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Right of Ownership

"NO fundamental rights, whether related to property or other things, are eternal. They are all dependent upon the interest of society. In fact these rights are given to the individual in order that he may perform his social duties. A soldier is given weapons because his duty is to protect society. If he does not do his duty he loses the right to bear weapons. Similarly the right to property is given to an individual so that he could do his duty by society. For this purpose it becomes necessary to define and modify these rights from time to time. No right to property is absolute of society.

"The right of ownership is actually the right to use a particular thing within definite limits and for a definite purpose. These rights keep changing with the times. Hence as a matter of principle we may not get entangled in the quarrel between the individual's rights and the right of society. For us the State is not the only form of society. We believe that the individual, the family, the community, the State are all different

forms in which society expresses and fulfils itself. The joint family is the practical unit in this country in which we seek to preserve the social sense in the individual, in which every individual has the right to earn, but the right of ownership vests in the family. Wealth is used for the benefit of the family. It is this Indian principle of Trusteeship that has been propounded by Gandhiji, Gururji and other thinkers.

"It is a matter of surprise that today a shareholder in joint stock companies, who has no other connection with the company except a share in its profit, should be able to exercise ownership rights while the worker who works in an industry, sets its machines into motion and depends upon it for his livelihood should experience a feeling of being a stranger to it. This feeling is not proper. It is therefore necessary that along with the share-holder the worker should be given ownership rights and a share in its management and profit".

—Deendayal Upadhyaya

K. A.

Bias
Hist

History Twisted to suit the Colonial Interests of British

MODERN Indian historiography owes its beginning to British scholars who, soon after the occupation of the country, applied their mind to the study of the history, society and culture of India in the light of their imperialistic needs. While no honest assessment can ignore the contribution made by these British historians to preserve the historical literature, records and relics of India, it is also undeniable that their colonial interests determined their approach to history. Sir Henry Elliot's idea in placing the historical literature of medieval India before the people was to "make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule." (I p. XXII). He, therefore, blackened the Indian past to glorify the British present and used medieval Indian history as an instrument for the implementation of the formula '*counterpoise of Indians against Indians*' evolved by the British Army Commission. Sir Henry Elliot's Memorandum to the Home Government makes his motives abundantly clear. He had a proud consciousness of "our high destiny as the rulers of India" and was confident that if the "tyranny and capriciousness of the despotic rulers" of medieval India was discussed in that way, it would make the Indians shudder at their past and hail the British regime as a blessing. "We should no longer" wrote Elliot, "hear bombastic Babus, enjoying under our government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein,...(they would) learn that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been

K. A. Nizami

Bias in Indian Historiography*

A Fresh Approach

With the dawn of freedom Indian historiography entered another phase but as an unfortunate concomitant of the Partition of the country, historical works of the sub-continent assumed communal overtones. Inevitable as this reaction was, it was bound to be short-lived and transitory. As Indian

historiographical studies were pulling out of this situation, a slogan was raised 'no theory, no history' and the trappings of an imported ideology were sought to be imposed on Indian historical studies. There is no harm if different theories of history are used as tools for interpreting the historical data from different angles, but when, in the fashion of medieval orthodoxy wherein every religion claimed to be the sole custodian of true faith and dubbed all others as misguided, the advocates of the new theory started claiming that they alone represented the correct historical approach and that all others were either incompetent, or communalists or reactionaries, it posed a threat to intellectual freedom. Most of the writers thus condemned were neither incompetent, nor reactionaries; their only fault was that they did not subscribe to their ideology as an article of faith. The Marxist theory of history is, no doubt, interesting and thought-provoking but to dub all other approaches as 'unscientific' is fraught with dangerous consequences of curtailing freedom of enquiry, investigation and interpretation. Every country has its own historiographical traditions and the source material is ultimately rooted in the attitudes and traditions of the people who produced it and can be scrutinized only in the light of their own conceptual framework. To ignore all this and to regiment historical thought to revolve round and investigate only class-struggle and to concentrate on economic aspects to the exclusion of all other equally, if not more, important aspects of religion, culture, thought and traditions is tantamount to distortion of Indian history. Emile Durkheim's view that religion is the source of superior-culture fully applies to India. If the history of a country which has been the cradle of religions and where *rishis*, *bhagats*, *gurus*, *sufis* and saints have toiled to inculcate moral and spiritual ideals and

have looked down suits, is sought economic need tions of the In psyche and th can never be situation bec when the prop are provided ideology.

Integrated Ap

In fact human explained Mer production. A psychological, moral — influ — is a comple reactions to a human person round its eco neither psycho Max Weber ri that everything factors. Histor with the total space and tim picture of soci of history can not be a biogr doubt a biogr tions which lik perpetuating i even its mistak ideals. Chateo Greeks would temple at Egyptians wo at Memphis. T from their own chief beauty, the institutio The same is tr of a country. context and

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 tions of the Indian people, nay even their
psyche and the direction of their thought,
 can never be properly understood. The
 situation becomes alarmingly disturbing
 when the props of a political organization
 are provided for propagation of the
 ideology.

Integrated Approach

In fact human life and activity cannot be
 explained merely in terms of the means of
 production. A variety of factors—religious,
 psychological, social, environmental and
 moral— influence human behaviour which
 is a complex phenomena of actions and
 reactions to different situations. To peg
 human personality and all its motivations
 round its economic needs is sustainable
 neither psychologically nor sociologically.
 Max Weber rightly disagrees with the view
 that everything originates from material
 factors. History is, and should be, concerned
 with the totality of human experience in
 space and time. Then alone a complete
 picture of society and a correct perspective
 of history can emerge. History may or may
 not be a biography of individuals; it is no
 doubt a biography of nations and civiliza-
 tions which like individuals have a 'memory',
 perpetuating its needs, its traditions and
 even its mistakes, as also its aspirations and
 ideals. Chateaubriand once remarked: "The
 Greeks would not have liked an Egyptian
 temple at Athens any more than the
 Egyptians would have liked a Greek temple
 at Memphis. These two monuments, moved
 from their own milieu, would have lost their
 chief beauty, that is their connection with
 the institutions and habits of the people."
 The same is true of the historical traditions
 of a country. You remove them from their
 context and their significance is lost. Instru-

ments of production do influence living
 conditions but social system and ideological
 apparatus are also potent factors in shaping
 the direction of human efforts. Attempts of
 some scholars to divert historical studies into
 parochial channels of ideological commit-
 ment, remind one of the fear that Lord
 Morley once expressed about historical
 studies in his day. He wrote: "There have
 been signs in our own day of its (conception
 of history) becoming narrow, pedantic and
 trivial. It threatens to degenerate from a
 broad survey of great periods and move-
 ments of human societies into vast and
 countless accumulations of insignificant
 facts, sterile knowledge, and frivolous
 antiquarianism, in which the spirit of epochs
 is lost, and the direction, meaning and
 summary of the various courses of human
 history all disappear."

Religion Cannot be Ignored

It was sometime in early thirties that the
 late Professor Mohd. Habib observed: "The
 history of India, as Indians have under-
 stood it, is the study of her religious and
 cultural movements." In a subsequent work
 he has thus explained his view: "Religion
 had, at the great turning points of history in
 the past, been the chief instrument for this
 ideological revolution. In this lies its real
 value. The Marxist condemnation of religion
 as a whole is no longer necessary. We have
 to discriminate with reference to time and
 circumstances. There have been progressive
 adventures of human society which religion
 alone could undertake." What is going to
 happen to Indian history if all discussions
 of religion are made a taboo and all histori-
 cal phenomena is seen and explained in
 terms of dialectical materialism.

Quantification of data is valuable as a
 means for checking conclusions based on

other sources, but is not the only tool for historical formulations. Human behaviour does not lend itself to quantitative analysis and to repeated re-examination under identical conditions, and therefore all generalizations are unreliable. Marxism, as Finley has said, distorts human behaviour by reducing it to a monistic theory. Societies display both conflict and consensus and a truthful record should present both these aspects of human conduct.

Similarly any unilinear delineation of historical developments in India through the centuries is neither proper nor justifiable because human thought, as also the society, moves, in ascents and descents. At times Marxist tools of analysis have been helpful in studying particular aspects of Indian history e.g. the British economic exploitation of India and the role of 'Indian tribute' in the industrialization of Britain. But this does not mean that the historical development of modern India has all along been unilinear. If there have been peasant revolts there have also been socio-religious reactions to the expansion of Western religious and cultural ethos.

Likewise patterning the history of India as one of orthodoxy and liberalism or religious commitment and secularism is basically unsound. The whole thesis leads to a wrong assumption that if in a society there is an increase of activity in the direction of the secular pole, there must be a corresponding decrease of energy in the direction of the religious pole. It is incorrect to hold, remarks Hexter that 'the flow of social energy in the direction of any such pole can take place only by way of subtraction from the flow of energy to the opposite pole.' Commenting on Polard's *Factors in Modern History*, he has very correctly observed 'If we adopt (the polar view)... we court confusion.... Although between the opposed

members of each (pair) there is tension, the issue is never *either or*; it is always *more or less*... the question is never how one can annihilate the other; it is how to strike a viable balance between them, how under varying conditions to work out ever anew the terms of adjustment and reconciliation''.

Categorization and Labelling Thwarts Understanding

Permanent categorization and labelling of men and movements thwarts understanding of their real role in history. In fact, no individual, or group or sect can be permanently placed in any such category. For instance, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and his school of thought is labelled as representing orthodoxy but it is completely forgotten that one of his spiritual descendants, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan gave evidence of great spiritual virility and dynamism when he included the Hindus among *ahl-i Kitab* and declared the Vedas to be a revealed Book. Dara Shukoh, the greatest exponent of liberal thought in his day, pays eloquent tribute to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, something which modern critics of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi can hardly explain or understand. In fact, while looking back at the past we should not inject our present-day prejudices and predilections. The concept of orthodoxy or liberalism which we have today may not have existed then with the same implications. Liberty was one thing in nineteenth century France, and quite another in fifth century Athens. Let not our modern concepts be projected in the study of the past. Past should be judged in the context of the past.

I may be permitted to cite a couple of examples to illustrate how distortion may follow even from partial or incomplete data:

To say that Mahmud of Ghazni attacked

India for centuries but it is a distortion here. One has to see the Indian temple not complete added that he Hasan Bulani Somnath became a campaign was teachings of Mahmud will also added that Sa'di considered greedy and they remarked that bitterness against him. Any attempt to would distort assessment.

Akbar was a vision who saw an empire on the economic and social significance against him on the point of the British Empire give a really different Empire were fact that his religious leanings the Hindus and Muslims as a faith in his religion.

Similarly, with attitude towards him he stated that were Shias and

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India for economic reasons is correct but it is a distortion if the statement ends here. One has to add that he destroyed Indian temples. But this also does not complete the picture. It must be added that his contemporary saint Abul Hasan Bulani refused to accept gold from Somnath because he thought that the campaign was not in consonance with the teachings of the Prophet. The picture of Mahmud will be complete only when it is also added that the famous Persian poet Sa'di considered Mahmud avaricious and greedy and that his contemporary Alberuni remarked that Mahmud's invasions created bitterness against Islam in Indian mind. Any attempt to suppress any of these aspects would distort history and prevent correct assessment.

Akbar was doubtless a ruler with a broad vision who sought to establish an Indian empire on the identity of political and economic interests. But why suppress the significance of Rana Pratap's struggle against him or refuse to understand the viewpoint of the Raushanias. Akbar's efforts to give a really Indian character to the Mughal Empire were laudable but why suppress the fact that his attempt to assume the role of religious leadership was resented both by the Hindus and the Muslims, more by the Muslims as they saw grave danger to their faith in his religious experiments.

Similarly, while highlighting Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Shias, the fact should be stated that out of his four *wars*, three were Shias and one was a Hindu!

Examples may be multiplied. What is needed is a total picture of men and movements without injecting any bias or without introducing any pre-fabricated theories to justify or malign their actions.

Distortions have to be Rejected

Indian historical scholarship has to reiterate its commitment to truth and nothing but truth and all considerations of theories — and their propagation to sustain any approach — should be discarded. It is not objectionable to have an approach or even a natural sympathy with the subject, but deliberate distortions to suit theories have to be rejected. Every writer should be free to view the historical landscape from whatever angle he wishes to and so long as he is truthful and has no axe to grind he should be heard with patience. Let a thousand flowers bloom in the field of historical research and investigation for therein lies the future of Indian historical studies.

Freedom has brought new facilities of historical research and vast treasures of source material are now coming to light. Our accent has rightly shifted from the rulers and the ruling dynasties to the *people*. This is in keeping with the new democratic urges in the country. There should be an all-out effort to make it possible for every research scholar to reach the source material without difficulty. The recent discovery of Geniza records has brought to light new aspects of Indian involvement in international trade. The formation of an international trading corporation known as *karim* (In Tamil *Karyam* means business) in which Hindus, Arabs, Christians, Jews and others were involved was an interesting experiment in international trade. The information about Indian imports and exports found in these documents is extremely revealing and valuable. Six varieties of iron and steel, twelve types of brass and bronze vessels and several types of textiles, particularly Indian muslin referred to as *lanis* and *lalis* appear in the export lists, besides timber, spices, aromatics etc,

Macro and Micro Study of Society

The Goan Archives are full of interesting source material about the activities of the Portuguese and the reactions of Indian powers to their commercial and colonial ventures. The *Arsathas* in Rajasthan Archives and hundreds of thousand of *faramin* and official documents in Andhra Pradesh Archives await calendering. Records available in regional languages have to be brought to light and systematically used. In a vast country like India where the historical data is so diverse and multi-lingual, regional histories are an important adjunct to our study of Indian history and culture. The regional historian is in a better position to tap all the available literature in local languages and dialects. But all such studies should help in providing an integrated picture of the total Indian scene and should not try to take out the history of any particular region from the mainstream of Indian life. Macro and micro studies of Indian society should proceed hand in hand, checking and testing the generalizations on the basis of regional studies. For instance, Bernier's account of the agrarian scene of India is not fully corroborated by some agrarian studies pertaining to Rajasthan and Golconda.

It is necessary for Indian historical scholarship to establish closer contact with South-East Asian and West Asian countries for an extended Asiatic view of our history. It will provide the conspectus necessary for understanding the interaction of cultural forces. For instance, a number of foreign teams of Archaeologists are working in Syria but there is no Indian participation in them. A careful study of these sites would bring many interesting aspects of Indian cultural influences to light. The civilizations which flourished on the Euphrates, the Nile, the

Indus and the Ganges have to be studied in depth and detail. Besides, the libraries of West Asian countries have to be intensively consulted to assess how much material is available there having a bearing on Indian history and culture. The history of the Delhi Sultanate begins from the 12th century when there was a general gloom and frustration prevailing in Indian society. This has made many scholars oblivious of the achievements of Indian scholarship in the earlier centuries and its impact on Arab lands. I may be permitted to quote from my work on the thirteenth century:

"This gloomy picture of Indian Society in the 11th and 12th centuries should not however, make one oblivious of the intellectual achievements of Hinduism in the preceding ages. Long before the advent of the Turks, Hindu contributions in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy, toxicology, chemistry, medicine, astrology, parables and politics had attracted the attention of the Arabs and large number of Sanskrit works on these subjects had been translated into Arabic. This glorious intellectual heritage of India was, however, not open to the Indian masses in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Musalmans brought with them, besides their own sciences many of the sciences which they had initially borrowed from the Hindus." (p. 74)

A study of the Arab literature would facilitate evaluation of the impact of Indian scholarship on Arab lands and *vice versa* South East Asian countries have also much to contribute to an understanding of the history of Indian cultural relations with Malaysia and Indonesia.

It is time that a concerted effort is made to organize, calender and catalogue material which is available in India and to take

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literature would impact of Indian and *vice versa* have also much standing of the relations with

stock of what is of value for our history in South East Asian and West Asian countries. With increasing UNESCO interest in such studies, a venture of this type would be fully rewarding. A great French historian, Fustel del Coulanges, once observed; "Years of analysis is required for a day of synthesis." Let us hope that our efforts would one day help us in viewing Indian history and culture in all its aspects and free from all sorts of distortions and misrepresentations.

Before I close I would like to draw attention to risks involved in the translation of terms and concepts. If in translations we are not able to adhere to the original connotation, historical thinking will get blurred and it would be difficult to correct the impressions later. The use of English terms for Indian institutions which developed in a different background hinders clear understanding of

many institutions. Original terms should be explained carefully but use of equivalents should be avoided. A number of misconceptions about Mughal administration have arisen from ignorance of the original connotation of terms. One instance would suffice. Economic historians often use the term *aimah dar* for stipend holders and consider the word *aimah* to be plural of *imam*, religious leader. In fact the term is *yema* not *a'ima*. In the Turkish language *yema* means "daily bread or allowance."

An atmosphere of intellectual freedom, respect for every genuine point of view and sincere effort to view the history and culture of India in a broad historical perspective alone can lead to a coherent conception of the imperatives of historical understanding. The Indian History and Culture Society should remain committed to this ideal.

*Presidential remarks of Prof. K.A. Nizami, Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University at the second session of the Indian History and Culture Society, held from 9th to 12th February, 1979 at New Delhi.

R. C. Pandeya

European Rationality: A View From The "Third World"

THE so-called "third world" is indebted to Europe for industrialization as the most effective means of removing economic poverty of the people. In fact, the category of "third world" is basically a classification of those countries which are at the low level of industrialization, in contrast to the highest norm of industrialization provided by Europe. So, whenever a man from this "third world" thinks of Europe he consciously or unconsciously identifies it with the best and the latest development in the field of industry. I, therefore, propose to philosophically analyse the European attitude towards industrialization with a view to identify some dominant characteristics of the European idea of rationality. It is assumed here that industrialization is the concrete expression of European rationality, and hence all the good or bad aspects of industrial development in Europe reflect corresponding good or bad traits of the European way of thinking.

Developments of Science and Technology led to Rational Outlook

The development of science and technology in Europe took place hand-in-hand with the emergence of an industrial civilization. Tremendous industrial growth has been more or less in the form of testing and authentication of what scientific knowledge had revealed to the European mind. Industry in this sense has been a kind of open laboratory where the entire society could participate in identifying the potentialities of scientific knowledge. People in Europe found in science an effective instrument for gaining liberation of their consciousness from oppressive medieval sensibility. If God in heaven and His church on the earth defined the parameter of existence, man could assert his own existence and identity in no way other than by resorting to an attitude of defiance of the

world" is indebted to industrialization as the most effective means of removing economic barriers. In fact, the category of industrialization is a classification which is at the low level of contrast to the highest level of development provided by industrialization. A man from this world of Europe he consciously identifies it with the highest development in industrialization. Therefore, propose to use the European industrialization with a dominant characteristic of rationality. It is industrialization is the European rationality, and the bad aspects of industrialization in Europe reflect the bad traits of the industrialization.

Science and Technology

Science and technology have been hand-in-hand with industrial civilization. The growth has been in the form of testing and scientific knowledge. The European mind has been a kind of the entire society identifying the potential of knowledge. People in an effective instrument of their oppression of medieval men and His church parameter of existence in his own existence other than by the defiance of the

religious authority. Thus he carved a domain for himself and defined its boundaries in terms of his rationality. Remaining within the bounds of rationality he could challenge God and could compete with Him by creating things which even God's own creation did not offer. The urge for freedom arising from the inner *being* of the European man found its fulfilment in rational creativity. Industrial development in Europe is thus a necessary objectification of science.

The European mind has been able to achieve what it has today only through a protracted and fierce struggle. It knows from direct bitter experience what price to pay for gaining the freedom of *being*. Science which is the paradigm of rationality, on the one hand, refused to accept what was in medieval times available in the name of God and His dictates and, on the other hand, it asserted *nature* as an autonomous entity, having its own rules and character. Man identified himself with *nature* and in this new identification alone he visualised his freedom from the shackles of theology and dogmas. But gaining this new freedom took away from him the assuring feeling of security and solitude that he earlier used to get from his being in God. At every significant stage in the development of science this feeling of insecurity presents itself in ever-increasing intensity.

This feeling of insecurity associated with the growth of science in Europe is not just psychological; it is existential in character, as it arises out of the exposition of the secrets of *nature* and the consequent exposition of his own existence. When he looks at himself in full nakedness he, being a part of *nature*, realizes at once that he is open to public observation. He no longer is capable of covering himself away from the public gaze under the cloak of privacy. This lack of privacy generates in him

a sense of helplessness. In the industrial society based on scientific rationality the lack of privacy and consequent feeling of insecurity go hand-in-hand and ultimately end up in making a man an identityless anonymous speck of the all-embracing nature.

Industrialization Furthered Rational Outlook

Strangely enough the man so exposed sees in industrialization a firm ground to stand on and to be able to assert his distinctness from the nature around. Industrial output creates in him a sense of confidence in the efficacy and meaningfulness of his own rational scientific endeavours. Theoretical scientific knowledge demands a concrete correlate — a demand to do something with the knowledge gained. Industrialization is therefore an answer to this demand. But the hope of getting firm ground in industrialization has so far eluded the European man. His rationality haunts him even in his industrial creativity. The link between science, a concrete expression of rationality, and subsequent industrialization in the context of Europe can be viewed in the perspective of recent history. Europe has been in the centre of two world wars. If economic prosperity or any similar motive were the main consideration for the European mind, it would have seen to it that wars are not waged, as they without doubt would destroy the basic industrial infrastructure all over Europe. Where economic prosperity accruing from industrialization is the main consideration, as it is in the so-called "third world" there has to be a necessary demand for global peace, peaceful coexistence. This is so because for these people industrialization being the main objective, destructive wars have to be avoided at any cost. But the very fact that Europe has not only fought two successive

global wars and is silently preparing for an eventual third war shows that Europe has been looking for something different, which is definitely not economic, not connected with industry-based prosperity. The more industrialized a country is the greater part of its national income is spent on defence. European countries have been constantly increasing their spendings on arms, war-machines and connected items. This shows that the fear of an actual or potential enemy rather than economic prosperity is the main consideration with them.

The countries of Europe have been primarily concerned with gaining ever new scientific insight and fabricating industrial complexes around items of war, like air-crafts, war-heads, submarines and so on. For them preparation for wars is an occasion for starting new scientific pursuits and investigations. They seem to be confident that on the basis of knowledge gained they would be able to build radically different industrial complexes once wars were to destroy old pattern of industrialization. Resurgence of entirely new industry in Europe after the Second World War is a glowing testimony to this way of thinking.

Discard Old

Dissatisfaction with the older patterns of industry and their replacement with latest complexes is, on the one hand, indicative of new scientific insight gained and, on the other, it also shows in no less uncertain terms an inherent distrust of the past. Rapid changes brought about are not merely due to the fascination for the new. Acceptance of the new is invariably based on dissatisfaction with and distrust in the old. This is due, I think, to the realization that the old may perhaps not serve the purpose so efficiently and effectively as it ought to have served. This ever-changing pattern is thus

an expression of a deep-rooted sense of existential insecurity and lack of confidence in what one knows and does at a time. There is always an expectation that some idea, technique or knowledge may further emerge to make the old obsolete.

The picture of industrial Europe as presented here may look unrealistic, over-simplified and, also perhaps distorted to the people of Europe. They may resent being told that they are suffering because of the sense of insecurity and lack of self-confidence. They may, on the contrary, explain their behaviour in terms of economic competition. One country wants to make rapid industrial progress in order to outbid others in capturing the potential market. Preparations for defence may also be explained as an economic necessity. Recent fashion, it may be pointed out, of forming consortiums, common markets, multinational business combines is solely necessitated by business interest. But when these facts are analysed philosophically one will not miss discerning a lurking fear of 'the other' behind all these attempts of forming groups. Even cooperation is necessitated by rivalry.

In the European tradition right from early days of the Greeks down to the present 'the other' is recognised never as a particular or individual as such but a member of a class or a *system*. Every non-Greek or non-Roman was barbarian and every non-Christian was a heathen. Today an individual is recognised in terms like communist, anarchist, democrat or socialist. The European mind seems incapable of recognising the identity either of itself or of any other without reference to a system. This system may be religious, social, political, economic or of any other kind. Anything that falls outside any *system* is not recognised even as an entity worth noticing. When sciences emerged they also could not get rid

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of this peculiarity. Though they rejected theological *systems* they evolved *systems* of their own. The same old attitude is seen in the case of *sciences* when they refuse to recognise any phenomenon that may defy its inclusion within an evolved *system*.

For Fear Individuals are Identified with Systems

When I describe industrialization and formation of groups on the basis of commercial interest as basically the expressions of the fear of 'the other', I mean by "the other" a rival system of any kind. The Communists fear the open economic and social systems and so is the case with others. Individuals *qua* individuals have therefore no significance. They will receive recognition so long as they contribute to the growth of the *system*. Thus individuals are forced to keep themselves identified with a system for fear of being isolated and neglected. Industrialization which, as I said earlier, is the result of public participation in the scientific achievements is therefore the only means for the people to keep their identification with a *system* intact. If people do not participate in industry and consequently in the *system* which the industry represents they lose their identity. In that event they will not be entitled to be called even as individuals. Constant introduction of innovations in an industry therefore becomes a necessity in order to sustain the interest of the individuals belonging to a system. Similarly not the motive of economic profit but the motive of keeping a rival system away from engulfing one's own system and everything based on it, can be said to be the real force working behind the galloping strides of industry in Europe.

Adherence to a *system* has its effect on the notion of objectivity. Anything that lies beyond a system is not recognised as an

entity or else every effort is made by stretching, distorting, re-interpreting the accepted system so as to be able to include it within its operation. But apart from this difficulty there is the problem of the effectivity of the *system* itself. Because of the acceptance of a *system* what is recognised within it is only a general feature of an individual, the feature which the *system* recognises. The strictly exclusive aspect of the individual is thus ignored. Therefore, one slogan which has characterised the scientific, rational procedure is the elimination of all subjective elements. The person who wants to know a thing rationally is told to know it as the thing is and not as he sees it. This means that the ideal situation of knowledge would be a kind of mechanical, impersonal, registration of the features of the object. This distrust of the knowing mind vis-a-vis an object always haunts a knower, because he is perpetually apprehensive of any subjective, personal factor vitiating his knowledge unnoticed. Since a thing is sought to be known as it is but it is actually known within a *system*, there is further apprehension that the thing might have some aspect which could have escaped systematization. Therefore at the subjective level there is a fear of personal considerations impeding objective knowledge and at the level of object there is the fear of some aspect of the object remaining outside the system. What is then known in a *system* within these constraints of fear, both at the subjective and the objective ends, cannot be taken to be the final knowledge. This lack of a sense of finality with regard to knowledge accompanied by an impending fear of the system being imperfect presents a picture of rationality which the European mind has not been able to improve upon.

Adverse Effects of Rationality are Immanent

Moreover within this picture of rationality

an object is presented in terms of predictable possibility. It is conceived in terms of its likely behaviour, statistically computable but actually unknowable. No one can likewise say whether a person driving an aircraft is going to cross the sound-barrier next time; one can only say that in view of his proved capability and past performance he is most likely to do so, provided all other conditions remain unchanged. Conceiving things in this kind of generality keeps upon the possibility of the next thing behaving irrationally. Therefore rationality seeks to know things as they are but it miserably ends in knowing things in their generality and with the framework of a *system* which rationality itself has constructed. Incompatibility between the ideal and the actual states of rationality causes self-contradiction in every rational endeavour of the European people.

I started with the examination of industrialization taking it to be a concrete expression of European rationality. My analysis has shown that industrialization reveals weakness and contradiction to the extent that, in spite of serious hazards created by it for human life and existence, no sustained effort is made by the European people to rectify them. In addition, side effects of industrialization in the form of growing pollution of atmosphere and other ecological problems are tackled only within the basic framework of industry itself. People are thinking of introducing innovations within the functioning of machines but no one seems bold enough to review the entire philosophy behind it. It is a kind of *ad hocist* attitude; things are done piecemeal. Measures are taken only in specific cases wherever necessary, but no need is felt to take steps to prevent ecological problems arising forever. Does this not show that in the European mind, danger to life and the very existence of man is less significant than

the urge to go on creating industries as an expression of scientific rationality?

Integral Approach

By way of a contrast it may be shown that in countries outside the extension of European civilization industrialization has been imported in order to mainly remove abject poverty of the people. What originated and developed in the European historical context through centuries has been planted outside that context. These countries therefore do not have any historical, existential and even intellectual affinity with it. The result is that wherever industries have been planted they are treated just as means for earning money. The kind of commitment which leads to perpetual self-growth of industries is lacking. Moreover the attitude of the people towards industry being only monetary, people are not obliged to change their life. In almost all the countries where industry has been imported from Europe we find people leading a double life — a life which just earns livelihood under industrialized framework and another life which continues to flourish in their homes and family circles. This is true not only of developing countries like India, Bangladesh, Thailand but also of such industrially advanced countries like Japan. The people in these countries, as it were, have two tracks to walk on — the one which is their own and the other which they got from Europe. But because they have before them two parallel ways of life — the one inherited traditionally and the other imported — they sometimes find it difficult to reconcile the two, particularly when the two came in direct conflict with each other. This is equally pronounced in social relationship and behaviour. The form of democracy which is intimately linked in Europe with the industrial civilization and scientific rationality has an interesting fate in all those countries where it has been

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imported from Europe. For example, because of the very reason that this democracy has an inherent link with industrially productive force it has become a game of power-grabbing. People love democracy in these countries because it gives them the power to manipulate economically profitable ventures whereby those in power may be able to earn for themselves, their sons and their close relations. The supreme end of democracy which we find strongly upheld even today in Europe, in spite of many serious personal allurements, is just relegated to a secondary position in these countries. Democracy not for the sake of itself but for the sake of power to manipulate money-producing industries is an open secret which one can watch being played almost everywhere. The very fact that personal gain, rather than the real gain for the country, having become the main consideration, democratic processes have tended to cluster around persons, not around institutions, as is generally the case in Europe. This cult of personality rather than an ideology has been mercilessly twisting the arms of the democratic system to an extreme degree. In the name of democratic process illiterate or semiliterate people, who are totally ignorant of a work requiring high skill and sophisticated knowledge, are placed at the top of policy-making bodies. A person, for example, who knows next to nothing about medicine or about law, technology, higher education and so on is given the power to pronounce the final word on highly technical matters. Students who have no aptitude for higher education and research are, on the strength of popular vocal support, indiscriminately admitted to universities and later on merely because of the power of manipulation get jobs of the kind for which they are neither competent nor are they the best available resources in a country.

This abuse of the democratic system, which

grew into a very fine political institution through a tireless labour and sacrifice of the European people, in countries where it has been brought along with industrialization is due mainly to the fact that industrialization and the democratic system associated along with it have been made subservient to the economic interest. Unlike in Europe they have no connection with rationality and the history of the people of the countries outside the sphere of European civilization.

Global Peace

Because of the predominant economic and commercial interest there is a concerted demand on behalf of these countries for global peace and cessation of all conflicts. It is because industrial expansion there shall be halted in case a war breaks out and they know it fully well that technical know-how and other basic support that is being so far provided by Europe to these countries will stop in the event of a war. Since industrialization has not become a part of the total being of the people and since rationality of these people is of a kind which is not necessarily in tune with the rationality of Europe, they take industrialization as necessary, though not indispensable, in the context of their total existence. In personal life and behaviour they remain what they historically and culturally have inherited. So, industrialisation, particularly in the so-called 'third world', cannot be an index of the rationality of the people over there.

Solution

In my estimate the contrast between rationality as it is totally revealed in the industrialization in Europe and rationality which is more fully revealed outside the narrow economic sphere of industrialization in

countries of 'third world' brings out clearly the strength and weakness of both the camps. It does not lie within my limited competence to suggest any ready-made solution of the problems that arise. But still as I view the situation, there is one word that may provide, of course, in its two different senses, a clue to the possible solution of the problem in respective camps. The word is '*system*'. In the context of Europe since rationality functions strictly within the bounds of various systems and thus refuses to recognise anything that may be outside, there is a need to make the notion of system more flexible. Europe should recognise sooner than later the fact that there is a vital aspect of human life which defies systematization of any kind. In fact, that aspect of rationality which systematizes and views within the systems it has created, being the presupposition of all the systems remains transcendent. The recognition at once is bound to impart dignity to individuals *qua* individuals. Love, hatred, freedom of individuality, and above all, friendliness, which are viewed by Europe so far only in the context of rigid systems can be and should be viewed irrespective of whether they fall within or outside these constructed systems. The fear of 'the other' in that case will be minimized and a new chapter of human relation at the level of individuals can be opened in Europe. This idea is not something entirely new to Europe because the intellectual and philosophical history is a testimony to the fact that both in religion and in philosophy European mind had recognised the fact of transcendence. In the present context though the emphasis may change the fact of recognition not of God, Deity, Absolute, but of some aspects of man himself has to be taken in trans-systematized sense. This however should not mean that

systematization as a whole should be abandoned; it only means that the boundaries of rationality should be extended beyond what systems present and then the systems should be modified according to this newly recognised trans-systematic aspects of man. So far as the countries of the 'third world' are concerned they have to introduce systematization of some kind outside purely economy-based industrialization. But one precaution is necessary in this context. The system that these countries have to evolve should grow from within their own respective historical and cultural genius and not from the industrialization imported from Europe. If they do not do this they will either be completely divested of their past heritage and become, in due course, what Europe is today or will die a natural death as a result of perpetuating a conflict between industrialization and traditional personal life.

What has been said in this paper represents a typical viewpoint which arises from my lived experience of the Indian cultural and philosophical tradition and also of my not so intimate knowledge of the present-day Europe based as it is more on studies than on actual direct experience of modern European life. But I am sure that many intellectuals of Europe today feel the same way as I have observed Europe. It is a matter of some satisfaction that with the growing intimate contact of Europe with the people of the so-called 'third world' a new awareness has already started making its appearance both in Europe and in countries outside the extension of the European tradition.

(Head of the Department of Philosophy,
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Sarojini Naidu: Towards A Revaluation

A CENTENARY is always a little ambivalent: on the one hand an occasion for a ritual canonization; on the other a hard, second look. Polite eulogies — whether of Gosse, Symons, Binyon, Cousins, Jha, Dustoor, Iyengar, Lakshmi Menon or *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* — may take care of themselves. The fact remains that qualities that had pleased contemporaries once will not please now. Inevitably, the pendulum swings to the other extreme. Revaluations can be rude and merciless. The pet bird, the "sweet warbler", may have her throat slit or, worse, damned with faint praise. As by none by the P. Lal: "and yet when all is said and done, when all the twittings over her tweetings are over, this song-bird sang very well indeed." That's the semantics of superciliousness, or generation gap, if you like. And that, when all is said and done, is precisely the reason why one has to make an effort to be fair and see, the object as it really was. And what an Object! Of girth and mirth unmatched.

A legend in her own lifetime, more so at Hyderabad, the main theatre of Srimati Sarojini Naidu's varied roles as poet and person, society queen and public figure, exotic and nationalist, we must not pay her off in terms of a reaction. Though time has taken the gilt off the gingerbread, at the Golden Threshold tread softly. Let us be critical, but on bended knees.

There is a paradox, more than one paradox, in the enchanted life-story if not life-style anything but *Khadi*. Even her faithful biographer was forced to ask: Did Sarojini Naidu exult in two forms of existence? Maybe the gaiety — a woman so full of *Joie de vivre* that she seemed to chew life at both ends, said Taya Zinkin — was all on the surface, to cover what deep wound or sorrow who shall tell? Did the private

and the public lives match? Were the tributes to Kasturba and Swaruprani a sigh over a world lost or just a love of opposites? What was all that showmanship and articulate energy trying to express or conceal? A blend of fact and fantasy, at once airy and earthy, heroism and heroics, feudalism with Votes for Women Deputation, ivory tower with market place — one seeks for a single motif in vain. And the irreverent laughter, the coruscating wit! Sarojini Naidu, once a fairy, "not human at all, but an elfin spirit", who had come to look like a dowdy duenna, an unmatronly matron that never ceased to talk like Oscar Wilde deserved a Lytton Strachey.

The marvel is that, no matter what her topic or the audience, the torrent was on top. When she was but 23 she held forth, in Madras, on "True Brotherhood", the first person singular undaunted: "Having travelled, having conceived, having hoped, having enlarged my love, having widened my sympathies, having come into contact with different religions, different civilisations, friends, my vision is clear." Four years later, on the vexed "Women Question", she sounds more confident, indeed is on the warpath. The voice is shrill: "Does one man dare to deprive another of his birthright to God's pure air which nourishes his body? How then shall a man dare to deprive a human soul of his immortal inheritance of liberty and life? I charge you to restore to your women their ancient rights, for it is we, and not you, who are the real nation builders and without our active co-operation all your congresses and conferences are in vain." Whether it was the unveiling of a Tagore bust in Bombay in 1919, or before the Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi, in 1947, or the Convocation Address at Santiniketan, in 1948, logic was not her strong point. She thought more with her heart than with her head. In this respect the

Kamala lectures at the Calcutta University proved to be a faux pas. Speaking, as always, extempore, she did not care to know the subject—"The Ideals of Indian Womanhood" — well enough. A member of the audience was heard to whisper: *Le style est la femme*. All the same, across the years she came to acquire a strange kind of welcome and acceptability, even a bizarre authority. More so in the later years. When as the Governor — or as she preferred to put, the Governess — of the United Provinces she was addressing Lucknow University's Silver Jubilee there was disturbance. Students were shouting slogans against the Chief Minister. Fixing the crowd with a non-non-violent stare, her single sentence was sufficient to silence the young rowdies: "You will keep quiet while I am talking." And she went on talking. Today how many can match that?

The transformation of the shy maiden into a voluble, peripatetic public figure, a dignitary often throwing dignity to the four winds, has never been fully explained. Are Gokhale's avuncular words enough? "Consecrate your life, your thought, your song, your charm to the Motherland." Consecrate she did, but more than nationalist fervour it is her wit that saved her. Even when talking about the problem of Women's Education she could not fail to banter. Turning to the Indian reactionaries, unbending champions of a Back to the Kitchen philosophy, she mimicked marvelously: "What, educate our women? What will become of the delicious *halwa* and the savoury omelette?" That savour lasted her a lifetime. Come what may, she did not spare her bumfool, windbag colleagues in the Congress. When a member had bored everyone with repeated demands for a second chamber, Mrs. Naidu had impudently suggested a third: a lethal chamber for longwinded politicians!

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Early or late, the wit, the good humour and sarcasm did not leave her. In fact, a rare gift, she had the ability to laugh at herself, even in public. When an accident had figured her face — she had been a beauty once — she used to laugh and say: If there had been plastic surgery at the time I may not have been so ugly. A woman who can speak like that has beauty in her soul.

Some of her choicest *bons mots* were aimed at the Mahatma. In the autumn of 1914, in London, Sarojini had gone to meet the hero from South Africa. The lady arrived when Gandhiji, in her own words, was "eating a messy meal of squashed tomatoes and olive oil out of a wooden prison bowl." She must have said or done something *risqué*; for Gandhiji had riposted: "Ah, you must be Mrs. Naidu! Who else dare to be so irreverent? Come in and share my meal." Which of course she did not. Asked, if she had ever tried to follow Gandhian dietary rules, she had burst out laughing: "All that grass and goat's milk? Never, never, never." Never the one to be holier-than-thou, who but Mrs. Naidu could look round a Congress pandal and shout: "Where is our little Mickey Mouse?"

Yet, when occasion demanded, she could be truly humble and understanding. The pathos and dignity of the lonely leader, betrayed by the perfidious, power-hungry, partition-totting Congress Party, did not escape the poet in her. She had then referred to the Mahatma as "the most lonely and tragic figure of his time, India's man of destiny on the edge of his own doom." Words that would soon be prophetic.

More, perhaps, than the flashy rhetoric and the wit it is her letters that reveal her most. Listen to this, by a woman of 26, writing to her literary chaperon, Arthur Symons. She is asking him to share with her an exquisite

March morning: "This sumptuous blaze of gold and sapphire sky, these scarlet lilies that adore the sunshine; the voluptuous scents of neem and champak and sirisha that beat upon the languid air with their impeccable sweetness; the thousand little gold and blue and silver-breasted birds bursting with the shrill ecstasy of life in nesting time. All is hot and fierce and passionate, ardent and unashamed in its exulting and importunate desire for life and love. And, do you know the scarlet lilies are woven petal by petal from my heart's blood, these little quivering birds are my soul made incarnate music, these heavy perfumes are my emotions dissolved into aerial essence, this flaming blue and gold sky is the 'very me', that part of me that incessantly and insolently, yes, and a little deliberately, triumphs over that other part — a thing of nerves and tissues that suffers and cries out, and that must die tomorrow perhaps, or twenty years hence." Was her joining of politics the death of Pater's disciple?

Not altogether. From America she writes long 'love-letters' to the Mahatma. Here is one about her regal reception: "But I have rejoiced so greatly before that I am a poet and that the lily wand that I carry in my hands opens all doors and all hearts to my knocking. Gates of brass shall not withstand one touch of that magic wand." Again, to the same recipient: "Good night...While I have been writing page after page to you this little old lovely town was wrapped herself in slumber. I seem to be the only keeper of vigils amidst a world of sleep."

The letters were not always about her own suffering nerves and tissues or triumphs, at home or abroad. She was open to other men's to a nation's agony. With a woman's heart she had sensed Mahatma Gandhi's mental torture when the traitor Congress Party, bent on dividing the country, had

disowned the Father of the Nation. She could fathom the agony of his soul that has driven him to riot-torn Bihar and now forgotten Noakhali. The letter she wrote then reads like a poem, without trying to do so: "Beloved Pilgrim, you are, I learn, setting out once more on your chosen *via dolorosa*. The way of sorrow for you may indeed be the way of hope and solace for many millions of suffering human hearts. Even though I do not see you, you know my love is always with you — and my faith."

There is, perhaps, more poetry in this than in the poems she wrote. Her period piece juvenilia had been, we now see, praised out of proportion and for the wrong reasons. Also she may have chosen doubtful models. Altogether the poetry of Sarojini Naidu has fallen among evil days and evil geniuses, whose one delight is to denigrate. When, three decades back, I myself had written a monograph on her (fortunately never published, you will learn why), my Oxonian Professor had restrained me: "Why flog a dead horse?" It was a question to which I had no answer then. But is she that dead? Gosse thought her mature work need not fear cavil or criticism. That profound judge of life and literature, Sri Aurobindo, said that she had "qualities which make her best work exquisite, unique and unchallengeable in its own kind." Let us discriminate instead of becoming butchers. It is best to judge by the best.

But first, one of the devil's advocates, Nissim Ezekiel. Reviewing *The Feather of the Dawn* Ezekiel wrote: "The English, encouraged by Gosse, granted her a season or two of favour and then dropped her irrevocably into Oblivion." Why this should be so, he explains, in his own terms. "It was Sarojini's ill-luck that she wrote at a time when English poetry had touched rock-bottom of sentimentality and technical

poverty. By the time it recovered its health she had entered politics, abandoning the possibility of poetic development and maturity." Further, an unkind cut and an uncritical remark: "Sarojini knew nothing of the literary revolution taking place in English poetry in the twenties and after." But this is really colonial complex than honest criticism. Is *The Waste Land* a touchstone for *The Golden Threshold*?

Sweet or sour, dreamy or defiant, there is, for us, something faulted about these poems. Nature, love, folk, Indo-Saracenic, whatever the theme, the repertoire is — paradoxically — at once large and limited. She is really not rooted, rarely is the whole person involved. There is a curious, pretty adolescence about all her personae. The gol mohurs, champaks, kokilas run riot in a touristy, picture post-card dreamland. Here is one of the better ones:

A caste-mark on the azure of heaven,
The golden moon burns sacred, solemn,
bright.

The winds are dreaming in the
forest-temple,

And swooning at the holy feet of Night;
Hush! in the silence mystic voices sing
And make the gods their incense offering.

A most proper milieu, everything behaving as it should! If this is the kind of poetry that lifts, as James Cousins believed it did, India to the literary heavens, the heavens are not worth having. The trouble with Mrs. Naidu's stock response is that even when speaking out of her own experience she tends towards rehearsed responses of a rather dainty sort. In all this she is, to use Schiller's distinction, sentimental rather than naive. Artifice is her norm.

In the love poems, for instance. These have been compared with Mrs. Browning's; even with Donne's. Mrs. Naidu seems more

stylised than she just could be and drank could be to deal with poems that not full, as sincere random

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stylised than Mrs. Browning. As for Donne,
she just does not have the same sharp point
and dramatic complexity. That Sarojini
could be *passione*, everyone who had
to deal with her knows that. But in the
poems the passion is frail and forced and
not full, not what we would today accept
as sincere. Let a few examples chosen at
random do:

Were beauty mine, beloved, I would
bring it
Like a rare blossom to Love's glowing
shrine;
Were dear youth mine, beloved, I would
fling it
Like a rich pearl into Love's lustrous
wine.

Again:

Bring me no scented lotus-wreath
Moon-awakened, dew-caressed;
Love, through memory's agelong dream
Sweeter shall my wild heart rest
With your footprints on my breast.

A somewhat dubious sentiment for one who
came to be called the 'Indian Judith'. Such
ceremonious martyrdom ("your footprints
on my breast") sounds charming but not
convincing. The following is perhaps more
true of the speaker's redolent style and
temperament:

Let spring illume the western hills with
blossoming brands of fire,
And wake with rods of budded flame the
valleys of the south —
But I have plucked you, O miraculous
flower of my desire,
And crushed between my lips the burning
petals of your mouth!

There is no doubt the lady enjoyed being

excited. Her very "Devotion" sounds too,
too romantic, almost morbid:

Take my flesh to feed your dogs
if you choose,
Water your garden-trees with my blood
if you will,
Turn my heart into ashes, my dreams
into dust —
Strangle my soul and fling it into the fire!
Am I not yours, O Love, to cherish
or to kill?
Why should my true love falter or
fear or rebel?
Love, I am yours to lie in your breast
like a flower,
Or burn like a weed for your sake in
the flames of hell.

There is something wanting about these
fluent postures. As for the poems on Rajput
and Persian love, on the Sutte (not to
mention the Buddha) these look like set
exercises, not deeply felt, not true enough.
Had she reached the end of the tether? And
was politics the way out — for the Lady of
Shalott changing into a shrill agitator? One
thinks of Maud Gonne:

That woman's days were spent
In Ignorant goodwill,
Her nights in argument
Until her voice grew shrill.

Maybe the poetry could be replaced by
politics because it was no longer the being
of her being. Of course some of it found its
way back into the speeches; but not enough.
But the battles long ago no longer stir. It
may be doubted if these meant anything
more than a means for large-scale display.
From the ivory tower to "the strife of the
throne and the tumult", one does not know
how strong or genuine was the call, how
much in tune with her *swabhava*, true
nature.

She of course had little doubt and, in self-defence easily wrote:

Yet must I go where the loud world
beckons,
And the urgent drum-beat of destiny
calls,
Far from your white dome's luminous
slumber,
Into the strife of the throng and the
tumult,
The war of sweet Love against folly and
wrong;
Where brave hearts carry the sword of
battle
'Tis mine to carry the banner of song.

The solace of faith to the lips that falter
The succour of hope to the hands that fail,
The tidings of Joy when Peace shall
triumph,
When truth shall conquer and love
prevail.

Later, in the thick of the battle, and more
loudly:

Is there aught you need that my hands
withhold,
Rich gifts of raiment or grains of
gold?
Lo! I have flung to the East and West
Priceless treasures torn from my breast,
And yielded the sons of my stricken
womb,
To the drum beats of duty, the sabres
of doom.

Her drums beat and the sabres rattle almost
as a matter of course. But even so, more
divided than she perhaps knew, she continued
to dream of the *purdah* world she had
left behind:

Therein I treasure the spice and scent
Of rich and passionate memories blent

Like colours of cinnamon, sandal and
clove,
Of song and sorrow and life and love.

In her mind's eye the bazaars are filled with
(nothing but)
Turbans of crimson and silver
Tunics of purple brocade,
Mirrors with panels of amber
Daggers with handles of jade.

Aesthete from beginning to end. If patriotism
was — so far as the poetry is concerned
— not enough, nor was religion. She wrote
on religious themes without being quite
religious. The poems on Krishna and the
Buddha show neither originality nor intensity
and could have been written by
anybody, so to speak. She is no Mira Bai,
not even Edwin Arnold.

Two other characteristics of her verse may
be briefly mentioned. Mrs. Naidu draws
her themes as easily from Hindu as from
Muslim background, perhaps the ones dealing
with Islamic themes are better. As she
herself has noted: The first accents I heard
were in the tongue of Amir of Khusrū.
(She was quite innocent of Bengali; could
not read but could 'follow' when spoken,
though occasions to follow were not many.)
More a Bibi than a Devi, she would have
made a better Sultana than a Padmini or a
Sita.

Also though in no sense a working or
proletarian poet (*Arbeitsdichter*) Sarojini
Naidu was one of the first to deal with the
humbler folk and poeticise their life and
vocation. Of course, she did not belong and
it is all from the outside. But a poem like
"Coromandal Fishers" has a lilt of its own,
call it Swinburnian if you please:

Sweet is the shade of the coconut glades,
and the scent of the mango grove,

And sweet
moon
with the sound
But sweeter,
spray
and the di
glee;
Row, brother
verge,
where the l
sea.

This is stuff of
comparison with
poetry by, say,
A.K. Ramanujan

To sum up an
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"I am not a poet
called the poems
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Swiftly the h
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The harvest we
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But a poem like
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please:

coconut glades,
the mango grove,

And sweet are the sands at the full o' the
moon
with the sound of the voices we love,
But sweeter, O brothers, the kiss of her
spray
and the dance of the wild foam's
glee;
Row, brothers, row to the blue of the
verge,
where the low sky melts with the
sea.

This is stuff close to copy-writing, as a
comparison with even translations from folk
poetry by, say, Sitakanta Mahapatra or
A.K. Ramanujan will at once show.

To sum up and she herself will help.
Early in life — "poignantly aware of the
poverty of her gift" — she had written:
"I am not a poet really." Elsewhere she had
called the poems "little things". She might
have been right after all. Most of her polite
meaningless words, stylised product of a
"delicate, dreaming soul", have been blown
away by age. There hangs a milk, musty
museum air about most of the poems.
Nothing will bring back the glory departed.
Exaggerated claims about her poetry and
oratory — is there not a much of a much-
ness between the two? — leave us cold. The
dream and the demogoguery are dead;
perhaps were never really alive. Or so it
seems to heartless generation, more demand-
ing. The Muses have become menacingly
cerebral. Compared to our modish, modern
complexity, how simple sounds the ancestral
voice:

Children, my children, the daylight is
breaking,
The cymbals of morn sound the hour of
your waking,
Swiftly the harvest grows mellow for
reaping,
The harvest we sowed in the time of your
sleeping.

Their teeth on edge, the children have grown
up in what is to them a long nightmare.
Their angry response, to a dawn that never
came, is not without reason. No wonder
debunking has become the order of
the day.

But we must not overdo reaction, must not
be carried away by moods of the moment.
In a balanced view one cannot but marvel
at her varied, maybe often put-up gestures.
There is a fine point even about the fluency,
the youthful zest that knew neither
tragedy nor transcendence. Maybe the
admiration today is largely for the person,
a woman's woman than for the poet, the
leader, the politician. She may not be
among the Immortals, but surely in the Hall
of Fame will be a niche for ever Sarojini.
Some things about her, including her fabled
foibles, an "astonishing combination of
gifts", as Nehru phrased it, age shall not
with er nor custom stale. In poetry maybe
mannered, in life uninhibited, her gaiety,
vitality and friendliness, her love of youth
were as striking as they were genuine. And
even when the trivia of her public life and
poetry, mostly immature, are forgotten, all
will not be lost. She will live, as an essay in
the New Woman, as herself, as she was and
no doubt loved to be. A precocious child,
something of an exile, afraid to be lonely,
at once pathetic and imperious, Milady with
her *bonbonnières*, "very Mayfair", anything
but a woman of destiny but who joined the
national struggle and easily made her mark
but without allowing it soil her sensitivity,
ready to live, love and laugh, the compul-
sive talker whose last, midnight words were
"I do not want anyone to talk to me" — the
amazing, vibrant Sarojini Naidu will contin-
ue to surprise and delight. Delight is
Energy and she had plenty of both.

Though her "songs that will abide",

Gokhale's hopes, are but few, as February
turns into spring, let us remember:

Springtime, O springtime, what is your
secret,
The bliss at the core of your magical
mirth,
That quickens the pulse of the morn to
wonder
And hastens the seeds of all beauty to
birth,
That captures the heavens and conquers
to bloom
The root of delight in the heart of the
earth.

And as evening falls over the bazars of her
beloved Twin City:

Hark, from the minaret, how the
Muezzin's call
Floats like a battle-flag on the city wall

and

See how the speckled sky burns like a
pigeon's throat
Jewelled with embers of opal and
peridote.
See the white river that flashes and
scintillates,
Curved like a tusk from the mouth of the
city gates?

Will they not say that she used to notice
these things? Out of the dalliance of
la dolce vita, out of the carved lattices of a

vanished past, in the twilight gloaming let
us watch through her eyes how:

An ox-cart stumbles upon the rocks,
And a wistful music pursues the breeze
From a shepherd's pipe as he gathers
his flocks
Under the pipal trees.
And a young *Banjara* driving her cattle
Lifts up her voice as she glitters by
In an ancient ballad of love and battle
Set to the beat of a mystic tune,
And the faint stars gleam in the
western sky
To herald a rising moon.

Let us not be in a hurry to have done with
her, just because fashions have changed, or
because Kamala Das is the reigning queen.
Maybe Sarojini Naidu the person lived on
when the poet was no more. This has
happened before. Palanquin-bearers, not
pall bearers, let us, together, bring, for a
phantom hour, the bird of time with the
broken wings back to the laughter-filled
Golden Threshold:

Lightly, O lightly, we bear her along
She swings like a flower in the wind of
our song,
She skims like a bird on the foam of a
stream,
She floats like a laugh from the lips of a
dream.

A long, long *salaam* to the naughty nightin-
gale. There surely was a rainbow, once.

(Department of English, Visva-Bharati
University, Santiniketan, West Bengal).



MANTHAN

ilight gloaming let
eyes how:

upon the rocks,
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A Non-Starter

THE seminal seminar is now drawing to a close with a few words of valediction from me. Such a formal ritual is necessary but unimportant in our scheme of things. But my diction on this occasion pardonably departs from conventional fiction expected of the speaker and wanders into critical comments about policies, projects and personnel. My alibi is that optimism is illusion when pessimism is realism. Why, then, am I pessimistic, especially when high judicial personages, distinguished minister-dignitaries, important law officers and eminent jurists from all over the vast map of India have gathered at great trouble to themselves and burden to the State's exchequer, braving Delhi's winter, warmed up by the healing concern for the blood, toil, tears and sweat of the rightless crores of the living dead and legal illiterates making up most of Bharat's humanity to whom, since that long-ago August mid-night, we have offered the tantalising tryst of Social Justice? Why am I pessimistic when this conference has had the warmest wishes of the Prime Minister and the Law Minister, has had the meaningful good fortune of the Chief Justice of India, who is the leader of the nation's Justice System, to inaugurate it with an explosive yet creative speech followed by the second in command, Shri Justice Bhagwati, delivering his presidential address packed with specific suggestions, personal experiences and considerable know-how? Why should I be pessimistic when the leaders of the profession have involved themselves in the Meet and academics from many universities have showed up to impress upon us their readiness for aware participation? The sour truth is that that around five years ago a similar Pan-Indian seminar on the same theme was expensively held by the same organisation with governmental backing, judicial

Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer

Legal Aid to the Poor*

blessings, professional participation and jurists' commitment. During these five years there has been sound and fury on the subject but the national programme has remained a non-starter. Decades of debates, dozens of Commissions, hundreds of conferences and countless mushroom societies and do-little strategies, official and quasi-official, politicised and patronised, have waxed and waned. Even a constitutional amendment — Article 39A — issuing a directive to the State, fundamental in the governance of the country, to secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice on the basis of free legal aid by suitable legislation and schemes, so that every citizen, regardless of economic or other disabilities, shall secure social justice through the legal system. *And yet, in quantitative and qualitative terms the petty done, the undone vast is the untold story of legal aid.*

A comprehensive report, panoramic in its coverage and concretely dealing with legal aid in every department of Indian life, was submitted several years ago by a Committee appointed by the Central Government. I mention this because I was connected with it. One would have expected dynamic follow-up action but things dawdled. Then came a like Committee to look into this committee's report and there again Mr. Justice Bhagwati and I were the members. An extremely pragmatic report followed. While a parliamentary Bill was drafted and appended so as to facilitate legislative action without loss of time, things drifted and what followed was another secretariat committee to look into this committee's report! If my information is right, that report also is with Government and maybe, after a respectful efflux of time yet another committee may be appointed by Government to update the earlier recommendations. *War on Poverty is not fought by Committees Unlimited.*

There was a time when the Legal Aid Movement became a wave and even became politicised, but like all other waves it ebbed away, save for a few splendid exceptions — some States, some souls.

There is massive literature on the subject, mainly American and partly Indian. Some judges, some lawyers, some universities and some Bar Councils have bestirred themselves in the Cause and, with all this, at the national level we are where we were before the All India Law Ministers' Conference met way back in 1957 and unanimously resolved that there should be a comprehensive free legal services programme in the States of India. It is true that the impressive judicial presence at this seminar is significant; the involvement of many ministers from the States augurs well; the lawyer-and-teacher participation is heartening; the central ministers' broad backing is encouraging, the occasional parliamentary interpellations are a hopeful note. With all this, the people remain dangerously despondent because *juridicare* is not only a non-starter but is beset with conceptual confusion, ideological ignorance, governmental dubiety and absence of adequate dedicated cadres. By cadres I mean not merely lawyers and judges, not merely law teachers and jurists but also labour leaders, *kisan* leaders, social workers, minority group members, consumer movement representatives and, above all, those with credentials to speak for the disabled. I know it is anathema to utter unpalatable truths on festive occasions. I also know that complacency being the enemy of action,

it is not only good for people to be shocked occasionally, but absolutely necessary to the progress of society that they should be shocked pretty often.

(George Bernard Shaw)

A disenchanting thought disturbs me: If

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bs me: If

Law is what law *does* or *does not*, the days of *this Rule of Law* are numbered. And so, in all humility, before you all go home I make a farewell appeal to you to understand the versatile, vistaramic dynamics of free legal aid to the weak and its socio-spiritual value. The popular myth that if some indifferent lawyer were assigned at State expense to a poor litigant, potential or actual, to do his case or give advice, equal justice under the law would have become a social reality is constitutional cosmetics, not Social Justice therapeutics. And yet this is all that most learned men carry home conceptually, operationally and constitutionally.

Worthwhile, Nevertheless

This conference is nevertheless worthwhile. It has exposed a submerged but strategic category to the urgency, relevancy and strategy of free legal service philosophy and technology. I regret to state that the revolutionary import dimensional range, practical measures and infra-structural shape to make legal processes available to the consumers of justice and the sufferers of injustice have not been understood by those who matter and without whom locomotion is impossible. *Legal literacy about legal aid to the weak must reach those in towers of power so that legislation, action-oriented projects, elimination of inhibitive hierarchy and deletion of dilatory officialese can be accomplished and a beautiful blend of voluntary agencies and statutory bodies enjoying autonomy and avoiding politicking, may cover penurious areas and prevent the poor from being priced out of the justice market.*

It may sound cynical to say that the judiciary as a class, the Bar as a profession, the Government as an instrument and the

political echelons as power-wielders are still half-informed about plenary legal aid ideology and half-afraid of legal aid potential and half-hostile to radical legal services programmes.

Legal aid is equal justice in action, in the social, economic and political fields. This means that law, as a tool, must be used by everyone to abolish injustice and inequality and to ameliorate disabilities and soften sorrows. Law must strengthen the hands of the weak to resist the oppressive strong, must transform society so that each according to his needs shall be ensured through the law. We must remember this revolutionary content of law as the might of the State to fight for the masses and curb the classes and establish a just society. In short, the legal aid movement is geared to the goal of the new constitutional order.

Philosophy of Legal Aid

In a sense, it is unnecessary to argue the philosophy of legal aid. But, in another sense, it is very necessary because there is an impression that free legal service is all about litigation and prevention of litigation. This is a court-centered obsession, a lawyer-oriented impression. The vistaramic view unfolds a wider range. Certainly, legal advice, prevention of litigation and promotion of settlements are important components of the programme. Equally clearly free legal services in civil and criminal proceedings as well as in quasi-judicial and administrative hearings are important. Likewise, legal aid for the working class in labour disputes, for the peasantry in agrarian disputes, for the minorities in communal disputes are part of the wider scheme. Legal help to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, legal rescue to the weaker segments like women, children, physically and mentally handicapped

groups, prisoners, religious and political dissenters, inhabitants of geographically remote regions and the like, must figure in any comprehensive national legal service project. But what do you do if Law itself is the enemy of Justice? Fold up?

Justice to the poor and the weak and the derelict means more than all these. The existing law is hostile to them. Indeed, the laws of today oppressively operate on the weaker segments, notwithstanding constitutional articles to the contrary. Therefore, lobbying for law reform to offer effective protection for the poor, for the socially and economically poor, is a part of legal aid. Today there is none to advocate for new laws to help the poor. There is none to pressure the Governments and the legislators to amend the laws to protect the weak. Therefore, I submit that para-legislative activities must be undertaken by legal aid bodies. Law reform, preceded by socio-legal research and social audit of the performance of welfare legislation are unknown in this country on behalf of the poor. This is a *must* and the responsibility belongs to legal aiders.

Our justice system is terribly cumbersome, expensively dilatory and cumulatively disastrous. The poor can never reach the court because of heavy court-fee and the mystique of legalese. The hierarchy of courts, with appeals upon appeals, puts legal justice beyond the means of the poor. Professional services — a monopoly of lawyers — are too dear to be paid for by the poor. The Himalayan heaps of legislations, rules, notifications, regulations, by-laws and the like, make it baffling for the poor to be literate about their rights. The peril in this proliferation of law-making is the erosion of rights by oversight and ignorance. *Legal literacy is a condition precedent to the rule of law.* It is depressing

to know that participative law-making, where the poor have a say, is unknown.

While it is a tragic fact that welfare legislation has been nothing more than mere paper tiger against the anti-social combination and a paper bonanza for the socially suppressed, it is still more appalling that notwithstanding provision in Order 33 for free legal aid to the indigent the High Courts and the Governments have not yet found it convenient, years after the provision was made by Parliament in the Code, to make rules to implement this benignant legal aid scheme. Our bona fides is suspect in the eyes of the proletariat.

Class actions, public interest litigation, test cases, interventions by public organisations and the like in civil and criminal cases are facets of participative justice on behalf of the poor. This involves jurisprudential changes including re-definition of 'cause of action', 'aggrieved person' and many other concepts. For instance, the horrendous escalation of automobile accidents causes indescribable misery and no-fault liability, now that insurance is nationalised, is simple social justice. And yet callous governments and docket-crowded courts, with no regard for human relief, leave this principle in the cold, despite a long-ago Report of the Law Commission for its partial acceptance. Therefore, *if the poor are to have a stake in the rule of law we may have to create a new jurisprudence.* Shall I call it anti-poverty jurisprudence so necessary in Third World Conditions?

Legal Aid Operation

Re-structuring the justice system, streamlining the justice process, re-orienting the social perspective of justices, re-educating the entire judiciary, are important aspects of the Legal Aid Operation. Unfortunately,

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we talk of arrears in courts but never mention about the more horrendous arrears before administrative bodies and the Secretariats, not to speak of the Cabinet agendas and legislative backlog. The common man will never get justice unless the tempo of disposal, not merely in courts, but also in the Secretariats and in the administrative tribunals, speed up. Tinkering with insufficient engineering is essential. Parliament is resistant and the courts are averse to revolutionary change in the delivery system of justice — administrative as well as judicial. That is why our bureaucratic methods, notwithstanding many administrative commissions and experts and management specialists, continue paper-logged and afflicted by Parkinson Laws. That is why our judicial system remains substantially the same since the days of the Raj. Are we ready, in the name of the poor millions, to radicalise the entire judicial system? Are we prepared for new courts like evening courts, small claims courts, *Panchayat* courts with real powers, itinerant courts and other adaptations of people's courts? Are we ready for abandoning the far too sophisticated Evidence Act and the intolerable coils of the Civil Procedure Code? We are not, is my answer. There is no will to change. Otherwise with all the enquiries by the Law Commissions and elaborate sittings of the Joint Committees, the Civil Procedure Code and the Criminal Procedure Code have been amended in a time-consuming process but nothing has been done worth mentioning to simplify, streamline or make things cheap. The same old Codes, defeating justice and entroning technicality persist on the statute book. It is a pity that Parliament, for that matter, other legislatures have achieved nothing worth complimenting although they have power to change. I regret to state that Parliament is in no mood to legislate for the poor in sufficient measure. I can illustrate my thesis to an enormous extent

but will content myself with a couple of instances. Imagine an amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act, very minor from the legislative point of view but very important for the workers, has not been undertaken by Parliament although many years have passed after the Law Commission recommend it. Likewise, a Section in the Pensions Act which is virtually unconstitutional but still bars old pensioners from suing for arrears had been recommended to be deleted by the Law Commission long ago but Parliament has not found the time for it. Indeed, the voiceless poor are a low legislative and judicial priority. The Kerala Legislature passed a law for cancellation of alienations by *adivasis* since it must have been felt that those exploited species had been duped into transferring their lands. Curiously enough, although the legislation was enacted by the Assembly, the Government does not care to notify in the Gazette. The poor *adivasis* perhaps electorally count for little. The Legal Aid Movement has to battle on behalf of the poor in the field of law-making. That is my thesis.

I would like to go at length into a hundred other aspects at once fundamental and overlooked, but this is not the time to dilate on those matters when men are in a hurry to bid farewell to Delhi.

The blunt truth is the hard human condition. Social Justice is enshrined in the Constitution. 'We the People of India' stand out in the Preamble. Periodic *poofa* is offered to them in election manifestoes; occasional legislation and judicial pronouncements do verbal homage to them but the bitter truth is that we, the elite, are indifferent to them. The worst sin towards our fellow-creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them. That is the essence of inhumanity. This Shavian dictum is a daily spectacle in the frighteningly formalistic forensic

processes, the paper-logged punctiliousness of the Secretariat system and that palladium where people's sorrows and welfare are drowned in sound and fury signifying something I dare not describe. 'When that the poor have cried Caesar hath wept', said Mark Antony. I find no lachrymal glands wet in the three great instrumentalities where law, procedure, rules and points of order eclipse the perishing People. Justice has been transported for life by the Establishment of which we are a part. All professions, including the political, are conspiracies against the laity and we have taken thirty years to prove it beyond reasonable doubt.

What is Social Justice?

What is Justice, Social Justice: Every judge and lawyer, every speaker and legislator, every minister and secretary asks, what is the law, not what is justice. And Prof. Freund, familiar with judicial approaches, says: "The meaning of 'Justice', linguistic philosophers would insist, is to be found in ordinary usages, and ordinary usage is to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary. The O.E.D., it seems, is the Q.E.D. I have had some misgivings about the uses and usages of dictionaries." We have the Phraisees and Sadducees, not the Good Samaritans. This System crucifies Justice. And so it is that Legal Aid is born with a Jesus touch, the Buddha *karuna*, a Krishna consciousness that right will be established by might if it is too long denied.

Access to justice is a revolutionary project. Legal Aid is the delivery system of Social Justice. It is Prometheus Unbound and the gods in their temples will tremble because the fire... each according to his need... will now come to man — that man who, as the poet sang,

"Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages on his face,
And on his back the burden of the
world."

Legal Aid to the Poor is not a mere Bar Council business nor a legal scheme to aid the poor lawyer. It springs from spiritual justice. Let there be no conceptual confusion. The touch-stone is feeling from the heart. Swami Vivekananda spoke the gospel of Legal Aid to a sanctimonious gathering unlike the sincere assemblage here:

"The only hope of India is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead". Hence, he is for giving all facilities to the poor:

"Aye Brahmins, if the Brahmin has more aptitude for learning on the ground of heredity than the Pariah, spend no more money on the Brahmin's education, but spend all on the Pariah. Give to the weak, for there all the gift is needed.

"First, feel from the heart...Do you feel? Do you feel that millions and millions of the descendants of gods and of sages have become next-door neighbours to brutes? Do you feel that millions are starving today, and millions have been starving for ages? Do you feel that ignorance has come over the land as a dark cloud? Does it make you restless? Does it make you sleepless? Has it gone into your blood, coursing through your veins, becoming constant with your heart-beats? Has it made you almost mad? Are you seized with that one idea of the misery of ruin, and have you forgotten all about your name, your fame, your wives, your children, your property even your own bodies? Have you done that? That is the first step to become a patriot, the very first step."

The sessions you have attended must

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certainly have made you wiser and sadder. You have come from the far ends of this country which shows your considerable concern for the cause. Therefore, the future may perhaps fare better. Some of you at least may have reservations about all this glib talk of legal aid. There are a few in the judiciary of our Socialist Republic who hate socialism. There are some top administrative echelons in the Socialist Republic who are too hubristic to tolerate social justice or equal justice. Many of you may wonder whether the have-nots should be provided with legal and financial resources to fight the State itself or to redress their grievances against the haves. Even so, nothing succeeds like excess, as Oscar Wilde has put it, and I am sure some success will attend on the excess of exposure you have been subjected to during the last three sessions.

There is a soul of evil in things good; and so in some States, ministers are trying to convert Legal Aid into political graft by seeking to appoint partymen who happen to be lawyers as Government's legal aid lawyers. This is double corruption because you cannot use the public exchequer to subsidise party advocates. Secondly, most grievances are against government and its minions in criminal and civil matters and the credibility in party attorneys' hirelings to fight the government itself is like pleading with Quisling for Justice from Hitler. Is there nothing which politicking will not touch to pollute? Autonomy — social justice — inspired autonomy — is of the essence for the Institution. Stooges are not

soldiers. The learned Chief Justice rightly stressed the need for a sensitive attitude from the senior lawyers. Here is what President Carter, far away from a radical, addressing the Los Angeles Bar, warned:

"We are over lawyered....lawyers of great influence and prestige led the fight against civil rights and economic justice.... They have fought innovations even in their own profession....Lawyers as a profession have resisted both social change and economic reform."

The Indian retort to President Carter must be a people-oriented bar, and I have well-grounded hopes they — the Indian Bar — will fill the bill provided the Bench too sets an example and the State machine shows humanizing zeal.

I have done. You may get back to your chores, revert to the old arts, forget about the disturbing things you have heard. Let us return to our profession, willy-nilly, to practise Injustice according to Law. A *caveat* when I come to the end. Law is on trial. Legal Aid may get it an acquittal. If there is nothing for the poor to hope for from the law, there is something for them to shoot for against the law. This is the history of nations. This is the compulsion of the Legal Aid Movement. Philosophers have interpreted the world. Our task is to change it through the socio-legal process and the aware lawyer.

(Eminent Jurist; Currently Judge, Supreme Court of India, New Delhi).



²Socio-Political Views of Vivekananda by B.K. Roy, pp. 30, 34-35.

*Based on a speech made by Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer at a seminar held in New Delhi.

Surinder Nath Gupta

A Vital Message of America

BEFORE we talk about the hidden, subtle and loud message being given by America (and other rich countries) unknown to itself, we should glimpse over a few well-known and not so well-known facts of American life.

Abundant Natural Resources

The beautiful land of America — a term which generally refers to the United States of America, although geographically wrong—is about three times more, inhabited by about one-third people, than India. The land is one of the most rich and fertile land mass endowed with unbelievably abundant natural resources. With less than 6 per cent of the world's population, Americans consume more than half the goods and developed resources of the world. The assets of even one out of more than 200 giant corporations are more than the total budget of India or many other countries of the world. One out of about 200 families in America is a millionaire, and one family out of 70 has more than \$50,000 annual income.¹ Verily! America is the richest and the most powerful country in the world. No nation on earth in the annals of history has ever been able to achieve such a high standard of material prosperity for most of its people as the United States of America.

In literacy and knowledge as well, America is the leading most country of the world. Literally thousands of books, magazines, newspapers and other sources of knowledge are produced every year perhaps unequalled by any other country on the planet so much so that it is becoming a serious problem to house all these books, magazines and papers. America wins great many Nobel Prizes, more than perhaps all other countries combined. To land the man on the moon, be able to communicate with him, and transmit the pictures of one of the greatest

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moments of human history on the TV screens about a quarter of a million miles away, is the stupendous achievement of American knowledge.

Mental Worries and Anxieties

In such a situation, it is commonly assumed by the unwary that Americans would be most happy and satisfied people on earth free from worries and anxieties. The facts are otherwise. The problems which afflict Americans are most notably "anxiety, psychosomatic ailments, drug abuse, mental illness, poor quality of work, a pervasive lack of purpose and a frantic search for stimulation."²

The American Public Health Service in one of its major findings reported that almost one out of five American adults have experienced severe nervous problems.³ Citing government statistics, a psychologist of National Institute of Mental Health, Dr. Rosenthal, said that there is growing evidence that "almost no family" in America is entirely free of mental disorders. "Indeed", Rosenthal said in a report to the National Academy of Sciences, "it may very well be that the so-called 'normal' person, with respect to mental health, does not represent a norm at all, but rather an ideal — relatively rare — that most of us would like to achieve." Rosenthal said, "at least once every minute some one in the United States tried to kill himself, and once every 24 minutes the attempt was successful". Among other things he said that psychoneurosis — emotional illness short of insanity — is "so prevalent in the population that it is almost impossible to estimate."⁴

An eminent American sociologist points out that "although we live in the most affluent society ever known, the sense of deprivation

and discomfort that pervades it is also unparalleled."⁵ He says that the American society "is in a disastrous state".⁶ America is called "a cool, cool land of fragmenting people"⁷ by another incisive American social commentator.

"Each new hospital for the mentally ill", wrote a psychologist, "is overcrowded before the paint is dry on its walls".⁸ An eminent psychiatrist wrote: "Even if we put every psychiatrist, psychologist and psychoanalyst in the country (America) to work tomorrow treating the present population of our mental hospitals, they could hardly make a dent in the problem."⁹ In another work he wrote that "more than half the hospital beds in the entire United States at this very moment are occupied by people suffering from some form of mental disturbance." And "the cost to society for the treatment and care of the emotionally disturbed is staggering."¹⁰

Dr. E. Cheraskin, whose name has been included in the World's *Who's Who* in Science since 1966, calls mental illness as "America's number-one health problem". "Emotional ailments" in America, according to him, "now hospitalize as many victims as all other illnesses combined". The adults are not the only victims. "Ten per cent of all school-age children have emotional difficulties requiring psychiatric treatment, and more than a million children now have such serious mental disorders as schizophrenia or other psychotic illnesses." No wonder the social commentators have dubbed recent decades as "The Age of Anxiety."¹¹

The Chairman of the Department of Psychiatry at an American university and former director of the Illinois Department of Mental Health said that the emotional depression is developing into an epidemic

that could contribute to political demagoguery. He said that the depression among today's young is reflected in higher suicide rates and in the widespread use of drugs.¹²

When even the children of a nation, who should be happy, vibrating with energy and enthusiasm, in significant numbers are bored, suffer mentally and ultimately commit suicide — the nature's final solution, that nation is really in trouble. Dr. Neubauer, Director of the Child Development Centre in New York, who headed the taskforce on infants and very young children of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children appointed by the American Congress calls "the emotional health of children the No. 1 public health problem of our day. He estimates that 25 per cent of the children in the country need help, that emotional ill health is of epidemic proportions in our land."¹³

Teenage Suicides

Suicide is the second-leading cause of death for young Americans between the ages of 15 and 24.¹⁴ Dr. Treffert, Director of a Mental Health Institute in America, is quoted as saying that the number of teenage suicides in the United States has tripled in the last decade and that more than half the patients in the nation's psychiatric hospitals are under age 21. He said: "We measure our country in terms of gross national product, but overlook our gross national neurosis, which is our pre-occupation with producing".¹⁵

The suicides, even in the children between 6 to 11 are increasing at an alarming rate, says an American psychiatrist, who specializes in treating youngsters attempting suicides.¹⁶ In a study in Toronto (Canada) 41 per cent of the children surveyed admitted having thought about suicide; similar was

the finding of a study in Philadelphia (America).¹⁷

Reasons For Malady

The reasons for such a mental state of affairs are very many and lie in the organization of the society's various aspects — its economy, politics, family life and so on. But what is the most basic value of the Western culture? — a foundation-stone on which all other stones have been erected; the blood which flows in the whole modern Western body politique. I think that is the desire to more and more and more consumption, production, and accumulation of material goods. In short, materialistic philosophy of life [one of the greatest social philosophers of this century, Prof. P.A. Sorokin, termed the Western culture as "sensate culture" — (see his book *The Crisis of our Age*)] is the very life-blood of modern Western culture. In Indian context; out of fourfold *Purusharthas* or ends of life — *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha* — laid down by our great thinkers, only *artha* (wealth and material possessions) and *kama* (enjoyment of the senses) are the ends of life; the rest two are either not talked about or relegated to a very subordinate position to serve the other two.

Unbalanced Approach

Such a dangerously unbalanced approach to life is naturally "producing warped and unbalanced minds"¹⁸ eventually ending in creating a sick society. "It is difficult for a habitual reader" of the various (American) newspapers, wrote an author of once a best-seller, "to avoid concluding that the United States (is) ... an extremely sick society, fundamentally made ill by the institutional implementation of a set of extremely destructive values."¹⁹

The richest country of the earth is indirectly, unknowingly, but loudly and subtly attesting the truth of what we Hindus have always proclaimed that "mere wealth cannot satisfy Man" (*Na viitena tarpanyo manusyah — Katha Upanishad 1.27*) or "one who desires to fulfil desires cannot achieve peace" (*sa santin apnoti na kama kami — Bhagvad Gita, 2.70*). Let me hasten to add that Hindus are not "other worldly" denying pleasures, success, power, and material possessions as some ignorant people with vested interests have often said. Much can be written to contradict this vile propaganda, but for the time being it is sufficient to say that "whoever has seen at first-hand and felt the literature, followed the history, studied the civilization of India can see that this is a bitter misrepresentation, a violent caricature, an absurd falsehood.... India has lived and lived richly, splendidly, greatly, but with a different will in life from Europe."²⁰

After reaching the summit of material prosperity and power, Americans (and other Westerners) are increasingly disillusioned by their modern thought. "There is, throughout the Western world", wrote an eminent British historian famous for 'Parkinson's Law', "but more especially in the United States, a feeling that life is becoming impossible, that all sense of security and balance has been lost. People feel that they are at the end of their tether, driven to smoke, to drink, to tranquilizers, and finally to marijuana. Problems are multiplying, and range from juvenile crime to mental disturbance."²¹

Turning East

To combat the Gross National Neurosis, and to get inner peace, tranquillity and harmony, the Western world generally, and the Americans particularly, are increasingly hearing the "world-reverberating jungle roar

of India's wisdom".²² Consequently "Hindu (including Buddhist, as this term applies to all the religious philosophies born in India) imports spin on and on in the catalogue of current U.S. spiritual movements."²³

An eminent Christian theologian and writer of some books on religion, Harvey Cox, in his latest book *Turning East* tried to analyze "several million Americans who have been touched in one way or another by some form of neo-Oriental thought or devotional practice." To the town of Cambridge — situated on the banks of river Charles and home of Harvard University, a world's foremost centre of learning — Prof. Cox renamed the "Banarès-on-the-Charles" as "it is one of the four or five most thriving American centres of the neo-Oriental religious surge" which is attracting "large numbers of people....not just a fringe group". What kind of people are involved in this? The Eastern religious movements "are made up almost exclusively of white, educated, middle and upper middle-class young people." Some of the typical comments made by the East turners are: "Western civilization is shot. It is nothing but technology and power and rationalization, corrupted to its core by power and money. It has no contact with nature, feeling, spontaneity. What we need to do now is learn from the Oriental people who have never been ruined by machines and science; who have kept close to their ancestors' simplicity. Western religion has invalidated itself. Now only the East is possible." After this comment, Cox writes: "The people who talked to us in this vein were often the most widely read and best educated of the East turners.... They were having a Western equivalent of a bath in the Ganges, shedding the tainted and the impure, choosing the pure and the innocent."²⁴

Much can be written on the latest views of

many eminent western thinkers on this topic. But, I think, *Time* said it all: "Now with a sense that materialism is bankrupt, many men are challenging the dualistic vision (of the Western civilization conceived by French philosopher Rene Descartes) ... One stream of yearning apparent among the questioning thinkers of the 70's is spiritual."²⁵

Spiritualism as the Centre of Economics & Politics.

For the sake of happiness, economic well-being, spiritual, mental and physical health and all-round development, it is most imperative and absolutely essential that we base our economic, social, political, and all our activities in our own spiritual cultural values and social traditions. This is the greatest revolution India (and the world) needs today: spiritualization of every activity of human life. Spiritualization of economics, for example, will mean that it will not be based on maximum consumption and Gross National Product, as the modern (or

western) economics is based upon well grounded in the materialistic philosophy that "money....is life",²⁶ and to get that money "fair is foul and foul is fair, for foul is useful and fair is not"²⁷—a principle so well consistently followed in practice also by the Western civilization. Instead such an economics will be based on one of Lord Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path — "Right Livelihood", where means must justify ends as Mahatma Gandhi used to say. Our holy grail then will be Gross National Happiness, not Gross National Production as is at present. In such spiritualized economics production and consumption of the commodities will not matter, what will matter is the happiness and satisfaction of the people. This is the greatest message the richest country of the world is unknowingly and indirectly giving. Let us hear this message for our own good and for the good of the world.

(Professor, Department of History, Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kansas)

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Mohammad Yasin

Indian Muslims After Independence

THE history of Indian Muslims after Independence is the greatest and most grappling human story of the modern age. The mental, moral and material conflict current in the ranks of Indian Muslims, their actions, inter-actions and reactions, the attitude and conduct of the non-Muslim majority and the policy and the protestations of the State Governments and the Central authorities, call for greater attention and thorough scrutiny and inquiry which no student of Sociology and Social History could afford to ignore.

Since the introduction of Islam into India, the Muslim community, notwithstanding its basic heterogeneous character, has acted on lines which are easily discernable as Muslim. Up to 1206 A.D., the Muslims, whether Arabs or Turks, were mainly concerned with the expansion of Islam in the East and the establishment of Muslim rule. During the sway of the Sultanat (1206-1526 A.D.) their main anxiety was the founding and continuance of the dynastic rules. With the accession of Akbar in 1556 A.D., the spirit and direction of Muslim polity changed. After a domicile of three and a half centuries the Muslim community, in essence, had become Indianized but on political and administrative plane they retained and exhibited extra-Indian directions and leanings. This was one of the major factors for the rapid collapse of and disappearance of dynasties one after another during the period 1206-1556 A.D. The credit goes to Akbar for comprehending this serious flaw and incorrect approach, and his subsequent endeavours to Indianize the Muslim administration which enabled the Mughals to rule over this country for at least two hundred years more.

The decline and downfall of the Mughal Empire saw the Indian Muslims making vain bids to recapture the political glory but the

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community as such was under the grip of moral degeneration, mental bankruptcy and lacked political wisdom and insight. Instead of tackling the political questions on political plane they resorted to religious slogans as the panacea for all their ills.

During the period between 1857 and 1947, the Muslim leadership distrusted the non-Muslim majority partly because of their own experiences and partly they thought that a Muslim resurgence and the betterment of their socio-economic conditions were possible only with the help of the British Government. Of course, the Britishers did their best to strengthen this line of approach of the Indian Muslims. A United Indian Community or a United India was not to their liking or suited their interests in the larger context of World politics.

On August 15, 1947, India was divided; truncated India became free and the new State of Pakistan came into being. The change-over brought unbounded joy, unthinkable sorrows and unprecedented problems. The Muslim community of the Indian sub-continent was also divided into Pakistani Muslims and Indian Muslims. The ninety per cent of the Indian Muslims who had heroically supported the creation of Pakistan, felt a rude shock as if they awoke from a deep slumber to face the realities of the situation. They realised the political fallacy and miscalculations. They were caught in a whirlwind. The Hindus, the majority community in India, hated them because they were deemed responsible for the bifurcation of the traditional and mythological *Bharat-varsha*: suspected them because Pakistan was the result of their activities and endeavours. The Nationalist Muslims, except a few on the top, lost their identity and they were grouped together with the Muslim Leaguers.

The realities of the situation after 1947 were obvious enough. Now there was no room for an organization or a movement which might aim at confrontation with the non-Muslim majority. The third party, the Britishers, who used to act as arbiters between Muslims and non-Muslims, had disappeared from the scene. Politically, the Muslims could not demand any more what they were demanding before 1947 — separate electorate, reservations in services, weightage and special privileges because the demand for Pakistan was the sum total of all these.

The partition also toned down the political temper of the Indian Muslims the bulk of whom belonged to the lower strata of the society. The Muslim leadership was provided from the upper strata of the Muslim society who more or less exploited the religious frenzy and communalism of the community. The pre-Partition philosophy of one God, one Book, one Prophet, one Party and one Leader also disintegrated. All the Muslims from India could not go to Pakistan and India was in no mood to tolerate those who looked beyond India. Whatever the Muslim leadership was available as most of them had left for Pakistan, for some time they tried to build their own image and leadership on the old pattern — the exclusive Muslim politics which was a contradiction in terms in Free India. Secondly, the Muslim masses clearly saw the dangers of such an approach on the basis of their day-to-day life and experience. They fully realised that it was simply not possible to live in isolation.

The first attempt to rehabilitate the Muslims in India was made at the All-India Muslim Convention held at Lucknow in 1948 under the presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. This was a laudable attempt on the part of the man who lived under the showers of abuse and mistrust before 1947, to tell his co-religionists that a separate Muslim

polity was as much out of tune before Partition as after it. But the Muslim community which had been fed on separatism all these years could not change overnight.

Another All-India Muslim Convention was held again at Lucknow in 1949 under the presidency of Mr. Zahir-ul-Hasan Lari. It was a pro-Muslim League gathering. Mr. Lari declared that he was addressing those who had decided to live in India, to fight here and die here and not to those who looked towards Pakistan for inspiration, guidance or survival. But Mr. Lari left for Pakistan soon after!

In 1955, another All-India Muslim Convention was held at Aligarh under the presidency of Mr. Sayyid Badr-ud-duja. In 1958, a U.P. Muslim Convention was held at Lucknow under the presidency of Chaudhari Ni'amatullah. Another All-India Muslim Convention was held at Delhi in 1961-62 A.D. under the presidency of Dr. Syed Mahmud which was followed by Muslim Mushavarti Ijtima' at Lucknow in 1964 again under the presidency of Dr. Syed Mahmud. Besides, the All-India Muslim League now renamed as Indian Union Muslim League and All-India Jami'at-ul-Ulama, held their conferences. Another organisation known as All-India Musiim Jam'at came into being and held its meetings. Apart from these, small Muslim gatherings were held in various parts of the country with the sole object of a person or a group to project itself as the leader of the Muslims just to bargain with political parties, especially with the All-India Congress Committee, for party mandates in connection with seats in the State Assemblies or the Parliament.

When we analyse the basic character of these Muslim organisations and gatherings two

things clearly emerge. In the first place, there was primarily an attempt to fish in troubled waters and trade in the name of the Muslim community to establish oneself as the undisputed leader of the Muslims like Mr. M.A. Jinnah of undivided India. But the socio-economic pressure on the Muslim masses was so great that they simply refused to be led away by these overtures any more fully realising that these manoeuvres were not going to solve any of their problems. They rejected the approach of such leaders. This is obvious from the fact that not one All-India Muslim party could be organised which could claim the support of the Muslim majority as was the case with the erstwhile All-India Muslim League. The very multiplicity of the parties and their programme speaks for the utter confusion and sense of direction and their subsequent failure to attract the attention of the Muslim masses. To elucidate the point one example might suffice. In the 1967 U.P. elections, the Lucknow Cantonment Assembly Constituency had an Electorate of 80,733 of which about 32,000 were Muslims. Sardar Sant Singh was a Swatantra Party candidate and was also supported by Muslim Majlis Mushavarat. The Majlis Mushavarat leaders addressed about a dozen election meetings in this constituency. But Sardar Sant Singh got only 622 votes! A Sikh, a Swatantra candidate, let us suppose, gets all the votes from Muslims. They are 622!! What about the remaining 31,000. This was the hold which the much-publicised Muslim Majlis Mushavarat had on the Muslims!

In the second place, the main problems of the Muslim masses were the same as of the rest of the Indian population except perhaps for Urdu, Personal Law, Religious Education and Aligarh Muslim University. When the wave of Muslim communalism abated and the communal politics subsided, the real dimensions of the problems surfaced

decided to stay in India. They were determined to serve the nation and the country as a whole. For example, the Bhuniya or Naddaf now call themselves Mansoori and they have their all-India organisation called Jamiat-ul-Mansoor. The Chikwa or Cassab have Jamiat-ul-Quraish, the Darzis have Jama'at-i-Idrisi, the Majjams have Jam'at-i-Sulaimani, the Weavers have Momin Ansar Conference the Rangres have Jamiat-us-Sabbagh, the Gaddis or Ghosis have Anjuman-i-Ghausia, and the Kunjras or Sabzi Farosher have Jamiat-ur-Rayeen. Attempts were made and some steps were taken to weld all these working classes into a body and an *ad hoc* committee of the Backward classes Muslim Federation was set up at Lucknow. A similar Federation was envisaged with its headquarters at Delhi. Some sectarian organizations like All-India Shia Conference, All-India Sunni Conference, All-India Sunni Jamiat-ul-Ulama, All-India Ahl-i-Hadis Conference and Jama'at Raza-i-Mustafa also surfaced.

A chain of conventions and conferences of these organisations started all over the country especially in the North. When we go through the resolutions passed at these gatherings one is overwhelmed by the fact that they, almost invariably, demanded those facilities and concessions which the State Governments and the Centre have earmarked for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, mainly scholarships and other educational facilities. To elucidate the point, the U.P. Jamiat-ur-Rayeen, Lucknow submitted a Memorandum to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh which *inter-alia* demanded as follows:-

"2. The Rayeens are educationally very backward on account of their poor economic conditions. Not even one per cent can read and write well. In

order to raise the educational standard of this community the following facilities should be provided for:-

- (a) The Rayeen students should be granted freeship during their school career.
- (b) The Rayeen students should be granted scholarships irrespective of the fact whether they are granted freeships.
- (c) The Rayeen students should be given financial aid to purchase books etc., in connection with their studies.
- (d) The deserving and competent Rayeen students should be afforded facilities in the form of scholarships and travel grants for studies abroad.
- (e) Facilities for admission in technical and vocational institutions should be provided for.

"4. The age-limit in the case of the Rayeens for the purpose of Government services should be raised and put on par with the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes because the Rayeens being educationally backward their children go to schools very late and by the time they complete their education they become over-age for Government service.

"5. The Rayeens should be given preference in the services of the Fruit Development and Fruit Preservation Departments because the services in these departments are more akin to the age-long and hereditary profession of the Rayeen community.

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Besides, the Rayeens should be granted reservation of seats in other services, or they should be given preference in cases where other qualifications of the competing candidates are equal.

"7. The Government have introduced Fruit Preservation scheme. The Rayeens should be especially encouraged and financially assisted in establishing their own Fruit Preservation Centres under the scheme. The Fruit Development Department should be instructed to appoint Advisory Boards in every district and the Rayeen community should be given substantial representation over such Boards.

"8. As the Rayeen community exclusively earns its livelihood through trade in vegetables, fruits and fish, cold storage to preserve such commodities is an indispensable adjunct. Therefore, the Government should establish cold storages at all important places in each district and it should also give loans to the Rayeens to establish cold storage of their own accord at places suitable for the purpose.

"9. As the Rayeen community pays a high amount to Railways every year as transport charges for transport of vegetables, fruits and fish, it is proper that they should be given adequate representation on the Railway Consumer's Advisory Boards.

"11. The control and management of municipal markets concerning vegetable, fruit and fish should be entrusted in the hands of the co-operative societies of fruit and vegetable dealers.

"12. The vegetable, fish and fruit markets should be provided with sheds, facilities for drinking water and adequate arrangement for sanitation should be made.

"13. The Rayeen community should be provided with all the necessary facilities to establish new Mandis in the cities and for extension of old mandies.

"19. The Rayeen hawkers in vegetable and fruits are roughly handled by the Police, Municipal and other Local authorities. They are compelled to pay various exhorbitant taxes like *Tah-bazari*, *Chungi*, etc., whereas one tax at the most is justified according to the merits of each case."

The All-India Rayeen Convention held at Patna in November 1956 passed Resolutions on the lines indicated above in the U.P. Memorandum. It also expressed "its deep sense of gratitude to the President of the Indian Union for appointing a Backward Classes Commission to investigate the backwardness of the people of this country and to suggest ways and means for their uplift." The Convention further requested "the Government to implement the recommendations of the Commission."

After the formation of All-India Jamiat-ur-Rayeen at the Patna Convention, they pressed their demands and in 1973 a comprehensive Memorandum was presented to the Government of India and the State Governments and other concerned Authorities.

The other Backward Classes Muslim organizations passed resolutions at their respective conventions and conferences, submitted

memorandums and pressed their demands touching on their particular trade and vocation. When we compare these demands with the demands and resolutions passed at the All-India Muslim Conventions and Conferences, we find a heaven and hell difference. The latter appear totally ignorant of the problems which the Muslim masses in the street were facing. They were voicing Muslim grievances without identifying them or talked things which were irrelevant under the changed situation after the Partition. There is no denying the fact that it was the self-help approach of the Muslim masses — not of supposed or claimed All-India Muslim leadership — that the Muslim community could gain some economic viability, social adjustment and national identity. It is interesting to note that while the utterances of the Muslim leadership were viewed with suspicion, the common man in the street, both Muslims and non-Muslims, shared the common joys and sufferings of the day-to-day life notwithstanding the chain communal riots fruitlessly aimed at the annihilation of the Muslims from the Indian soil.

The Muslims, by and large, realised that in a secular set up religious instruction was not the responsibility either of the State Government or the Centre and, therefore, organisations like Markaz-i-Islah-i-Tabligh and Anjuman T'alimat-i-Islam sprang up in the Uttar Pradesh. Thus, on the one hand, the Muslims adapted to the trends and the need of a secular country, at the same time they tried to preserve whatever was dear to them. The hawks of All-India Jama'at-i-Islami carried the message of Islam to every nook and corner of the country. But one wishes

that the cause of Islam and Muslim community in India would have been served better and in a more effective way if the Jama'at would have taken care to translate into action the Quranic commandment.

*Wa'atiullah wa 'atiur-Rasul wa ulil
sur-i-minkum*

It is an exercise in futility to find out whether Indian Muslims are still away from the mainstream of the national life. The Muslims are a part and parcel of national mainstream, may be, a handful of self-styled Muslim leaders are still harping on Muslim separatism under the garb of some unrealistic demands. That the Muslims are actively involved in the national life is evident from the political activity of the country. If the Muslims, for thirty long years, were with the All-India Congress Party, considering it as the saviour of the minorities, they broke the myth in the 1977 Parliamentary elections and joined hands with parties like the Jan Sangh and the RSS when they voted for the candidates belonging to these appellations

It is a healthy sign that the Muslim Majlis Mushavarat is now thinking to evolve steps for the removal of backwardness from among the Muslims. With the association of that constructive genius from Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the policy of the Majlis will be more realistic and primarily aimed at the socio-economic uplift and educational betterment of the mass of the Muslim community.

(Professor of History, Post-Graduate Department; University of Kashmir; Srinagar.)

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D. K. Chakrabarty
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Is Ozone Depletion in the Atmosphere A Fact or A Fiction?

IT IS a fact that although our atmosphere is invisible, it is a queer mixture of a large number of gases in various proportions, the majority of which are essential to sustain the form of life on the surface of earth. This atmosphere is being continuously disturbed by pollutants produced by both man-made and natural activities. In case of natural disturbances, the right proportions of atmospheric constituents are relatively quickly restored through natural processes and hence, they are not of much concern to us. The present concern is regarding some man-made disturbances which may, in the long run, cause serious environmental hazards.

Atmosphere—Troposphere

Most man-made impurities are injected into the atmosphere at or near the earth's surface. The part of the atmosphere next to earth is called troposphere. It extends from the ground level to an altitude of about 16 km in the tropics and 8 km near the poles (Fig. 1). In the troposphere, the temperature decreases as the altitude increases and becomes about 210°K (—63°C) at its upper boundary, called tropopause. As a result, movement of air masses called eddy mixing in this region is very rapid, because warmer air tends to rise from below and be replaced by cooler air from above. This produces turbulence, storms and rainfall that remove the impurities of this region.

Impurities may also enter the atmosphere at altitudes above the tropopause. This part of the atmosphere is called stratosphere which extends to an altitude of about 50 km. In the stratosphere, as the altitude increases, the temperature either increases (as happens in tropics) or at first it remains constant and then starts increasing (as in polar region), upto a maximum of about

280°K (7°C) at its upper boundary called the stratopause. As a result, the vertical circulation (eddy mixing) and self-cleaning in this region is much slower than that in the troposphere, because the cooler denser air is in the lower regions. Hence, impurities introduced at a particular altitude in the stratosphere, tend to remain near that altitude for a period of several years.

Sources of Stratospheric Pollution

Supersonic transport aircraft (SSTs) are one of the major sources of stratospheric pollution. Flying normally in the lower part of the stratosphere, these aircraft release exhaust gases which contain water vapour (H_2O), carbon oxides (CO_x), nitrogen oxides (NO_x), sulphur dioxide (SO_2) and

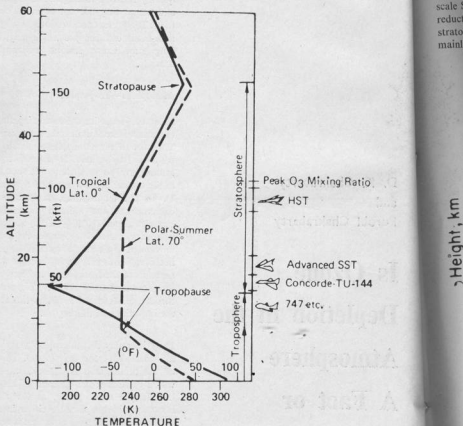


Fig. 1. The temperature of the atmosphere as a function of altitude¹.

gaseous effluents as long as the horizontal dispersion is rapid by any means. The hemisphere they fly.

The current scale SST reduction in the stratosphere mainly in

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gaseous hydro-carbons (C^*H^*). These effluents remain in the stratosphere for as long as three years. Moreover, they spread horizontally (dispersion) comparatively rapidly by wind. Hence, stratosphere fleets of any nation flying anywhere will contaminate the skies of all the nations in the same hemisphere, northern or southern, in which they fly.

The current concern regarding the large scale SST operation is that it may cause a reduction of ozone (O_3) density in the lower stratosphere. Ozone is a trace gas located mainly in the stratosphere. It is customary

to speak of an ozone layer. Although, the concentration of this species never exceeds a few parts per million of total atmospheric gas density (Fig. 2), its destruction to any significant degree may cause seriously harmful biological and climatic effects. This is because, it does not allow harmful radiations from above the atmosphere to reach the earth's surface. The radiations emitted from the sun contain all the wavelengths from very small gamma-rays to very large radio waves. Of these, the adirations of wavelengths shorter than 2950\AA ($1\text{\AA} = 1/100,000,000\text{ cm}$) are harmful but never reach the earth's surface. These are absorbed by the different

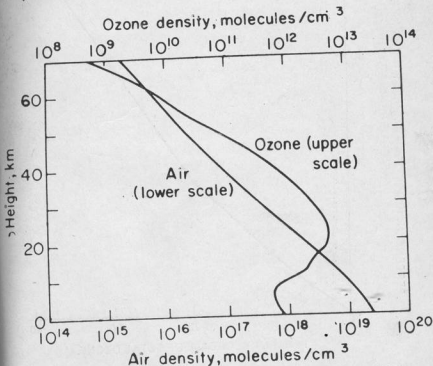


Fig. 2. The height distributions of number densities of air and ozone¹.

gases of the atmosphere. The ozone layer starts absorbing the radiations from wavelength about 3200\AA and does not allow any radiations of wavelength shorter than 2950\AA to pass through; hence this is called the cut off wavelength. Variations in the ozone content of the stratosphere shift this cut off wavelength. For example,

a reduction in the ozone density allows more shorter wavelength UV (ultra-violet) radiation to pass through (Fig. 3). The radiation in the wavelength band of 3200\AA - 2950\AA is called UV-B. It is to this UV-B that the skin of many people is vulnerable and a prolonged exposure to it causes sun burn and skin cancer. Studies show that a

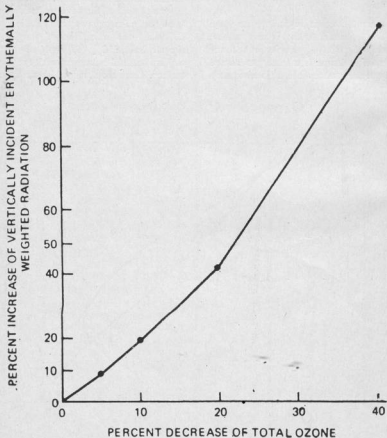


Fig. 3. Per cent change in dose of vertically incident erythemally weighted radiation vs. per cent change in ozone column².

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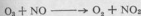
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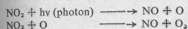
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1 per cent decrease in the ozone content would give a 2 per cent increase in the UV-B flux. It is estimated that this, in turn, would lead to about 10,000 additional cases of skin cancer per year. Besides, photo-synthesis of plants would be inhibited and their growth would be reduced and some plants can even die due to the increase of UV radiation. In addition, the atmospheric temperature would be likely to change due to the change in the UV flux, thus causing change in the overall global climate. A summary of all the important harmful effects due to the increased UV radiation at the ground level has been prepared by an expert committee of U.S. Academy of Sciences.

SST aircraft releases NO_x in the path of its flight. In the combustion chamber NO_x is about 95% NO and 5% NO_2 and after emission, the NO is converted to NO_2 via.



This NO_2 is restored by sunlight to NO by photolysis and also by reacting with O as:-



so that NO destroys O_3 continuously. Here NO acts as a catalyst which in the stratosphere can be H, OH or Cl.

Threats

Very recently, two more potential threats have entered the ozone scene. They are (i) the liberation of chlorine from halogenated aliphatic hydro carbons as a consequence of their increased use as aerosol propellant and as refrigerants and (ii) the increase of biospheric nitrous oxide emission due to man's increased use of nitrogen fertilizers. In the first category, the most important contributors are trichlorofluoromethane,

CFC13 (trade name freon — 11) and dichlorofluoromethane, CF_2Cl_2 (trade name freon — 12). They are also denoted as CFM (Chlorofluoromethane) — 11 and CFM — 12. These compounds can remain in the atmosphere for 40-150 years. It seems most of CFMs 11 and 12, ever released, have accumulated in the atmosphere, and a percentage of them is regularly reaching the stratosphere. There is evidence that they are being photo-dissociated producing Cl atoms which have a potential of catalytically reducing O_3 . The existence of Cl and ClO has been detected in the stratosphere. This demonstrates that the Chlorine-Ozone chemistry is not a theoretical myth but a reality in the stratosphere.

The problem of second category could be even greater than that of CFMs because this is intimately connected with the amount of our food production. It appears that N_2O , a product of biological denitrification in the soil, does not get easily "rained out" in the troposphere, diffuses on to the stratosphere, reacts with atomic oxygen, gets converted to NO and NO_2 , which then act as a catalytic agent to destroy O_3 in the stratosphere.

Our expectations are that the world population will be doubled by 2025 A.D. Proportionately, the food production has to increase. The energy needs of the nations are now doubling every 10 years. Also the world air traffic will grow 9 fold by 1990 and almost 20 fold by the year 2000 from that of 1970. If a substantial portion of the traffic is carried by SST's, about 500 SST's are required in 1990 and nearly 2000 SST's in the 2000. These figures speak for themselves, and indicate our potential to pollute the atmosphere.

Evaluation

Realizing the gravity of the problem, in

1970, the Climatic Impact Assessment Programme (CIAP) was initiated, on a global scale, to evaluate whether impurities from flights of aircraft as high as in the stratosphere could alter the proportion of atmospheric trace constituents with harmful results to the earth's environment. Several institutions and individuals participated in this programme. The CIAP ended in 1975. During the period, 1970-75, CIAP conducted an extensive study of the environmental impacts, both theoretical as well as experimental. Although, our present knowledge is definitely better than what we had in 1970, at the time when CIAP was initiated, yet the magnitude of the problem is so great that CIAP could only recognise that NOx and SO₂, the two exhaust pollutants, can indeed perturb the natural stratosphere and therefore, our living environment. Also, it has been able to identify that the stratosphere may soon be affected by the injection of Cl and N₂O which result from widespread use of freons in spray cans and nitrogen fertilizer in soil. It may be worthwhile to add here that the U.S. Government has restricted the flying of the supersonic concorde aircraft in her country. And after U.S.A., Sweden is likely to be the next country to ban the manufacture and use of

CFC propellant gas in aerosol sprays from 1979.

In order to fully understand the effects of these gases, we must first understand the physics and chemistry of the natural atmosphere and then the interaction of the exhaust gases with the stratosphere (Fig. 4). This is done through a numerical atmosphere model calculation by solving all the relevant photo-chemical equations in which the effect of dynamics is also included for the dispersal of impurities from the source-region. The results of such a model calculation have been shown in Table I which will give an idea of the reduction of O₃ and increase of UV radiation by SST operations at various altitudes.

The accuracy of the estimation given in Table I depends critically on the values of chemical reaction rates concerning the production and loss of O₃, NOx and SO₂, eddy diffusion coefficients and wind fields. One, two and three dimensional model estimations of this type have been made by several authors. Wide differences in their results are seen. This is mainly due to the differing assumptions of vertical, eddy diffusion coefficients. Our knowledge of all

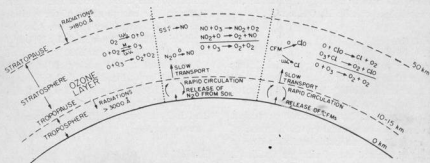


Fig. 4. Ozone formation and removal processes in the unperturbed and perturbed atmosphere³.

Table 1. Decrease of Stratospheric Ozone and Increase of Effective UV Radiation due to SST.

Fleet	Height of operation (KM)	% decrease of O ₃	% increase of effective UV radiation at ground
100 present SST	16.5	0.7	1.4
100 large SST	19.5	3.3	6.5
500 large SST (in 1990 A.D.)	16.5	11.0	22.0
19.5	19.5		
2000 large SST (in 2005 A.D.)	16.5	30.0	Large
19.5	19.5		

chemical reactions and their rates is not yet complete. This will be clear from the recent study of P. Fabian⁴ who pointed out that SST flight might even lead to an increase in the O₃ density. This is due to the fact that the latest measured rate coefficient of the reaction:



is found to be 20 times larger than that being used in previous studies. Inert gases may also seriously affect our conclusion. Attention to this aspect has very recently been drawn by K.S. Groves, S.R. Mottingly and A.F. Tuck⁵. They show that the increase of CO₂ will increase the O₃ budget of our atmosphere. It is also established now that the CO₂ content of our atmosphere is on the increase⁶. The wind field plays a vital role in dispersing impurities from the source-region. No reliable data are available on this important parameter.

We thus see that the chemistry chain controlling the loss and production of O₃ in the atmosphere is very complex and there exist significant uncertainties at several crucial points in this chain. As a consequence, it is not possible to say, at present, conclusively, how much of the change in O₃ is due to natural variability and how much is due to man-made activities. With the passage of time, however, most of the uncertainties will disappear and we will be able to come to a definite conclusion. But, let it not be too long a period, so that before a preventive step could be taken, a hazard might have already occurred.

Acknowledgement

We thank Prof. S.P. Pandya for his critical comments and valuable suggestions.

(Physical Research Laboratory,
Ahmedabad)

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Om Prakash
and
Shitala Prasad

Indian Labour Movement*—I

PREFACE

THE trade unions have a hand in the uplift and the economic reconstruction of the country. They play an important part in the economic and social world of today, in as much as they check repressive and reactionary tendencies, and are instrumental in providing fair remuneration and working conditions to the workers. In an undeveloped or under-developed country, the utility of trade unions is enhanced as they have constantly to contribute in the progress of the country working under the framework of political and social conditions prevailing in the country. No doubt these conditions give a colouring to the organisational set up and functioning of the trade union organisations. The assistance of the trade unions is expected in establishing a socialistic society in the country.

In India, most of the information published with regard to the events connected with the trade union movement have done nothing but to add uncertainty and confusion in thinking on the subject. Many publications have only served to perplex rather than enlighten those interested in the serious study of the labour movement. Hence there is a need for a clear understanding of the development of the movement at various stages. With this in view an attempt has been made to compile events phase-wise, starting from the ancient time.

We hope this write up will help the common man to get acquainted with the development of the Indian labour movement. We are thankful to the writers and thinkers, whose publications on the subject have been of utmost use in writing this piece.

From very early days craftsmen and workers of India felt the necessity of being united. The description of unions of workmen in

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different occupations is found at many places in the Vedic literature. The Vedas advise men to be united in their work, with love and without any antagonism amongst themselves, just as from times immemorial the sun, moon, stars, wind, fire and other divine powers have been performing their duties without any mutual opposition:-

‘संयच्छ्वं सं वदध्वं सं वो मनांसि जानताम् ।
देवाभाम् यथा पूर्वं संजानाना उपासते ॥’

The Rigveda enjoins as follows, “You should be united in your hearts, feelings and opinions. You should be mentally united so that your united power may develop”:-

‘समानी व आकूतिः समाना हृदयानि वः ।
समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहसति ॥’

The Atharva Veda also advises this kind of union, “You should all advance with truthful, palatable and beneficial speech. Do not be divided amongst yourselves. Do not oppose one another and live peacefully and unitedly together.”

‘भा वियोष्ट अग्नौ अग्न्यस्मै वल्गु वदन्त एत ॥’

The Shukla Yajurveda Samhita has stated that if men are united, nothing can deter them. Thus the utility of union has been illustrated:-

‘अनावृष्टाः सीदत सहो जसः ।’

We find used in Rigveda the words ‘Gana’ and ‘Vrat’.⁵ Aitareya Brahmana contains the word ‘Sheshthi’.⁶ The Vajasaneyi Samhita refers to ‘Gana’ and ‘Ganapati’.⁷ The Arthashastra considers a ‘shreni’ to mean a group of employees.⁸ Other shastras use the words Shreni, Puga, Gana, Vrat and Sangha to indicate what Katyayana, calls groups:-

‘यथाः पाण्ड्य पृगाश्च व्राताश्च श्रेण्यस्तथा ।
समुहस्याश्च ये वान्ये वर्गस्यास्ते बृहस्पतिः ॥’

The word ‘Shreni’ is used in the Vedic literature to mean a group. The Rigveda states that the horses grouped themselves together like the swans:-

हंसा इव श्रेणिषो यतन्ते यदालिपुर्दिव्यमज्यमदवाः ।¹⁰

The Apastamba Dharmasutra refers to a body of Brahmacharis going together to beg for alms:-

‘तस्माद् ह वै ब्रह्मचारिण इव चरन्तं न प्रस्थावकीर्ताणि
हेतुष्वेवंविध एव व्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम् ॥’

From the Mahabhashya of Patanjali, we know that ‘Vrat’ meant a society of men of different castes who had no definite means of earning a livelihood:-

‘नाना जातीया अनियतवृत्तस्य उत्तरेषु जीवितः सङ्घा ।
व्रतः तेषां कर्मव्रतं तेन व्रत कर्मणा जीवतीति
व्रातीनः ॥’

The following extract from the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad illustrates the corporate nature of economic activity in ancient India:-

‘स नैव श्रमवत् स विश्वमसृजत, याग्येतानि देवजातानि
मणस आत्मायन्ते ॥’

In the Vedic period we find the development of different crafts and the initial formation of the employees’ unions.¹⁴ According to Prof. K.T. Shah, the employees’ unions of ancient times can well bear comparison with the labour unions of the present times.¹⁵ The Vaishyas and Shudras, by forming these unions, could successfully face the ill-treatment at the hands of the higher castes and could also improve their economic condition.¹⁶

In the ancient times the unions gradually gained strength so that the employees could

improve their condition. The artisans and craftsman had so much improved their position that they could get fair wages without any external help.¹⁷ The work of these unions was not limited to the betterment of the lot of members only but they also undertook works of public utility such as the construction of rest-houses for the travellers, temples, tanks, etc. To serve the poor was also one of their duties:-

सभाप्रपदेषु तद्वागाराम संस्कृतिः ।
तथानाथदरिद्राणां संस्कारो यजन क्रिया ॥
कुलायनं निरोपश्च कार्यमस्माभिरक्षतः ।
यत्रैल्लिखितं सम्यक्प्रमया सा समय क्रिया ॥¹⁸

These unions of those ancient times were helpful not only in the evolution of arts like sculpture but were powerful centres of arts themselves. On account of their liberal culture and high progress they had become ornaments of the society.¹⁹

Gautama states that the farmers, merchants, cattle breeders and artisans worked under the recognised rules of their unions:-

देशजाति कुल धर्माश्चाम्नायैर विरुद्धाः प्रमाणम् ।
कर्षकं यणिकं पशुपालं कुसीदि कारवः स्वे स्वे बर्णे ॥²⁰

Sometimes, the irresponsible action of a person resulted in trouble for the whole union as when a man disturbs a honeycomb, the evil effects of his action have to be borne by the neighbours:-

एकः पापानि कुल्लेफलं भुङ्क्ते महाजनः ।
भोक्तारो विप्रमुच्यन्ते कर्ता दोषेण लिप्यते ॥²¹

So, Brihaspati wants that the presidents of the unions should be expert, capable and reliable persons:-

'शुचयो वेद धर्मज्ञा दक्षा दान्ताः कुलोद्भवाः ।
सर्वं कार्यं प्रवीणाश्च कर्तव्यास्तु महत्तमाः ॥²²

There were hard-and-fast rules for the membership of the unions so that responsible persons could become members. It was not, therefore, the practice to allow idle, old or very young men as well as those who have no self-confidence, to become members of a union:-

'विद्वेषिणो व्यसनिनः शालीनाल समीरवः ।
सुव्याति बुद्धबालाश्च न कार्याः कार्यचिन्तकाः ॥²³

The work of these unions was carried on according to democratic principles. If the chief of a union tried to obstruct or harm a member through malice, it was the king's duty to intervene:-

'बाधां कुर्युर्देकस्य सम्भूता द्वेष संयुताः ।
राजाति विनिवार्यस्तु शास्त्राश्चैवानुबन्धिताः ॥²⁴

If a dispute arose between the President and the members of a union, it was the duty of the King to intervene and bring about a conciliation:-

'मुक्यैः सह समूहानां विसंवादो यदा भवेत् ।
तदा विचारयेद्राजा स्वमार्गं स्थापयेच्चतान् ॥²⁵

According to Brihaspati, the King had to accept the decision of a union about the members of the union, be it kind or harsh.²⁶ Kautilya has given a good description of the unions of employees, craftsmen or artisans. According to him the work of the unions should be controlled by a Board of three Directors. He has stated that the entrance and the membership fees should be paid to the President of the union.²⁷ The profit earned by the unions was equally distributed among their members:-

'संघभूताः संभूयसमुत्पातारो वा यथा संभाषितं वेतनं
समं वा विभजेरन् ॥²⁸

The unions of artisans and labourers to become stronger made an agreement

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amongst themselves. These agreements were made in the presence of a mediator or they were noted in black-and-white:-

"कोणेन लेख्य क्रिययामध्यस्वैवपरस्परम् ।
विस्वातं प्रथमं कृत्वा कुर्युः कार्याण्यनन्तरम् ॥²⁹

To keep the members disciplined, much emphasis was laid on proper performance of duty by the members. They could not be forgiven for dereliction of their duties towards the union of which they were members:-

"जाति श्रेण्यधिवासानां कुलधर्माव च सर्वतः ।
वर्गयति च ये धर्मो तेषां धर्मो न विधत्ते ॥³⁰

According to Manu, a member of the union transgressing its rules and constitution deserves to be punished with fine and even imprisonment:

"यो ग्राम देश संधानां कृत्वा सत्येन संविदम् ।
विसंबदेन्नरो सोभातं राष्ट्राद्धिं प्रवासयेत् ॥
निगृह्य दापयेच्चैनं समयम्यभिचारिणम् ।
बधुः सुवर्णान् पणिष्काञ्छतमानं च राजतम् ॥³¹

Yajnavalkya is of the opinion that the private property of a person who misappropriates the property of the union should be confiscated and he should be banished from the nation. Similarly, if a member acts contrary to the rules of the union or does not perform his duty properly, he should be punished:-

"यण द्रव्यं हरेद्यस्तु संविदं लक्षयेष्वयः ।
सर्वस्वहरणम् कृत्वा तं राष्ट्राद्विषप्रवासयेत् ॥
कर्तव्यं वचनं सर्वैः समूहं हितवादिनाम् ।
यस्तत्र विपरीतः स्वात्स दाप्यः प्रथमं दमम् ॥³²

If a member has a dispute with other members, or if he is negligent of his duty, he could be fined 24 Nishkas:-

"सत्रभेदमुपेक्षां वा यः कश्चिच्छुक्ते नरः ।
चतुः सुवर्णाः पणिष्कास्तस्यदण्डोविधीयते ॥³³

In the opinion of Kautilya if a member commits theft or a crime, he should be forgiven for the first-time but if he repeats his crime or if his crime is serious, he should be treated as a criminal.³⁴ It was considered unethical to create differences among the members of the union and the offender was punished.³⁵

During the Ramayan period artisans or labourers working in the same industry had their own unions. These unions were affiliated to the bigger unions of different industries called 'Naigam' (corporation). These corporations held an important position in civic and political matters. The representatives of such corporations had come to attend the proposed ceremony of installing Rama as heir apparent:-

"धोरजान पदश्रेष्ठा नैगमादच गर्वाः सहूः ।
अभिषेकाय रामस्य सहतिष्ठन्ति पाषिदैः ॥³⁶

The corporators had accompanied Bharat to Chitrakut to receive Rama and bring him back to Ayodhya:-

"ये च सत्रापरे सर्वे सम्मता ये च नैगमाः ।
रामं प्रति यगृह्ण्टाः सर्वाः प्रकृतयः युष्माः ॥³⁷

These included jewellers, ivory-workers, wood-carvers and such other persons of the labouring class.³⁸ These corporators took part in the coronation ceremony of Rama :-

"योधैर्चैवाभ्यविष्टे सम्ग्रहृष्टैः सर्वगर्वाः ॥³⁹

In this connection four words are found in the aphorisms of Panini, viz., Gana, Puga, Vrat and Sangha, all meaning a union. Early Buddhist works contain the words Sangha, Puga, Sena and Gana. The word 'Sangha' is used in the sense of religious unions in the Buddha and Jain works. From the descriptions of Puga and Shreni it appears that these institutions aimed at

making commercial progress. Almost every craft, profession or occupation had its own union which was called 'Shreni'. Every 'Shreni' included about a thousand members. The Shreni elected its chief who was called Pamukha (Pramukha) or Jyesthaka (President) or elder.⁴⁹

The Jyesthakas represented their unions and were treated with respect in the King's court. They were given high posts in the court.⁴¹ The trainees in a Shreni were called 'Antewasina' (disciples)⁴² The Jatakas mention the 'Jyesthakas' of the unions of boatmen, gardeners, caravans of traders.⁴³

From the 15th inscription of Nasik, we come to know that the employees' unions in the professions of oilmen, potters and watermen had fixed deposits of 500, 1000 and 2000 Karshapanas respectively. From the interest on these deposits medical treatment was given to the people.⁴⁴ The inscriptions No. 9 and 10 at Nasik refer to a donation kept as a fixed deposit with the union of weavers.⁴⁵ We know of a union of the grinders of corn into flour from the Brahmi stone inscription at Mathura.⁴⁶ We find that some amount was kept as fixed deposit with the unions of the bamboo workers and bronze workers.⁴⁷ The Indore copper plate of Skandagupta mentions money deposited with the union of oilmen.⁴⁸ The creation of a temple dedicated to the Sun God at Dashapura in Malwa by the union of the weavers of silken cloth residing in the province of Lat (South Gujrat) is mentioned.⁴⁹ From what has been stated above the employees' unions of those times seem to have been well-managed, economically strong and enjoying the confidence of the community.

We know of eighteen unions of Buddhist times.⁵⁰ The line of thought followed in the

Cambridge History of India that there were only four organised labour unions, does not appear to be sound.⁵¹ Shri R.C. Majumdar has prepared the following list of unions on the authority of Jataka and other works as well as inscriptions.⁵²

(1) Workers in wood (carpenters including cabinet makers, wheelwrights, builders of houses, builders of ships and vehicles of all sorts), (2) workers in metal, including gold and silver, (3) Leather workers, (4) Ivory workers, (5) Dyers, (6) Jewellers, (7) Fisher folk, (8) Butchers, (9) Barbers and shampoos, (10) Garland makers and flower sellers, (11) Sailors, (12) Rush workers and basket makers, (13) Painters, (14) Caravan traders, (15) Forest Police who guarded the Caravans (16) Weavers, (17) Potters, (18) workers fabricating hydraulic engines, (19) Oilmillers, (20) Bamboo workers, (21) Braziers (Kasakara), (22) Corn dealers, (23) Cultivators, (24) Money-lenders, (25) Traders, (26) Herdsmen, (27) Workers in stone, (28) Robbers and freebooters.

The Jatakas tell us that the heads of the guilds sometimes held high posts in the state and were favourites of the King.⁵³

In describing the marriage ceremony of Princess Rajyashri, Bana has mentioned the unions of leather-workers, carpenters and plasterers.⁵⁴ After Harshavardhana, during the rule of the Gurjara Pratihara traces are found of the unions of the potters, dealers in betel leaf, and merchants dealing in the sale and purchase of horses.⁵⁵ Besides the Shreni and the Sangha, there were unions of labourers as well as of the employers at Kanauj.⁵⁶ The inscription in the cave temples of Maharashtra refer to donations by the unions of goldsmiths, carpenters and farmers.⁵⁷ A reference is found to the deposit of money with the union of weavers. With the proceeds of this deposit the

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During the days of Vikramaditya of Ujjain artisans and craftsmen were called Karu Silpi (worker or one knowing some art). They were well organised in guilds known as Shreni or Kula. They had their own byelaws for the management of the union. The head of a Shreni or Kula was called Kulaka or Kulashresthi.⁵⁹ During the days of Kalidas, the skilled workers' unions were called Sangha. In the Raghuvansha⁶⁰ we find mention of the union of sculptors, and in the Abhigyan Shakuntalam occurs the name of the chief of a union.⁶¹ We also find the words 'Naigama'⁶² and 'Shreshtin'.⁶³

We find from the Gupta inscriptions that every union had a leader who had some influence on the administration of the country.⁶⁴ In the dramatic literature of the Gupta times, there is a reference to unions. The Mudrarakshasa describes the union of Shreshtins in Pataliputra.⁶⁵ From the Mangoli inscription it is known that donations were given by the unions of oilmen, weavers and basket makers.⁶⁶ The system of administering the unions is also found. The union of the weavers of Lakshmeshvara had four presidents and its membership was two thousands. There were fifteen persons on the managing committee of the union of Virabalanju described in the Miraj inscription.⁶⁷

The condition of the employees was deplorable in the Muslim rule on account of the autocratic rule of the rulers. The *farman* (order) of the Emperor or the Governor could force labourers to leave their home to work on any wages.⁶⁸ According to Moreland, the wages of employees were very meagre. They could get regular meals only once in a day.⁶⁹ The labourers

of the Mughal times were entirely dependent on the higher classes and forced work was taken from them. If the master so desired, he would pay the wages to the labourers; otherwise he could drive him out of his house. The master was wholly independent and there was no appeal against his decision.⁷⁰

During the Muslim rule labourers and employees gradually lost the feeling of democracy. They were afraid to join any union, as by doing so they would incur the displeasure of the ruler. Thus the unions, continuously going on from the Vedic times, came to an end. As a result it may be said that there was no organisation of workers during the Mughal rule which could tackle and solve the difficulties and problems of the members.⁷¹

As a consequence of industrialisation, the unions of industrial workers developed too in India like other countries of the world. The beginning of Industrial era in India may be reckoned from the middle of the 19th century of the Christian era. In 1853, the first textile mill was started in Bombay. Other industries were started in different Industrial cities and the number of employees in these industries began to grow by leaps and bounds. Due to the concentration and heavy pressure of population in the villages and subsequent deterioration of cottage industries, people from villages gradually began to crowd the cities in search of livelihood. In industrial towns where men poured in large numbers arose different problems, such as of low wages, more working hours etc. The employees began to think over such problems and take certain decisions collectively. Thus a sense of class-consciousness began to grow among the industrial workers. Due to the large number of employees, it became rather impossible to have personal contact with the employer. So the employees felt the need to

constitute themselves into trade unions, to solve their problems by concerted actions.

In order to gauge the different phases of trade unions in India, the movement may be divided into the following periods:-

1. First period from 1875 to 1918

2. Second period from 1919 to 1924
3. Third period from 1925 to 1935
4. Fourth period from 1936 to 1946
5. Fifth period from 1947 to the present-day.

(To be continued)

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1919 to 1924
1925 to 1935
1936 to 1946
1947 to the present-day.

(To be continued)

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* The present is the first of series of four articles on the History of Indian Labour Movement from early Vedic times to the present-day.

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K. D. Bajpai

A Study of Ancient India with Special Reference to Planning and Sanitation

Importance

FOR a developed Urban life, the importance of proper town-planning can hardly be over-estimated. In the present scientific age it is necessary that our towns and cities should be well-planned and kept neat and clean. Unwieldy, mushroom growth of buildings and all possible causes for pollution are to be avoided. With the growth of population and industrialisation in the modern Urban sector, it is all the more necessary to eliminate the factors responsible for pollution.

It would be useful here to know the salient features of our ancient town-planning. True it is that the number of towns in ancient India was rather small. It is also known that the rate of population growth was not so alarming as it is in the present times. The village formed an important socio-economic unit in the past. The growth of township largely depended upon the industrial growth of a particular area. Nevertheless, the literary and archaeological source-material indicates that during the Early and the Medieval periods of Indian history towns of various categories had sprung up in different parts of the country.

Town Planning of Indus-Valley Cities

We have some definite details regarding town-planning of the Indus-Valley cities; particularly of the two capitals, Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The old town of Harappa in West Punjab, was located on the confluence of two branches of the river Ravi, a tributary of the Indus. A mud-brick rampart wall was constructed to protect the town from the floods of the river. Mohenjodaro in Sindh stood on an island, which formed a strip of land between the main Indus bed and the Nara loop. An embankment was constructed to protect the city from the

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river floods, which were more numerous there than at Harappa.

The excavations have clearly shown that there was a uniform lay-out of both the cities having a fortified citadel. A few unusual buildings were constructed there on a mud-brick platform about 30 feet high. These were probably meant for the controlling authority and other high-ups.

The chief rampart of Harappa was made of mud-bricks, battered internally and externally and faced with a revetment of burnt bricks on the outside. The entire structure was 40 feet wide at its base and was 35 feet high. The main buildings were constructed inside a planned parallelogram 1200 x 600 feet. The defensive wall was reinforced by rectangular houses with single storey. The houses at Harappa belonging to the second category, were almost twice the size of those at Mohenjodaro.

Proper arrangement for big and small granaries also existed in these cities. The industrial area was separated from the main habitation.

The water supply was also well-planned out. There was an adequate number of public wells with brick linings. Some wells were owned by private people. The excavators of these two great towns have opined that necessary steps were taken to keep the towns neat and clean.

As regards the towns during the Ancient and Medieval periods the available evidence indicates that the traditional features of the town-planning and sanitation were followed in them. Several Greek, Roman, Chinese and Arab travellers, who visited Indian capital-towns and ports have given interesting accounts of them.

Inscriptions and literary texts throw welcome light on Indian town-planning. The excavations conducted at some well-known historical towns have corroborated the literary evidence.

Civic and domestic engineering sciences are correlated to each other. The town-planning authorities had to exercise some control operation between the civic and the domestic architects is essential to maintain harmony and methodicity concerning the rows of houses in a particular quarter. It is also necessary to maintain proper sanitation.

The construction of buildings should not be left to the individual householders or even to the building engineer. It is necessary to have a superior controlling authority to enforce the rules of sanitation.

The ancient Indian town-planners were alive to the importance of the public buildings also. These buildings were not constructed in a haphazard manner. Their civic utility was properly recognised.

The sense of civic integrity, advocated by ancient Indian town-planners, can prove to be extremely useful to our present-day town-planners, particularly in regard to the problem of pollution.

There are numerous references in the *Rāmāyana*, the *Māhabhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other works to indicate that big towns had come into existence in various parts of the country. This happened from about c. 200 B.C. when the development of urbanisation assumed a definite form and the baked bricks began to be used in plenty.

During the time of the Buddha, some of the capitals of the sixteen great kingdoms (*Māhajanapadas*) were described as big flourishing towns.

In ancient Indian literature terms like *nagara*, *paṭṭana* and *pura* are often mentioned. They stand for various types of towns and cities. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya throws valuable light on planning of towns and forts.

Development of Township

Epigraphical evidence and the accounts of some foreign writers, referring to towns, are not of much avail for the study of the technique, nature and gradual development of township. Early inscriptions generally eulogise the capitals of kingdoms, speaking of their sky-touching palaces and temples. Some of the Greek, Roman and Chinese travellers, followed the Arab writers, mention the chief towns including some of the posts and mart-towns visited by them. The accounts given by several of them, like Megasthenes, Pliny, Ptolemy, the writer of 'the *Periplus*', Hiuen-Tsang and Sulaiman are of importance for the knowledge of ancient Indian towns, the internal and external trade routes and commodities of export and import.

The archaeological source-material is helpful for the present study, although it may be stated that very few ancient towns have so far been horizontally excavated. The artefacts excavated from the early historical towns have not been adequately studied in a comparative way to determine the material and cultural development of our ancient towns.

Urban Life

The Indus Valley culture undoubtedly represents a developed urban life. Its period is bracketed between c. 2500 and 1750

B.C. After the end of this culture till the emergence of the early historical period in c. 6th century B.C. there is a long gap of about a millennium. It is supposed by some scholars that the town-building activity ended abruptly with the end of the Indus Valley culture and emerged, after the long gap, in the 6th century B.C. Sufficient archaeological material has not come to our help to vouchsafe the continuation of townships after the end of the Harappan culture. At the same time it is not possible to believe that the art of town-building abruptly died out for over one thousand years and emerged again, with full force, in c. 600 B.C. The excavations at sites like Eran, Ujjain and Kauśāmbi have brought to light at least some evidence to support our contention that town-building activities continued, in some form or the other, even after the fall of the Indus Valley culture. The late Vedic literature supports the view that some towns did exist in the Madhyadeśa region before c. 6th century. B.C.

Now the question arises : had the towns of the *Mahājanapada* period any impact of the Indus Valley cities on them or did they have an independent origin altogether? The answer to this question requires a thorough study of the Vedic literature as well as of the works like the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the epics, the Buddhist and Jain literature. This question is linked with another one. It is : whether the historical Indian cities had an indigenous growth or were they imitations of some foreign cities. The available material, at any rate, disproves the theory of foreign influence on the ancient Indian towns.

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Indian and Chinese Minorities in Burma and Malaysia: Retrospect and Prospect

Concept of Minority

MINORITY is a term used in several senses.¹ Here it refers to a non-dominant group or portion of a society which differs from the rest on one or more grounds such as race, religion, language or nationality and preserves or wishes to preserve its own identity. It is generally assigned a lower status and sometimes deprived of equal political, economic and social opportunities. The members of a minority group are generally viewed with suspicion and prejudices and subjected to exclusion and differential treatment. They lead somewhat segregated and self-contained life. Thus minority is a social group having following basic characteristics:

1. It is smaller than the majority.
2. Members of a minority differ on the basis of one or more grounds like race, religion, language or nationality from the majority of the inhabitants and it preserves or at least wishes to preserve its own identity.
3. The concept of minority involves sets of behaviour like self-segregation from within and exclusion and differential treatment from outside. The majority harbours suspicion and prejudices against the minority. As a result majority-minority relations invariably involves some sort of mutual conflict.
4. Minority is a subordinate group. It lacks in power. It is generally given a lower status in some or the other area of intercourse like economic, political, social and legal. More often minority people are not given entry in majority's organizations and fail to avail the status which the majority avails. They are generally deprived of enjoying full

political privileges. They are mostly assigned to a lower occupation or a lower position in an occupation.

5. The members of a minority group identify themselves on the above counts and are identified by others on their prejudices. A minority may be an indigenous group or alien.

Taking the above points into consideration the two communities—Chinese and Indians may fairly be regarded as minority groups in both the countries Malaysia and Burma. Malaysia is predominantly populated by Chinese whereas Burma by Indians, although the two constitute significant minority groups in both of them.

Object of Study

Indian and Chinese had been two major immigrant groups in South East Asian countries since ancient times. However, especially during the colonial period their movement towards South East Asian countries in general and Burma and Malaysia in particular accelerated. In due course many of the migrants settled in these two countries. But their settlement while on one hand solved their dilemma by ultimately fixing their loyalties to the land of their adoption, on the other, gave rise to many problems, prominent among them is the problem of their adjustment with the local community. More precisely the object of this paper is to examine the major problems of Indian and Chinese communities in the social and cultural milieu of the new land in which they live, and to make a comparative study of each in the two different settings. The analysis is based on secondary sources, and adopts a sociological perspective in so far as it deals the problem in a framework of inter-group relation. The focus here is on the mutual

relationship between the two, the majority and the minority groups in their various spheres of life. While doing so the relevant social processes such as conflict, accommodation and assimilation have also been taken into account.

Population

MALAYSIA: There are some 4.0 million Chinese living in Malaysia out of these some 3.7 millions live in Peninsular Malaysia only.² They formed dominant minority groups constituting 34.14 per cent of the total population.³ Thus it consists of the largest overseas Chinese population. Indians constitute the second largest minority group having about 9 per cent of the total population.⁴ They are 1.1 million in number.⁵ The percentage of Chinese in the total population increased in 1970 as compared to the 1921, roughly to the extent (5 per cent approx.) the Indian proportion decreased. The Chinese population has in fact, consistently increased since 1921.⁶ Although the rate of growth of Chinese population during 1921-1947 was much higher whereas in the later period it slightly diminished.⁷ This is because there had been large scale immigration of Chinese during 1921 to 1940. But thereafter their free immigration was put under effective control. The Indian population had also increased between 1920-1931 but it declined significantly during 1931-47 following the restrictions imposed in 1931 and due to the Japanese occupation.⁸ It shows that a large number of Indians repatriated during the Second World War.

BURMA:⁹ Although Burma had a long common border with China, nevertheless it has the least Chinese population as compared to other South East countries. As per 1931 census the Chinese were 193,594 in number. In 1947 their number was estimated to be 300,000.¹⁰ The present estimat-

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ed population of Chinese in Burma is 350,000.¹¹ Unlike in Malaysia Indians formed the largest alien minority in Burma. In 1931 there were 1,018,825 Indians, nearly five times the number of Chinese in Burma.¹² The Indian population during 1921 to 1931 went on increasing steadily but thereafter it greatly diminished. It was mainly because in 1931 Burma was separated from India and the hitherto free access of Indians in Burma was hampered. On the other hand the Chinese number in Burma went on increasing continuously.¹³ It so happened because the Burma government on one hand enforced Emergency Immigration Act 1947 and applied strict measures to restrict further Indian immigration while on the other it exerted high pressure on Indians to migrate back to their home land. But in the case of the Chinese, until quite recently, the Burma government was non-serious to check their flow and the immigration act 1947 was also loosely applied to them. However, by now the Indian population in Burma is estimated to be 1,650,000.¹⁴

Chinese

About 15 million Chinese are nowadays living in the South East Asian countries, constituting the largest minority group in the area. Except in Burma they generally occupy dominant position in national affairs as compared to other immigrant minorities.

Chinese in Malaysia — Chinese in Malaysia are mostly concentrated in towns, tin mines or new settlements.¹⁵ They are not only numerous but economically and culturally strong too. In fact the Malaysian economy is in the Chinese 'grip'. They own oil mills, biscuit factories, rubber works, iron foundries, saw mills and sauce factories. The growing pineapple industry, cured and dried

fish trade, pig and poultry rearing are also mainly in Chinese hands. They are running shipping companies, motor agencies, repair shops and laundries.¹⁶ They also dominate in commerce especially in retail trade. The Chinese constitute dominant labour force particularly in tin and few other minings like coal, gold and iron.¹⁷ But the Chinese economic interest and hitherto dominance have been greatly threatened with effect from the enforcement of the New Economic Policy (NEP) at the implementation of the second Malaysian plan in 1971. The plan laid down as its major goals, to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function.

Chinese in Malaya and Singapore had become politically active since early twentieth century. They had been very closely related to the Chinese revolt from 1895 to 1912. In 1906 Dr. Sun Yat Sen founded a branch of Tung Mang Hui at Kuala Lumpur. During her rule the British colonial government all along attempted to suppress the movements launched by the various left-oriented political organizations of Chinese. Important among such suppressive measures are dissolution of all registered branches of pro-Kuomintang (KMT) organizations in 1922, imposition of emergency (1948) and disbandment of Malayan Peoples Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) and other communist supported organizations in order to fight against the communist terrorists. Such measures led to the Chinese to come closer to the local Malays and gain their support and confidence, with the result that the Malay Chinese Association somewhat liberal in nature, was set up in 1941 and a coalition, called Alliance Party, with the United Malaya National Organization (UMNO) as major and Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) as minor constituents, was formed in 1953. Broadly speaking the

coalition came into existence with a view to oppose the extremists Malays and Chinese and also to meet the Challenge to racial unity as a prerequisite condition for obtaining freedom from the British. Till the first election which was held in 1955 the members and leaders to national legislative council used to be nominated. The alliance party won with thumping majority at 1955 poll and a cabinet headed by Tengku Abdul Rahman was formed. It consisted of six Malays, three Chinese and one Indian.

In 1957 Malaya became independent. With the fall of colonial power, national unity, formed to fight against the former, weakened and in its place ethnicity assumed greater importance.¹⁸ A new constitution giving rise to certain special rights to local Malays, such as right to land, to hold certain administrative posts, grant of stipend to students etc., was adopted.¹⁹ Islam was declared as a national religion but freedom of worship was granted to others. Malay became official language. In return certain citizenship concessions were given to non-Malays. But the new constitution instead of bringing harmony and strengthening co-operation among the Malays and Chinese created suspicion and widened the gap between them. Kim characterized the Malays special right policy as a communal policy and commented that it symbolises a Malay identity in the country and its political system but implies that non-Malays are not first class citizens. Thus a feeling of alienation towards the system becomes inevitable, as the Chinese do not feel that Malaysia is their homeland even though they were born there.²⁰ While Chinese economic dominance caused envy among the Malays, the discrimination and deprivation brought forth by the new constitutional measures raised resentment among the Chinese against Malays which ultimately resulted into a serious racial riot on May 13,

1969.²¹ The major dilemma that led to the racial disharmony and serious conflict were while the Malays were looking toward to a winning result in the second general election, the MCA, a Chinese constituent of the alliance party, lost a significant number of its seats to Chinese extremists such as Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Gerakan Party. The Malays feared that along with the economic domination the political power may also pass to Chinese hands and that ultimately they would be reduced to aliens in their own land. The Chinese, who by virtue of their hard work, hitherto thought themselves as the makers of the modern Malaysia, not only resented the civil discrimination and grant of special privileges to Malays, but also feared that even at the risk of the civil deprivation they might be loosing their economic domination under the present constitutional provisions. Apart from the special privileges conferred to Malays in the new constitution major reasons for growing resentment among the Chinese were the rise in the strength of Malays extremists, Pan Malaysian Islamic Party which won in Kelantan, citizenship restrictions and the Malaynization of education and language. Chinese asserted Malaysia for the Malaysians instead of the discriminatory notion put forward by the Malays as Malaysia for Malays.²² This raised mutual suspicion and hostility between the two communities which ultimately culminated in racial riots of 1969. The parliament was suspended and an emergency was imposed.²³

However, on February 21, 1971 the parliament was reconvened with Tun Abdul Razak as leader and the coalition began to work together again. By 1974 national alliance party gave way to few more political groups such as Peoples Progressive Party, Gerakan etc., into it. The new alliance is now known as BARISAN NASIONAL.

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After 1969 racial riots, the need to construct a national policy instead of seeking interests as Malays, Chinese and Indians alone was seriously felt by all the three major constituents of the Malaysian population; with the result that the New Economic Policy (NEP) was designed with a view to bridge the gap lying in the economic status of the three communities.²⁴ Only time will say how far the NEP succeeds in removing poverty and correcting economic imbalance as its laid down goals, without initiating any resentment especially among the minority communities²⁵ on account of the loss they suffer in their economic interest under it,²⁶ without any hope that their further civil discrimination and deprivation at the hands of politically dominant Malays majority would cease or at least lessened. But on the one hand the new trends such as increase in the terrorist activities shows that the MCA has not succeeded much to exert her influence over its Chinese section while on the other hand the appointment of Dr Mahathir Mohammed a strong Malay extremist inside the coalition as Deputy Prime Minister in the Ministry of Datuk Hussain Onn may raise suspicion in the minority sections. Kim observes that the post colonial era (in Malaysia) saw the emergence of narrow nationalism based on race, religion and ethnocentric culture rather than the creation and acceptance of a common philosophy which could cut across the race line and render possible the integration of all the ethnic communities.²⁷

The immigrants enjoyed social and cultural freedom unless they flouted the authority or interfered with other groups during the colonial period. In order to bring all the communities under uniform colonial control, they had also to adapt to the general colonial set-up developed along the English framework. In the process of adapting to the new socio-political set-up,

the migrants showed higher acquisitiveness and readiness in taking risks and also they worked very hard. As a result they occupied a higher position than the local Malays. The Chinese in a sense were either closer to the indigenous people as the inter-marriages and acculturation among the two were relatively higher. Yet the religious difference and racial orientation produced enough resistance to check their local assimilation. They however possessed with them their parent identity and loyalty.²⁸

Until recently the Chinese communities in Malaya suffered highly with the immoral traffic of women and girls and prostitution. Such problems grew because of prevalence of polygamy and preponderance of men over women.²⁹ Likewise the poor condition of *Multai*³⁰ or semi-slave girls and opium addiction were other social setbacks to them. After 1930 the brothels were disallowed to continue and the prostitutes were prohibited to enter in the Peninsula. The immoral traffic of women was controlled and opium was also prohibited in 1943.

Earlier than 1930 the majority of Chinese children in Malaya were receiving education in their mother tongue and were taught the books imported from China.³¹ It is in the later period, especially since 1955, that due to a change Peking's policy towards the education of overseas Chinese, Chinese control could be lost. After the independence, as said earlier, the Malay has become the national language and a potent media of education throughout Malaysia.

Chinese in Burma

In Burma Chinese never occupied predominant position, rather they were second to Indians.³² The major portion of the Burmese economy before independence or even before army occupation (1962) was under control of Indians and Europeans.

Nevertheless, Chinese had some hold in rice, timber, salt manufacture, sale of petroleum goods and retail trades. Moreover, except for a few engaged in tin mining, furniture making and leather industry, Chinese had never been an important labour force in Burma. They were hardly engaged in agriculture. The major occupation of Chinese in Burma had been carpentry, metal and leather works, semi-skilled labour and clerical jobs.³³ However, Chinese in Burma economically prospered after many of the Indians engaged in trade, commerce and shopkeeping, left for India during and after the Second World War.

Chinese being small in number were never been politically important in Burma. However, they were shrewd enough to keep themselves away from the national politics before or after independence or during Japanese occupation. They rather concentrated on economic gain or in seizing opportunities evacuated by Indians.

Chinese in Burma fail to exert any significant pressure on the local population. They are scattered instead of being exclusively concentrated on China towns. In Burma they are hardly considered as threat rather they are identified as *Pauk Paw* next to kin by the local Burmese on the basis of the social similarity with them.³⁴ In return they adopted the country as their home to a greater extent than the Indians, their major counterpart in Burma, or Chinese in Malaysia through more frequent inter-marriages, greater adoption of local custom, dress, language and values.³⁵

As regards education, until quite late the education of Chinese in Burma, likewise Malaysia, was patterned in the line of China. But after army occupation in 1962 major private schools were nationalized and the education was patternized on national pattern.

Indian

Some 1.5 million Indians are nowadays living in South East Asian countries. In fact India's contact with South East Asian countries is very ancient. It culturally dominated the whole area and exerted great pressure till the reach of Islam or stepping of the West. Yet in modern period large scale immigration of Indians began since the British conquered Burma (1824-85) and annexed it to India. Since then Indians in Burma had undergone many ups and downs.

Indians laid the foundation-stone of modern Burmese economy. In the making of Burma, in its industrialization, socio-political awakening and also in its reconstruction after British reoccupation, Indian resources — money, materials and men were highly utilized. In Malaysia Chinese contribution was confined to urban development alone whereas in Burma, Indian, although they had their interest, worked simultaneously for urban as well as rural development.

In general three classes of Indians came to seek their future in Burma:

1. *Business Class* : This is the smallest group of Indians constituted mainly of high Chettiairs and Parsis who were expert in trade, banking, commerce and industry. They occupied higher economic status.

2. *Service and professional class* : It consisted of intellectuals like teachers, doctors, engineers, lawyers, clerks, administrators, and soldiers, army staff who came to serve there.

3. *Labour Class* : More than 90 per cent of the Indians belonged to this class. They were mostly illiterate low-paid manual labourers.

Occupationally, Indians were mainly engaged in agriculture, industry, transport,

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trade commerce, exploitation of minerals and public administration before Burma was separated from India.³⁸ During British period the labour force of Burma was predominantly Indian. They also occupied high places in trade and commerce. The foreign trade was mainly controlled by them. Moreover, they played no less an important role in local trade and agricultural development. The retail trade in Rangoon and other cities was mainly in their hands. They were the owners of rice, sugar, saw, cotton and oil mills. Barring British and other European firms rest of the shipping as well as banking was owned by Indians.³⁹ A large sum of total investment in 1941 in Burma, roughly some 3,000 million rupees was from Indian side.⁴⁰

There was no option left to Indians than to co-operate with Britishers in strengthening their rule in Burma. But Burmese misunderstood the whole affair and developed much resentment against Indians for their own subordination which in their view, at that time, was due more to Indians than the British. As a result, instead of appreciating Indian's role in their economic development and freedom movement the latter developed strong anti-Indian attitudes and turned to aggressive nationalism and displayed professional jealousy, racial hatred and communal riots against them.⁴¹

Till 1922 when Burma was a part of India or even under dyarchy (1922-36) Indians enjoyed freedom and their interests were very much safe. It is since 1937, when Burma after separation from India got autonomy, the interests of Indians began to decline.⁴² Further immigration was restricted and ultimately stopped. The Land Tenancy Act (1938 & 49), the Land Alienation Act (1948), the Burma Land Purchase Bill (1941), Land Nationalization Act (1953)

and such other legal measures in due course devalued Indian property and deprived them of their hitherto legitimate income.⁴³

Indian community in Burma underwent a mass-scale suffering mainly on four occasions — (i) Violent unrest against Indian labourers 1930 (ii) anti-Indian riot in 1938 (iii) Japanese attack (December 1941) followed by withdrawal of Indian army and (iv) civil strife followed quite close on the heels of the independence in 1948.⁴⁴ Separation of Burma from India was followed by serious anti-Indian riots in 1938 i.e. about eight years after the labour riot of 1930, due to long accumulated anti-Indian feelings and sentiments. The riot resulted in hundreds of deaths, thousands of injuries and a heavy loss of property to Indians. Indians comprised larger population in Rangoon.⁴⁵ When Rangoon was bombed on December 23, 1941, Indians deprived of their property and possessions, marched for shelter to India and suffered many hardships in the way. They were intimidated, looted and insulted as soon as the Indian army was withdrawn.⁴⁶ But soon after the Japanese army reached, the situation was brought under control. It is then that Netaji appeared on the scene calling Indians for unity to fight against the British under the flag of Indian National Army (INA).⁴⁶ The Indian's political organizations in Burma like Burma India Congress (BIC) and Burma Moslem League (BML) actively supported Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (AFPFL) in its struggle for the liberation of Burma against the British colonial rule. The co-operation of Indians in the freedom movement along with significant decline in their hitherto hold over national economy and labour, tended to reduce anti-Indian attitude among Burmese by the close of World War Second (1945), yet their loyalty to Burma was viewed with suspicion.

After independence especially since the coming into power of the Ne Win revolutionary council (1962) Burma Indians were given last decisive stroke, with the result that whatever they could succeed in saving from the ruins of war and riots, they ultimately lost. Parliament was dissolved and the constitution was suspended. The council dissolved private enterprise and introduced so-called Burmese ways to socialism. This was followed next year by the nationalization of a large-scale private property (all foreign private banks were nationalized) nationalization of British oil and mineral capitals, nationalization of foreign and domestic wholesale trade etc. Nationalization thus embraced not only production trade, bank, mines, but also transport, cinema, newspapers, press and schools. Although agriculture remained under private sector, the council enacted laws that forced the landlords, a large number of whom were Indians, to lose control and income over their land and virtually become powerless.⁴⁹ It is however difficult to say what motivated Burmese to resort to a mass scale nationalization and how far they succeeded to achieve their goals. But they at least succeeded fully in destroying the foreign economic hold and eliminated wholly the Indian trading community from their land.

In matter of citizenship too, injustice was done to many Burma Indians. Many were denied citizenship, while many others were registered as foreigners. Accurate figure is although not available yet some 400,000 Indians in Burma who constitute the largest group of stateless people in South East Asia are estimated to stand nowhere.⁵⁰ They are deprived of civil rights and had no claim to any official job in the country. They are almost disallowed to carry business of their own and to buy and sell property of their own.⁵¹ The Indian Government in fact

failed to raise Indian's problems in Burma and to get them compensation for the loss they suffered. While examining the case of Nan Yang Chinese, Victor Purcell, for instance, has rightly commented that unlike the People's Republic of China in case of its overseas population the Government of India has done nothing to cultivate or encourage the Indians of Burma.⁵²

In some way Indians deserved the loss and sufferings they met in Burma, they ruthlessly exploited Burmese, both economically and socially during their high time. But such people were few in number and they intelligently escaped. Unfortunately it is the general mass, innocent and poor who underwent sufferings at their cost.⁵³

Indians in Malaysia : Indians occupied a much more inferior place in Malaysian economy than the Chinese. In modern period they generally came to Malaya as labourer.⁵⁴ Except a few Malayalis, Christians and Bangalis who were taken into clerical or professional jobs and some others who entered in Business, rest of the Indians (more than 90%) belonged to labour class,⁵⁵ working mostly in rubber plants.⁵⁶ Few Chettiars and Sikhs were moneylenders.⁵⁷ Generally people under business and the professional sector were drawn from the North India, whereas those of labour sector from South.⁵⁸ Indian labourers in Malaya suffered a lot especially during the Second World War. Rubber export were reduced during the war and the labourers, majority of whom were Indians, became unemployed.⁵⁹ During the Japanese occupation (in 1942) labourers were compelled to work on Death Railways in Thailand and out of them 73,503 of whom 85 per cent were Indians. Many died during the work.⁶⁰

Indians in Malaya are a self-contained and politically weak community.⁶¹ Their social

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and cultural heterogeneity had been a great hindrance in their way of being politically and economically organized like Chinese. In fact it was a leaderless community till the formation of Central India Association of Malaya (CIMA) in 1936.⁶² This unity was later strengthened with the formation of Indian Independence League (IIL), Netaji's call for organizing the people into Indian National Army (INA) in 1943, and Nehru's efforts towards the formation of Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) in 1946. The MIC, as said before, later joined UMNO and MCA in 1954 to form a coalition. Since then it, as a major representative political body of Indians, has been working side by side with other participants in the Alliance, earlier for the freedom movement and now in nationbuilding.

Likewise the homeland, the Indian population in Malaysia as well as in Burma consisted of extremely heterogeneous and fragmented ethnic, religious and linguistic composition.⁶³ The majority of them lived in towns or on rubber estates. They preserved their own languages, customs and culture.⁶⁴ Except the Indian Muslims who on religious matters are closed to Malays, rest of the Indian population hardly mix with Malays or others through intermarriage or enter into other close social ties.⁶⁵ They are least assimilated with the indigenous population.⁶⁶ Although they have adopted Malaysia as their homeland yet they hitherto fail to cut their ties off with their homeland. A majority of Indians in Malaysia, especially those working on rubber plantation, as observed by Jain, had been close to Dravida Kazhagam (D.K.) and Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, (D.M.K.) movements of South India. They collect literature from India and run organization like pan-Malayan Dravidian Association based on such ideological lines.⁶⁷

Summary and Conclusion

The post independence minority problem in the two countries are to a great extent, result of long accumulated hatred and ill-feelings for them among the indigenous people, inherited from the colonial past. Although Indians held dominance in labour, economy and administration, they were hardly sufficiently strong enough in number or as much organized to accumulate power on their own and to become a potential resistance for the Burmese. They suffered a lot and shrunk in number and economic power, which they held till Burma became independent; to the extent that they now remain no more a threat and subject of hostility for the Burmese. Indian community in Burma declined in status and also in strength so much so that it now ceases to assert its interests any more. Thus by now there is no more a problem of immigrant minority in Burma rather it is of ethnic minority. But in Malaysia the condition is just reverse. Chinese, being the major immigrant group are no less in number to be suppressed by the indigenous people. Combined with Indians the two minorities have almost outnumbered the Malays. Chinese had been a potential menace and hence generally a subject of restrictions and surveillance in South East Asian countries except Burma where till quite late they were regarded as kinsmen. But Chinese withstanding restrictions and control prospered. They were shrewd enough to utilize resources left unutilized by the natives. In Burma they quickly seized the business and trade which were evacuated by Indians. In Malaysia they, however, managed to keep their sway over the national economy even though a number of constitutional and other measures were taken to hurt their post dominance.

The multi-racial experiment as a solution to

the racial hatred and conflict resulted in a serious failure in a plural society like Malaysia. Majority of the electorate voted on racial or communal ground in the past three elections and that the efforts to secure voting on a secular line were failed.

Indian community in general is transient and homesick. It is also non-adaptive and self-contained. Moreover, being heterogeneous in nature, its loyalty is spread on ethnic, caste, religion or language issues. As a result Indians failed to unite in order to protect and enhance their interests unlike those of Chinese in the new lands. However, as individuals, Indians have achieved no less status, power and prominence than their counterpart, Chinese, but as ethnic group the latter proved to be much organised, enterprising and shrewd. The Chinese showed a far greater self-dependence than the Indians. Indians instead of organising themselves for their betterment always looked for the British help and protection. In a way it was natural too. Although all the three countries India, Burma and Malaysia were British colonies yet India had a greater say, because it is from India and with the help of Indians that the British advanced and controlled the whole of this area. But soon after the British departed from the two countries the fate of overseas Indians passed into the hands of nationalists. Moreover, there was not any sort of help or encouragement from the government or people of India to boost them in the new lands. Chinese on the other hand usually met with harassment instead of help from the colonial government and hence developed self-reliance. Moreover, they received almost all-round support from the People's Republic of China to build and protect their interest and power in the new lands.

On the basis of above discussion we may

conclude that the problem of minority originate from seeking priority of interest and domination of one group over the other. The more the dominance is sought by a majority the more the resistance is met from the minority. In case the suppression exceeds to outbalance the resistance offered to it, the latter either surrenders as in case of Burma or sometimes it is assimilated. Assimilation may however take place without use of any kind of pressure. But if the minority is no less powerful the force seeking dominance reduced and the two usually come to enter into a coalition bargaining their due shares as it happened in Malaysia. On the other hand a minority seeks to maintain her own identity and loyalty and any effort to eliminate or reduce its interest is viewed with suspicion and create hostility in them. The problem of mutual adjustment between the two—the majority and the minority—also become acute when self-assertion on the part of the latter goes beyond the intransigence. Substantively, if there had been no deprivation or discrimination and a policy acceptable to both of them would have been followed there could hardly have arisen any problem of minority as such. Sufficient facts are there to apprehend that as long as alien power ruled the two countries under study the problems of minority were rather simple. But as soon as nationalists grew in power, the problems multiplicably increased. The majority being larger in number and also sons of the soil, claim for superior political and economic power depriving the minorities of their legitimate claim. Whereas in some cases a majority also considers it culturally superior to the minorities. As in both the cases, transfer of power to the indigenous people resulted in aggressive nationalism which ultimately gave rise to an increase in prejudices, suspicion and mutual hostility and made their adjustment more difficult.

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Experiences tell that nowhere suppression succeeded in bringing about any good in the past. It is only in the harmony that the human — the individual and the collective goals, can better be achieved. For developing and creating mutual co-operation and confidence and for harvesting its fruits both, the majority and minority have to sacrifice.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The subcommission of United Nations on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities identifies minority on the bases of physical and social differences. According to it, the term minority includes only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess, and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population. Human Rights Year Book. 1950, quoted by Kamlesh Kumar Wadhwa, *Minority Safeguards in India*, Delhi, Thompson Press (1947), p. 3.
2. Arnold G. Ross, for instance, has taken into account the feeling of differentiation among the two groups—majority and minority, along with the bases of differentiation in them. He says "contemporary sociologists generally define minorities as a group of people differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, religion or language, who both think of themselves as a differentiated group with negative connotation." *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences* vol. 10, p. 365.
3. Asia 1979 Year Book, *Far Eastern Review*, Hong Kong, 1979, p. 242.
4. *South East Asian Spectrum* vol. 2, January 1974, p. 36.
5. *ibid.*, p. 36.
6. Asia 1979 op. cit. p. 242.
7. Alvin Rabushka: *Race and Politics in Urban Malaya*, Standford, Hoover Institutions Press 1973, p. 21.
8. *ibid.*, p. 21.
9. Malaysia 1975, Kuala Lumpur, official year book, 1977, p. 22.
10. In case of Malaysia the official population figure of minority communities are available whereas for Burma no reliable source of information is there for the period after 1931 and that for our purpose we relied upon estimates furnished by various sources.
11. Victor Purcell: *The Chinese in South East Asia*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 41, 43.
12. *The Europa Year Book*, Vol. II 1978, London, Europa Publication, 1978, p. 48.
13. S.B. Mookherji, *Burma and the West* Agra, Rajan Prakashan, 1975, p. 114.
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15. Computed from the estimated population of Indian and Chinese, Asia 1979 op. cit., p. 158 and Chinese population as given in *The Europa Year Book* op. cit. p. 48.
16. Usha Mahajani, *The Role of Indian Minorities in Burma and Malaya*, Bombay, Vora and Company, 1960, p. 110.
17. *ibid.* pp. 110-11.
18. Purcell op. cit., pp. 282-93. See also Victor Purcell: *The Chinese in Modern Malaya*, Singapore, Eastern University Press, 1960, pp. 23-25.
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20. She Poon Kim observes that special privileges right is discriminatory and it is passed at the expense of Chinese in Malaysia. The Roots of Sinophobia in the Asian countries: a comparative perspective, *occasional paper* no. 74. *Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang University*, August 1977.
21. *ibid.*, p. 21.
22. It was lack of social justice, economic opportunities and political participation only which increased social tension leading to racial violence which finally culminated in the May 13, 1969 riot. *ibid.* p. 6.
23. *ibid.*, p. 16.

23. John Slimming, *Malaysia—Death of Democracy*, London John Murray 1969. See also Alvin Rabushka, *Race and Politics in Urban Malaya*, Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1973.
24. The second plan revealed that 5% of the corporate sector belonged to Malays, 22.8% to Chinese and 6.2% to foreigners. Alex Lee, Chinese and Malays Dilemma, *Pacific Community*, April 1972. The plan (NEP) set out as its target that by 1990 the equity ownership of the corporate sector would be changed: 30% for Bumiputras, 40% for other Malaysians and 30% for foreigners. Mohammed Zain Bin Haji Abdul Majid, Progress and Problems of industrial development since the second Malaysian plan, *unpublished paper presented at the fourth Malaysian economic convention*, Kuala Lumpur, 1977 (May 19-21) pp. 1-2.
25. The Quasi-insurgency, says Zakaria Haji Ahmad, has its roots in the ideology of the dissidents and although there may be credence in imputing perceptions of deprivation of wealth in an area of growth to the members of CPM and its splinter factions it is more likely that the sinews of the insurrectionary movement are based on ethnic grounds, that is perceived on the part of the largely non Malays insurgents a Malay-dominated polity offers little hope for the non-Malays. Certainly in terms of redistributive justice, growth as concomitant of the NEP is perceived as beneficial to the Malays and less to the non-Malays." The Politics of Growth in Malaysia—Destablizing Democracy—*unpublished seminar paper, Vth Malaysian economic convention*, Penang, 25-27 May 1978 pp. 9-10.
26. She poon kim refers the second and third five-year plans as based on communal calculations in favour of the Malay community. *op. cit.*, p. 20.
27. *ibid.*, p. 5.
28. Howells study, for instance, reveals that the Chinese of Singapore and Malaysia have greater commitment to China and lower compatibility in attitudinal pattern with their indigenous population than Chinese of other South East Asian countries. L.W.D. Howell, The Chinese in south east Asia: China commitment and local assimilation *Asian Studies* 11(3), 1973 p. 37-53.
29. Purcell *op. cit.*, p. 222.
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31. Purcell, *op. cit.* p. 280.
32. *ibid.*, p. 45.
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39. *ibid.*, p. 126.
40. N.R. Chakravarti, *Indian Minority in Burma*, London, Oxford University Press, 1971.
41. *ibid.*
42. Mahajani *op. cit.*, p. 67.
43. Michael Adas observes: By 1937, Chettiairs controlled 25% of the total occupied area in lower Burma and nearly 50% of the land alienated to non-agriculturists... In the last years before the Japanese invasion in 1941-22 the Burma Legislative Council passed several agrarian relief measures aimed at reducing tenants rental rates and reclaiming for the small holder land that had been alienated to Chettiairs and Burmese landlords. There were provisions for compensation, but these measures were cut short by the imposition of Japanese rule and the flight of the Chettiairs and most of the Indian population from Burma. After independence, the lands held by Chettiairs were nationalized and the debts owned them cancelled by the Burmese regime. To this date only minimal compensation has been received by Chettiairs. They have been forced to write off as a loss most of their investments in Burma whose value was estimated at 760,000,000 rupees in the late 1920s "Immigrant Asians and the Economic Impact of European Imperialism: The Role of the South Indian Chettiairs in British Burma" *The Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 33 No. 3 (May) 1974.
44. Mookherjee *op. cit.* pp. 114-43.
45. As per 1937 census Indians comprised 55.49% of the total city population of Rangoon, Mookerjee *op. cit.* p. 137.

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46. Mookherjee *op. cit.* p. 122.
47. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Minority problems in South East Asia*, New York, Russell and Russell 1970. p. 80.
48. *South East Asia*, Moscow, Progress Publishers (ed.), 1972, pp. 130-31.
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NOTES & COMMENTS

Social Pluralism: Plea for A New Approach

WHEN the Indian Constitution was amended during the Emergency to alter even the Preamble to the Constitution and to characterise the "sovereign democratic Republic" of India as a "sovereign socialist secular democratic Republic", it was not realised that the epithets "socialist" and "secular" might become constraints on the sovereignty and the democratic character of the Indian Republic as founded by the Fathers of the Indian Constitution.

While the attempt to include definitions of the terms "socialist" and "secular" in the Government's Forty-fifth Constitution (Amendment) Bill failed to receive the requisite support in the Rajya Sabha, the need for a debate on the implications of the inclusion of these epithets in the Preamble remains.

What exactly is a "socialist Republic"? Does it represent the constitutional set-up as formulated in the Constitution or does it represent an aspiration yet to be achieved? Many decades ago, Prof. C.E.M. Joad described socialism as a hat that has lost its shape because everybody has worn it. Socialism has been understood primarily as an economic system in which the means of production are socially owned and operated for the benefit of society as a whole. In this sense, socialism represents the antithesis of the private ownership of the means of production. If this concept is accepted, what happens to be avowed "democratic" character of the Indian Republic? The essence of democracy is respect for the rights of the individual citizen, including the right enshrined in Article 19 (1), namely, "to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. It is true that this right is subject to the proviso under Article 19 (6) which originally declared that the right under Article 19 (1) (g) shall be subject to the authority of the State to impose "reasonable

restrictions in the public interest," including the power to prescribe "professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business". By the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, this proviso was widened to provide for the take-over of private enterprises by the State and for the establishment of State monopolies in "any trade, business, industry or service." The relevant amendment permits "the carrying on by the State, or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise." The far-reaching implications of this amendment were not realised at the time it was debated in the Parliament into which the Constituent Assembly converted itself after 1950. The constitutional sanction for a complete socialist transformation of the Indian economy is contained in this apparently innocuous amendment. It was not realised then, and I doubt whether it is realised even now — that by making use of this proviso it is possible for a Communist majority in Parliament to take over all means of production and reduce to a nullity the right to operate a business or industry of one's choice guaranteed under Article 19(1)(g).

The basic contradiction between Article 19(1)(g) as originally incorporated in the Constitution, with its corresponding proviso Article 19(6), and the provision as subsequently amended is that while the original provision envisaged primarily an economy in which private enterprise by citizens had a recognised and well-protected place in the political system, that protection was almost completely taken away by the amended article. It is true that the reckless takeover of private enterprises or the establishment of State monopolies may still be open to challenge on the ground that they are not

"reasonable restrictions in the public interest", but it is futile to expect the judiciary to come to the rescue of the citizens when it has to decide about the reasonableness of the actions of Parliament.

The safeguards for genuine private enterprise, which is clearly in the public interest, have to be built up through a public opinion which is alive to the values of the free activities of citizens in a democratic society. This is the area in which the so-called "socialist" character of the economy may come into conflict with the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution.

There is need for clear thinking on this subject because "socialism" has become one of the clichés freely used by all parties without regard to its implications for a genuinely democratic society. Many years ago, Mr. Khrushchev, on the basis of the different trends in the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, was compelled to recognise that "There are many roads to socialism". The strong differences between Marshal Tito and Stalin represented another aspect of the ideological schism in the Communist world and their different conceptions of the nature of a socialist economy. These ideological trends found expression in the thinking of Imre Nagy and other Hungarian communists who put forward the thesis relating to "socialist pluralism". The rise of "Eurocommunism" in the West European democracies has given new meaning to the concept of "pluralist socialism". Communists in these countries are vigorously engaged in trying to harmonise their concern for the values of a democratic society, with its emphasis on the rights of the individual, with their old doctrinaire ideas about the nature of a socialist society.

It is in this context I feel that we in India should evolve a new approach to our socio-economic problems which is basically

democratic and which is free from the ideological legacy of doctrinaire socialism. This approach, in my view, should proceed on a recognition of the basic principle that in a pluralist society like ours, with its multiplicity of languages, religions, economic groups and interests, no simple Procrustean pattern will solve our problems, apart from its being fundamentally opposed to the democratic concepts enshrined in the Constitution.

I would like to suggest that the socialist pattern — as represented by the concept of the collective or social ownership of the means of production — is only one of the various means of dealing with our socio-economic problems which we may adopt, purely on a pragmatic basis, to move towards what may be regarded as the ideal of a free and just society. There is no need to elevate it to the status of a magic formula to solve all our economic ills or even to achieve social justice. For one thing, the world has now sufficient experience of both socialism as operated in the Communist countries and of public ownership, as an institution form of operating enterprises, to realise that it is not the final answer to the problems of an unequal society based on competitive private ownership. We now know that there are many types of institutions with which we can experiment and that no single type answers to all the requirements of a technologically developing society. The need for various types of institutions is even more compelling in the context of a vast pluralist society like that of India in which we have large populations at different stages of development with different economic and cultural environments and with varied orders of priorities in respect of needs.

In using the term "social pluralism" to describe the kind of approach I favour towards the solution of India's socio-economic

problems, I am not offering a new formula or a new social philosophy. What I am suggesting is basically a new attitude or approach to our problems, with due regard to the democratic principles on which our polity is based. Its accent is on pragmatism and respect for the rights of the individual. It does not, however, seek to regard the rights of property as more fundamental than the right to social justice or the need to narrow the indefensible disparities in the social and economic spheres. It is the inescapable urge of a democratic society to move towards greater equality in the economic and social fields. What it demands, however, is that in the process of realising this objective the freedoms which are basic to a democratic society should not be eroded or destroyed. In the evolution of social pluralism as a technique of socio-political action, what is important is the concern for the preservation of democratic freedoms — the inevitable diversity that goes with it — while attempting to remove economic disparities and social abuses.

I do not wish to examine all the policies or practical implications of this new approach. It will clearly call for a jettisoning of rigid ideologies or fanatical commitment to one creed or another. It calls for a climate of debate in which the practical utility of every proposal for reform of economic or other institutions will be judged by its ability to deliver the goods without doing violence to the values of a free society. Its accent will be on consensus and consent rather than on imposing the will of a power group or a dominant leader on the whole community. It will seek compromises wherever possible and seek to resolve social differences by processes of agreement instead of class war and confrontation.

V.K. Narasimhan,
Editor, Deccan Herald, Bangalore.

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Book Review

The Constitutional History of India Volumes I, II & III. *Anil Chandra Banerjee*. Vol. I : A.D. 1600-1858; pp. viii + 568, (1977), Rs. 85/-. Vol. II : A.D. 1858-1919; pp. viii + 529, (1978), Rs. 85/-. Vol. III : A.D. 1919-1977; pp. viii + 475, (1978), Rs. 85/-. Published by the Macmillan Company of India Limited.

It is quite amusing to note that the constitutional evolution of modern India began as a consequence of the commercial activities of some English traders whose *summum bonum* was nothing but trade. On the last day of 1600 the Queen granted a charter to conduct "the whole, entire, and only trade... into and from the East Indies, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa..." In course of time the adventurous traders obtained permission from the local officials — later confirmed by an imperial *farman* — to trade at Surat and established a factory there in 1612. Likewise settlements were established in Madras and Bengal in 1641 and 1650s respectively. The traders did not have the remotest idea that they were laying the foundation of the British Empire in India. For the protection and enhancement of their trade the trading Co. gradually began to feel the necessity of territorial possession. This territorial necessity compelled the Co. to trespass the realm of Indian politics from where it could never withdraw. The commercial compulsions drove the Co. on a high way to the political power. Right from its inception the Co. was under the constitutional restraints of the Home Government. Whenever the Co. approached the Parliament for the periodical renewal of the charter, the latter tightened its grip on the affairs of the Co. by increasing its supervisory and controlling power. The relationship between the

trading Co.—with large territorial possession in India—and the Home Government had hardly ever been free from tension. Their tug of war for rights and privileges — as reflected in the Parliamentary Debates at the time of Charter Acts — came to an end in 1858, when the Mutiny of 1857 brought about the end of the Co. itself.

The Transfer of Power from the East India Co. to the Crown ushered in a new era of the constitutional evolution in India. Quite unlike the Co. the British Government in India had a self-styled mission of improving the 'moral and material' standard of Indian civilization. The Crown had declared the intentions 'not to acquire new territorial possessions' and had assured that irrespective of their caste, religion, colour etc. Indians would be given opportunities to serve in the Government on the basis of their merit. The political liberalism was sponsored by high, responsible British officials and statesmen through their several declarations, promises and plans. Their rule in India was to be based on the policy of collaboration : so they proposed! India had already awakened to the new socio-political reality and had also become considerably eager to take active interest in the working of government. A 'microscopic-minority' of Indians even aspired to participate actively in the legislation. Their fast growing hopes and aspirations in this field soon brought,

them in confrontation with the Imperial masters who put the imperial interest above everything else. Both the parties desired for collaboration but at the same time they were prepared for confrontation as well. Thus there began a game of politico-constitutional calculations. This long process of 'give and take', collaboration and confrontation ended only when the British Empire in India came to an end.

From the Indian Councils Act, 1861, India's constitutional development had almost become synonymous of the evolution of representative government. In course of time this slow but certain process formed the pith and marrow of our national movement. In 1919 we were at the crossroads so far as our politico-constitutional movement was concerned. End of the First World War, introduction of the Mont-Ford Reforms and emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene were the most important events that had a far-reaching influence on our national life. The Hindu-Muslim antagonism, internal differences of the Hawks and Doves in the Indian National Congress and the British policy of *divide et impera* could no more be treated as mere theoretical prepositions. They had developed into a powerful political force and had an inevitable impact on the constitutional development.

In the three-volume work under review, the veteran historian Prof. A.C. Banerjee — who has already ably edited Constitutional Documents of India in four volumes — has succinctly traced and analysed the constitutional history of India from 1600 to 1977. The first volume covers a long period from 1600 to 1858 in which the Regulating Act of 1773, Pitt's Act of 1784, and the Charter Acts of 1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853 are discussed with considerable details. He has offered us a precise and well-balanced

account of the inception, consolidation and the end of the Co. This volume contains 16 Chapters. After giving critical analysis of the above-mentioned Acts in separate Chapters, Prof. Banerjee has lucidly explained the process of consolidation of the Co. through the gradual growth of legislation, administration and judiciary under its aegis. It must be noted that the main structure of administration and judiciary built up under the Co. still remains, to a considerable extent, unchanged. The expanding territorial possessions of the Co. brought them into direct contact with the native Princely States. The constitutional relationship between the Co. and the Princely States — which was far from being cordial — is discussed in a separate chapter entitled: "The Princely States and British Paramountcy."

The second volume covers the eventful period from 1858 to 1919 when the political activities of Indian nationalists were gathering momentum. This volume contains 15 Chapters, beginning from the "Transfer to the Crown" upto "The Act of 1919". Prof. Banerjee has clearly explained the constitutional rights and privileges of all the centres of power (the Home Government, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments) *vis-a-vis* Indian political associations, and the Princely States. He has given a detailed analysis of the Legislative Councils, Morley-Minto Reforms and the Mont-Ford Reforms in separate chapters.

In the third volume which covers the period from 1919 to 1977, all the major events and aspects of our constitutional history are divided in 19 Chapters. Each chapter [as is done in first two volumes] is further divided in sub-titles, making the analysis lucid. To illustrate the point a couple of chapters from the third volume may be referred to.

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Chapter III entitled "The Simon Commission" is divided under the subtitles : I. Political Background, II. Recommendations, III. Dominion Status, and IV. The Princely States. Likewise the Chapter V, entitled "The Act of 1935" contains the following subtitles : I. The Federation of India, II. The Federal Executive, III. The Federal Legislature, IV. Provincial Autonomy (Executive), V. Provincial Autonomy (Legislative) VI. The Federation and the Units, VII. The Judiciary, VIII. The Services of the Crown and IX. Authorities in England. Such a clear and precise arrangement in every chapter in all volumes has made the constitutional intricacies crystal clear for the readers.

Constitutional and political issues are often so mingled with each other that at times it becomes difficult for students to differentiate between the two. Prof. Banerjee has marvelously done the task of giving a critical account of the constitutional development with a due reference to the political movement. In the third volume, Chapter VII entitled "Demand For Partition" deals with the most controversial and all-pervading issue of the Hindu-Muslim animosity. Prof. Banerjee has strictly confined the analysis to the constitutional aspect only and has treated the subject with the unbiased mind of a historian. In the same volume, the last two chapters entitled "Constitutional Amendments" and "The Changing Constitution" deserve special attention because they deal with the contemporary period i.e. 1951 to 1977. In the recent past we had a plethora of literature in which political views of some individuals and certain parties are propagated in the garb of constitutional issues. Most of the authors of such literature have willingly and unwillingly mistaken the constitutional aspect for the political one. In the above-mentioned two chapters, Prof. Banerjee has shown the

exemplary precision and objectivity. He has skilfully cleared away political husk from the constitutional issues. It has always been the most arduous task to offer a precise and critical account of the element of change and continuity in the history of India. Many a historian have made attempts in that direction. Some of them succeeded. It may be safely said that in the work under review, Prof. Banerjee has achieved brilliant success in giving a lucid and analytical account of change and continuity in the Constitutional History of India from 1600 to 1977. *Bibliography* given at the end of each volume increases the academic utility of the work.

Students shall remain grateful to Prof. Banerjee for such an excellent textbook. It would be all the more appreciated if the book is brought out in the paperback, low-priced edition so that a larger number of students can have it.

Anil Samarth

Manu and Modern Times by Nitya Narayan Banerjee; Hindutva Publications A-14, Green Park, Delhi, pages 170, price Rs. 21/- (1975).

Here is a neat little volume that gives just in 120 pages an introduction to the Plan of Life laid down by Manu, a brief statement (in summary form) of The Manu Smriti with reference to all its eleven chapters and a conclusion pleading for an adoption of the same in toto by suitably modifying our attitudes for the greater good of humanity. The 50 other pages contain a reprint of the author's two articles from the April 1970 and December 1974 issues of *Hindutva*, the magazine that the author edits, under the combined title, "Hinduism At a Glance" (opp. 121-141) and a reprint of an article of

Dr. Kewal Motwani of Colombo, Sri Lanka appearing in the April and June '75 issues of *Hindutva* with the title 'Is Hinduism (And Buddhism) Compatible with the Notion of Secularism' (pp. 142-170).

One may perhaps agree with Shri Banerjee when he states, "It is a historic fact that the Hindus are the oldest race in the world, and commanded respect from their neighbours at different ages for their customs, character, culture, traditions and heritage It is undoubtedly the observance of the principles laid down by Manu for centuries that gradually built up this ideal Hindu society The greatest challenge, however, to this civilization and culture has now come from the denationalised (westernised) Hindus themselves" (p. 2) or with his resentment against the Hindu Code Bill (p. 7) and the pleading "I do not plead for implementing Manu's laws in the modern age to the letter, but my appeal to the people of the world and particularly of India is that while trying to evolve better economic and social plans, the blueprint of Manu's plan which has helped a race and a culture to survive even upto this day in spite of various natural and political adversities, deserves careful consideration along with other plans." (*ibid*). But it is not easy to agree with him when he tries to draw a complete contrast between the western way of life and the Manu's way of life calling them respectively the "Asurika" and "Daibee" formalities (p. 120) and would not allow any compromise. All the more so in the light of his agreeing to a very wide definition of the Hindu (p. 121). Being the President of Hindu Mahasabha for five terms Shri Banerjee's solicitation for Hinduism and a complete identification with it of the 'Manava Dharma' is surely understandable but the present reviewer would like to remind him humbly of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam', 'identity of the Jagat and Brahman' and of the principle

that 'even though the spirit is eternal it must acquire a new body at every birth — the body of laws (of course, not the spirit) in every age must change.' We do have a conception of the Manvantaras—a separate Manu and his plan of life for each age.

Let us recognise the fact that Manu's institute represent a lighthouse from which we have been getting more and more at distance and a reinterpretation (at least a reformulation) of all the bases — rightly listed as (a) The law of Karma, (b) Four objects of life, (c) Four varnas (classes), (d) Man a social being (e) Different status for Men & Women (pp. 7-11) — is called for. Similarly a deeper probe into the character of the plan of life of a modern man will surely reveal that materialism does not hold that much sway over it as Shri Banerjee would like us to believe. Modern man may not be directly concerning himself with 'Moksha' and 'Dharma' very consciously but he surely is fed up with mere 'Kama' and 'Artha' and is keen to seek some direction away from the latter. His 'so-called communism or socialism' might have 'become subservient to egoism' (p. 12) but they did not have their source in the same. Man-woman equality when overstressed might lead to an unrealistic understanding of their respective roles in the society but an emphasis on their differences is also not free from leading to certain moral injustices and perversities. To die in harness is not in itself bad. It has a certain amount of moral excellence about it provided, of course, one rides the horse of life not for selfish ends but for the service of others and a few modern men surely do so.

Dr. Kewal Motwani's description of our times (pp. 169-170) based as it is on the description of 'Kaliyuga' by Manu (*Laws of Manu*, Ch. XI. 55-57 summarised by the other from the English translation by G. Buhler—p. 170. footnote) is quite graphic

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and serves the purpose of driving his conclusion home that secularism is not compatible with Hinduism—of course the Hinduism of his understanding. The reviewer has not been able to understand the meaning and purpose of including the word 'Buddhism' in the title when in the body of the article makes no mention of any of the known doctrines of Buddhism.

All said and done the reviewer is glad to recommend the reading of the book to all those men and women who are interested in a cultural regeneration of humanity.

—Kewal Krishan Mittal

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi : A Bibliography. Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1974. xxii+379 pp. (Gandhi Bibliography Series, 1) Rs. 80/- £ 8.00 \$24.00. (A Project of the Indian Council of Social Science Research.)

The compilation work of this bibliography was initiated in April 1968 at the National Library, Calcutta, by the National Committee for Gandhi Centenary in India, as part of its several projects to celebrate the birth centenary of the great Indian leader, born on October 2, 1869. To begin with, the overall aim was to prepare 'an exhaustive and authoritative bibliography of all writings on Gandhiji as distinct from that of the writings by him', and its scope was limited to all monographs on Gandhiji in the English language published before October 2, 1970, the closing year of the Centenary year.

Since the National Committee had to wind-up its operations around April 1970, the responsibility to complete this bibliography was subsequently assigned to the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research (ICSSR) at New Delhi. The ICSSR decided to extend

the scope of this project by including monographs published in all the Indian languages. The preliminary cyclostyled edition in separate fascicles for monographs in English and in each of the Indian languages was brought out on August 15, 1972 and its copies were circulated amongst a large number of libraries in the country as well as members of the Parliament and known authors on Gandhiji for their comments.

This volume which is published as the first volume in the series is limited to monographs published in English language. Subsequent volumes in this series are planned to include publications in each of the Indian languages as well as foreign languages other than English.

The total number of items listed is 1095 out of which 800 are those which could be physically verified by the compilers and constitute the main part of this volume. 79 of these items are theses on Gandhiji accepted by Universities in India or abroad. The remaining 295 items which could not be physically verified are listed in an Appendix. The bibliography does not claim to be an exhaustive list of all monographs or books on Gandhiji. A number of pamphlets of research value have also been included in the list.

The main part is arranged in a classified sequence while the items in the Appendix are arranged alphabetically according to the name of the author. The scheme of classification used is based on Ranganathan's Colon Classification which was especially designed for the purpose in consultation with the Documentation Research and Training Centre, Bangalore. In addition, it has three alphabetical indexes, viz. Subject Index, Author Index, and Series & Title Index. Other chapter headings are; Introduction by Dr. R.R. Diwakar; Acknow-

ledgements; Explanatory Note; and, Key to Library Symbols.

The citation of each entry in the main part consists of: Colon Class Number; Subject Heading; Serial Number of the Entry, Author(s); Full title; Collaborator(s), Such as Editor(s), Foreward, Introduction or Preface writer (s); Translator (s), Illustrator (s), etc.; Imprint; Pagination and the number of Plate(s); Contents; Annotation; Review or Reviews of the item; Name of the Source Document from which the existence of a particular item was identified; and Location Symbol. Subject Headings in the Subject Index have been derived according to Ranganathan's Chain Procedure and are listed alphabetically. These headings are given not only for the whole book but also for each chapter in the book and each subject heading refers to the serial number of the entry in the main part. Entries in the remaining two indexes are also arranged alphabetically and cover both the main part as well as the Appendix. Entries referring to the items in the Appendix have however been printed in italics.

Already quite a few bibliographies have been published on Gandhiji out of which three bibliographies, viz., Deshpande, P.G. *Gandhiana* (Navjivan Publishing House, 1948), Dharam Vir, *Gandhi Bibliography* (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 1967), and Sharma, J.S. *Mahatma Gandhi : A Descriptive Bibliography*, Ed. 2. (S. Chand, 1968) are already better known. But still the National Committee felt the need for this bibliography because 'an authoritative and fairly exhaustive bibliography required an actual physical verification of every item and in that respect the earlier bibliographies when compared with each other, revealed variations which required to be verified again... Several more books on Gandhiji have also come out after the latest of the three biblio-

ographies was published (1968)! The Centenary year seemed an appropriate occasion to make a fresh attempt.

The volume can certainly be considered as an important addition to the Gandhiana literature. While no bibliography can ever claim to be exhaustive, and particularly on a subject such as Gandhiana, four years should be considered as a sufficiently long time for the compilers to have reached a stage of almost exhaustiveness for all the publications brought out upto August 15, 1972. Surprisingly, some of the items listed in the Appendix are those which could be easily located and verified in any good size library in Delhi itself. A few items such as Humayun Kabir, *Mahatma and other poems* (Asia, 1956), Krishna Kriplani, *Gandhi, the modern Mahatma* (London, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1970) can be mentioned in this category. The indication of location of each item in the main part would certainly be of much help to the user. The practice of listing contents and even sub-sections in many entries has been followed rather haphazardly. It would have been much better if these chapters had been listed much intelligently by ignoring chapter headings such as 'Foreword', Preface, etc.

Though the classified arrangement of entries in the main part aims at bringing helpful order in the arrangement, yet the user would find the class numbers quite difficult to understand. While the protagonists would always argue in favour of this arrangement by saying that the user need not worry much about the complications in the classification system, the very presence of the class numbers with complicated notation system is bound to distract their attention while scanning through the bibliography. Perhaps arrangement under alpha-

petical Subject Headings would have been more useful to the users.

As regards the Subject Index, the case of experimental Chain procedure in this manner. One comes across as Defects, Cause, etc., as well as 'Political ideology in India, Struggle for Independence, Gandhiji's History, India, Self and "Gandhi; Concept — Non-Violence; In Development); Evaluation doubtful if a user working in library position to come to relationships between elements in these subjects.

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betical Subject Heading in the main part would have been more easily intelligible to the users.

As regards the Subject headings, it is a sheer case of experimentation with Ranganathan's Chain procedure in a rather mechanical manner. One comes across headings such as Defects, Cause, Commission Report, etc., as well as "Gandhi; Concept — Political ideology in relation to History; India, Struggle for Independence — Jallian-wala Bagh Incident"; "Gandhi, Concept — History, India, Self-government; Basic"; and "Gandhi; Concept — Political ideology — Non-Violence; Impacts (Indian Society; Development): Evaluation". It is certainly doubtful if a user who has had no former training in library science would be in a position to comprehend the syntactical relationships between the different components in these subject headings in a proper

and systematic manner. It would certainly be much desired if the ICSSR gets the usefulness of this arrangement and of the structure of the Subject headings properly tested before it decides to use these methods and techniques for their other bibliographical publications.

Since the Subject of Gandhian thought is of continued relevance and importance in the present-day world, it is really commendable that the ICSSR has decided to assist Gandhi Peace Foundation to publish bi-annually a bibliography covering the publications in all languages, Indian and foreign, after January 1, 1973. There is also an urgent need to have a comprehensive Index prepared for all articles in periodicals as well as other micro-documents of Gandhian literature.

P.B. Mangla

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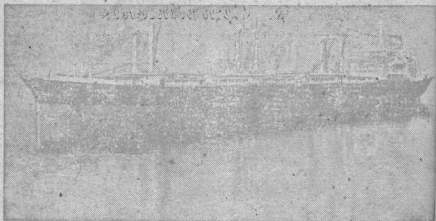
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