West began its penetration, is still there. It is this division of South-East Asia which made its conquest by Europe all the easier. Divided into small units that it was, it could be, and was actually, taken over territory by territory. After a series of squabbles and

2. *The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia*—H. J. Van Mook, Pp. 36-37.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

conflicts in which the contestants varied "the area was finally stabilized into several mutually accepted Western colonial holdings".<sup>4</sup> There were British Malaya and British Burma, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and French Indo-China (Vietnam). The U.S.A. held the Philippines. Thailand was nominally—not actually—sovereign. Japan, which struck at the region during World War II, wiped out the stability which had been imposed upon South-East Asia by Western imperialism and South-East Asia had a common ruler for the first time in its centuries-old history. But division continued much as before. Change of rulers encouraged instability. The old stability disappeared. Japan's use of local puppets fed the flame of incipient nationalism. When Japan began to be pushed out of South-East Asia, she deliberately gave active encouragement to the rising tide of South-East Asian nationalism. Japanese policy, motivated by "a reckless determination to create turmoil and confusion for their own sake" as it was, nevertheless gave a tremendous impetus to the various nationalist movements in South-East Asia. It created at the same time favourable conditions for the spread of Communism in the region. Communism, it may be noted in passing, has derived not a little strength from the wide-spread poverty as well as the post-War instability of South-East Asia. This instability and poverty and the consequent weakness have yet to be wiped out. They have made South-East Asia one of the principal arenas of the cold war between the East and the West.

Nationalism in South-East Asia is a little more than half a century old and had been gaining momentum since the turn of the century. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the Chinese revolution under Sun Yat-Sen (1911) and his Shan Min Chu-i (people's principles), viz., National Sovereignty, Political Democracy and People's Livelihood, "the stirrings of democracy and self-determination that were allied rallying cries late in the First World War (1914-18) and the rise of Gandhian nationalism (in India) all sparked nationalist sentiment in South-East Asia".<sup>5</sup>

Imported from the West, nationalism in the

modern sense has existed in an embryonic form in South-East Asia from the beginning of the 20th Century. But by the time of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 it had become a factor to reckon with in the Philippines alone. The metropolitan powers granted a few minor concessions here and there to South-East Asian nationalism in the 1920's and 1930's. These concessions only fed the flame of nationalism and whetted the appetite for self-determination, both of which flourished on the ever-increasing frustrations of an ever-swelling body of sympathizers. South-East Asian nationalists modelled themselves in many respects on the Indian National Congress and the Chinese Kuomintang nationalism.

Colonial rule contains within itself the seeds of the revolt of the ruled against it. A revolution is directed in the last analysis against the power and privilege of an exclusive group. Even the most docile people will one day rise against rulers "with whom they have no community of counsel or spirit". Force and diplomacy may keep them down for a time—and a very long time it may be. But such a subjection cannot be maintained for all time to come "even through the most ruthless forms of diplomacy".

A very important factor in the evolution of South-East Asian nationalism is that colonialism even in its most successful form suffers from all the defects of absentee landlordism. Its best intentions are often beyond the comprehension of the colonial people or peoples concerned. The governmental and economic policies of the colonies are made and unmade by invisible hands—by foreigners "to whose thoughts and conclaves" the ruled have no access. The policy-makers of the colonial governments do not reside in the colonies. More often than not they have no first hand knowledge of the lands and peoples whose arbiters of destinies they are. From their seats of authority in far-off capitals they would not unoften base their decisions on political considerations "which have little or nothing to do with the conditions of the community concerned".<sup>6</sup>

The educated middle class was the pioneer of nationalism in the colonial world. The common man did not, in the beginning, bother much about anything beyond his daily bread. As

Van Mook puts it, everyone but the average—a Burman, an Indonesian, a Malay, an Annamite, a Filipino, who stood or rose above the common man—"found himself in a corridor of which the exit was blocked by a European or American boss and realized that in the last resort he would always have to obey an alien command".<sup>7</sup>

Each colonial power provided a modern educational system, however, inadequate and unsatisfactory, to its colony or colonies and "education tore the veil of mysticism from the power of the West". The portals of Western literature with all its vast range and varied grandeur were thrown open to the educated South-East Asian. It seemed to explain to him the power of the West in terms of science and nationalism. When the white man stood in his way, he no longer wanted to drive him out and revert to the way of life of his ancestors, as he did in the early dawn of colonialism. On the contrary, he wanted to step into the white man's place and to exert himself the power of the latter. Western history and science taught him that a people can act as a permanent corporation and present a united front to the world in spite of socio-political dissensions and squabbles at home. Opposition to foreign rule and interference gave birth to a desire—and a strong desire it was—for national life among the elite, the politically active and for the much publicized and often ignored "Four Freedoms" of the late lamented President Roosevelt of the United States of America.

Rifts in the nationalist lute appeared in course of time. The bolder and more progressive spirits were convinced and they openly asserted that freedom from foreign rule was the essential pre-condition of all real progress. They turned more and more to agitation and violence. Minor groups thought that national emancipation was attainable through more extremist ideologies, Communism, for example. Others traded on religious fanaticism or on anti-foreign sentiments in general. The more conservative—the Moderates—were alarmed by these developments. But they very often lacked the courage of conviction and could not, therefore, act effectively. They had not much following among the people at large and were not unoften branded as traitors

and lick spittles. They were accused of preferring "their honorarium to their honour".

Nationalism went on gathering momentum in South-East Asia and during the late thirties of our century active nationalism, as distinct from the passive, arm-chair variety, was seeping down to the semi-intellectual groups and in some cases to the wider masses. The common man too was touched—at least those sections which lived near the cities, the inland towns, the railroads and the highways. Apparently there was little or no change. But there was "a certain loosening of the mind, particularly in the younger generation". An inexplicable stirring of the time "that reached the spirit wherever rumours penetrated and tales were told" was noticeable all over South-East Asia "when the armageddon (World War II) started" in 1939.

It was at this stage that Japan overran the whole of South-East Asia in 1941-42 without any resistance worth the name. The ease with which Japan liquidated ABDF (American, British Dutch, French) sovereignty in this vast region exploded the myth of Western invincibility, shattered the prestige of the West, depreciated its face-value and seriously damaged its ability to restore the old order after Japan's capitulation following atom bomb raids on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, 1945. The atom bombs, which ended one war, started another, more sinister than the former. The shooting war was at end; but a new war, a war of nerves—the cold war—was on and kept Euro-American military might off balance. South-East Asia's Hour of Destiny had struck. To make a long story short, the independence of South-East Asian countries one after another was recognized. Their sovereignty became a reality. For once at least, the mills of the gods ground fast. Decades were packed into years. The very face of South-East Asia was changed.

The attainment of independence brought the new nation-states face to face with a series of problems, each insistently crying for a prompt solution. The lack of administrative experience, the need for technical experts, the shortage of capital, wide-spread illiteracy, absence of a national system of education, inadequate supply of teachers and text books and vulnerability are some of the major problems that face new South-East Asia. Many of the new nations are faced with the problem of their political cohesion

4. A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell—*op. cit.*, p. 8.

5. *The Far-East*—Fred Greene, p. 415.

6. H. J. Van Mook—*op. cit.*, p. 76.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

in the face of the challenge of minority ethnic groups or regional separatists.<sup>8</sup>

We are concerned here with the problem of education in new South-East Asia. In the days of political tutelage, there existed nowhere in South-East Asia a system of education suited to the needs and genius of the people concerned. Educational opportunities were restricted. So also was the scope of education. The aim of the colonial educational policy in India was described with brutal frankness by Lord Macaulay in the following words—"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect". Educational systems all over pre-independence South-East Asia had similar, if not the same ends in view. They aimed at creating small classes of 'colonial elites', who would look down upon their own countrymen without Western education. Education was lopsided. The system of education was based on ideas prevalent in the various metropolitan countries in the 19th century. Education received did not provide any incentive for work. There were very little opportunities for technical and scientific education. The various colonial governments emphasized purely literary education. They provided higher education primarily to ensure a steady supply of white collar workers for various government departments. Educational institutions were in most cases factories to "bring out branded bales of standardized commodity" to fill minor positions in governmental and semi-governmental establishments.

South-East Asia was and is primarily an agricultural region where an overwhelming majority of the population depended and still depend on agriculture. Purely literary education, therefore, could not and can not be beneficial to them in the long run. A purely literary education to a people or peoples depending by and large on manual labour cannot, therefore, be justified. Gandhi of India, convinced of the futility of a purely literary education in a country like his, evolved a scheme of Basic

Education in collaboration with Dr. Zakir Hussain and some other Indian educationists. The scheme, originally known as the Wardha Scheme (1936), aims at combining manual labour and training in arts and crafts with formal education. Educationists, however, know that Gandhi's scheme is not original. This method is called the Project Method in America and the Complex Method in Russia. In Gandhi's own words, his idea was "not merely to teach a particular profession or occupation to the children, but to develop the full man through teaching that occupation".

Educational authorities all over South-East Asia have to give a more practical bias to the content of education. Education must be related to the realities of life—of the educand as well as of the community in which he lives. Besides, a new social ideal has to be created in place of the old. Education under colonial rule was conservative in nature. The educational system was "the most ingeniously complete machine for murder . . . ever invented, and murder not only of man's body but of a man's soul, of that sacred fire of individuality in him which is far holier and more precious than the mere mortal breath".<sup>9</sup> Deliberate attempts were made to prevent the growth of mental unrest. "To create a moral defeatism among the people" was one of the purposes, may be the most important one, of colonial education.<sup>10</sup> National cultures were under-estimated. Blessings of foreign rule were over-emphasized. New South-East Asia must purge its educational system of the factors which create inferiority complex, a lack of self-confidence in those educated under the system. Care must be taken at the same time to prevent the growth of an exaggerated notion of national greatness, a blind adoration of the past. A new social purpose must be disseminated through education. The rising generation must be educated in the principles of social justice, of the collective welfare of the community and of national service. A new social conscience, in other words, has to be created.

A very difficult problem demanding an

8. For a brilliant analysis of the problems of the new states of Africa and Asia. *Vide Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*—K. M. Panikkar, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London).

9. *The Liberator*—S. K. Mitra, (Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, New Delhi and Calcutta), p. 75 (Quoted).

10. *Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*—K. M. Panikkar, p. 60.

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immediate and satisfactory solution is that of the medium of instruction. The languages of the various metropolitan countries were the media of instruction in the South-East Asian countries before independence. These were English in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, Dutch in Indonesia and French in Vietnam. The various national languages were given a step-motherly treatment in educational institutions at all levels. A foreign language can spread only among the upper strata of society. The system of education in the days of colonialism, therefore, restricted the area of education. It also stood in the way of the evolution of a national system of education. A system of universal education is possible only if the national language is made the medium of instruction. But none of the South-East Asian languages has a scientific literature. Nor do they possess the necessary text books for teaching modern subjects.

What is to be done? South-East Asia is on the horns of a dilemma in this respect. To impart and to receive education through the national language is a natural desire. A language represents a value of supreme importance to the people whose language it is. It is integrated with the national mind. Education through the mother-tongue is absolutely necessary for an integral national development. But for the time being South-East Asia can keep up with the scientific, economic and social thought of modern times only through one of the highly developed Western languages.

Russia and Germany 200 years ago and Japan in the latter half of the 19th century was faced with the same problem. Each has successfully solved the problem. But the time-factor is of supreme importance. Even Japan, which solved the problem in a shorter time than Russia and Germany, took 50 years to transform Japanese into a modern language. But history marches so fast in this nuclear age that South-East Asia can ill afford to wait so long.

Large scale illiteracy is one of the major problems of South-East Asian countries. Educational facilities under colonialism were, as noted above, extremely restricted. To illustrate, Indonesia with a population of seventy million had only one university. The medium of instruction in this university, needless to say, was Dutch. The result? When the Dutch finally withdrew from the Indonesian scene, there were,

according to one statement, only 14,000 persons with higher education in Dutch. The percentage of literacy was 6.4. The problem of illiteracy is, in fact, a twofold one. For one thing, it is the problem of educating the adults "who have passed the stage of formal school education". For another, South-East Asia must provide adequate facilities for a sound national education to its fast-increasing younger generation.

The content of education to be imparted is of fundamental importance. Educational institutions must aim at producing intellectually alert, patriotic yet broad-minded and self-sacrificing young men and women capable of taking part in the none-too-easy job of building up modern, progressive states in the erstwhile happy hunting ground of colonialism that South-East Asia is. Unfortunately, education imparted so far has been purely literary in character, which makes education unreal and almost useless for practical purposes. Education, to be useful, must be related to life and to national necessities. Prof. Dr. G. D. Buller, UNESCO Consultant with the Government of Indonesia in the Ministry of Education and Culture, recently commented adversely on the "drilling system" in the classrooms, "the measuring of one's knowledge by the absorbed material without giving the students opportunity to obtain experience through practical tests in the community". The learned Doctor aptly suggested that "it would be far more beneficial to give the student more practical experience regarding the problems and needs of the communities in which they live, for instance, through the study of fishery, health etc., projects". He suggested further that boys and girls should be given the curricula, "which would give them more active and functional preparation for their future task in the community". It must be noted in this connection that teachers have to take the initiative and lead in the direction of changing and improving the educational system in South-East Asia.

To sum up, South-East Asia faces to-day a stupendous problem in the field of education. In the first place, education must be disseminated among the population at large—adult and otherwise. A long-term policy, immense resources and concentration are the essential pre-requisites for the achievement of this objective. Speed is a vital factor and South-East Asia must solve this problem as soon as possible "or must fall

back in the race for modernization". Secondly, provision for a comparatively wide system of higher education must be made at the same time to enable South-East Asian nations "to handle their administrative, economic and political problems". Last but not least, technical skills and scientific education cannot be neglected, far less ignored. Independence without any one of these will be a shadow without substance.

This three-fold problem in the field of education confronts resurgent South-East Asia to-day. It confronts the new nation-states in varying degrees all over the world. This is in fact one of the many formidable challenges of their freedom and posterity will size them up by how they meet it and with what success. The history of man, Arnold Toynbee points out,—and we agree with him—is, in the last analysis, a tale of challenge and response. A nation is confronted with a challenge or a number of them in each stage of its evolution. If it rises equal to the occasion, responds to the challenge or challenges boldly and meets it/them successfully, it moves up and enters a higher stage of evolution. If not, it stagnates, falls back and goes down in the long run.

Besides the problems of education in general, the historian and the teacher of History in South-East Asia have their own special problems. What history is to be taught? The history taught so long in South-East Asian schools, colleges and universities has been, by and large, "the history of the white man, the story of his quarrels and his achievements from the days of Greece and Rome down to the present times. It has been an exciting and dramatic, if often violent story. It has been the white man's story" par excellence. (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, May 4, 1960). In the days of colonialism the syllabi were very often heavily loaded in favour of Western history and culture in general and of the history and culture of the respective metropolitan countries in particular. Indigenous history and culture were neglected, if not altogether ignored. The trend still continues. In the University of Rangoon where the present reviewer was employed a few years back, British history and World or European history used to be taught in the B.A. Degree classes and there was no provision for teaching Burmese history or Asian history. A leading

Indian University still prescribes two papers of European history and only one paper of Indian history for its B.A. candidates. There is also no provision for teaching Indian history in the post-school, pre-degree stage of the said University. Instances may be multiplied. Far be it from us to discourage the study of Western history and culture in the schools, colleges and universities. What we want is that a South-East Asian student of history must first of all be acquainted with the history and culture of his own people. He must also have a knowledge of South-East Asian history in general. No student of history—South-East Asian or otherwise—can ignore the story of the Western countries. He must know how Europe and America have risen to power, how they have conquered the world, how they have developed the industries, and what contributions they have made to the totality of human knowledge by scientific discoveries and inventions. Students must also know how the mad pursuit of purely materialistic ends by the Western countries to the exclusion of all spiritual and human objectives have generated strains and stresses, which threaten the very existence of man and his civilization. The history of Asian countries other than South-East Asia also—particularly those with which South-East Asia has close affinities—must be taught and read in South-East Asian universities. But how much can be learnt and assimilated by an average student? Attempts to teach the history of so many countries at any given stage is bound to meet with a disastrous failure. The reviewer has first-hand experience of a South-East Asian university, which prescribes the history of nearly half a dozen countries for its first Degree examination in History with papers on languages, Archaeology, Philosophy of History and the History of Art thrown in. The result is not at all encouraging. The problem may be satisfactorily solved by spreading out the history of various countries over different stages of school and university education. Syllabus committees composed of experts alone can do this. They have to put their heads together to draw out well-thought out syllabi for various grades. The problem is a serious one and demands an immediate solution.

There must be a shift of emphasis. The mental habit of looking upon history as the story

of the deeds and misdeeds of the high and mighty, of Presidents and Prime Ministers, of politicians and parliamentarians must be given up. Social, economic and cultural aspects of a nation's life must be taken into consideration. History becomes living and real only when it is handled properly, only when it tells the story of the common man—the man behind the plough, in the mines, in the factories—of his joys and sorrows, of his hopes and aspirations, of his failures and frustrations. It must seek "to paint under the man of a day eternal humanity". Our present is a continuation of our past. The former in its turn projects into our future. Attempts must, therefore, be made to draw lessons from past history and to use our present experiences as a guide for future conduct.

Vernaculars must be made the media of instruction. Text books in the national languages must be made available. None of the national languages of South-East Asia is as yet developed enough to serve the twin purposes at higher levels. Few, if any, good text-books in South-East Asian languages are available for use in higher educational institutions—in colleges and universities. Even India, which is in a somewhat more favourable position than South-East Asia in this respect, has not been able to solve so far the problems of the media of instruction and text books. Educational authorities must bear in mind that they cannot switch on overnight to vernacular media and vernacular text books without great harm to the educands and the efficiency of the teachers. For some time to come one foreign language or another has to continue as the medium of instruction at higher levels. Text books in one foreign language or another also have to be depended on. But an all-out effort must be made to replace them by developing the indigenous languages as soon as possible. Speed is, no doubt, a very important factor. So also is caution.

Suitable teachers too are in short supply. Most of the South-East Asian countries are trying to solve this problem by recruiting teachers from foreign countries. Import of teachers from abroad may help for a time. But this is no permanent solution of the problem. Attempts must be made to nationalise the educational machinery. Cautious speed should be the guiding principle in the matter. Efficiency must not be allowed to suffer. The best brains in each country must be attracted to the teaching profession by attractive

service conditions. The tendency of seeking careers in governmental and commercial establishments must be combated. Middle-class unemployment, which will appear sooner or later—it has already appeared in some areas—will of course open a large field of recruitment within the national boundaries. But a factor of fundamental importance is that capable men and women with a spirit of service and dedication and with a love of knowledge for its own sake must be attracted to the profession. Earnest and efficient teachers, needless to say, are the *sine qua non* of a sound system of education.

Text books, we have seen above, pose a serious problem. The problem, in fact, is a two-fold one. History of various South-East Asian countries have been written so long for the most part by authors of the various metropolitan countries. We owe quite a few admirable volumes to them. We wish the same could be said of them all! But unfortunately not a few of them have misinterpreted and misrepresented the countries and peoples on which they wrote. Many of them could not shake off the mental habit of looking upon the countries they dealt with as appanages of Europe and America. They seemed to have missed the all-important point that each nation has an independent entity with a personality all its own. Benefits of foreign rule have been emphasized. The evil effects thereof have been undertoned, ignored or glossed over. Not a few of the volumes written by them are in fact long panegyrics on foreign rule. Mr. D. G. E. Hall, Professor of the History South-East Asia in the University of London, in a recent work—*A History of South-East Asia*—for example, holds the Chinese and the Indians primarily responsible for the economic ills of Burma under British rule. He does not say even a word on the ruin of Burma's Cottage Industries and Britain's part in it. Instances may be multiplied. The ancient cultures of the peoples concerned have been blacked out or minimised. In consequence, South-East Asians are known to the world at large as superficial do-nothing peoples who have been raised from near-barbarism or primitive condition to civilization—brought from darkness to light, so to say,—by the West. It is loudly plain that the West has given peace, security, stability and unity to South-East Asia. But not many of the Western historians have the intellectual integrity to admit the incalculable harm, both material and otherwise,



that South-East Asia has suffered at the hands of the various Western powers. Let it not be thought for a moment, however, that foreign rule has done no good to South-East Asia. What is needed is an honest, unbiassed assessment of the good and evils of foreign rule. South-East Asian historians must write their own history. A word of caution is necessary. National historians must not be carried too far by their new-born enthusiasm. They must not brush aside everything said and written by Western historians. They should not think for a moment that foreign rule has been an unmixed evil for their countries and peoples. Nor should they suffer from the delusion that their cultures and civilizations are perfect and leave no scope of improvement. The historian must pay homage at the altar of one and only one deity—Truth. He must hold fast to truth, must have the courage to call a spade a spade. He must tell "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the whole truth". He will degenerate into a propagandist otherwise.

Research materials—manuscripts, chronicles, traditions—exist in abundance. These as well as archaeology in all its branches, such as architecture and epigraphy and numismatics must be harnessed to the service of history in general and of ancient history in particular. A systematic hunt for ancient manuscripts and chronicles must be organized. Monastic libraries and family archives may prove to be valuable quarries. Materials collected must be collated, explained and interpreted and properly assessed. An uncritical adulation of the past or a wholesale condemnation thereof must be avoided. Standard historical

works in various foreign languages must be translated into national languages.

The task ahead is a tremendous one and individual efforts, however honest and single-minded, cannot go a long way. Team-work is essentially necessary and co-operative research must be organized. The initiative must come from the various national governments, learned societies and universities. Necessary funds must be provided. Steps should be taken at the same time to train a cadre of research workers under expert guidance. There should be absolutely no hesitation in inviting foreign experts for the purpose, if necessary. Narrow nationalism should not be an obstacle.

Governments must take the initiative in the matter of producing suitable text books. Well-known scholars and authors should be commissioned to write text books in various national languages. Central boards composed of historians of recognized merit and integrity should be set up to scrutinise the books written. Books that receive the imprimatur of these boards must be published by the government at its own expense and sold on a no profit, no loss basis. A body of translators should be simultaneously employed by the government for translating standard historical works in various foreign languages. Translators, it is important to note, must be men and women with a command over the subject as well as the languages concerned. They must have a knack for writing besides.\*

\*Paper accepted for discussion in the First International Conference of South-East Asian Historians at Singapore, (January, 16-21, 1961.)



## THE CONGO STORY

### 1. The House that Leopold Built

By CHANAKYA SEN\*

Listen to the yell of Leopold's ghost  
Burning in Hell for his hand-maimed host,  
Hear how the demons chuckle and yell  
Cutting his hands off, down in Hell.

It was not an African who wrote these lines. It was an American poet. His name was Vachel Lindsay. The poem was named *The Congo*. It first appeared at a time when the civilized world, meaning Europe and America, was shocked by the first disclosures of the brutalities perpetrated by King Leopold II of the Belgians in his huge personal estate named the Congo Free State.

The story of the Congo begins in the latter half of the 19th century. The name and history of the Congo is linked to the partnership of two men, very different in character and outlook, but bound together by a spirit of imperial adventure, the high-water mark of the Victorian Age. One was Leopold II, a German who had ascended the throne of Belgium; the other, Henry M. Stanley, a Welshman who had become an American citizen, to return to British citizenship in his old age to be knighted by the monarch of Great Britain.

"Africa is in me," exclaimed Henry Morton Stanley. It was indeed part of his life which he gave to the building up, on behalf of Leopold, what eventually turned out to be the biggest single colonial territory in the African continent, eighty times the size of Belgium, as big as India. Stanley earned name, fame and money; he earned power and glory; he was glorified in the Old World as well as in the New World. And unlike Livingstone, with whom his mission in Africa was curiously tied up, he did not escape from civilization to spend his last days with the "barbarous" natives of Africa.

A visitor to the Congo can never get away from Leopold. The Capital is Leopoldville. In the centre of the great avenue which bisects the city

stands the huge figure of Leopold, his heavy German face with its luxuriant enormous beard surveying the ruins of his empire. There is a Lake Leopold II and a Mount Leopold II. Every official history of the colony, or broadside to the world, commenced with a paean of praise and gratitude to Leopold II.

Fifty-two years after his death, his grandson, King Baudouin of the Belgians, landed on the sun-lit red soil of Leopoldville, on the historic day of June 30, to preside over the liquidation of the empire that his grandfather had built. What better could he do than invoke the great spirit of Leopold II and remind the Congolese of the great vision of the Founder, of the blessings he had bestowed upon them by bringing the Congo to civilization?

Spoke the King: "The independence of the Congo is the crowning work conceived by the genius of King Leopold II, undertaken by him with firm courage, and continued by Belgium with perseverance. Independence marks a decisive hour in the destinies not only of the Congo herself but—I don't hesitate to say—of the whole of Africa."

"For eighty years Belgium has sent to your land the best of her sons, first to deliver the Congo basin from the odious slave trade which was decimating its population, later to bring together the different tribes which, though former enemies, are now preparing to form the greatest of the independent states in Africa."

Outlining the achievements of the Belgian pioneers, the King spoke of the building of communications, cities, industries and schools, the creation of a medical service, and the modernization of agriculture. Belgium, he declared, had not hesitated to recognize the great movement of African independence, and, after a significant pause, added, "It is your task, gentlemen, to show that we were right in trusting you." He was aware of the "inexperience of the people to govern themselves," of possibilities of "tribal fights," and of

\*Chanakya Sen, whose book "Tibet Disappears" has been noticed in leading newspapers and journals in India and abroad, is to write a series of articles for the *Modern Review* on the Congo. These articles will deal with various aspects of the Congo crisis. This is the first of the series; each will be complete in itself.

"certain of your regions" attracting foreign powers; but he assured the newly independent people that, with Belgium's continued friendship, everything would be all right.

This noble oratory fell on a hushed hall crowded with perplexed representatives of a black humanity. They looked at one another and looked back and scratched their memory. They saw their fifty-year-old bespectacled President, Joseph Kasavubu, whom the Belgians had made an *immatricule* in 1953, conferring on him full rights of Belgian citizenship, bow before the monarch and shower pacans of praise on the pioneers. Belgium had set, declared President Kasavubu, "an example unprecedented in the history of peaceful decolonisation—leading our people directly, without transition, from foreign rule to independence under full national sovereignty."

A slender ripple of applause greeted this suppliant eloquence. The bulk of the black humanity remained glued to their seats.

Then arose a lean figure, with a frail beard, a man whom the majority of the members of Parliament had elected the first Prime Minister of Africa's biggest sovereign republic. His name is Patrice Lumumba. At the age of 34, Lumumba, a former tax clerk, twice imprisoned by the Belgian rulers, had become a silver-tongued politician, the only nationalist leader of some stature who thought in terms of the entire Congo.

Patrice Lumumba looked back to the history of the Congo and said: "Our wounds are too fresh and too smarting for us to be able to chase them from our memory. We have seen our lands spoiled in the name of laws which only recognized the right of the strongest. We have known laws which differed according to whether it dealt with a black man or a white man. Who will forget the rifle fire from which so many of our brothers perished, or the gaols into which were brutally thrown those who did not want to submit to a regime of injustice, oppression and exploitation, which were the means of the colonialists employed to dominate us?"

The King of the Belgians was red with anger. His huge entourage, men who had ruled the Congo for nearly a century without giving tuppence for what the natives felt or thought, were aghast. The King threatened to return to Brussels at once, but was persuaded to go through the rest of the ceremony. Western correspondents blamed

Patrice Lumumba for "raking up past controversies."

At the official luncheon following the Independence ceremony, Patrice Lumumba tried to make amends to the King. "At this moment when the Congo reaches independence, the whole Government wishes to pay solemn homage to the King of the Belgians and to the noble people he represents for the work here over three-quarters of a century. I do not wish my feelings to be wrongly interpreted."

Thus was born the Republic of the Congo. Even at the moment of its birth, the great crisis that was to overtake it in a matter of days cast its ominous shadow. Against the floodlit platform could be seen, in dark silhouette, the three forces that were soon to engage each other in a grim conflict. At the one end was Belgium anxious to hold the Congo against "foreign influence" and to make up for the "inexperience of the people" in self-government. At the other end was Lumumba and the forces of nationalism he represented. In between stood men like Kasavubu, with their regional patriotism and readiness to bask in the benevolent sunshine of Belgian patronage and paternalism!

None was ready for the Congo to be free in 1960.

Europeans were all agreed that Congo was one of the finest specimens of imperial rule. As late as 1952, Mr. E. C. Eggins in an article in *The Listener*, organ of the British Broadcasting Corporation, described the Belgian Congo as "a contented colony." The Belgians had no doubt whatsoever that what they had built in the Congo was a masterpiece of imperial paternalism and that they had successfully conquered the problem of independence by keeping politics out of their charge. They had built huge cities and great highways; beautiful hospitals and schools; the largest railways in any African country, and rows upon rows of clean single or two-room tenements for Congolese workers. They had wrested power from the whimsical and almost unmanageable Congo river and turned wide areas, where nothing used to grow, into green pastures. They had developed spotlessly clean towns with their boulevards and wide avenues and rows of office buildings displaying the latest Western architecture. The population had begun to grow at the comfortable rate of three per cent a year and even remote villages received rudiments of

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medical attention. The administration was in the hands of an efficient bureaucracy more or less honest in the discharge of its duties. Belgian magistrates toured the interior of the country and did their work with paternal conscientiousness. Everything in the Congo was as best as it could be and the Congolese themselves were as happy as any African people could aspire to be. Everyone agreed that the Belgians had almost worked a "miracle." Even in 1956 when John Gunther wrote his book "Inside Africa", he found no trace of political awakening in the Congolese people.

And yet something was fundamentally wrong with this streamlined house of cards. It was after all not a miracle at all. It fell into bits as soon as it came into contact with the Wind of Change blowing over Africa. The Belgians had striven their utmost to close all the shutters and to keep the Wind out. But still it rushed in, and when the Belgians felt its burning sibilance, things had gone out of their hands.

The requital of history is often dreadful.

The Belgians had built on wrong foundations.

The latter half of the 19th century saw European imperialism at the peak of its glory. The biggest of the imperial powers was, of course, Great Britain; but there was not one European country innocent of imperial ambitions. Asia had been parcelled out between three European powers—Britain, France and the Netherlands; but Africa remained—a huge continent with unlimited natural resources and the cheapest imaginable human labour. It was being slowly opened up by European explorers. The coastlines had already been colonized; but the unfathomable interior remained. The struggle between the European powers for the interior of Africa began in the last decades of the 19th century.

King Leopold II succeeded to the Belgian throne in 1865 and scanned the horizons of far-away Africa with a burning desire to set up an empire. He needed an agent who could explore Africa on his behalf and under his flag. Here enters Henry Morton Stanley, an adventurer, an explorer, a journalist. Livingstone, the great explorer of Africa, had escaped from civilization to live his last days in the jungle fastness of the Dark Continent. Newspapers of the world wanted to trace his whereabouts. Stanley whose real name was John Rowlands, had acquired a name by his assignments in the Caucasus and Ethiopia. A

completely self-made man, he was "a soldier, politician, empire-builder, an extremely accomplished journalist and one of the greatest explorers who ever lived. He was harsh, impulsive, fiercely egocentric and extravagantly inspired. He was a much more dashing character than the plodding, selfless Livingstone and much less elevated."\*

Stanley was hired by the *New York Herald* to find Livingstone. He accomplished his mission when he came to the shores of Lake Tanganyika where he found Livingstone living happily amongst the natives. He refused to return to civilization and stayed content until his death. Stanley, however, earned world-wide fame through this exploit and wrote a book, *How I found Livingstone in Africa*. This was in 1872. Two years later the *New York Herald* and the *London Daily Telegram* sent Stanley on an African expedition. He crossed the continent from the west to the east and discovered the Congo river and the Stanley Falls. In 1878 he wrote another book, *Through the Dark Continent*.

The exploits of Stanley fired King Leopold of the Belgians. "He sent an emissary to meet Stanley at Marseilles, when Stanley was returning to Europe in 1878, thus getting ahead of the other powers and offered him employment in his service. Stanley accepted. . . . He returned to the Congo and spent four years there working for Leopold, a private empire-builder for a ruthless King".\*\*

Leopold founded an association called the International Association, through which he sought to set up a personal empire in Africa. The United States was the first power to give recognition to this Association. Other European powers followed suit. Soon the Scramble for Africa began. The French sent an expedition which seized the French Equatorial Africa. The Portuguese grabbed Angola and the British moved into the interior, the west and beyond the Boers. It became necessary to regularize the conflicting interests of the various European countries. At the initiative of Bismarck and Portugal, representatives of the European nations met at Berlin in 1884-85 to divide Africa amongst themselves. The United States sent a delegation headed by the Minister to Germany, and, curiously enough, Stanley who had returned from

\**Inside Africa*, John Gunther, p. 642.

\*\**Ibid.*, p. 643.

the Congo, became the technical-adviser to the American delegation to the Berlin Conference! He had already signed a number of treaties with the local chiefs of the huge Congo basin, treaties which show to what depth of deceit and chicanery the white empire-builders could descend in order to acquire domains in Africa.

The Berlin Conference accepted Leopold's claim to the Congo and the result was the Congo Free State, a personal estate of the King of the Belgians. As Gunther says, "It was not a part of Belgium, but part of the King himself." Leopold had asked the Belgian Parliament to own the empire. It refused. But it agreed that Leopold should personally hold the Congo, a country he never saw for himself throughout his lifetime. The United States was the first country to ratify the agreement. Due to American persistence, free navigation was accepted in the Congo river and free trade in the Congo basin.

Leopold ruled the Congo Free State single-handed from 1885 to 1908. He sank a fortune into his estate. He invited private investors in Belgium and other countries to put their money into his enterprise. To obtain the massive heaps of capital necessary for the exploitation of the Basin, Leopold granted tremendous concessions to interested Belgian financiers in the form of palatine authority over the mineral, land and human resources of hundreds of millions of acres. "A share of the profits from these concessions was directed into the regal purpose, of course, as well those from a personal plot of some 112,000 square miles in the centre of the most promising rubber-land of the Basin." In order to exploit the Valley the deep interior had to be opened up. "The great river which gives the province its name provided a network of water-courses within the basin itself, but when it gets to within a few hundred miles of the coast, the Congo dives into a chain of gorges cutting through a mountain range, churning into impassable rapids which had vetoed direct sea communication for thousands of years. A railway had to be built, 260 miles long, to connect the port of Matadi on the Congo estuary, with the Stanley Pool, the point farthest seaward on the central navigable reach of the river. And after eleven years of stupendous toil, and the deaths of thousands of the labourers, this tract was completed in 1898."\*

But as soon as Leopold's enterprise was a success something happened to deprive him of the fruits of his labour and vision.

How much money Leopold made out of the Congo nobody knows to this day. But he was certainly one of the richest men in the world. The domain he had kept under his own control in the Congo was as big as Poland. The price for this development had to be paid by the African people. African workers had to fill quotas and if they failed to bring in the required amount of rubber and ivory they were mutilated or shot. During Belgian rule the population of the Congo dwindled from 20 million in 1900 to 12 million in 1956! Leopold's own regime cost between five and eight million lives! The practice of mutilation was the most horrible that could be imagined. Even children were not spared. Africans who failed to satisfy their bosses had to pay the price with their hands or feet which were cut off. Africans themselves in the Congo had never used mutilation as a form of punishment. It was purely a European invention.

In the 1890's rumours began to seep through the torrid, water-soaked fastness of the Congo which shocked and appalled the civilized world. Sir Roger Casement, a British Consul in Africa, and later a prominent figure in the Irish Easter Week Rebellion of 1916, reported in the early 1890's that he had heard about the atrocities committed in the Congo. The British sent Lord Cromer down from Egypt to investigate. He verified the reports. The great uproar which followed created an adverse world opinion and inspired Vachel Lindsay to pour his indignation into his poem, *The Congo*, a few lines of which are quoted at the top of this article.

Leopold died in 1908. The Belgian Parliament took over the Congo colony. The debates revealed the guilty conscience most Belgians had about their regal legacy. The people of Belgium had never had a fascination for Leopold's empire. But the stakes were heavy and millions of pounds worth of capital had been sunk into the enterprise. The Belgian Government confirmed the privileges of the corporations which had been Leopold's partners in the Congo. By so doing it laid the basis of fifty years of Belgian rule. The foundation was a triangular structure resting on

a bureaucracy, big-business and the Catholic Church.

The Congo gave Belgium the trappings of a first-class power. Belgium gave the Congo the external attributes of a colonial showpiece. The credit side of the Belgian experiment was impressive. As already noted, the Congo has the most developed and largest net-work of roads and railways in any country of Africa. Wages compared favourably with those found anywhere on the continent. African field workers in the coffee-planting country in the East were better dressed than those in most share-cropping regions of even the southern states of America. Everywhere, at least in the urban areas, there were hospitals, clinics, social welfare centres. Racial discrimination was legally disallowed. A fairly satisfactory judicial system was brought into being. Africans were allowed to matriculate into an *elite* and be acceptable into Belgian society. Europeans were as strictly forbidden to occupy freehold land titles as were Africans. In the result the number of European settlers in the Congo remained surprisingly low, about sixty thousand, compared to Algeria, the Rhodesias and Kenya. The development of towns and industrial centres gave birth to a proletariat class and led to a steady exodus of population from country to urban areas. The once-decimated humanity again began to breed at a fast rate. Today almost half of the entire population of the Congo is astonishingly young in age.

The Belgians gave. They did not create. They gave the Congolese an extensive primary education, but the first University in the Congo was not set up until 1956! This was a deliberate policy because the Belgians believed that education was not the thing the Congolese required; education would only bring politics and politics the ruin of their experiment. They gave the Congolese a health service, but no medical education with the result that there is not a single medical graduate in the Congo today. The number of University graduates is just seventeen.

The Belgians thought that the Congolese would be content to live by bread alone. It was here that they erred most. As Mr. Chester Bowles says in his book, *Africa's Challenge to America*, "The weakness of the Belgian programme appears to be their reluctance to allow the African to secure an advanced education—even a technical education—for fear that he will then

demand a growing share of responsibility in the shaping of his own future. Any visitor who has seen the strength of the independence movements throughout the world will wonder if the Belgians, like King Canute, are not trying to curb a force that eventually will become irresistible."

Elaborating the same point, Mr. Basil Davidson remarked, "The Belgians, in short, are long-sighted investors but short-sighted politicians. There notably lacks among them a frank reckoning with what may not unreasonably be called the Great Factor—the factor which has queered so many pitches, made so many colonial experts eat their words, upset so many plans and programmes and constitutions these last ten years—the dynamics of African development. The last ten years have shown this factor as a geometric progression; yet most Europeans in Africa are still adding it up in simple Arithmetic, and they are repeatedly getting the wrong answer. Policies are continually being devised for situations which have ceased to exist. The Congo African is more and more an African thinking in terms of the modern world—and hence of national rights, democracy, human equality. But the politics of the Belgian Congo remains those of yesterday or the day before."\*

The triangular imperial structure built by Belgium for the Congo rested, as noted, on a bureaucracy, capitalism and the Catholic Church. At the head of the administration was the Governor-General, who was responsible to the Belgian Minister-in-Charge of Congo Affairs. He had no advisory body at all until the Belgians began unsuccessfully to grapple with the Wind of Change. The administration was based on provincial governors, Belgian district-commissioners who kept every element of rule under their finger-tips, the Belgian police and the army with local recruits, commanded by Belgian officers. The tribal societies were allowed to flourish. There was no election at any level. The first ever elections on municipal level were held only three years ago.

The Roman Catholic Church owed its terrific power to a number of factors. Belgium itself is predominantly Catholic and the Catholic missionaries played an important part in the consolidation of political power in the Congo.

\**African Awakening* by Basil Davidson, London, 1955, p. 160.

\**The Death of Africa* by Peter Ritner, New York, 1960. p. 123.

They controlled almost the entire field of education and until very recently there was not a single state school for Africans in the Congo. Of the total number of schools (26,540), 80 per cent are Catholic. In the matter of religion, Belgium shared the wisdom of Catholic Portugal. The Organic Charter of the Portugues Colonial Empire states, "Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilization and national influence."

In 1957, the Belgian Parliament by legislation conferred on the Catholic Church in the Congo the same status as it enjoyed in the various European countries.

The biggest pillar of the imperial structure was big-business. The government and economy of the Congo was welded in a manner which, in an entirely different context, can be found only in a communist country. Gunther describes the structure in the Congo as representing the highest development of state capitalism. But this is somewhat wishful. In reality capitalism exercised much greater power over the state than did the state over big-business. Five enormous holding companies control more than 70 per cent of all business in the Congo. This in itself is probably the greatest concentration of economic power in the modern world. In all five the Belgian Government holds a powerful interest ranging up to 50 per cent.

The total Belgian investment in the Congo is estimated at £2,450 million.

The London weekly newspaper, *The Observer*, gave an account of the intricate ramifications of Congo big-business in its issue of July 10, 1960. The Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, which is known as the 'mining octopus' in the Congo, was valued in 1955 at more than £700 million. It was responsible for one-third of the Congo's budget. It produces eight per cent of the world's copper, seventy-five per cent of its cobalt, plus tin, zinc, coal, radium and, of course, uranium. But the U.M.H.K. "is in a sense only a component of the even mightier financial empire of the *Societe Generale de Belgique*." The royal family in Brussels is closely connected with it. It is immensely powerful in Belgium where it owns the refineries near Antwerp, which smelt the Congo ores. It also owns the largest steel works in Belgium, coal-mines, the two biggest insurance companies, land, every kind of wealth.

"In Belgium the *Generale* shares power with a rival house, the *Brufina* Group, associated with the *Banque de Bruxelles*. In the Congo it is practically supreme. Apart from its mining interests it has forests, textile mills, city apartments and factories of every kind. It used to be said that a ship could wait for days to be unloaded at Matadi if it wasn't flying the flag of one of the *Generale's* lines. Until 1952 there was no central bank in the Congo; the *Generale* issued the currency—through a subsidiary of course."

British and American capital is interlinked with Belgian capital, although British interests dropped in recent years, while American interests went up.

The state plus the capitalists—the men who run the Congo—are the same men. At home, Belgium herself is run by one of the smallest, the most conservative oligarchies that still operates in the world. "Government offices, the Army, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, the upper reaches of society, the Court, the financiers of Antwerp and Brussels—they are all the same people formed into a club within whose precincts outsiders are rarely seen. The economic department of this club is a vast trust, the *Societe Generale de Belgique*—a modern fiscal giant with the mentality of a medieval craftsman—which reigns supreme over the economic life of the little country . . . . And it is only natural that this entrenched and immensely wealthy fraternity should protect its grip on the Congo as well as on Belgium. The political oligarchy and the *Societe Generale*—acting through its subsidiaries on the spot—boss the huge colony with a wonderful patriarchal absolutism which is right out of another age."\*

Internal peace and order was maintained by the Army known as the Force Publique. It was this army which rose in mutiny as soon as the Belgians parted with political power, and attacked Europeans in towns both in Uupper and Lower Congo. The alleged atrocities of Congolese soldiers made shrieking headlines in newspapers all over the world. But how did the Belgians build the Force Publique?

The *Time* magazine, which has been frankly pro-Belgium throughout the Congo trouble, said in its issue dated July 25:

\**The Death of Africa*, Peter Ritner, New York, 1960, p. 130.

"When the Congo was his private 19th century domain, Leopold drained it of wealth by measures of repression and brutality that shocked the world at the turn of the century. The Force Publique had been the King's method of keeping the natives in check. Its troops were literally whipped into shape. Those who survived became efficient, if robot, soldiers who were trained to snap to attention and salute any passing white man. Because there were never enough 'volunteers' for the low pay and hard discipline of the soldier's life, village authorities fell into the habit of appointing local trouble-makers as candidates for the Army. The Belgians always sent soldiers belonging to one tribe into the territory of other tribes so that there would be little fraternization with the population. The soldiers learned that the best way to pacify people was to treat them roughly. Last week part of the Congo's trouble was that the troops had learnt that lesson too well."

The Belgians had built an army to meet the requirements of their colonial rule. They had inculcated into the army subhuman values which, in an altered situation, recoiled upon them. Basil Davidson, in an article in the *New Statesman* on July 23, 1960, explained the reasons of the mutiny:

—:O:—

"Why did the Force Publique mutiny? With one or two honourable exceptions . . . the newspaper reporting from the Congo or from countries around the Congo has been appallingly bad; and it will be long before the full story can be pieced together. But the main lines nonetheless emerge. The Force Publique, it is well to recall, differed from all other African armies in two respects: It was much bigger than any other, but it possessed not a single African officer. Worse, its Belgian officers had no tradition of fighting comradeship with their African other ranks; and the relations of sympathy and pride between officers and men that have generally existed in the British-India or French-African regiments were almost completely lacking. We can now see indeed that the other ranks resented and even hated their officers; for the indubitable atrocities in the Congo these last few days . . . were mostly in African soldiers' resentment against their Belgian officers and wives. The accent even there seems not to have been on cruelty, but on humiliation. These soldiers, it would appear, wished to 'get their own back'. For an army trained for rough tactics against unarmed civilians, and deliberately kept free of any national or political loyalty—being, that is, the next remove to a gang of thugs—they got their own back after the manner of thugs. In doing so, they dragged the Congo into frantic chaos."

## SCHOOL BEGINS ON THE HIGH SEAS

Most students preparing to cross the Pacific to study in another country have mixed feelings about the coming adventure. Their joy and excitement often is tempered with timidity and concern.

What will the strange country be like? What are the customs? Will there be difficulty conversing in the language and understanding the people?

For the hundreds of students travelling to and from Asia each summer on the American President Lines (APL), these doubts are answered before the ship reaches port. A shipboard orientation pro-

gram, now in its fifth year, helps to prepare travelling students for the new environment that awaits them.

The unique program started as a modest experiment designed to introduce the American way of life and educational system to Asian students on their way to American colleges and universities. It is extended now to outbound voyages from the United States, to help American students and travellers going to Asia.

The informal "floating classroom" is conducted aboard the APL's S.S. President Cleveland and the S.S. President Wilson.



on their summer sailings between San Francisco and Asia. Directed by the Institute of International Education, the shipboard orientation programs are conducted



Aboard the S.S. President Cleveland enroute to United States, Keith Torney discussing college examination systems in the United States

by two teams of directors chosen for their experience in educational leadership and their knowledge of Asia and America. They are assisted by members of the ships' staff and qualified Asian and American passengers.

More than 2,500 persons have participated to date, and some 100 passengers have voluntarily contributed their technical or scholarly knowledge to the classes and discussions.

The orientation program is available to both Economy Tourist Class and First Class passengers, and it gets underway immediately after the ship's departure. The students participate in discussion programs during the morning hours and the afternoon sessions are devoted to social gatherings. The sessions supplement such usual shipboard activities as sports, entertainment programs and social events.

In the case of Asian students sailing to America, discussion topics center on political, economic and educational life in the United States. The students discuss any phase of the topic they wish, ask questions, and have the kind of friendly and lively exchange of views that break down any barriers to understanding.

There are lectures on American history, customs and cultures, and motion pictures, color slides, books and maps help to make the lecture material interesting and memorable. Sometimes there are American passengers aboard ship who are leaders in the arts, education or government, and they are generous in sharing their knowledge and experience with the students.

Afternoon orientation social sessions are devoted primarily to comparative



A group of American college students crossing the Pacific for study in Asia

studies of Asian and American customs and etiquette. The students learn something about American art, theatre, religions and social customs, and they often have informal dancing classes.

Other discussion meetings aboard ship cover immigration and customs problems, college procedures, housing, employment, transportation and other topics important to students visiting America. Private counselling is available to students who desire it, and language classes help the students to gain greater facility in speaking and understanding English.

For Americans travelling to Asia the program is in reverse. They learn about the customs, histories, governments and cultures of different Asian nations and often have an opportunity to study languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog or Thai. Some of the leadership is given by the orientation directors, and volunteers from among Asian passengers and bi-lingual crew members are invited to help with language classes.

Many American students travel or study in Asia during their summer vacation from college, and they have found the orientation program of great benefit as they begin their trip. Adults on a pleasure trip also learn much about the people and countries they will visit in Asia, and often they hear about places to visit that the ordinary tourist never would discover.

Most of the Asian students who have participated in the orientation program are enthusiastic about it and urge that it be continued to benefit other students who will follow them. They report that it contributes immensely to international understanding, and, on a personal level, helps students to approach their educational goals with greater ease and confidence.—USIS.

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## FOOD AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE FROM FISH

Along the 3500-mile coastline of India, a million fishermen ply their crafts day and night to bring in two-thirds of the country's capture of fish.

With an annual output of over a million tons, India stands seventh among the major fish producing countries of the world.

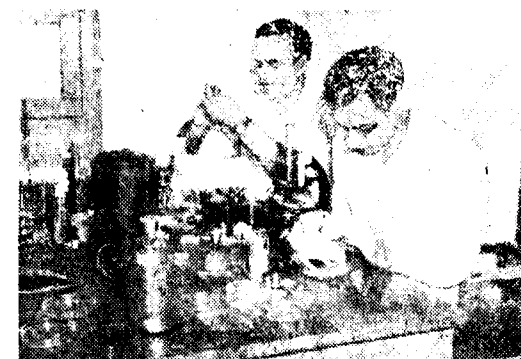
It has been recognised that with a vast stretch of coastline, an extensive river system, a large network of irrigation canals, reservoirs, tanks and the like, the development of fisheries on a planned basis would go a long way in making up the gap in our food production, besides fetching valuable foreign exchange.

The sea fishery resources comprise a large variety of fish, the most important ones being sardine, mackerel, prawn, pomfrets and Indian solomon.

### Mechanisation

Generally, the fishermen with their indigenous craft and gear, exploit grounds in the sea mostly near the coast. Trained fishermen are now induced to take to mechanised boats by provision of subsidies and loans so that with these fast-moving vessels, the fishermen can explore the sea farther from the shore. The catch will also be considerably larger.

Mechanisation of fishing craft has made appreciable progress in the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala, Mysore and Madras and programmes for mechanisation have also been taken in hand in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.



Testing fish in Laboratory

About 850 boats have been mechanised since the beginning of the Second Plan. Training in the use and maintenance of mechanised boats is being provided at nine centres in different States. During the Third Plan, the programme of mechanisation is being expanded and it is proposed to mechanise 4,004 boats.

The Indo-Norwegian fisheries project, aided by the Government of Norway, has done substantial work in Kerala since 1952 in the field of designing and supplying of new types of boats, fishing on pilot basis in off-shore seas and organising the fishing community of the area to market their catches more profitably through a systematic sales organization.



Jamuna Canal near Okhla made a fishery tank

The Government of Norway is expected to continue the project and extend it to other maritime States such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Madras, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

Development of fishing harbours and berthing facilities will be taken up in the Third Plan. The provision of refrigerator rail cars and insulated road trucks for the transport of fish over long distances has been included in the programme.

#### Research Stations

After Independence, fisheries development has received an impetus. A number of research stations have been set up. The Central Marine Fisheries Research Station at Mandapam in Madras, the Central Inland Fisheries Research Station at Calcutta and the Central Deep Sea Fishing Station at Bombay are among the important centres.

The last-named Station has been conducting exploratory surveys some time to map out areas suitable for commercial exploitation. The surveys have made it possible for exploitation to be taken up on a commercial scale.

In recent years, there have been a great demand for quality fish-seed for fish culture. Emphasis is being laid for supply of such seeds, from natural resources and by artificial inducement with hormone treatment.

Considerable scope exists in India for the development of inland fisheries. India to-day is one of the foremost countries in inland pisciculture practices. Inland fish culture has a peculiar significance in the economy of Asian countries, where large number of tanks, ponds and other impounded waters exist.

Surveys to determine the extent of culturable waters and for locating fish-seeds, have been undertaken in many States. Collection of fry and fingerling have met with considerable success in West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, Andhra Pradesh and Madras.

Fish-farming has been encouraged to improve the food resources of the village population. Large areas of inland waters are being used for fish-farming, the average yield being about 800 lbs. per acre.

Fishermen are becoming conscious of the advantage of research in fisheries, which the Government are fostering. Research workers at Barrackpur near Calcutta, have been constantly working to step up production from inland fisheries, which accounts for a third of the country's production. Capture and culture—these are the two most important words in the terminology of these workers.

#### Exports

In 1959, India exported fish and fish products worth about Rs. 6 crores and several measures have been taken to step up this figure.

There is a good demand for some Indian fishery products in a number of foreign countries. Dried prawn, for example is mainly imported by Burma, Ceylon receives much of our dried, salted and unsalted fish.

A remunerative market has also developed in the U.S.A. for frozen prawns. This industry is concentrated mostly in Trivandrum, Cochin and Kozhikode in Kerala, Mangalore in Mysore and in Bombay. This is packed in cartons and transported in refrigerated holds of ships mainly to the U.S.A. and Canada.—*P.I.B.*

## LITERACY THROUGH COMMUNITY PROJECTS

By SHAMSUDDIN, M.A., B.T., M.ED.

During 1937-38, efforts in the field of eliminating illiteracy in India, were made, to a certain extent, when Popular Ministries were formed in the Provinces for a brief period. When the National Government was formed in 1946, Educationists endeavoured to develop programmes in this field, which would express the new National aspirations. In 1948, it was given the name of "Social Education" which is a broader concept of "Adult Education". Since then the emphasis has not been only on literacy but also on a better standard of living. In 1952 the scheme of 'Community Projects' infused fresh enthusiasm among social educationists.

|                              |       |
|------------------------------|-------|
| (v) Literacy in Urban Areas  | 34.6% |
| (vi) Literacy in Rural Areas | 12.1% |

If India wants to keep pace with the advancement of the modern world, the raising of the general standard of living everywhere and achievement of total literacy are most essential. This was the sole aim of the Adult Education movement in the country prior to 1948. The Social Education movement too inherits the same aims and is endeavouring to deepen its significance.

#### Community Projects

Before the Community Projects commenced working, there were about 40,000 classes in India imparting literacy to nearly 400,000 people annually. By the beginning of 1956, the community project organisation had established 75,000 literacy classes with an enrolment of over 6,00,000. This is a good contribution towards the liquidation of illiteracy. Yet we have to admit that the present literacy effort in the country is inadequate in the face of the challenge presented by the mass illiteracy and hence needs greater momentum.

Sometimes literacy classes develop into follow-up groups and these into community centres which provide a meeting place for the community. By this means it is hoped that the community may develop an *esprit de corps*. The community centres in India have various programmes, most of which are taken up by the State Education Department. By the beginning of 1956, 63,000 community centres were established in about 800 Development blocks throughout the country. These community centres organised 169,000 programmes, mostly recreational. The organisation of the community centres is encouraged by the Ministry of Education. During the First Five-Year Plan 454 schools were started to function as school-cum-community centres and 160 model community centres were actually set up.

#### Social Education

Social Education aims at promoting social harmony and strengthening social solidarity among people. Social harmony and social solidarity are things of value, and they help towards the achievement of larger national ends. The social harmony aimed at by social education is thus a part of the dynamic social movement in India. It makes people conscious of the significance of the country's Five-Year Plans and entices them to participate in it. It also serves as a bridge between centres of research and the homes and hamlets where the common people live. It helps to bring to the people the benefits of the new knowledge. It helps people to understand and gain knowledge of the basic essentials of a healthy life, civic education etc.

As a large part of Indian population is illiterate, literacy has become one of the most important programmes of social education. The following figures present a fairly good picture of literacy in India :

|                                                                 |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| (i) Percentage of literacy in 1951 (the latest census year)     | 16.6% |
| (ii) Percentage of literacy of children (below 10 are excluded) | 20 %  |
| (iii) Literacy among men                                        | 24.9% |
| (iv) Literacy among women                                       | 7.9%  |

### *Youth Clubs and Libraries*

Youth Clubs have been formed and are inspired with a deep social educative spirit inasmuch as they teach youths new ways of group life. They undertake the responsibility of protecting the village against undesirable outside influence. They are also responsible for agricultural projects.

As a follow-up of literacy classes for the education of the masses, libraries have a place of importance. No doubt, for the present, the library service in the country is in its infancy. There are hardly 32,000 libraries throughout the whole country and these too are not well-furnished and have a considerable portion of trash. In short, there is hardly one book for every 50 of our people and only 10 of them are estimated to have read only one book in a whole year.

In order to knit them together the Government of India has established District and Central State Libraries to serve the towns and villages in their respective areas. During the First Five-Year Plan out of a total of 320 districts in India, about 100 were equipped with libraries. It is hoped that every district in India will have its own library by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

### *Radio and Films*

All India Radio plays an important role to eradicate illiteracy in India. 22 stations throughout the country broadcast programmes for women, children, farmers and villagers in almost all Indian languages and in English too. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have set up nearly 20,000 community sets all over the country by sharing the expenditure on the radio sets with State Governments.

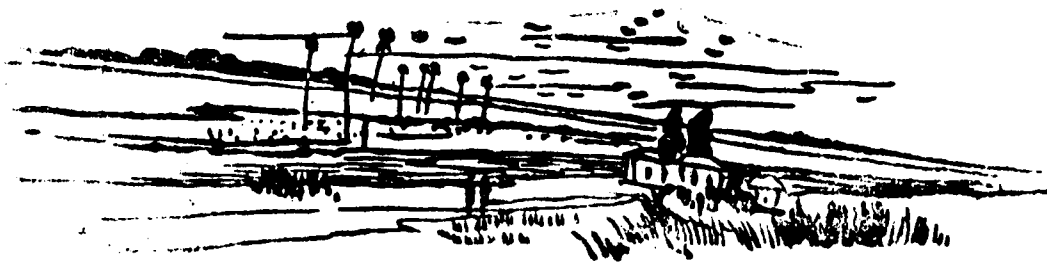
Exhibitions and Film shows have also played an important part in eradicating illiteracy from the country. Uptill March, 1956, the community projects in different states had distributed 20

fully equipped mobile cinema vans, 335 fully equipped trailers and 208 magic lanterns and film-strip projectors. Some states have good audio-visual departments to support their programmes of visual education.

As regards personnel for the work, there are the local voluntary workers in villages, towns and cities of India, who devote a part of their time to work out one or the other aspect of social education for eradicating illiteracy, creditable to say, during leisure hours and without any remuneration. By the beginning of 1956, 11,325 Village Level Workers were on the job in the country.

In fact it is the Social Education Organiser who is now the backbone of the social education personnel of the country. State Education Departments also organise short courses for the training of literacy teachers. Recently, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation, a scheme was worked out to train 42,000 teachers in the course of the next Five Years for a comprehensive course. The Government of India have also been sponsoring literacy workshops since 1953, for the training of authors for producing reading materials for neo-literates. Each workshop trains about 20 to 25 authors within the period of a month. Besides learning the techniques of writing for neo-literates the authors are also expected to produce some reading material during the period of training in the workshops.

In brief, the movement has certainly some ideals before it but ideals cannot be measured in terms of Mathematics, yet people can realise them only in terms of their striving and capacity. Thus it can be said with certainty that the community projects have brought a sense of purpose and joy to the lives of the people in villages and that social education has played a satisfactory role. If the villagers of India, to-day, are buzzing with greater activity than ever before, credit for this, to a great extent, should go to the social education movement.



By PRINCIPAL P. C. MALHOTRA

By PRINCIPAL P. C. MALHOTRA

The total investment envisaged in the draft outline of the Third Plan is Rs. 10,200 crores at 1958-59 prices and 9,000 crores at 1952-53 price level. To raise the national income to about Rs. 22,000 crores by the end of the 4th Plan and to about Rs. 30,000 crores by the end of the 5th Plan, it will be necessary to provide for a net investment of the order of Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 16,000 crores in the 4th Plan and Rs. 21,000 to Rs. 22,000 crores in the 5th Plan. The dimensions of the problem arising out of instability of prices would be of a serious nature calling for increasing taxation, more borrowing foreign or internal, deficit financing at a time when these must already be taut and on high tension. Rising prices create the problem of rising costs of living and the race between the two becomes an endless one. Also rising prices lead to rising costs of production. As the costs of production rise, exports would tend to be discouraged. This would give rise to another difficult

While looking for 'Holding the price line' the usual course has been to take 1939 as the year of our comparison. But to think in terms of 1939 price level would be a self-deception. The Vardacharia Commission (First Pay Commission) reporting in May, 1947, hoped that the cost of living index might stabilise between 185-200 taking 1939 as 100. This expectation proved to be false. In 1952, the Dearness Allowance Committee assumed that the cost of living index would not fall below the range 265-284. But the consumer price index for the year 1958 was 414. If the index of wholesale prices in 1952-53 is taken as 100, the index of price level rose to 112.1 in 1958-59 and by the end of 1959-60 it stood at 118.6. A stabilisation at about 120 index of price level may be aimed at.

Can this be done? The explanation of the recent increase in the price level lies, said the J. N. Das Committee (2nd Pay Commission) Report 1957-59, "In the continuing gap between investments and genuine savings and in the fact that production, particularly of food-grains and other consumer goods, has been lagging behind the increase in demand. In a sense, rise in prices performs a necessary economic function of bringing about a balance between the current output of consumer goods and the claims made on it, by reducing the 'real' size of these monetary claims; and unless the gap between investment and genuine savings is reduced by a reduction in investment or through an increase in productivity and savings we feel that the tendency will be for the price level to rise, the extent of rise depending



upon the magnitude of the gap in resources."

Reduction in investments is not possible as that would slow down the economic growth. The challenge of our democratic Welfare State would not permit this. If anything, the technique would be to even step up investment in the Third and subsequent Plans so that the economy quickly reaches the stage of self-generating economic development. The strategy of our investments, therefore, is of crucial importance now. The criterion of a good strategy would be productivity. We must need now to think in terms of more productive rather than less productive investments, the perspective of input of investment and the output of returns has, therefore, to be clearly and constantly kept before our eyes. In fact, it would only be in a limited sphere that a conflict between the productivity aspect and the employment aspect would be involved. These spheres of conflict have to be clearly demarcated and the decision taken consciously. Employment is an important aspect of the plan. But if we are preparing the economy of the country for the 'self-generating' or 'take-off' stage, productivity has to be given first priority and it is expected that the benefit of increased employment would subsequently flow from increased per capita national income. The time-lag between increased productivity and increased employment has to be suitably covered and that is the challenge for which a democratic society has to prepare itself and its citizens. This is a hard task, but has to be performed.

#### Investment Policy Commission

Before the new Governments are formed after the next elections, the country must have before it a review of the lines of investments made in the two Five-Year Plans, the principles that should guide investments in the Third Five-Year Plan and an assessment of the manner in which Public Expenditure has been incurred during the Plans. This work should be entrusted to a Commission composed of

experts and public men whose recommendations would guide the new Governments and whose authoritative opinions would create a proper atmosphere of opinion about the correct rationale of investments. A constant eye has to be kept on 'Waste' which means either disregard of the minimum amounts of expenditure which make particular objects of expenditure effective, so that the range is too wide, or that the returns on effective expenditure are not equivalent at the margins of outlay. The bedrock of the problem in these days is that it is the policy of the Governments upon which the expenditure has to be founded. But another bedrock on which policy may get foundered is finance or available resources for carrying out that policy. Mr. C. Northcote Parkinson caught our imagination when he gave his first Parkinson's Law, "Administrators multiply". He has now given his second Parkinson's Law which says: "Expenditure rises to meet income". When funds are limitless or supposed to be limitless, the only economy made is in thinking, and tax money can be wasted in good causes as well as bad ones and few people have either the time or the courage to protest against wasteful expenditures, believing perhaps, that the tiny voice would be drowned in the noisy atmosphere of spree created by expanding expenditure. Mr. Parkinson's suggestion deserves a consideration. He says: "We need to reverse the whole process of Government finance. Ministers should not begin by ascertaining what the departments need. They should begin by asking what the country can afford to spend. . . ."

#### The Real Problem

In the First Five-Year Plan Report it has been stated that a doubling of per capita incomes within a generation or so required, in most of these countries, a rate of net investment of the order of 12 to 13 per cent of the national income. More rapid rates of development have required; still higher rates of investment in the U.S.S.R. In under-developed countries with low standards of living and rapidly increasing

population, rate of growth commensurate with needs cannot be achieved until rate of capital formation comes up to around 20 per cent of the national income. The question we have, therefore, to answer is not whether a high rate of investment can be aimed at but under what conditions and in what stages it could be attained. The primary condition for attaining high rate of investment obviously is to save more and more for investment out of more and more of production. The other conditions to help the creation of the primary condition are ancillary.

#### Reversing The Bias For Spending

Japan was able to show a high rate of investment out of its own savings for purposes of development. The psychology of the people towards saving and the institutional factors are important in the matter of saving. It has been observed that "the Japanese capitalists spend very little on personal consumption, that the rural population and urban working population are exceptionally thrifty and, indeed, the wage-earners themselves save a substantial proportion of incomes". Rising prices tended to enforce rates of savings which would otherwise not be possible.

India has a tradition of simple living, but in recent years, the desire of far better living has swept the country. Emphasis on rising standard of living, and on a minimum standard of living as a citizen's right has changed the attitude of the people towards spending. Ways of public spending based on borrowing and created money seem to be copied in private spending also. This new bias for spending has to be restrained. Our Prime Minister has raised a new slogan "Work to-day, Profit tomorrow". If the workers or producers are assured that "tomorrow" when they can enjoy profits is a "definite date" and not tomorrow which is always receding, the slogan should work. Public expenditure has to show the trail in the matter of economical expenditure. Conspicuous consumption, that is expenditure which costs more to serve the purpose of demonstration and gives less in the form

of utility, has to be avoided in public expenditure and by persons occupying public offices. A probe into the distribution of national income by the proposed expert commission would give an indication for casting the net for floating loans and the imposition of taxes for collecting revenue and restricting consumption.

#### The Objectives and Instruments

The objectives of our policy of holding the price line may now be indicated. These should be, firstly, to prevent a further rise in the present price level; secondly, to maintain the parities between sectional prices, such as those of food grains, raw materials and manufactured articles; thirdly, to provide the right measure of incentive for producers on these lines. Price variation of the temporal (over-time), regional (over-space) and sectoral (of groups of commodities) have to be kept under control.

The instruments required for holding the price line may now be studied. The phenomenon of price variation is connected with the quantity of money and credit in circulation, the magnitudes of deficit financing and development expenditure. Dear money policy needs to be supplemented by selective credit control for preventing abnormal fluctuations in prices of particular essential commodities like foodgrains. Export and Import quotas and duties can be manipulated with a view to regulating the price of important commodities having a bearing on food prices which are exported or imported on a considerable scale. Other fixed instruments that can influence consumption and production patterns of commodities in desired direction are excise duties and subsidies. A disinflationary fiscal policy has been adopted in the Third Five-Year Plan. Taxation is expected to yield Rs. 1,650 crores in the Third Five-Year Plan as against Rs. 1,000 crores in the Second Plan, balance of revenues are estimated at Rs. 350 crores in the Third Five-Year Plan as against Rs. 100 crores in the Second Plan; loans from public are estimated at Rs. 850

crores in the Third Plan as against Rs. 800 crores in the Second Plan; small saving is expected to give Rs. 550 crores in the Third Plan as against 380 crores in the Second Plan and provident fund, betterment levies, etc., are estimated to yield Rs. 510 crores in the Third Plan as against Rs. 213 crores in the Second Plan.

Any attempt at holding the price line must first take care of the price of food articles and of cloth. The solution of the food problem according to the last Food Grains Enquiry Committee lies between complete free trade and full control. Rapid changes in the behaviour of the farmers in the form of holding more stocks, either for consumption or for deferred sales, has made the food distribution problem also of some significance in addition to its being a problem of increased production.

The main characteristic of a rational system of price stabilisation is to avoid both complete *laissez faire* and rigid control by allowing trade to function on a competitive basis within certain broad limits on the one hand and on the other to regulate it by suitable countervailing action, over-all as well as selective by public authority.

The country has to aim at self-sufficiency in food and cloth by increasing its output through longer hours of work, utilisation of excess capacity in plants and projects and greater technical efficiency. Excess capacity, for instance is estimated at 35 per cent in the major and minor irrigation works, of a lesser order in the power

projects and at an average of 40 to 50 per cent in some forty industries.

The importance of Price Stabilisation is so great that it cannot be left to chance. Price Stabilisation is going to be a regular problem, under our plan. Hence a "Price Stabilisation Board" as recommended by the Food Grains Enquiry Committee is called for. This Board should be composed of representatives of the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Finance, Commerce and Industry and Railways, Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank of India. It is only a high level authority as proposed above that will be able to deal effectively with the problem of price stabilisation. The Price Stabilisation Board must have relevant statistics and also relative intelligence for which an organisation like the Prices Intelligence Division may be built up.

The necessity of exercising selective controls on credit, on investment, on expenditure, on consumption, is felt in the context of price stabilisation. But when a nation has girdled its loins to achieve its targets of the Plans, all these controls would work well only if there is fullest co-operation of the public in this task based on self control in the matter of consumption and purchases. Produce more or get frustrated and perish is now the challenge before the country and holding the price line would be concerned with looking after the floor, the ceiling, I should say gradually moving ceiling and avoiding epicentric fluctuations in prices.



## STRIKE IN PUBLIC SERVICE

By T. K. JAYARAMAN

Should the strikes in public service be banned? Before answering this question one should clearly understand the nature, causes and consequences of strikes both in public employment and private employment. In the case of private employment, history and experience show the right to strike as a cherished one—as an instrument of social emancipation of labour and political consciousness. It is because of the relationship between the employer and employees in private employment where profit maximisation is the only motivating factor. The public service, as could be seen, is totally different from private employment because of the absence of profit motive. As regards the causes of strikes, the discontent would originate from almost the same sort of situations: the disparity between a stationary wage level and the rising cost of living index, the working conditions with reference to hours of labour, etc. But the essential difference lies in the character of the consequences of the strikes.

Having distinguished public service from private employment, the graver consequences of strikes in public employment may be studied in detail. Today with a view to fulfilling the welfare ideals, the State has stepped into various fields apart from general administration, e.g., industry, trade and commerce and public utilities. Secondly, the Indian economy, which is today in a developing stage with the operation of the Five-Year Plans, is of a complex nature. Therefore, any serious interference with normal work in the governmental field, which is ever increasing, will have far-reaching effects. Moreover, serious interruption of government's administrative functions will jeopardise public confidence in a democratic structure. The opinion that strike is inconsistent with public employment can be seen in a letter written by President Roosevelt of the U.S.A. to the Chairman of the National Federation of Federal Employees in that country:

"Since their own services have to do with the functioning of Government, a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than

an intent on them to prevent or obstruct the operation of Government until their demands are satisfied. Such action looking forward toward the paralysis of Government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable".

The Second Pay Commission in this country viewed the problem in the same way with added stress on the prevailing conditions of unrest in other sectors of the society:

"We are definitely of the view that it is wrong that public servants should resort to strike or threaten to do so; and that persons entrusted with the responsibility for operating services essential to the life of the community should seek to disorganise and interrupt those services in order to promote their own interests. Apart from these moral aspects, there is little doubt that in Indian conditions in which there is often a possibility of eruption of indiscipline in an ugly form in one section of a community or another, a strike or even demonstration by Government servants cannot but be a factor making for indiscipline generally".<sup>1</sup>

By entering public service, the public servants have to sacrifice a part of the rights ordinarily enjoyed by a citizen, to protect the liberties of the larger public. However the degree of abridgment depends on the quality of the service each renders to the community.

If freedom of action of public employees is to be restricted, the State should also accept restrictions on itself as employer. This has been widely recognised in all modern democratic States, in Governments being willing to accept employee organisation and representation. Moreover, there has always been a firm realisation on the part of every public employees' union, especi-

1. Second Pay Commission's Report, 1959, chapter on "Rights of Association".

ally in the western countries, that strike is incompatible with public service. It is because of this prevailing atmosphere in the west, more so in the U.K., there is no legislative prohibition though there may be administrative prohibitions of strikes. The administrative prohibitions are in the form of conduct rules and regulations which always place a government servant in a weak bargaining position. For example, provisions regarding superannuation require the Treasury's clean chit about the behaviour of the government servant to enjoy his pension on retirement. The pensionary benefit "is not a legal right and no claim for it would be enforced by a legal proceeding". Only on the production of a certificate signed by the head of the department that he had served with diligence and fidelity, the claim becomes valid. Indeed the superannuation provisos render resort to strike impossible.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt the administrative bans have been effective checks on the employees. However, this alone does not explain the absence of prohibitive legislative measure banning strikes. Such a legislative measure will be thought unnecessary so long as there is an understanding between employees and government, as the following extract from the Report of Special Committee on Government: employer and employee relationships in the U.S.A. would show:

"It is the duty of the State to avoid unfavourable conditions of public employment and provide adequate machinery for the prevention and removal of employment problems at the source. But when the state fails in that duty, it still remains the obligation of public employees to limit the prevention of their case to peaceable methods . . . only with the continued understanding and acceptance of such obligations by public employees and officials will it remain unnecessary for the state to outlaw or prohibit employee action interfering with public services".

The above extract also draws attention to the need for adequate machinery, for resolving disputes regarding the condition of work, etc., by

negotiation and conciliation. Here the possibilities of setting up a machinery like National Whitley Council with its regional and departmental branches can be looked into. Such a programme involves the organisation of workers and their representation by persons of their own choice. Only the establishment of such machinery with the willingness on the part of government to listen to and negotiate with the employees, would pave the way to a positive understanding and better relations between Government and employees. Then and then only prohibition of strikes by legislation will have any justification. This point is stressed by an eminent authority in the following lines: (The first quotation is addressed to the employees.)

"If the demands of civil servants are given ample constitutional channels in which to find their vent and satisfaction when found to be just, the strike must be relinquished as a means of forcing the State to surrender". (Herman Finev)<sup>3</sup>

Having underlined the necessity of abandonment of strike by public servants once the constitutional means are provided, Dr. Finev now addresses the Government:

"The strikes of public employees should be prohibited provided explicit methods of negotiating settlements of their disputes are established".<sup>4</sup>

However, it must be understood that the foundation of the argument in favour of anti-strike laws is not merely the sovereign character of Government but it is the urgency and the necessity of administrative operations in all fields and by all kinds of public servants, industrial and non-industrial. This point is succinctly expressed by late Prof. Leonard D. White:

"Whether by persons employed by Government, by a government corporation, by a public trustee, by a mixed enterprise,

3. Herman Finev, *British Civil Service*, p. 211.

4. Herman Finev, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, p. 1422.

by a private corporation affected with a public interest . . . A strike that would bring direct, immediate, certain and serious danger to a primary interest of the community should be prohibited by law, with adequate sanctions, but also with adequate means to secure public consideration and solution of the issues involved. The criterion of distinction is, therefore, the consequence of a strike upon the public interest, not the status of the employer".<sup>5</sup>

Prof. White pleads for a constructive public policy to prevent strikes by eliminating their causes. The principal elements of such a policy, apart from the provision of adequate machinery, as mentioned above, in which both employees and the management have confidence to deal with employees' grievances, would include the following:

- (1) Maintenance of equitable conditions of employment comparable to those prevailing in progressive private industry.
- (2) Full disclosure by management of the terms and conditions, and obligations, of employment in the public service.
- (3) Recognition of the right of employees to organise and to meet with appropriate public authorities for collective representation and negotiation on conditions of employment.

Proper recognition of the above will require a positive leadership on the part of chief per-

sonnel agency to guide the application of personnel policy. In fact as an author pointed out "the threat of a strike is a symptom of a seriously defective personnel system".<sup>6</sup>

The recent strike by government employees in this country has necessitated some serious thinking on the subject. The Government is contemplating to set up a machinery on the lines of Whitley Council in U.K. and also to declare strikes in essential services illegal. One of the main influencing forces is the law in the U.S.A. which provides "that no person shall hold office or accept employment in the Government of U.S. or any agency thereof, including wholly owned Government Corporations, who participates in any strike or asserts the right to strike against Government of U.S. or such agency or is a member of any organisation of Government employees that asserts the right to such strike". All said and done, the government has a responsibility towards its employees, for as Fredrich and Cole said:

"We feel that any Government that would allow conditions in Government employ to reach such a pitch as to become intolerable to the worker involved would deserve to have a strike on hands and no law prohibiting strikes would prevent one under such circumstances in the same sense as prohibition of liquor did not prohibit".<sup>7</sup>

6. *A Study of the System of Personnel Administration of U.S. Government*, by Lewis Mavers, New York, 1922.

7. *Responsible Bureaucracy: A Study of Swiss Civil Service*, by Fredrich and Cole, Cambridge, 1932.

5. White, "Strikes in Public Service". *Public Personnel Review*, January, 1949, p. 6.



2. *Representative Bureaucracy*, by Donald Kingsely, Ohio, 1944.

## CHRISTIANITY THE RELIGION OF THE INCARNATION

By The Rev. CANON E. SAMBAYYA,  
Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta

THE Christian religion is often called the religion of the Incarnation, suggesting that the Incarnation of the Son of God is central to it. The phrase in the Nicene Creed "and was incarnate" forms the cornerstone of the Church's faith. In India perhaps it would have been more attractive as well as acceptable if we were to say that Jesus Christ is an *Avatara* of God. The concept of *Avatara* is not applied for the coming of God to man in Jesus Christ because the ideas of *Avatara* and of the Incarnation differ in certain important aspects. There are three ideas in the *Dasa-Avataras* which do not square with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation: (1) In each of the *Avataras* it is said that only a fraction of the essence of Vishnu appears in the human guise. Thus Ramchandra is said to represent only half of the essence of Vishnu while Krishna is regarded as the plenary incarnation of the deity. (2) The *Avataras* assume human as well as sub-human forms such as *Parasuram*, *Narasimha*, *kurma* and *Matsya*. (3) After a certain task has been completed the Vishnu resumes his original form.

### *Incarnation Once and Once Only*

The coming of God to men in Jesus Christ is at variance with the idea of *Avatara* in three important respects. The Christian faith does not pose repeated or plurality of *Avataras*. God became man once and once for all when he was born of Mary on the first Christmas Day. This event is of such importance for mankind that in the New Testament it is very elaborately and precisely authenticated. This took place when Caesar Augustus was the Roman Emperor, and Quirinius was the Governor of Syria. The birth of Jesus Christ was an event in history with such consequences that it became the turning point of history. At a particular time in history which the Apostle Paul would call "the fullness of time", God sent His Eternal Son to take to Himself our human nature in the Virgin Mary. Jesus Christ the Incarnate Son of God lived a truly human

life with all its limitations for some thirty or thirty-three years, and died a human death in the cause of love. Death could not hold down such a life. God raised Him from the tomb on Easter Day; and He returned to the presence of God with His sacred humanity, now glorified. There is no discontinuing of the Incarnation after He has broken the power of sin. Jesus now reigns with God with His glorified Manhood. There is no putting on and putting off, as it were, of human nature by the Son of God. God's Son becoming Man is an eternal fact with eternal consequences.

The life, death and exaltation of Christ (sometimes called "the Christ event") is best interpreted as God's self-communication. There is an inexhaustible longing in the heart of God to impart Himself to man who is made after His own image. All the time God is manifesting Himself to His children in diverse ways. But His fullest disclosure is through the category of personality. Nothing less would satisfy man. Men understand ideas and ideals best only when they are translated into human actions and attitudes. God chose to impart His love to men by pouring Himself into a human personality. God might have come to us in the form of an angel, but He chose human personality as the medium of revelation. In doing so He has shown once for all what man is always intended to be.

In coming to the rescue of man as man God did not leave a part of Himself in heaven and allow only a fraction of His self to assume human nature. The entire person of God is involved in the Incarnation. In Christian thought God is called the eternal Father and the archetype of all fatherhood. He is so called because by a timeless process (i.e., eternally) God imparts Himself to His Son and is eternally in the Son. Hence it is possible for us to say that Christ, the Son is a part of the consciousness of God. The Son is called "the Only-begotten" Son since He possesses the whole life of the Father. As the Son possesses the whole life of the Father the life of God can be manifested only in the Son. The Son of God is also called "the Word of God", i.e., the

whole of God expressed. When the Son of God assumed human nature and lived a human life, it is understood that the entire being of God became involved in the Incarnation. The Son of God is not a being in any way separable from the eternal Father, though He is distinct from Him. This is perhaps the humblest way of expressing what God has been pleased to reveal of Himself in Jesus Christ.

### *The Why of the Incarnation*

Why was the Son of God born as Man? The Creed says, "For us men and for our salvation (He) came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Virgin Mary . . . ." God became Man so that man might become partaker of the life of God. Our understanding of the purpose of the Incarnation is closely linked up with sin. Sin which is the corruption of the soul alienates us from God and destroys in us the capacity for loving God. The wages of sin is death. God, who is ever longing for the return of man to communion with Him does not desire the death of a sinner, rather He wishes that he should repent and live. Jesus Christ, through His life and more particularly through His sacrificial and atoning death on the Cross redressed the wrong in which man had become implicated and made it possible for him to get back his sonship. The Son of God came down from the bosom of the Eternal God, and, having become Man, showed us how man is meant to live, and at the same time, through His death, re-established our fellowship with God.

The why of the Incarnation is succinctly expressed in an ancient prayer: "O God, who hast given Thine only Son to be unto us *both a sacrifice for sin and also an example of godly life* . . ." That sin is expiated by sacrifice is a belief which is as old as man and is witnessed by the sacrificial system in every religion. The world's sin (against God) is expiated by the voluntary offering of Jesus Christ on the Cross as a representative of mankind. In the simple language of a well-known Christian hymn: "He died to make us good."

Jesus Christ the Incarnate Son of God is not only a sacrifice for sin, but also an example of godly life. His holy manhood is for us the pattern to live by. The two things that particularly strike anyone reading the Gospels are: (1) The Sonship of Jesus Christ and (2) His

trust in God as Heavenly Father. Jesus often referred to Himself as the Son and his sonship was evident in the complete dedication of His will to God. For Him loving God meant obeying His will in all things, even if that obedience meant drinking to the dregs the cup of suffering. Not even once did He set His will against the will of the Father. The other notable feature of His life was His Childlike trust in God manifested in His utter dependence on Him in all crises of His life. In all the temptations with which He was assailed there was not noticeable even a shade of distrust in God. In trusting God He was never saved from trials and sufferings. Out of the depths of the agony on the Cross He uttered the words of perfect trust "Father, into Thy hands I commit my spirit". His was truly an example of a godly life.

### *The Incarnation and Ourselves*

The Incarnation of the Son of God is an event of history. Though in a sense it is a past event, its significance embraces the present as well as the future. It is a historical event of eternal importance. God becoming man during the reign of Caesar Augustus concerns every man in every situation. Today we are seeing the tumult of nations. Like a giant stirring itself out of sleep, masses of men are waking from a deep slumber of dread. There are around us vast mass-movements with a quest for life—a higher standard of life and liberty. We see this all around us, in Africa and in the far eastern regions of Asia. Who dares give to these men a sense of direction?

This requires us to pay heed to two basic questions. What do men live by? And what do men live for?

The Incarnation has the answer. It is the still, small voice speaking into our situation: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him alone shalt thou serve". Man's natural propensity for worship ought to be directed to a worthy end. The holy and loving God should be constantly brought before man, so that by offering Him homage and adoration, he may find rest in his soul.

The Incarnate Life is a dependable source of the knowledge of God as the loving Father. We may not know God as He is in Himself, but



we do know Him as He is revealed in the life and teaching of Jesus. It is the worship of such a God that saves us from vexation and failure.

The Incarnation furnishes the answer for the other basic question. "What do men live by?" Here again we recall the words of Jesus: "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God". Bread is indeed necessary, but bread alone cannot take us very far. We do not serve men best if we provide them with bread without any reference to God, from whom the gift of bread comes. To teach man to live by bread alone is to instill superstition in him. The quest of

the nations who are on the march today, is at the bottom a search for, not a sort of biological existence, but for a wholeness of living. Life which is sound and satisfying is from God alone, and He imparts it to men not by measure.

To lead men to the spring of such eternal life constitutes the real uplift of the masses. But who can undertake such a task? The answer is with every man. Eternal Life is offered in a humble and unassuming way through an infant, born to a village maiden in an obscure corner of Bethlehem. As many as received Him, to them he gave the power to become the sons of God. The Incarnation of the Son of God concerns you and me. What thinkest thou of Christ?

—O—

DEVELOPING INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By G. N. MISRA, M.A.

The most striking feature of our economic life since we attained freedom, is our planned effort to harness natural resources in order to increase production and attain higher levels of living. The First Five-Year Plan aimed at "strengthening the economy at base, first by repairing the damage caused by war and the partition; secondly, by providing certain essential social and economic overheads which would make rapid development possible," whereas the Second Plan aimed at a "larger increase in production, in investment and in employment." The object of the present article is to assess the progress recorded by Industrial Production during the first two plans.

Iron and Steel

It is generally agreed that steel is the basis of large-scale industrialisation and an increase in steel production is a pre-requisite of industrial advancement. An attempt was made to formulate a long-term policy for steel even before the First Plan was launched. During 1945, Iron and Steel (Major) Panel was constituted by Planning and Development Department. The Panel recommended a target of 2.5 million tons to be achieved by 1955. The current requirement was estimated at 2

million tons. The Panel's recommendation was not acceptable to the Advisory Planning Board, the supreme planning body, because, in its opinion, the immediate requirement was only 1.5 million tons.

Another survey of steel demand was conducted by Government of India in 1954. The survey revealed that the country would require 6 million tons by 1960-61.

The First Five-Year Plan aimed at (i) expanding and modernising the TISCO for raising the production capacity to 9,31,000 tons of saleable steel (ii) expanding IISCO for raising the production of saleable steel and pig iron to 700,000 tons and 400,000 tons respectively.

The production of Mysore Iron and Steel Works was proposed to be stepped up to 100,000 tons of finished steel to be achieved before 1956.

The total production of steel ingots and metals for casting increased from 1437.6 thousand tons in 1950 to 1737.6 thousand tons in 1956. In the corresponding period, the production of finished steel rose from 1004.4 thousand tons to 1338.0 thousand tons. During the First Plan period the production of pig iron increased from 1708.8 thousand tons in 1951 to 1807.2 thousand tons in 1956.

During Second Five-Year Plan, special

emphasis was placed on the development of such industries as would make the economy self-sustaining, namely, steel and machine-building and the manufacture of producer goods. Among these, the expansion programme of iron and steel constituted the largest single item. The Second Five-Year Plan envisaged the construction of three steel plants of one million tons ingot capacity each in the public sector. The annual output of finished steel was proposed to be stepped up from 1.3 million tons to 4.6 million tons—2.3 million tons from the three steel works in the public sector and remaining 2.3 million tons from steel works in the private sector. As estimated in the Draft Third Five-Year Plan, the steel output likely to be achieved in 1960-1961, is 2.6 million tons. It is clear that the steel target fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan could not be achieved, due to (i) industrial unrest at Jamshedpur in 1958, which resulted in a time-loss of 3,19,033 man-days and production loss of about 19,000 tons of steel, (ii) lack of trained technical personnel, and (iii) lack of adequate raw materials.

|                                                           | Annual capacity (tons) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sindri Fertilisers & Chemicals, Ltd. (Bihar)           | 350,000                |
| 2. Fertilisers and Chemicals (Travancore), Ltd. (Kerala)  | 44,550                 |
| 3. Mysore Chemicals & Fertilisers, Ltd. (Mysore)          | 6,600                  |
| 4. Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd. (Bihar)                    | 16,500                 |
| 5. Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Burnpur (West Bengal) | 10,230                 |
| 6. Indian Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., Kulti, (West Bengal)    | 1,650                  |
| 7. Burrakur Coal Co., Ltd. (Bihar)                        | 1,320                  |
| 8. Bararee Coke Co., Ltd. (Bihar)                         | 1,155                  |
| Total                                                     | 432,005                |

Chemical Industry

(Source : Capital, 23rd June, 1960)

Fertilisers

The output of ammonium sulphate has increased from 319,620 tons in 1953 to 432,005 tons in 1956.

The schemes for new capacities of nitrogenous fertilisers were implemented in the following factories in 1958 :

| Name of the Factory                             | Capacity in tons of Nitrogen a year |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1)                                             | (2)                                 |
| 1. Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals, Ltd.       | 47,000                              |
| 2. Fertilisers and Chemicals (Travancore), Ltd. | 10,000                              |
| 3. Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd.              | 6,000                               |
| 4. Nangal Fertilisers                           | 80,000                              |
| 5. Rourkela Fertilisers                         | 120,000                             |
| 6. Neyveli Fertilisers Project                  | 75,000                              |
| 7. Sahu Chemicals, Varanasi                     | 10,000                              |

(Source : Capital, 23rd June, 1960.)

The production of super-phosphates decreased from 1,05,056 tons in 1954 to 74,160 tons in 1955 due to fall in agricultural prices, thereafter it rose to 1,41,678 tons in 1957.

#### Sulphuric Acid

The trend of production of sulphuric acid during the First Five-Year Plan period was as follows:

| Year | Production<br>(in tons) | Year | Production<br>(in tons) |
|------|-------------------------|------|-------------------------|
| 1951 | 1,06,932                | 1954 | 1,50,876                |
| 1952 | 96,084                  | 1955 | 1,56,000                |
| 1953 | 1,09,091                |      |                         |

(Source: Times of India Directory, 1958-59.)

The production of sulphuric acid increased from 1,56,000 tons in 1955 to 1,96,062 tons in 1957. The total production was estimated at 2,27,000 tons in 1958.

Sulphuric acid occupies an important place in our economy because of the fact that it is consumed by iron and steel and fertiliser factories.

#### Caustic Soda

The industry has made rapid strides since 1951. In 1951, there were 9 factories with an installed capacity of 27,552 tons. By 1955, the number of factories increased to 12 with a capacity of 44,300 tons.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the target was fixed at 1,50,000 tons. The total installed capacity of caustic soda increased from 45,350 tons in 1957 to 68,965 tons in 1958.

As estimated in Draft Third Five-Year Plan, the total production of caustic soda likely to be achieved in 1960-61, is 125,000 tons.

#### Cotton Textile Industry

The First Five-Year Plan aimed at increasing the production of cotton cloth from 4,076 million yards in 1951 to 4,700 million yards in 1955-56. It provided for increasing the output of yarn from 1,304 million lbs. in 1951 to 1,640 million lbs. in 1955-56. The Plan visualised per capita increase of consumption of cloth to 15

yards. The year 1955-56 witnessed the productive capacity as well as the actual output of the cotton mills exceeding the plan targets.

The Second Five-Year Plan provided for an increase in total production of cloth (mill-made, handloom and powerloom) from 6,850 million yards in 1955-56 to 8,500 million yards in 1960-61. In corresponding period the total production of yarn was proposed to be increased from 1,630 million lbs. to 1,950 million lbs. This would increase per capita consumption of cloth by 18 yards.

#### Cement Industry

The development scheme envisaged under the First Five-Year Plan was to augment the rated capacity of cement industry from 32.80 lakh tons in 1950-51 to 53.06 lakh tons by 1955-56. Accordingly, the total production to be achieved by the end of First Plan period was estimated at about 48 lakh tons by the Planning Commission. During 1955-56, the production rose to 44 lakh tons. Thus, the production of cement increased enormously during the First Plan period.

Considering the growing needs of the country for cement during Second Plan period, the Government approved new schemes for expansion, increasing the installed capacity from 6.6 million tons to 15.3 million tons. The industry was expected to treble its capacity, within the period of five years. During 1957, the industry's rate of growth was lower than expected in the Second Five-Year Plan. This was due to unbalance between production capacity and demand. The production of cement likely to be achieved in 1960-61 is 8.8 million tons.

#### Sugar Industry

The First Five-Year Plan aimed at increasing sugar production from 11.01 lakh tons, in 1950-51 to 15 lakh tons in 1955-56. But the sugar production in 1954-55 amounted to 16 lakh tons, i.e., the production exceeded the Plan target. This was an encouraging trend and the target of the First Five-Year Plan was revised to 18 lakh tons. In order to achieve the revised

target the Government gave licences for 37 new factories and for the expansion of 40 existing units. As a result of the above measures, the actual production was expected to increase by 3½ lakh tons.

The Second Five-Year Plan provided for an increase in total production of sugar from 17 lakh tons in 1955-56 to 22½ lakh tons in 1960-61. The output of sugar during 1958-59 has been estimated at 19.2 lakh tons. As estimated in Draft Third Five-Year Plan, the total production of sugar likely to be achieved in 1960-61 is 22½ lakh tons—exactly the target of output fixed for the Second Five-Year Plan.

#### Machine Tool Industry

Before 1951, simple machines, such as lathes, scrapers and hacksaws, were produced on small scale and the products were of inferior quality. The demand for superior quality machine tools has considerably increased owing to the rapid pace of industrialisation. In the changed circumstances, the Government set up the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory in 1949 for producing the precision lathes, milling machines, radial drills, grinding machines, non-precision turret lathes, etc. The Hindustan Machine Tools Factory has made satisfactory progress since then. The factory is now responsible for 60 per cent production of the total output of the country.

Of 23 organised machine tools factories 6 are principal manufacturers. Of the six principal factories—three fall in the Public

Sector and three in the Private Sector. These six factories produce nearly 80 per cent (in terms of value) of the total production of India's organised machine tool industry. The value of the total output of machine tool industry increased from 0.29 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 0.72 crores in 1955-56. The value of output of the machine tool industry is likely to rise to Rs. 5.5 crores by 1960-61. The further growth of the machine tool industry has been hampered by the shortage of quality pig iron and coke for foundries producing machine tool castings, dearth of skilled and experienced designers, lack of foundry capacity and the shortage of skilled workers.

#### Conclusion

The pace of industrial development during the First Plan period was slow due to more concentration on agricultural growth. The Second Plan aimed at rapid industrialisation of the country with particular emphasis on basic industries. A remarkable increase in national income as well as reasonable improvement in standard of living, cannot be imagined without sufficient increase in the production of the country. Our planners have laid emphasis on the development of basic industries with a view to quickening the pace of development. Thus the rapid industrialisation forms the core of the country's economic development plans.

#### "THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION"

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

Sirdar Sen has written a useful and readable book\* on the Constitution of India. He has followed in it the method of analysis and comparison. There is certainly evidence in the book of a wide acquaintance of the author with the literature of the constitutional law of different countries. It

\* A Comparative Study of the Indian Constitution, Volume One: By Sirdar D. K. Sen, Orient Longmans. Pp. xxviii & 382. Price not stated.

would, however, have been much better if he had omitted the scrappy historical portion, largely based on second-hand sources, from the book. It has added to the bulk of the book, but not much to its value. The get-up of the book is excellent. There are statements in the book which are either misleading or contradictory or erroneous. We may cite one or two instances here. On page 14 the author observes that "all publicists distinguish between written and unwritten constitu-

tions, although the distinction is somewhat superficial." Curiously enough, he also states (pp. 14-15) that "almost all modern States have written constitutions, the only exception being the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland where the fundamental political principles and institutions are not to be found in any formally accepted document or documents", and that Great Britain is "the only country which has an unwritten constitution". Does the author mean to say that, for example, the Act of Settlement, 1701, the Act of Union with Scotland, 1707, the Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949, the Representation of the People Acts, 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918, and 1928, the Ballot Act, 1872, the Judicature Acts, 1873, 1875 and 1925, and His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936, do not form important elements of the Constitution of Great Britain? As Dr. Strong has rightly said (*Modern Political Constitutions*, 1949, p. 64), division of constitutions into unwritten and written "is really a false distinction, because there is no constitution which is entirely unwritten and no constitution entirely written."

Secondly, he makes an erroneous statement when he says (p. 43), in connection with Dyarchy under the Government of India Act, that "as regards transferred subjects, elected members of the Legislative Council were appointed members of the Governor's Executive Council and were placed in charge of these subjects", etc. He obviously means here Ministers appointed to administer the transferred subjects. These Ministers, however, were not members of the Governor's Executive Council, although they formed a part of the Executive Government in a Governor's Province under the said Act. Under Section 47 of the Act the members of the Governor's Executive Council were appointed by the Crown of England; whereas the Ministers in a Governor's Province were appointed by the Governor under Section 52 of the said Act.

Further, provincial subjects, other than the transferred subjects, were referred to by the Government of India Act "as reserved subjects", and not as "reserve subjects", as the author says more than once on page 43.

Thirdly, it appears from what the author has said on page 46 and elsewhere

in the book that he does not know the difference between the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Government of India Act (without any year suffixed to it). The basis of the Constitution of what was formally known as British India before the Government of India Act, 1935, came into operation had been the Government of India Act (without any year suffixed to it) and the Rules made thereunder, and not the Government of India Act, 1919, which was only an amending Act. This amending Act consisted of only 47 Sections and three Schedules, whereas the Government of India Act consisted of as many as one hundred and thirty-five Sections and five Schedules. Reference may be made in this connexion to Sections 1(1), 45 and 47 of the Government of India Act, 1919.

Fourthly, it is difficult to agree with what the author has said on page 55 and elsewhere in the book in regard to the Indian Presidency. He has said (p. 46), for instance, that "it would.....appear that, according to the text of the Constitution, the President of India has the authority of a resurrected Viceroy." This view is too technical and legalistic and, therefore, as it often happens in constitutional matters, untrue to fact. The Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone. What Maitland has called "rules of constitutional morality or the customs or the conventions" of a Constitution make up a substantial part of it. Briefly speaking, the system of government at the Centre under the present Constitution of India—we are, as we should, using the term "Constitution" here to mean both its "written" and "unwritten" elements—is, so far as the question of the relation of the Executive to the Legislature is concerned, definitely what is characterized in Political Science as the Cabinet, or the Parliamentary, system of government. It has been modelled upon the system of government obtaining in England to-day. The position of the Indian President is, and was really intended by the authors of our Constitution to be, analogous to that of the Crown in the English Constitution. That is to say, like the English Monarch the Indian President is the constitutional head of the governmental system of India—its titular Chief Executive and its "dignified" part; whereas the Council of Ministers at the

Centre in India with the Prime Minister at its head constitutes, like the Cabinet Council, or simply the Cabinet, under the "Presidency of a Prime Minister" in England, is the real central executive. This is the essence of the system of government now at the Indian Centre whatever may be the letter of the law about it. This view is also in consonance with the implications of the Preamble to our Constitution, according to which India is to be a Democratic Republic. It may be noted here to the satisfaction of the legal conscience of the author that our view has also been judicially recognised by our Supreme Court in its unanimous judgment in *Rai Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapur and Others v. The State of Punjab*, 1955.

Fifthly, Lord Curzon died in 1925. But the author has kept him alive in 1932 (pp. 13-14).

Sixthly, in regard to the nature of the Indian Polity the author seems to have taken a contradictory position. On page 61 he says that "it is a noteworthy feature of the Indian Republic that it is not only a Federation but also a decentralized unitary State". On page 127, however, he says that "there is no basis for contending that a federation is a decentralized unitary State". Certainly a polity cannot be at the same time both federal and unitary. Federalism and unitarianism cannot go together. The Constitution of India is neither truly federal nor truly unitary. It is quasi-federal in character. That is to say, it is federal in form, with a pronounced unitary bias in certain circumstances. In normal times it is federal in form and character, but in times of emergency it has been so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. This certainly means a considerable erosion of Provincial or "State" autonomy. But we have got to put up with it in view of the past history of our country and the danger of centrifugal forces still operating in it in the shape of regionalism and linguism.

Seventhly, the author has tried to maintain in his book (e.g., page 128) the exploded doctrine of divided sovereignty in a Federal Union. The correct view, as held by John Austin, is that sovereignty in a Federal Union belongs neither to the Federal Government nor to the governments of the constituent units of the union, but to the union as a whole. That is to say, the whole union is a sovereign State and the sovereignty of the State manifests itself partly through the Federal Government and partly through the governments of the constituent units. This view is equally applicable to the case of the Indian Union. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, juristically speaking, the so-called constituent States of the Indian Union were not States just before the 26th of January, 1950. Nor are they States even now in the true sense of the term. They exercise only derived powers—that is to say, the powers derived from the Constitution of India. Their powers, therefore, are neither original nor inherent.

Finally, the author has inserted a list of errata in his book. We find, however, several other misprints in the book. For instance, Mr. Montagu (once Secretary of State for India) has been wrongly spelt as Montague (pp. 13, 14 and 44). Story, J. (of the American Supreme Court) has been wrongly spelt as Storey, J. (p. 81). The date of the commencement of our present Constitution is 26th January, 1950, and not 25th January, 1950 (p. 93). The name of the author of the book entitled *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 1903, is Cooley, and not Coolidge (p. 373). The title of Willoughby's book referred to on page 376 is *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, and not *Constitution of the United States*.

It is hoped that these and other defects in the book will disappear from its next edition.





# Book Reviews



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

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

**THE MAHABHARATA—Drona Parvan:** By Dr. S. K. De. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona (1960).

Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt. (London), has been working for decades, in the field of Sanskrit literature. So he has fully justified the confidence placed on him by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. In 1938, Prof. De completed the collection and edition of the rather complicated Drona Parvan in two fascicules (29 A and B) which we find highly satisfactory. The Santiniketan Library MSS is dated 1760 or 200 years old. It is an all-out Battle-book giving war pictures unrelieved by human legends and episodes, didactic or otherwise composed. Editor De concludes that so far as Drona Parvan is concerned the Bengali version of the North-eastern group, is not distinguishable from the Northern and the Southern recensions, as it was suggested (by Dr. De) for the Sabha-parvan. Dr. De completed the Udyoga-parvan in 1940 during the crisis of the World War and now he finishes the Drona-parvan on the collapse of the Summit Conference.

A fortnight's battle of Kurukshetra assumed more symbolical than real significance, as we found in the interposition of the *Gita* just before the Drona-parvan.

When the whole text of the Mahabharata is presented to the public with all variants in text, then the psychological lessons inculcated by the Sage Vyasa and his disciples will be made clearer to the devoted readers, patiently waiting for over a quarter of a century of textual research by expert editors like Dr. De.

We congratulate him and his learned

colleagues of the Poona Oriental Institute which has earned the gratitude of all readers and scholars of India and abroad.

K. S. Nag

**BRAHMA SUTRA SANKARA BHASYA:** Translated into English by Sri V. M. Apte, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Dhulia, West Khandesh. Published by Popular Book Dept. Lamington Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 45.

Samkara's *Brahma-sutra Bhasya* is by far the most important work of the Vedanta Philosophy of India; and whatever be our leanings and personal likings, it is, indeed, an indisputable fact that Samkara's *Advaitavada*, by far and large, has no comparison at all amongst all the systems of Vedanta Philosophy. Not only that, it may also be asserted without any fear of contradictions that Samkara's Vedanta system far outshines any other system of Indian Philosophy in depth of thought, breadth of vision, simplicity of expression and sweetness of language. Seldom it is, if at all, that such an entirely logical and scientific treatise of a very profound philosophical nature is written at the same time in such a sweet and simple language, in such a charming and pleasant manner.

Hence it is but natural that an English translation of Samkara's works should be regarded as so very difficult by scholars all over the world. For, although, the main aim of the translation of philosophical works is to put all the facts together, yet it would indeed be an injustice to the authors of the original works if there be no reflection at all of their own expressions in those of the translators. The present work attempts to give a literal, yet simple, translation of Samkara's *Brahma-sutra Bhasya*. In both these respects, the author has succeeded well, and the result is that we have

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got a work of great philosophical value which at the same time makes a pleasant reading.

The preface has added much to the value of the work.

Roma Chaudhuri

**THE GLOVES ARE OFF:** By Godfrey Evans. Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1960. Pp. 253. Price 15s. net.

"What's the good of playing cricket? You will never make a living playing cricket." This is how school teacher Mr. Turner admonished little Godfrey for being late because of cricket. But little could Mr. Turner conceive what potentiality was stored inside that kid—that he would one day become an idol behind the stumps with 'the gloves' on and so powerful with bat in hand,—what to speak of a decent living.

This is the story of his whole career—how he came to love cricket, what led him to take it up as a profession, and then his checkered cricket life ending with his retirement—a life crowded with some memorable episodes.

It is a delightful narration of how Godfrey Evans gradually got on top of the game and reached the pinnacle of fame along with which he records some incidents on which cricket history was made officially (and unofficially)—to which he himself had contributed generously. A maker of many records, Godfrey has something to say, worth listening to, about a lot of cricket stars. It is all the more valuable, because rarely have they been described from the angle of a wicket keeper. Having played in 91 Test Matches, (a world record) Evans had the most coveted opportunity of coming into contact with and watching in action and playing for and against most of the leading English and overseas players. Here in this book he grabs his chance to express his opinion about their art of playing. But very cleverly he refrains from any kind of harsh criticism, which might give rise to another "Over to me" sort of controversy. Instead of criticising the players, he has given a visual representation of their way of playing, side by side sometimes, (as if in comparison, as in the case of Denis Compton and Len Hutton) so as to suggest—"Well, there they are, you draw your own conclusion." This is Art indeed.

The five techniques, he has prescribed for wicket-keeping, are trite but worth remembering.

Though he could not, obviously, bring himself to talk as colourfully about overseas players as he has done rather exuberantly about their English counterparts the book is a really pleasurable reading. It will, without question, adorn the shelf of any reader of taste—a cricket lover or not.

Pranab Basu

**THE WAY OF GANDHI AND NEHRU:** By S. Abid Husain. Published (1959), by Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 184. Demy 8vo. Price Rs. 12.00.

The book under review is a comparative study of two outstanding personalities, one a great man, and the other a big man. The big cannot be equated with the great. The great lives for ages, gathering lustre as years roll by. Time swallows up the big. So the author set himself to a self-defeating task. Had the author written separate treatises on these two personalities he then might do justice to Gandhi, justice to Nehru, and justice to himself. Were it so, the author would have been spared the pain of deducing the unwarranted conclusion that "the way of Gandhi and Nehru is, and will remain for a long time to come, one and the same." Yet the book is remarkably readable and Sayid Zakir Husain says aptly in his foreword, "This book signifies the beginning of the discussion of significant and vital problems of India's future growth. It is, indeed, a very good beginning and we should heartily welcome it."

Birendranath Guha

**WARNINGS OF HISTORY:** Pages 44. Price 50 nP.

**AFFINITY OF INDIAN LANGUAGES:** Pages 35. Price 40 nP.

Both Published by the Director, Publications Division, Delhi-8.

The first booklet brings together the six talks broadcast by All India Radio; the talks were delivered by Shri K. M. Munshi (tainted springs), Prof. M. Mujib (How Tyrants Arise), Prof. Sathianathaier (Guardians and Servants), Dr. Tara Chand (Centrifugal Forces), Dr. Motichand (House Divided) and Sardar K. M. Panikkar (Palaces and Hovels) in National Programme. Each talk is interesting and full of import to the students of history.

The second booklet contains five essays from the pen of five distinguished scholars, viz., M. Satyanarayana (Factors of Integration), Dr. S. M. Katre (Vocabulary and Syntax), Dr. Bishwa Nath Prasad (Speech Sounds and their use), Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee (Common Foreign



Borrowings) and Kaka Saheb Kalelkar (The link of Sanskrit)—each showing the unity of Indian languages in spite of differences. Readers interested in linguistic and cultural integration and unity will find these writings informative.

**AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY :** By Darius Shavaksha Jhabvala—*Worker's Publication House Private Ltd., 20, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta-1. Pages 72. Price 50 nP.*

In this brochure the author has placed many facts and figures to show that in the name of Afro-Asian solidarity the Communist countries—Russia and China—are proceeding fast to dominate the countries which were only recently under the domination of imperialist and capitalistic nations and attained independence after World War II. Conferences at Bandung (1955) or at Cairo (1957) helped propagation of Communism in a new way. Communists with high sounding international names are running world organizations to delude the masses of newly liberated countries into their fold. Their information services and statistics are full of propaganda far from actual facts. The author's study is somewhat onesided but cannot be dismissed altogether when the deliberate pulverization of facts and realities into a whirl of propaganda make it difficult to carry on any meaningful dialogue with the Communists.

This ably written and documented essay deserves wide circulation.

**A MONTH IN POLAND :** By J. Vijaytunga. Published by The Madras Premier Co., 33, Broadway, Madras-1. Pages 82. Price Rs. 1.50.

The author of this book was in Poland from 9th Oct. to 7th Nov. 1956 and during this short period he had seen many people at their homes and came into contact with many persons and visited many places which touched his heart as both Poland and India suffered immensely through centuries of struggle. The writer was specially interested in their arts—music, literature, painting and sculpture and there are ample evidences in these lines to show the keen interest he has taken to study these subjects first hand. Poland passed through most terrible times during 1939-45—the country and the people were overrun by the warring hordes, first by Nazis and then by Russians and the glory of the nation laid into dust. Warsaw, Cracow, Nowa-Huta, Katowice and Oswiecim he has portrayed vividly as a visitor, but 'Oswiecim' touches every heart as her "on the lowest

computation twelve million men, women and children were done to death. Not in battle, not in passion, but in the cold, calculated, deliberate attempt to destroy nations and races, to disintegrate the traditions, the institutions and the very existence of free and ancient states. Twelve million murders! Murder conducted like some mass production industry" such was Nazi barbarism—Genocide of the Jews. The author has himself seen some of the survivors and heard from them what actually they experienced.

This book nicely written should be regarded as a gesture of admiration and friendship and as such deserves circulation among the interested public.

A. B. Dutta

#### SANSKRIT-HINDI

**BRIHAD BIMANASHASTRA :** Edited and translated into Hindi by Swami Brahmamani Paribrajak of Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar. Published by Sarvadeshik Aryya Pratinidhi Sabha, Dayanand Bhavan, New Delhi-1. 1959. Rs. 13/-.

The editor is a scholar of experience and he has edited a book which shows Hindu achievement in another exact science. The Pushpaka Biman which flew with Sita and Ram from Lanka to Ayodhya was not a mere figment of the poet's imagination but must have carried a positive real concept to the readers of *Raghuvamsam*. References to Biman have been quoted from the *Ramayana*, *Samarangana-sutradhar*, and *Yukti kalpataru*, and the editor would trace the *Yantra-sarvasva* treatise (of which the present book is a part) and its originator the sage Bharadwaj to the *Vedic* inspiration, the *Vedas* being the source of all knowledge. It all points to old treatises, 97 being referred to by name in course of the present book, 29 of them being of known authorship. There are five hundred sutras under a hundred sections grouped under eight chapters.

Let us see how it begins. The first thing we are told is that the name Biman is given on account of the similarity to birds in speed. Then we come to the question: who is competent to fly or handle a Bimana? The answer is rather cryptic, he who knows the secret. The secret is manifold—thirtytwo have been definitely named. He is also competent who knows 'the five'—the different turns and tracks, and the 'waves'. There are thirtyone parts of a Bimana which have to be distinguished, and then we have finished six sutras, half of the first chapter. Evidently this is only a highly compressed code where we have facts culled by observation

through a long period for the purpose of practical guidance, as in the other positive sciences of the "Hindus" handed down to us.

This will serve as a sample of the contents of the book. What clothes should the pilot wear and what should be his diet are meticulously put in. The glasses—*darpana*—are distinguished. But before we are involved in greater technicalities we must stop in wonder at such a production, giving credit to the scholarly editor who has brought out this book and has also supplied us with a Hindi translation for more publicity not only for the Sanskrit text but also for the Sanskrit *vrutti* in verse form composed by Yati Bodhananda. A monument of industry devoted to a glorious chapter of Hindu civilisation.

P. R. Sen

#### HINDI

**ASHAKA EK-MATRA MARGA :** By Richard Gregg. Translated by Ramanarayana Chaudhury. 1960. Pp. 222. Price Rs. 2.

**GANDHIJI KA VINODE :** Edited by Lalla-bhai Makanji. Translated by Someshwar Purohit. 1960. Pp. 60. Price 60 nP.

**SAMRAKSHITA KA SIDDHANTA :** *Gandhiji : Compiled by Ravindra Kalkar. 1960. Pp. 44. 30 nP.*

All the books under review are published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14 (Gujarat).

Richard Gregg, who is well-known for his scientific-cum-spiritual approach to problems of humanity, wrote some years back a book entitled "*The Only Hope*". It testifies to his deep study on Capitalism, Socialism, Communism and Gandhism. He comes to the conclusion that in Gandhism lies the only hope for the salvage of our present-day chaotic world. *Asha-ka Ek-matra Marga* is a competent Hindi rendering of the book.

*Gandhiji Ka Vinode* is a delightful collection (translated from the original Gujarati) of eighty short anecdotes, which reveal Gandhiji's humour,

Gandhiji's views on the hoarding of possessions and property are brought together within the compass of the pamphlet, *Samrakhshita Ka Siddhanta*. It is a kind of valuable commentary on his theory of Trusteeship.

G. M.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Israel and Its Achievements

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., who recently visited Israel and gained personal experience about its achievements has contributed a thought-provoking article to *Vigil*, Nov. 12, 1960. He writes :—

I slept in a village only 300 yards from the Syrian border. It was a Kibbutz, one of the 224 socialist settlements in Israel where everyone lives in absolute equality, all doing service—teaching the children, farming, building, industrial work, preparing and serving the meals—and where every need is provided freely.

No wage is paid for work, no money is paid for rent or food or clothing. The surplus from the sale of the produce of the settlement enables a fund to be divided equally among the members for supplementary purchases outside the Kibbutz; but within the community money is never seen or used.

Similar experiments have been tried elsewhere, but they have often failed. They were successful among the anarcho-Communists in Spain before the civil war, but Franco swept them away. The Doukhobors have somewhat similar communities in Canada based on religion, but they tend to be withdrawn from the society around them.

The distinctive feature of the Kibbutzim in Israel is that their members are vigorously active in the social and political life of the country. They are *socialist* communities, contributing party workers, Members of Parliament, and civil servants constructively engaged.

And they are firmly established. I went to the first Kibbutz started fifty years ago on the shores of the Sea of Galilee by six young Russian workers. Now there are 90,000 members of the Kibbutzim.

I did not intend to write about the social significance of the Kibbutzim. My enthusiasm for them has speeded my pen. Perhaps what I have written will be of value, however, to other developing nations. Communities like the Kibbutzim could find specially fertile conditions in Africa and in territories advancing from colonialism. They reflect equality, liberty and fraternity to a greater degree than any social organisation I

know and they can be dynamic centres for nation-building.

My original intention in referring to the Kibbutz at Lehavot Habasham on the Syrian border was quite different. It is on the edge of the Hulah valley, which in four years has been transformed from a malarial swamp into rich land. Above the Kibbutz rise the Syrian Mountains.

Like other Kibbutzim which I have seen, Lehavot Habasham is a beautiful garden village, the little houses hidden among trees and flowering bushes. But in one terribly significant thing it is distinct from the Kibbutzim away from the Arab frontiers. The garden is criss-crossed by military trenches, the beds of flowers are broken by entrances to underground shelters, walls and windows have been broken by shell-fire. Guards are on duty every night. The Kibbutz is building its new club centre underground.

This does not mean that the Kibbutz is under frequent attack. The last shelling took place on December 3rd, 1958. But Syria (the northern region of the United Arab Republic) is at war with Israel. Border incidents may occur any night. There is always the danger that the quiescent war may erupt into fighting.

I believe peace between Arabs and Jews is needed for both peoples. I don't propose to discuss the rights and wrongs of the conflict. The initial responsibility lay with the British Government during the First World War who promised Palestine to both Arabs and Jews. Since then the antagonism has been intensified by the problems of the Palestine refugees, the treatment of Arabs within Israel, and the Sinai war, on one side; and by the closing of the Suez Canal to Israeli ships, the boycott of Israel, the refusal to recognise the Israeli State, and the belligerent threats of President Nasser, on the other. One deplores; but one's concern now must be to find the path to peace.

A new realisation has come to me during this journey to Israel. It began to dawn on me whilst I was in Cyprus on the way here.

Archbishop Makarios is anxious that his Republic, only sixty miles from the coast of the Middle East, shall be neutral and shall contribute to peace. When he proposed to accept an Israeli Embassy in Nicosia, President Nasser

protested. And the Archbishop was in this difficulty: the Arab countries, and President Nasser particularly, had given full support to the Cypriots in their struggle for self-determination. Israel had given no support; because of its association with the Western Colonial Powers, it had abstained at the United Nations. I am confident that, despite this difficulty, Cyprus will recognise Israel; but the dilemma is real.

On the issue of the French bomb test in the Sahara and of Algeria, the official Israeli attitude has been worse. It has sided with France because it receives French help with arms. These actions inevitably estrange Africa from Israel.

But, on the other hand, Israel has given great aid to African nations. Ghana, Guinea, the new independent countries of the French Community, the Congo have all received valuable technical help. I have been repeatedly impressed by the tributes paid to Israel's examples in agricultural and social organisation by African leaders. Many of them have been to Israel and returned enthusiastic. There is a deep fund of goodwill in Africa for Israel.

When I went to the Workers' College of Histraduth I found its classrooms occupied by Africans. An extensive Afro-Asian wing is being built for students from the two continents.

But it is necessary to give the warning that Africa will decide its attitude towards Israel not by material and technical aid, but by Israel's policy towards Africa. Israel must face this challenge. It must decide between the Colonial Powers and Africa. The new African nations and movements will no longer be content with compromise.

Israel's future will depend upon its decision. Neither Moscow nor Washington, neither Paris nor London will influence President Nasser and the Arab Governments so much as the Asian and African nations.

Egypt lies at the corner of Asia and Africa. President Nasser has a great ambition to contribute to the leadership of the African Revolution. He is influenced by India and other Asian nations. Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Lybia, Sudan are closely linked with the African struggle in every part of the Continent and share the anti-colonial sentiments of Asia. The Arab countries of the Middle East have the same feeling towards Asia and Africa.

Africa and Asia are therefore in a position to exert a decisive influence towards peace between the Arab countries and Israel. I have no doubt that they would do if Israel came out

openly and unmistakably on the side of national freedoms against the colonial Powers. Algeria will be the immediate test at the United Nations. An Israeli vote for independence would affect deeply Arab opinion, as well as Asian and African opinion.

The basis of peace should be the establishment of a Federation in the Middle East of which Israel should be a part. Those trenches and shelters at the Kibbutz at Lehavot Habasham may still be regarded as necessary for many months (though I pray they may never have to be used); but the hope of peace must be kept bright,—and Africans can contribute more than any part of the earth to its realisation.

## Illiteracy—An Acute Problem for India

It must be admitted that India has, during the last few years, made rapid and remarkable progress in the field of education. But what amount of success we have attained in eradicating mass illiteracy from our country is a question of vital importance. Shri B. B. Mohanty, in an article under the above caption in *The Indian Review*, Nov. 1960, has dwelt on the subject elaborately. A large portion of this article is quoted here. Regarding the percentage of literacy based on the census of India he says :

According to the 1951 Census there were 5,92,51,000 literate persons including 1,36,49,817 females and the percentage of literacy was 16.61. On further analysis it is found that the percentages of literacy in India for males and females were 20.87 and 7.17 respectively. According to a ten per cent sample tabulation of the Census returns the percentage of literacy among the population fifteen years old and over was 19.3. The figure for the percentage of literacy as computed from the 1941 Census is 14.6%-22.2% among men and 6 per cent among women. The magnitude of the problem is evident from the above and it imposes severe and serious restrictions in the process of India becoming a Welfare State. The problem of illiteracy does not refer to India alone but to the world at large. In a recent study undertaken by the UNESCO 'the number of adult illiterates (people over 15 years of age who cannot both read and write in any language) in the world around 1950 has been estimated at about 700 million—slightly over two-fifths of the world's population at that age level'. From the above study it is also found that 88 per cent and 70 per cent of the world's illiterates are concentrated

or that; or when they walk out of examination halls because the question paper is not to their liking? Some investigators have issued questionnaires to students, studied the answers and made reports out of them. But no one seems to have studied the parent and parent's reactions to this and other educational problems. Yet it will be readily conceded on all hands that this is necessary. It is very necessary to find out what the large mass of parents think about what their children are taught, how they are taught, how they are examined, why there are so many failures at examinations, why there are so many agitations, demands, strikes, walk-outs, riots. Do they approve of the latter? Or are they puzzled and perplexed? Or are they merely indifferent? There must be some—perhaps many—who disapprove. Some of them disapprove, but do nothing to dissuade their children from joining in the demonstration, etc., for fear that their children would be marked out for ridicule, or intimidation, or even downright violence. Perhaps there are many such, but because each one keeps silent they do not know their own number and their strength. If they knew one another, if they learned to work together, first in groups interested in one school or college, then in federations of such groups, their united strength would act as a very powerful deterrent against rash, ill-considered and foolish behaviour on the part of their children.

Parent-teacher associations are practically unknown in this country. In the expensive schools that cater to the needs of the well-to-do, the relationship between the school and the parents is fairly close. Parents visit the school, are invited to school functions and expect fairly detailed reports about the progress of their children. But, in the crowded, mammoth institutions that serve the less fortunate, there are hardly any contacts between the school and the parents, and they are usually at moments of crisis: when the boy has failed to pass an examination or has got into a serious scrape; the atmosphere is hardly friendly, the parent manoeuvring to wrest a favour or a concession, the

principal resisting. Thus there are no opportunities for the building up of understanding and friendship.

Even higher education has reached down to these sections in society: the peasants, the small traders, the industrial workers. They have a pathetic faith in education as being a "good thing" for the children, but they know nothing at all about its nature, its processes, or the relationship that should subsist between the teacher and the taught. They are themselves on strike on occasions, and out in the street shouting slogans. So, perhaps, they do not see anything wrong with a son doing the same thing. They would perhaps be inclined to agree that if a question paper is found to be difficult it is quite proper to protest and walk out of the examination hall!

It is very necessary for our educationists to establish contact with all parents, but more particularly with this class of parents. They should be met in groups, their grievances should be patiently heard and they in turn should be made to understand the true nature of educational discipline and its importance in the educational process.

Many who will accept this idea for schools will boggle at its application to colleges. But let it be remembered that the undergraduates of today are, in age, and in mental and emotional maturity, little better than senior schoolboys and schoolgirls. It will be argued that colleges have not the personnel for this task. The answer is that we must find the means to provide it since the results that will flow from this contact are so vitally important. If this friendly relationship is built up between parents and college teachers, there will be, on the part of the former, a greater understanding of our educational effort, a better appreciation of the need to pay better salaries; greater co-operation in making the pupil do his work at home—and, at times of crisis, a clear and unmistakable attitude which will effectively deter the young from getting into mischief.

in 43 and 54 small countries, respectively having medium to high rates of illiteracy, which are situated in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and some territories of the Oceania. Another 9 per cent of the world's illiterate population are found in 20 countries with low to medium rates of illiteracy including, for example Japan, France and the U.S.A. and the rest 1 per cent of illiterate mass numbering about 8 to 9 million are widely scattered in 81 countries each having low to medium rates of illiteracy.

It is a common feature to find high illiteracy rates among the rural population as compared with the urban population of a country. Further the male population has generally a higher percentage of literacy than the female population. This has a particular reference to those countries having medium to high rates of illiteracy. These countries include Malaya, Thailand, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The percentages of literacy are strikingly different for different regions, different age groups and different ethnic groups within the same country. It is quite common to find high rates of illiteracy in the older age groups of the population than the younger groups, particularly in those countries where the schemes of universal, free and compulsory primary education have recently been introduced. It is possible to deduce a direct relationship between the growth of primary education and reduction in the number of adult illiterates in a given period of time. If all the children of the school-going age of a country attend the schools for a sufficient length of time, there would be a considerable reduction in the number of adult illiterates and in course of time the number is likely to be reduced to nil.

After making a comparison between some of the Western Countries and India so far as compulsory free primary education is concerned Shri Mohanty observes on the basis of statistical account of literacy percentage in India :

In 1950-51 only 32 per cent of the children belonging to 6-11 age group were in the elementary schools. The other 61 per cent of the children were added to the illiterate population. In 1955-56 the situation was slightly improved and in 1960-61 it is expected that only 49 per cent of our children will be in the schools. The data clearly indicates the condition of girls' education in the country as it is seen that only 28 per cent of our girls belonging to the age group of 6-14 will be in the schools, and the rest 72 per cent will re-

main in the illiterate mass. So India has to adopt both emergency and long term measures to fight with illiteracy. The opening of the Adult Literacy Centres, Community Centres, Libraries and Reading Rooms are quite efficient as emergency measures, provided the different activities are properly organised, but to eradicate illiteracy from India within next few decades the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all the children below the age group of 14 appears to be the only solution.

In a recent UNESCO Study entitled 'Public Expenditure on Education' it is seen that in or about 1950 the total expenditure on education varied from less than 1 per cent to more than 5 per cent of the national income of each country. On further examination it is seen that there is a distinct correlation between the adult literacy rates and the percentage of total national income spent on education. Countries having low rates of literacy seem to be spending a small proportion of their national income on Education. As far as India is concerned she has spent 1.95 per cent of her national income on Education in 1955-56, 1.7 per cent in 1954-55, 1.4 per cent in 1953-54, 1.4 per cent in 1952-53 and 1.24 per cent in 1951-52.

Dr. David McClelland of the Harvard University is of opinion that the all round success of the Community Development programme in a country depends to a large extent on the education of her children. Besides being properly educated, he says, they must be made to grow as active citizens with a higher n-achievement motivation, so that in future they will be useful, and educated citizens of a country. The n-achievement motivation, according to him, has very little or no correlation with the I. Q. or Intelligence Quotient of a child, but a

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## INDIAN PERIODICALS

high n-achievement motivation factor in a child indicates that he or she can do very well in a competitive nature of work and in odd situations that he or she will be comforted within society. He has gone to the extent of suggesting that nations interested in their 'real development' should make primary education interesting and meaningful to all children. This suggestion has a practical bearing on India, since there are instances of very poor attendance in many primary schools. If primary education has to be meaningful and interesting and if it is our responsibility to see that all children below the age of 14 are to receive free and compulsory education as set forth in the Directive Principles of our constitution, then India cannot but substantially increase her expenditure on Primary Education.

In conclusion he says :

At present the Literacy Campaign is launched by the Departments of Education and Community Development of all the states in India. Every state follows its own pattern, but the general pattern is that the organisation of Adult Literacy Centres, Community Centres and Libraries is done by the Social Education Organisers and the Gram Sevaks of the different Community Development Blocks and the organisation of the Janatha Colleges and School-cum-Community Centres rests on the Education Department. Due to inadequate follow-up programme many neo-literates are relapsing into illiteracy. This makes our problem still worse and the relapsed illiterate sets a bad example in society. So organisation of follow-up activities should be given equal importance as the organisation of new adult literacy centres. The Sixth Evaluation Report on the working of the C.D. & N.E.S. Blocks published in June, 1959 brings into light some interesting points relating to the study of the Adult Literacy Programme. The Report states that the contribution to literacy made by the Adult Literacy Centres would rise to about 3 per cent of the total population in the blocks which is not very encouraging. The proportion for the non-block areas is as low as 2 per cent. Further it is suggested in the Report that either the social education programme should concentrate much more on literacy or it must discover more efficient techniques of enlightening large mass of the rural illiterates. The findings of the Report in respect of Adult Literacy Programme contradicts the estimates made by the Registrar. General's Office and National Sample Survey stating the percentage of literacy to be 40.7 per cent in India today.

During a period of eight years, i.e., from 1951 to 1959, the increase in percentage of literacy in India cannot be as high as 23.09 per cent (40.7%-16.61%). This raises an important question regarding the validity of the estimate made by the National Sample Survey, for the whole of India, and it is presumed that the Survey has used some samples which cannot represent India as a whole. In 1941 the percentage of literacy in India was 14.6 per cent and the same in 1951 was 16.61. Since 1951 we are having many development schemes operated in our country through the First and Second Five-Year Plans and the mental horizon of our people has been widened to a considerable extent. We shall be branded as pessimists if we say that all these development programmes have not influenced the rate of literacy in India, and so an increase in the same is expected in the 1961 Census. It gives no grounds for complacency on our part since we have assessed the magnitude of the problem of illiteracy in India. We are to make a constant effort in assuring for every man, woman and child the right to education guaranteed to him or her in the Constitution.

### Parents and Student Indiscipline

Students' Indiscipline is a question which is, at present, disturbing many in India. Sri G. C. Bannerjee, B.Litt. (Oxon), Principal of Elphinstone College, Bombay, in the Guest-Editorial of the *Aryan Path*, draws attention to an important factor in the situation which is generally overlooked. He observes :

Where do the parents stand in this business of discipline and indiscipline? What do they think of it? Do they approve when their children or their grown-up sons and daughters walk out of their schools and colleges to protest against this

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