

*The*

# FIRST YEAR



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General view of the Indian Independence Day celebrations at Lake Success. Dr. Padmanabha Pillai, India's Permanent Representative (back to camera) addressing the distinguished gathering on the 15th August 1947. India's new national flag takes its place among colours of other member states.

—Photo: UNITED NATIONS

# THE FIRST YEAR

(August 15, 1947 — August 15, 1948)

## INDEPENDENCE DAY SOUVENIR

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*MISTY MORNING (TRAVANCORE)*

## PREFACE

Independence tries and strengthens the fibre of a people. It helps the growth of the nation even as freedom helps the full development of the individual. Internationally, Indian independence is the biggest single contribution to world-peace which British statesmen have made.

We need not regret the conditions under which we have attained independence, for the thing itself is so essentially good, whatever difficulties we have to face, we are determined to overcome them.

Indian independence has removed an incubus from the whole of Asia. We are therefore commemorating the event as one of world importance.

C. Rajagopalachari

## "WE DEDICATE OURSELVES ANEW"

**T**HE 15th of August came and we rejoiced at our achievement in spite of the pain of partition. We looked forward to the sun of freedom and the opportunity that freedom brings. But though the sun rose it was hidden from us by dark clouds, and for us it remained a twilight hour. It has been a long twilight and the brightness of the day is still to come. For freedom is not a mere matter of political decision or new Constitutions, not even a matter of what is more important, that is, economic policy. It is of the mind and heart and if the mind narrows itself and is befogged and the heart is full of bitterness and hatred, then freedom is absent.

Another 15th of August has come and it is a solemn day for us in spite of all that has happened. The year has considerable achievement to its credit and we have gone forward some distance along our long journey. But the year is also full of unhappiness and humiliation and of a betrayal of the spirit that has been the redeeming feature of India. This year has seen the triumph of evil in the assassination of the Father of the Nation, and what greater shame and sorrow could there have been for anyone of us than this.

We celebrate this solemn day as we should, but our celebration cannot be one of vainglory and pious platitudes. It must be one of heart-searching and a fresh dedication to our cause. Let us think not so much of what we have done but of what we have left undone and what we have done wrongly. Let us think of the millions of refugees who, deprived of all they possessed, are still homeless wanderers. Let us think of the masses of India who continue to suffer and who have looked to us with hope and waited patiently for a betterment of their unhappy lot. Let us think also of the mighty resources of India which, if harnessed and utilized for the common good, can change the face of India and make her great and prosperous. To this great task let us address ourselves with all the strength in us. But above all let us remember the great lessons that Mahatma Gandhi taught us and the ideals that he held aloft for us. If we forget those lessons and ideals we betray our cause and our country.

So on this anniversary of our Independence we dedicate ourselves anew to the great cause of free India and her people. May we prove worthy. — JAI HIND.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

\* \* \* \* \*

## "LET NO WEAK THOUGHT DISTURB US"

**T**HE 15th of August, 1947, will always remain a memorable day not only in the history of India, but also in that of Britain, the Commonwealth and the World. Never before, on any single day, did so many millions of people achieve their liberation. For Britain it was a day of pride and glory — pride in assisting a people to fulfil their destiny and glory in the voluntary transfer of dominion over a large Empire. The Commonwealth acquired a member which was at one time characterized "a lost dominion". The world secured by its Council a voice at once unique and free — uninfluenced by power politics, prompted by lofty ideals and urged by a new philosophy.

What we have achieved, what we have avoided, and what we have failed to secure — all these are matters of recent history on which the public can come to its own judgment. If some hopes have proved dupes, many fears have proved liars. We have survived disasters and shocks — the greatest of them which cost us the Father of the Nation. Our Government, our administration, our finances and our people — all reeled under many a blow, but we miraculously revived and stood up to face the whirligig of time in all its revenges. We stand today firm and determined, ready to utilize every opportunity that may come our way to enhance our prestige, uphold our honour and safeguard our welfare.

Let no one feel that we are not alive to the dangers and the seriousness of the problems that face us. Let them reflect on the difficult legacies we received, the handicaps under which we laboured, the dangers we had to face, the disasters we had to surmount and the embarrassments we had to avoid. Surely, if in spite of them we are still on our feet and are able to look the whole world in the face, it is a testimony to our vitality, our courage, and our faith. On this, the first anniversary of our freedom, let no weak thought disturb us; instead, let us resolve to labour for our country and our cause with redoubled vigour and courage and renewed faith in our destiny. It is only thus that we can successfully guard the priceless possession we have secured after years of blood and toil and suffering — the Freedom of the Motherland.

*Vallabhbhai Patel*

Greetings

Telephone: Holborn 7087.  
Telegrams: "Pethick-Lawrence-Holb. London."

FROM THE RT. HON. LORD PETHICK-LAWRENCE OF PEASLAKE,

11 Old Square,

Lincoln's Inn, W.O.2.

June 25, 1948.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to wish India many happy returns of the day on this first anniversary of her life as an independent nation. May her renown increase from year to year and may her name be honoured throughout the world as a defender of justice freedom and peace.

*Pethick Lawrence*

\* \* \* \* \*

On the first anniversary of Indian National freedom and sovereign independence I write as a friend and well-wisher of India to congratulate her people and to express my heart-felt desire for their happiness and prosperity.

The last year has been a difficult one, and many of the difficulties were inevitable; indeed, it is remarkable that there has not been more trouble and disorder. In this respect the more gloomy of the prophets of disaster have been confounded.

There are still many difficulties and complications ahead. These are both economic and political and are in part due to the general disorganization in the world, and especially in Asia, following on the upheaval of the second World War. Yet, taking a long view and looking well ahead, India has a tremendous opportunity. Her long association with Britain has given India some valuable assets. Apart from technical and material progress India is the only country in all Asia that has had the opportunity to develop democratic forms of government as well as having had the opportunity to prepare for these forms of government.

In the true sense of the words, India is thus the most progressive nation in Asia and has the opportunity, and, indeed, the responsibility, for assuming the political leadership of Asia. This leadership can combine the best spiritual forces both of the East and the West and can play a great part in the future peace and progress not only of the peoples of Asia but of all the world.

*Strabulgi*



## Greetings

I send my greetings and good wishes to the people of India on this great anniversary, and I am sure that the vast majority of the people of Great Britain join with me in this expression of our renewed congratulations to India on the attainment of her freedom.

A year ago, and what a short time that is in the agelong history of India, amid scenes of great rejoicing wherever Indian people were gathered together throughout the world, India celebrated the achievement of her Independence.

All her friends, of whom I claim the privilege to count myself one, have watched with intense interest and sympathy those first and difficult steps which she has taken along her path of freedom. We have admired the courage of her leaders and the constancy of her people and we have sorrowed with them over the tragic loss of their great and inspired Mahatma Gandhi — a loss which the whole world shares.

But though that great human spirit has gone from us, the ideals and teachings, to which he gave his life, live on as a sure guide to his people through all their difficulties.

The generous affection shown to Lord and Lady Mountbatten on their departure from India, whom they have served so well, is, I am sure, a token of the friendship and good feeling which exists between our two equal nations. We shall do our utmost to deserve the continuance of the close friendship which they fostered between our two countries with such outstanding success.

There is much that we can do in this vexed and troubled world to help one another to build up a better and happier life for our peoples and in that common effort we shall, I am sure, find the most certain pledge of our continuing friendly relations.

We greet the great Indian people on the first Anniversary of their independence and wish them God's speed on their journey.

Stafford Cripps

\* \* \* \* \*

In this one year of India's independence the people of the United States have learned more about India than they have ever known before. In all the previous centuries, which were the years of our brief national life, India's people were shrouded in colonialism. Now, thanks to visitors from India and information sent from India, we are beginning to hear the real India speak. Americans are realizing with dawning interest and wonder that just over our horizon, within a few winged days, there lies a great country, hitherto unknown.

Let there be all possible communications between us. For with all due humility we Americans are beginning to find that Indians are congenial to us. More Indians than any other Asian citizens speak our language. The Indian temperament is forthright and articulate, like ours. Whatever barriers there are can be surmounted. India and the United States can face boldly our differences, for we are basically enough alike to be friends.

Pearl S. Buck

Pearl S. Buck

## MESSAGES

**F**EW chapters in the rich and varied chronicle of the struggle for freedom of nations through the ages excel the thrilling story of India's bloodless revolution, which, under the inspiration of our Leader, Mahatma Gandhi, won her Independence just one year ago. It was a magnificent initial achievement magnificently sustained despite the stupendous and almost simultaneous internal calamities that might well have crushed a people less courageous and less dedicated to the ideal of liberty. Now our immediate need and our urgent task is to fulfill the manifold implications of real freedom in every sphere of national life so that India might resume her due and natural place in the leadership of the world.

SAROJINI NAIDU

*(Governor of the United Provinces.)*

I am glad to know that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is bringing out a Souvenir to commemorate the first year of India's freedom. I write to wish the enterprise all success. Although it has been a year of unprecedented difficulties for both Government and the people, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the success with which the more serious of these difficulties have been surmounted. We still have trying problems ahead of us, but I am convinced that if we remain united and apply ourselves with renewed energy and wisdom, we shall in time solve them. Freedom can neither be achieved nor preserved except at a price, and we as a people must be prepared to pay the price in unremitting effort, discipline and sacrifice.

JOHN MATTHAI

*(Minister for Transport, Government of India.)*

Today we have completed one full year since we attained our Independence on the 15th of August last. As we look back, we find that it has been a year of great expectations and great tribulations. On the morrow of our independence, our joy was marred by the tragic happenings which followed the partition of the country. Gandhiji, who had led us to freedom and who provided the unfailing source of moral sustenance to the nation in its darkest hours, was snatched away from our midst. Millions were uprooted from their homes and the administrative problems created became stupendous. Many of these hapless refugees have been already settled, and others are being rehabilitated within the limits of our means, but we are facing bigger problems of national economic reconstruction. Our productive machinery has slowed down so seriously that we face an economic crisis. Unless we can translate our plans into action in terms of increasing standards of living of the masses, they will remain mere aspirations. At this crucial period in our nation's history, we need unity above all, for without unity, the task of national reconstruction will remain unfulfilled and national defence will be jeopardised. We must rise above local and sectional interests and avoid disruptive tendencies which may weaken national strength and solidarity.

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

*(Minister for Industry and Supply,  
Government of India.)*

A year has rolled into eternity. In this short space this country has moved so fast that old land-marks have completely disappeared. Problems of a type which have never faced any country in known times had to be tackled. I often wonder from where this great capacity, this great patience to see through what we have seen, could have come. The Hindu civilization is undoubtedly very sticky and in spite of our inclination to be fatalistic in this particular respect, this country has shown the triumph of endeavour over destiny. On the 15th August, 1947, there were 600 and odd Indian States, all claiming sovereignty. Stabilising freedom was a job. However, the States question has been solved to the satisfaction of all concerned and this has enabled this country to stabilise freedom. The internal difficulties were and are undoubtedly there, but I should say the Government has got now a firm grip over the situation. The seeds of future greatness and progress will soon begin to sprout. Freedom is only a means to an end, the end being full opportunity to every individual, to realize whatever is best and noblest in him. Conditions, both moral and material, have to be created to achieve this end and these conditions will flow from suitable action — legislative and executive — taken at an appropriate moment by the Government. I have no doubt that this will happen. Looking back, there is no reason to regret — every reason to rejoice. The performance may seem meagre to some, but there is more in promise

## MESSAGES

and that is really magnificent. The future will respond not to slogans but to hard work quietly done. New political habits have got to be developed to sustain this inheritance of freedom. It will take time, but a sense of responsibility is a condition requisite. Let us hope that the second year of our Freedom will witness distinct progress and will be moving rapidly towards what we have laid before us as our ideals.

N. V. GADGIL

(Minister for Works, Mines and Power,  
Government of India.)

\* \* \* \* \*

The 15th of August 1947 has passed into history as the day of the attainment of our cherished goal. Let us again rejoice on this day, which is our greatest national festival. But let us not forget in the thrill of joy that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. We have yet to build up the edifice of our national character and to train and discipline ourselves in a manner that each one of us becomes a sentry standing guard to the country's honour. There could be no more appropriate occasion than this for us to dedicate ourselves anew to the services of the country and to renew the solemn pledge to spare no endeavours to make Mother India great and glorious. Complacency in any shape or form will be fatal at this juncture when every ounce of our energy is needed for the preservation of our freedom and when the tender plant of our independence needs tending with our sweat and blood. Greed and narrowness sometimes threaten to overshadow our noble virtues and much loose and irresponsible talk is abroad. We have many enemies to face, and are yet to convince the watching world that we have developed full strength, both moral and material, to maintain our independence. This is no small danger: it is a challenge to us as a nation—a threat to our very existence.

JAGJIWAN RAM

(Minister for Labour, Government of India.)

\* \* \* \* \*

India won its long-sought freedom on the memorable 15th of August last year. Ever since then, we have tried to bring that freedom to the doors of those who

reside within the millions of India's cottages. Unless freedom lights up their homes and brings comfort and cheer into their lives, the 15th of August may cease to live in the memories of our people. May we, therefore, strive for this great and inspiring ideal!

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

(Minister for Food and Agriculture,  
Government of India.)

\* \* \* \* \*

A year ago to-day, we celebrated our Independence Day. An era had come to its end. Another, the era of our dreams, had begun. We were free. We had come to our own. We heralded the day with legitimate joy.

A year has gone by today. It has been a year of great anguish and deep sorrow for hardly had we started, when we found ourselves overwhelmed by an unparalleled unleashing of sinful strife and beastly passion. Millions of our people found themselves carried away in the storm. Hundreds of thousands were uprooted. Innumerable innocent lives were lost. So often during those anxious months, when gloom hung low and heavy, some even wondered if Destiny would cheat India of her hard-won freedom—if we would survive the cataclysm.

But those surely were moments of momentary weakness. The world knows how resolutely and with what great faith the evil was arrested. We have indeed much to be thankful for. Never perhaps in history has a Government had to face such tremendous odds in so short a period. We cannot yet say that our trials have ended. But no one doubts that the worst is over.

Today, as we celebrate the first anniversary of our Independence Day, it is our bounden duty to re-pledge our loyalty to our Government. Let this faith be the symbol of our unity. We have much to do yet to rid ourselves of the evil of the past year. Let us do it with resolution and remember that the measure of our success and the speed with which we can forge ahead depends upon the measure of our co-operation with

## MESSAGES

every element of our national life and the loyalty we give to our national Government.

BALDEV SINGH

(Minister for Defence, Government of India.)

\* \* \* \* \*

Twelve months have gone by since the liberation of our country from foreign domination. After the advent of political freedom we had naturally hoped to devote all our time and attention, as well as our unlimited energy and abundant resources, to the building of a New India — the India of which we, in the Congress, have dreamt, and worked for, and for which thousands have laid down their lives and millions suffered. But to our great misfortune and discomfiture we were confronted with a situation for which we were not at all prepared. The barbarous scenes which India witnessed before and after the partition have made us hang our heads in shame before God and Man. History tells us that even in the remote past, when Europe and Asia were scenes of religious wars and crusades, in the name of God and Religion, people in India, belonging to different creeds, were tolerant towards each other and lived amicably. It will again be for History to record its verdict on the 'divide and rule' policy of British Imperialism which has been principally responsible for the communal venom that has engulfed India. It has been responsible for the brutal murders of thousands of innocent women and children and the rape and abduction of a still larger number. Millions of our countrymen have been uprooted from their hearths and homes involving incalculable hardship and misery and loss of property.

Our Leader and Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, spared no pains to stave off the mounting tide of communal fanaticism, rapine and murder. And he did succeed in his efforts to a large extent. His tragic end in the great cause was his biggest triumph. What he failed to achieve by his post-prayer speeches and fasts was accomplished by his glorious death. His death has cast a shadow of gloom over the land; but his shining example and teachings still beckon us to the path he has shown. The first Anniversary of the achievement of freedom cannot, therefore, be an occasion of unmixed rejoicing.

Sons of Israel, after their deliverance, had to go through wilderness, suffering, untold hardships for a long time, and even decimation, before reaching the promised land. It is said that God revealed to Moses that it was not without ordeal that Man could be Free and worthy of the citizenship of the Holy Land. May be, India too is passing through a similar ordeal before complete political, economic and social freedom is achieved. We have to shed our false pride and petty prejudices, short-sighted communalism and narrow provincialism before we can enjoy the full fruits of freedom. Let us, therefore, hope and pray on this solemn occasion that necessary far-sightedness, strength and courage be vouchsafed to us during the ensuing year to work for the high ideals for which our Beloved Father, Mahatma Gandhi, lived and worked.

MOHAN LAL SAKSENA

(Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation,  
Government of India.)

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When I was a young man, I remember Dr. Annie Besant saying in one of her speeches, "Oh! the joy of being a free man in a free country!" Yes, Freedom is an inestimable gain, but, as there is no rose without a thorn, freedom has its responsibilities as well as its rights. The Indian Union came into being at a time of very great stress. We must never forget the extraordinary difficulties, the aftermath of war and partition, which faced the Central and Provincial Governments in India. We cannot expect these worldwide difficulties, to be overcome in a short period of time. That would be to expect the impossible. I feel that not only should we be grateful for the sacrifices of those great persons which have led to our freedom but we should give to them ample time to surmount existing obstacles. It is sad to think that while we have achieved our freedom we have lost during the months that followed that venerable world figure who more than any one brought freedom within our reach. Let us do our utmost to follow in all humility his ideals of peace and unity.

MAHARAJ SINGH  
(Governor of Bombay.)

## (MESSAGES)

Twelve months ago India achieved her long-desired goal of Independence after a struggle ranging over many years. These twelve months have been of immense strain and stress, especially to those at the helm of affairs. Seldom has any Government been called upon to face problems of such difficulty and complexity as the Government of India during the past one year. It is important, I think, to realise this and those who voice their impatience that progress has not been quicker would do well to realise that one year is by comparison a very short period in any nation's history. They should rather consider the fact that even during this short space we have a number of great achievements to our credit of which we may well be proud. At the same time it is equally important to guard against any feeling of complacency. Solid work and co-operation amongst all are necessary to build up the future of this country and by solid work I mean whole-hearted endeavour and not the mere shouting of slogans. Let us remember the anniversary of the birth of our independence should not be merely an excuse for celebrations — it should be an occasion for each one of us to dedicate ourselves afresh to the service of India.

ARCHIBALD NYE

(Governor of Madras.)

\* \* \* \* \*

The people of India came into their heritage a year ago after centuries of heart-rending vicissitudes. We have now a whole year of political freedom for which we had been struggling for 28 years and longer under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance. This was only the first step towards the fuller realization of our life-long dream. Unprecedented misfortunes have taken a heavy toll during the intervening months and, worst of all, we have been witnesses of the greatest tragedy in India's history in the violent end of the greatest apostle of peace our age has known. The Central Government has had to face unparalleled difficulties which it has been able to control with considerable measure of success. The administrative structure which it inherited after much mutilation offered a problem of no mean magnitude. Had it not been for the confidence which Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and other national leaders commanded among the people, this structure would have collapsed after the hard knocks which fell to India's lot. We should thank our stars that we have gone a long way towards full recovery.

Our immediate task is to produce an atmosphere of confidence and security, congenial to stable progress and general prosperity. India's colossal resources await steady mobilization and, in whichever province they may be, their fruits are for all alike. If only the era of productive plenty is allowed to be heralded, there will be more work for all than they can handle and greater abundance of essential and other commodities than the people have so far been able to dream of. Those confident hopes, however, cannot materialise in a day nor can harvests be ripe overnight. Cottage and heavy industries will take time to arise, and it is for the people themselves to proceed in a disciplined manner to organise their activities in such a way that there should not be any slackness or loss of working hours. Let us all unite in the common effort not merely to give all our people what they urgently need but also to make our country really great.

ASAF ALI

(Governor of Orissa.)

\* \* \* \* \*

Twelve months ago India became free. Much has happened since to rejoice over and much too, to regret. Freedom has been won but the main Architect of Freedom has been lost. Suspicion and lust for power and wealth stalk the world and frustration and greed find many strange bedfellows, with the result that the international situation is becoming more ominous and less hopeful for the establishment of universal peace. If only Mahatma Gandhi had been with us at this very critical stage of human progress! His preachings are, however, there to remind us of the high ideal which, according to him, should be the aim of every man or woman to attain by all peaceful means. To my mind it is necessary that putting aside desire for wealth, fame or power we should dedicate ourselves to combat ignorance, poverty and disease and to promote a strong sense of Indian citizenship, free from vulgarity, sordidness or bigotry in any form. If our minds be moulded in patterns of noblest nationalism that is entirely free from the faintest taint of communal, racial, linguistic or territorial bias, and our hearts be full of "the milk of human kindness", we shall be able to preserve our independence, grow and prosper, and also to play our proper role in the evolution of the human race.

M. S. ANEY

(Governor of Bihar.)

# MESSAGES

Many grave and difficult problems face us today. If they are to be solved satisfactorily and happily, we must fulfil certain requisites, viz., internal peace and complete harmony amongst the various sections of the people, work in co-operative spirit and self-less devotion to the cause of raising the standard of living of the millions who live in villages.

MANGALDAS PAKVASA  
(Governor of the C.P. and Berar.)

\* \* \* \* \*

This is the first anniversary of Indian Independence. It was realised that it would require skill and fortitude on our part to overcome its attendant perils — the skill of people in positions of authority and trust, and the fortitude of the people in general. During the last twelve months the difficulties and dangers encountered have been even greater than was at first imagined they would be; and yet we have lived through them. This is evidence of the inherent strength of the Indian Union. Battered we are but undaunted, and if the

people of India show the same discipline as they have done during the first year of our Freedom, we may look to the future with confidence and hope.

A. HYDARI  
(Governor of Assam.)

\* \* \* \* \*

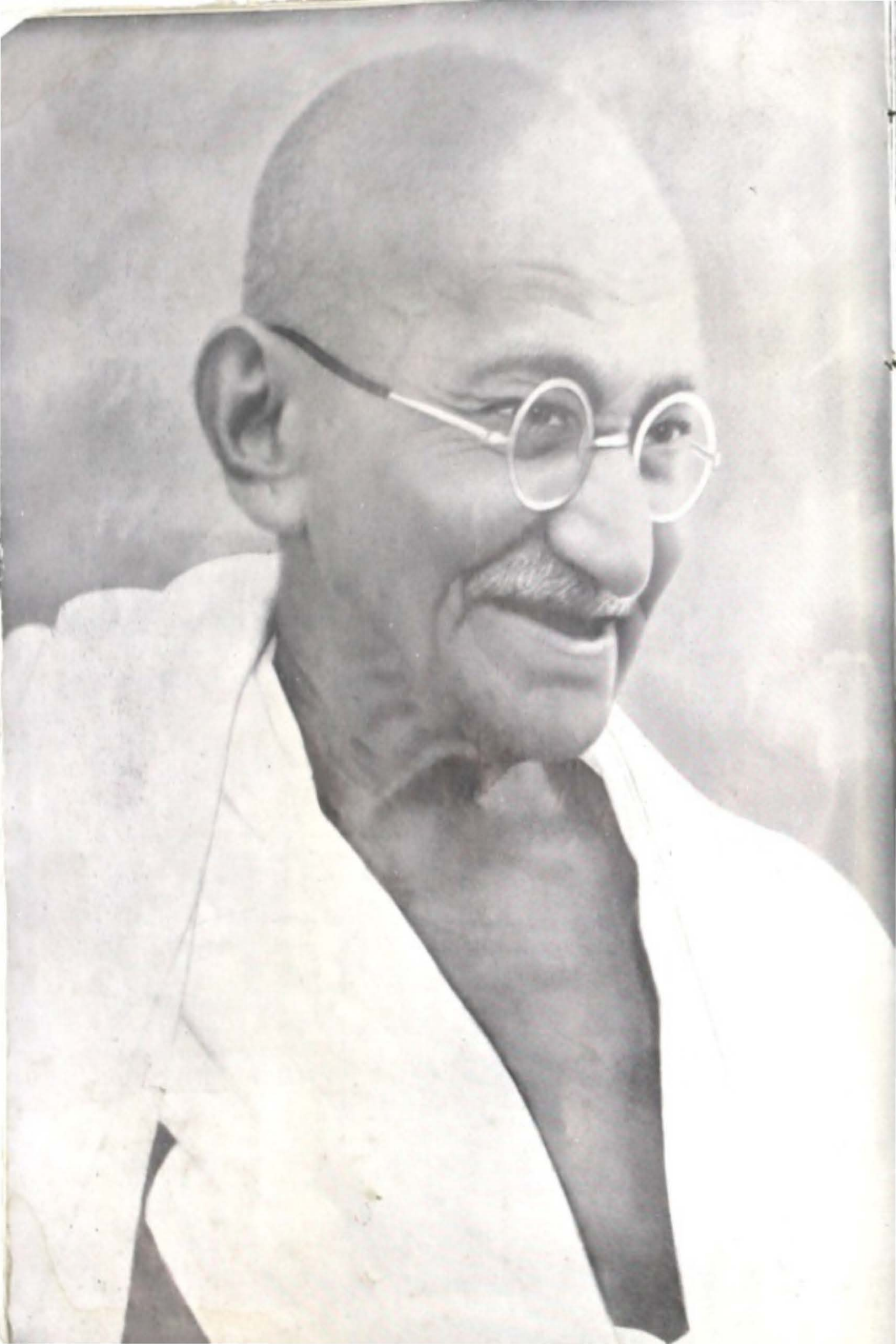
It is indeed in the fitness of things that a Souvenir should be brought out on the 15th August to commemorate the first year of Freedom. This, our first year, has been none too easy for us. In fact, our Governments and our people, including those in the new Province of the East Punjab, have had to face most difficult and complex problems. Nevertheless, throughout the year we have been making rapid strides towards the stability and consolidation of our Indian Union, and our freedom is now firmly rooted. Many questions still stare us in the face, but I am sure that, given hard work, discipline, spirit of service and goodwill on the part of our citizens, we will solve them successfully.

C. M. TRIVEDI  
(Governor of the East Punjab.)

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*"There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fullness of faith that the spirit alone lives, nothing else does."*

—Mahatma Gandhi.





SEV'AGRAM: All students of the Basic Education School are trained in basic crafts. This picture shows some of them spinning on the Takkis

## A SWARAJ OF NON-VIOLENCE

J. C. KUMARAPPA

MOST of us reserve our ideals for a better world. Metaphysical concepts are for meditation. We may retire from this noisy and hedonistic world to contemplate higher things. But with Gandhiji it was different.

The two concepts we most associate with Gandhiji are Truth and Non-violence. These did not remain abstract terms in the way he tried to interpret them. He found our lives steeped in untruth and violence. His mission was to purge our everyday life of them wherever he met them. He was not content to explain the philosophic implications of Truth and Non-violence by learned discourses.

### AN INTERPRETATION

When a drunkard takes his wages to the toddy shop and gets drunk, it is easy to understand that there is violence and dishonesty in his deeds. His wife and children have a right to his earnings. He is depriving them of these and so there is dishonesty and untruth in it. He loses his rational life and so does violence to himself. A devotee of Truth and Non-violence, therefore, will work for prohibition to realize Truth and Non-violence in the daily life of the people.

It is in this way that everyone of the eighteen items on the Constructive Programme came into existence as an expression of Gandhiji's ideals.

Just as the drunkard introduces violence and untruth into his everyday life, everyone of us unconsciously becomes a party to a violent and untruthful life. It is not so easy to see the beam in our own eye as it is to see the mote in that of the drunkard. We are so accustomed to our humdrum life that we never care to consider the normal consequences of each one of our actions. Some even resent that any moral value should be applied to economic transactions. The things that distinguish man from his cousin, the ape, are his feeling of fellowship and a sense of spiritual and cultural values.

### THE PLANE OF THE MONKEY

A monkey which goes into an orchard is only concerned with satisfying its own needs. It does not worry about the condition and labour that brought about the existence of that garden. It acts without bestowing any thought on the necessity which gave rise to the supply. In the same way, when a man goes to a shop and buys an article without giving any thought to all that has gone into the manufacture



of that article, he acts exactly on the same plane as the monkey. He loses his dignity as a rational human being. It is the duty of every buyer to examine the conditions of production. We do recognise this sometimes in a limited way. If a child is murdered for its necklace and the ornament is offered for sale, most of us will decline to buy it even if it is cheap. We would hold that one who buys that necklace takes it along with the blood guilt of the seller. But this moral consideration is often relegated to obvious incidents only and is not projected into every act of daily life.

#### A COMMON ACT

It is common knowledge that milk is obtained mostly from milkmen who neither allow enough for the calf nor even provide for their own children. They extract every drop of milk from the cow, sell it and perhaps give their children a little tea which is cheaper.

Let us examine the moral implications of this transaction, both as regards the milkman and his customer. He deprives the calf of its right and probably causes it to starve and die of malnutrition. In this he is guilty of both dishonesty and violence. He deprives his children of their due. Again he is both dishonest and violent, and cheats them of their rightful food — milk — and substitutes the stimulant — tea. This is the same sin repeated for the third time.

The customer who buys this milk takes over the guilt of the milkman, though he may not have performed the deeds himself. If he buys it without thinking, he is in no way different from the self-centred monkey. The passing of money between the customer and the milkman makes no difference to the moral significance of the transaction.

#### SHIFTING OF CROPS

Supposing a poor farmer tempted by high prices parts with his land on which he has been cultivating food — say paddy, the purchaser then grows, say, coconut. This product is used to extract oil in mills from which soap may be manufactured. In such cases, after a few years the original farmer goes through the purchase money and is reduced to a field labourer. He gets, not his own dehusked paddy, but polished rice from the market. Thus he suffers from malnutrition, while no doubt the soap manufacturer makes a good profit.

In this transaction, there is dishonesty because the short-sighted greed of the farmer is taken advantage of and he is induced to part with his land that has been providing him with livelihood. This creates a short-

age in the food supply of the community when the new crop of coconuts is used for making soap. This causes violence to the community also.

The unthinking buyer of soap, therefore, is saddled with these grave responsibilities. How many of us can plead "not guilty"?

When the rice mills dehusk the paddy and polish the rice, they are depriving the people of the nutrition contained in the bran, the germ, etc. as these are removed in the process. This again increases the malnutrition of the people and causes disease and death. It is both dishonest and violent.

#### FOREIGN TRADE

Articles that cross political boundaries are often part of commerce based on war. The Japanese trading rights in China, or British markets in India were results of armed conflicts. Every one who buys or sells goods which form part of their trade becomes a party to the conflict.

If Burma was held under political bondage for its petrol and we used kerosene oil — a bye-product, we could be abetting the rulers of Burma in their aggression. There is violence and dishonesty in such a course. How many of us are conscious that the simple act of lighting a kerosene lantern makes us party to Imperialism?

If the projections of moral responsibilities involve the producer, middleman and consumer in common guilt, what is the remedy?

Gandhiji's spiritual approach to life laid the guilt at everybody's door and showed that they are all tarred with the same brush. None of us can plead ignorance without being reduced to the plane of the brute. How then shall we save ourselves from this grave situation, plunged as we are in the violence and dishonesty of an economic organization which calls for the greatest destruction to be able to function at all?

#### SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The solution offered by Gandhiji is perfectly simple. Use only goods manufactured within the range of your knowledge and by methods easily understood by you. This is the meaning of the programme of self-sufficiency through the organization of village and cottage industries prescribed by Gandhiji to meet the situation. This will not only absolve us from participating in the terrific violence and dishonesty that prevails in present-day society but it will also lead the war-stricken world from destruction to the full realization of all that is noble in man.



*AN ORPHANED NATION*; The picture shows a sector in the long five-mile route from India House to the banks of the Jumna along which Mahatma Gandhi's funeral procession passed amidst the mourning millions. The Secretariat Building and the Parliament House are seen in the background.

# GANDHIAN INSTITUTIONS

S. N. AGARWAL

THE mad act of a young Hindu has suddenly removed Bapu from our midst and the whole of India, nay the whole world, deeply mourns the irreparable loss of one who was easily the greatest living man of our time. No other leader in any country had spontaneously earned so much love and admiration from millions of people as Bapu; no leader had received such warm and world-wide tributes after his death as the Father of our Nation.

Every village, town and institution in India today is anxious to perpetuate the memory of the beloved leader. But how shall we preserve his holy memory? By erecting artistic statues and hanging life-size portraits in public halls and Government buildings? Certainly not. Hasty efforts to name roads, parks and educational institutions after Bapu are devoid of imagination and a real appreciation of the great leader. His beloved and pious memory can be enshrined in our hearts only by trying to be worthy of the glorious legacy that he has left us — a legacy of which every citizen of the world is the legitimate heir. It is the legacy of humanism, selfless service of the down-trodden and the weak, and ceaseless experiments with Truth and Non-violence. This legacy, in terms of concrete activity, is the Constructive Programme which Gandhiji had been putting before us ever since his entry into active public life in South Africa and India. He had always been telling us in unequivocal terms that Swaraj without constructive work would be meaningless and unreal. Many of us did not take him seriously and regarded his insistence on communal harmony, *khadi*, village industries, national language, untouchability and village work the 'fads' of an idealist. But with the advent of political

freedom, after a very heavy and unprecedented sacrifice, we have realized that Swaraj is, in fact, useless without the solid, constructive work that Bapu had repeatedly been asking us to carry out with vigour and determination. The dawn of political independence has undoubtedly removed the greatest hurdle in our path. But political liberty alone is not enough; it is a means to an end. And the end is all round human welfare, or, as Bapu used to call it, "Sarvodaya". It was, therefore, but fitting that constructive workers from all parts of the country should have assembled last March at Sevagram and searched their hearts to find whether they were worthy of the legacy that Bapu had left us. Ultimately they decided to dedicate their lives to the completion of Bapu's Constructive Programme and the Brotherhood of such constructive workers was appropriately named "Sarvodaya Samaj". The Sarvodaya Samaj stands for a society based on Truth and Non-violence because a society based on untruth and violence can never promote all round prosperity and well-being.

Wardha and Sevagram are the geographical heirs of Bapu's wonderful legacy of constructive work or "Sarvodaya". Almost all the institutions connected with his constructive programme are situated in these places. In Wardha, we have the Headquarters of the All-India Village Industries Association which has been doing admirable work under the able guidance of Prof. J. C. Kumarappa since 1934. The Hindustani Prachar Sabha which propagates the national language throughout the country was also founded by Bapu in 1942. It is at present working under the supervision of Acharya Kaka Kalelkar. The Mahila Ashram, which is the National Women's University of Bapu's conception, has been functioning ever since 1935. In the beginning, Acharya Vinoba Bhave was its Principal. The Ashram conducts its own independent courses which are not affiliated to any statutory University; but the distinguishing feature of the Ashram is the emphasis on manual labour. All the inmates are self-supporting in daily manual work, including scavenging, and no servants are employed for cooking, washing and cleaning. The Seksaria Commerce College has been the pioneer institution in introducing the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction up to the University stage; Bapu inaugurated this important reform in

SEVAGRAM: *The Cottage of Bapu and Kasturba.*





*SEVAGRAM: Two girls of the Mahila Ashram grinding corn for their meals.*

the Commerce College on the historic 9th August, 1946. The Head Office of the Kasturba Memorial Trust which devotes its energies to the uplift and well-being of women and children is also situated in Bajajwadi. Besides, the Bajaj Guest House of the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is also an institution which has become the symbol of Nationalism; it has been the National Home for all leaders and constructive workers for the last fifteen years.

In Sevagram, we have the Headquarters of the All-India Spinners' Association with Shri Jajuji as the guiding spirit; the Spinners' Association also runs its Khadi Vidyalaya for training workers in the technique of *khadi* production. The next important institution in Sevagram is the Hindustani Talimi Sangh or the All-India Basic Education Board whose Secretary is Shri Aryanayakam assisted by his able lifepartner, Shrimati Ashadevi. The Basic Education Scheme, later called by Bapu as the *Nayee Talim*, was Bapu's 'Latest Fad'; the Talimi Sangh whose President is Dr. Zakir Hussain, runs a Training College at Sevagram accommodating trainees from all parts of the country, and to which most of the Provincial Governments send their own candidates for training in Basic Education every year. The Practising Basic School and now also the Post-Basic School are run mainly under the guidance of Shrimati Ashadevi. But the most attractive feature of Sevagram is the small but artistic mud hut in which Bapu used to stay. It is only a tiny room with an attached bath-room; this small room serving as drawing-room, dining room, bed room and committee room for the meetings of different institutions in Wardha and Sevagram. Near Bapu's hut are Kasturba's and Mahadev Desai's cottages which are now being used for guests and trainees of Basic

Education. But Bapu's hut is being preserved as a memorial. Guests and inmates of the Ashram come to the hut to spin, meditate peacefully and to recite couplets from the Ramayana.

About a mile from Wardha town, is another important centre of constructive work. Formerly it was known as Nalwadi; now it has been named Gopuri. The colony sprang up about fifteen years ago when Acharya Vinoba Bhave started his spinning and weaving centre in the Nalwadi village which is predominantly populated by Harijans. Later, the colony developed into a big centre for the manufacture of *charkhas* (spinning wheels) and other accessories connected with spinning and weaving. In 1940, the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj started the All-India Goseva Sangh and shifted its Head Office to this Colony which then came to be known as Gopuri. Gopuri is now the Headquarters of the Gram Seva Mandal which runs a dairy, a tannery and a big workshop for the manufacture of spinning wheels. The Goseva Sangh has been carrying on successful experiments in dairying and stock-breeding. Shrimati Jankidevi, wife of the late Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, is the President of the Goseva Sangh.

Will India be worthy of the legacy that Bapu has bestowed on her? Will she develop a balanced, decentralised and human economy in this ancient land in accordance with Bapu's conception? Or will she go on following the Western pattern of large-scale industrialization with all attendant evils? This is a vital question that faces the Congress and the National Government. Let us earnestly hope that India will follow Bapu's teachings and ideals that present to the weary and war-torn world a model of socio-economic organization that will establish lasting peace and prosperity.

*SEVAGRAM: A group of happy Harijan children from a Basic Education School.*



# SECULAR NATIONALISM

K. M. MUNSHI

ONE of the essential problems of education—or perhaps the paramount one—is to awaken national consciousness in our young generation. Because we have national freedom, it does not follow that we have the strength to preserve our existence or our freedom as a nation. British military occupation which maintained enforced unity is gone; India is divided into two; Hindu-Muslim antagonism has not disappeared; the separatist urge for linguistic provinces is getting stronger; our old world social divisions and the inertia of the untaught and the backward have still to be overcome. Every one must therefore realise that if we cannot remain a nation our freedom will not last a day.

What is a nation? It is an aggregate based on its constituent members consciously 'willing' themselves into a nation. Religion or race, as in Pakistan or Hitler's Germany, has been exploited to some national ends; but a nation cannot exist unless its active members ceaselessly exert themselves in thought and conduct, to express the will to nationhood to the exclusion of the sentiments. This will springs from a common bond between such members—which we call national consciousness—and their capacity for collective action.

The basic element in national consciousness is the Collective Unconscious of a people: the sense of oneness—a sort of collective soul—which possesses them subconsciously. For instance, we not only think that we are Indians but we also feel it; this is most important for the feeling shared in common by millions of us rises from our Collective Unconscious. In its rudiments, it is the product of instinctive cohesion imposed by the needs of survival, the need as in sheep, for instance, for finding fodder and escaping wolves. In human beings, the texture of this cohesion is woven by language, by words, phrases, idioms and forms of speech shared in common. These forms are not mere sounds; their history goes back to the earliest stage of human existence. They represent ideas, urges, patterns of conduct and the literary, artistic and social heritage which have grown into the Collective Unconscious.

The second strand of the common bond is the collective memory preserved in the tradition and

history of common dangers and triumphs, of heroes who are believed to have led the people to security or victory; and of a sense of the continuity of a group from the distant past.

The third factor is provided by the fundamentals of culture: certain well defined social ways, life patterns, ideals and principles which, persisting through generations, have become indispensable elements of the common outlook.

Language, race, memory and tradition have immense power over minds. Sita is a little word in which is coiled the might of the Collective Unconscious. It lights up tradition, provides a fundamental life pattern, stands for the sublime courage of women. In every city and hamlet the name evokes veneration, inspires conduct and commands collective approbation. The word 'Brahmacharya'—sexual control—though stands for an ideal, similarly strikes a chord in our Unconscious and commands instantaneous respect. This is our Collective Unconscious speaking.

Where the Collective Unconscious is untrained or mistrained, these names have no meaning. The word 'Sita' evokes no response but only a contemptuous smile on the well-powdered, well-rouged face of an 'advanced' woman. I was discussing Gandhiji with a convent-bred young lady in Lahore when I referred to Brahmacharya as a great vow. Not familiar with any of the Sanskrit languages—except perhaps the bazar Punjabi—she pronounced the word Urdu-wise 'Ba-rem-chari'. She thought it meant some kind of beggars. Her Unconscious, untuned to any Sanskrit language missed the noble associations of the word. Thus are the waifs and strays of our Culture made.

Let us take the partition of India with all its horrors. Why did it become a reality? The answer is plain. All Indians could not consciously "will" themselves into one nation; our Collective Unconscious had been split into two. A perverted teaching of history under British influence was mainly responsible for this segregation. Pratap and Shivaji were heroes to young Hindus for they represented resistance to Muslim aggression. The Muslims dwelt on their lost supremacy over the Hindus and satisfied their yearning for a glorious past by

looking up to the vandalism of Mahmud Ghazni and Aurangzeb with pride. Once, at Hyderabad, I referred to the Nizam as the representative of the Akbar tradition. I thought it more than a fulsome compliment. The Urdu papers of Hyderabad promptly felt insulted because I had compared their benevolent ruler to a *kafir*. To take but one instance, Gandhiji, to the Hindu mind, was first a Mahatma. To the patriotic Muslim he was but a great leader. Except, of course, during the last few days before his death when every Muslim saw in him their saviour, the sub-conscious Muslim mind looked upon him as alien in spirit. Indians could not develop one Collective Unconscious; there were two; and Pakistan became inevitable.

Indian nationalism has sprung from the Collective Unconscious of Indians whose culture was rooted to the soil. No doubt it was fertilised through the influence of the West. Ram Mohan Roy, however, went back to the *Upanishads* to broaden the Hindu religious outlook under the influence of European rationalism. Dayananda Saraswati went back to the Vedas in order to adjust our religious outlook to the needs of nationalism—equality of caste, removal of superstition, emancipation of women, national language, glorification of the distant past as an antidote to the inferiority complex induced by foreign rule. Bankim Chandra secularised Hinduism by investing a national struggle with religious emotion. Durga, the Mother, became Bharat, the Motherland. Vande Mataram, apparently a hymn to Durga, became an apotheosis of the Motherland with her multitude of arms, her richness and her purity. Shri Aravinda, in many ways the seer of our modern nationalism, frankly stated it to be our new religion. He purged our religion of its other-worldly attitude. Patriotic service became *karmayoga*. Bharat in which the *rishis* and gods were born became India to be consecrated once again with the blood of patriotic martyrs.

Gandhiji took our nationalism to another stage. He completely exorcised Hinduism of other-worldliness. Religious movements under his influence suffered an eclipse. He obliterated social divisions, emancipated women, removed untouchability, without even offering an excuse to the religious conscience. Service in this world became a substitute for salvation in the next. By secularising nationalism he paved the way for patriotic Muslims to accept it without disowning their Perso-Arabic background of their culture.

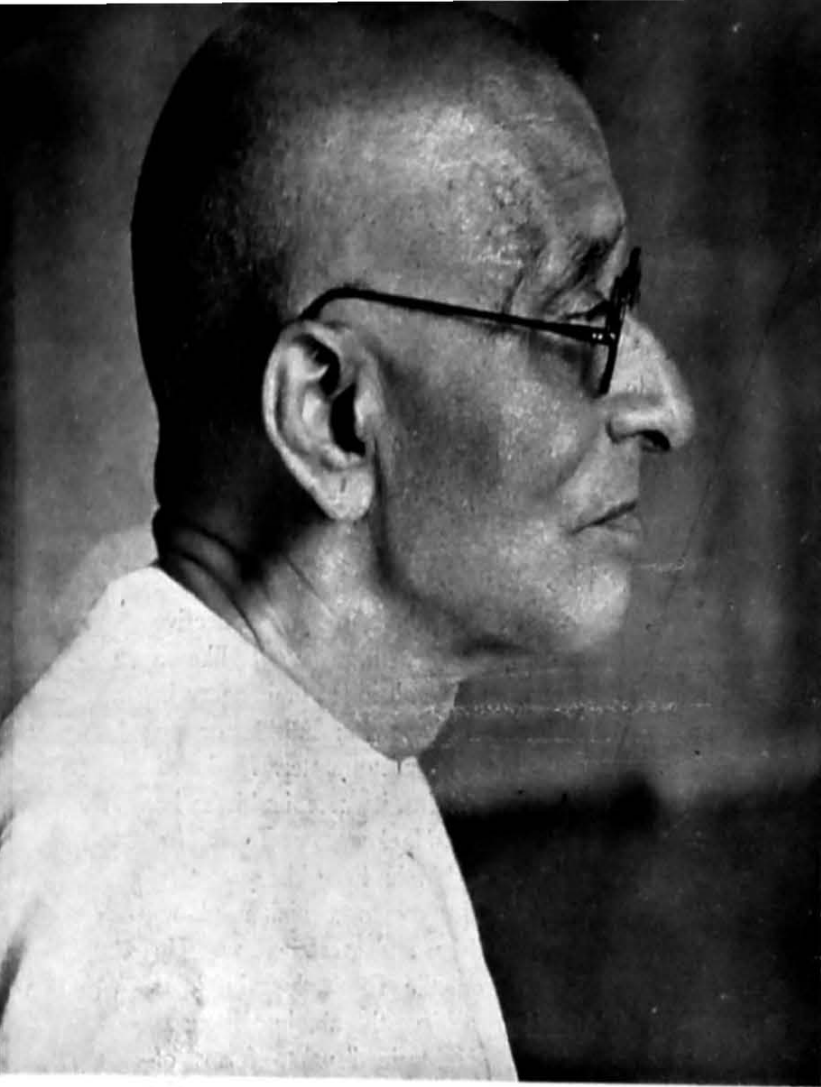
But he could do all this because he in his person embodied and expressed the best in our Collective Unconscious and, therefore, could sway it like a monarch. There was not a word, idiom or imagery in the Sant and Bhakti schools of poetry or Tulsidas or the Gita of which he was not a complete master. He loved the land, its rivers, its mountains, its trees, its birds; he lived close to the Mother. He knew our traditions. He knew the ways of our *rishis*: he lived like one. He lifted our tradition and history to a higher plane, adding to them fresh tradition and greater glory. He based his life's pattern on the Gita, observing the Mahavratas, labouring to achieve the absolute integration of his personality. He trained us to forms of collective action which though new to the world were fundamentally India. He moved us not by logic, but because of his control over our Collective Unconscious. To us he was the Sage, *Mahatma*,—the *Bapu*—not merely the father of the Nation in the sense in which Washington is to the Americans; and the immersion of his ashes in our sacred rivers was the spontaneous expression of our unconscious urge to see our highest fulfilment only when the land was consecrated with the ashes of the Father of the Nation in the ancestral way.

You cannot mobilize the Collective Unconscious of our younger generation without in some manner leading them on the very path of self-development which Gandhiji trod before them.

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"Religions are different roads converging upon the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal?"

—Mahatma Gandhi.



# RAJAJI

KRISHANLAL SHRIDHARANI

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*".....You would never know what lies behind those dark glasses, humour or sarcasm, sympathy or tolerance, approval or boredom....."*

ONE thing is sure. C. Rajagopalachari is the most logical choice as the last of the Warren Hastings, and as the first Indian Governor General. He is an outstanding Congress leader with more than 25 years of service to the nation behind him. Intellect, and not emotion, is his stock in trade. The honoured position he occupies is much like the symbolic Crown, which coldly shines but never shimmers. It is an office which demands chief quality—detachment. The man whose jaw-breaking name is often condensed into a simple "C.R.", and who is more often affectionately addressed as "Rajaji", has it. He is calm and collected and calculating. Rajaji is a partyman who has often defied his party. A Governor General has to rise above party level, for he represents all. Rajaji fills the bill.

Another thing is sure. No other choice would have been welcomed more wholeheartedly either in England or in Pakistan. From among the rebels, Rajaji has always been a favourite of the British. Even British Socialists have conservative instincts, and Rajaji has been a "lovable conservative". As the Prime Minister of Madras between 1937 and 1939, he was admired by Indians, but simply loved by the British. On July 28, 1940, at Poona, it was he who convinced the All-India Congress Committee of the wisdom of the war effort although that effort did not materialize. I was in

America in those days, and I clearly remember how British publicity officers built him up as the only statesman in India. He has been the teacher's pet. No wonder the *London Mail* editorialised: "C. R's versatility, intellectual alertness and insatiable curiosity, remind one of the first Governor General of India, Warren Hastings."

Now let us turn to Pakistan which was almost as jubilant as, if not more than, India over C.R's appointment as the first Indian Governor General of India. The Pakistan press was so enthusiastic as to imply that India was paying a special compliment to Pakistan, as if it was poetic justice that the twin architects of the Partition Plan should be the first Governor General of the twin Dominions. Mr. Jinnah was not so spontaneous and wholehearted on Mahatma Gandhi's martyrdom as on Rajaji's elevation to heights equal to his own. He threw to the winds his usual reserve and aloofness and wrote to Rajaji: "My warm congratulations on your appointment as Governor General of the Indian Dominion. Under your guidance, I hope, will come real friendship between the two Dominions. It is no less essential to India than to Pakistan". If Rajaji fulfils Mr. Jinnah's hopes, he will go down in history as a Titan.

And yet another thing is certain. No other man

than C. Rajagopalachari could have replaced Earl Mountbatten of Burma so conclusively. When Lord Mountbatten left Government House, it marked the end of an era: Rajaji striding up the marble steps signified the beginning of a new era. It was a clean break. It indicated so deep a psychological revolution that it required marked changes in physical details so as to register the upheaval in the minds of men. No other Indian leader could have offered a sharper contrast to Lord Mountbatten. The former Commander of the Commandos is a dashing figure, tall and handsome. If Gandhiji reminded an American correspondent of Micky Mouse, Rajaji reminded another of a turkey. On a dark turkey neck, fully furnished with a well-developed Adam's apple, too frail a body supports too big a head, bald and egg-shaped. A jutting lower lip and a beaky nose complete the picture. There are two more details, the slight figure stoops over a cane, and the very very dark glasses are so inseparable as to form part of his physiognomy. You would never know what lies behind those dark glasses, humour or sarcasm, sympathy or tolerance, approval or boredom. Lord Mountbatten is a socialite colourful and volatile; Rajaji is quiet and frail. Lord Mountbatten was at his best in large parties, with an appropriate word for each guest, informal and undemanding, yet the image of pomp and circumstance; Rajaji has a quiet dignity, but he is the very antithesis of pomp and circumstance. Government House under Lord Mountbatten was almost the last official residence where a party meant well-chosen whisky. Rajaji is a teetotaler, and evangelical. He is a fanatic against drinks and drugs; he has written a "Prohibition Manual" which tells you all about drinks and drugs; he was the Secretary of the Prohibition League of India; his own District of Salem was the first area in India to go completely dry under his regime in Madras. Government House under Lord Mountbatten was full of black ties and vintage wines. Fluttering *dhoties* and excellent South Indian coffee in Rajaji's Government House are the visible symbols of the new age.

Rajaji brings to All-India politics the subtleties of mind of a Southern Brahmin. He is a great debater, not colourful but lawyer-like, not an orator but pleader; his famous forensic powers have been the undoing of many an adversary. His mind is analytical and he is a past-master in dialectics. His interests are earnest; he has written books on Socrates and Marcus Aurelius in Tamil and he has been influenced by Thoreau and John Stuart Mill. He has also a creative side. He has written chatty stories both in Tamil and English, and he has made the Gita and the Upanishads easy for Indian

readers. Most of his stories are parables—instruments to popularise causes dear to his heart. Even in his speeches he uses parables. He has written several political tracts and, while Mahatma Gandhi was in jail he edited *YOUNG INDIA* for a while. He is a fine story-teller but he is more caustic than witty. That makes him quick at repartee, at some one else's cost.

Chakravarti (World Conqueror) Rajagopalachari was born in 1879 (that would make him about 70 now, the ideal age for leadership in India) in a village near Hosur in the Salem District in Madras, of distinguished Brahmin parents. He finished his studies at Law College, Madras, but the highest degrees he received were simple B.A., and B.L. However, within a short time of his joining the Bar in 1900, he built up a very lucrative practice. Had he stayed away from politics and stuck to law, he would have amassed a fortune. That was not to be. A strange little brown man in a loin cloth was attracting Indians of talent to the service of their motherland and Rajaji responded in 1919 by joining the Non-Cooperation movement. One of the points on which the nationalists were to non-cooperate with the British Raj was the practice of law in courts set up by the aliens. Rajaji non-cooperated and ceased being a lawyer. Ever since then, Rajaji has become one of the closest and the most orthodox disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, not only in politics but in life. Taking the cue from his Master, Rajaji developed fads. Besides the bias against drinks, he developed biases in favour of low salaries and *khadi* (home spun cloth). This political *entente* was later underscored by an *entente cordiale* at the family level. C. R.'s daughter married the Mahatma's son. In a province raging with Brahmin versus non-Brahmin war, the caste system was defied because a Brahmin married a Vaishya, but that brightened the political future instead of darkening it.

Rajaji became the high priest of Gandhism. He led a simple life, so much so that he had not seen a Movie until 1938 when he saw a Micky Mouse cartoon in the company of another who had never seen a film, Mahatma Gandhi. I remember Rajaji's visit to Gandhi's School in Ahmedabad where I was studying for a time. It was 1930 and the famous march to the sea, with its prospects of jail-going, was in the air. Rajaji was by that time an experienced jail-bird, so I asked his advice. He said: "Begin to learn how to live without the morning newspaper. You won't get it in prison. And it is harder to get along without the morning newspaper than without the morning cup of

(Continued on page 61)



# MOUNTBATTEN AND RAJAJI

K. SANTHANAM



*Rajaji arrives in New Delhi to take over from Lord Mountbatten.*

IT is difficult to imagine two persons more different in personal appearance, outlook and attainments. Lord Mountbatten — tall, handsome, young and energetic, brimming with optimism and self-confidence and infusing hope and enthusiasm all round; and C.R. old and wrinkled, calm and imperturbable questioning every statement and cross-examining every visitor. The former, born in the royal family of far-off England, brought up in the navy, became master of military and naval strategy and took his place naturally among the highest and most powerful in the world. C.R. comes of orthodox Brahmin parents, started life as a district lawyer, sacrificed his career in its moment of success to follow Mahatma Gandhi and achieved recognition and eminence by his intelligence, character and national service.

Yet by a strange destiny, their names have become linked together. Neither could have imagined that he would occupy the office of Governor General of free India and certainly neither sought it.

I cannot but marvel at the great patriotism and the high courage of Lord Mountbatten in agreeing to become the last British Viceroy of India. It may be recalled that Mr. Churchill declared with fine imperial arrogance that he had not become the first servant of the King Emperor to liquidate his Empire. It could not have been an easy decision for Lord Mountbatten, himself belonging to the royal family, to respond to the call of Prime Minister Attlee to undertake this thankless task in India. It was not merely a thankless task. Lord Wavell's handling of the Indian political problem had made the tangle almost insoluble and it looked as if Britain could neither stay nor withdraw with honour and dignity.

Lord Mountbatten's achievements in the first four months of office were nothing short of miraculous. The secret of his success lay in his clear grasp of the two fundamentals of the situation. He realised that at the stage at which matters stood in March 1947, there was no peaceful solution except in the division of India and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. He saw equally clearly that no solution would have any significance without the complete relinquishing of power by Britain followed by the withdrawal of the British forces in India. It may be recalled that these were the essential features of the C. R. formula. When once he had a clear grasp of these fundamentals, it was easy for Lord Mountbatten to see that they should be carried out in the quickest possible time, not only to hold Indian impatience under control but also to prevent British reaction from gathering strength. The Indian Governor Generalship was the first political job undertaken by Lord Mountbatten and it must have been an agreeable surprise to find himself such a complete master of the game. From the first, he kept Mr. Jinnah and the chief Congress leaders fascinated by his decision and drive. He showed extraordinary political acumen in recognising the vast reserve of power in Mahatma Gandhi and succeeded in cultivating the latter's goodwill even though the Mahatma disliked the division of India and tried to take the country back to the Cabinet Mission plan when it was too late to do so. While Lord Mountbatten made every decision, he took great

care that the responsibility was openly and unequivocally shared by the Congress and League leaders. In Britain, he managed to silence Mr. Churchill and the Tories with the vision of India voluntarily accepting Dominion Status and hustled the British Government into passing the Indian Independence Act in record time. When he persuaded the League and the Congress to accept his nominee, Sir Cyril Radcliffe as the common head of the boundary commissions for the Punjab and Bengal, he had performed the rope trick in Indian politics and secured a prominent position among the great makers of Indian history.

Then disappointment came. With Mr. Jinnah's rejection of joint Governors-Generalship, it looked as if Lord Mountbatten's association with India would come to an end on August 15, but the Indian leaders considered it wise and graceful to request him to continue as the first Governor General of Free India. Then followed the great explosion in the Punjab. Only the future historian will be able to say who was responsible for this terrible tragedy and whether it could have been avoided. It seems to me that in his deep absorption in the political game, Lord Mountbatten neglected his military strategy. He assumed too easily that the people of the Punjab would follow the political leaders and did not realize the danger of communal armies and police forces. While he cannot escape some responsibility for the failure of the Punjab Boundary Force, it must be confessed that no one expected such a big flare up. For the handling of the conflict, he had no responsibility having become a strictly constitutional head of the state. There is no doubt that his advice and guidance was of great assistance to the Indian cabinet in this crisis. In those dark months and the darker days that followed the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, Lord and Lady Mountbatten came to be identified with the fortunes of India. The great receptions and gatherings at the time of their departure on June 21, demonstrated the high regard in which the leaders and the people had

come to hold them.

As for the first Indian Governor General, I do not want to say much. C.R.'s political career has been marked by high crests and low depressions. As the opponent of the Council-entry programme, he was more than a match at the Gaya Congress to the great leaders, Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru and as the first Congress Premier of Madras in 1937, he set up a standard of ability and integrity which has not been equalled since. But as in the case of his great master, Mahatma Gandhi, the years when he stood aside from politics were even more fruitful than when he was playing a leading part. They gave him time to study and write and the Tamil and English literatures have been enriched by his short stories, studies of the Upanishads, the Gita, the Vedanta and other works. His cultural interests are so wide that he could find himself active, useful and contented under any circumstances. His penetrating intellect, the lucidity and persuasiveness of his speeches and writings and the wit and charm of his conversation are too wellknown to require mention. But it is not so wellknown that he is utterly free from personal ambition and has an almost morbid tendency to step aside and take a back seat. That he is today the Governor General is a curious result of this tendency. He voluntarily gave up the Finance Ministership of the Government of India to take up the difficult office of Governor of West Bengal. Whether he will be able to make his influence felt at Delhi in the same manner as at Calcutta, it is not possible to say yet but I have no doubt that the prestige and dignity of the high office he holds are safe in his hands.

Nurtured in the British imperial tradition, it was given to Lord Mountbatten to end British Imperialism in India. It will be a fitting task for his successor to consolidate the freedom that has been won and unify the people by removing the barriers of caste, creed and community that divide them now.



*Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the historic session of the Constituent Assembly at midnight on August 14, 1947.*

## A CROWDED YEAR

DURGA DAS

THE predominant impression of the past year is one of achievement, of having weathered the storm. That in itself was a burden under whose immense weight many a well-established State might well have staggered. Great strides have been taken towards national will.

The British withdrawal left in its wake a vacuum in the administrative and security services in many areas. That made it inevitable that minor riots should degenerate into serious disturbances. Some account must be taken of the part played by the departing British Civil Service men in creating bad blood between the communities in the Punjab by their systematic appeasement of the Muslims over a long period. It was a definite policy. The main transfer of power, however, was achieved without bloodshed perhaps the first instance of its kind in history, and a singular triumph for the spirit of non-violence in which the struggle for independence had been led by the Father of the Nation.

The credit for this new-born goodwill and absence of bitterness in the relations between the ruler and the ruled must go largely to the vision of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leadership in general and the new conception that the last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, brought to bear on his task.

In all consciousness, that task was gigantic. The problem of transfer of power was bad enough. But the problem of transferring it to two authorities, one of them not yet in being, was worse. Without Lord Mountbatten's vigour and dynamism the target could not have been set for August 15, 1947. But it may be that from Lord Mountbatten's very qualities flowed his main defects. He went straight to his goal without allowing himself to be distracted by the minor effects that would result and without erecting those safeguards whose necessity a more contemplative mind would have foreseen.

But on that day of destiny, August 15, India was prepared to forget and forgive. The first flush of freedom was revealed in the frenzy of popular enthusiasm, and the sense of high adventure, which has been aptly described by Pandit Nehru as "India discovers herself again".

And the work of discovery has gone on, through the disasters in the Punjab, the tragedy of millions of people on the move to find new homes while all their precious possessions were left behind, the vast problem of their shelter, food and clothing. For catastrophe on such a scale we were not prepared, but we have never looked back. If no remedies were to hand, we improvised them and in the process discovered in the newly nationalised army a tool of matchless discipline and service. The Army did a very fine job indeed in the Punjab and later, in Kashmir.

A greater test awaited the army in Kashmir. Before it was called in, the raiders had penetrated almost to the gates of Jammu and Srinagar. To fight back in

terrain of such difficulty was a serious problem. It was because of the cool courage and grim determination with which the army had fought, that in the first year raiders were nearly eliminated from most of the territory they had overrun.

But if Kashmir is a triumph for our army, it provided a setback for our diplomacy. We failed to obtain from the U.N. Security Council a recognition of the justice of our case. And while the Security Council was still in the midst of the discussions on Kashmir, the Nation lost its Father. Mahatma Gandhi's assassination was an international calamity. There have been worldwide tributes to his memory, describing him as the greatest man of the century, the greatest Asian, the greatest since Christ. But what was much more significant was that he *was* India. No one ever symbolised a nation in himself as much as did Gandhiji.

And curiously enough, his death made us realize that his work was still undone. He had won for us freedom,

*Lord Mountbatten swearing in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as India's Prime Minister.*



he had shown us the way to conquer the communal monster, but that monster was not dead. Gandhiji dead moved us out of our complacency so that there was a wave of spontaneous revulsion against communal organizations bringing with it a hope of lasting accord between the communities. The change in the atmosphere can only be described as revolutionary.

Another revolution was taking place which had as far-reaching an import. That was the change in the status of the Indian States. At the end of the First Year the only State of any size that had not been democratized and integrated was Hyderabad.

Another source of anxiety has been the relations with Pakistan which, in spite of many generous gestures on India's part, continue to be difficult. The Kashmir problem has added further complications, but lately there has appeared a welcome awareness that a firm policy is the only one that is understood by the sister Dominion. India's hesitations in foreign policy generally have left us with few friends, but in the end our determination to steer clear of power blocs and rivalries must command respect in the international field.

And so we come to our Constitution whose draft has been completed but not yet discussed by the Constituent

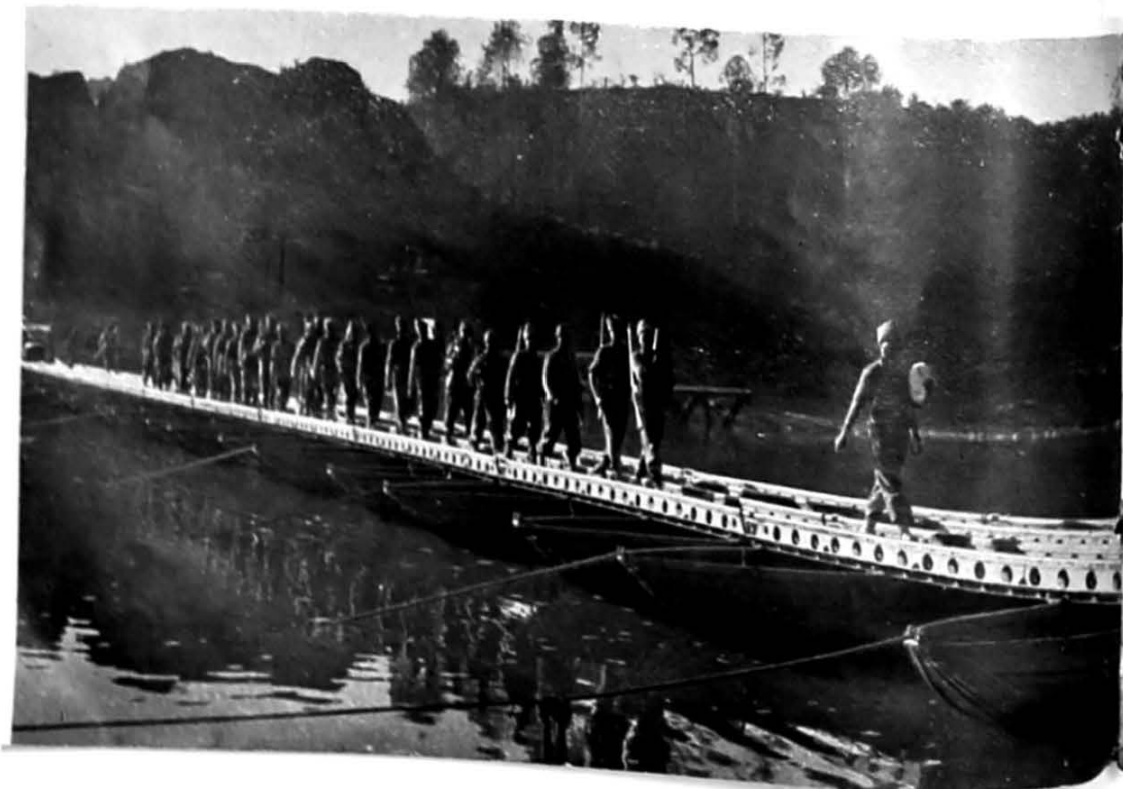
Assembly. It can be described as the charter of the common man. But the delay in passing it has caused some concern. The opposition has tried to exploit it though without any success, if the results of the U.P. by-elections are any indication. The lesson is that the country is still solidly behind the Congress but impatient at times for action.

So much history is packed in this eventful First Year that it is easy to underestimate the significance of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's appointment as the first Indian Governor General. The wisdom of the choice has nowhere been questioned and it is particularly apposite that an Indian should be the Head of the State to herald the new era which will begin with the coming into operation of the new Constitution.

→  
*Pandit Jawaharlal Nebru swears in the Maharaja of Gwalior, Rajpramukh of the Gwalior-Indore-Malwa Union at Gwalior on May 28. Seated on the right is the Maharaja of Indore. Uparajpramukh of the Union.*

*Deserted and ruined corner of a town in Kashmir.* →

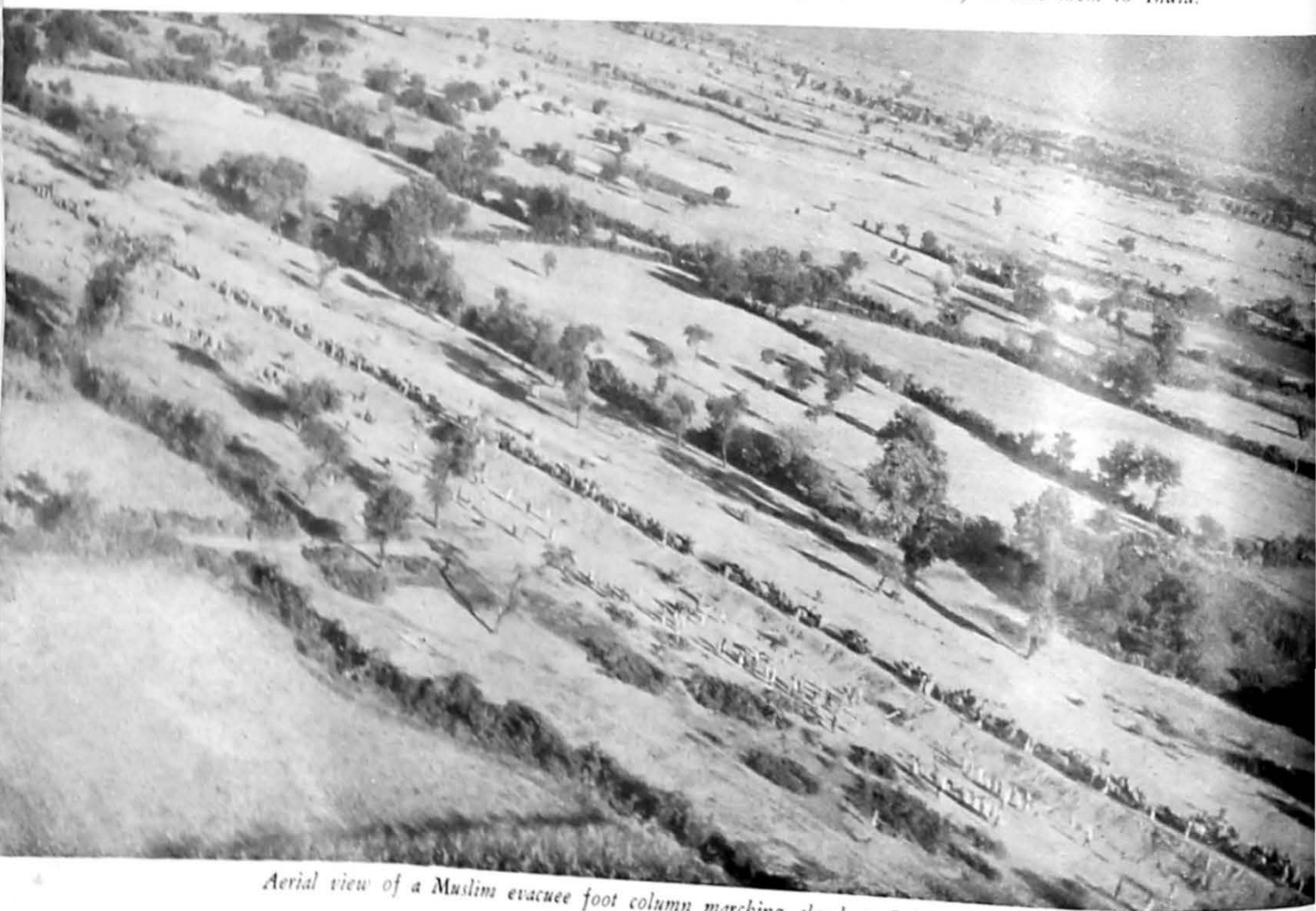
*Troops of the Indian Army crossing a river in Jammu by a pontoon bridge.*







*LYALLPUR: The 30,000 Hindu evacuees awaiting trains at Lyallpur (W. Pakistan) to take them to India.*

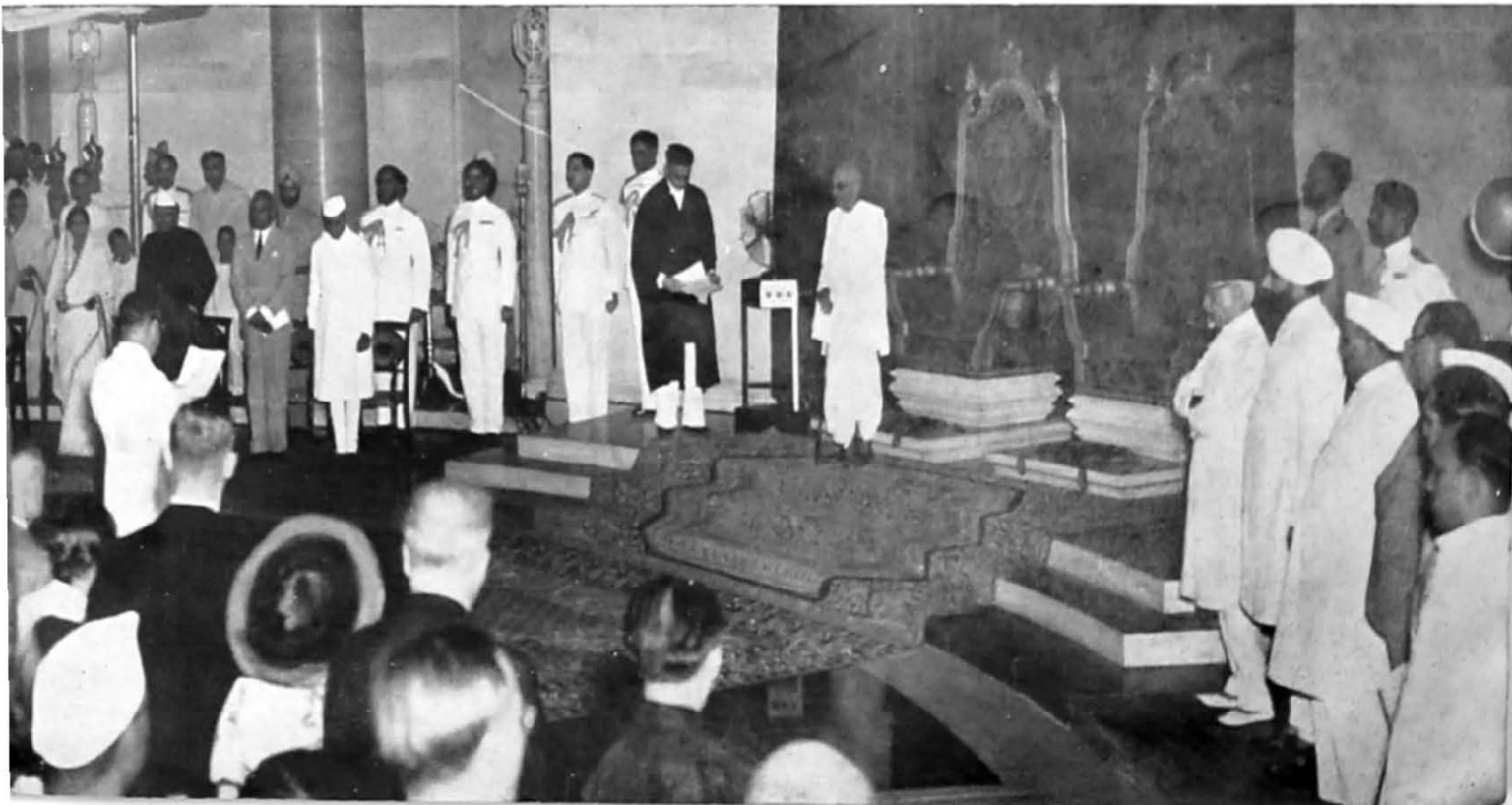


*Aerial view of a Muslim evacuee foot column marching slowly to Pakistan.*



*Pandit Jawaharlal Nebru opening the third session of the ECAFE at Ootacamund.*

*H.E. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari being sworn in as Governor General of India. Members of the Cabinet are seen in two rows at left and right of the picture.*



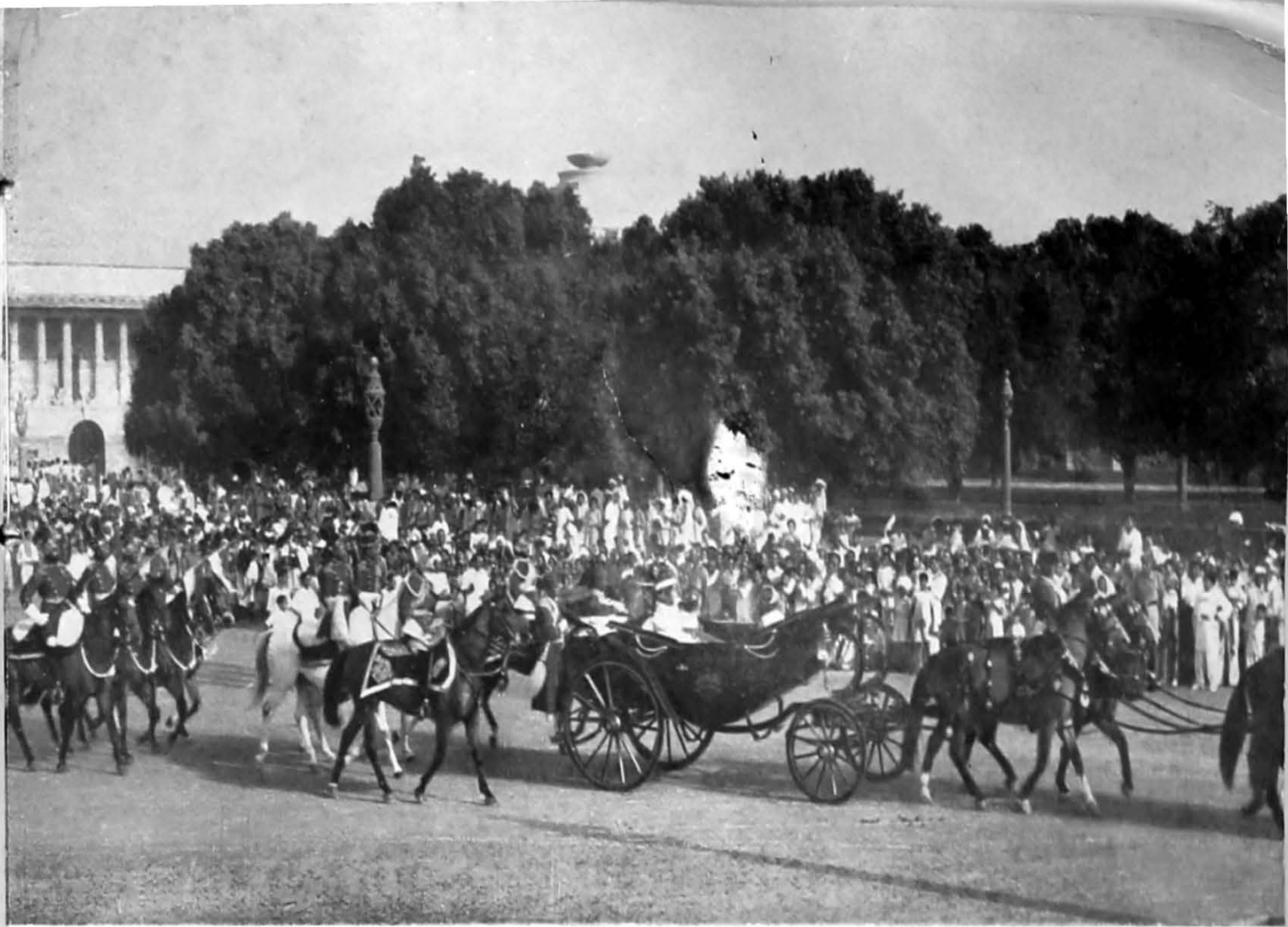




**LAST BRITISH BATTALION IN INDIA:**  
*The First Battalion of the Somerset Light Infantry was the last to leave India.*

*Members of the Indian Delegation to the third session of the ECAFE. Front row, Left to Right: Mr. Anantasayanam Iyengar, Dr. Syama Prasad Mukerji, Dr. John Matthai, Mr. Sitarama Reddi. Back row, Left to Right: Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. S. Chakravarti, Sir J. C. Ghosh, Mr. C. C. Desai, Dr. B. Natarajan and Mr. S. N. Roy.*





*The Mountbattens and their daughter leaving Government House in State bidding good-bye to India.*

*Philip Noel-Baker, United Kingdom Minister for Commonwealth Relations (left) and R. H. Hadow, United Kingdom Foreign Office adviser, (centre) talk with Sheikh Abdullah, (right) before a meeting of the U.N. Security Council.*

— Photo: UNITED NATIONS





*RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR, Minister for Health, Government of India.*



*Mrs. SAROJINI NAIDU, Governor of the United Provinces.*



*Mrs. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, Indian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.*

## STATUS OF WOMEN IN FREE INDIA

HANSA MEHTA

OUR freedom is now a year old. Even within this short period India would have forged far ahead but for circumstances beyond control. On the very dawn of her freedom India had to face problems which would have unnerved any government however long established or strong it may have been. In spite of this and in spite of many other troubles engineered by interested parties India has kept her chin above water and gone ahead with far reaching schemes for the social and economic advancement of her people. In this article, I am concerned with what free India means to women only.

Since the advent of freedom, women have been given high offices. We have a woman Cabinet Minister, another Governor and a third an Ambassador. All the administrative posts will also be open to women. Women will be eligible for recruitment to the police force.

Up till now the University Training Corps was only meant for male students. There was no training for women for auxiliary war work. The Union Govern-

ment are now planning a National Cadet Corps. This scheme includes the training of women for any emergency that may arise. In these days of uncertainty when the security of the country is threatened from within and without such a training is absolutely necessary and the universities will be rendering great service to the country by organizing the National Cadet Corps for men and women.

In labour legislation too, women have scored, many points. The Social Insurance Bill has been passed and its provisions include maternity benefits over and above the other benefits which are for both men and women. The principle of equal pay for equal work has been accepted. The Government of Bombay have already announced their intention to implement this principle in their Department of Education. Until now the Class I and the Class II Services in that Department had different scales of pay for men and women. This distinction will now go.

But the most far-reaching changes are in the social field. The Hindu Code Bill, now before the Indian

Parliament, is a progressive measure. It contemplates drastic changes in the social system of the Hindus. The system needs complete overhauling in view of the changing conditions. Under the present Hindu Law, a woman suffers from many disabilities. Firstly, her right to property is limited. There are two principal schools of Hindu Law, viz., the Dayabhaga School and the Mitakshara School. Neither School recognizes woman as an heir who can inherit her father's property in her absolute right. The marriage laws are also hard on women. The intercaste marriages of the *Praticoma* variety are prohibited, i.e. a man belonging to a higher caste can marry a woman belonging to any caste lower than his own; but a woman belonging to a higher caste cannot marry a man who belongs to a caste lower than her own. All marriages are considered sacramental and the law does not provide for divorce. The man, however, can get over the difficulty by marrying again, as polygamy is permitted under the present Hindu Law.

With regard to guardianship it is the father who is regarded as the guardian of his children, however undeserving he may be to play the role. The mother becomes the guardian of her children only after the death of the father. The man, however, can deprive the woman of her natural right if he expresses such a desire before his death.

It is the same thing with regard to adoption. A woman must have the consent of her husband before she can adopt a child while the man can do so. No female child can be adopted. Such adoption would not be recognized by the Law.

The women's organizations have been agitating for a number of years for the removal of these disabilities. A Committee under the chairmanship of Sir B. N. Rau was appointed a few years ago to look into the matter. On the recommendations of the Committee, a Bill to revise and consolidate the Hindu Code was drafted and introduced in the Central Assembly. The Government was, however, not very serious about it with the result

that nothing came of it. The Bill has now been taken up by the present Government and was discussed at the last session of the Indian Parliament and referred to a Select Committee. The Bill, though not entirely satisfactory, can be described as a progressive measure. It recognizes woman as an heir and absolute owner of her father's as well as husband's property. The defect in the Bill is that as a daughter, she receives only half the share her brother gets in their father's property. When the new Constitution lays down the principle of equality irrespective of sex, the new Hindu Code cannot make this distinction between sons and daughters. One hopes that the Select Committee will take note of this and not allow the Bill to be passed without a challenge.

The Bill maintains that all intercaste marriages are valid. This will strike at the root of the caste system which, as it exists today, can have no justification. Neither can it exist in its present form without violating the democratic principle of equality as accepted in the new Constitution. The Bill also prohibits polygamy and includes provisions for divorce under certain conditions, both for men and women.

The chapter on adoption is unnecessary. We can have a separate Law of Adoption applicable to all Indians on the same lines as the British Law. Adoption among the Hindus is mostly for religious purposes. A son, it is believed, protects his ancestors from going to purgatory after death. If, therefore, there is no son, a son is adopted in order to save the ancestors from this undesirable fate. Such ideas are ridiculous in these days and a secular State cannot give recognition to them.

The new Constitution aims at creating a secular democratic State. The laws of Free India, therefore, will have to be consistent with this objective. The adoption of the draft Constitution for that reason is bound to bring about a change in the present state of affairs. The status of woman will improve as a result of the change in the laws as well as in the outlook of the people.

# WHAT FREE INDIA MEANS TO ME

ARTHUR MOORE

IN attempting to express in a short article what India means to me I have undertaken more than I can well do. Yet in the attempt peradventure I can help myself to a more explicit consciousness and therewith enable my readers to share it with me.

My first feeling is one of debt and gratitude. I owe India much, and within the measure of my strength I must go on seeking to repay.

In India, despite the confusion of the times and the clash of world events, and in the midst of controversies in which I had, as Editor of a daily paper, to engage, I found personal peace. Moreover,—and herein my experience is perhaps peculiarly fortunate, and not typical of what happens to Europeans in India,—I have experienced a continual sense of growth instead of decline.

Coming down from Persia, I first visited India in 1912. I came again,—also fresh from Persia—in 1922, but I did not settle in India till 1924. I was then well past the normal prime of life and I felt and showed my years. Today, though there has been no return to youth, I am physically stronger and mentally more capable of concentration without fatigue than twenty-four years ago. Although I do not come from a family with a tradition of service in India, the East called me in my childhood and I knew that one day I should live in India. When I was a small boy I wrote some verse for the school magazine of which I only remember two lines:—

*"I am the changeless ageless East,  
Never a lover have I released."*

But for a long time I dodged my fate, and I spent years (including four years as a soldier and airman) in the Balkans, Russia and Persia. In the end I struck root in India, as I knew all along I would.

From the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms I became deeply interested in the evolution of India's political freedom. My dream was that this should come about in my lifetime, and that I should see it happen by peaceful transition, with Britain fully consenting. It was plain to me that sooner or later there

would be a war between Britain and America on the one side and Japan on the other, (I used to write about this in the twenties), and I wanted to see India a free Dominion before that, and ranging herself of her own accord with the British Commonwealth. When the Princes suddenly plumped for federation at the opening of the first Round Table Conference, and Mr. Jinnah gave it his blessing, I rejoiced. When constitutional machinery for a federation of Greater India was provided in the Government of India Act of 1935 my hopes rose higher. By this time it was plain to me that we were heading for a war with Germany and Italy which might begin before the war with Japan, and what influences I had I used to urge that federation should be achieved before war broke out.

But my hopes were vain. The enthusiasm of the Princes for federation soon waxed cold; the Congress would not look at it, and the Moslems then in turn rejected it. Only too late in the day did Lord Linlithgow exert himself to urge federation upon the Princes, and faced with the fact that Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore and others of the largest States had never at any period weakened in their opposition to federation or accepted representation in the Chamber of Princes, he dismissed the project as impracticable on the eve of war in 1939.

One success there was, when the Congress accepted responsibility in the sphere of provincial government in 1937; but this was nullified by collective resignation soon after war broke out. Since then many of my hopes, if not shipwrecked, have suffered sad deferment, and though I rejoiced when India, with the full consent of Great Britain, attained her Independence on August 15, 1947, I could not but grieve that neither the Greater India of my dream nor even a federation of what had been British India had come to pass.

Yet I keep my dream and do not despair. Some day Indians will resolve the mental contradictions which now involve them in failures and frustration. The root question is still about non-violence, and whether you are willing to defend your country and the lives and honour of your people with arms in your hands or not.

Many times did I discuss this question with Gandhiji, and after August last he became a changed man. When all his vision of Hindus and Moslems embracing one another for joy that the British were quitting turned to illusion, he saw clearly and said emphatically that the *ahimsa* he had preached had been but a form of *himsa*, a method of war, and that he now understood the duty which a Government has to defend its people.

Today I see India full of personal pacifists who are public war-mongers. There is an insistent demand for intensified military action but no visible intention of taking part in it, no rally to the army and the air force for the Kashmir or Hyderabad fronts. The cry is simply to send the army, — the same army, but now divided and diminished by partition — that was once derided and disliked. The idea of personal sacrifice seems lacking. Have you got the sepoy, — I am not speaking of the officers; they know their importance and can take care of themselves, — have you got the sepoy, whom you expect to die for you as a matter of course, in your mind and heart? Are the Indian ladies who lead society, knitting woolly comforters to keep him from frostbite in Kashmir? Are you running canteens with

volunteer workers to ease his homesickness, and to give him hot sweet tea and coffee and help him through weary hours? If you are, why are you keeping it so quiet? I read no word of it in the papers.

So then, rejoicing as I do on this first anniversary of India's Independence, my prayer is that Indians may wake to the desire to defend even with their lives the new freedom that God has given them. Gandhiji would have had you defend your hearths on either side of the border, and he rightly saw that had Punjabis done so the killing would soon have stopped and the horrors of last Autumn would not have happened. Let not India's geographical size and material resources intoxicate her children with a sense of power. Brave men who are willing to give their lives have before now defeated those who are not willing to give theirs and rely on others, or on economic weapons to win them a bloodless war.

Anniversaries, like New Year, are an occasion for new resolutions. Why not all of us devote August 15, to strengthening our resolve to do more for the India we love?

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## OUR REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD



Sardar K. M. PANIKKAR, Ambassador to China.



Sir B. RAMA RAU, Ambassador to the U.S.A.



Dr. SYUD HOSSAIN, Ambassador to Egypt and Minister to Transjordan.



Sri V. K. KRISHNA MENON, High Commissioner to the U.K.

Artist: NAGEN BHATTACHARYA.

# EDUCATION

K. G. SAIYIDAIN

EDUCATION is a plant of slow growth. It has to train better men and women and create through them, a better social order. Its results cannot, therefore, be 'seen' within a few months or a few years as you can see the turn-over of a factory.

Again, Indian education has been caught in a stereotyped and static tradition for over a hundred years. Its aims and objectives, its methods and technique, its curricula and courses and its organization have been dominated by purposes which were neither dynamic nor related to the developing socio-economic situation and the changing ideology of the country. Now, it is simply impossible in a year or two to replace or even modify substantially this old system, rooted as it is in inertia. The process of reconstruction and change must naturally be spread over many years.

Yet another factor has to be taken into consideration in order to put the situation into its proper perspective. The division of the country with its consequence of communal orgies, lawlessness and disorder interrupted all progress. The Government in its anxiety to resettle the uprooted millions had to shelve many schemes of national reconstruction.

In spite of all these formidable handicaps—psychological, historical and political—there is an undeniable

ferment in educational thought and a new vision of education is beginning to appear in the policy and activities of educationists as well as administrators. In the first place, there is now a full and frank recognition of the fact that the Scheme of Basic National Education has come to stay with its insistence on a minimum of seven years of free, compulsory education, in the mother tongue and centring round some form of craft work. It is *not* regarded now as a personal fad of Mahatmaji and a few educationists, and the future form of mass education in the country will be based on it. During the operation of Section 93, even in provinces where it was nominally working, it was handicapped by official neglect and indifference. Now, Provincial Governments have reaffirmed their allegiance to the scheme and in many provinces—Bombay, Bihar, U.P., Madras, etc.—Compulsory Education Acts have actually been passed and are being implemented. In some provinces, attention is being devoted to the problems involved in converting ordinary primary schools into Basic Schools. A few months ago I happened to participate in the All-India Basic Education Conference held at Bikram (Bihar) under the distinguished presidentship of Dr. Zakir Hussain. I was impressed only with the new sense of *reality* that permeated the proceedings of the Conference but also with the popular appeal that it made to the villagers of the whole region.

*Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the fourteenth session of the Central Advisory Board of Education held at New Delhi on January 13, 1948. On his left is the Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education. The Hon'ble Srimati Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Minister for Health, is seen second to the right of the Prime Minister.*



There was a growing recognition of the intimate relationship of education to everyday life.

Under the leadership of Maulana Azad, the Education Ministry and the Central Advisory Board of Education have been considering the various aspects of education and, if the speed at which the various committees have been producing their reports and recommendations is continued in their execution, education will really move forward at last.

At the Conference of Education Ministers and other educationists which met at Delhi last January many important problems connected with different stages of education were discussed and useful decisions taken. An important result of the Conference was the forging of a closer co-ordination of policy between the Centre and the Provinces and a joint determination to cut short the undoubted and prolonged time-lag between planning and execution.

Since then a Sub-Committee of the Advisory Board has produced a quick Report on Adult Education which sets out to give a new orientation to work in this field, so that the education of adults may go beyond the confines of mere literacy into the domain of dynamic social education aiming at the enrichment of the life of the people in all directions. It is to press into its service teachers, students, voluntary workers, officials and within five years it is to effect a major breach in the nation's ignorance, illiteracy and lack of civic understanding. In some provinces, noticeably in the C.P., work on these lines has already begun and the Education Minister in the Central Government recently stressed its importance and urgency in a comprehensive statement of policy on the subject.

Another Committee has reported on the problems of Secondary Education and recommended that there should be a certain general framework of Secondary Education for the whole country into which provincial schemes may be fitted. It has recommended 12 years as the total period of pre-University education (including both Basic and Secondary Education), endorsed the establishment of different types of Secondary Schools, suggested the holding of only one public examination at the end of the course. They expressed the view that English should not be taught at the

Junior Basic stage at all and later, when it has ceased to be the medium of instruction at the Universities, it need not be taught at the Senior Basic (or lower Secondary) stage either. It has also defined the place of the federal language in education. If the Provinces agree to the general outlines of the Committee's scheme—and it is likely that they will do so because they were all represented on it—Secondary Education will be spared the danger of running along entirely different lines in different provinces.

The formation of a National Cultural Commission that will cooperate with UNESCO was an important event.

Among the other important questions considered in recent months were technical terms at the University and Secondary Stage, the place of English and of the regional languages in higher education, finance, and the education of the refugees. It is true that, in most cases, they are at the deliberative stage but that is, to some extent, unavoidable because education is a provincial subject and the Centre exercises mainly an advisory and coordinating function. It can, however, share educational policy through Conferences and technical guidance and it can quicken the tempo of educational reconstruction through generous financial aid.

This is only a brief review of a momentous year in retrospect and not the occasion to look into the future. But among the many things which can be seen, the most important is the problem of social and civic education. The change from political subjection to freedom is, in any case, beset with problems and difficulties which demand an intellectual and moral reorientation. But when it is attended by communal frenzy and bitterness of such magnitude as we have seen and it involves the tragedy of millions of refugees, whose sufferings have embittered them, the task of education and re-education becomes a moral and political challenge. It was this challenge—the challenge to build a more cooperative, more peaceful, more tolerant, more sensitive concept of citizenship—that Gandhiji struggled to meet in his last great epic of suffering and sacrifice and it is the sacred duty of those on whose shoulders his mantle has fallen to carry on this great work of social and moral re-education.



# FOOD

B. R. SEN

OF the important developments in the sphere of food administration and agricultural production since August, 1947, the two most important are undoubtedly the inauguration of a policy of progressive decontrol of prices and rationed distribution of foodgrains and the undertaking by the Central Government of large land reclamation projects in different parts of India with heavy tractors and ploughs.

The system of price control and rationed distribution of foodgrains began at the time of the Bengal Famine in 1943. The main features of the system are wellknown. The Provinces and State Governments secured the maximum possible supplies from within the country by elaborate procurement schemes, ranging from free purchases in the open market to compulsory levies. The Centre took the responsibility for distributing whatever was available from imports and local resources to the deficit Provinces and States in accordance with a Basic Plan based on declared surpluses and deficits calculated on a common formula. In August, 1947, the entire foodgrains trade of the country passed through Government hands at some stage or other; imports, which were a Government monopoly, had increased to 2½ million tons, and 148 million people were rationed.

This system of food administration involved the operation of a number of controls on prices, movement and trade. Statutory maximum procurement prices were fixed for surplus areas in the light of changes in the cost of production as compared with the pre-war period and these formed the basis of the controlled prices at which foodgrains were issued to consumers. Since the prices of imported foodgrains were very much higher than those prevailing in the country, the Government of India made them available to recipient administrations at more or less the local prices, the resulting loss being borne by the Central exchequer. The foodgrains trade was thus completely controlled and no one could participate in it except under licence and after fulfilling stringent conditions regarding the keeping of accounts, submission of stock returns.

While it was generally recognized that the controls introduced were largely instrumental in steadying the food position throughout the country under conditions of scarcity and particularly in saving the Province of Madras from a repetition of the Bengal Famine in 1946 when both the S.W. and the N.E. monsoons failed in the province—in fact no country in the world had put out such a tremendous effort as India—a feeling had been growing that these controls encouraged

*Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating the Conference of Provincial Premiers and Food Ministers which opened in New Delhi on April 28, 1948. The Food Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. Jiramdas Daulatram, is seated on the Prime Minister's left.*



hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption and were not altogether an unmixed blessing. With the installation of popular ministries in the provinces in 1946, this dissatisfaction found increasing expression and tended to undermine the entire food administration based on controls. Internal procurement became increasingly difficult and the only remedy was an increase in imports. In 1945-46 and 1946-47, we had to spend about Rs. 80 crores and Rs. 100 crores in foreign exchange against our total earning of Rs. 270 crores and Rs. 300 crores respectively. This affected our capacity to purchase capital goods sorely needed for our post-war development plans. The rapid increase in the price of foodgrains from abroad accentuated the weakness of our position. Then came the partition of the country, which left 80% of the production of jute and 40% of the production of cotton in Pakistan and led to a demand for the expansion of jute and cotton production in the Indian Union, involving a reversal of the war-time policy of diverting acreage from commercial crops to foodgrains.

The Foodgrains Policy Committee was appointed by the Central Government early in September, 1947, to consider these problems. Its main recommendation was that the Government commitments under rationing and controlled distribution should be reduced. The recommendation was accepted by the Central Government in consultation with the Provincial Governments, and a policy of progressive decontrol was put into effect from the end of December, 1947.

The new policy had to be implemented mainly by the Provincial Governments, since procurement and rationing were their responsibilities. The extent to which they have relaxed controls has been conditioned by their supply position. In the surplus and slightly deficit Provinces such as East Punjab, C.P., Orissa and Assam, price control and the restrictions on internal movement of foodgrains have mostly been removed and monopoly procurement has also been given up. The U.P. also took similar steps but the Provincial Government have announced recently that rationing will be reintroduced in Kanpur, Agra, Banaras, Lucknow and Allahabad and will cover all persons with incomes of less than Rs. 100 per month. The heavily deficit provinces—at least some of them—have proceeded even more cautiously. West Bengal has retained price control and monopoly procurement as before. In Bombay, rationing has been retained in the four cities of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and Sholapur but price control and monopoly procurement have been

discarded. In Madras, the rationed population has been reduced from about 42 millions in 1947 to about 8 millions.

The decontrol policy has now been in operation for only a little over six months. It is, therefore, too early yet to draw conclusions. Certain trends are, however, noticeable. In the surplus provinces of C.P. and Orissa, prices have come down after an initial upward spurt immediately following decontrol, but in Assam, rice prices showed some increase in January, 1948, which has since been maintained. Procurement is satisfactory in C.P. and Orissa. In the heavily deficit areas consumers are facing acute difficulties. The short fall in the harvest of rice and millet in Madras this year, though not so large as originally anticipated, has aggravated the difficult position. Prices in Bombay and Madras have been showing a steadily upward tendency and the Provincial Governments have had to open relief shops—which is only another form of rationing—to ensure minimum supplies against ration cards.

The difficulties of the Government have to some extent been mitigated by the improved position in regard to imports, through an improvement in imports, which consume our foreign exchange resources, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory solution. An Agreement was concluded with Australia in December, 1947, by which the latter undertook to supply 25 million bushels (6,70,000 tons) of wheat in 1948 at a price of 18s. 6d. per bushel (Rs. 367-8-0 per ton). The production of rice in Burma is steadily increasing and expected to be back at the pre-war level within the next two or three years. Arrivals of foodgrains from abroad this year have been satisfactory, and totalled 1.5 million up to the end of May, 1948. The world prices of foodgrains, however, still continue high and the hopes raised by the International Wheat Agreement in March this year remained unfulfilled when the U.S. Congress failed to ratify the Agreement before it went into recess in June.

The inauguration of land reclamation by heavy tractors at the end of last year has attracted much public attention. Cultivation by tractors is not quite unknown in this country. For the last 25 years tractors have been imported into this country by individual cultivators possessing comparatively large holdings. Till last year the total number of tractors in the country was estimated to be about 3,500 in all. At the end of last year the Central Government took over some 200 heavy tractors and bulldozers from the United States Army equipment. These machines have been reconditioned in a

workshop at Pusa and for the last 9 months have been used for land reclamation work mostly in U.P. and C.P. Some 45,000 acres of land were reclaimed by them last season but they are capable of reclaiming some 1,80,000 acres per annum.

The Foodgrains Policy Committee have recommended a target of 10 million tons for increased food production to be reached in as short a period as possible to meet the requirements of the increasing population. Of these 10 million tons, they expect 4 million tons to be secured as the result of the completion of the various multi-purpose irrigation and electricity projects, another 3 million tons under the present Grow More Food campaign and the balance of 3 million tons from new lands to be reclaimed by Government.

Although no proper surveys have so far been undertaken to estimate the extent of cultivable wasteland it is known that there are large tracts of jungle in certain States and Provinces which could be cleared and brought under cultivation. Some of these States, e.g., the Eastern States, have now been merged and are part of the provinces of the Indian Union. Similarly, a good deal of land which has been infested by the weed known as 'Kans' in Central India and the Bundelkhand area and 'Hariali' in Bombay and Madras, which are now either lying waste or yielding one-fourth to one-sixth of the normal output, could be made fit again for cultivation after deep ploughing by heavy tractors.

The report of the Foodgrains Policy Committee is being examined by the Government of India in detail, but in view of the difficulties and the time required to obtain the necessary machinery and other equipment it may not be possible to reclaim more than 6 million acres in the next five to six years. Preliminary survey work cannot be carried out at more than 2 million acres per annum. This in itself will limit the speed with which land reclamation can be undertaken. And if the country accepts the target of reclaiming 6 million acres it will be necessary to purchase an additional 1,000 machines. In the present state of world production and demand, we cannot

expect more than 300 machines at the end of the first eighteen months and thereafter 300 machines every year. These machines will require an equal number of heavy reclamation ploughs and an adequate number of scrub clearing and drainage equipment sets. It is possible to manufacture heavy reclamation ploughs in India but certain component parts will have to be imported.

While there are undoubtedly great possibilities for tractors in agricultural operations, both in the reclamation of lands from jungle or weed — the weed infested lands must be treated to deep ploughing every 5 or 6 years — and in normal cultivation where bullocks are not available in sufficient numbers, the important fact must be recognized that tractors cannot replace bullocks in this country. There are certain basic factors which must limit the extension of tractor cultivation in India. The minimum area of land on which a 25 to 30 H.P. tractor can be economically used is 150 to 200 acres. The rotation of crops must be of an intensive nature so as to ensure employment of the tractor for at least 1800 hours in a year. This means that the land must be fully irrigated and must grow more than one crop. Thus the large areas in India which do not have an adequate supply of rainfall and are not irrigated will have to be left out. Also rice cultivation, as practised in India, does not lend itself to mechanical cultivation and rice acreage constitutes about 35 per cent of the total acreage under foodgrains. Apart from all these considerations, we cannot overlook the fact that mechanical cultivation is based on diesel oil supply, the indigenous production of which is extremely limited and will not be able to keep pace with the increasing demand. We cannot make our basic industry — which is agriculture — dependent on supply of fuel oil from abroad. Bullocks must, therefore, continue to be the main source of power for cultivation in India for all time unless there is an economic revolution in the country such as occurred in the U.S.S.R., which is unlikely within a measurable distance of time. However the reclamation of 6 million acres of land over the next 6 years, if we can achieve it, will in itself be a great advance. The steps already taken in this direction are significant when we look at the past year.

# REHABILITATION

S. K. KIRPALANI AND AFTAB RAI

THE word rehabilitation gained currency in India comparatively recently and the idea was associated largely with the resettlement of demobilized military personnel. Outside India rehabilitation was an important branch of activity in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of which India was a Member. The rehabilitation of persons displaced in Europe as a consequence of World War II has not made much headway and it is reported that until now some 200,000 displaced persons are going to be admitted into the United States of America by the allotment of a special immigration quota.

The exchange of populations has been a comparatively rare phenomenon in modern history. After World War I, about a million persons were exchanged between Greece and Turkey. Before World War II broke out a large number of people were displaced in Czechoslovakia through German pressure. The migration of people caused by the partition of India has been an operation of unprecedented magnitude. Unfortunately the mass exchange of population between the two parts of the old Province of the Punjab and certain other areas of both Pakistan and India has been a process accompanied with murder, arson and plunder on a considerable scale. There was no choice for hundreds of thousands of people but to forsake their homes and property and to flee for their lives. Hindus and Sikhs residing in Pakistan have crossed over to the Indian Union by the million and similarly, millions have gone over to Pakistan. Therefore, the word rehabilitation today has a very special significance and a compelling urgency because India cannot afford to allow millions of her uprooted nationals to remain without proper shelter and gainful productive employment. Apart from the Punjab, other displaced nationals have come in in substantial numbers from the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Bahawalpur and Sind.

Well-nigh six million displaced persons may be equated to a million families. Each of these families had a home in Pakistan, a palace, a bungalow or a humble hut. Each family had one or more breadwinners. Therefore, reduced to statistics, India's task of rehabilitation means finding one million homes and gainful occupation for a million and a quarter. The houses abandoned by Muslim evacuees and the

occupations deserted by them offer shelter and employment to but a fraction of our own refugees. An important factor that should be appreciated is that the composition of the population that has gone from and the population that has come into the Indian Union is different so far as occupations are concerned. This fact further complicates the task of rehabilitation. It is, however, clear that the task is colossal in scale and complex in character. Much has been done, but much more remains to be done.

About two million people displaced from Pakistan have been settled on land left by Muslim evacuees. This settlement is of a temporary character and it will be long before a permanent settlement with clear titles for settlers can be effected. Likewise, a very large number of persons, probably a million or more, have gone into the big towns of East Punjab, Western U.P., Delhi Province and elsewhere and are subsisting on one occupation or another. It is, however, not improbable that many of these are only partially employed. On a conservative estimate, about two million persons, of whom about a million are still in refugee camps, remain to be resettled and rehabilitated. Most of these persons whether they live in rural or urban areas have been accustomed to occupations of an urban character. Thus, two million refugees form the hard core needing rehabilitation.

Hitherto the economy of India has been predominantly agricultural. About 85% of the population subsisted directly or indirectly on agriculture. The mass movement of population affords an opportunity to redress the unbalanced economy of India. Our refugees, far from being a liability, are a potential asset of very great value. The process of resettling them may take five years or more but it is important that we proceed on a well-considered programme so that rehabilitation may form part of the much larger process of the industrial, social and cultural development of our country. Today, India is independent politically and this fact gives us the power to order rehabilitation in such a manner as to expand and strengthen the economy of the country substantially.

Thus we cannot think merely in terms of the rehabilitation of the refugees. We must at the same time proceed

with measures which will promote the development of the resources of the country as a whole. This can be done through increasing the production of the existing industries, setting up new industries or by developing new areas. The establishment of large scale industries is dependent on the availability of raw materials and capital equipment and likely to take time. The expansion of cottage industries and small scale industries will also play an extremely important role in the rehabilitation programme. Assistance is being given in the form of loans and other facilities, such as the release of machine tools from Disposals and other important materials in short supply such as brass, copper, aluminium.

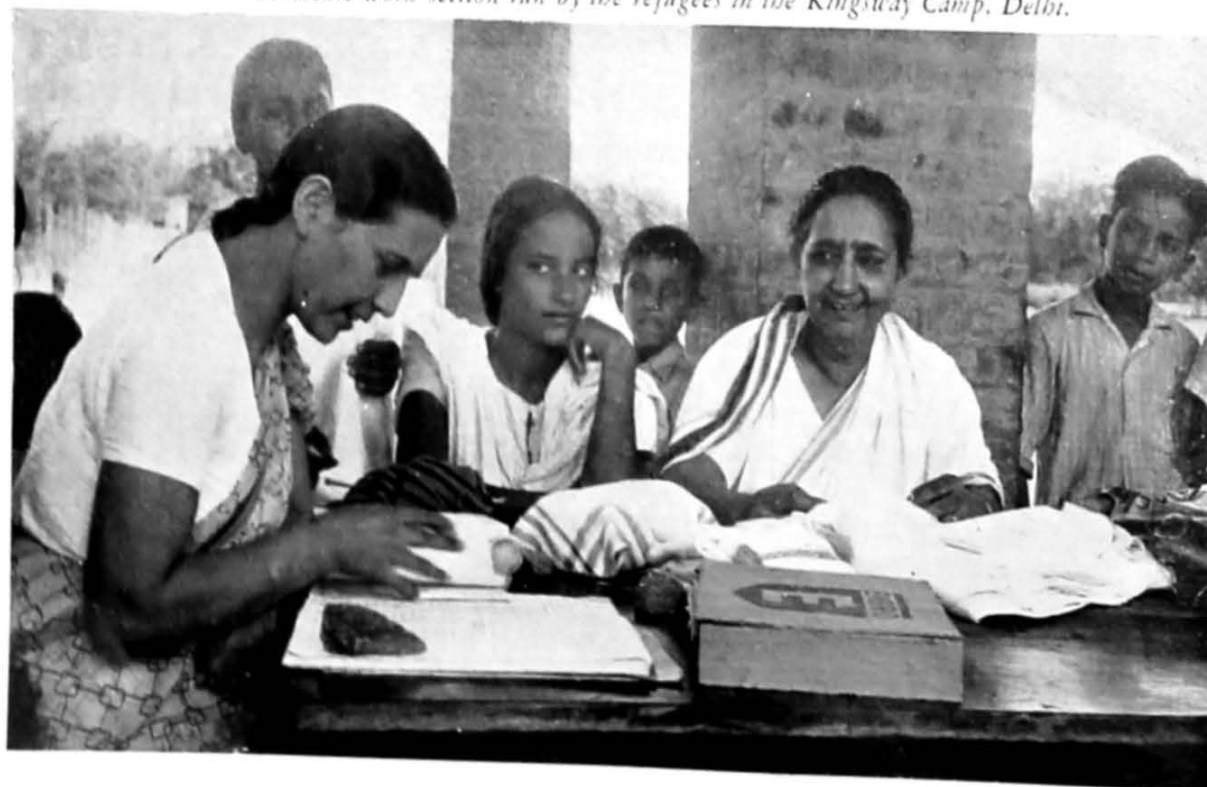
While it is the desire of the Government to fit in the individual refugees in his own trade as far as possible, it is felt that this could be done only as long as it is not to the detriment of the economy of the country. It is proposed to pursue schemes of suburban development, to establish new satellite townships and develop new plots for rehabilitation of urban refugees. These should, as far as possible, be self-contained units to provide work and employment to their residents. It will be necessary, although it may perhaps not be to the liking of the refugees, for the petty trader to be diverted to productive channels by providing liberal technical and vocational training. The Government of India are already running several centres for such training and it is proposed to increase them so that a large number of refugees can be trained for vocations which require mere man power.

The development of new areas so as to provide for the settlement of a large number of refugees is also engaging the attention of Government. Large tracts of undeveloped land along the river Nerbada in the Baster State, and the basin of the river Mahanadi, constitute potential wealth. The homeless but enterprising refugees can play an important part in the development of these areas. The proposed schemes of river valley development, although long term ones, lend themselves to progressive development and rehabilitation. When finally completed, these schemes will be the greatest asset of the country as regards the production of food, development of hydro-electric power and the permanent rehabilitation of a very large number of refugees. The refugees can, then, feel secure from need and famine.

Provincial and State Governments have their own schemes for the rehabilitation of the refugees in their areas. There are other schemes which are undertaken directly by the Government of India who have set up a Rehabilitation and Development Board in the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation to co-ordinate all such schemes and to work in the closest cooperation with the Provincial Government concerned.

The task, it will be appreciated, is stupendous and without precedent. The satisfactory solution of this problem will inevitably take time but with the cooperation of the public and the determined effort of the Government, difficulties will be overcome and it is hoped that every displaced person will find a job and home sooner than the optimist thinks.

*A needle work section run by the refugees in the Kingsway Camp, Delhi.*



# LABOUR

S. C. JOSHI

SINCE August 15, 1947, the day of our Freedom, a year has rolled by and as we look back, we feel overawed by the magnitude of the problems we had to face. Fortunately by now we have turned the corner and can look forward to steady progress.

## PLIGHT OF LABOUR

The dawn of freedom gave Indian Labour a new hope in its none too happy a plight. The stress of the long years of war has brought fatigue. The scarcity of consumer goods — even food and clothing — was reflected in the halfclad underfed workers. The rudimentary provision of education and public health facilities called for enormous expansion. The lag between the contraction of war work and the switch-over to peace-time production rendered surplus several workers, who could hardly be absorbed in other occupations. The rising cost of living reduced the real income of people in employment and made more untenable the position of those displaced from work.

In the circumstances, it was not unnatural if the workers confidently turned to the National Government for full employment, fair wages and reasonable working conditions.

## IMPORTANCE OF INDUSTRIAL TRUCE

The problem essentially was how to meet the general scarcity. Fundamentally this could be met by increased production. This, in turn, depended upon the full utilization of all the resources of the nation. In this plan industrial peace is of supreme importance.

New ground was broken, in this connection, by the passing of an important Resolution on Industrial Truce for a period of three years, at the Industries Conference held in December, 1947. Among other things the Resolution states:

*“.....The system of remuneration to capital as well as labour must be so devised that, while in the interest of the consumers and the primary producers, excessive profits should be prevented by suitable methods of taxation and otherwise, both will share the product of their common*

*effort, after making provision for payment of fair wages to labour, a fair return on capital employed in the industry and reasonable reserves for the maintenance and expansion of the undertaking.”.*

This resolution, though it was initially passed by the members of the employers' and workers' organizations in their individual capacity, has since been welcomed and ratified by the organizations of the employers and workers, with the exception of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

In their statement on Industrial Policy dated the 6th April 1948, the Government of India have accepted the Industrial Truce Resolution. They also consider that labour's share of profits should be on a sliding scale normally varying with production. In addition to the over-all regulation of industry by the State, they propose to establish machinery to advise on fair wages, fair remuneration for capital and conditions of labour. They will also take steps to associate labour with all matters concerning industrial production.

In the Government Resolution of April 6, 1948, the respective spheres of the state and private enterprise in the industry are indicated and the need for ensuring full cooperation between labour and management and the maintenance of stable and friendly relations between them are emphasized.

In this way a solid foundation has been laid. The implementation of the details will go a long way to ameliorate the living and working conditions not only of the industrial labour but also of the masses of the country. What is needed is goodwill and sincere co-operation on the part of all concerned.

In pursuance of this decision, an Expert Committee has been appointed to advise the Government on the principles to be followed for the determination of labour's share of the surplus profits, calculated on a sliding scale, normally varying with production after provision has been made for fair wages to Labour, fair return on capital employed in the industry and reasonable for the maintenance and existence of the undertaking. The promotion of Works and Production Committees is being speeded up. It is also hoped that the other machinery mentioned in the Government

## In Retrospect

Resolution will soon be set up and start functioning.

### ENFORCEMENT OF LABOUR LEGISLATION

The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947, provided standing machinery for the conciliation and adjudication of industrial disputes. The Industrial Relations Machinery of the Government of India helped to bring about amicable settlements in a large number of industrial disputes in mines, ports, railways and other central undertakings. The Provincial machineries functioned in bringing about amicable settlement of industrial disputes within their respective jurisdictions.

The principal demands of the workers were for increase in wages, recognition of unions, interim relief, bonus, stoppage of retrenchment, liberalization of service conditions, etc.

The Indian Trade Unions (Amendment) Act, 1947, provided for compulsory recognition of trade unions when certain conditions were fulfilled, and declared certain practices as unfair practices on the part of employers and recognized trade unions. The underlying object was to bring the parties closer and to discourage strikes and lockouts.

Greater attention was also paid to the enforcement of the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946, whereby the larger undertakings were required to frame and abide by definite Standing Orders governing the conditions of employment of their workers.

### LABOUR WELFARE

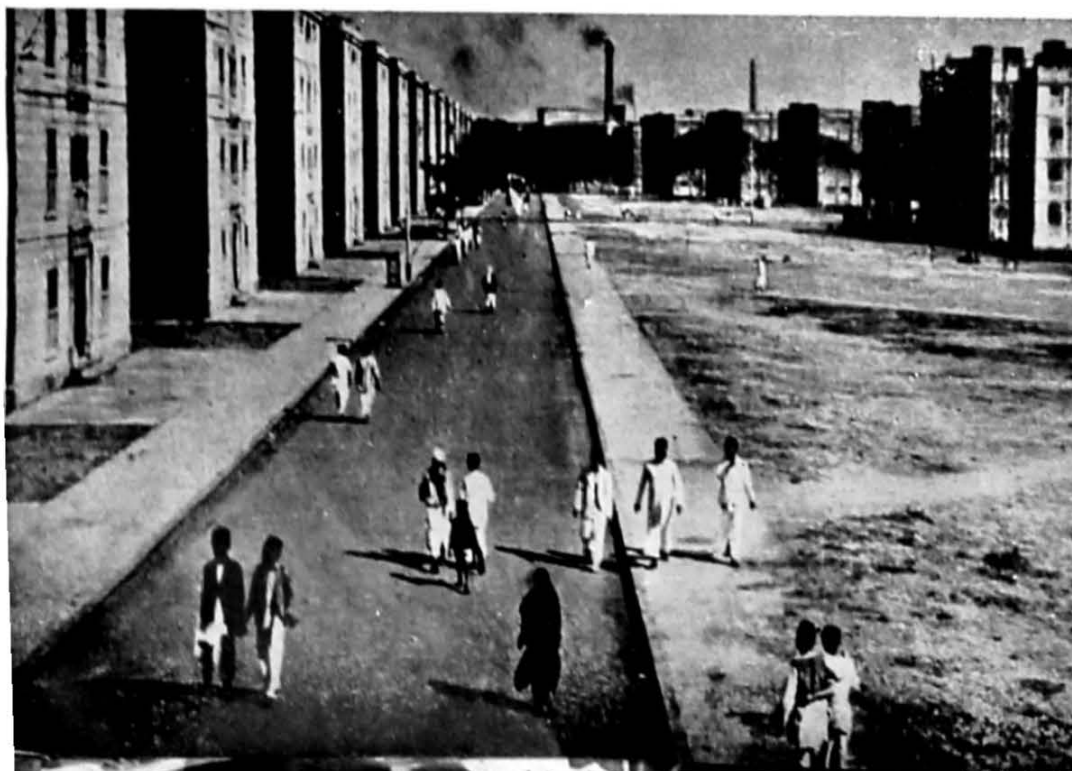
On the welfare side, a Coal Mines Labour Housing and General Welfare Fund was constituted under the

Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1947, and the proceeds of a levy of six annas per ton were utilized for arranging and aiding facilities for hospitalization, pithead baths, creches, canteens, housing and water supply.

Rules under the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, 1946, were made in 1947 and the proceeds of a 2½% levy on the value of mica exported outside India were credited to the Fund for purposes similar to those of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund.

With a view to raising the nutritional standards of the industrial workers, the Government of India have made it obligatory on the part of the employers to provide adequate canteen facilities in factories where over 250 workers are ordinarily employed. A Special Officer has also been appointed to inspect canteens and to advise the Central Government undertakings throughout the Indian Union. His services are also made available on request to all Provincial and State Governments for setting up and organizing canteens. Though the task of creation and maintenance of conditions conducive to stable canteen movement in India is not easy, especially when scarcity of food articles combined with controls, rationing etc., is severe, there is every reason to believe that the policy of providing the worker with a good meal at the "workplace" is bound to become a permanent part of the Indian Union's industrial system.

The wage rates and dearness allowance of the workers were improved by enforcing the awards of various adjudicators, the recommendations or settlements of the Conciliation Officers and Conciliation Boards and of the Pay Commission which suggested, in addition to various facilities and privileges, a minimum



*A view of the residential area of the working classes in Bombay.*

*There is an up to date creche attached to the Spring Mills, Bombay, where the children of women workers are looked after.*



allowance throughout the country. The workers in coal mines situated in the different Provinces have also been granted substantial increases in basic wages and dearness allowances in addition to a bonus equal to four months' wages, provident fund, leave and other amenities.

The Adjudication Award of Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha, which has been accepted and substantially enforced by Government will result in a substantial reduction of the working hours of the employees on the Railways.

The position of workers in the plantations had improved after the employers had agreed at the first Tripartite Tea Plantations Labour Conference at Delhi in January, 1947, to grant dearness allowance,

maternity benefits and sickness allowances to the workers. The discussion at the Second Tripartite Conference in April, 1948, has brought further relief to the plantation workers in regard to wages, housing and medical help. The Prohibition of the employment of children under 12 years of age has been voluntarily agreed to by the employers. The Conference also agreed to the many salient matters to be embodied in the special legislation for Plantation Labour.

#### NEW LABOUR LEGISLATION

The year under review is memorable for most progressive labour legislation. The principles of social insurance have been introduced in the Employees' State



Insurance Act, 1948, which provides for the constitution of a State Insurance Fund from the contributions of the employers and the employees, supplemented by Government grant for administrative purposes. The proceeds will be utilized for the grant of benefits in respect of sickness, maternity and industrial accidents to the workers in all factories other than seasonal factories. The Act also provides for the extension of its provisions to other establishments—industrial, commercial and agricultural.

The decasualization of dock workers is provided for in the Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Act, 1948. A committee has completed its work of preparing a Scheme for regulating the employment of stevedore labour in the Bombay Port. The Scheme will be the first of its kind in India.

The Minimum Wages Act, 1948, provides for the regulation of wages in industries where the workers have not yet adequately developed bargaining power. The Act covers agricultural workers and workers in woollen carpet making, rice mills, tobacco plantations, oil mills, local authorities, building operations, lac, mica, motor transport, leather manufacture, etc. Under the Act, the minimum wage in these industries has to be fixed within a period of two or three years.

Further legislation on the anvil relates to the wholesale revision and overhauling of the Factories Act. Its provisions will apply to a much larger number of factories than are covered at present and it will lay down precisely the conditions regarding the safety and health of workers and will require the provision of canteens, creches and rest-rooms. The construction of new factories will be subject to previous licence, whereby the proposed lay-out and other details of the factory would be required to satisfy definite standards before construction can be started.

#### CONFERENCES AND COMMITTEES

Progress in the formulation of labour policy is made at the periodic conferences. The Preparatory Asian

Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization convened at Delhi in October–November, 1947, focussed attention on the special problems of labour in the Asian countries.

The Indian Industrial Committee on Cotton Textiles, which met in January 1948, considered measures for increasing production, training of workers, institution of Provident Fund and Insurance Scheme, and standardization of wage rates and dearness allowance.

The Industrial Committee on Coal Mining also met in January, 1948 and discussed several important subjects such as amendments to the Indian Mines Act, provident fund scheme for coal mines, attendance and production bonus, improvement of statistics of labour and production in coal-mines and abolition of contract system of coal-raising at Railway Collieries.

The Labour Ministers' Conference held at New Delhi in May, 1948, considered *inter alia* the questions of industrial housing and the wage policy to be followed in implementing the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948.

#### MORE AVENUES OF EMPLOYMENT

On the side of industrial development for the purpose of creating more avenues of employment, the Government has announced in the statement of their Industrial Policy that a National Planning Commission would be set up for formulating a programme of development and securing its execution. Already the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948, and the Industrial Finance Corporation Act, 1948, opened up possibilities of the agricultural, electrical and industrial development of the country.

Thus, viewed in all aspects, the progress made during the year is by no means inconsiderable. Already the curve of industrial disputes shows a downward trend and the effective implementation of the Industrial Truce Resolution will provide the atmosphere for concerted and wholehearted effort to banish poverty and want from the Motherland.

# A NATIONAL ANTHEM FOR INDIA

NARAYANA MENON

WHEN the search for a suitable National Anthem for free India began, it was obvious from the very outset that the choice would boil down to two songs — Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Vande Mataram* and Tagore's *Janaganamana*. Other songs, Iqbal's *Sare Jahanse Achcha*, Ram Dayal Pandey's *Jhanda Uncha Sada Rahega* and I.N.A. songs like *Subh Sukh Chain*, have captured the popular imagination and gained varying degrees of currency. But *Vande Mataram* and *Janaganamana* have come to occupy a permanent position in our national life. Not only have they been closely identified with the national movement but they have virtually served the purpose of a 'national anthem' throughout the years of struggle. Practical considerations would make *Janaganamana* the more suitable of the two. This must have been the reason which prompted the Government to adopt it as our national anthem. The choice is provisional as the final decision has to be made by the Constituent Assembly.

What are these practical considerations? Let us take *Vande Mataram* first. There are two versions of this song that have gained currency—the Visva Bharati version and the Vishnu Digambar version. Neither of these versions is musically simple and their subtlety and charm can be fully brought out only by the finest and most skilled of musicians. The elusive rhythm (or lack of rhythm) as well as the complex melodic line make it difficult to be sung in chorus. The melody itself is somewhat shapeless and too diffuse to stand harmonization. Of course, during the last year the words have been set to music in a hundred different ways. Hirabai Barodekar's version, for instance, has a certain evanescent charm. Pandit Omkarnath Thakur makes it into a magnificent lament surcharged with emotion and his version lasts a full quarter of an hour. Then there are the various film versions ranging from the sweetest of syrupy tunes to full-fledged rousing marches. But none of these will do. In any song the words and the melody are integral. *Vande Mataram* with a new melody is not *Vande Mataram* at all—all its nostalgic emotional associations will disappear if it is sung like a popular film hit.

Now *Janaganamana* is not a very distinguished piece of music. Few national anthems are, for that matter. But it has the eminent virtue of being 'singable'. Even the most unmusical of us can join in a chorus singing

*Janagana* and not be badly out of step. Its mood and tone are confident and not of nostalgic longing. And what is far more important, it has a most heartening, almost resounding climax in the repeated phrases *Jaya he, Jaya he, Jaya he, Jaya Jaya Jaya Jaya he*.

There are differences of opinion about the actual melody itself, so I give below the first verse of the Visva Bharati version which I feel is the most authentic of all.

II सा रे ग ग। ग ग ग ग। ग - ग ग। ग रे ग म - I  
 क न ग न म न न वि ना ऽ प क ज ध रे ऽ

I ग - ग ग। रे - रे रे। सा नि रे सा -। - - सा - I  
 आ ऽ र त भा ऽ त्व वि धा ऽ ता ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I सा प - प प। - प प -। प - प प। म। म प - I  
 आ ऽ व सि ऽ सु गु ऽ रा ऽ द म रा ऽ ता ऽ

I म - म म। म - म ग। ग रे म ग -। - - - I  
 शो ऽ वि द् उह् ऽ क क ऽ न ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I ग - ग ग। ग - ग रे। रे प प प म। म - म - I  
 वि ऽ प्व वि सा ऽ व क य सु ना ऽ ग ऽ ता ऽ

I ग - ग ग। ग रे रे रे रे। सा नि रे सा -। - - - I  
 क ऽ ष क ज क वि त रं ऽ न ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I ग ग ग ग। ग - ग म। ग रे ग म -। - - - I  
 क व सु म ना ऽ मे ऽ जा ऽ ने ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I ग म प प। म - म ग। ग रे म ग -। - - - I  
 क व सु म आ ऽ सि उ सा ऽ ने ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I ग - ग -। रे रे ग रे रे रे। नि रे सा -। - - - I  
 ना ऽ हे ऽ त व क य गा ऽ था ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I सा प प प। प - प म। प - प प। म प प - I  
 क न ग न मं ऽ न क दा ऽ व क मं प हे ऽ

I म - म म। म - ग ग म। ग रे म ग -। - - नि नि I  
 आ ऽ र त भा ऽ त्व वि धा ऽ ता ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I सा - - -। - - सा नि य। प नि - - -। - - प प I  
 हे ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I प - - -। - - - I सा सा रे रे। ग ग ग रे ग I  
 हे ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

I म - - -। - - - I  
 हे ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ

It could scarcely be otherwise coming as it does from an institution with which Tagore was so closely associated. The *Visva Bharati* singers sing it at a brisk tempo. This would make the repeated  $\pi$ s at the beginning, particularly in instrumental renderings, less awkward to manipulate. The first verse which is complete in itself both musically and in sentiment should last about 50 seconds which is long, but not too long for a national anthem. To take out a few bars from it in order to shorten it would be to mutilate it. I have heard several such unforgivable perpetrations in which some bars are summarily removed from the body of the music without rime or reason. It is pathetic that in a country with so noble and ancient a tradition of music as ours such perpetrations on third rate brass bands should become the standard version for important national occasions.

We must, of course, have a standard version of the national anthem. But to what degree is standardization necessary? In India itself where we have a predominantly melodic tradition, it is sufficient that we standardize the melody, say, the *Visva Bharati* version. Naturally, a group of singers or musicians will render it differently in different parts of India according to the musical resources available much as the same *God Save the King* will be performed differently by an amateur twelve piece orchestra in a provincial town, an accordion band at a village fair and a symphony orchestra in London. But the melody will remain the same in each case. For performance outside India we need a harmonized version which will be true to the authentic melody we all know here and which should be a distinguished piece of orchestration. It should be the sort of arrangement which can be played by say,

the London Philharmonic Orchestra if Panditji goes to Covent Garden, without causing the least embarrassment to anybody. Such an arrangement can be best done by a good European composer, not just a musical enthusiast. He should be supplied not only with an accurate score of the melody but with a good recording of the authentic version so that he can listen to it repeatedly and get into the spirit of it. He should also be provided with profuse notes on technical points to be remembered—the tempo, the cadences, the exact meaning of the words so as to have the climaxes correct. Above all, he should be advised to treat the whole piece not as “a symphonic poem” but rather as “a song with accompaniment” so as to make the melody stand out strongly.

Such a version will almost exclusively be for use abroad. We ourselves have no symphony orchestras worth talking about to perform it. Even if we had them, it is scarcely appropriate that our national anthem should always be entrusted to the tender mercies of foreign instruments and a foreign idiom. If we do want a standardized orchestral version on records for use in, say, broadcasting or cinemas or places of public entertainment, let us have a version for a small combination of Indian instruments. Such a combination can reproduce the authentic graces and ornaments of our music that no notation or foreign orchestras can, and give to our national anthem that intimate character and quiet dignity so characteristic of our music. It need not be “harmonized”, but could make use of such contrapuntal and orchestral devices (drones, heterophony) as are in keeping with the genius of our music.

# INDIAN STATES

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYER

THESE have been and there will be differences of opinion as to whether the Indian States as they existed in 1946 or 1947 can be regarded as essentially British creations and it has been my view (which I have often emphasized) that some at least of the States are much anterior in origin to the British era and have inherited century-old traditions of political existence and beneficial social and humanitarian efforts. Indeed, I go so far as to suggest that the emergence of the British power and the growth and exercise of what was termed Paramountcy had two startling effects. In the first place, Paramountcy was too often used to preserve and buttress States and Rulers who had fallen below ordinary standards not only of administration but of morality and decency. On the other hand, in the case of some States which had a continuous history of measures taken for the welfare and prosperity of their subjects, there was often no active encouragement, and they were sometimes even frowned upon and cold-shouldered. I have personally told more than one Viceroy and Political Officer that the mechanically similar treatment of Indian States on the basis of rigid formulae led to a species of dependence and resulted in lack of nerve and initiative which ultimately proved injurious to the best interests of the States. The Political Department, hedged round by precedent and usage and old-world notions of secret diplomacy, acted in a manner which sometimes produced ironic effects. There was a Ruler of whom a high political luminary in England spoke in lyrical terms a few months before he was deposed. Rulers whose conduct revealed regrettable abnormalities were treated on the same level as those who, though they were not often seen in Delhi or London, were doing their best to promote the interests of their people. Summing up the results of the activities of the Political Department, it may be stated without fear of contradiction that by alternate processes of vague threats and promises of titles and gun-salutes, some, if not many, of the Rulers tended to become courtiers. Absenteeism from the State, senseless extravagance displayed in foreign capitals and places of resort and concentration on outside activities were the themes of academic censure but in practice, these habits were not really checked by any pressure brought to bear from without or within the States. The life of the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwar of Baroda

and of the late Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior furnish illustrations of opposition encountered by independent-minded Rulers at the hands of the British authorities.

Some States, under the guidance of far-sighted Rulers as in the cases of Baroda, Mysore and Travancore, in course of time, enfranchised themselves from meticulous interference on the part of the local representatives of the Paramount Power, and initiated great schemes of social reform and economic advancement. The development of Primary Education and of social reform in Baroda, the inauguration of large hydro-electric and irrigation schemes and the rapid spread of women's education in Mysore, the early establishment of a Legislative Assembly, the Temple Entry Proclamation and the rapid educational progress and industrialization in Travancore, reflected enlightened administration. In other words, whereas the system of administration in British India was largely that of a Police or Regulatory State based mainly on the ideals of preservation of law and order, there was more constructive and imaginative statesmanship, enterprise and initiative shown in some of the Indian States and it may be remarked that most of the steps so taken in the Indian States were not enthusiastically welcomed by the Central Government. The usual criticism levelled against the States has been that they were benevolent autocracies, but I make bold to say that there was very little autocracy in the best of the Indian States as they had definitely evolved a tradition of response to popular wishes—a response which was only recently manifested in British India and which really came into partial existence not earlier than 1935.

Some of the States established Representative Assemblies and kept themselves in touch with popular opinion, but, in the main, it may be conceded that although there was a fairly large number of Maharajas who were anxious to do well by their subjects, they were wholly unprepared to meet the concerted and concentrated political agitation which developed apace not only in what was British India but in the Indian States. This unpreparedness was accentuated by the advice that was generally tendered by the representatives of the Paramount Power in consonance with the policy pursued generally in British India and the advice and injunction were frequently conveyed that it was the

duty of the Rulers to preserve their integrity and individuality. It is needless to enter into the details of those engagements and undertakings which, from time to time, were formulated by a Government and a polity which felt very apprehensive about its position in the country and at one time relied upon the Indian States as a main support or buttress, although administrators like Dalhousie, Curzon and, later on, Reading, showed more of the iron fist than the velvet glove. When the British made up their minds to withdraw from India, they did so without previous preparation and their timetable was prepared overnight, so to say. And even after the declaration, there were statements and promises rousing an expectation of comparative independence on the part at least of some of the major States subject only to accession in respect of three subjects. What the Rulers did not anticipate but what Sardar Patel foresaw was the unleashing of forces which insisted on a speedy attainment of unity and uniformity of political practice throughout India and which were not particularly tender to historical traditions or even to good government. The time-spirit was irresistible and the drama of history unrolled itself and Sardar Patel rode the storm proving himself to be an astute judge of human nature and of the potentialities and dispositions of the Rulers as a class. What Dalhousie and Canning were unable to do during many years, Sardar Patel achieved in a few months but such an achievement would have been impossible but for the mental unpreparedness of most of the Rulers to meet a situation which they had only imperfectly envisaged and also the rapidly converging and national demand for Responsible Government which would not brook any delay and would not put up with any alternative solutions save those advocated under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. As a result, with one exception, the Indian States have already ac-

ceded to the Indian Union and have inaugurated schemes for Responsible Government. They are bound rapidly to be assimilated, in administrative practice, with the rest of India in every department of Government and not simply in the three subjects as to which accession has taken place. Even those States that have not merged themselves with the provinces are destined gradually but inevitably to coalesce in fundamentals with the rest of India partly by reason of the influence of great political parties whose activities cannot be restricted to ill-defined geographical boundaries and partly by the inescapable evolution of common programmes throughout India and lastly owing to the rapid emergence of the feeling not only in the former British Provinces but in the Indian States themselves that the only legitimate role of the Maharajas and the Nawabs must be that of pure constitutional monarchs or, to put it more candidly, ornamental personalities enjoying a position analogous to that of the King of England. There is, however, one aspect which is often lost sight of in regard to the position of the King of England. Exercising their national characteristic of preserving and even glorifying all that is traditional in their history and life the people of Great Britain pay great respect to the King and the Royal Family and are tumultuously enthusiastic on such occasions as the Silver Wedding of a king or the conferment of the Order of the Garter on the heir-apparent. That conformity to historical traditions is not very conspicuous in the mentality of modern India and it is a matter of considerable doubt whether the formal and ornamental existence of the Rulers will be quite on a par with that attained by the British Sovereigns. But, of course, here, as in England, much depends on the personality and character of the Rulers and the readiness and gracefulness with which they adjust themselves to novel conditions and to an atmosphere to which they have been unaccustomed.

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*"You may have occasion to possess or use material things, but the secret of life lies in never missing them."*

*—Mahatma Gandhi.*

# FOREIGN POLICY

(CONTRIBUTED)

INDIA'S activity in the field of foreign affairs, in the first year of freedom, has taken many forms. Its principal features were: (1) the establishment and extension of diplomatic contacts; (2) a full utilisation of the machinery of international co-operation; and (3) a faithful adherence to the policy of non-entanglement with any power bloc.

Whereas in August, 1947, India had only about half a dozen diplomatic missions abroad (mainly in the U.K., some of the Dominions, China and the U.S.A.), the number has since increased to 20 or 25. Indian ambassadors, ministers and representatives of lesser rank are now to be found in nearly every part of the world. This has come about not only as a result of India's own initiative, but, at least in some cases, at the instance of Government, anxious to enter into relations, and exchange representatives with her. No fewer than 21 Embassies and Legations have been opened in Delhi, and the Indian Capital has become one of the most important diplomatic centres in the East. These new developments have necessarily entailed an expansion in the strength of the Ministry of External Affairs (with which is linked Commonwealth Relations), and special measures have had to be taken for the recruitment and training of the required cadres.

With an expanding and still fluid diplomatic service, India tackled the many serious problems that confronted her in the international field. The question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa had already, on India's initiative, been discussed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1946; and a resolution had been adopted expressing the opinion that the treatment of the Indians should be in accordance "with the international obligations under the agreement concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter." The resolution also called for a "report back" to the Assembly in 1947. On this latter occasion, the Political Committee of the Assembly carried the matter a little further but the resolution that it passed failed formally to be adopted at the plenary session of the Assembly. (The voting was as follows: 31 for the resolution, 19 against and 6 absentions. A 2/3 majority was held to be necessary for the adoption of the resolution.)

Meanwhile, a grave situation had arisen in Kashmir, owing to the attack launched on the State by tribesmen,

and others, with the active and systematic support of the Pakistan authorities. The Indian Union, which had accepted the accession of Kashmir, was obliged to undertake military operations to protect the freedom and integrity of the State; and, in order to prevent an extension of the conflict, appealed to the Security Council to restrain Pakistan from pursuing a course which was no less contrary to the spirit of good neighbourliness than it was to the recognized principles of neutrality. The Five Member Commission, which was subsequently set up by the Security Council to deal with this dispute, has commenced its work and further developments are awaited.

On all other matters, affecting a wide range of day to day questions of trade, transport, finance, etc., frequent negotiations have taken place between the two Dominions, and in a number of instances agreements have been reached and differences composed to their mutual satisfaction.

Another issue yet to be settled, in which India has shown a keen interest is the conflict between the Indonesian Republic and the Government of the Netherlands. In conformity with her well-known stand in favour of the liberation of colonial territories, India not only granted *de facto* recognition to the Republic of Indonesia, but invoked the intervention of the Security Council to save the new-born Republic from military annihilation. Protracted negotiations, under the auspices of the Security Council, have since been taking place and what the outcome may be is not clear.

Concern for the speedy termination of colonial rule—to say nothing of the need to check the spread of flagrantly discriminatory racial policies—was also evident in the firm resistance offered by India to all attempts by the Union of South Africa to obtain United Nations sanction for the annexation of South-West Africa.

These efforts on behalf of peoples still under foreign control sprang from the conviction that the political emancipation and economic progress of subject countries and under-developed areas is essential to the attainment of a stable equilibrium in the world. India accordingly took a leading part in all United Nations activities which had a bearing on these matters, in the work of the ECOSOCO and its subsidiary commissions, in the IV Committee of the General Assembly which



sistently polled 25-30 votes, India withdrew her candidature.

Of no country, perhaps, can it be said with more confidence than of India that her foreign policy is actuated by a faith in the United

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*The late Jan Masaryk and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in the delegates lounge before a meeting of the United Nations First Committee (Political and Security).*

Photo: UNITED NATIONS

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deals with Trusteeship problems, and in the special committee to study and report on information from non-self-governing territories. ECAFE — a subsidiary, of ECOSOCO, dealing particularly with economic problems in the East — will, it is hoped, be of real assistance in promoting mutually beneficial action in the economic and social fields. India attaches the highest importance to this body, and has played a constructive and prominent role in its deliberations.

The achievement of national independence, the method of its achievement, the very size of India, her inherent importance, her part in two world wars, and her active interest in international affairs combined to mark India out as a candidate for membership of the supreme executive organ of the United Nations, the Security Council. Her bid for election in 1947 was, however, frustrated by the operation of a "Gentleman's Agreement" regarding the distribution of the non-permanent seats on the Council; after contesting a succession of inconclusive ballots, in which she con-

Nations—both as an ideal embodying the highest hopes of mankind today and as an instrument for the realization of those hopes. This faith may not be universally shared; reasons are not wanting to induce a certain disillusionment. And there is, indeed, the all too obvious rift between one region and another, one continent and another, one group of States and another. The fact that the Great Powers tend to range themselves on different sides, and espouse apparently irreconcilable interests, does not lessen the difficulties and dangers of the situation. India, however, has steadily declined to yield to the temptation to align herself with any bloc, either to achieve a facile and possibly deceptive security or in the hope of finding a short cut to economic betterment. She has, of course, a direct interest in her neighbours, particularly those facing problems similar to her own; and in so far as joint action could help in the solution of those problems, she has not been slow in contributing her share. With countries further afield, whether great or small, her relations have been uniformly friendly and cordial. At a time when powerful forces are rending the world apart, it may be no small service to peace to refrain from taking sides and thereby hastening the day of final rupture.

# SOME ASPECTS OF OUR ECONOMY

S. K. RUDRA

THE general complaint seems to be that since August 15, 1947, there has been steady deterioration in the standard of living of the landless classes in the rural areas and of the workers and low income categories of people in the industrial cities. Reference to the Economic Adviser's general index numbers and to the cost of living indices published from several centres in the country would confirm this. For instance, the Kanpur cost of living index for May, 1948, has risen to 442 points, with 1939 as base. It has surpassed the peak point reached in August, 1947, at 410. It is well above the average for the war years. Hardships due to economic stress, either of consumers' goods, housing or other factors, are apparent. These cannot be denied. It is also true that our Administration has not openly declared its adherence to any particular type of economic system or social order. This has proved disappointing to many schools of thought. Academically reviewed, it would appear to be an open question, whether any particular system or social philosophy, however commendable in itself, is the end of administrative endeavour. Much vital it is to secure the material uplift of the under-privileged, and raise their intellectual and moral stature. It would appear that such is the objective of the present Government. If there had been any doubts on this issue, and it is idle to deny that there were not, these have been much allayed by the declaration of the Government's economic policy in their statement of the 16th April, 1948. Except for the abolition of the zamindari system, or landlordship, for the next ten years at any rate, the Government is going to allow sufficient scope to private enterprise. They have reserved certain key and essential industries for State ownership and management either directly or through public corporations. It is obvious that this declaration of Government policy cannot please all sections of the community. But there is ample evidence to show that public opinion is behind the Government. The Government had to face manifold and immense difficulties during this brief space of time. Partition has meant the practical strangulation of the economic life of the country. The refugee problem is complicated by more than merely economic and sociological complexities. The political situation is at once difficult, delicate and dangerous. Any hasty action would therefore only lead

to total dislocation. The policy enunciated by the Government is the wisest possible in the circumstances.

## PRODUCERS' GOODS AND TECHNIQUE

Our great need is for producers' goods and trained technicians. This is our severe bottleneck. We desire to renew our worn-out plant, and to instal new industries, multi-purpose projects, fertilizers and agricultural mechanization schemes and transportation equipment, plant and gear. Planning Boards, Priority Commissions, Finance Corporations and Purchasing Commissions have been set up with this end in view. Schedules of demand have been drawn up and apportioned according to set periods. An endeavour is made to secure instruments of production and requisite personnel of skill and experience. Problems of foreign exchange, dollar scarcity in particular, impede the process of procurement. The partition has placed our Dominion in a position of unfavourable balance of trade. This has added to our problems. Our sterling balances in London are assets that cannot be readily available to meet our emergent needs. But negotiations are under way. It is not improbable that a satisfactory workable solution will be discovered. With drive for exports, sponsored by the Government, and by measures liberalizing exports and controlling imports, we hope to meet our adverse balance of foreign trade. Apart from exploring avenues of profitable trade contacts within the sterling area, the Government is anxious to develop trade with America which needs some of our products. It is a market well worth our close study. It must, however, be indicated that both in matter of price and quality, we should be more circumspect. Rivals and alternative "substitutes", synthetic or otherwise, are not so scarce as to impart to us a sense of monopolistic security. The history of the loss of our saltpetre and indigo trade in the course of the last century should act as a warning to us. We cannot "squeeze" foreign purchasers beyond certain limits. Already unfavourable reactions have been set up against us. Goodwill in foreign trade dealings is a gain that should not be forfeited. We need foreign help in more ways than one. We can secure it only if we act with energy, care and moderation. If we find we



are able to secure capital goods and technical assistance in requisite amounts, we shall in time, hasten the economic development of the country.

#### INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY

In order to develop our economic strength both to meet the home and foreign markets, the Government has been able to formulate a wise and judicious policy of international trade relations. While the Government has declared itself against an autarchical or isolationist policy, it has yet maintained independence of action in the matter of the determination of the terms of trade treaties that it might wish to enter into with other countries. Autonomy of agreement has been retained and preserved. Arduous battles were fought by our Delegations at the various International Trade Conferences. Happily, these culminated successfully in the vindication of the viewpoint championed by us on behalf of all the underdeveloped and backward countries of the world. Metropolitan and industrially powerful countries have had to concede to the rights of the less favourably placed nations of the earth. This is an achievement of no small order that stands to the credit of our State. The matter of the raising of the standard of living of the peoples, particularly of the vast agricultural populations of Asia and Africa, together with the concept of full employment were incorporated in the World Trade Charter, labouriously and skilfully hammered out at Vavana this year. To this end it is expected that the Tariff Board, which for the present is an *ad hoc* body, will be converted into a permanent institution. Thus equipped, the country can develop her economy on sound and stable lines. Her defence, producers' goods and consumers' goods industries, could be duly organized and appropriately located, with proper consideration for the coordinated development of the respective regions within the country. Our home-crafts and domestic industries could find their proper place in our economy. They could also discover scope for their unique and artistic products in the rich and growing markets of the world. We would thus have a balanced economy in the well coordinated development of agriculture, with cottage industries and modern manufactures. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the Government has taken steps to ensure the quality of our products equal to international specifications. It is for this purpose that the Government has instituted the Indian Standards Institute. To begin with, the

Institute has taken within its scope only certain industries. In due course, it will expand its operation to cover a greater range of industrial products. Our name which does not stand very high in foreign markets for reliability of quality will thus have been retrieved to good purpose.

#### TECHNICAL TRAINING AND RESEARCH

As already indicated, the crux of the problem is lack of trained personnel in all grades of work. Our peasantry is hardworking, our cattle-breeders are knowledgeable, our craftsmen are skilled, our middle-men are shrewd, our bankers and financiers are men of discretion, but for modern methods of production, whether in agriculture, commerce or industry, we have an inadequate supply of men of experience with the requisite ability. In technology, in the supervisory and managerial direction, we lack a supply of qualified men. Our mechanics, skilled workmen, and operators have not the ripe and precise skill that is required for handling tools of great fineness or of high powered operative capacity. This is, however, a matter of training. The Government and businessmen are alive to this need. In the various schemes propounded it is satisfactory to note that the Government has made careful and fairly adequate provision for such training. Training centres, technological institutes, and above all, highly equipped and well staffed research stations of various types, have been envisaged and planned. Opportunities and financial provision have been made to enable the gifted from all grades and ranks to secure appropriate training. As a foundation to such technical equipment, the Government is planning or rapid extension of primary compulsory and free education both for boys and girls. Secondly, education with a distinct bias towards selective vocation is also being arranged. Men and women of ability are being sent to foreign countries to gain training and experience such as cannot be had here. Simultaneously ways and means are being considered to secure the services of experienced and technologically specialized men to come to this country for a term to organize and conduct our various industrial undertakings. Thus reviewed it must be conceded that the Government has much to its credit in regard to supply of trained and technical personnel to serve the needs of commerce and industry. Immediate results may not be apparent, but long-term benefits are bound to be satisfactory.

# DRAFT CONSTITUTION IN OUTLINE

M. VENKATARANGAIYA

THE most significant feature about the draft Constitution of India is that it is Indian. The demand put forward as early as 1934 that the people of India must have the full freedom to draw up their own constitution has been at last fulfilled. The Constitution is but the logical consequence of the transfer of political power to Indian hands on August 15, 1947.



*Sir B. N. RAU, Constitutional Adviser to the Government of India.*

Another equally significant feature is that the draft Constitution is entirely modern in its outlook and in the conception of the state it seeks to create. It was feared in certain interested quarters that Indians with their traditional veneration for the past would produce a reactionary type of constitution with a view to making it appear as indigenous as possible. This fear has now been belied. The leading members of the Constituent Assembly as well as those who were appointed to the various committees and sub-committees have carefully gone through the constitutions of all modern states and framed a constitution which is in complete conformity with the political and social ideals of the present day.

The secular nature of the State that the new Constitution would create is of vital importance, judged in the light of the country's history. There has always been an atmosphere of theocracy about the State in India. It was so in ancient times when the status of a citizen was determined by a preordained social structure. In the Middle Ages, when portions of the country fell into the hands of the Muslim invaders, the status of an individual depended on whether he was a Muslim or non-Muslim. The British made the situation much worse by creating

a political and administrative order based entirely on communalism and distributing political advantages according to a man's religion. The makers of the new Constitution having successfully fought against these tendencies have created a purely secular state in which citizenship has nothing to do with a man's creed, caste or religion. It recognizes the innate worth and equality of every citizen. There will be no state religion even though the dominant section of the people are Hindus. No religious instruction is to be provided by the State. There will be no communal electorates. Even the reservation of seats in certain legislatures for Muslims, Scheduled Classes and Indian Christians is to be only for a limited period.

The State is democratic too. Democracy implies that the government of the state is subject to certain limits in the exercise of its authority, that a field of liberty is left to the individual and that the government is ultimately responsible to the people who will be free to criticize its actions, to organize themselves into rival political parties for the purpose and to participate freely in all the periodical elections held to determine who should be their rulers. The Fundamental Rights set a limit to governmental authority and prevent it from becoming totalitarian. The freedom of speech and of association ensure the establishment of a responsible form of government. The basis of citizenship is wide and there is no privileged section among the citizens. There is provision for adult suffrage and joint electorates. The



*Sri K. M. MUNSHI, Member, Constitution-drafting Committee.*

Illustration: NAGEN BHATTACHARYA

system of adult suffrage is a most revolutionary step and, in the years to come, it is bound to bring political power within the reach of the masses. The ways in which industrial and agricultural labour is already organizing itself shows clearly the democratic nature of the new order and the determination of the common man to capture the citadels of authority in the very first general elections to be held under the new Constitution.

Besides being secular and democratic the new State is federal. Though technically the draft Constitution speaks of India as a "Union of States" and not as "Federation of States", the political system envisaged in it has all the essentials of federalism. There is a distribution of powers between the centre and the units, a distribution which cannot be interfered with ordinarily except through a process of constitutional amendment which has to be ratified by the legislatures of the States. There is also provision for a Supreme Court with powers to pronounce on the validity of the laws enacted by the Union Parliament and the State legislatures. The Constitution also provides for a second chamber — the Council of States — which is organized to represent units as units. In the distribution of powers provision has been made for a list of Union's exclusive powers, a list of the powers of the States and a list of concurrent powers. Residuary authority is located in the Centre on the model of the Canadian Constitution. There is however one article in the Constitution—Article 226—which considerably modifies the federal character of the Union. This Article makes it possible for the Union Parliament to legislate on an item included in the States Exclusive List if such a course is declared to be in the national interest by a resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members of the Council of States. This gives room for encroachment by the Centre on the autonomy of the units not in times of emergency but in normal times, and may pave the way



*Sri N. GOPALASWAMI IYENGAR, Member, Constitution-drafting Committee.*



*Sri ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI AYYER, Member, Constitution-drafting Committee.*

for gradual over-centralization which will prove harmful in a vast country like India with its diverse regional needs and requirements. This Article requires reconsideration.

Like almost all modern constitutions, the draft Constitution of India provides for a body of Fundamental Rights with which the State is not permitted to interfere except in the interests of public order, morality or health. The rights thus incorporated guarantee complete equality to all the citizens and in the peculiar setting of the country it means the abolition of untouchability which for ages has been the greatest curse to India. The freedom of speech and expression and of association are also guaranteed. Along with this go the freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate one's religion. Religious, linguistic and cultural minorities are free to establish and maintain educational institutions of their choice and are entitled to receive grants-in-aid from the Government. Legislation to give effect to these rights and to punish those who infringe them is within the special jurisdiction of the Centre and this gives to the rights an effectiveness entirely independent of the oddities of any particular state Governments. Finally, all these rights are enforceable through Courts of Justice.

Besides these justiciable rights the Constitution has issued certain directives of State Policy. It is obligatory upon all Governments to adhere to them in their legislation and administration. These directives confer on the citizens the right to work, to an adequate means of livelihood, to a more equitable distribution of wealth, to security against old age and sickness, to humane conditions of work and to free primary education. The list may not be quite as exhaustive as that found, for instance, in the Constitution of the German Republic but all the same, it is sufficiently comprehensive and

enables India to become a highly progressive modern state.

During the last decade there had been a divided opinion as regards the form of executive best suited to conditions in India. Was it to be the parliamentary, non-parliamentary, or the Swiss type? The controversy is now set at rest. The draft Constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government of the British type under which the President of the Union and the Governors of States become nominal heads of the executive while real authority will be exercised by their Councils of Ministers or Cabinet. He will practically choose the other ministers. The members of the Cabinet are required to be members of their respective legislatures and their responsibility is of a collective character. All these are the usual features of a parliamentary form of Government reproduced in the draft Constitution. There is however one point of difference between the President of the Union and the Governor of a State. The President can never act independently of the Cabinet while the Governor can do so under certain circumstances.

The President of the Union is elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of the members of both Houses of the Union Parliament and the elected members of the legislatures of the States. He will thus represent both the Centre and the parts. He holds his office for five years. The draft Constitution provides for two alternative methods of appointing the Governor of a State. One is election by the people and the other, appointment by the President of the Union out of a panel of four, chosen by the State legislature.

There is provision for the President of the Union exercising extraordinary powers in times of emergency.

The Union legislature is bicameral. The House of the People represents the People as a whole while the Council of States represents the units as units. The first is directly elected while the members of the second — except fifteen who are nominated by the President — are chosen by the elected members of the state legislatures. State legislatures may be either bicameral or unicameral. Except in respect of money bills both Houses have equality of authority and deadlocks, if any, are solved through joint sittings.

The provisions relating to the exercise of judicial power ensure the operation of the Rule of Law and *impartial* system of justice. Like any other federal state, India, under the new Constitution, will have a Supreme Court of its own. Judges are appointed by the President of the Union even in the case of the State High Courts. They enjoy permanence of tenure and fixed



*Srimati HANSA MEHTA,  
Member, Constituent Assembly.*

salaries. In addition to discharging the usual original and appellate functions the Supreme Court in India has to give its opinion on any matter referred to it by the President. There is also provision for the appointment of *ad hoc* judges and for the attendance of retired judges — features novel to India though found elsewhere.

The draft Constitution thus creates a sovereign democratic republic and secures to its citizens social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression and worship and equality of status and of opportunity. Given conditions of peace — external and internal — there is every prospect that under the new Constitution, India will be in a position to make rapid progress in the reconstruction of her national life. Some may remark that there is not much that is original in the draft Constitution and that almost every provision in it has been borrowed from other constitutions or from the Government of India Act of 1935. This shows merely the catholicity of the outlook of the framers of the Constitution and the large amount of truth contained in the wise observation made by Professor MacLeod, "How limited after all is the human mind in so far as the creating of essentially new political patterns is concerned".

# THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

MEHR CHAND KHANNA

ON June 3, 1947, was announced the British Government's Plan for the transfer of power to a divided India. With great reluctance the Congress decided to agree to the proposals—convinced that any alternative course might be even worse. The sponsors of Pakistan seemed to be determined to hold up all progress until the demand for a separate Muslim State was conceded. Communal bitterness was in the ascendant, vicious riots were breaking out in a circle of retaliation and counter-retaliation. The continued presence of the third party was a source of danger. In such circumstances, the Congress felt that the best interests of the country would be served if power came to Indian hands even at the cost of partition. It thought that the formation of Pakistan might help things to settle peacefully and the minorities in the Indian Union and Pakistan would have enough safeguards to enable them to lead their lives undisturbed.

Later events, unfortunately, belied the expectations of the Congress. In order to gain a political advantage, the Muslim League adopted tactics the result of which was to create a feeling of insecurity and bitterness in the hearts of the Hindus and the Sikhs residing within the territory of Pakistan. In the wake of partition, a wave of

violence and communal frenzy swept over the Punjab and N.W.F.P. resulting in indiscriminate murder, arson and plunder on an unprecedented scale. When life became altogether unsafe in Pakistan, the Hindus and the Sikhs had no choice but to leave their homes and come over to India as quickly as they could. The spontaneous transfer of population reached such proportions that the Government decided to create a Military Evacuation Organization to take charge of the mass migration and to effect a planned transfer of population. Hundreds of thousands of refugees were evacuated by rail, by road or by air. They were given protection from predatory marauders and gangs of communal murderers. The Organization carried out a stupendous task with extraordinary efficiency and imagination. Its timely services were greatly appreciated by the refugees and the Government of India earned their gratitude for this help.

Hounded from Pakistan, uprooted from their homes and work, six and a half million refugees poured into the Indian Union. They felt dazed and bewildered by the shock of events.

Almost overnight life was completely changed for them. A large number found food and shelter in the various refugee camps run by the Government. Many found refuge with their friends and relatives. Living on the dole and proving a burden to one's friends and relatives is not at all to the liking of these proud people. They want the necessary period of relief to be reduced to the minimum and expect Government to devise ways and means by which they can stand on their own feet, earn their own living and have their own homes. The people in the camps fret for lack of work and feel impatient at the valuable time being wasted. Those outside, who have been able to save some money cannot see with equanimity all their resources being slowly frittered away and eaten up for lack of opportunity to make adequate investments. Soon, they feel, their last penny will be spent and then they will lose whatever hope they have of starting life anew. The refugee industrialist who was running many concerns before the tragedy overtook him feels impatient at the delay, lest his precious little capital be wasted. The middle-class feel insecure about the future of their children if the present unemployment continues for long.

*Non-Muslim refugees awaiting train at Muzaffargarh station.*



To the refugee the pace of rehabilitation appears slow. It is his complaint that the formulation by the Government of a broad outline of its plan for rehabilitation has too long been delayed. An ordinary refugee cannot understand the delay in the functioning of the Government. To him every delay means Government red tape. He cannot but remember the quick constructions that sprang up during the war and he wonders why things cannot move with the same speed now in an emergency no way lesser than that of war.

One can understand the impatience of the refugee who has suffered and has lost his all. The delay in his resettlement creates uncertainty and unrest in him. The problem of rehabilitation, however, is so vast and complex that with the best of efforts, it must take some time for its solution.

Quick and simple solutions need not necessarily be right and lasting ones. Sometimes a step which may give immediate results, may ultimately create more difficulties than it solves. There is a clamour for the indiscriminate building of cheap, very short term mud houses. As a measure of relief to the refugee from the inconvenience and hardship of living in canvas tents, there is much to be said for it. But as a means of permanent rehabilitation of refugees, the wisdom of such efforts is doubtful. Such temporary measures cannot remove the feeling of uncertainty in the minds of the refugees. Unless he has a home and a job of his own and an assurance of permanent settlement, he can-

not feel rooted in the soil, of being an integral part of the new State.

The problem of housing the refugees is difficult and urgent. The short supply of essentials is holding up progress in the building of houses. An adequate housing programme must envisage fairly comfortable and well-built houses. It is necessary to pursue schemes of suburban development, the establishment of new cities and townships and the development of new plots for the rehabilitation of urban refugees. While planning these townships and new suburban developments it will be necessary to provide enough industrial and other productive activity to give employment to the residents.

What is needed, then, is an early formulation of Government plans for rehabilitation. The first step is the dispersal policy which must be based on the capacity of each area to absorb them. The Provincial and State Governments at the same time must come out with the outlines of their rehabilitation plans. Every encouragement will have to be given to refugees to learn new vocations and get training which will enable them to fit into the economy of their new homeland. The plans for housing will have to be integrated to the plan of industrial development and increase of production.

In the course of time, these unfortunate countrymen of ours will be able to contribute their best to the progress and welfare of the country provided an imaginative policy is followed with drive and determination.

#### RAJAJI (Continued from page 23)

coffee. And get to learn to live without fresh air. You will find it is not so necessary." I discovered in jail that his advice was sound.

Rajaji also became the interpreter of Gandhiji's political principles. When Gandhiji was in jail in 1921, a great controversy arose between the "Pro-Changers" and the "No-Changers", between those who wanted to go to the Legislative Assembly and those who wanted to continue Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement. Rajaji led the latter and won against such stalwarts as the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and the late Deshbandhu Das. His stock rose suddenly. He became the General Secretary of the Congress; he was a member of the Working Committee from that time until 1942, when he went out of the fold because of serious differences.

He has the courage of his convictions. The fateful year, 1942, proved it. India was seething with the preparations for the August Revolution. "Quit India" was in the air. The Congress had decided not to aid Britain in World War II. Rajaji was opposed to all this. He pleaded for caution, advocated the granting of the principle of Pakistan in the interest of communal harmony, tried to show the justness of the war, and thus antagonised most of his colleagues and burnt his political boats. Rajaji stayed out while his erstwhile co-workers rotted behind prison bars, and while others worked underground. He went into political exile.

He came back in 1946, and showed a touch of Richelieu. He was taken as a minister in Free India's first Government, and now he holds the position which was once held by Warren Hastings.

# INDIAN HISTORY AS IT SHOULD BE

K. M. PANIKKAR

THE decision of the Government of India to establish a Commission of impartial scholars to write a detailed and authoritative history of India has been welcomed by all thinking men. Why has such a Commission been found necessary? Why is it that there has been an almost universal demand in India for a rewriting of our history? It is wellknown that the Hindus as a people never attached importance to history as a branch of studies or as department of literature. The traditions embodied in the *Puranas* and the *Itihasas* are undoubtedly historical, as it is claimed. *Vamsavalis* or dynastic annals are a part of the *Puranas*, but the absence of any chronological sense or order and the process of reductions to which they have been subjected at different times place the *Puranas* definitely outside the category of historical literature. The Muslim historians start their narratives, so far as they relate to India, with the raids of Mahmud of Gazni, and while their chronicles are undoubtedly valuable, they are limited in interest, partial in their approach, and useless when they relate to the Hindus or to the life of the common people. The early English historians of India based their studies mainly on the Muslim chroniclers and their approach, naturally, was to treat the Period of Warring States which preceded the British Rule as a suitable prelude to their own greatness.

It is only during the last fifty years that a proper approach to Indian history has become possible. The devoted labour of numerous foreign scholars in deciphering ancient scripts and the interest of the British Government in India, in the collection, preservation and editing of epigraphical and archaeological records and the researches of eminent historians into the literatures of other countries helped to unfold a continuous picture of India through the ages. The process was gradual. The first and most important step in this connection was the identification of Sandrocottus of the Greek historians as Chandragupta the Maurya. That gave Indian history a basic date from which it was possible to work backwards and forwards. The deciphering of the Asokan inscriptions reenthroned that monarch whose name had been expunged from the *Vamsavalis* in the pantheon of Indian history. Gradually, the development of Buddhism, collated with difficulty from the

literatures of other countries, fell into perspective. With the discovery of Harishena's inscription, we began to share in the glory of the Imperial Guptas. Slowly the gaps were filled up by the research of numerous scholars working in different parts of India, bringing to light new inscriptions, coins, relics of forgotten dynasties, endowments of pious donors.

Today, though there are notable gaps in our knowledge and not a few unsolved riddles, it can be legitimately said that the pattern of India's story is now clear. We can trace the growth of the Indian mind from the days of Mahenjodaro to our own times and every Indian can feel himself the inheritor of 5000 years of civilization. But the story has not yet been told. The integration of Indian historical knowledge has not yet been attempted and therefore in spite of the immensity of the material and to some extent as a result of it, we have no history of India which satisfies us or gives us a true picture of our evolution.

There have been some half-hearted attempts by European scholars, notably the Cambridge History of India, to utilize the available material and present a picture of India's past. But they started with two handicaps. In the first place, all European historians suffer from the idea that nothing important or original could have come from India itself and it is a part of their duty to find a European origin for things of value which somehow came to exist in India. Secondly, they have the idea firmly implanted in them that Indian history falls into different periods, watertight compartments which can be treated separately. Hence the old division of history into Hindu, Muslim and British periods, forgetting the essential fact that, in regard to India, dynastic history counts for little and the evolution of the people, the growth of their thought and civilization, was independent of dynasties. To the European historians Alexander's raid was more important than the rise of Chandragupta and the Seleucids living in distant Bactria (to whom the Cambridge History of India devotes so disproportionate a space) were more important than the Maurya Empire. Also the European historians in India had no sympathy for understanding of Indian art or literature. Dr. Vincent Smith, who was the first English historian to attempt a connected and readable history of India in

one volume, was responsible for so strange a statement as that after the Gupta period Indian sculpture became degenerate!

The treatment of the period of British rule in India, covering actually not more than a hundred and fifty years, has been the most curious feature of Indian historical writing. The Cambridge History of India devotes two volumes to a minute chronicling of the heroic deeds of British generals and the wise statesmanship of Viceroys and Governors-General. In all this the Indian text book writers merely echoed the judgment of European scholars. The recent *Advanced Text Book of Indian History* by three distinguished Indian scholars has allocated over 500 out of its 1100 pages to a description of the 150 years of British rule and the whole of Indian history up to the Regulating Act is dealt with in the rest.

It was the late K. P. Jayaswal who introduced into Indian History a new and national attitude. His *Hindu Polity* took the whole of Hindu history in one sweep and provided it with a background. R. D. Bannerji's Benares lectures on the Guptas demonstrated the new method of using archaeological and epigraphic records. The work of a distinguished school of historians in South India, especially Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, explained the national importance of South India's contribution to India's history. Nor can the work of scholars like Father Heras and his disciples be forgotten in the interpretation of Pallava, Chalukya and Vijayanagar history.

Also the work of recovering Indian history cannot be considered solely from the point of view of inscriptions, coins and excavations. The discovery of Kautilya's Arthashastra is a significant date for us. It is this work which made it possible for us to understand the continuity of Indian administration, the structure of our political institutions and the ideas behind our statesmen of ancient times. The monumental work of Dr. Kane on Hindu Dharmasastras has opened the way for a study of Hindu social concepts through the ages; and the steady work of Indologists everywhere in editing old manuscripts, fixing the dates of authors and generally filling up the gaps of our literary history is also an important aspect of this work.

With so much material available for study, and with so long a period to cover, the writing of Indian history is indeed a task of gigantic magnitude. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* covers only a thousand years; Ranke's *History of the Papacy* covers 1800 years and is naturally restricted in scope. The only true compar-

ison which a comprehensive history of India can bear is to a history of European civilization taking within its range not merely the political history of Europe from the earliest beginnings in Greece but also the social, religious and economic developments during this whole period. The position, however, is complex. The history of European colonial expansion, for instance, is hardly five hundred years old, while recorded Indian colonial history, now available to us, covers over one thousand years. And when it comes to religious history the story of the Christian sects in Europe, no doubt extremely complicated, is plain and straightforward, compared with the numerous schools of Buddhism which once prevailed in India, with the varieties of Jainism which are still flourishing, not to speak of the luxuriant growth of Hindu sectarian doctrines from the time of the Buddha to that of Dayananda Saraswati.

Thus the writing of an authoritative and comprehensive history of India is a stupendous task which can be undertaken only by a team of scholars each one of whom is not only a specialist in his field but is gifted with sufficient imagination to see in his own mind the pattern in its entirety. Essentially, therefore, what we have to achieve, in the first place, is a sense of perspective, by which each period, each region and each development, either in thought, in material advancement or in the arts finds its place. To do this we have to unlearn a great deal, for no one would deny that historical thought in India during the last fifty years, owing to its compartmentalization, is extremely lopsided.

#### GOLDEN AGE, A MYTH

In order to establish a correct perspective it is also necessary to eradicate from our minds every vestige of the view, cherished by many, that a golden age flourished in our past or the equally absurd doctrine that our history is a record of uniform progress. No free or vigorous nation ever looks back to the past as a golden age. The doctrine of the golden age is a manifestation of escapism for a people whose present affords them no hope. German people, before their unification by Bismark, used to speak of the age of Frederick Barbarossa as their golden age. The Portuguese of today look upon the period of Dom Manuel, when they held half the world in fee, as a golden age. It has been customary for Indian writers of late to look upon the Gupta Age in this light. But in what sense is the reign of the Guptas a golden age in Indian history? True, the Hindus of that time were a vigorous, adventurous and dynamic people. They had successfully driven out the foreigners, eliminated the exotic influences which had left their mark on Indian life, spread



themselves far and wide across the ocean and generally built up a state system which brought peace and prosperity to the land. The art and architecture of the period show a vigorous manliness, a noble conception of beauty, an urge for self-expression which comes to a people only in times of greatness. The Gupta literature was also able to capture and give expression to a sense of gracious beauty, to conceive and carry out a bold redaction of the epics, the *Puranas* and other ancient literature, and generally convey to themselves and to posterity a sense of vitality, stateliness and achievement. All this is true. But surely India in the 3rd and the 4th centuries was in no sense the paradise that people now imagine it to be, any more than China was under the T'angs, England in the age of Elizabeth or France in the time of Louis XIV. The condition of the common people was miserable. Slavery was the basis on which the economic life of the country flourished. Caste restrictions were rigid and in fact it would seem that reaction was in the ascendant. A closer examination of every one of the so-called golden ages in history will prove the same fact. No one would exchange his life today in order to live in the reign of Augustus, Chandragupta Vikramaditya, Elizabeth or Louis XIV. We have to recognize, while viewing with pride the achievement of our people in great periods, that the doctrine of a golden age is a myth.

There is one other pitfall which the writers of national histories have to avoid: and that is to view history as a department of national apologetics. The temptation of a patriotic historian to see the hand of God in the evolution of his own people is indeed great. From Thucydides to Herbert Fisher few have been able to resist it. In a sense, the Anglo-Indian historians have been the worst offenders in this matter. After the first days of partisan historians, India has been flooded with historical writings whose one object would seem to be to justify every action of the British authorities in India, to gloss over what they cannot justify and, what was worse, to blacken all characters and misrepresent all movements hostile to British power in India. From William Hunter and Alfred Lyall to the tribe of Dodwells, Vincent Smiths and Robertses, the progress has been continuous. Nor have we been wholly innocent in this matter. The history of the Great Rebellion, the abortive war of independence, as written by Vinayak Savarkar, and the justification of the Peshwas which started with the enthusiasts of the Poona School provide examples which are illuminating. History requires no justification. The good and the bad are equally parts of it and need no whitewashing.

The only proper approach to the history of a living people is to treat it as a continuing progress. The essential assumption of history is that it portrays a common social and cultural heritage. Without such a community of interest, history can have no meaning. That common social and cultural heritage is strongest in the case of single peoples and is less evident but effective in the case of continuous groups of nations. A history of England or France represents a stronger unity of national culture and therefore the heritage it represents is of a wider range extending practically to all aspects of life. It would also not be incorrect to speak of a history of Europe for there is a European heritage but naturally its range is less extensive. The fact is however clear that without a common tradition, without a social heritage shared by all, without a continuous process of evolution in its institutions, whether it be of decay or growth, there can be no proper history. No one can deny that there is in India a continuous tradition going back to Mahenjodaro and the Indus Valley civilization for there we see in unmistakable form the dominant figure of Siva and the vital figure of the Devi and the peaceful image of the Yogi in contemplation. The Vedic Suktas are still chanted in India and the ceremonies prescribed still performed. The questions that were put to the *Rishis* in the Upanishads are still being discussed and answered and the religious thought of India today is as directly related to the teachings of the Upanishads as at any previous time. So far as our social heritage is concerned, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the rituals and the ceremonies under which the Indian people live, though modified greatly by the impact of other cultures and by the material process of growth and decay, are in essentials not different from what the Dharmasastras laid down many centuries before Christ. It is the interpretation of this great heritage, its growth, modification and persistence through the ages that represents the true substance of Indian history. It is only by a continuous interpretation and renovation that this heritage has been maintained.

India has now been integrated into a single state and the unity of her social tradition is now reflected, after many centuries, in political unity also. The time is therefore suitable for a reinterpretation of India's history in the light of the efforts of the Indian people through the ages to maintain her individual life and her undying quest for political unity. That is the duty India expects her historians to do today and let us hope that they will not fail in this supremely important task.



## CULTURAL RENAISSANCE IN FREE INDIA

KALIDAS NAG

FREEDOM of India is the inevitable consequence of her spiritual liberation and cultural renaissance. The octopus of competitive colonialism saw India prostrate in the mid-eighteenth century on the fields of Plassey and Panipat (1757-1761). We remember our defeats and their tragic consequences. But we forget that our village saint, Ramprasad of North India, and our master musician, Tyagaraja of South India, lived and worked for our spiritual emancipation even in those gloomiest of days.

About a century before Plassey we find Dara Shikoh, the philosopher prince of Mughal India, translating the Sanskrit Upanishads into Persian, unfolding the eternal treasures of Hinduism and Islam. Towards the end of the eighteenth century we find Rammohan Roy (1774-1833), attempting to bring Upanishadic Hinduism and Islam into a synthesis of Unitarianism symbolised in his first published works *Toufat-ul-Muwahhidin* (1803). Rammohan was the first seer of modern Asia, if not of the modern world, who made pioneer attempts to reconcile the dogmatic contradictions of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity and to lay the foundations of a Church Universal. He championed the cause of the depressed womanhood and of the down-trodden and exploited *ryots* of India. We find him also championing freedom of the press and the causes of Turkey and Ireland as well as of the Independence of Latin America against Spanish tyranny (*vide Edinburgh Magazine*, September, 1823.). Jeremy Bentham greeted Rammohan as the "intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborator in the service of mankind". Rammohan Roy was, in fact, the veritable Morning Star

of the Asian renaissance and the Father of Modern India. We find in his works an extraordinary familiarity with and fusion of Hindu Unitarianism, Persian mysticism Arab monotheism, Christian ethics, Chinese philosophy and the progressive scientific thought of the Occident.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century we notice the advent of the rural mystic Sree Ramakrishna, Madhusudan Dutt with his poetic genius and Bankim Chandra Chatterji the first creative prose-writer and the immortal author of "Vande Mataram". His stories and romances formed a new *genre* of literature which through translations and adaptations stimulated the growth of most of the progressive modern literatures of Renascent India.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century Rabindranath Tagore appeared on our cultural horizon and continued to shed the lustre of his creative genius over the entire literary and artistic life of India and the world. He was more than an individual genius; Rabindranath in fact was an institution vindicating the claims of nationalism as well as of internationalism. In the absence of national government, he had to suffer in his early career from privations of every sort, both in material equipments and in human personnel; still, ever proud of his ancestral heritage, Rabindranath refused the patronising aid of an alien government and grasped the hand of Mahatma Gandhi who came to fulfil the poet's dream and greeted him as "Gurudev".

Those who pretend to ignore the profound sympathy which Mahatmaji felt for the revival of Indian Culture,

Illustration:  
RAMENDRANATH CHAKRAYORTY

especially of the Arts and Crafts of India, should remember how lovingly he called to his side the renowned artist, Nandalal Bose, from Dr. Tagore's Art Academy, to help him whenever wanted. The immortal music and songs of Tagore were treasured by Mahatmaji till the last days and he felt that those things, conveyed adequately to the neglected millions of our rural population, would bring about a new spiritual awakening and a wider cultural revival in the near future. With Rabindranath and Mahatmaji illuminating our path we felt confident that freedom was bound to come to our people, and, in fact, to all the enslaved and oppressed nations of the world. The 'Poet-laureate of Asia' was also the musical prophet of our freedom and though Tagore could not survive the shock of the second world war, Mahatma Gandhi, as the Father of Indian Independence, came to fulfil his dream and handed over the sacred torch to his generation. He taught us to consider freedom not only as a privilege for the few but as the birthright of all including the 'lowliest and the lost', as sung by Tagore in his *Gitanjali*.

## II

Thus while reaching the peak of our cultural renaissance in the age of Tagore and Gandhi, we citizens of Free India must organize and mobilize our educational and cultural resources so that our teeming millions, toiling silently and patiently through centuries in our hills and forests, fields and factories, grow up in the full consciousness of their grand cultural heritage.

Our accumulated cultural assets are enormous in quantity and of superb quality. We must now have a regular National Planning for mobilizing and utilizing those assets for the benefit of the entire nation as well as of other friendly nations of the world. Historically and geographically placed in the heart of Asia, we Indians are probably predestined to compile and co-ordinate the cultural treasures of India and the Orient into a grand *Encyclopaedia Asiana*.

Rural India, neglected for centuries, still cherishes in obscure corners invaluable gems of unwritten literature and un-recorded music in the form of folk tales, ballads, plays, pantomimes, dances and other forms of folk art which should now be thoroughly explored and conserved through a National Academy of Folk Culture and Museum of Man under the direction of a body of experts.

The higher type of music, both vocal and instrumental, must find its haven in our National Conservatory of music, drama and allied arts. In fact UNESCO is now lending its active support to the expansion of mass education through its encouragement of the national theatre movement.

Turning from education through the *ear* to education through the *eyes*, we should develop a Central Institute of Audiovisual education, co-ordinating all the latest scientific research and discovery in the domain of sound film technique, radio and other media so effectively used by Soviet Russia in the quick liquidation of illiteracy. This great work of artistic and cultural education will be worthily supplemented by developing soon our projected National Museum, our central and regional galleries of Fine Arts as well as our National Portrait Galleries.

To attend to all these pressing nation building problems we should have a special Ministry of National Art and Culture to perform the same responsible functions as UNESCO is doing for the United Nations. The work that Free India will do now will be taken as a model and an inspiration by many of the less favoured nations of the world. The potentiality of such a world-wide cultural collaboration is tremendous for it opens up a new horizon of creative unity and probably a grander renaissance. However much we may feel embarrassed today on account of our political and economic complications, India should prove worthy of the great cultural and humanitarian services rendered to mankind for over a millennium.

# INDIA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

M. C. CHAGLA

A FREE and independent India must play her full and proper role in international affairs. Her foreign policy must be laid down in India and given effect to through her Ambassadors and diplomatic representatives all the world over. But she must also play her part in the comity of nations. And that she can do by being a member of the United Nations, accepting in full her obligations, conscious also of her rights and privileges.

The United Nations was established on the basic assumption that the world is one and indivisible. The only way to avoid war was not to divide the world in *blocs* and groups but to tackle all problems as affecting the whole world. The economic malaise from which the world was suffering was due to faulty production and distribution. And the remedy lay in the whole world being called upon to produce more and distribute more equitably. A sense of security was essential if nations were to cease to arm themselves and prepare for another war. For that purpose it was intended that an international police force should be provided. The International Court of Justice gave effect to the idea that differences between nations should be resolved not by the arbitrament of war but by peaceful and judicial arbitration.

Two diametrically opposed ideas had to be reconciled in the Charter of the United Nations: the sovereignty of each nation and the overriding authority of the United Nations. While it was provided that the United Nations would not interfere with the domestic affairs of the member Nations, the latter in their turn also agreed to surrender part of their sovereignty by subscribing to the principles and purposes of the Charter, and agreeing to be loyal to them.

The right of the veto given to each of the Big Powers was a realistic corrective to the idealism underlying the setting up of the United Nations. It was realized that war could not be avoided unless all the Big Powers agreed on major issues. If one held out it was sufficiently strong to thwart and defy the U.N.

India was one of the original signatories to the Charter and has always been a loyal and enthusiastic member of the U.N. She wants peace no less than any other country and the principles of the Charter had been a living faith with her long before they were transcribed in their present form. But till 1946 she could

not play an independent role. She was tied to the apron-strings of Great Britain and her foreign policy was settled and dictated by her foreign rulers. In 1946 the Congress accepted office in the Central Government and our present Prime Minister selected an independent delegation to represent our country. For the first time the real voice of India was heard in the Council of the world. I remember the Leader of the Czecho-Slovakian delegation telling me that so far if he wanted to know what the Indian Delegation thought on a particular subject all that he had to do was to ask his British colleagues, and he knew that India would toe the line chalked out by England. But this time, he said he knew that India had a policy and ideas of her own.

The one question on the agenda of the United Nations in 1946 which was of deep and vital interest to India was the treatment of her nationals in South Africa. It raised a very big question, far transcending its local and parochial interest. It raised the thorny question of the colour bar. It raised the question whether consistently with the Charter civic rights could be denied to a section of the subjects of a country on the ground of race, colour or community.

India, in advocating her cause, found herself confronted with difficulties which seemed to be almost insuperable. The United States had her own colour problem and she looked upon us as stirring up the hornet's nest. Her opposition was a foregone conclusion.

*Chairman of the Fifth Committee, Mr. Justice Fazli Ali, (right) chats with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, M. Trygve Lie, before the first meeting of the Second Session, at which M. Lie addressed the members on the budget estimates for 1948.*

— PHOTO: UNITED NATIONS



## India at International Conferences

She dominated the U.N. and with her she was bound to carry several Nations, especially the South American States which were within her political orbit. Then there were Colonial Powers like England, France and Holland. They had their own skeletons in the cupboard. And finally, General Smuts with characteristic astuteness proclaimed himself to be the protagonist of the sacred right of domestic and internal sovereignty of the Nations.

Notwithstanding all this India won. And in winning she did not merely establish the justice of her own cause, but also got the U.N. to subscribe to the principles which were of universal application. Racial discrimination was condemned as being contrary to the Charter. It was clearly laid down that the sovereignty of the Nations was circumscribed by the principles of the Charter, and the Nations were no longer free to legislate even with regard to their domestic affairs in any manner inconsistent with the principles of the Charter.

How and why did India succeed? Largely owing to the strength of her cause. But India also had the sympathy of a large number of Member States. They realized that she was speaking the language of the Charter and appealing to the principles which they themselves had subscribed to. As far as freedom went she was a young nation and her gallant fight excited the admiration of older nations whose histories also contained pages

recounting sufferings and struggles in the cause of freedom. They also admired her for the independent line she took on all questions that came before the U.N. It would be a mistake to think that India only concerned herself with her own problems and ignored the other important matters of the general world concern which came before the U.N. India played her full part in all discussions and debates and was always listened to with respect.

India has of late realized that all is perhaps not well with the U.N. The veto has become a dead hand which stultifies all its activities. More and more it becomes apparent that problems are not being discussed on their merits but power politics plays a big part in their determination. The aftermath of the South African question, the way the Kashmir situation was handled in the Security Council, are all pointers in that direction.

But India cannot afford to lose her faith in the U.N. The alternative is that she must become a pawn in the game of the Big Powers, ally herself with one group or other and lose her independence in the domain of foreign politics. The U.N. remains the only answer to war and aggression. Everything that strengthens it makes for peace and concord among nations. Everything that weakens it brings the day of the horrible clash of arms nearer.

## OUR REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD



*Sri V. V. GIRI, High Commissioner to Ceylon.*



*Sardar H. S. MALIK, High Commissioner to Canada.*



*Sri M. R. MASANI, Minister to Brazil.*



*Sri DEWAN CHAMAN-LAL, Ambassador to Turkey.*

Artist: NAGEN BHATTACHARYA.

# INDIA AND THE ECAFE

P. S. LOKANATHAN

1947 MADE history. It witnessed the independence of India and her coming into her own. But the same year also witnessed in close succession two epoch-making events which are likely to leave permanent imprints on Asia's history and development. The convening of a conference of Asian peoples at New Delhi under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs and under the inspiring leadership of India's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was, in its awakening of the interest of Asia in her own political, economic and social problems, of historic importance. The conference resulted in the establishment of an Asian Relations Organization which, functioning as a co-ordinator of national but unofficial cultural, political and social organizations in Asian countries, will continue to study objectively and without bias the economic and social problems of Asia. Meeting only once in two years, its impact upon public opinion, while abiding and substantial, can only be gradual. The establishment by the United Nations of an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in March, 1947, with a view to promoting reconstruction and economic development of Asia, with the Governments of India, China, the Philippines, Siam, and more recently, Pakistan and Burma as full members, marks another milestone in the march of Asia to the realization of her great destiny. For the first time, mainly at the instance of China and India, a forum has been provided by the United Nations where the accredited representatives of the Governments of this region can meet together twice in a year to discuss common economic problems, to establish agreed principles of action and carry out, if they choose, the policies determined by mutual agreement. Already the Commission has met thrice; its first meeting was at Shanghai where its headquarters have been established temporarily, the second was at Baguio in the Philippine Republic, while the third session, inaugurated by India's Prime Minister, has just concluded its labours. Its accomplishments may not be spectacular; the Commission is still in the stage of building up machinery for implementing programmes of action adopted by the Commission. But what is beyond question is that the Commission has provided a meeting ground for the Governments of the countries of Asia to consider at regular intervals the urgent problems of Asian economic development. These countries,

which had been separated for centuries by virtue of their political and economic bondage, although geography, history and culture should have joined them and knit them closer, have now an opportunity to forge new links of cooperation and friendship.

The marks of political dependence have not been fully obliterated. Not all the countries of the Far East are yet full members of the Commission. Membership was confined to independent countries of the region which are members of the United Nations, while some western powers, either by virtue of their metropolitan relationship to countries of the region or of their political and economic position, have been made members. The presence of the U.K., France and the Netherlands and of the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. may be explained for reasons indicated above, while Australia and New Zealand have been admitted as members by virtue of their geographical position and their interest in the Far East. However that may be, it was felt that unless the countries which were not self-governing were also brought into close relationship with the Commission in its activities and programmes, the Commission would lack realism. Hence the Economic and Social Council adopted the device of "Associate Membership" by which non self-governing countries of the region could be brought in to participate in the working and deliberations of the Commission in an associate capacity, with all the rights pertaining to membership short only of the right of voting at the plenary meetings of the Commission. The only limiting condition was that they should be proposed by the members responsible for their international relations. They are, however, entitled to sit as full members of committees or other subsidiary bodies that may be established by the Commission. Under this rule, Burma and Ceylon, before they became self-governing, Hong Kong and the Malayan Union and Singapore, were admitted as Associate Members under the sponsorship of the United Kingdom, while Cambodia and Laos were sponsored by France. The admission of the Indonesian Republic as an Associate Member came up for consideration at the second and the third sessions but on account of the difficulty of determining the rival claims of the Netherlands Government and the Indonesian Republic regarding responsibility for its international relations, the question was postponed. But it may be expected that before

the next session meets in November in Australia, the Indonesian Republic will become an Associate Member.

The economic problems of Asia and the Far East are not such as can be treated in a year or two. They have been long standing and rooted in certain fundamental economic and social weaknesses which cannot be overcome except by continuous effort. The Commission is, however, concerned with the more immediate tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction. The war has disrupted and damaged the economics of Asian countries, perhaps even more seriously than the West. The Commission's main attempts have been in the direction of repairing this war damage and rebuilding the economics. Shortages of food and low agricultural production are sought to be removed by devising a food and agricultural programme for the region in collaboration with the Food and Agriculture Organization. At the Ootacamund Session a Working Party composed of representatives of FAO and ECAFE has been constituted to recommend measures for the removal of bottlenecks and for the supply of essential requisites for agricultural production. The vital importance of transport in reconstruction has been recognized by the Commission and a conference of transport experts of the region will shortly be convened to take measures for transport rehabilitation. The Commission has recognized the close relationship between technical training and industrialization and for this purpose has constituted a machinery for the promotion of training facilities in the region and for effecting interchange of trainees between the countries of the region. In addition, recommendations have been made for getting expert technical assistance from abroad.

It is, however, in the sphere of industrial development that the Commission finds its real orientation. An industrial Working Party has been constituted which has been empowered to get as many experts as are necessary for the purpose and has been entrusted with the task of studying the industrial plans of various

countries in all their aspects with a view to framing definite projects which could be worked out. The Working Party is expected to make a thorough and detailed estimate of the financial requirements and capital goods and other equipment needed for the putting through of these projects. When such detailed estimates are before the Commission it will be possible for the Commission to suggest national and international measures for the implementation of these programmes, but the actual execution of the scheme is essentially a task for national governments. The Commission can at best be only a supplement to national efforts; it can advise and recommend and to some extent can also assist, but it should be emphasized that no international action can be a substitute for national action.

India has taken a considerable part in the establishment of the Commission. Her cooperation at the Ooty Session has been acknowledged generally as most valuable and the contribution of her delegation has been regarded as substantial. While every country must build up the strength of the Commission and contribute to its success, India has, perhaps, a special role to play by virtue of her favourable position and comparatively large resources. In inaugurating the Ooty Session, Pandit Nehru, while deprecating all talk of leadership, laid special emphasis on the service which India can render to the rest of Asia. No wiser words have been uttered. He pointed out that it was necessary for India to act in the larger interests of Asia as a whole even if it involved some sacrifice. She is fitted to play this role of service in several directions. In the provision of technical training for nationals of other countries, in the exchange of officials and perhaps even in the supplying of capital, her contribution can be most valuable and helpful. It is fortunate for the Commission that India has affirmed her full cooperation in the task of economic reconstruction and development of this region.

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*"I am afraid the prophecy of the Bible is going to be fulfilled and there is to be a perfect deluge. Heaven forbid that there will be that deluge, and that through men's wrongs."*

—Mahatma Gandhi.

## A KOREAN DIALOGUE

Interview between Mr. K. P. S. MENON and Mr. MEADE DAVIDSON at New York broadcasting station on March 1, 1948.

ANNOUNCER: Let's look at the United Nations! We bring you another in the series of interviews with leaders of the United Nations. This evening Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Representative of the Dominion of India and Chairman of the Korean Commission of the General Assembly of the United Nations, will be interviewed by Meade Davidson, News Commentator of Station WWRL, New York City. Mr. Davidson:

MENON: That is an awkward question, Mr. Davidson. You are asking me to blow my own trumpet. But I haven't got much of a trumpet to blow. Before I was assigned to the Korean Commission, I was the Indian Ambassador—India's first Ambassador—in China. I was present at the birth of the United Nations in San Francisco; and I attended the first session of the General Assembly in New York. I have held a number of posts in



*Interim Committee of United Nations General Assembly hears K. P. S. MENON, (centre) Chairman of the U.N. Temporary Commission on Korea.*

Photo: UNITED NATIONS

DAVIDSON: Mr. Menon, since the people of the United States have a special interest in the situation in Korea, I am extremely appreciative of your coming here this evening to give us some first-hand information of conditions in that country. Now this series of interviews is designed to make people better acquainted with the United Nations and its operations by having them meet its leaders and those of its subsidiary bodies and its members. Will you, therefore, start by being good enough to tell us something about yourself, your background, experience, etc.

India and overseas, but that is of no importance. But I must tell you of something of which I am really proud. Not long ago I went on an overland journey, mostly on horseback and on foot, from India to China, across the Himalayas, the Karakorams and the Pamirs, and through the deserts and oases of Sinkiang. It took me 125 days; and it was the route which was used by the Chinese pilgrims to India in the early centuries of the Christian era, and by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. I have actually written a book about it: it is called "Delhi-Chungking" and it has just





*LIFE IN KOREA: Child cotton workers attending the factory school.*

been published by the Oxford University Press. I hope you won't think I am advertising it!

DAVIDSON: Not at all, Mr. Menon. I should love to read that book. And now to your work in the United Nations. The present condition and future status of Korea, the one-time Hermit Kingdom, are of particular interest to us here in the United States since our troops occupy and administer the part of the country south of the 38th parallel while those of the Soviet Union hold the part north of that line. Will you please give us an outline of the course which led to the naming of the Commission which you head?

MENON: As you know, Korea had been a colony of Japan since 1910. The independence of Korea became one of the objectives of the Allies in the Second World War and was declared as such at the Cairo Conference. Towards the end of the war, the United States and the Soviet Union came to an agreement — an innocent agreement — that the United States would take the surrender of the Japanese troops south of the 38th parallel, and the Soviet Union, to the north. But the 38th parallel, which was just a temporary military line, hardened into a political frontier. At the Moscow Conference, it was agreed that Korea should be under a four-power trusteeship for a period not exceeding five years, before she became independent. But most Koreans hated the very word "trusteeship". After all, Japan too originally came to Korea as a Trustee! Therefore, this trusteeship plan was abandoned and the Soviet Union and the United States tried to solve the problem of Korean independence by means of bilateral conventions. These too failed; and the United States was compelled to place the matter before the United Nations. That

is how our Commission was appointed by the General Assembly at the second session in 1947.

DAVIDSON: I recall the debates in the General Assembly, both in committee and in plenary session, and the bitter opposition of the Soviet bloc to the Assembly's action. This opposition carried over into the Korean Commission itself, did it not?

MENON: Yes — negatively, not positively. The Soviet authorities in North Korea would have nothing to do with our Commission; and the Ukraine, which was to have been one of the members of the Commission, declined to take part in it.

DAVIDSON: But without the participation of the Ukraine, the Commission went to work on the mission assigned to it?

MENON: Yes, but we made friendly overtures to the Ukraine. The Commission actually passed a resolution regretting the absence of the Ukrainian Delegate and stressing the importance of his participation. But the Ukrainian Government replied that they adhered to their negative attitude towards the Commission.

DAVIDSON: Well, now, when you and your associates got to Korea, how did you proceed with your work?

MENON: When we felt certain that it was impossible for us to work in North Korea, we resolved ourselves into sub-committees in order to ascertain the conditions in South Korea. One sub-committee was appointed to ascertain the opinion of Koreans on the methods of achieving independence; another, to study electoral regulations; and still another, to see how an atmosphere for free elections could be secured. Having considered the reports of these committees, we decided to present a picture of the Korean situation to the Little Assembly and seek their advice on the course to be followed in the face of Soviet non-operation with the Commission.

DAVIDSON: Now let me ask you this, Mr. Menon. What was the attitude of the United States authorities in Korea, helpful and cooperative or otherwise?

MENON: They were most helpful. But we didn't want them to be too helpful! We didn't want to give rise to the impression that we were led by the nose by the military authorities in South Korea. And I must say they never tried to foist their views on us.

DAVIDSON: And how about the inhabitants in the southern United States occupied portion of the country? What impression did the Commission gain from them?

MENON: We found them charming—perfectly charming. Forty years of Japanese rule have failed to break their spirit. We found the women quite as spirited as the men and, of course, more charming. Among those we met, were a delightful poet, who could write poetry even about uninspiring themes (she actually wrote a poem about me); a superb singer who took the leading part in the Korean version of “II Trovatore”; a distinguished educationist who was also a splendid orator, and a social worker, so keen on social service, that she is called “The Korean Gandhi”. A land which can produce such personalities need not despair of the future.

DAVIDSON: Now about the northern part of Korea. What can you say as to your contacts or relations with the Soviet authorities there?

MENON: Mr. Davidson, I can answer that question in one word—None.

DAVIDSON: I understand. But may I ask you whether the Commission was able to talk with enough of the inhabitants of the Soviet operated part of Korea to obtain a concrete idea of their attitude and desires?

MENON: We were unable to talk to any Koreans in the Soviet zone; but we spoke to many who had come from the Soviet zone. They were very critical and resentful of the North Korean regime, but it is not quite fair to judge the North Korean regime by their statements because they were refugees who had been hit hard by the radical changes effected in the economic system in North Korea.

DAVIDSON: I think we now have a picture of the Commission's work in Korea. Now it has brought the matter to the Little Assembly. Can you outline the position of the Commission?

MENON: The Commission doubted whether, under a strict interpretation of the General Assembly resolution, it was open to them to observe elections for the establishment of a national government in South Korea alone. We also had doubts as to whether it would be wise to do so, as it might harden and perpetuate the disunion of Korea. On the other hand, the Commission didn't want

to throw up its hands or give up in despair the whole mission of expediting the independence of Korea. That was the Commission's dilemma; and that is why the Commission decided to depute me to consult the Little Assembly.

DAVIDSON: Now, Mr. Menon, I have asked you only about the official actions of the Commission. I feel certain you have your own convictions on the situation in Korea and the potentialities inherent in it. Will you give us your own impressions?

MENON: Mr. Davidson, you have asked for my convictions on the situation and the potentialities inherent in it. It is my firm conviction that Korea must have her independence and will have it. She may have to go through a period of turmoil before she attains independence; I would not exclude even some sort of civil war out of the potentialities of a dismal situation, but I hope and pray that good sense will prevail all round and that Korea will march smoothly to her freedom.

DAVIDSON: Thank you, Mr. Menon, for that frank appraisal of what looks from here like a bad situation. Before we close this talk, I should like to ask you the question I have put to every United Nations leader: what do you see in the United Nations?

MENON: The hope of the world, Mr. Davidson. I have immense faith in the United Nations. So has my country. That is why, from the very outset of our troubles in Kashmir, for instance, we declared our readiness to put the matter before the Security Council. I hope our faith in the wisdom and impartiality of the Security Council will not prove to have been misplaced. Having seen something of the United Nations at its birth and infancy, I know that it is by no means perfect. No human organization is. But it is, let me repeat, the hope of the world. It is, as Dr. Evatt put it, all we have.

DAVIDSON: Mr. Menon, you have made this a very short quarter of an hour by the interesting insight you have given us into the operations of a United Nations Commission on a definite job. I know we have learned much from your willingness to talk frankly this evening. I cannot say that you have relieved our apprehensions, but at least you have clarified the situation. My thanks again to you, Mr. Menon. And now I return us to our announcer.

# THE COMMON MAN'S STRUGGLE

CONVERSATION WITH A KASHMIRI

MULK RAJ ANAND

I MET him in a lane off Queensway as he was carrying a huge load of carpets in a bundle on his back. The word 'Hato' came to my mind as I looked at him, even as this word used to come to my lips as a child whenever I saw a poor Kashmiri walking along with a weight on his back in my native city, Amritsar, many years ago. For he looked the same as all those other 'Hatos' I had seen in my childhood, a gaunt, big-boned man with a beautiful greying beard, like an aureole around his rugged, lined but swarthy, handsome face, a skull cap on his bald head, a thick tunic and salwar on his body and a pair of string chappals on his feet. And as words have a way to open the doors of memory, I could not help repeating the nonsense rhyme associated in my mind with the word, 'Hato':

*"Hato' don't eat turnips  
Or you will get a tummy-ache".*

As soon, however, as this verse, with which I and my little companions used to tease the poor Kashmiri coolies who came down to the plains to earn a little extra money during the grim winters of Kashmir, occurred to me, I felt rather ashamed of myself, guilty, as one feels at seeing a poor beggar. My first impulse was to turn away into Queensway and make for the Coffee House. But then an intense curiosity assailed me. And I wanted to speak to this man, perchance he should tell me something about Kashmir, the new Kashmir about which the newspapers spoke, the Kashmir where men and women seemed to have arisen after centuries of oppression, to fight against those who had coveted their land. Partly, I thought I should be able to make amends to the coolie for having thought childish thoughts about him. Also, I wanted to revive my memories of my various visits to Kashmir in that superficial manner in which one tries to buy one's souvenirs from a pedlar who hails from the place which one has once visited.

"A heavy load?" I said, coming up to him.

He puffed a deep puff, snorted and lifted his eyes to indicate assent.

"Why not a rest", I said.

"Haji Sahib is coming", he said, and lifted the stick in his hand and pointed towards Queensway. I turned but I could not see Haji Sahib.

"Do you want to buy?" he said.

"What have you in the bundle?" I asked. "It seems like carpets."

"*Han*, carpets they be," he answered. "Will you see?"

I didn't want to buy a carpet, nor did I desire to have a bout of bargaining. But as I stood hesitant, he volunteered the information:

"Haji Sahib is selling a carpet to the Captain Sahib there in that *bungla*. Shamsu, my brother, is with him with another load of carpets. Good carpets."

"And what is your name?" I asked.

"I be called Mahamadu. Look at the carpets, Sahib, and choose one until Haji Sahib comes and then you can fix the price with him."

And, without more ado, he sat back and dropped the load.

For a moment he chewed hot stale breaths and rolled his eyes, and it seemed as if he had been seeking this relief, and was grateful that he had met me, a customer, the only excuse for a breather.

He wiped his forehead and the sweat trickled through the deep furrows on his brow under the mark the knot of the bundle had made on it, for it was on the forehead that the pressure of the weight was most felt. Then he spat on the side and belched with a sound which seemed like a groan.

I stood looking at him as though he was a gorilla and I realized that he must feel awkward being stared at like that. So I stepped aside and sat down on the edge of a small brick-built bridge over a dry drain.

"How long have you been in Delhi, Mahamadu?" I asked.

"There be no trade in the valley now," he answered, "so I came down with my brother to work here. Haji Sahib has a big shop in 'Conoot pla' there. We eat his salt."



*"...He is a good man. He is a wise man. He was teacher of my son. And he has made a poet of him. He has made a man of him..." said Mahamadu proudly.*

"You mean there is no trade because of the winter?" I said.

"*Han*, winter be one cause, and the Pathans another."

"Did you see the Pathans?" I asked.

"No, but my daughter, Saiyda, killed one."

He said this quite casually and I looked at him to see the full meaning of what he had said.

"To shoot the tiger but to miss the wolves is no good," he began. "The wolves are still there."

I meditated for a moment on the significance of his phrase. I could see a quizzical look in his eyes and sensed that he implied the existence of some deep trouble in his land, in spite of the fact that the invaders had been halted.

"Are all your people safe?" I asked.

"In one breath there are a thousand breaths", he said calmly. "Those who live breathe, and they breathe hard..."

He paused and looked at me surreptitiously from the corners of his eyes as though to take me in.

There was a protracted silence between us, during which I tried to gaze the depth of his feeling behind the words. For though he had spoken casually and simply, his speech seemed to have been born out of elemental experiences, carrying in its unaffected, crude metaphor the wisdom of direct reality. As I could only vaguely comprehend the significance of his remarks I asked him directly:

"Do your people write to you?"

"My son wrote me a postcard. He did not say how his sister is or his mother. But he filled the whole card with the strange words of one of our bards. I have it with me." As he reached into the pocket of his tunic and produced a sweat-soaked crumpled old card, I took it from him and tried to decipher the words. I could only read two lines.

Mahamadu began with an ironical note in his voice, "My son is a poet himself. He cannot be kept from singing. Whenever you see him he is talking, talking in rhymes, and he capers about the place like a monkey, often teasing his sister. But both the children are brave: they have joined the children's army. But my wife says they ought to work, for there is not even salt in the house".

"You said you eat the salt of Haji Sahib," I told him, bantering. "Why not send some of this salt to your wife?"

Mahamadu looked at me askance, and then said, "Haji Sahib is a good man, but he has not much salt to spare."

"I suppose", I said, "salt is very scarce nowadays, especially in Kashmir..."

Mahamadu nodded and closed his eyes in a contemplative mood. Then he half-opened his eyes and spoke:

"There has always been a scarcity in our parts."

"Where do you come from?" I interrupted him.

"I be from Anantnag, but everywhere in our land there was scarcity..."

"Not of everything," I said. "I remember the apples and pears."

"Scarcity of everything for us Sahib, scarcity of salt."

This fixation on salt didn't surprise me. I know that Kashmiris drink tea with salt and they need a little

## Kashmir<sup>1</sup>

more of this than others. But, also, I sensed that salt had become a kind of symbol for Mahamadu.

"Did the scarcity of salt make you leave the valley?"

"I left the valley every year during the bad season. Though, to be sure, scarcity of salt had great deal to do with it. For when there is no salt, there is no loyalty. As they say in my village, 'live not in the city whose master does not provide salt.'"

"But now the lion of Kashmir roars in the valley," I said.

"First he is lion, and then he wears coat of mail", said Mahamadu proudly. "He is a good man. He is a wise man. He was teacher of my son. And he has made a poet of him. He has made a man of him. He has made many jackals into lions. To be sure he is a lion, though he has no mane..."

There was glint of mischief in Mahamadu's eyes as he twisted his tongue from the sublime phrases towards the ridiculous, almost as though he knew that he was addressing an audience whom he had to convince about the qualities of his hero without using too many heroic words.

"I have heard of the lion of Kashmir and his deeds," I said. "To be sure he is a lion all right. And his roar has been heard very far beyond the mountains and valleys of Kashmir. He seems to be more than the equal of the great big lion who used to roar forth from across the seas."

I was deliberately inflating my sentiments so as not to let Mahamadu feel self-conscious. But I noticed in a while that Mahamadu had become very solemn. I was afraid that I may have seemed too light-hearted to him. Apparently, this was so, because after prolonged silence, he ground his teeth hard and almost frothing in his mouth, said:

"The patch of ground where I grew my rice was once a stony orchard, on the side of a mountain. I struggled hard with it and raised enough to feed my family. But the *Sarkar* took a big share of the crop. And we always

lived from hand to mouth. The chickens I reared went into the mouth of the Tehsildar. And my brother Shamsu was always taken away on *begar*... Now I am told that we shall be given big engines, which can dig deep into the bowels of the earth, and with which we can break the hard earth and get a bigger morsel into our mouths. The lion of Kashmir proclaims this. I shall go back to Anantnag..."

"First earn and then eat", I said ironically.

"To be sure," said Mahamadu briefly. And then he began to wipe his forehead and his neck with the length of his sleeve and looked nervously towards Queensway.

He almost seemed to have second sight. For Haji Sahib and Shamsu were visible at the opening of the lane, the former with a respectable white turban and white tunic on, and the latter bearing a weight, even as Mahamadu had come with the load on his back.

I sat still while they approached us. I knew that Haji Sahib would think that I was a prospective customer. And, of course, my prognostications proved correct. The merchant asked me whether I would like to see a carpet. I pretended that I was on my way to an urgent appointment, but would like to come and see whether I could buy anything in his shop. He forthwith gave me his card, which I pocketed. Then I got up and made my way towards Queensway.

When I reached the corner of the lane, I could not help turning round to take a last look at Mahamadu.

He was walking along, weighed down by the bundle on his back, dwarfed almost like all the other Kashmiri 'Hatos' whom I had seen since my childhood. And yet, in my mind, I could not think of him as dwarfed, or weighed down, or burdened, for his words were fresh in my memory, tall like the cypresses in Kashmir, hard like the stones of the earth he said he had tilled, small like the needs of his family that he had spoken about, green like the spring in the valley, and bursting like the many-coloured flowers of its gardens.

# KASHMIR FIGHTS ON

KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

**I**N October, 1947, when the raiders from Pakistan invaded Kashmir they expected to be in Srinagar within two weeks.

On October 27, 1947, when the first Dakota, carrying Indian troops, landed on the Srinagar airstrip, the raiders were in Baramula, thirty miles away, preparing to launch a two-pronged attack on the capital. It was young Colonel Rai's daring and self-sacrificing action in rushing straight from the airstrip to the front that halted the raiders just as they were emerging from Baramula for Srinagar.

On November 3, the raiders penetrated up to Badgam, only eight miles from Srinagar and dangerously near the aerodrome.

All through the last week of October and the first week of November it was touch and go; no one could say how far the raiders would be able to advance. Yet they were pushed back. The tide turned. Nine months have passed since then and now the raiders should be pushed back any day across the Pakistan border.

It was neither luck nor accident that foiled the raiders' evil designs. It was rather the combination of the Indian Union army's striking power and the democratic upsurge of the Kashmiri people that turned the tables on the invaders.

The battle of Kashmir is the first test of Free India's army in the field. Those who sometimes get impatient with the lack of news of dramatic and spectacular

victories do not realize the heavy odds against which our soldiers have had to fight. No classic 'Charge of the Light Brigade' or even the Battle of Waterloo is possible in a mountainous terrain where every hill crest provides cover for an enemy detachment and every tree hides a sniper.

I have been to some of the outposts manned by our forces. One of these was on top of a hill, 15,000 feet high, where drinking water had to be carried from a spring 4,000 feet below, climbing all the way, like goats, over the trackless, almost perpendicular gradient. On top it was so cold that water froze at night and tea had to be made by placing lumps of snow in the kettle and then melting them over the fire. Imagine my surprise, then, to find there not only Sikhs who are at least accustomed to the winter of the Punjab plains, but also South Indians who had never experienced a temperature below sixty degrees.

The difficulties of transport alone make of the Kashmir operations a thrilling saga. All the way from Kotli and Bhimbar where the army encountered "the worst roads in the world" right up to the Uri sector where communications with Srinagar had to be maintained over half a dozen diversions and improvised bridges, it has been a heroic adventure to deliver supplies and move reinforcements.

The raiders had a strategic advantage in their favour for their bases were across the border in Pakistan territory which our Air Force was unable to bomb because of possible international complications. The



*Major-General Kulwant Singh explaining the latest military situation to Sheikh Abdulla, Prime Minister of Kashmir.*

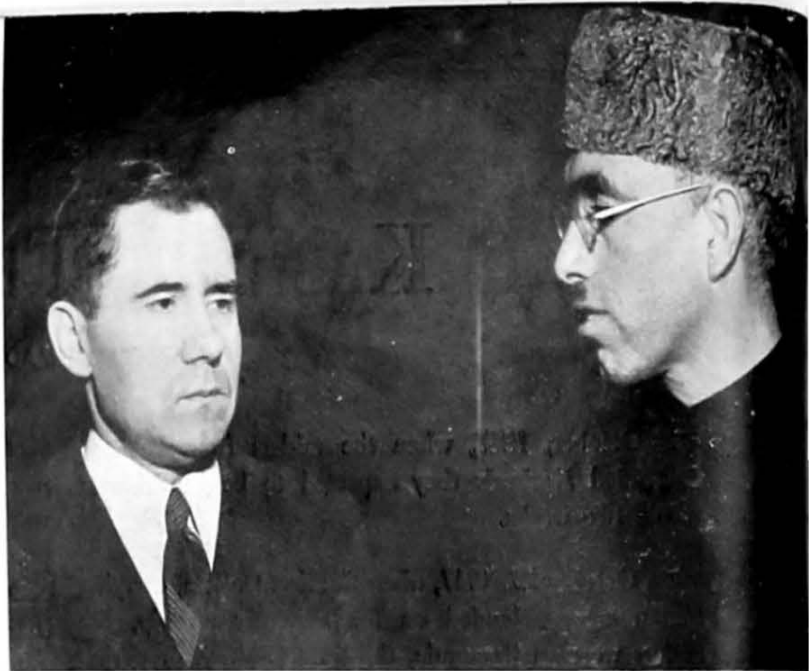
## Kashmir

intrepid young men of our Air Force have, however, carried out some of the most daring, dangerous and tricky aerial operations, bombing and strafing the enemy, dropping supplies, and carrying on reconnaissance.

While minor mistakes of strategy have doubtless been made, generally due to miscalculation about the enemy's strength and military intelligence, there can be no doubt that in Kashmir the Indian armed forces have completely vindicated their honour and in many instances covered themselves with glory.

Yet, military strategists and army leaders will be the first to admit that in an operation like that in Kashmir, civilian support and cooperation are of prime importance. Indeed, one would go so far as to say that it would have been very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to hold Kashmir against the invading hordes if the morale of the common people had cracked. Not only the population did not aid and abet the enemy, but they organized and mobilized all their resources for national defence.

This process of national mobilization for the defence of their homeland had begun even before the formal accession of the State to the Indian Union and the consequent arrival of Indian forces. The ten thousand strong Peace Brigade that Sheikh Abdullah, immediately on his release from prison, had enrolled to maintain communal harmony in the State which was in danger of being infected both from the West and the East Punjab played a decisive role in the critical days when Srinagar



*Sheikh Abdulla (Right) with Andrei Gromyko, USSR, during the Security Council discussions on Kashmir.*

Photo : UNITED NATIONS

was virtually in a state of siege. Its volunteers counteracted rumours, allayed panic, unearthed petrol and grain from the black market, guarded the seven bridges of Srinagar, kept an eye on the potential fifth column of Muslim Conference workers, and maintained pickets and roadblocks on all sides of the city. At night some of the more intrepid ones, including writers and intellectuals, would go out on patrols right up to a few miles of Baramula and fire volleys of shots to give the enemy the impression that there was a big force defending Srinagar.

It was at the same time — that is to say, before and immediately after the arrival of the Indian forces — that National Conference workers in raider-infested territory, like Mir Maqbool Sherwani who was later captured, and died a martyr's death, organized an underground resistance movement to harass the raiders from behind their lines. Later, much of the reconnaissance and intelligence work for the Indian Army was done by National Conference workers, often at grave peril to their lives.



*Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru salutes to the inspired Children's Corps.*

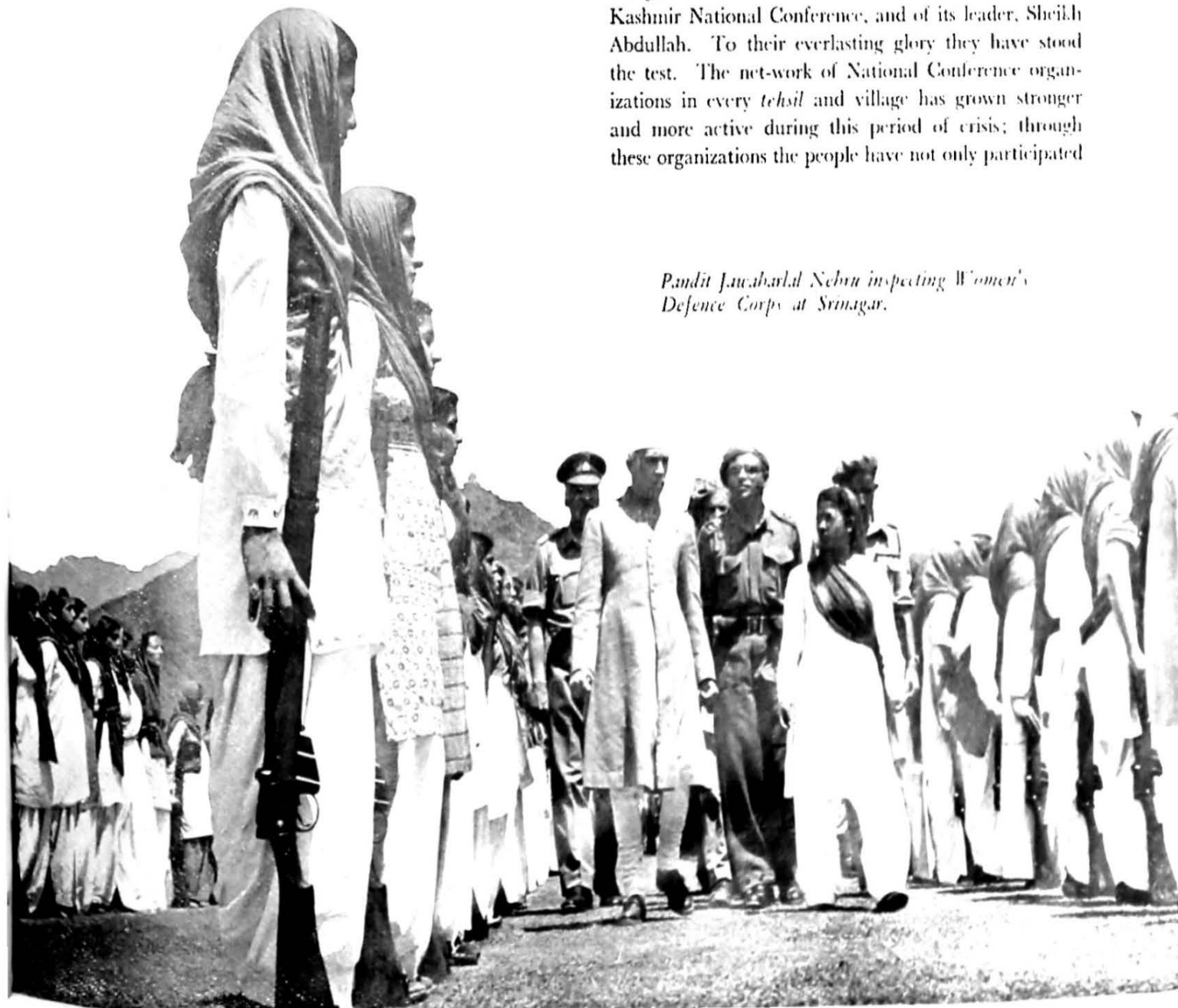
It was out of this spontaneous mobilization that the Kashmir National Militia — including a Women's Brigade — was formed. Here was a true People's Army, all volunteers, receiving no pay and in the early days not even proper uniform, boatmen and peasants and students and writers, taking up arms for the defence of their country. The assumption of power by Sheikh Abdullah's democratic regime, of course, was an important factor in rallying people who felt, for the first time in their history, that they were masters in their own home and, therefore, the primary responsibility of defending Kashmir devolved on them.

Today, the National Militia is fighting on several fronts, shoulder to shoulder with men of the Indian Army with whom bonds of comradeship are being forged in actual combat. But that is not all. The common Kashmiri who may not have joined the Militia has also contributed to the success of the operations

against the raiders. Firstly, with traditional patience and a new-born understanding of the grave issues, he has borne the hardships of the economic blockade. He has done without salt, without sugar, with drastically reduced rations of rice. The tourist trade has been at a standstill and in the countrywide atmosphere of communal bitterness even the itinerant trader has not been able to venture out on his customary winter tour of the plains. No one who has not lived in a blockaded country at war can fully appreciate what the Kashmiri has gone through, particularly during the winter months when even the surviving line of transport — the Banihal road — had frozen. He has suffered but persevered, no longer out of meekness and fatalism as of old, but because he has been taught by his leaders, whom he trusts, how this suffering was brought upon him by a callous, ruthless enemy who must be defeated before Kashmir can have peace and prosperity.

In this task of sustaining the morale of the people lay the greatest test of the democratic organization of the Kashmir National Conference, and of its leader, Sheikh Abdullah. To their everlasting glory they have stood the test. The network of National Conference organizations in every *tehsil* and village has grown stronger and more active during this period of crisis; through these organizations the people have not only participated

*Pandit Javaharlal Nehru inspecting Women's Defence Corps at Srinagar.*







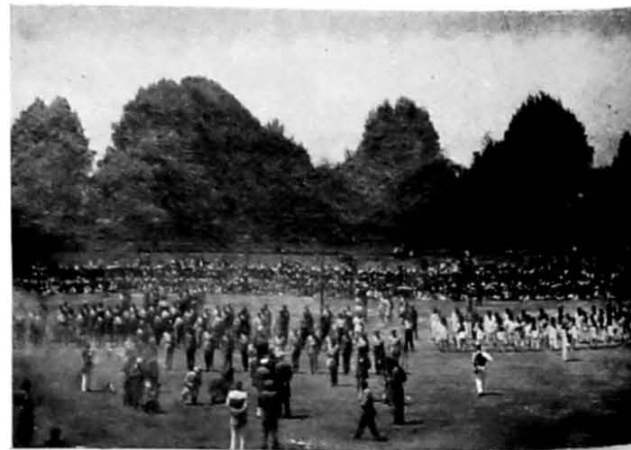
*Brig. Usman died a martyr's death fighting for freedom.*

in national defence but in the equally important task of laying the foundation of a new democratic Kashmir which is emerging out of the political and economic reforms that Sheikh Abdullah's administration has been able to carry out within the few months it has been in power. There are some who feel that a life-and-death struggle with an invader is hardly the time to introduce far-reaching and radical reforms. But the first popular Prime Minister of Kashmir knows better. He knows that every measure adopted with a view to giving democratic power to the people to

improve their economic condition and to remove all feudal shackles would help to strengthen the morale of the people and to make their mobilization against the raiders invincible.

They know that in a war for democratic principles, democracy itself is the strongest weapon. Kashmir fights on, and will continue to fight on, till every raider is driven out, because the Kashmiris know that they are fighting not only to beat a foreign aggressor but also to build a new Kashmir based on freedom and social justice.

*Rally of National Militia and Women's Defence Corps, Srinagar.*



## SYMPOSIUM

### THE BRIDGE — INDIA

WITH the anthropological and spiritual unity of mankind there is a diversity that can issue either in tension, discord and conflict or in enrichment, harmony and amity. The liability of the former now threatens the whole race with the fate that has overtaken many of its parts, although to appreciate this peril is to take the first step towards its avoidance.



REGINALD SORENSEN

the procession of souls along the grand roads of the universe".

Britain in the 19th Century triumphed in European rivalry for commercial gain or territorial conquest, and India was the most glittering prize. Accepting this as proof of Eastern subordination to Western power she boasted of her fortune and ignored alike the consequences of this stimulus to national envy and the latent challenge of a resurgent India. Nevertheless in due course two world wars not only left Germany bleeding beneath terrible devastation but also Britain with grave wounds and a lost pre-eminence. The challenge, however, at last secured a salutary and happier response and after too many years of stern repudiation or aggravating evasion on enlightened British government translated the challenge as a service to its conscience to which it gave the tribute of wise statesmanship.

The historical divergence between the East and the West has involved many tragic follies, and too often we have assumed that the particular racial pathways we tread must be superior simply because they are more familiar. We have not learnt the truth within Walt Whitman's words, "all religion, all solid things, arts, governments . . . fall into niches and cooners before

Both Britain and India have gained incalculably thereby, for India is now free in her national dignity to determine her own fulfilment, and Britain is free from a morally embarrassing inconsistency. Despite respective problems and burdens, Britain and India now face each other with mutual respect and implement a relationship of friendship made possible by the condition of equality. In this, at least, diversity can find reconciliation instead of enmity.

This has many aspects and implications. Economically, India in her expansion, and Britain in her reconstruction can find some measures of mutual benefit. But though conditioned by the necessities of economic well-being there are also substantial political and moral advantages to be gathered. India's political task is particularly onerous and doubtless will find something good in British experience even though she pursues her task in the context of distinctive Indian needs and circumstances. Morally, India has not only energized qualities operating in the souls of all who love freedom but has also given the world the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi.

It is encouraging to note how the moral consciousness of man emerges with similar content through a variety of doctrinal expressions. Beneath sectional limitations and peculiarities to a greater or less degree lies a common recognition of the virtues of "mercy, pity, peace and love", however remote may seem the practical translation. It is sad that so frequently we emphasize more those ideas that sunder than those that generate sympathetic understanding.

No one in this present age has done as much effectually to relate the finest moral elements of the East and the West than Mahatma Gandhi. He has affirmed the common inner spring within Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and other faiths from which comes the sense of worthy human values. No Christian, he has nevertheless made vivid alike the ancient Indian belief in ahimsa and its affinity with the spirit by which Christ lived.

He has insisted on the necessary social application of religious faith. Thus he has been the architect of an Indian bridge between the East and the West, across which all generous souls may pass over deep divisions. This is the finest of all memorials to his life and work and the thought of it assuages the continuity of our grief.

The Bridge of India is built of many materials. There is also the substance of culture by which the East and the West can know much that is complementary and exalting in aesthetics and literature, and there is philosophy, from Gautama to Tagore, to find kinship with the profound explorers of the West. There is essentially super-racial scientific research; and there is the international need of providing adequate sustenance for the humble toiler. India can and does provide the invaluable means by which the East and the West can approach and meet in recognition of their human interdependence.

The people of the East have their own divergences, but all are today animated by a new energy that impels them towards national freedom and social transformation. India can be foremost among them in fraternal example of achievement, as indeed she has so often been in the inspirational example of political struggle. Yet while she will cherish her own rich inheritance, and give much of it to the world, she is aware not only of the gross evils of the West but also of its nobler qualities and its beneficial knowledge. It is more than possible, therefore, that India will demonstrate an appropriate synthesis in the social order she is now engaged in fashioning, and direct diversity towards racial appreciation, international cooperation and the sublimation of the wild forces that make war into the inspired efforts that make peace.

Jawaharlal Nehru and all other eminent or simple Indian patriots share the splendour of their revered forerunners on the day of days of their nation's First Celebration in knowing they build not only a nobler habitation for India but also a bridge of enduring relationship between the East and the West. I see it as a bridge of hope and fraternity, and it is as full of gracefulness and beauty as the brave banners upon it that flow gently in the free air of India.

*Reginald Lorenson*

#### ONE OF THE GREATEST ACTS OF STATESMANSHIP

I am glad to join with others in congratulating India on the conclusion of her first year of political freedom. The recognition of India's right to be free was one of the greatest acts of true statesmanship in human history, but it was accompanied by the severe disappointment of the division of India. Despite the

present difficulties and differences, I hope the time will come when India and Pakistan will be closely linked in a federation of nations extending also to the liberated countries of South-East Asia.

The new Indian Government had to meet a situation which might have broken the heart of lesser men. The distressing communal strife with which the new era of freedom began, the conflict in Kashmir, the present dispute about Hyderabad and, above all, the assassination of Gandhiji made the course of the government hard and critical. I think the whole world, except for a few imperialist diehards, recognizes the outstanding ability which Jawaharlal Nehru and his colleagues have shown in surmounting the intricate problems with which they were faced. Before India attained her freedom I used to say that she could form a government no less capable in its personnel than our governments in Britain. The history of this year has proved this to be true.

There is one sphere in which I should like to urge India to play a more important role. India's representatives in the United Nations Assembly have often given a lead to the world for freedom and justice. All peoples who have not yet won their political liberty have come to look to India as their champion. Yet I should like to see India contributing even more ambitiously and fruitfully to the solution of the world's international problems. I have sensed sometimes that Indian leaders are a little hesitant to assume a foremost position in world affairs because they are acutely conscious of the effect on others of the distressing events which accompanied a communal strife. I would beg of them to understand that those who have a regard for India appreciate that these events reflected conditions arising from the past and that responsibility cannot be placed upon India's new Government in the first days of her life.

Nehru and his associates proved by the manner in which they handled this conflict within India that they had the spirit and the ability to help solve the greater conflict which now divides the world. India is in a supremely favourable position to bring about an understanding between the East and the West before the peoples of the earth are again doomed to war, and if India assumed leadership in this way I am confident that she would receive the gratitude and support of millions of people in all the five continents.

India now has the task of applying her new Constitution and of using it to make her great by the ending

of physical want and by accompanying political freedom with the social freedom which will guarantee her people health, education and all the personal liberties which make life good. Many of us, who through the years associated ourselves with the struggle of India for independence, will look confidently to the development of Indian democracy as these great tasks are undertaken.

*Fenner Brockway*

(FENNER BROCKWAY)

"SHOW US A BETTER WAY"

"How", I am asked, "has India impressed you during the period under review?" There is one fundamental impression which is thrown into high relief by an initial pre-conception. Let me explain. The predicament of the West arises from the fact that its power



C. E. M. JOAD

and, more particularly, its power over nature has enormously outstripped its wisdom in the use of that power. Now, my initial preconception was that in India this was not so, since Indians had inherited a store of traditional wisdom which had prevented them from making the Western mistakes, (a)

of identifying a good life with a multiplicity of material possessions in general and of gadgeta in particular, and (b) of placing the welfare of some one particular national group above that of mankind as a whole.

Buddhism, as I understood it, had helped to preserve India from the first mistake, and Hinduism, the least exclusive and proselytizing of religions, from the second. Now my "fundamental impression" is that I was wrong on both accounts.

India free and independent to all intents and purposes as she has now become — and none is gladder at the thought than myself — seems to be using her freedom to copy the West in respect of both of its mistakes. Indians seem to desire motorcars and to worship machines with the best (and the worst) of us and to be insisting on the peculiar importance and exclusive virtue — I had almost said "historic destiny" or the "sacred mission" — of the Indian State precisely as if they were Western Europeans bruised by nationalism.

It was in the hope and belief that Indians would refrain from using their independence to make sacrifices on the altars of the false gods of Western industrialism and exclusive nationalism that I had believed in and worked for Indian Independence. I can wish India nothing better, now that Indians have achieved it, than that they should refrain from following in our footsteps and should show us a better way.

*C. E. M. Joad*

THE REVOLUTION OF 1947

There are many countries in which some year is particularly celebrated, as the beginning of a new era or even of a new life. The United States celebrates the year, 1776, and the Declaration of Independence. France celebrates the year, 1789. In Russia today the year of commemoration is the year, 1917. In England a year that used to be famous, but is now perhaps misty in men's memories, is the year, 1688 — the year of what was once called the Glorious Revolution. In India the Great Year — the year of the new era — will henceforward be the year, 1947.

These years of particular celebration are generally connected with the idea and the name of Revolution. Men speak of the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, the English Revolution of 1688. Will men ever speak in the future of the Indian Revolution of 1947? Perhaps. It was a revolution in one sense; it was 'a turning of the wheel'; indeed it was even more — it was a taking over of the wheel by the peoples of India. But it was not revolution in another sense, if by revolution you mean violence. There was no violence in 'the turning of the

wheel' in the summer of 1947. There was a quiet change of direction, and a quiet taking over of control. You might almost say that what happened in 1947 was the consummation of evolution, rather than revolution. For there had been evolution — evolution towards self-government for many long years. When historians in India will write the history of the last 100 years — say from 1858, when the British Parliament took over direct control from the East India Company, down to 1947 — they will see, and they will describe, this evolution towards self-government. They will praise the peoples of India, and rightly, for the patience they showed in waiting, and not only so, but also for the capacity they showed in turning to the best accounts each stage and step of the process towards self-government. Perhaps, they will also have some word of commendation for the British people, which did not cling tenaciously to power; which did believe that the peoples of India ought to enjoy the liberty which Britain enjoyed herself, which, at the last, took its courage in its hands and acted firmly in that belief.

I am an old man now. I have long believed that the peoples of India must have self-government, and must go their own way. But I used to dread the actual moment of the ending of what you may call the British trusteeship of India. I feared that there might be convulsions; I even feared, at times, that there might be a war of Indian Independence, as there was a war of American Independence in 1776 and afterwards, the end has now come, and came quietly. There has been no war of Indian Independence. Instead the British Parliament has passed unanimously and peacefully, an Indian Independence Act. I cannot but feel deeply grateful — grateful above all to the peoples of India, who have shown a sovereign restraint; but also grateful to the British people (to which I belong), which has, — I venture to think — shown understanding and a sense of justice. May we not be proud on both sides — both in India and in Britain — proud of a revolution which has been a consummation of evolution; proud of a revolution which has come not by violence, but by the way of peace and agreement?

My hope and my longing is that we may continue to work together, equal but associated, equally free but joined together in a mutual collaboration. Of one thing I am sure — that the peoples of India will be great givers to the Commonwealth which will be most firmly based on the universal Rights of Man — the Rights of Man everywhere irrespective of race and religion,

irrespective of all differences — if the peoples of India continue to give their treasures of thought to its growth.

*Ernest Barker*

(ERNEST BARKER)

"DESTINED TO TAKE HER PLACE IN THE FOREFRONT OF NATIONS"

**D**URING the year I have been privileged to be American Ambassador to India, I have had an opportunity to confirm the impressions I gained when I visited this country in 1942. On that occasion, I was impressed by the industrious character of the people and by the immense possibilities for development of industrial and agricultural economy. In the last twelve months, I have been able to see these things even more closely and I am more than ever convinced that a great future lies ahead for India.



HENRY F. GRADY

of the Constituent Assembly and seen that the spirit of the new nation's founders is unanimously devoted to the ideal of setting up safeguards for the inherent natural rights of individuals, as a true democracy must establish them.

It was a thrilling experience for me to be present in India on the occasion of the advent of independence. I shared the joy of the people of India as they found themselves in full control of their own destinies and with political sovereignty vested in themselves. It has been with profound satisfaction, too, that I have watched the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly and seen that the spirit of the new nation's founders is unanimously devoted to the ideal of setting up safeguards for the inherent natural rights of individuals, as a true democracy must establish them.

One thing that has impressed me most has been the sincerity and zeal with which India's leaders have come to grips with the almost overwhelming problems confronting them when they assumed control of the independent Dominion. These problems are very complex and would baffle any group of political leaders

anywhere. So I have great admiration for the progress that has been made in solving these many questions and a deep sympathy for those who have had to search for a way out of the maze.

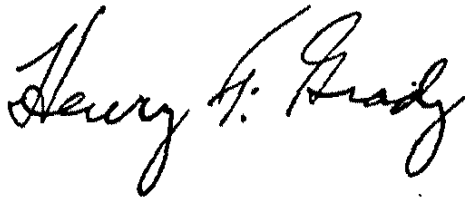
The untimely death of the immortal Mahatma Gandhi just at a time when India was beginning to stand on her own feet was a serious aggravation of the problems I have mentioned. His passing was a personal loss to me just as it caused great sadness throughout America, and my sympathies for India's leaders were deepened by their bereavement of a great spiritual guide whose wisdom and serene goodness was a vital bolstering prop for those beset with staggering practical difficulties. The manner in which the people of India have resolved to adhere to Gandhiji's ideals in carrying forward the work of peace and unity has been most heartening, and I think it is cause for optimism that this spirit of resolve is so genuine and widespread among people of all walks of life in India.

While I am more convinced than ever that India is fortunate in having many talented and capable leaders, I believe that the best hope for the future lies in the fine basic qualities of the people. I am impressed with their industry, their friendliness, their genial temperament, their desire for peace and harmony—qualities derived from India's great ancient culture which gives them the stability and understanding that will carry them forward through difficult times.

India wants to raise the standard of living of her people. She wants to develop an educated population, a population in good health. She wants to catch up with the industrial development in other countries, basing this expansion upon the already solid foundation existing here. These things are all good aims, and I am sure they will be attained. There is naturally a desire to accomplish all this in the shortest possible time, and to do that is not easy. I believe that rapid strides can and will be made, and the one element in progress made so far in that direction that appeals to me most is the obvious determination to carry on with the programme while preserving liberties and keeping the sovereignty in the hands of those to whom it properly belongs, the people.

I am leaving India for a new assignment that my Government feels is urgent. But my departure will not mean I shall lose my interest in this country; on the contrary, I shall watch closely the future events that I am confident will further confirm my sincere belief that India is destined to take her place in the forefront

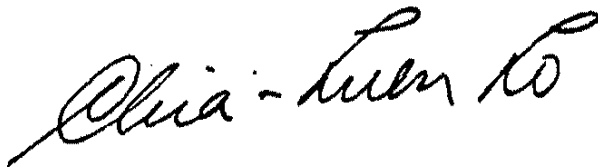
of nations, with all the advancements that a modern age can contribute to civilization accruing ultimately to the benefit of the fine people of this great nation.



(Former U.S. Ambassador to India)

**"LEADERS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT SPURRED ON IN THEIR SERVICE FOR THEIR PEOPLE"**

After gaining their national independence the leaders of the Indian Government and people are to be congratulated on having made all-out efforts to achieve prosperity and democracy and to usher in an era of peace, prosperity and plenty. The measure of success they have already in the first year in such directions of their independence cannot fail to evoke worldwide admiration. It can be said that the communal disturbances and the passing of Mahatma Gandhi, rather than divert them from their set tasks to any serious extent, have only animated them and spurred them on in their service for their people with undaunted courage and unflagging determination.



(CHIA-LUEN LO)

(Ambassador for China in India)

**"TASKS OF UNPRECEDENTED MAGNITUDE FACED WITH HIGH COURAGE"**

It is inevitable and proper that, on each anniversary of the 15th of August, 1947, a date enshrined in the history not only of India but of the world, all who have been privileged to know this great country should run their minds back over her successes and failures, her achievements and disappointments, her joys and sorrows in the twelve months that have gone before. During these, the first twelve months of her independence, the kaleidoscope of the Indian scene has formed and reformed in varied pattern. There was the stirring spectacle of her people's rejoicing on the assumption of sovereign power; there was the sombreness of events

in the autumn; there was the tragic gloom of a nation mourning its venerated leader; there was the brightness of a determined rally from that blow:



SIR TERENCE SHONE

cause for surprise, or disappointment, that difficulties arose: all countries suffer their several trials, more especially when the world in general is so troubled. There is surely cause for admiration at the high courage with which tasks of unprecedented magnitude have been faced, at the ability shown in grappling with the vast problems that beset the new India, and at the progress made towards solving them. The coming year will be one of fateful decisions and there are still many difficulties ahead. India's friends and well-wishers may not only hope, but trust, that she will overcome them.

(High Commissioner for the U.K. in India)

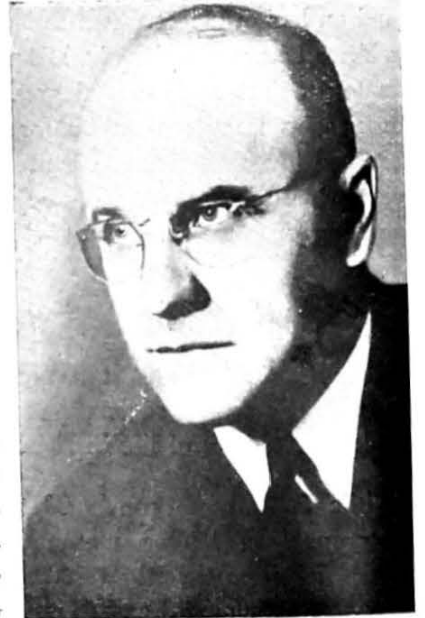
"IMPLICATIONS OF MY INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE FULLY JUSTIFIED"

A year ago I was privileged, as High Commissioner for Canada in India, to salute the new sovereign State of India. I then said, of India, that as a people the wisdom and experience of the centuries were behind her, and as a State, the ardour, the confidence and the aspirations of youth were with her. What has happened

of the first Indian Governor General; and there was the striking display at their leaving, of the esteem and affection in which the last British Governor General and Countess Mountbatten of Burma were held.

Yet the varied pattern held consistency of theme, the consistency of a resolute will to meet and overcome difficulties. It is no

in the year does not alter my belief that the implications of my Independence Day message were fully justified. It would not be sensible to pretend that everything has gone smoothly since August 15 last; Indian statesmen do not hesitate to say that unexpected problems have arisen and that expected problems have proved more difficult of solution than it was hoped they might be. In my view, nothing could be more reassuring than the realization of these facts and the candid expression of them by responsible ministers. If I am too frank in saying that at one stage I was seriously alarmed by the communal situation in this country, I am equally honest in expressing my sincere admiration for the courage and skill with which that situation was met and largely rectified, both by the responsible authorities and by the people.



JOHN D. KEARNEY

The people of India appear to be equally seized of the importance and difficulty of their other domestic and economic problems. No more than other countries (for these problems do not essentially differ in kind from those faced by other States at critical periods in their history) may India expect to resolve these difficulties in the first months, or years, of her nationhood. In our Canadian experience, the field of domestic and economic problems is one in which government may guide and instruct, but in which progress in the long run depends upon the realization of every citizen that he must contribute to, as well as receive from, the corporate effort.

In the field of foreign policy, Canadian and Indian experiences have been different and India's, the more difficult. Canada's entry into world diplomacy was gradual, at a pace fixed by ourselves and in circumstances, comparatively speaking, of international tranquillity. India finds herself thrust abruptly into the tortured politics of a divided world. Her respons-

ibilities, placed as she is, are very heavy. As a close and friendly observer I have been impressed with her determination to develop her resources to a level consistent with her responsibilities, with the combined realism and idealism in the statements of her foreign minister, and with her evident intention to play her full part in the international organizations on which, so far as we can now see, the future of world depends.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity, on India's second Independence Day, of conveying to the people of India the felicitations of the people of Canada and of expressing the cordial birthday greetings of all Canadians.

JOHN D. KEARNEY

(High Commissioner for Canada in India)

"NOT MUCH OF A FOREIGN LAND"

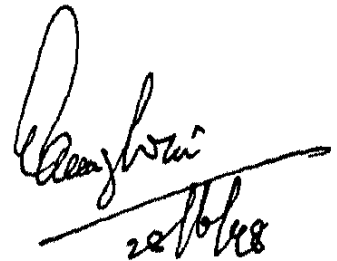
I have the signal honour of bringing the message of goodwill and friendship from Free Burma to Free India after the two countries have left the shadow of thralldom. I came to India as to a great familiar neighbouring country and holy land of pilgrimage. Coming from Rangoon I found India not much of a foreign land. Everything I saw was reminiscent of Burma's past and present. The scriptural scenes came to life and I felt as if I were back in the great past where our Lord went about turning the Wheel of Dharma. I have visited various centres of pilgrimage and to a Buddhist it is indeed an achievement of a life-time. Although we are passing through critical times the holy places continue to attract pilgrims from all over the world. At the last Buddhist Conference at Sarnath over which I had the honour to preside, I found Buddhist pilgrims from Burma, Ceylon, China, Tibet, Nepal, Chittagong and Kashmir. It is a matter for gratification for me and the Buddhist world that the great Hindu population of India has of late evinced great interest in the Buddha and Buddhism. This fact is significant not only from the religious aspect but also from the wider aspect of social and political unity of Asian countries.

Since India's attainment of freedom there have been great disturbances, but these sad events do not seem to have a serious effect on the overall progress of the nation. Under the able leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the nation appears to have realized the dangers of disunity at this juncture and rallied round

the great leader. The successful formation of various unions of States testifies to the desire of all sections of people in India for a United India. It is my great sorrow that the greatest tragedy of modern times should occur within the tenure of my office in India,—the death of Mahatmaji. His life of martyrdom was crowned by a martyr's death. The whole world is inconsolable at the loss. I was at his bedside shortly after his death. I paid homage to his remains, as I would to my parents and most revered persons. I remembered very distinctly the pall of tragedy that hung over the people in Delhi for days. His funeral procession was miles long. I was present at the immersion ceremony and witnessed the immense crowd surging under the blazing sun over the banks of the Jumna to pay their last homage to Mahatmaji. Even in his death he had done a lasting service to his nation which he so loved. The people of India began to regard the communal harmony as a thing Mahatmaji desired of all things and therefore a thing all who love Mahatmaji should strive for.

During the period under review the last in the line of the great British administrators and statesmen of India, Lord Mountbatten, relinquished his post. The great service done by him to India will be long remembered in India. He came to India at the most critical period of India's history and with consummate skill and wisdom he cleared India of the hurdles which were considered insurmountable. He was succeeded in his post by one of the greatest sons of India who had striven and suffered for the freedom of India. No fitter man than Shri C. Rajagopalachari could India produce to give her the guidance and lead she needs in the initial stage of her freedom.

Lastly, I am proud to be Burma's first Ambassador to Free India and I am fully convinced that the people of India—the heirs of a great heritage—will march towards their great destiny under their great leaders.



(U. WIN)

(Ambassador for Burma in India)



"FULFILMENT OF RICH POTENTIALITIES—  
NEED OF THE HOUR"

I came to India in September, 1946, soon after the Cabinet Mission had completed their task and departed recommending the execution of their plan to the Viceroy and the Indian leaders. Since then I have seen pass by with almost bewildering rapidity, a succession of momentous events: the British Prime Minister's statement relinquishing British Power in India, the appointment of Lord Mountbatten as India's Governor General, the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, the withdrawal of the British from India and the emergence of India as a Free Partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These were all events which brought rejoicing to India not unmixed, however, with sadness and disappointment at the partition. But they were followed by other events which were terrible and which shook the very foundation of the new state: the ravages and suffering of the communal upheaval which began in the big cities and culminated in the most stupendous mass migration ever known; and most tragic of all, the assassination of Gandhiji who more than anybody else was the architect of India's freedom. In the first year of their independence the Indian people ran the gamut of human emotions from the exultation of August 15, 1947, through the indescribable misery and suffering of the communal outrages to the ineffable pain and grief of the entire nation at the death of their Father. It is not merely in the political, social and economical fields but in concrete terms of human life and suffering that the effect of the recent changes must be assessed. To us who are the friends of India, such profound and far-reaching events have served to strengthen the bonds of friendship and to enrich and deepen our own personal experience.

It is hoped that out of their trial and suffering the Indian people will emerge purified and strong to

face the problems of the present. Fulfilment of her rich potentialities, which for centuries have been only partly developed or not developed at all, is India's need of the hour. India is a country with the largest undeveloped potential. Now for the first time in centuries, India has a Government of leaders who command the confidence and the love of the millions. In spite of the most harassing and difficult problems, it can be said that the first free Indian Government have succeeded in inaugurating a New Era of true constructive endeavour. Some have accused the Government of apparent inactivity and slow progress but when one considers the nature and magnitude of the obstacles the Government have encountered, such criticisms seem captious and unfair.

I have firm faith in the greatness of India's destiny. Her tradition and her culture have always placed spiritual values above the material. In a world poisoned by power politics and materialism, the significance of Mahatma Gandhi lay in his demonstration that the moral and spiritual values which his country has always striven for, can and should be applied to politics as well. India's unique contribution to civilization, has been the message inherent in her ancient tradition and expressed in our times by the precept and practice of Gandhiji that all phases of human activity whether on the individual, the national or the international plane should be governed by moral and spiritual values. Never has that message been more urgent than today.

  
(M. W. H. de SILVA)

(High Commissioner for Ceylon in India)

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"The message of the East, the message of Asia, is not to be learnt through European spectacles, not by imitating the vices of the West, its gunpowder and atom bomb."

—Mahatma Gandhi.