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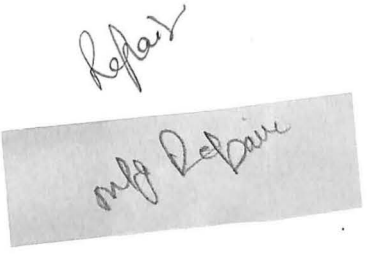

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Looking Back on 1952

P. N. Chopra

THE transition from 1951 to 1952 marks an important dividing line, the end of one phase and beginning of another in India's post-independence history. The last two months of 1951 and the first few of 1952 saw the end of a period of groping and uncertainty and gave way instead to clear formulation of policies and deliberate building on easily recognizable foundations. With a slight risk of overstatement (considering the uncertainties of the world situation) it could be said that in the winter of 1951-52 India emerged from the woods and came to fairly straight paths leading to predictable destinations.

First of all, the general elections ended a great deal of political uncertainty. Until they were held, the relative strength of political parties, even of beliefs, was anybody's guess. Under Sardar Patel's leadership a firm administrative structure had been built up. But no one could say what political spirit would inhabit it. The elections have cleared that doubt at least. If external intervention is ruled out, if indigenous forces are allowed to work out their destiny themselves, the form of Parliamentary democracy embodied in the constitution will prevail in the foreseeable future. That should be recognized as the biggest contribution of 1952 to the unfolding of India's future history.

Also, the elections disclosed some details of the broadly democratic trend. They decided the tussle between the extreme Right and the extreme Left in favour of the Centre, but added the warning that the Centre would retain its pre-eminence only if it quickly absorbed what was best in Left. It is significant that

(roughly) for every twelve votes secured by the Centre (Congress) in elections to Parliament, the parties which were or claimed to be Leftist secured six votes between them, and Rightists two. And it is significant, finally, that to the extreme Left the electorate gave only limited encouragement.

This answer to the political question mark was accompanied by and largely influenced the answer 1952 gave to the economic question mark. Some far-reaching decisions of economic policy were taken in 1952. Government accepted the principle that taxation was not merely a fiscal measure but also a means towards more equal distribution of income. Hence, the bill to levy death duties which was introduced in Parliament in November. The Planning Commission made no return to the daring policy of nationalisation announced four years ago. At the same time it checked the subsequent rapid trend away from that declaration. It decided that over-all objectives of national economy would be determined by government. Some important methods of reaching the objectives, like the great River Valley projects, would be the exclusive concern of government. But private capital would have scope to exploit most of the profitable sectors—consumer as well as capital industries—within a framework of government controls and advice. This framework is being created under the Industries Control and Regulation Act, which came into force in May this year. It establishes government control on thirtyseven industries and lays down that in any of them, any undertaking with an invested capital of more than Rs. 100,000 can be established only under a government licence. Government control is exercised through a Central Advisory Committee.

The objective of land reform has been declared to be to provide land to the landless and reduce disparities, present and future ; but the size of a land holding is not to be limited where large scale farming is undertaken on soil which needs heavy initial expenditure for reclamation or other purposes. Details of how this policy is to be introduced and how far it is to be carried out are yet to be finalised. As in other fields this too is a step away from theory and dogma towards pragmatism.

Almost as much as in the economic and political fields, 1952 marked a starting point in the Government's approach to the bigger issue of social organisation. When the vast movement in which millions followed Mahatma Gandhi brought independence, the nation's leaders were faced with a difficult choice. They disliked governance through an administrative machine which worked in isolation, away from the people. Yet they did not wish to try new methods and unleash new forces in the midst of the prevailing uncertainties and disorganisation, aftermath of the partition. But with reassuring signs of stability and an upward trend in economy in 1952, the leadership again reached out to the following in an effort to mobilise mass energy for constructive purposes.

The programme of Community Development Projects launched on October 2, 1952, was a large scale attempt after independence to enthuse people in a non-political and constructive cause, and to build out of their enthusiasm something of lasting value.

Whether the attempt will succeed is still unpredictable ; but at the moment what is more significant is that it has been made. It could not have been made in other circumstances. The consequences of one of the first major calamities to befall independent India, the arrival of millions of refugees driven out of Pakistan, have been largely overcome. In September, the Central Minister in charge of Displaced Persons from Pakistan was able to declare, "We have reached what might be called the culminating task of rehabilitating the displaced persons". By that time Government had spent a hundred and eightyeight crores of rupees on this job.

Kashmir, which next monopolised Government's attention, is settled on its own course of peaceful and democratic development in firmly-declared association with India. The State's relations with India were clarified and embodied in an agreement announced in July. The process of administrative integration of the country which began soon after independence and was completed in less

than three years were given the final touches. The economic dangers which faced India in 1949-50 and for some time thereafter have been gradually repelled. In that year, trade was running an annual deficit of nearly a hundred crores of rupees. The price index was almost four times as much as in 1944, a war year. With the Korea war it went up further and at the beginning of November 1951 it stood at 435.4. But since then the adverse trends have been gradually controlled and in many ways reversed. The price index at the beginning of November 1952 was a little over 11 per cent less than the year before. The index of industrial production which was 105.2 in 1950 rose to 117.4 in 1951, and in April 1952 it was 134.8—an all time record. Estimates announced in the course of 1952 showed that in the second quarter of the year India had a nominal surplus in the balance of payments.

That is why in 1952 it was possible for Government to do more than hold chaos in check and to plan in advance its activities in the new phase of development which began towards the end of the first five years of Independence. This time in 1941 it would have needed more than an optimist to say this would be possible ; today it would need more than a pessimist to deny the promise the future holds. The only condition is continued assurance of peace.

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India Today

M. K. Kirpalani

FIVE years ago we achieved our independence. Almost three years now, by the will of the people of India, expressed in the Constitution which they gave to themselves, India became a Republic—A Sovereign Democratic Republic. That this miracle was achieved was due primarily to the genius of one man—Mahatma Gandhi. By his singular technique of non-violence he not only prepared the Indians to shed all fear and brave all manner of sacrifice. He prepared the British likewise to quit India.. And because the British left India peaceably, relations between India and Britain today are of the friendliest. India stays in the Commonwealth.

How has India used this freedom ? What has it meant to the people of India, to the world at large ?

The change from colonial to sovereign republican status has meant that the people of India are free to fashion their own lives, to mould their own destinies, free from foreign interference. It has meant abolition of titles and of all manner of privilege tending to divide the people. It has meant prohibition of discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any one of them. It has meant equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment under the State. It has meant the right to freedom of speech and expression, the right to form associations or unions. It has meant further that no person shall be deprived of his life and personal liberty except according to procedure established by law ; that no

person shall be deprived of his property save for compensation duly paid according to law ; that all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion. Untouchability has been abolished. India is a secular state.

The Princes—Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs and others—over 600 of them, survivals of the old feudalism in India have been divested of their political powers and the areas over which they ruled have according to administrative convenience been integrated with the adjoining areas in India. Some have been merged into existing states, some amalgamated to form new convenient units. Some others have, for special reasons, been allowed for the time being to maintain their separate existence. But all are comprised within the Union of India and are being democratized, transformed from somewhat feudal into fully democratic States.

With this transformation, memories have revived of the old civilization and culture of India, its continuity from the pre-dawn of history up to the present day and there has come among the people a new awareness of the unity of India, of pride in its citizenship and a fierce determination to keep their dearly won freedom inviolate.

May 13, 1952, is a red letter day in the history of India. It was on this day that the first Republican Parliament of India met—after country-wide elections in which every adult citizen was a voter—some 177 millions of them, men and women, almost half of India's population. The elections were singularly free from corrupt practices and their peaceful character impressed everyone. Men in inaccessible places gladly trekked miles to record their votes. The total poll was over 80 millions. Illiteracy proved to be no obstacle, being relieved by special voting devices. The first elections in free India showed clearly that the inherent democratic instincts of the people of India had, during centuries of subjugation, become only submerged but had not been killed.

Forms of government are however only a means to an end. And the end in India is envisaged as the promotion by the State

of the welfare of the people by securing for them as effectively as it may be possible a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The Constitution lays down *inter alia* that the State shall direct its policy towards securing, among other things, that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood ; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good, and that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

A Planning Commission presided over by the Prime Minister himself, unwedded to any 'ism' has worked out practical programmes for economic advancement of the country in order to raise the standards of living of the people. These programmes extend to all the vital sectors of Indian economy—improvement and extension of irrigation and electric power, transport and communications, agricultural and rural development, social and welfare services ; the primary aim being to improve agricultural production, the agricultural sector being the one which has remained the most stagnant and felt most the impact of the partition of India.

The total cost is estimated at approximately 4,000 million dollars, the major part of which India expects to meet from its own resources.

Some of the programmes planned are already being implemented. A number of multi-purpose projects, to name the more important ones, the Damodar Valley, the Bhakra-Nangal, the Tungabhadra, the Hirakud, conceived after the Tennessee Valley Project in U.S A. to control floods, to extend irrigation, to improve navigation and make available additional electric power for increased agricultural production, are under way. The system of land tenure is being overhauled with the twin ends of achieving social justice and increasing food production. Large estates known as Zamindaris are being liquidated (with compensation duly paid),

all intermediaries, as receivers of land revenue, being eliminated and production planned suitably to local conditions with the ultimate object of evolving some sort of cooperative village management, as best suited to Indian economy.

The biggest fertilizer factory in Asia producing sulphate of ammonia has gone into production. It has already achieved the full production target of one thousand tons of ammonium sulphate per day. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, again the largest manufacturing unit of its kind in Asia, is scheduled to produce by 1956, 120 locomotives and 50 spare boilers per year.

New targets of production have been achieved in textiles both cotton and jute, coal, steel, sugar, salt, cement, and in a great variety of consumer goods industries. And to accelerate the pace of scientific and industrial development, a number of National Laboratories have been established to supplement the work already being carried on by business houses and universities in physical, chemical, metallurgical and other fields of research.

Welfare of labour has not been neglected. A social security measure, again the first of its kind in South-East Asia—the Indian Employees State Insurance Scheme—put into operation early this year will cover ultimately $2\frac{1}{2}$ million workers in all perennial factories. The scheme has, in the first instance, been applied to Delhi and Kanpur, covering about 150,000 workers. A worker will be entitled to free medical attention and cash bonus when disabled and his dependents to gratuity and pension in the event of his death.

For a country of the size of India and its great and varied needs this is a modest effort. Availabilities of finance and of trained personnel impose obvious limitations. It is also desired to plan so as not to impose on the people a degree of suffering and regimentation which might endanger the further development of democratic institutions.

Planning is a continuing process. This is only the first-five year plan of its kind. Other plans will follow.

A remarkable feature of planning in India is the organisation recently of a non-political social service agency called the Bharat Sewak Samaj, which will seek and channel public cooperation in working out programmes of economic and social development of the country. The activities of the Bharat Sewak Samaj will it is expected cover all aspects of community welfare including organisation of public opinion against anti-social practices. Funds for carrying out the national programmes, if required, will be raised by voluntary subscription but the principal resources of the organisation are reckoned to be the spare time of the people and its maximum effective utilisation.

And now what has India's freedom meant to the world at large ?

The freedom for India has meant freedom for about 1/5th of the human race. It has sounded the death-knell of colonial imperialism. In the wake of India's freedom has come freedom for Pakistan 70 millions, Burma 18 millions, Ceylon 6 millions, Indonesia 80 millions. Freedom for the other countries in Asia and in Africa still under foreign rule cannot now be denied. Any action taken to delay or thwart it must defeat itself and add to the existing tensions of the world.

The voice of India will always be heard in support of the freedom of subject people. The part already played by India in the liberation of Indonesia, in the independence of Libya and, more recently, in focussing world attention on the question of Tunisia needs hardly to be pointed out.

Gandhiji said that the ends cannot justify the means and that it was imperative that means must also be right and honourable. The special weapon which he forged to win India's freedom was SATYAGRAH, a weapon of non-violence and truth.

Ever since India has emerged as a free nation on the international scene, she has endeavoured under the inspiration of Gandhiji's teaching and philosophy, which indeed is in full accord

with India's national tradition, to approach every question of foreign policy with a sense of what is morally right and just, of what would lessen existing tensions, what would prevent conflict, what would contribute towards world peace.

War in India's estimation benefits no one, not even the victor. Although it may gain some immediate purposes, it solves no real problem as experience of the two world wars has amply shown. With the marshalling of the world forces as at present, it would cause the uttermost destruction. India would, therefore, like to keep out of war. This does not mean, however, that where freedom is menaced or aggression takes place, it is not to be resisted.

Let there be no mistake about it. India is not neutralist. It is not sitting on the fence either. It is not isolationist in its world outlook. India believes in the Charter of the United Nations and will do nothing to weaken the United Nations Organisation, although there is a feeling in India that latterly the U.N. has somehow swerved from its basic principles. India is willing and prepared to cooperate with all countries and is not opposed to arrangements for regional security.

But India keeps herself free from involvement with power blocs because she considers them a threat to peace. Alignment of every State with the one or the other bloc would leave no room for operation of any mediatory or conciliatory influences. India is not prepared to surrender her judgment on vital issues confronting the world. It is anxious to judge every issue on its merits and is glad, as and when occasion should require, to make her good offices available, in all humility, in the resolving of conflicts and promotion of greater understanding and cooperation between nations in the cause of world peace.

A factor of India's policy, which has attracted special notice, is India's recognition of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, the efforts made by India to secure recognition of that Government by the U.N. and the peaceful and

friendly relations which India maintains with China. Some foreigners are puzzled.

The fact is that our policy has had nothing to do with our likes or dislikes of the new regime in China. Our policy is based on recognition of the simple fact that the new regime in China is in effective control of the entire mainland of China. A new united and powerful China has emerged which compels recognition. It cannot just be ignored in the interest of maintenance of peace in Asia and the Far East.

India has had friendly and peaceful relations with China for centuries past. The two countries have now become neighbours with 2,000 miles of frontier between them. We wish to be friendly with all countries specially our neighbours. We wish to cooperate with them in every sphere where cooperation is possible with mutual appreciation and respect for each other's rights.

The good neighbourly policy is not peculiar to or restricted to China. It extends to our other neighbours, Nepal, Iran, Afghanistan, Burma, Indonesia and further away Philippines, with whom all we have treaties of friendship concluded or in prospect. With our immediate neighbour, Pakistan, our relations are unhappily still suffering from the wounds that partition inflicted ; but it is hoped that in the not too distant future these will be completely healed.

India is of Asia and wants that the voice of Asia should be heard in matters pertaining to Asia. The solution for many of Asia's ills is not military pacts and alliances. They are at best premature. What is wanted is the will to defend freedom and there can be no such will until all countries that are still subject to foreign rule become free and the living conditions therein are so changed and improved that their peoples feel they have something to fight for and defend.

Such indeed is the major concern of the Government of India today, to consolidate freedom, to give freedom a meaning

which the masses of India can understand, to relieve their age-old poverty, their hunger, their illhealth, their illiteracy, to make them happy. And to achieve this end, India needs peace, a long period of peace, so that resources indigenous and foreign as may become available are used to build up a free, prosperous and democratic India, which gives heart to the struggling forces of democratic freedom to win through in this part of the world.

Freedom and Agrarian Change

Tarlok Singh

THE Indian village is amongst the oldest rural communities in the world. Through its long history it stood for stability and continuity in the midst of change and upheaval. Political cataclysms scarcely touched the village fabric or altered, except for brief moments, the even tenor of its life. The village represented at once a social pattern and an economic organisation in which the local community met most of its wants, status and functions were fixed largely by birth and caste, and certain cultural values were commonly accepted. It was a way of life in which every individual had his place in the group and the group had its assigned role in the community. Until not so long ago the picture was one of a community which was for its limited needs almost self-sufficient and was more or less integrated not only from the social and economic aspect but also emotionally.

The industrial revolution travelled to India through trade and communications mainly with Britain and through the influence which British political thought and institutions, being in some way representatives of the liberal tradition, began to exert in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These developments did not affect the basic village structure but, combined with the effects of foreign rule, they weakened the village both internally and as the base of a larger social and economic system. Imports from Britain and later the growth of large-scale industry caused a steady decline in village industries and increased the pressure of population on land, a tendency which was greatly accentuated by the rate at which population was growing. The village shopkeeper, who

had for long been a subordinate though essential servant of the community, grew a merchant and money-lender enjoying protection from the new laws and courts.

The landlord was regarded by the rulers as a pillar of stable administration, a source of influence to be strengthened and maintained in every possible way. A new middle-class, partly rural in origin but predominantly urban in complexion and mode of thought and behaviour, gained influence and for several decades the village and its problems received insufficient attention. From time to time events took place in the villages which suggested that old values were being challenged, the sense of poverty was growing and the small peasant, the tenant-at-will and the workers were looking for new leadership and new ways of making themselves felt. The first notable measures of tenancy and land reform were initiated during the brief period before World War II when representatives of the Indian National Congress formed governments in the provinces. The political situation did not, however, permit these governments to implement their policies and during the years that followed the impulse for social change gathered greater force. When independence came in August 1947, everywhere large numbers of persons were prepared for change.

Indian freedom was in every sense a liberating force which released new energy and made possible reforms, political, economic and social, which were long overdue. For a considerable period in the economic life of the villages land reform had meant, above all, the elimination of intermediaries and the protection of the tiller. It is, therefore, to these two problems that various governments in India have given most attention in recent years, and one could say that reforms relating to them are now well on their way.

Intermediaries could be divided into three broad groups. There were first of all the *zamindars* in States like West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh with whose fore–runners the East India Company had entered into permanent settlement of the revenues which they were liable to pay to the government while they

themselves were free to recover rent from their tenants. In later years such settlements were made not on a permanent basis, but for periods of 30 or 40 years. Both in the permanently and in the temporarily settled areas, as a result of legislation over many years, tenants obtained greater security and occupancy tenants, corresponding to peasant proprietors in other parts of the country, became the effective holders of land and the rents which they had to pay came to be carefully regulated. There were, however, two other tendencies at work. On the one hand, on account of the freedom which the law gave to sell or mortgage intermediary rights, in many instances several layers of intermediaries developed. Secondly, as the tiller of the soil acquired security and became an occupancy tenant, in turn he found it possible to sublet land, so that the gap between the State and the tiller became wider and an increasing number of persons lived on the labour of the tiller. The result of reforms undertaken during the past four or five years has been to abolish intermediaries altogether and to place the cultivator in a much stronger position. The necessary legislation has been enacted in all States except West Bengal (where legislation is shortly expected) and is in various stages of implementation. It is expected that within the next three years intermediaries would have been completely eliminated.

Important as *zamindars* were as collectors of rent on behalf of the government, their position in the provinces was of much less significance than that of their counterparts in the Indian States, the *jagirdars*, who held immense political and economic power as recently as three or four years ago. In Rajasthan, Hyderabed and Madhya Bharat and in a smaller degree elsewhere, all *jagirdari* rights have been abolished and the foundations of a new rural society, essentially equilitarian in spirit and structure, have been laid. The third group of intermediaries included the superior owners and landlords with long established inferior owners and occupancy tenants holdings under them. These existed in a small measure in every State, including those which had a peasant structure. Almost everywhere such rights have existed in the past as fringes in the agrarian system which were in themselves

of no great importance. They have all been abolished or are being abolished.

In different parts of the country legislation has been enacted for giving security to the tenant and assuring to him his legitimate share of the produce of his labour. Tenants-at-will hold land for a period of five to ten years and, as a rule, so long as the conditions of the tenancy are observed, except to enable an owner to resume personal cultivation, land cannot be taken away from them. In some parts of the country a limit varying from 30 to 50 acres has been laid down upto which an individual owner can resume land for personal cultivation. Over the rest of his land his tenants can scarcely be disturbed. Rents have been reduced to about one third of the produce in several States and larger reductions are now being envisaged throughout India. In some States special classes of protected tenants have been created and they have been given the right to become owners on easy and favourable terms.

The Five Year Plan which has been recently approved by India's Parliament outlines a far-reaching land policy as an essential feature of economic planning. This policy aims at consolidating reforms which have been already initiated, securing similar action throughout the country, eliminating large disparities in the ownership of land and making such changes in the structure and pattern of village organisation as will assist in establishing a classless society, based on cooperative effort, which offers equal opportunity to all irrespective of circumstances of birth or status. The Plan describes the future of land ownership and cultivation as being perhaps the most fundamental issue in national development. It recommends that the changes to be made in respect of different interests in land should be carried out speedily and the period of transition should be reduced to the minimum, so that a new social pattern can develop its own organic unity and can begin to evolve from within. Thus, the concept of land reform includes on the one hand the elimination of disparities and, on the other, it embodies positive measures for building a new rural social and economic structure. Only a programme of fundamental

social and economic transformation can bring real freedom and opportunity to the mass of the people.

The Plan recommends that an upper limit should be laid down for the amount of land which an individual may hold. Such a limit has to be fixed both for future acquisition and for resumption for personal cultivation where the land may be in the hands of a tenant. As one criterion it has proposed that the upper limit should be three times a family holding in any given year. A family holding is defined as being equivalent, according to the local conditions and the existing techniques, either to a plough unit or to a work unit for a family of average size working with such assistance as it is customary in agricultural operations. Where land is held by tenants, it is proposed that tenants should be enabled to become owners on easy terms. Where land is not cultivated by tenants, the Plan recommends that an absolute limit to the amount of land which any individual may hold should be laid down for each State in the light of its own agrarian conditions on the basis of a census of land holdings under cultivation which is to be held this year. Standards of efficiency and management are to be prescribed under special land management legislation and specific obligations imposed on individual owners of land. While there is room for special treatment of farms which are so well managed that their break-up might lead to a fall in production, in the case of other farms, the appropriate authorities should have power to take over for management an entire farm or a portion of it and arrange for the cultivation of the land so taken over through cooperative groups or through individual agricultural workers The aim of these proposals is to provide for a large measure of redistribution of land belonging to substantial owners.

Owners of land not exceeding a family holding are described as small owners and those holding land in excess of one family holding but less than, say, three family holdings as middle owners. The general aim of policy is to encourage and assist small and middle owners to develop their production and to organise themselves, as far as possible, in cooperatives. For small farmers programmes for the consolidation of holdings are to be speeded

up and it is proposed that there should be a minimum size below which sub-division of holdings is not permitted. The Plan outlines proposals for the protection of tenants who may be cultivating under small and middle owners. Tenants of those small and middle owners who are held to be non-cultivators are to be assisted to become owners of land. In all cases tenancies are to be for periods varying from five to ten years and are to be renewable, resumption being permitted only when the owner wishes to cultivate himself. Considerable reduction of existing rents if proposed, a rate of rent exceeding one-fourth or one-fifth of produce being regarded as requiring special justification.

The rural problem is something much larger in scope than the acquisition of land of some owners here or there or the regulation of the rights and obligations of landlords and tenants. It has to be remembered that about a fifth of the agricultural population consists of landless workers who have in the past suffered from social and economic disabilities and whose standards of living are still comparatively lower than those of other sections of the population. Secondly, unless the village economy can be so developed that it offers scope not only for greatly increased agricultural production but also for much fuller and more varied employment than is at present available, land reform by itself will not achieve substantial results. In India's Five Year Plan, therefore, the greatest stress is laid on the development of cooperative organisations. To encourage small individual farmers to group themselves into cooperative farming societies a number of incentives are suggested. The Plan recommends measures for rapid advance towards a system of cooperative village management. The primary object of cooperative village management is to ensure that the land and other resources of a village can be organised and developed from the standpoint of the village community as a whole. A distinction is drawn between the claims of ownership which are determined by the land reform legislation and the needs of management which are determined by the interests of the community. Under the land-management legislation, it is proposed that a village community acting through the *Panchayat* or the village council should be empowered to manage the entire area of a village, both

cultivated and uncultivated, as if it were a single farm. Depending upon local circumstances and the technique available, the cultivation could be arranged in family holdings, through small groups working blocks of land on cooperative lines or through a combination of arrangements adapted to the operations to be carried out. There has to be a great deal of trial and experiment in evolving the best patterns of organisation. To enable a village to substitute cooperative village mangement for the existing system of small and fragmented individual holdings, it is proposed that if a majority of the owners and permanent tenants in a village wish to enter upon cooperative management of the land of the village, their decision should be binding on the village as a whole.

The village is conceived not merely as a rural community living its own life but as a vital, progressive and largely self-governing base in the entire structure of national planning. Thus, various measures of land reform which have been in progress in recent years and are to be further developed and hastened during the next three years find a synthesis in the goal of cooperative village management. Political freedom has made possible rapid advances in the direction of social and economic freedom. Aided by large programmes of community development and the growth of irrigation and power which are now in progress, measures of land reform and village reorganisation become the instruments of a social change which is revolutionary in its significance and in its impact on the future of India.

India's First Five Year Plan

J. J. Anjaria

ON December 8, 1952, India's Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru presented to Parliament the First Five Year Plan as finally worked out by the Planning Commission of which he is Chairman. The Plan was approved by the Indian Parliament on the 19th December, 1952, and the Central and State Governments are now concentrating their efforts on the implementation of the Plan.

India's First Five Year Plan is a document of more than national significance ; for the choice of basic objectives and means to be adopted and the scale and pattern of development envisaged in the Plan have a direct bearing on the problem of the right economic and social framework for an underdeveloped country seeking rapid development.

The need for economic and social planning in India was realised even before Independence. As early as 1937, the Indian National Congress had set up a Planning Committee with Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman to examine the problem of planned all-round development of resources. That Committee covered extensive ground and produced a number of reports on different aspects of economic and social planning. Its work was, however, interrupted on account of the incarceration of its Chairman, and, in any case, a concrete plan of development could not be worked out so long as the country was not free to determine its own economic policy.

Within less than three years of the attainment of independence, and immediately after the more urgent problems arising

out of Independence and the partition of the country had been settled, the Government of India turned its attention to the problem of planned economic development in the country. The Planning Commission was appointed in March, 1950. It was asked to make an assessment of the material, capital and human resources of the country and to formulate a plan for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the same. As mentioned earlier, the Commission published its Draft Outline Report in July 1951. Certain modifications have been made in this Draft Plan in the light of discussions with all sections of the public including the different political parties in the country, and the Commission has now presented the finalised version of the Five Year Plan.

The Plan involves an expenditure in the public sector of Rs. 2,069 crores ($ 4,310 million) over the period 1951-56. 17.5 per cent of this expenditure is to be devoted to agriculture and community development, 27.1 per cent to irrigation and power, 24 per cent to transport and communications, 8.4 per cent to industry and over 20 per cent on social services including rehabilitation of displaced persons.

Agricultural development including irrigation and power have been given the highest priority in the Plan. This is because India is at present deficit not only in foodgrains but also in raw materials like cotton and jute. The productivity of agriculture is exceedingly low, and unless this is improved substantially and the economy strengthened at the base, industrial development cannot proceed far. The Plan aims at increasing the area under major and minor irrigation by 19.7 million acres. It also includes schemes for land reclamation, distribution of seed, manures and fertilisers, the provision of a national extension service and the creation of additional facilities for rural finance and marketing.

Agriculture in India is a way of life rather than a business, and the various experiments in agricultural improvement that have been made in the country, indicate that the best way to solve this problem is through intensive developmental work in selected areas covering in a co-ordinated manner all aspects of rural life. This

co-ordinated approach is the essence of the community development projects, 55 of which have already been initiated and more are to be undertaken in the years to come so as to cover by stages almost the entire country. Through these various measures it is hoped to increase the production of foodgrains in the country by 7.6 million tons, that is, by 14 per cent ; of cotton by 2.26 million bales—an increase of 42 per cent ; of jute by 2.09 million bales—an increase of 63 per cent. Moderate increases in the production of sugar cane and oilseeds are also proposed. The target for additional capacity for electrical energy is set at 1.2 million kilowatts which, though relatively small as compared to needs as well as potentialities, represents a 50 per cent increase over the capacity available in 1950-51.

About Rs. 922 crores, that is, as much as 45 per cent of the total expenditure under the Plan, is to be devoted to agriculture, irrigation and power. In the programme for transport and communications which absorbs another 24 per cent of the total outlay a large part is accounted for by the rehabilitation of the railways. For industrial development in the public sector, the Plan provides for an expenditure of Rs. 94 crores. This will enable the Central and State Governments to complete the various industrial projects they have in hand such as the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, the Machine Tools Factory, the Dry Core Cable Factory, the Newsprint Factory etc. The major responsibility for industrial expansion in this Five Year Plan period will rest largely on private initiative and resources but these will be supplemented at certain points by assistance from the public sector. The industrial plan includes a provision of Rs. 15 crores towards the setting up of a new iron and steel plant for which participation of indigenous and external capital is to be sought. In addition, the Plan provides a sum of Rs. 50 crores for development of basic industries such as the heavy electrical industry together with ancillary transport facilities.

The projects in the public sector relate mostly to the manufacture of capital goods or of intermediary products which are of vital importance from the point of view of immediate needs as well as in terms of future economic development. As to industries in

the private sector, the Plan has indicated an order of priorities and has worked out schemes of expansion in consultation with the representatives of the industries concerned. The emphasis here is again on capital and producer goods industries such as iron and steel, aluminium, cement, heavy chemicals etc. In respect of consumer goods industries, the accent is on fuller utilisation of existing capacity. Taking the public and the private sectors together, the major increases in production which are expected at the end of the five-year period are as follows : heavy chemicals 156,000 tons, fertilisers 529,000 tons, pig iron 310,000 tons, steel 394,000 tons, cement 2.1 million tons. India is expected to be able to manufacture 150 locomotives annually by 1955-56 and a large measure of expansion is envisaged in respect of diesel engines, power-driven pumps, textile machinery and several other engineering lines. Production of cloth is scheduled to rise by 1,872 million yards, of sugar by 340,000 tons, of salt by 429,000 tons, of paper and paper board by 86,000 tons and of sheet glass by 20,000 tons over the level of 1950-51. The total investment necessary for financing the industrial expansion in the private sector is estimated at Rs. 233 crores. In addition, there is a large backlog of arrears of depreciation to make up and it is estimated that an investment of Rs. 150 crores or so will be required during the five-year period for modernisation and replacement of plant and machinery.

The Plan for social services is estimated to cost Rs. 340 crores ; of this Rs. 156 crores is for education, about Rs. 100 crores for medical and public health services, Rs. 49 crores for housing, Rs. 29 crores for backward classes, Rs. 7 crores for labour and labour welfare, and Rs. 4 crores for assistance to voluntary social welfare organisations. In the States, the Plan contemplates only a limited measure of expansion in social services, but at the Centre Rs. 20 crores have been provided for further development in the field of primary and secondary education. An extensive programme of malaria control is also to be taken in hand. The requirements in this sphere are very large and there is obviously need for keeping a balance between development of productive activity as such and the expansion of social services. There is, in a country like India, immense scope for direct utilisation of manpower for provision of

community services and this the Plan has duly emphasised.

How is a country like India to finance a Plan of this magnitude ? In 1950-51 the development expenditure of public authorities was about Rs. 232 crores. This, it is expected, will go up to about Rs. 500 crores by 1955-56. The Plan has made a careful assessment of the financial resources available, and it is estimated that Rs. 1,258 crores will be available over the five-year period through savings from current revenues and from market borrowings, small savings and other capital receipts of the Central and State Governments. This will necessitate the most careful husbanding of domestic resources, especially as the objective is not merely to divert savings from the private to the public sector but also to enlarge the total part of savings on which both the sectors have to draw. External resources already received towards the financing of the Plan amount to Rs. 156 crores. This gives a total of Rs. 1,414 crores by way of resources in sight for meeting the programme of public expenditure outlined above. Of the balance of Rs. 655 crores ($ 1,364 million) still needed, Rs. 290 crores ($ 604 million) will be available from the sterling balances available to India during the five-year period but there still remains the problem of finding the remaining Rs. 365 crores ($ 760 million). This is the measure of external resources needed to enable India to implement the Plan without undue strain.

That external resources have a part to play in promoting the development of an underdeveloped country in its early stages has been recognised in the Plan. Nevertheless, the programme envisaged in the Plan is not "inflexibly conditioned" on the availability of external resources. This means that even if external assistance is not forthcoming to the full extent indicated, the Governments in the country will endeavour to carry through the Plan in full even at the cost of some suffering and privation in the country.

The Five Year Plan as thus worked out will raise national income by about 11 per cent. Since population continues to grow at about 1¼ per cent per year, the net increase in *per capita*

incomes at the end of the Plan period will be only small. However, the capital structure of the community will have been greatly strengthened, irrigation and power facilities will have added substantially to the production potential in the country ; a gigantic fertiliser plant will have been in operation ; the existing iron and steel plants would have been expanded, and the construction of the new plant will have made considerable headway. The Planning Commission itself looks upon this Plan as in the main a plan for preparation, a plan whose objective is to remove the more urgent deficiencies in the economic structure and to lay the foundations for more rapid growth in the future.

The Report of the Planning Commission outlining this Five Year Plan covers not only the programmes of expansion to be undertaken by the Central and State Governments ; it attempts to view the economy as a whole and to sketch the major lines of development in the private sector as well. Some of the schemes of industrial expansion in the private sector will also necessitate participation of foreign capital. Taking domestic savings, releases from sterling balances available in the period and the possible external investment in the economy, the total investment programme for the country as a whole is estimated to work out at Rs. 3,500 to 3,600 crores over the period of the Plan. This involves a stepping up of the rate of investment in the economy from the level of about 5 per cent of national income in 1950-51 to about 7½ per cent by 1955-56.

"The relationship", to quote the Report, "between political forms and the spirit underlying them in a vast and intricate subject in which no easy judgments are possible. But it must be emphasised that for democratic planning to succeed it will have to energise the entire community and to place before it a goal of endeavour which will call forth all its latent creative urges". The problem that India faces is not one of relatively small adjustment in the economic system so as to produce a little more of goods and services ; it is one of transforming the economy rapidly so as to raise productivity and the level of material welfare substantially for the vast masses of the country. The rate of progress, especially

if it is to be ordered progress, is bound to be relatively slow in the early stages, but India's Five Year Plan is an earnest of the determination of the country to get off to a right start so as to be able to accelerate the pace of advance quickly over the years to come. No country of the size and dimensions of India has so far tried to plan rapid development through democratic means, and India's first Five Year Plan is in this sense a bold new adventure of great significance not only for India but for other underdeveloped countries as well.

Community Development Programme

U. L. Goswami

IN the chapter on Community Development and Rural Extension in the First Five Year Plan, the Planning Commission have observed that community development is the method and rural extension the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate the process of transformation of the social and economic life of the village.

Basically the concept of community development is one of many sided developments as distinguished from development of particular aspects of rural life. The concept is based on past experience in the working of the Grow More Food programmes as well as of States and other private agencies engaged in village development. The main lesson to be derived from all these past experiments is that "all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects are dealt with in isolation". In the past the different development departments like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Cooperation, Public Health and Education had tried to deal with these different aspects of rural life more or less in isolation from one another and the lowest functionary in these departments who had been in touch with the villager had neither the education nor the competence or broad vision necessary for a proper assessment of the integrated needs of the villager and the best way of satisfying those needs.

The difficulties of the Development Departments of Government trying to deal with different aspects of rural life in the isolated manner described above, were further enhanced by the fact that

the efforts of these departments were spread rather thinly over a large area. The nature of India's rural problem is such that it is not capable of solution as a result of such diluted efforts. What is necessary is that the effort should embrace all different facets of rural life and should be concentrated intensively in certain selected areas to begin with, the object being to spread out these efforts over the rest of the country over a period of years.

As has been pointed out above, one of the main defects of the development organisations in the past was that each department approached the villager through its own hierarchy and the weakest point in each was the lowest official who had to be in touch with the villager. This official was, in most cases, inadequately trained and incapable of providing guidance. The approach to the villager in the community development areas is intended to be a coordinated one and the main agency in this approach will be through a functionary common at least to the principal departments engaged in rural work. This agency is the Village Level Worker. He will form the most important part of the rural extension service and in order that he may be able to establish effective contact with every farmer in his area his beat will cover only 5 to 10 villages. The intention is to start with 5 villages and gradually enlarge the size of the village level worker's jurisdiction as the work progresses and experience is gained in extension work.

The broad organisational pattern which will be followed will consist in the village level worker's jurisdiction being regarded as the basic unit and in setting up a supervisory organisation over an area of approximately 100 villages. This unit will be known as the 'Development Block'. At the block level there will be a Block Development Officer who will be assisted on the technical side by four supervisory officers dealing with agriculture, animal husbandry, cooperation, panchayats and social education. The village level worker will be able to draw on the technical knowledge and experience of the supervisory officers whenever he is faced with a problem which he is not able to solve with his own limited knowledge. Steps will also be taken to see that the results of agricultural research are passed on in a readily assimilable form from the various

The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, lending a hand in the construction of a road in a village near Delhi as part of the Community Development Projects

laboratories and experimental farms to the supervisory officers at the block level and through them to the village level workers.

It will be clear from what has been said above that "community development" is a comprehensive and compendious description for several items of reconstruction which include, besides agricultural production, live-stock improvement and dairying, forests and soil conservation, cooperation and village panchayat, public health, drainage, sanitation and education.

India's Five Year Plan sets before the country a target of additional production of foodgrains to the extent of 7.6 million tons during the Plan period. Of this a little over 2 million tons is expected from major irrigation projects and the rest from the grow more food programme, including minor irrigation and land reclamation. In setting this target before the country the commission have been greatly influenced by the necessity for attaining self-sufficiency in foodgrains as early as possible. The importance of this will be clear from the fact that in 1951 India imported 4.73 million tons of foodgrains. As increased agricultural production is the most urgent objective, in the allocation of funds as between the different items covered by the programme, the importance of agriculture, irrigation and reclamation has been fully borne in mind. The bulk of the project expenditure is devoted to the provision of irrigation and development and provision of extension services. For obvious reasons the distribution of expenditure as between different items has to vary from area to area in conformity with local conditions but broadly speaking the percentages are : agriculture, irrigation, reclamation and animal husbandry (50%), health and rural sanitation (10%), education—basic and social—(13%), communications (10%), rural handicrafts (9%) and housing (8%).

A brief indication may now be given of what is being attempted in the community project areas under the different heads referred to above. In agriculture and related matters the programme includes reclamation of available virgin and waste land, provision of water for agriculture through minor irrigation works, provision of commercial fertilizers and improved seeds and

encouragement of the use of natural and compost manures, promotion of improved agricultural technique and improvement of live stock. In order to ensure that this agricultural improvement is based throughout on the principle of self-help every effort will be made to encourage the growth of a healthy cooperative movement, the intention being to see that there is at least one multipurpose society in every village or group of villages.

On the health side the intention is to set up in each Development Block a primary health centre with a dispensary and a ward of six beds. The health staff attached to the health centre will take medical care, both curative and preventive, to the peoples in their homes besides providing institutional care at the centre. Attempts will be made to improve environmental hygiene and provide for improved water-supply, proper disposal of human and animal wastes and proper drainage.

It has been realised that the full development of a community cannot be achieved without a strong educational base alike for men and women. The community projects are, therefore, intended to provide for social education including adult literacy, extension and improvement of primary and secondary education, the broad objective being to relate education to the social and economic life and needs of the area and develop it in such a way as to further the growth of the community. Maximum emphasis has therefore been placed on basic education which is based on the concept that education should centre round some form of manual and productive work and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft with due regard to the environment of the child.

Under communications, road system in the country side will be so developed as to link every village with in the project area up to a miximum distance of half a mile from the villages, the latter distance being connected by feeder roads which will be built by the villagers themselves through their own voluntary labour. The main roads will largely be built out of project funds.

The unemployed and the under employed persons in the village community will be provided with gainful employment by the development of cottage and small scale industries.

Steps are being taken wherever possible to provide demonstration and training in improved technique and designs for rural housing.

Past experience has shown that rural improvement programmes dependent on Government expenditure and not broad based on the willing cooperation of the people are essentially short-lived. The intention, therefore, is to ensure, right from the start, people's participation in the planning as well as the execution of the programme. People's participation in the planning of the programme will be brought about by the establishment of Project Advisory Committees on which all the non-official elements in the project area will be suitably represented. In the execution of the programme voluntary organisations of the people like the recently inaugurated Bharat Sewak Samaj, will be fully utilised and, in fact, minor works like small roads, erection of school buildings, community recreation centres or dispensaries will be executed through such popular agencies under the technical advice and guidance of the project staff.

In this way it is hoped that the new organisation will be able to face the problem of rural life in an integrated way and assist the villager in building up for himself a fuller and a richer life both economically and socially.

PLANNING FOR INDUSTRY

E. P. Moon

IN an under-developed economy like that of India with very limited resources and backward in technique, industrial development—as indeed all development—has to be conceived on a planned basis with due regard for the overall priorities of the economy as a whole. Moreover, since India is politically organised as a federation in which both the Government at the Centre and the Governments of the constituent States are entrusted with responsibility for industry, a plan is required in order to co-ordinate development and eliminate overlapping of activities in the public sector. Industrial development in the public sector has also to be co-ordinated with industrial expansion envisaged by private enterprise which has so far played the predominant part in the industrialisation of the country.

The importance of planning for a rapid economic development of the country was appreciated as early as the thirties of this century. The first plea on its behalf was put forward by the greatest of our living engineers, Sir M. Viswesvarayya in his book "Planned Economy for India, 1934". The idea was, however, widely popularised in the country by Pandit Nehru, the present Prime Minister, when he pleaded for its acceptance for the solution of the economic and social problems of the country in his presidential address to the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow in 1936. The acceptance of the concept of planning was translated into action by the Congress in 1938 and the National Planning Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Pandit Nehru for preparing the blue-print of the

National Plan. Seven out of the 29 sub-committees of this body devoted their labours to industry and their reports constitute the first documents on planning for industry. The Bombay Plan of 1944, the work of some leading industrialists and economists, was the next landmark in this field which was followed by other contributions on planning like the People's Plan and the Gandhian Plan. By the time the war ended, Government also showed its recognition of the value of planning for future development and set up the Planning and Development Department with the eminent industrialist, the late Sir Ardeshir Dalal, as the Member in charge. The examination of individual industries with a view to deciding on the quantum of development to be aimed at in each case was taken up by several industrial panels and reports on about 21 industries were published by 1947. These and other plans and projects were reviewed by the Advisory Planning Board which was appointed by Government at the end of 1946. Before action could be taken on its recommendations, the life and economy of the country was disrupted by partition and its aftermath. A second review of targets in the light of changes in the economy consequent on partition was made by the Development Committees in 1948-49. Broadly speaking, however, the postwar period 1945-50 did not provide a proper atmosphere for the preparation of a co-ordinated national plan owing to unstable political and economic conditions.

In March 1950 the Central Government constituted the Planning Commission to formulate the first Five Year Plan, co-ordinating all the post-war development schemes of Central and State Governments and assigning an order of priority for their execution. The responsibility for the formulation of the policy and plans for the industrial sector was entrusted in the Commission to Shri G. L. Mehta, now Indian Ambassador to the U.S.A. After a detailed examination of the existing industrial structure, the quantum of development already achieved and under execution by different industries and the problems currently faced by some of them, the Commission enunciated an order of priority for industrial expansion as under :

(1) fuller utilisation of existing capacity in producer goods industries, like jute and plywood, and consumer goods

industries like cotton textiles, sugar, vanaspati, paints and varnishes ;

(2) expansion of capacity in capital and producer goods industries like iron and steel, aluminium, cement, fertilisers, heavy chemicals, machine tools, etc. ;

(3) completion of units on which a part of the capital expenditure has already been incurred ;

(4) establishment of new plants which would lend strength to the industrial structure by rectifying, as far as resources permit, the existing lacunae and drawbacks, *e.g.*, manufacture of sulphur from gypsum, chemical pulp from rayon, etc.

Adherence to these priorities in planning industrial development over the period of the Plan would help to secure maximum output from the productive equipment already in existence and would advance industrial development by strengthening the raw material base and the national economy as a whole. It has to be pointed out in this connection that full utilisation of existing capacity in several consumer goods industries would be sufficient to meet domestic consumption at a satisfactory level and also provide adequate surpluses for export.

Planning for industry under existing conditions calls for action in other sectors also. Partition has upset the raw material economy of the country. Developments have therefore been planned in the agricultural sector and in the field of power generation with a view to relieving the shortage of raw materials and of electric energy which is of prime importance for the fuller utilisation of the existing capacity of industry let alone the establishment and operation of new factories. The development of electric power has to be regarded as a part of the plan for industrial development because there cannot be a favourable climate for industrial development in the absence of an adequate supply of

power. Developments in the spheres of agriculture and power will add to the existing resources of raw materials by 1955-56 as under : Raw cotton 1.26 million bales ; raw jute 2.09 million bales ; oil seeds 400,000 tons ; sugarcane 700,000 gur tons ; electric power 1.258 million KW.

A long range and stable policy is one of the desiderata of industrial planning. The industrial policy announced by the Central Government in April 1948 lists certain industries like the manufacture of arms and ammunition, the production and control of atomic energy and the ownership and management of railway transport is being reserved for the Central Government exclusively. In the case of certain other industries, such as coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding, manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus and mineral oils, the State will be responsible for further development except to the extent that it regards the cooperation of private enterprise necessary for the purpose. The rest of the industrial field is left open to private enterprise subject to the right of the State to intervene whenever the progress of any industry under private enterprise is found to be unsatisfactory. The Commission has endorsed the industrial policy outlined above and taken the view that industrial development in the period of the Plan has to be based on the co-existence of public and private sectors. Since, however, the highest priority has been accorded in the Plan to the increase of agricultural production, the resources available in the public sector for industrial development will be limited and used primarily for the completion of projects already in hand. A large field in the industrial sector is thus left open to private enterprise during the period of the Plan. Apart from the completion of the projects under execution the Central Government have decided to establish an iron and steel plant in the public sector. It is also expected that a beginning will be made with the construction of a heavy electrical power plant factory in the last years of the Plan. The state has to take up these two new projects since the resources required for them are not likely to be forthcoming from private sources. The cooperation of private enterprise, indigenous and external, is however welcomed in these State enterprises.

Most of the industrial undertakings in the public sector have been organised on the model of joint stock companies, with boards of directors vested with powers of management in the same manner as in the private sector, since this admits of flexibility in operation and that measure of autonomy so essential for the successful conduct of industry.

It is estimated that the total outlay on industries in the five-year period will be about Rs. 707 crores, of which Rs. 150 crores are expected to be spent on replacements of plant and machinery and their modernisation. Fixed capital investment on new industrial projects, including expansion of existing units, is placed at Rs. 327 crores consisting of Rs. 94 crores in the public sector and Rs. 233 crores in the private sector. Additional expenditure on industrial development in the public sector is envisaged out of a lumpsum provision of Rs. 50 crores made in the Plan for basic industries and transport the precise allocation of which has not yet been determined. The estimates of investment on industry are inclusive of Rs. 100 crores envisaged as the contribution of foreign capital. The participation of foreign capital is chiefly looked for in basic industries, requiring a high order of technical *know-how* and heavy capital investment, which are relatively underdeveloped or not in existence at all such as petroleum refining and the production of ferro-manganese, fertilisers, aluminium and iron and steel. Government's policy in regard to foreign capital is an integral part of the industrial plan and it gives assurances that there will be no discrimination between foreign and Indian undertakings in the application of general industrial policy, guarantees reasonable facilities for the remittance of profits and repatriation of capital consistently with the foreign exchange position of the country, and ensures fair and equitable compensation in the event of nationalisation.

Control over industry is inescapable where there is industrial planning and has to be exercised *inter alia* to see that the pattern of investment conforms to the priorities laid down. The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, provides for the licensing of new factories and of substantial expansion of

existing units. While control can prevent investment in unwanted fields, the Planning Commission has recognised the need for specific incentives to direct the flow of capital into the preferred lines and stressed their importance in fostering future industrial development.

A greater degree of realism has been imparted to the industrial plan by an awareness of the developments in South East Asia. Participation in the Colombo Plan has helped in the task of obtaining a picture of developments in some countries of this region and adjusting programmes in a suitable manner so as to be of mutual assistance.

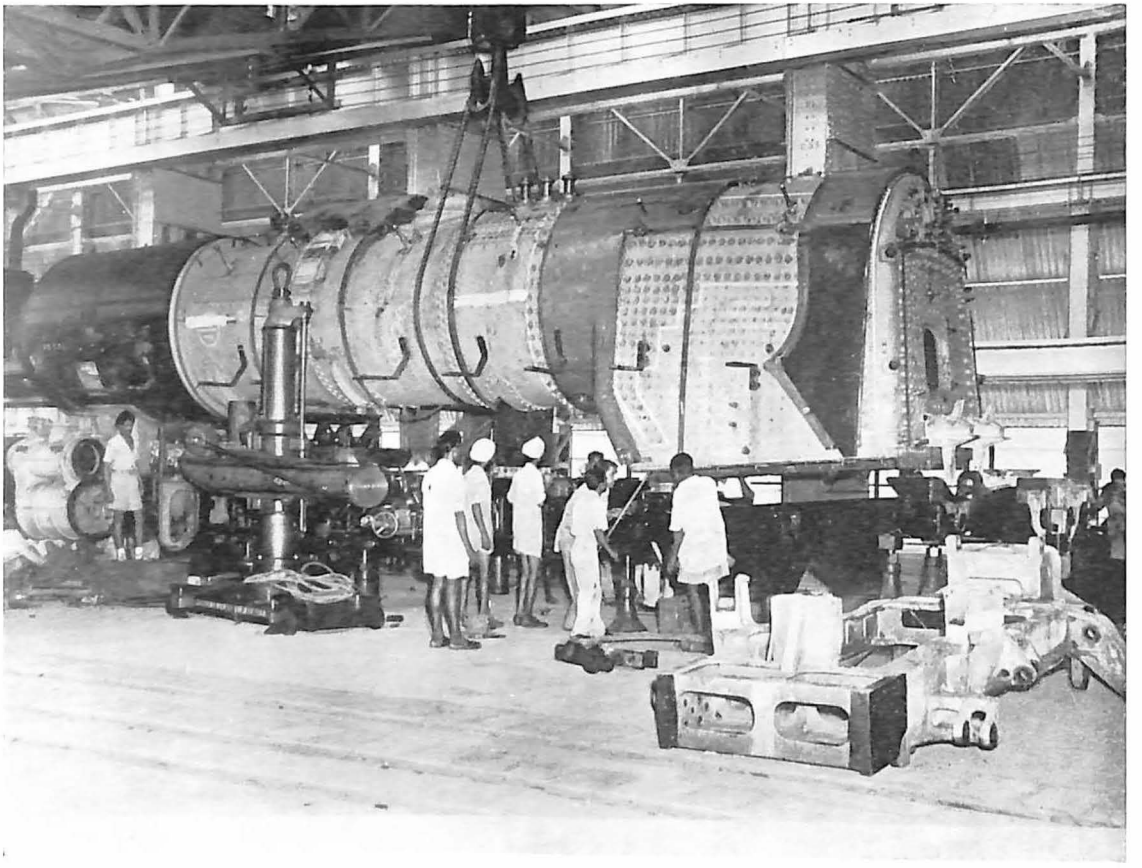
The industrial plan formulated by the Planning Commission includes development programmes for 42 industries in the public and private sectors. Investment in capital and producer goods industries absorbs about 90 per cent of the total outlay. The following increases are expected to take place between 1950-51 and 1955-56 in some of the most important industrial products: fertilisers ('000 tons) 528.6 ; pig iron for foundries ('000 tons) 310.0 ; finished steel ('000 tons) 394.0 ; aluminium ('000 tons) 8.3 ; cement ('000 tons) 2,108.0 ; diesel engines ('000 numbers) 44.5 ; power driven pumps ('000 numbers) 50.7 ; cloth (million yards) 1,872, ; sugar ('000 tons) 384 ; salt ('000 tons) 429 ; vegetable oils ('000 tons) 182 ; petroleum fuels (million gallons) 403. Some of the important projects, *e.g.*, iron and steel expansion, petroleum refining, aluminium production are phased over a longer period and will not, therefore, show their full benefits till the next five year period. Similarly, developments in many engineering industries are conceived in terms of a gradual change-over from assembly to manufacture so that the import of components would be considerably obviated, but the change-over may not be complete during the period of the present plan. The implementation of the industrial plan will render indigenous industries increasingly self-sufficient in regard to their supplies of raw material, provide supplies of consumer goods for the population of the country at a higher level, and enable exports to be increased and diversified.

Industrial Production in India

E. P. W. da Costa

INDIAN industrial production in organised industries has attained an all-time peak within the last six months. There is some difference as to the actual month in which this peak has been attained. The official index (with base 1948=100) would appear to suggest that the prize month has been April 1952, whereas non-official indices suggest it has been July. This difference, however, is a subject of delight only for the statistician. The fact of the peak is more important than its timing. There is no major difference on the constituents of the peak or on the trend of industrial production. The comfortable conclusion is that the trend is definitely upward ; it has made a jump which was nearly as unexpected at home as it was abroad. Within the last twelve months organised Indian industrial production on an average has risen between 10 to 15 per cent. In terms of national income this may be computed at something like Rs. 125 crores. A windfall of this order certainly calls for scrutiny and explanation.

Figures for particular industries will indicate to what our good fortune is due. In July this year cotton textile production ran at 422 million yards which is an all-time record. In August the figure was just a little below, at 415 million yards. If an annual figure is computed on the basis of these two months the rate would be nearly 5,000 million yards which stands above India's peak of annual production of 1943-44 which was just 4,800 million yards. It is also to be remembered in comparison that in 1943-44 production was facilitated not merely by a non-existent sales problem, and plentiful finance, but also by the lower counts which



A locomotive being assembled at the Chittaranjan Locomotive Workshops

were being spun for war materials. The present increase in production has had no great assistance from similar events. Sales are difficult, finance is generally tight, and the counts spun are on an average steadily higher than during the war. These conditions of relative adversity seem to indicate that the textile industry at least has put its house in some considerable order.

Cotton textiles highlight the advance. They also contribute to the pace of Indian industrial production. This is because the value in gross terms of textile industrial production may be something between 35 to 40 per cent of India's total industrial production. Cotton textiles have, therefore, been a leading pace-maker. But there has been a significant improvement in other industries as well. The jute industry is still working at only 42½ hours per week, but sales of hessian have so improved in the United States following the two reductions of the export duty on hessian in February—May 1952 that the question of returning to a 48-hour week is under consideration. Production may well rise by something like ten per cent, if this decision is made. And the comfortable raw jute position in the Indian Union which is now producing 70 per cent of its raw jute requirements against only 35 per cent at the time of partition makes this problem a relatively easy one. The jute industry has even less cause for concern than the cotton textile industry, which, it must be admitted, has a severe sales problem on its hands.

After jute and cotton in importance in the structure of Indian industrial production, comes Iron and Steel, where production has risen steadily and is scheduled to rise even more as a result of new extensions now being undertaken. These operations include the expansion of the Tata Iron and Steel plant at Jamshedpur, the merger and expansion of the Indian Iron and Steel Company plants at Burnpur and the erection of a large new plant at a place still to be decided. Problems of finance and technical assistance for this plant and possibly one more are being discussed at the present time in the United States. The outcome of these negotiations is uncertain only to the extent that the sources of finance have not yet been decided. The World Bank which sent a small delegation to

enquire into the problem of financing is now possessed of enough facts to make a favourable decision. But even if the World Bank loans should not mature, a new steel plant will go through on the basis of the high priority this scheme now commands.

The progress in cement is, in some respects, even more striking than that of other industries mentioned. Present production is now running at an annual rate of 4 million tons which is more than double the figure for the Indian Union in 1948 when it was 1.55 million tons. In the Draft Five Year Plan the targeted figure is 5 million tons per year. At the rate at which the industry is now expanding, this target should be passed within two years, and a target of 6 million tons would certainly be justified in existing conditions. The market for cement in India is showing an unusually steeply rate of rise because of the large construction work involved in the new multi-purpose projects and in the heavy building programme of the Five Year Plan.

As with cement, so with coal. They have both broken records. Coal production today is running at over 37 million tons per year against less than 30 million tons in 1948. This output could be increased significantly if there were not some difficulties of transport to which speedy attention is being given, the draft figures being twice revised upwards. Paper which in India depends heavily on bamboo is also partially affected by transport difficulties, but here too progress has been sharp. On writing paper alone production has risen from 50,000 tons in 1948 to nearly 80,000 tons in 1951 ; on wrapping paper from 17,000 tons it moved up to 25,000 tons in 1951, and special varieties did well in 1951 although they have since fallen off.

In addition to India's large industries there are many smaller ones which have come into operation in the last five years and give promise for the future. The electrical industries lead this promising group. Electric motors produced in 1948 gave 60,000 H.P. only ; in 1951, the figure was 142,000 H.P. Storage batteries have moved up from 110,000 in 1948 to 187,000 in 1951 ; radio receivers from 25,000 to 70,000. Less notable are telephones

now being assembled in growing numbers in the Government Telephone Factory at Bangalore. There are significant developments in cycles and chemicals. The giant Sindri plant is capable of producing 350,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per year ; it is slowly working itself up to capacity. Rubber manufactures are also at an all-time peak. So, indeed, are sugar and salt. Only cigarettes (for reasons related to successive budgets) have failed to respond to the general swing.

It should be clear from a bare recital of these facts that Indian industrial policy has not restricted production. The Industries (Development and Control) Act which was placed on the Statute Book last year created at one time the fear that it might be used to compel producers to conform to a long set of Government regulations. No Government regulations have yet been issued under the powers contained in this Act, and the Government has now made it clear that the purpose of this Act, as well as of any powers it may exercise for licensing of new industry, will be used entirely to assist, and not restrict, production. This assurance has been warmly accepted by Indian industry and registration under the Industries (Development and Control) Act has now become a matter of such eager desire that the restriction of the figure one lakh of rupees as invested capital for applying concerns is sought to be reduced. There is no doubt that the Government of India has scored a remarkable victory in displaying to the commercial community that its fears in this respect were unfounded. Foreign investors have still not shown acquaintance with the spirit of this Act.

There are specific instances, however, to show that the character of Government intervention in industry has been appreciated by foreign interests working in the country. For example, all the large oil companies working in India—Burmah Shell, the Standard Vacuum Oil Company and Caltex—are building refineries in accordance with the terms laid down by the Government of India. In the last few months these plans have gone to work with extensions in almost every case ; new industries may spring up around by-products. The initial request of these companies that

they should be exempted from the operations of the Development and Control Act was conceded without any difficulty raising the hope that every reasonable request of this nature will be equally considered.

The treatment of foreign firms in this matter reflects in fact only an advance movement in favour of less rigid control which is in evidence throughout the country. There has been large substantial decontrol over the cotton textile industry and complete decontrol in the sugar industry. There is almost no significant restriction in Indian industry at the present time if one excepts the allocation of steel which is still necessary because of the shortage of steel imports. It may be confidently stated that during the next five years when production increases, our place for almost every industrial situation will further improve.

The outlook in India at the present time is not free from difficulties. Indian industry has a fairly rigid cost structure and there is not, at the present time, much hope that dearness allowances, linked with the cost of living, will fall. On the other hand, the international impact is certainly downwards and India which is still dependent in small part on foreign imports of food will benefit from the large wheat crop of 1952-53. If food costs descend, the middle classes of India on whom domestic capital formation so largely depends, may be able in course of time to improve their savings. Corporate retention is almost certainly rising. It looks, therefore, as if the spring in Indian industry is being put into place. If the prospects of new employment are not large, and wage conditions not capable of considerable improvement, it is at least clear that labour has no serious grievances. The last twelve months have marked almost the least troublesome spell in the whole period of industrial relations. Of all the bull points in this assessment, the marked signs of cooperation of labour are by no means the least.

A Motor Car Factory in Calcutta. Photograph shows car bodies receiving the final coating of colour

India's Foreign Trade

H. Venkatasubbiah

COUNTRIES like India and those in Southeast Asia which are primary producers develop a heavy export trade and therefore a large income from all trade relatively to other productive activity, whether agricultural, manufacturing or other service industries. A comparison of the proportion of income from trade in the total national income of certain countries with India's will illustrate this. In 1948-49 trade accounted for roughly 15 per cent of India's national income which compares not unfavourably with 19.3 per cent for the United States. It also compares well with the 13.2 per cent for Britain and 14.7 per cent for Japan, two countries which, though industrially well developed depend so much on exporting their production as well as on importing in order to make that production possible.

Since pre-war days there has been a small increase in India's share in world trade. In 1937 it was 2 7 per cent of total world exports and imports and in 1951—when the value of world trade in terms of U.S. dollars reached an "all-time annual high"—it was 2.2 per cent. But the latter is the figure for divided India ; adding to it Pakistan's share in order to make the figure comparable with 1937 we get a share of about 3 per cent of the world total. In the difficult post-war economic circumstances in which India found herself, in common with many other countries, to have recovered the pre-war share of world trade fairly rapidly is itself cause for some satisfaction.

When two years after the end of the war India became an independent country the effects of partition impinged on the traditional pattern of her foreign trade no less than the consequences

of world war II. In the composition of trade the traditional pattern was an exchange of India's raw materials, and some food and semi-manufactures, for articles wholly or partly manufactured. And in the direction of trade, the United Kingdom and Western Europe accounted for more than half of our total exports and imports, the rest of Asia for about a third and the United States for about a tenth. Many factors have been changing this pattern during the past five years and the effect of some has been sharp. From a net exporter of food India has emerged a net importer. Partition accentuated the position with regard to food imports, for some of the most fertile food producing areas of undivided India lay in the Pakistan provinces. Moreover, the uncertainty of trade relations between the two countries which unfortunately persisted seriously depleted the supply of East Bengal's raw jute and Sind's raw cotton for the Indian mill industry ; this necessitated expansion of raw jute output within India, to some extent at the expense of food crops and more imports of raw cotton from outside the sub-continent. As a result of the war, the physical devastation of British and Western European productive capacity reduced their share of India's imports of capital goods and in common with these areas themselves India began to have larger imports from the United States. The disruption of the economies of the countries of Southeast Asia and the drastic diminution in Japan's trade with this area and with India resulted in some increase in our exports to the rest of Asia and a reduction in our imports therefrom.

The value of India's exports increased from Rs. 4,233 million in 1948-49 (the first full financial year after partition) to Rs. 7,153 million in 1951-52. This 70 per cent increase in value represents about 10 per cent expansion in volume as the rest is offset by the increase in export prices in the period. It is of course in the terms of trade that we must look for the benefits of this increase in value as in the same period the general rise in import prices was under 30 per cent. The benefit was particularly striking in 1950-51—the "Korean year"—when the adverse balance of trade was reduced from an average of Rs. 2,360 million in the previous two years to a little more than a quarter of that amount. The value of total imports increased from Rs. 6,631 million in 1948-49

to Rs. 10,841 million in 1951-52. For the reason of the relatively lower increase in import prices mentioned above, more than half of this 63 per cent increase represented expansion in volume. The value of food imports nearly doubled between the first and last years of this period (from Rs. 1,202 million to Rs. 2,240 million), but its proportion in the total value of imports fluctuated within narrow limits ; it remained between a fifth and a fourth of the total. There was an enormous expansion in the value of imports other than food between 1950-51 and 1951-52, from Rs. 5,667 million to Rs. 8,601 million. It was thus general imports rather than food imports that swelled the adverse balance of trade last year to Rs. 3,688 million.

Except for the erratic course of exports of cotton textiles and jute manufactures the composition of Indian exports has been steadily much the same. Exports of cotton yarns and manufactures gradually expanded from just 5 per cent of the total value of exports in 1947-48 to a peak of 23.6 per cent in 1950–51 when India caught the first place among the world's exporters in that field. The post-war abatement of Japanese competition in third markets and the excellent recovery of Indian mill production contributed to this expansion. Last year our exports collapsed to barely 8.5 per cent of the total value. The share of jute manufactures in the total value of exports declined from 35.2 per cent in 1948-49 to 19.7 per cent in 1950-51, the vagaries of American buying under pressure of political developments and the course of our own price control on jute manufactures and of the export duty on hessian being largely responsible for this decline. But, as if to make up for the collapse in cotton textiles, exports of jute textiles shot up to 38.5 per cent of the total value in 1951-52. The lifting of the control on prices of jute manufactures, the drastic reduction of the export duty, and the steadying of American demand have all helped this recovery. The proportion of Indian tea exports has been steady around between 13 per cent and 16 per cent of the total value of exports. In 1952 the chances in world markets of our cotton textiles, jute manufactures and tea taken together stood even. And together these commodities account for about 60 per cent of the value of Indian exports.

As regards imports two trends are clear. While there has obviously been a "let up" in the imports of consumers goods other than food in 1950-51, generally their imports have been kept down by fairly effective import control, and it is to food imports that producers goods have surrendered some of their share in total imports. Secondly, though the proportion of imports of producers goods to total imports has declined, especially between the last year and the previous, machinery imports are being maintained at a good level ; India's increasing internal supplies of raw cotton and raw jute should help in future to reduce somewhat the dependence on imports of these and making at least a corresponding increase in imports of capital equipment easier. Indian industry which in the past few years has moved from the stage of rehabilitation to one of expansion could doubtless do with more machinery.

In a world trading system which is not fully multilateral—as it was not in the past five years, and by all signs will not be for many more—currency difficulties dominate the relationship between the composition and the direction of trade. Purchases of food and raw cotton have been the first charge on India's resources of dollars. The United States' exports of machinery to India were about a sixth of our total demand last year and the United Kingdom still met well more than half of it. Relief over the dollar deficit must continue to come largely on capital account through inter-Governmental loans and further loans currently being considered by the International Bank. Incidentally, the expansion of India's iron and steel industry through one of these loans will considerably influence the composition and direction of India's trade in the machinery and metals group.

The pattern of Indo-Pakistan trade is very simple but, five years after partition, its future is still uncertain. Even our dependence on Pakistan for the bulk of our raw jute requirement is not certain as it seemed to begin with ; on the contrary internal supplies of the fibre have been increasing in India. Foodgrain imports from Pakistan are very little in relation to our total import requirements of food. Our exports to Pakistan are made up of a number of manufactures and semi-manufactures which she will perhaps

continue to import so long as our imports from her will not fall to a point at which her present favourable balance of trade with us will be threatened.

A brief survey such as is attempted in this article can hardly do justice to the immensity of the influences to which the foreign trade of India has been subject during the past five years. Behind these figures are powerful monetary and fiscal instruments which India, in common with the rest of the world, has employed in order to subserve certain broader interests of domestic or international economic policy. Some of these may be mentioned here in conclusion.

India's membership of the Sterling Area carries voluntary obligation to maximise our contribution to the Area's central reserves of gold and dollars and to minimise our drawals upon them in the interests of the solvency of the Area as a whole. India has not only played her part in this pool but at times has done so at disproportionate sacrifice of her economy's interests as during the dollar crisis of 1951-52. In common with most countries with related currencies to the pound sterling India devalued the rupee when sterling was devalued in 1949 but the favourable effects of devaluation petered out for India sooner than they did for many other countries.

As a participant in the scheme of tariff reductions under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade India has had to extend the benefit of tariff concessions to certain articles which according to the criteria of our foreign trade control could be considered 'non-essential' in order to get similar reductions on the foreign tariffs on some of our export articles.

Since 1949 India has concluded short-term bilateral trade agreements with a number of countries, and it was admitted by the Government of India that these would not export to us the producers goods we required unless we agreed to take some of their consumers goods also along with them. In the implementation of quantitative import and export control the need to keep inflationary

forces within the country in check made imperative an adequate supply of consumers goods through imports, and a limitation of exports in many lines to what can be safely allowed after meeting the demands of Indian industry and public. As new and heavier demands came to be made on the revenues of the Government of India, and the scope for increasing direct taxation was said to be limited, the budget-makers turned to export duties as a fruitful source of assistance in balancing accounts. Above all, the basis of a country's foreign trade is the level of its internal production ; and while the recovery of industrial production since Independence has been remarkable, and can be expected to be maintained, agricultural production is still caught up in dire difficulties. India's strength in international trade might in the next few years increasingly depend upon the recovery and expansion of her agricultural economy.

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IRRIGATION IN INDIA

N. D. Gulhati

IRRIGATION, or the artificial application of water for growing crops, has been practised in India since time immemorial. Frequent references are found in the Vedas and other ancient Indian literature to wells, tanks, canals and dams, the importance to the community of their efficient maintenance and operation and the duties of the State in this respect. Numerous irrigation tanks exist over all parts of central and southern India. Some of these have been traced to many centuries before the beginning of the Christian Era. There are a number of small canals in the upper valleys of the rivers of northern India which must also be equally old.

India lies partly in the tropical and partly in the subtropical regions of the world and has extremes of climate in many parts. Except for a small part of the south-east peninsula, rainfall is concentrated to the four monsoon months, June to September ; the rest of the year is comparatively dry. The other chief characteristics of the rainfall are its unequal distribution over the country and variation from year to year in respect of quantity, incidence and duration, making agricultural operation difficult, if not impossible, without the provision of irrigation facilities.

Irrigation is an old art in India. Apart from shallow surface wells, the only other type of irrigation works existing here were small tanks and some inundation canals. Early in the nineteenth century three of the largest indigenous irrigation works *viz.* two canals on the River Jamuna and the Cauvery Delta system were

reconstructed and irrigation facilities extended to large new areas. The success obtained on the systems led to the construction, one after another, of many big irrigation projects in the latter part of the last and the beginning of the present century. After World War I, a number of irrigation projects were undertaken in different parts of the country but the economic slump of the thirties gave a severe set-back to further progress. It was not until India became independent that the Government was able to tackle the problem systematically. Furthermore the food shortage in India during World War II had brought home the necessity of further development of irrigation facilities. Just before partition, in 1947, the total area irrigated in undivided India was over 70 million acres of which about 50 million now lie in India and 20 million in Pakistan. The following classification of the total irrigated area would give some idea of the nature of irrigation works existing in the country :—

		Million Acres
(1)	By Government canals (diversion as well as storage) and Government managed tubewells	17.0
(2)	By private canals (mainly inundation)	3.2
(3)	From small tanks and reservoirs managed by Government	9.1
(4)	By wells (mainly private)	13.0
(5)	By other sources	6.7
	Total	49.0

There are extensive net-works of canals from a number of magnificent barrages and diversion weirs in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, the deltaic areas of Madras and some parts of Bihar. There are, in addition, about 120 high dams in the country mainly in Bombay and in central and southern India. A number of tubewell schemes have been executed during the past 15 years mainly in Uttar Pradesh. India is thus the most irrigated country in the world

today ; her irrigated area of 50 million acres exceeds by far the area irrigated in any other country.

Situated as India is geographically, with her tropical climate and with little rainfall except during the monsoon months, successful cultivation is not possible in most parts of the country without the aid of irrigation in one form or the other. Large areas in the country produce only a catch crop, depending as they do on rainfall alone which is generally deficient, unreliable and not timely. India has a gross area of 813 million acres of which about 580 million have been classified. Of the latter, 369 million acres are culturable but the area actually under cultivation in a year is about 277 million ; only 50 million or about 18% is irrigated. No wonder, therefore, that the average yield per acre of cultivated area is very low indeed. Other causes responsible for the low yield include uneconomic holdings and inadequate use of fertilizers. The pattern of cultivation that has developed under these conditions, the predominant feature being lack of irrigation facilities, is generally of an uneconomic type and does not provide adequate employment for those engaged in agricultural pursuits except where adequate means exist for irrigation. Apart from this, large areas are lying undeveloped for lack of irrigation facilities.

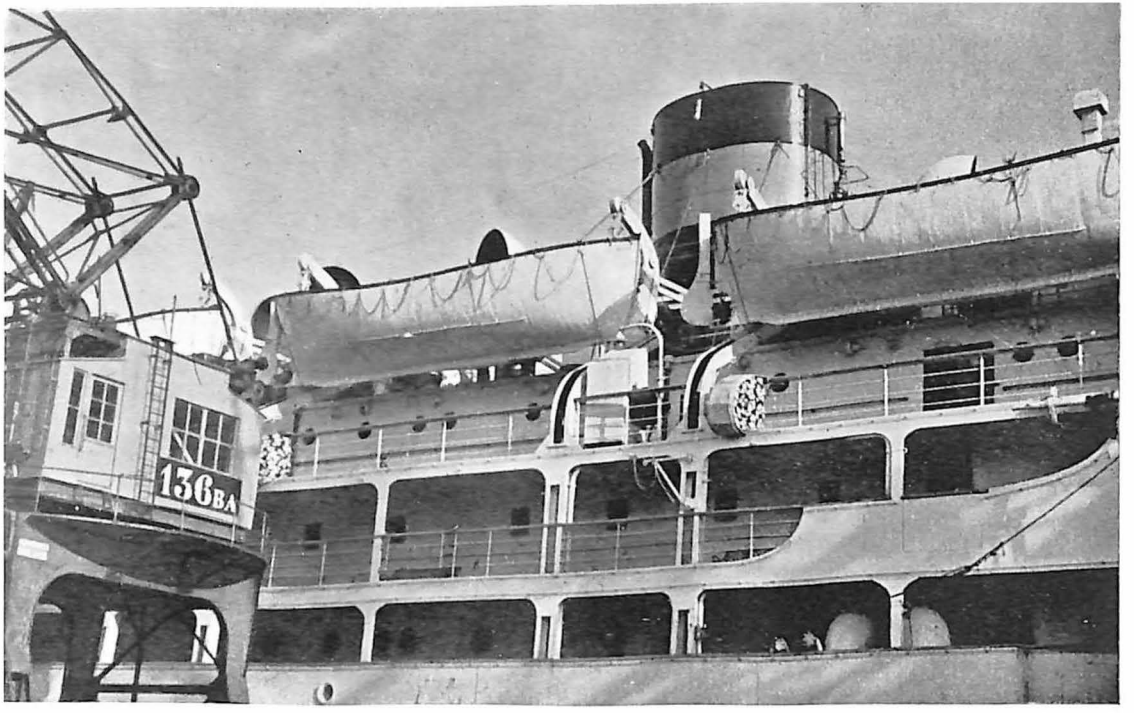
On the other hand, ample water resources are available in the rivers of the country which are on the whole well distributed over the entire length and breadth of India. It has been estimated that a total volume of 1,400 million acre-feet of water runs in the rivers of the country of which less than six per cent is at present being utilized for irrigation—the rest flows down into the sea, mostly during the monsoons, causing considerable damage en route.

After a careful consideration of all factors including pressure of population the Planning Commission has come to the conclusion that for an adequate solution of the food problem in the country, it is necessary to double the area now under irrigation within the next 15 to 20 years. In other words, new irrigation facilities must be provided to an area of 40 to 50 million acres.

As the first instalment of a long-range 15-20 year plan, the first Five Year Plan provides for maximum development of a large number of irrigation and power projects, big and small, spread over all parts of the country and already taken up for execution prior to 1951. These projects are expected to cost, on completion, over Rs. 7,650 million. During the five years 1951-56 covered by the Plan, it is proposed to spend Rs. 5,184 million on these schemes of which approximately Rs. 3,500 million represent the cost of irrigation developments. These projects are expected to bring under irrigation an additional area of 8.5 million acres in the last year of the Plan and 16.9 million acres on full development.

Without going into the technical or other features of the large number of projects included in the Plan it may be stated that the Bhakra-Nangal Project in Punjab, PEPSU and Rajasthan, the Damodar Valley Project in West Bengal and Bihar, the Hirakud Dam Project in Orissa, the Lower Tapi Development in Bombay, the Lower Bhawani Project in Madras, the Tungabhadra Project in Madras and Hyderabad and the Mayurakshi Project in West Bengal are some of the major schemes included in the Plan. Considerable progress has already been made on these. There are, in addition, a large number of other schemes, not so ambitious as those named above, but which are an essential complement of these bigger projects. Provision has also been made for a large number of minor irrigation schemes like construction of works and renovation of old tanks to be carried out entirely by the State or by individuals with some assistance from the State.

In addition to the projects already under construction, the Plan includes three new major irrigation projects, the Krishna Valley Project in Madras and Hyderabad, the Chambal Project in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat and the Kosi Project in Bihar, to be taken up in the latter part of the Plan period. The expenditure on these projects during the five years 1951-56 will be only a small proportion of their total cost but this will provide continuation of development from the first to the second Five Year Plan.



S S Jal Jawahar, a freight-cum-passenger ship of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company

INDIAN SHIPPING

P. N. Chopra

THE story of India's mercantile activity goes as far back as her recorded history. Its ups and downs correspond to the vicissitudes through which she has passed. The country was prosperous when her ships were active, and her shipping declined when the people's vitality was at a low ebb.

The first recorded evidence of Indian ships occurs in the Rig Veda, the oldest known work in existence. In it, one passage after another speaks of ocean routes and sailing vessels, of merchants "who frequent every part of the sea", "a hundred-oared galleys" and even a naval expedition. This was some three thousand years ago.

When the Hindu period was at its most glorious, India was the very centre of the commercial currents of the world. The Jews, Greeks, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians and Romans paid in gold for her merchandise. Their ships and Indian ships carried from this country wool, musk, gems, carpets, silks, muslins and spices to all the markets from China to Rome. In the fifth century before Christ, the commercial revenue of Indian kingdoms provided gold-dust worth more than a million pounds sterling to the empire of Darius. Every year the nobility of Rome bought Indian luxuries worth seventy thousand pounds sterling. In the palace of Nebuchednezzar have been found blocs of Indian cedar, and in Buddhist literature there is a reference to Indian merchants who took the first peacock by sea to Babylon. Egyptian mummies have been found wrapped in Indian muslin, and for

centuries Indian ships could be seen moored at river ports along the Euphrates. Alexander crossed the Indus with boats made by Indian builders, and Nearchus used two thousand Indian vessels to carry his troops to the Persian gulf.

Three hundred years before Christ, in the age of the Mauryas, which historians have described as golden, ship-building was a flourishing industry in India and gave employment to a large section of the country's working population. Under Chandragupta, who organised a Board of Admiralty and a Naval Department, ship-builders were salaried officials of the Government. In the days of Asoka, Indian ships carried merchandise to Syria Egypt and Macedonia. During the Andhra period, from 200 B.C. to 250 A.D., India traded with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt on the one side and China on the other. Coins of this period carry images of two-masted ships. Such was the impetus given to trade at this time that in 408 A.D. Alaric was able to demand and receive three thousand pounds of Indian pepper as part of the ransom for sparing Rome.

Though less is known of the earliest phases of Indian maritime activity across the Bay of Bengal, it has been stated by historians that Indian sea voyages to China began five centuries before the first Chinese sailed upto Malaya. From the beginning of the Christian era, kingdoms along the coasts of the Peninsula, especially the empire of the Chola Kings, sent fleets across the Bay of Bengal and established settlements of Indian merchants in the Malaya Archipelago. At the end of the fourth century a Chinese pilgrim found a flourishing colony of Hindus in Java who had sailed from the mouth of the Ganges to Ceylon and from Ceylon to Java. Some of them went as far as China. From the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari, Indian merchants went out to establish settlements in Burma and Indo-China. The maritime activity of the Chola kingdom prospered for centuries, and reached its height in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

On the West Coast, kingships in Gujerat and Malabar were active. An account of a voyage across the Indian Ocean early in

the 14th century says the Rajputs of Gujerat sailed ships which could carry as many as seven hundred passengers. One of the Malabar dynasties, the Zamorins, kept up naval warfare with the Portuguese almost throughout the 16th century.

A European traveller of the 15th century, Nicolo Conti, wrote of Indian merchants: "They are very rich, so much so that some will carry on their business in forty of their own ships, each of which is valued at fifteen thousand gold pieces". And of Indian ship-builders he said, "The natives of India build some ships larger than ours, capable of containing two thousand butts, and with five sails and as many masts. Some ships are so built in compartments that should one part be shattered, the other portion, remaining entire may accomplish the voyage."

In the course of the 16th century, the Moghuls consolidated their power and reorganised India's maritime activity. Akbar set up a naval department very much like the Board of Admiralty of Chandragupta. Ship-building under Akbar has thus been described by Professor Radhakumud Mukerji: "Vessels were built of various sizes and for various purposes. There were those built for the transportation of elephants, and those of such construction as to be employed in sieges, while others were meant for the conveyance of merchandise. There were also ships which served for convenient habitation. The Emperor had also pleasure boats built with convenient apartments and others on which there were floating markets and flower gardens. Every part of Akbar's Empire abounded in ships, but the chief centres were Bengal and Thatta. In Allahabad and Lahore also were constructed ships of a size suitable for sea voyages. Along the coasts of the Ocean in the west, south and east of India, large ships were built which were suitable for sea voyages".

Some of these ships were of fifteen hundred tons each "while English ships of the time were three hundred or three hundred and fifty tons at the most", according to Dr. Vincent. Forty thousand vessels of various sizes could be found for hire at one shipping centre alone, the Thatta circars in Sind. At the

opposite end of the Empire, Gaur and Dacca were the main centres of maritime activity. There are accounts of naval engagements for the defence of Dacca in which as many as fifteen hundred vessels of war participated.

The decline of the Moghul Empire also marked the beginning of a decline in India's maritime activity. For a time the naval exploits of the Marhatta family of admirals, the Angrias, kept the tradition alive. The East India Company, for its own purposes, gave encouragement to Indian shipbuilders, and English chroniclers of the time say ships built in Indian docks at the end of the 18th and early in the 19th century were superior to and cheaper than those built in England. But the last ship of the 19th century was built in 1840. Soon after that the governance of India for the first time passed to the government of a foreign nation which insisted on remaining foreign. The vitality of the Indian people began to decline. Their arts and industry, their craftsmanship and their political institutions—in fact the entire social fabric of their life—grew weaker. The decline of Indian shipping was only symbolic.

From being one of the principal maritime powers of the world India became one of the least important. At the beginning of the 20th century, foreign shippers controlled almost the whole of her sea-borne trade. Even her coastal and river trade was mostly in the hands of foreign shippers. The traffic of pilgrims to Mecca, passenger traffic within Indian waters, the transportation of British army personnel between India and Britain and even the conveyance of Indian mail were almost exclusively in the hands of European firms. At the beginning of World War I, the total number of Indian vessels on Oceanic and interportal trade was hardly more than seven thousand, which is less than a fifth of the number than could have been hired at a single shipping centre in Sind three hundred years earlier. The years between 1840 and the beginning of the second World War in 1939 may well be called the dark century of Indian shipping, as of almost everything Indian.

In spite of some encouragement Indian shipping received under the pressure of war needs, the position on the eve of

independence was far from being a compliment to a country which has a coastline of nearly four thousand miles. Even among countries with less than one percent of the world's total tonnage, India stood almost at the end of the list ; there was practically no overseas tonnage and her share in the coastal trade was only twentyfive percent. The contrast became even more anomalous when, after independence, India's foreign trade began to expand rapidly. Her exports to Japan have increased by fifty percent, to China by almost a hundred percent, to the USSR by five hundred per cent. The value of her exports to the United States, Canada and the Argentine, Egypt, Australia and New Zealand, has increased rapidly, but increase in tonnage has not kept pace with these figures. The result is that during the past six years India has paid a total freight of more than a hundred and eight crores of rupees on importing foodgrains alone and out of this Indian shipping companies have earned only rupees five crores.

But a recent fact of some significance is the upward trend. In this the story of Indian shipping remains true to its past, and mercantile activity continues to reflect the ebb and flow of the nation's life. Though still far behind requirements, the total tonnage of Indian shipping has increased from seventyfive thousand at the end of the 2nd World War to four hundred and fifty thousand tons today. Coastal shipping is now almost exclusively reserved for India and the earnings of Indian companies engaged in this trade have risen from thirtytwo million rupees in 1945 to a hundred and eightyfour million in 1952.

INDIAN MUSIC

Prof. R. Srinivasan

INDIAN attitude towards music and other fine arts has been religious. In the highest conception of art in India, religion and art have been synonymous. Art has not been considered to be merely a luxury or a recreation for the rich few ; it is spiritual and as much a path to Godhead. Any beauty that is seen, be it of sound, form or colour, is only a reflection, however faint, of the divine beauty. And so all fine arts, which are based on a conception and expression of divine beauty are in themselves manifestations of God, the Beautiful.

An artist in India is as much a "yogi", a saint. The temples in ancient times were not only the shrines of worship but were seats of exquisite art expressions. Great sculptors, gifted painters, brilliant architects, inspired musicians in India flourished in and around temples. Religion and art were inseparable.

The beginnings of Indian music are lost in the mists of antiquity. There is evidence to show that this art had been developed to a very high degree of perfection even in very early times in the history of this country. Throughout historic and pre-historic times music has been the cherished treasure of kings and noblemen of this land. Ancient cities were great centres of musical culture.

Long before the Christan era it had developed not only definite laws of theory and pactice, but even fairly comprehensive theories of criticism and appreciation. The old Indian theoreticians studied carefully the nature of 'emotion', the conditions and themes

which produce 'emotion', the visible signs and results of such 'emotion', and even the nature of the subconscious mind, the involuntary emotions. Their methods were rational and, what is more, they put their conclusions to good practical use.

In so far as the theoretical basis is concerned there is very little difference between the North Indian and South Indian systems of music. Certain forms, modes of rendering and names vary, but the essential features are the same. As with every musical system there are seven fundamental notes in the scale. Starting with these seven notes as the basis all the required intervals of the scale were developed. For practical purposes twelve notes, as in the West, are used but these are slightly different from the corresponding notes of the western scale. The system of equal intervals (the chromatic scale) is foreign to Indian classical music. Over and above these 12 notes, Indian classical treatises speak of 22 intervals in the scale. These are not merely of theoretical interest but are actually used by experts in singing. Indian music without these short intervals will be wooden. It is the use of these very short intervals that makes the individuality of the Indian system. That is why it is so difficult to set Indian music to notation. The mere outline can be given in notation but the spirit of a composition or a melody is best expressed through the use of these minute divisions of the scale. The greatness of a musician depends to a large extent on his capacity to use them so as to add to the richness and sweetness of his songs.

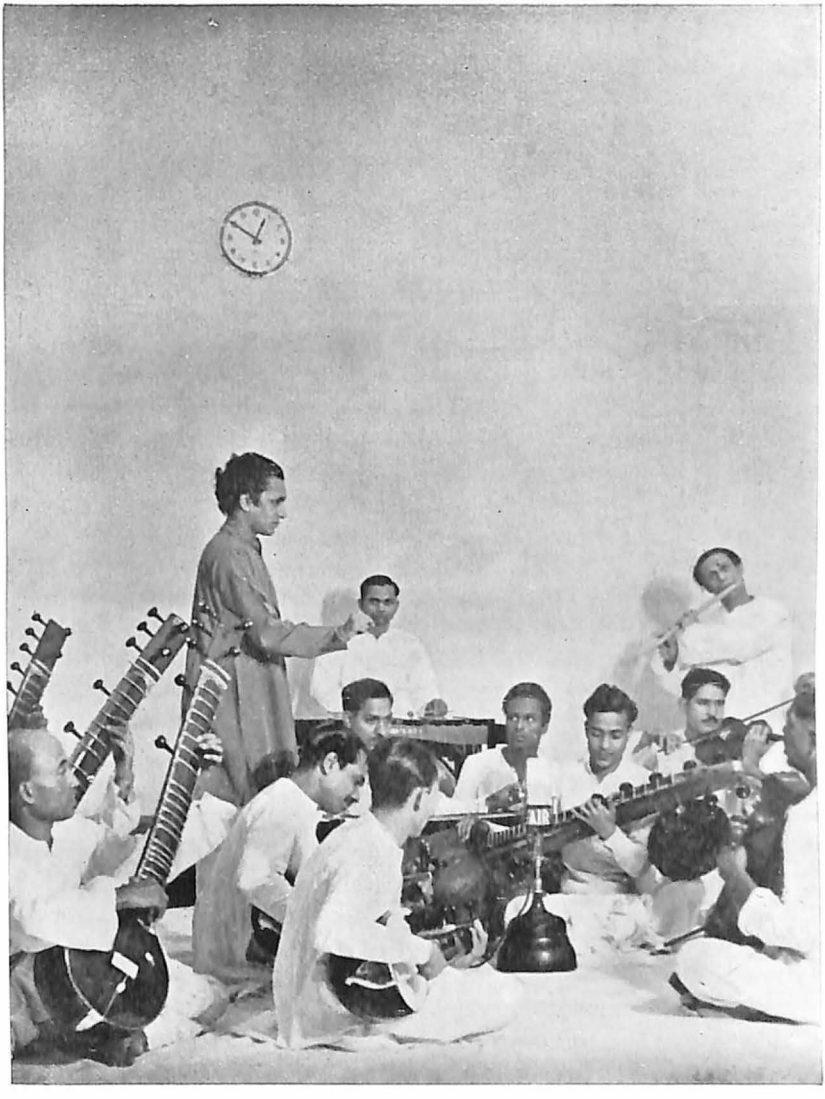
In India the musician simply creates the conditions, the aesthetic experience is left to the listener. This would mean that passive listening is almost impossible. Keeping time, quite ostentatiously, at Indian concerts is not considered bad etiquette. The spectacle of a silent immobile audience holding its breath until the last phrase to applaud a fine performance is unknown in India where the most cultivated part of the audience often punctuates improvisations with nods of assent and little eulogistic phrases. The appreciation of art depends on the cultivated sensibility of the listener.

A raga is a succession of notes chosen and combined in certain definite ways. In the first place we have *melakartas* (the major moulds) in which all the seven notes of the scale are used in their regular sequence. Of the seven notes the first and the fifth do not admit of any variations ; the other five notes do. But in a raga (generally speaking) only one of these variations is used. And so we get 72 *Melakartas*, of which 36 contain the *Suddha Madhyama* (F) and the other 36 the *Parti Madhyama* (F). Then we have the *Shadava* ragas in which only 6 notes are used and the *Auduva* ragas (crooked melody types) in which the notes occur not necessarily in their natural sequence but in all kinds of leaps, loops and curves.

The basis of Indian music is the raga. A raga has its own individuality called *bhava* (expression). It has to be sung in conformity with certain rules to maintain its individuality, yet there is no limit to improvisation one can introduce without impairing this individuality.

The ragas are not themselves compositions ; they are the basis of compositions. In one raga there may be any number of different compositions. The ragas themselves can be sung without any words at all, and in some cases a raga can be sung for hours together without repetitions. But there are some characteristic flourishes of a raga which put it in bold relief.

One of the most important features of Indian music is the use of graces (*Gamakas*, as they are called). It is these graces that give life to Indian music. They are not accidental to our system but essential. All the short intervals which were mentioned above are used in this connection. Round every note of the 12 intervals are grouped some of the short intervals, and these are used in the graces. That is why it is so difficult to produce real Indian music in a harmonium or in any equal tempered instrument. About 10 *Gamakas* (graces) are generally used, though there is no reason why an expert may not improvise more.



An Indian Music Orchestra at the All India Radio Studio, New Delhi

Indian music is melodic. This factor governs almost every aspect of Indian music—the composition of the melody, the varieties of rhythms, the preponderance of vocal music, the nature of accompaniments, the importance attached to improvisation, and the absence of any serious concerted music. The purely melodic music neither needs nor implies harmony. Harmony affects the structure of melody itself and it has become almost impossible for a Westerner to conceive of melody without the implications, tacit or explicit, of a harmonic system. In Western music a melodic line is really the top or surface line of a carefully constructed harmonic structure. Thus in the building up of melody, the harmonic implication of substantive and passing notes and the relationship of these play an important part. Also, Western melody has a tendency to develop round notes which are harmonically related to the tonic. Indian music takes no note of these things and is even rafractory to laws which govern Western melody. If this music sounds strange or exotic to the West it is because the West has lost the ear for pure melody as a consequence of its emphasis on harmony.

Tala, the basis of Indian rhythm, is really a measure of time. *Tala* can be symmetric or assymetric in shape. The ancient treatises give an elaborate account of different measures of musical time. There are 175 kinds of *talas*. Often a bar is made up of, say, 4+2+2 (Carnatic *Adi tala*) or 5+5+4 (Northern *Dhamar*). Variations of a *tala* do not always proceed in geometric progression. A variation of the Carnatic *Adi tala* will be 5+2+2 or 3+2+2. There are accented and unaccented beats within a bar. Thus in the *Adi tala* (4+2+2) the First, the Fifth and the Seventh are strongly accented. All these varieties of rhythm are possible in Indian music because it is not forced to accept symmetries of rhythm which harmonic planning necessitates.

All musical compositions other than those which are sung as *ragas* are set in particular *talas*. There is almost no limit to the varieties of compositions in the same *raga* and in the same *tala*. A very common feat performed by expert musicians to show their proficiency in *tala* is to sing the same piece in the same *tala* but

with different speeds, twice as fast, four times as fast and so on.

The emphasis in Indian music is on vocal music. This does not mean that instrumental music is not highly developed. In variety and even in sheer numbers India has as many (if not more) instruments in every day use as Europe. And the best of these instruments are capable of infinite subtleties of intonation and nuances. But they all play music which is essentially vocal in conception. The laws which govern vocal and instrumental music are identical. The singer or the instrumentalist is the centre. The highest art is purely extemporaneous and every musician is a creative artist in the fullest sense of the word, and not merely an interpreter. The singer's voice is capable of tremendous agility and is trained to achieve a purely 'white' tone. Beauty of tone as such is comparatively unimportant. To an Indian musician, 'voice' is no more important than, say handwriting to a poet.

Orchestra as is understood in the west, is entirely alien to Indian music, whose basis is the raga based on a succession of notes and not, as in the case of harmony, on the simultaneous sounding of several notes. Harmony is the antithesis of melody. But in ancient times there used to be melodic orchestras in which a number of instruments were used and several singers took part.

Music was recognised as having wider and deeper influences than are obvious. The effect of music on human emotions was studied carefully and relations established between some ragas and some typical emotions. Certain ragas were associated with certain periods of the day and also with certain seasons of the year.

Miraculous powers have also been attributed to music; it is believed that some ragas can cause rain and other fire and so on. Actual occurrences of such phenomena have also been recorded. The power of music to cure mental and physical disorders has been recognised. Above all there is something inherently noble, beautiful and spiritual about Indian music. There can be no enjoyment more impersonal and sublimating than what it offers.

A music class in progress at the National Academy of Hindustani Music, Lucknow

The influence of the West on Indian music is a superficial one, confined mostly to the cinema and light 'orchestral' music. This is extraordinary when we consider the influence of the West on painting, sculpture, architecture and even literature.

Trends in Modern Indian Literature

Amalendu Das Gupta

THERE are over a dozen major languages in India, each with a distinct tradition and literature. Nevertheless, it is legitimate to speak of trends in Indian literature as a whole, for even in the midst of a diversity of lingual and literary currents, there have been certain common streams of tradition and growth. Not only have all Indian literatures been nourished by a common stock of consciousness and sensibility, but each has followed the same pattern of development in form and technique.

The literary renaissance in India in the middle of the last century was not an isolated phenomenon ; it was part of a larger resurgence in the country's political, social and cultural life. Knowledge of a glorious past aroused an awareness of future destiny. Contact with Western learning cleared the vision of possibilities that lay ahead. The past was inspiring, the future inviting, but the first problem of the present was to regain political freedom which alone could give opportunities for social and cultural growth.

Thus the dominant note of the literary renaissance was a socio-political consciousness. Literature drew upon the theme of the national struggle and, in turn, inspired those who carried on this struggle. On the one hand, the artist was inspired by the idea of political salvation and, on the other, he rebelled against injustice and tyranny of custom in this social set-up.

In the early decades of this century, this social consciousness went through a significant change. Hitherto, its basis had been

mainly emotional, sometimes even romantic. But in the light of the new social science, the writer gained a clearer picture of the interplay of social forces and the relationship between society and the individual. This sense of realism was strengthened by the findings of modern psychology.

But it would be wrong to say that the new scientific dogmas have changed the fundamental character of the Indian muse which is predominantly emotional and lyrical. The genius of the modern Indian artist is in the sudden and pointed revelation of a significant focus of life, rather than in the sustained treatment of a vast stretch of human existence. We can leave aside the question of tragic drama which has not been tried in India with any outstanding success. The idea of the drama in Sanskrit literature was basically so different from the Greek or Elizabethan concepts that it would be futile to judge ancient Indian drama by Aristotelian standards. Some modern Indian dramatists have tried to build their work on Western models, but their achievement is indeed slight. What is really interesting to note is that while India produced perhaps the greatest epic in the world in the *Mahabharata*, none of the modern Indian poets has shown any considerable merit in the writing of epic poetry. But then, throughout the world the epic as an art form has fallen heavily from grace. A still better point to consider would be the development of the novel. There have been many Indian novelists in the past few decades, but none truly great compared with masters like Tolstoy, Dostoievsky, Balzac, Rolland or even Fielding. Apparently, this seems all the more surprising when one considers the achievement of modern Indian writers in the field of the short story. The short story has had a remarkable growth in several Indian literatures and some of the modern Indian short stories should have an assured place in the world. The fact is that most of the Indian novels are elongated short stories. The difference between the novel and the short story is not one of length but one of the very spirit.

Nevertheless, the corner-stone of the literary renaissance in India was primarily a novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee of Bengal. His historical and social novels have inspired succeeding

writers for generations. The artistic merit of Bankim Chandra's historical novels is perhaps not very great, but in *Krishna Kanta's Will* he gave the country its first problem novel about society and the individual. He also gave the nation *Bande Matram*, the song which became the rallying call of nationalism in the early phase of the freedom struggle.

If Bankim Chandra was the promise, Rabindranath Tagore was the fulfilment. Poet, dramatist, novelist, short story writer, essayist and critic, Tagore towers above all his predecessors, contemporaries and successors. If versatility and prodigious output were the criterion of genius, Tagore stands unique in the literary history of the world. Readers abroad, particularly in the West, know him as the poet of the so-called mysticism of *Gitanjali*. But Tagore was not merely, if at all, a poet of indeterminate mystical longings, but a writer of abounding variety and vitality. His lyrical achievement is perhaps without a parallel in the world and some of his short stories do not suffer by comparison with the very best in Chekhov.

The third great name in modern Bengal literature is that of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee who is the most consummate emotional artist Bengal has had in the field of fiction.

The greatest Hindi novelist, Prem Chand, shared the social awareness of Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra. His sympathy for the poor was intense and his understanding of village life genuine. He was particularly conscious of the evils of socio-economic oppression. If he lacked anything in subtle psychological understanding or the finer points of craftsmanship, his broad humanity gave his work a compelling quality. Again, it was Prem Chand who brought into Hindi literature a sense of realism, a lack of which mars much of the work of the Hindi dramatist, Jai Shanker Prasad.

Prem Chand began his literary career as a writer of Urdu short stories, and since then other Urdu story writers have produced much work of enduring value. But the finest achievement of Urdu

literature is in the lyric. Urdu poetry, which has always had a strange haunting quality, acquired a sinuous vigour in the hands of masters like Iqbal.

In Western India, the main stream of Marathi literature reaches back to the 13th century. In recent years, people like Kelkar have enriched it by their vigorous activity. The historical novels of Harinarayan Apte and the plays of Gadkari and Deval have done much to revitalise the literary tradition of Maharashtra.

One of the greatest treasures of Gujerati literature is the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi. The style of the original Gujerati version of the book, like that of the English, has a telling simplicity which has acted as a liberating force for Gujerati prose.

Of the Dravidian or South Indian literatures, Tamil is the most ancient. The greatest Tamil writer of this age is Subramanya Bharathi who is above all the poet of the freedom movement. Bharathi's claim to literary greatness, however, does not rest on his nationalist fervour ; he is a great poet by his own right, by the right of his emotional intensity and his ability to communicate this intensity through a technically perfected form.

Both in Telugu and Malayalam, the dominating literary form today is the short story. In an international short story competition last year, a Malayalam writer won the first prize while a Telugu story was ranked second. But the central figure in modren Malayalam literature is the poet, Vallathol, who is also well known as the reviver of Kathakali, an exquisite dance form of South India.

The time has not yet come for a final assessment of the Indian writers who are living and active today. Of the immediate predecessor, only a few have been mentioned to illustrate the major influences and the broad trends of development.

From a study of current trends, only some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The most significant of these is the development of prose. And of the various prose forms, the short story has proved

to be the most fruitful. Vigorous and authentic experiments continue in the fields of the novel and the drama and it is not idle to hope that the Indian writer may yet find his genius in these two major vehicles of literary expression. The lyric, which has had a rich tradition in every Indian literature, is now trying, *a la* Eliot and Pound, to free itself from the shackles of metre and rhyme as well as from the bondage of the much maligned romantic emotion. The outcome of this struggle will be watched with interest not only in India but in many other lands.

An exhibition polo match between India and Argentine teams in New Delhi

Sport in India

Berry Sarbadhikary

IF in one sport India is on the top of the world, that is hockey or more technically, field hockey according to Olympic nomenclature. The expensive game of polo is another in which India might have held a similar position but owing to a flagging in the enthusiasm of Indian Princes polo is now a dying game in India.

Ever since India's maiden appearance in the Amsterdam World Olympiad of 1928, culminating in her overwhelming, run away triumphs over all and sundry, India has had no occasion to look back. Not only has her sequence of magnificent victories in successive Olympiads not been broken but not the slightest hint of a threat has been offered from any quarters. Like a great tidal wave India has swept all opposition ; even the expected challenge from Pakistan, "a chip of the old block", as it were, in finery of technique and style, was not forthcoming in the 1948 London Olympiad and the Helsinki meet of 1952.

Perhaps the analogy of a tidal wave in an effort to convey India's hockey supremacy is not appropriate. For India's strength lies in artistic stickwork bordering on jugglery but at amazing speed, deft passes and perfect understanding—a style modelled on the "wizard" Dhyan Chand, the greatest hockey genius the world has ever seen. Thus India's strength is akin more to the unique fencing skill of a D'Artagnan than the "brute" force employed by a Samson in overpowering the proverbial lion.

In my travels abroad, I have often been asked if hockey is our national game. This is only logical. If the yardstick for a

national game is efficiency, hockey is our national game. If, however, popularity is the measuring rod, I am afraid, the answer cannot be quite the same.

Like almost all sport in India, the organisation of hockey, on the Federal system, is efficient. The States under them run many tournaments, the outstanding among them being the Aga Khan of Bombay and the Beighton Cup of Calcutta of hoary tradition. The Indian Hockey Federation stage the National Championship annually at different centres, but always at Calcutta or Bombay when their accent is on financial returns.

For, of all the hockey centres in India, the money-spinning ones, owing to large attendances, are Calcutta and Bombay. A National Final, a Beighton Cup Final or any outstanding hockey event in Calcutta would easily attract a "full house"—the accommodation being limited to the region of 20,000.

The same meagre accommodation is available for soccer in Calcutta, rightly called the "Home of Indian Football", on account of the high standard of play and the near-crazy enthusiasm for the game there. As in hockey, the enclosure, of course, is packed to suffocation for football. The difference, however, lies in that whereas for a national Hockey Final, you can comfortably walk in an hour before the bully-off, for even a key local league game in football it is on record that enthusiasts have queued up a hundred hours before the kick-off !

The demand for seats for soccer is at least tenfold of the number available, and often those that are denied admission but hang around to "see" the game "by the ear", that is, from mouth to mouth, are over five times the crowed in the arena ! It is only normal to find a hundred thousand "spectators" hanging in and around the venue of an important match in Calcutta. Not to say anything about millions who listen to running commentaries on the game dished out by the All India Radio.

Such extraordinary enthusiasm is by no means limited to Calcutta only with her exciting "local" league programmes which nevertheless draw topnotchers from all over the country, the season climaxed by the I.F.A. Shield, the "Blue Riband" of Indian football. The Indian Football Association (Bengal), heading for its Diamond Jubilee, is the oldest institution of its kind and was largely responsible in bringing into being the "parent" body, the All India Football Federation, paradoxical as it may appear.

To-day Delhi with her Durand Cup, Bombay with her Rovers Cup and Bangalore with her Gold Cup are vying with one another to wrest the football supremacy in play and popularity from Calcutta, so great has been the enthusiasm all over the country. And yet, inspite of the colossal enthusiasm, India's top standard is not good enough for the best amateur standard in the world, to say nothing about the professional. India's doings in the maiden Olympic football appearance in the 1948 London Games only flattered to deceive her in the recent Helsinki Olympiad.

Organisationally identical set-ups, as in hockey and football, govern lawn tennis in India with the venue of all international tennis festivals at the fashionable Calcutta South Club situated at the Woodburn Park. The lawn courts there have been described by former champions like the American, "Bill" Tilden and the French, Henri Cochet as about the best in the world.

We have the National Championships and the various States Championships in our domestic tennis whereas internationally India participates in the Davis Cup. Though India has produced fine players like Ghaus Mohamed, Iftikhar Ahmed, E.V. Bobb, S.L.R. Sawhney, Sumant Misra, Narendra Nath and last but not least, Dilip Bose, the former Asian Champion—the Asian Championships were sponsored at the instance of India in the Council of International Lawn Tennis—none has really ever been in the top flight of world players.

In Badminton, however, though India was not quite as successful in the Thomas Cup—the Davis Cup of Badminton—as

Malaya, our topnotch players can hold their own against the best in the world. Popularity of badminton is increasing daily throughout the country but Bombay boasts of the largest number of indoor courts which help so much in advancing the top standard of the game. The organisational set-up of badminton is the same as in other sports.

In athletics, however, that India has to make a considerable advance to be in the top flight was proved beyond the shadow of a doubt in successive Olympiads. The nearest we could get to winning a field event was in the 1948 London Olympiad but our great hope in the Hop, Step and Jump event, Henry Rebello, broke down tragically owing to a pulled muscle.

The Indian Olympic Association, aware of the low standard of athletics in India, have brought out coaches from abroad but to little effect so far. The coaching to be helpful has to be continuous which it has not been owing largely to the dearth of funds. Another step for improvement recommended by G.D. Sondhi in organising the Asian Games which was done so capably in New Delhi in 1951 by A.S. de Mello, has had some rewards when on the "points system", India were second only to Japan who literally swept the board in many events to the amazement of all Asia. The Japanese post-war recovery in sports was there for all to see and admire.

It is, however, the British game of cricket that probably enjoys the greatest popularity in India. Thousands flock to the game and millions listen in to running commentaries on it. The youngest member among the cricketing nations until Pakistan's entry recently, India in twentyone years of international cricket have had M.C.C. (England), the West Indies, Pakistan besides many other representative teams on Indian soil and have toured England four times and Australia once for what is known as "Test" cricket. Although India has produced stalwarts in the game like Ranji, Duleepsinhji, Pataudi, C.K. Nayudu, Mahomed Nissar, Wazir Ali, Amar Singh, Vijay Merchant, Lala Amarnath, Vijay Hazare and Vinoo Mankad, their success in Test cricket has been limited.

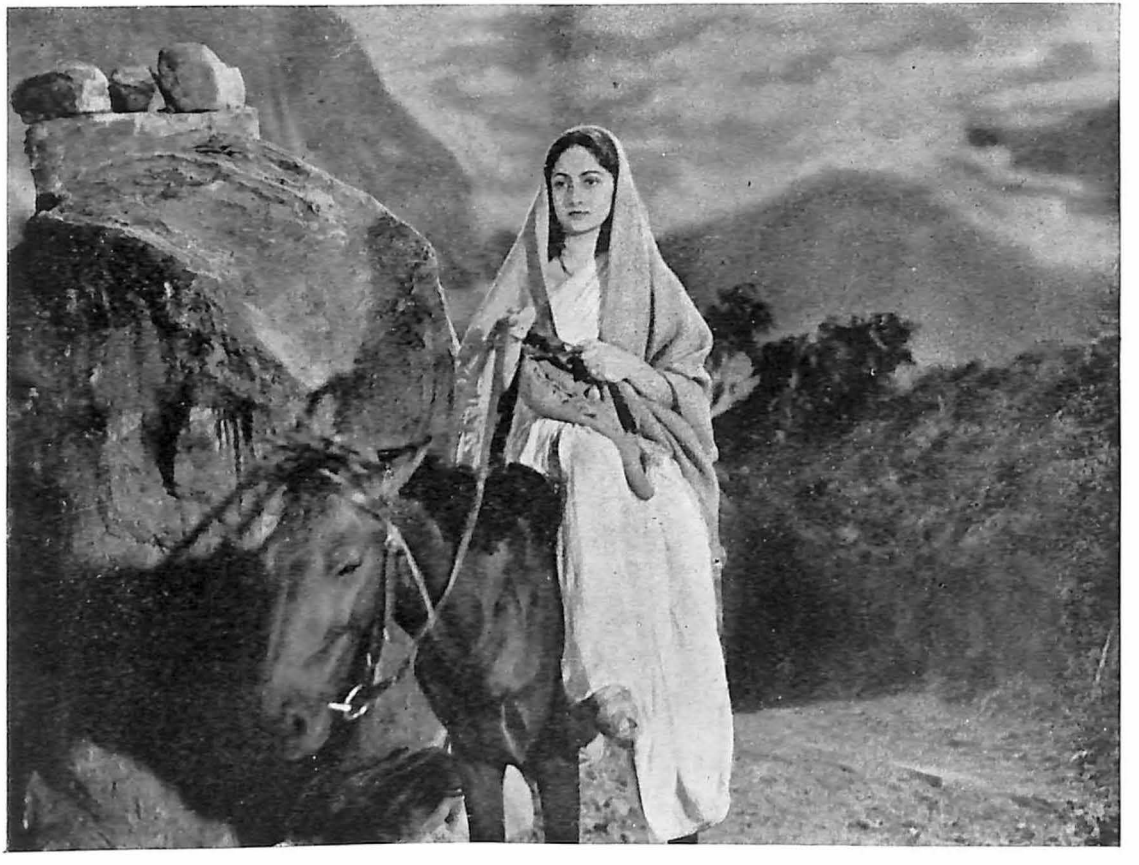
So wide has been the popularity of cricket that the first complete stadium to be built in India was the Brabourne Stadium in Bombay which is one of the world's most symmetrical stadia. This is significant particularly as the number of sports stadia in India cannot be said to be consistent with the intense enthusiasm for all sport in the country. It is only recently that the National Sports Club of India have built two fine Olymic Stadia in New Delhi and Bombay, thanks largely to the imagination and initiative of A.S. de Mello who also gave India the Brabourne Stadium.

THE INDIAN CINEMA

Khwaja Ahmad Abbas

TWO recent events have made the outside world suddenly conscious of the existence of the Indian cinema. The first was the International Film Festival held in Bombay in early 1952 when selected films from almost every film-producing country—including the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, France, Egypt, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Japan and China, etc.—were exhibited, and representatives of the film industry from all these countries, including producers, directors, actors and technicians, came together in fraternal conclave to exchange experiences and discuss mutual problems. The second was the release in London (to be followed shortly by exhibition in other capitals of the world) of an Indian picture, AAN. In the past foreign film celebrities have come to India on business visits, and also in the past a few Indian films have been shown to limited audiences abroad. But it is only now that this has been done on an organized basis and on an adequately big scale. Within the same year the Indian cinema has played host to the world cinema and also been accepted as a welcome guest on the international screen.

India, being a multi-lingual country, films are produced here in at least six regional languages—in Bengali, Marathi, Gujerati, Tamil, Telugu, Malyalam—besides Hindi, the national language which is understood more or less all over the country. In all, nearly 150 full-length feature films are produced by private-owned production concerns, the cost ranging from about Rs. 300,000 (£22,000 or 60,000 dollars) to Rs. 3,000,000 (£220,000 or 600,000



Anushree portrays the eternal pilgrim in search of truth in *Yatrik*, a film produced by the "New Theatres" of Calcutta

dollars). The news-reels and documentary shorts are produced almost exclusively by the Central Government's Films Division. Some of these documentaries have won high critical acclaim in international film festivals.

One of the first things a foreigner is apt to notice about Indian films is that they are too long—though no Indian film has beaten the record of GONE WITH THE WIND in this respect. It is true, however, that the tempo of story development in an Indian film is slower than in its counterpart from Hollywood. So, to a foreigner, it *seems* even longer than it really is. The Indian films are slow because the tempo of life in India is slow. The Indian films will acquire the nervous tension and mounting tempo of a Hollywood thriller only when the impact of industrialism has created the same psychological atmosphere in this country as in England and America.

The Indian films are produced for a people steeped in traditions of long and patient suffering. Brought up on voluminous religious and literary epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, used to religious song festivals like *kirtans* and *qawwalis* that go on for the whole night, we are not likely to be bored by a movie that goes on for two or even three hours !

The Indians are a religious-minded people. The early Indian films, therefore, all had religious or mythological themes. Since then some of the best and greatest of our movie hits have been in this category. Films based on the lives of popular saints have been most successful, but it is interesting—and significant—to observe a progressive, humanitarian motif being introduced in these stories of the Men of God. This has been partly due to the fact that many a saint in India (as doubtless elsewhere—the noblest and most eminent example being Jesus of Nazareth) has also been a Man of the People.

As in all countries, India too has been fascinated by its 'glorious past'. Not a single king, queen, hero or knight-errant of

history has escaped the attention of film producers. But here, too, one can see the tendency to re-interpret the past in terms of the needs of today. Many a historical theme has been consciously used as an allegory on burning contemporary issues like Freedom and Unity. And even in the worst days of strict British censorship, the censors were powerless to ban patriotic and by implication, anti-imperialist propaganda when presented in the garb of an historical film or a mythological fantasy. Today, even 'action-filled' romances like AAN have a democratic sub-motif running right through them.

The most popular films today, however, are what are known as 'socials'. It is interesting to note that films depicting contemporary life are known as 'socials' in India—it is because most of these have always sought to portray social reality and have embodied varying degrees of social criticism in their dramatic content. This is not strange when we remember that, being people in a historically transitional stage—from mediaevalism to modernism, from feudalism to industrialism, from foreign rule to freedom and self-government—we are, consciously or sub-consciously, preoccupied with all sorts of political, social, economic and emotional problems.

One other characteristic of the Indian cinema, which also arises from climatic and socio-historic reasons, is that Indians are a sentimental people and take human relations seriously. The caste and family ties are still strong in India. Having been acquainted with suffering on a mass scale, we are perhaps a little morbidly fascinated by tragedy. We seem to have an unhealthy desire to see not only martyrdom but even frustration sublimated on the screen. Unlike the experience of Hollywood, the Indian movie-producer generally finds films with tragic themes more paying at the box-office than musicals or comedies—though the elusive formula of success is a mixture of sentimental melodrama rooted in some social reality, cinematic "action", a fair dose of songs and a dash of comedy.

As education and industrialisation spread and the mass of the Indian people acquire more sophisticated tastes, the Indian

Mehtab, who plays the title role of *Jhansi Ki Rani* (an Indian Technicolour Film), gets ready to face the camera for a riding scene

cinema is gaining in technical polish, particularly in the field of photography. There is a trend towards Italian realism as well as towards technicolour glamour of Hollywood, and in the wake of the success of AAN, more and more Indian films are being ambitiously planned with an eye to the foreign market.

JHANSI KI RANI, based on the life of the patriotic queen who died fighting the British, made in technicolour, will soon have a world-wide release. AWARA (The Vagabond), a beautifully produced film on the problem of juvenile delinquency, is shortly being shown in London and elsewhere. But the bulk of the Indian films will continue to be made strictly for Indian audiences.

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Social Welfare in India

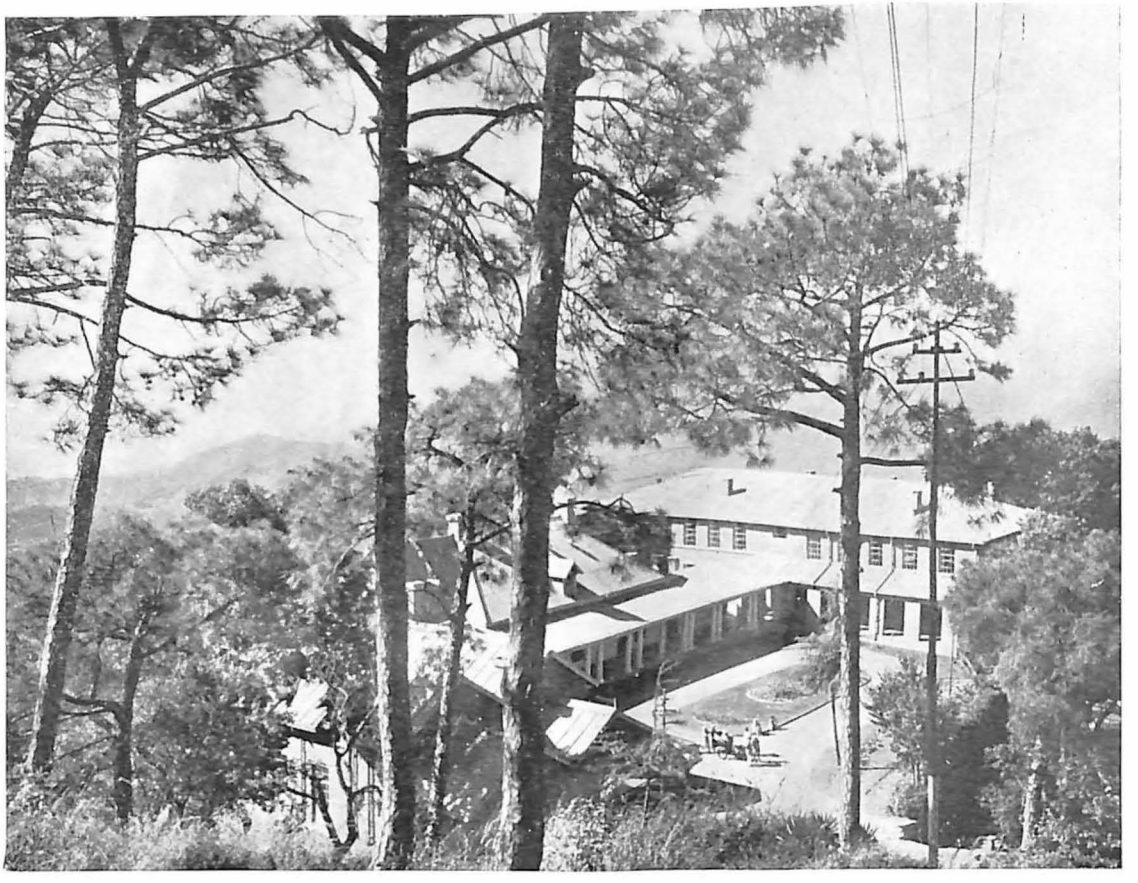
Dorothy Moses

THE poverty and unemployment that we see today is not peculiar to Independent India. It is one of the heritages of a past and foreign government that did not introduce effective measures for dealing with problems arising from long standing social and economic factors.

Except for the employment exchange, which was started during the second world war, almost all the other programmes have been started since Independence. The fifty-five rural community projects aim to cover 16,500 villages and over a crore of population. The initial start has been made by the Government. It has outlined a working programme which includes the experiences of a number of rural welfare organisations that have been working in this field for years. The Central Government is allotting about Rs. 90 crores for such projects.

The only kind of insurance that a worker in industry had enjoyed in the past, was provided under the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 which safeguarded him against industrial accidents. Today the Government is trying to remedy this state of affairs by the Employees' State Insurance Act passed in 1948 and the Provident Fund Schemes.

The former should allow for the health insurance of its 3 million industrial workers. The Provident Fund Scheme aims to provide old age pension facilities and the benefits of a provident fund for workers in six major industries. At present, such schemes



A sanatorium at Kasauli, in the Simla Hills, about 5,000 feet above sea level

exist independently, but now they will be knit together as a part of the national welfare programme. The Central and State Government are planning to spend about 7 crores of rupees to promote the welfare of industrial workers.

The post-independence period finds tireless efforts being made for the improvement of health facilities in India. It is hoped that at some time in the near future there will be one doctor to every 2,000 of population and one nurse to every 500. Rs. 90 crores have been sanctioned by the Planning Commission for improving the health standards of the Indian people. This amount will be increased as the national resources increase with the development of the country.

India has taken the lead among Asian countries in encouraging the growth of a network of Colleges of Nursing. The College of Nursing in Delhi gives a University Degree in Nursing. Government leadership in this field is helping to raise standards of training and in breaking down social prejudice which has prevented many promising young women from entering the profession.

According to the 1941 Census almost 88% of the population was illiterate. Free primary education was not available to the bulk of the children of school age. Except for a few institutions of higher learning financed by the State, much of the responsibility for educating the future citizens and the country was left to private effort.

Since independence sustained efforts have been made to establish a network of elementary schools all over the country. The Planning Commission has earmarked a further sum of Rs. 150 crores for this purpose.

India's social problems are no different from those of other Asian countries. There is much that each of these countries can share from their experiences in trying to solve them. New experiments are being tried and sometimes with great success.

The success of these experiments at this stage should not be measured so much in terms of the statistics of people benefited. It should be measured more in terms of the general awareness to be found amongst the people that something is seriously wrong with the social and economic order in which they live, a vital step towards seeing that something is done to rectify it.

In order to do a more co-ordinated job most countries in Asia are setting up either Ministries of Social Welfare or Departments of Social Services or Social Affairs. India at present divides the responsibility amongst several ministries such as Health, Education, Labour, Law and Home Affairs. The Planning Commission is also considering the recommendations made by social workers that an independent Board of Social Welfare, composed of officials and non-officials be set-up, to co-ordinate the many existing welfare programmes. It would also advise in the spending of the Rs. 318 crores, that the Planning Commission has recommended for the expenditure on Social Welfare Services.

India today, has three graduate Schools of Social Work and a large number of under-graduate institutions with similar objectives to provide the personnel for executing these welfare programmes. The number turned out is infinitesimal compared to the need. Consequently many more programmes for the training of various groups of social workers are now being instituted.

In India as the beginnings of Social Work as a profession have been laid its members realize that knowledge and skill are not enough. They know that they must acquire and use the fine art of human relations to help realise the creative powers of the people, that they may be enabled to help themselves. They are therefore committed to disciplined study so that they may understand and help India achieve and maintain her standards of human welfare.

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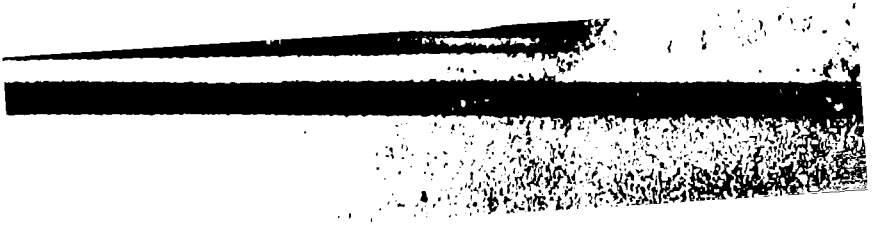


Tribal children at play

THE TRIBESMEN IN THE NEW INDIA

Verrier Elwin

ANY observer who like myself has been in close touch with the tribal populations of India for over two decades, cannot fail to be struck by the tremendous changes that have occurred in recent times.

Some of these, of course, are changes that have affected the whole nation and not merely the tribesmen. The new land-reforms, so courageously adopted by some of the State Governments, are a boon to every peasant, though to the ignorant and easily exploited aboriginal the abolition of the old landlord systems with their countless abuses has been of special benefit. And then the entire countryside is alive with a new spirit, a spirit of independence and self-respect, and the civic sense and self-reliance which had been damaged by the long years of foreign rule is gradually asserting itself even in the remotest hills.

In pre-Independence days, there were two sharply opposed methods of dealing with the tribesmen. The official policy was, on the whole, to leave them alone ; the districts where they lived were classed as 'excluded' or 'partially excluded' areas and placed outside the ordinary operations of the legislatures. At the other extreme, there was an attempt to 'uplift' and 'reform' these 'savages' as quickly as possible, to convert them to one or other of the great historical religions, or to assimilate them into the surrounding population.

Both these policies had their drawbacks. It is obviously impossible for any rapidly advancing nation to allow a large part—

over 25 million—of its citizens to remain in a semi-primitive economic and social condition. On the other hand, there is great danger in too rapid a change and too drastic an interference in tribal life. With the disappearance of the old sanctions and before the bewildering claims of civilization, the aboriginal may collapse into a moral and spiritual decadence, he may suffer a loss of nerve, rather than go forward into a richer life.

India's Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, therefore, has adopted a policy which strikes the mean between these extremes. While sanctioning an extensive programme of education and economic improvement, he is anxious to preserve the social structure, religion and customs of the tribes. He admires many things in the old tribal life, and has particularly praised its song and dance and its power of enjoying life in spite of poverty. In a speech last year which, at once scientific and humane, was—so far as my knowledge goes—the finest exposition of tribal problems yet made in any country by a public man, he declared that "we are not going to interfere with their way of life, but we are going to help them to live it". The fundamental problem, he insisted, was "to understand the tribal people, to make them understand us, and create a bond of affection and understanding between us".

He called on modern India to approach the tribal people "with affection, to go to them as a liberating force and as friends so that they might feel that they had come not to take something away from them, but to give them something". He condemned those who would try to impose themselves, "who would interfere, who would try to change their methods of living", take away their land and exploit them, or go to them "with long faces and black gowns" and try to kill the spirit of happiness and delight in simple pleasures that lives so richly in their midst.

The fruits of this policy are already evident. Twenty years ago, when I first settled in tribal India, there was only one national institution—founded by that hero and champion of oppressed humanity, Mr. A.V. Thakur—which did admirable welfare work for the Bhils. Today there are similar agencies at work in every

State, and an all-India organization, the Adimjati Sevak Sangh, is co-ordinating their activities. A Commissioner for Tribal Affairs, with his office in New Delhi, has been appointed. Some of the States have special Ministers to watch over the interests of the tribal population.

Perhaps even more important, the recent general elections witnessed a great awakening of political interest. In Bihar over thirty tribesmen were elected to the State Assembly. In the Central Parliament, both in the House of the People and in the Council of States, there are a number of tribal deputies. These have not yet, perhaps, found their political feet, but they will do so in time, and there can be little doubt that they will exercise a growing influence on national affairs.

Education is making a rapid advance among the tribesmen, and an attempt is being made to devise a curriculum which will be adapted to their needs.

New regulations have been made throughout the country to control the money lenders who at one time were a serious menace to the economic well-being of the tribesmen, whose innocence and simplicity made them an easy prey to the educated cunning of the outsider. Forced and unpaid labour, which was a matter of a almost daily concern when I first began to study the problem, has disappeared. Above all, the tribesmen have achieved a new status in society.

Indians today no longer think of the tribesmen as savages to be uplifted ; still less do they regard them as objects of exploitation, mere material for the mines and factories. A protective, chivalrous attitude towards these children of the nation is growing up in many hearts. It is becoming widely recognised that the tribesmen have a culture and religion which is well adapted to their own needs, and which has many elements of beauty and value. Their poetry is often of rare quality, transforming with its pure and candid light every aspect of their life ; their dancing is often magnificent, raising them by the glory of its rhythm above the anxieties and

cares of earth ; they have always given a high place to women ; their closely-knit communal way of life might well set an example to modern individualism.

There are, therefore, many grounds for hope that in dealing with her tribal population, India will be able to avoid the mistakes which have in the past so often disfigured the relations of other countries with primitive folk. The old errors are on record and can be avoided. In this the growing body of Indian scientists has an important part to play. Five years ago the Government of India established an official Department of Anthropology under the inspiring leadership of Dr. B.S. Guha. The Tata School of Sciences is sending out from Bombay a constant stream of highly trained social workers. Many Universities now include anthropology and sociology in their curriculums, and centres for cultural studies are soon to be set up in States which have a large number of tribesmen within their borders. All this means that the future approach to these people will be made with increased intelligence, with greater enthusiasm, and above all, in the spirit of reverence.

I would, therefore, summarise the achievements of the new India in regard to her tribal population somewhat as follows : the recognition of science as a guide to the administration of primitive peoples ; the higher place given to the tribesmen in political institutions and in the hearts and minds of men ; the realization that there is a problem of culture-change and that however inevitable it may be, it should be gradual and unforced ; the tangible advances in the fields of economics, land-reform, health and education ; and the often-expressed hope that the tribesmen will soon be able to bring their peculiar treasures into the common store, and by their virility, charm and innocence make a real contribution to the nation's life.

Foreign Students in India

Muriel Wasi

A noticeable feature in the field of education today in India is the number of foreign students that have conglomerated from remote parts of the earth at Indian Universities for under or post-graduate study. This, and the scheme of Government scholarships to maintain and, if possible, extend facilities for advanced study to foreign nationals and Indians domiciled abroad are practical contribution to better understanding among countries. Students come to India from between 20 to 30 countries. Many of them are scholars who have come under the cultural relations programme. But there are, in addition, also those who have come of their own initiative because India today has something to offer that they wish to acquire.

There is among these students from Afghanistan and British East Africa, Mauritius and Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, China, Burma, Siam and Rhodesia, France and Ladakh, Germany, Ceylon, the U.S.A. and British West Indies, the keen realisation that they are a privileged people. The scholars are in a special sense privileged because they receive stipends and are, in so far as this is possible, allotted to institutions for the special study for which they have applied. Here they have all facilities and amenities in academic instruction and cultural environment. Courses range over a wide field. The foreign student in India today may read for a Bachelor or Master of Arts, an Intermediate Science as a preliminary to the M.B.B.S., the B. Sc (Agriculture), the B. Sc (Veterinary), Architecture or Music and he may take a diploma in Motion Picture Technique and Sound Recording, Industrial Chemistry, Glass Technology,

Zoology, Radio Technology, Commerce or Forestry. A foreign student is fortunate to have arrived at a stage in India's history at which he can see an old country reborn and devoting herself to the tasks of development in all spheres and industrialisation. He can witness the energy and enthusiasm that have accompanied independence and can feel the seal with which a self-governing people tackles problems of economic and political democracy.

As always and impersonal, official scheme with preliminary instructions on the most suitable type of student for study in India and of counsel on how to exploit opportunities is a mere framework. Within this, young men and women from many countries come to know one another, learn to respect each other's way of life and accept conditions of living and thinking that, without a personal acquaintance with them, would have forever remained curious and alien. The fact that foreign students at present in Indian universities have travelled in some cases many thousands of miles at personal sacrifice (for there are cases of husbands and wives who have had to part shortly after marriage so that each can avail him/herself of a scholarship to study in India) is testimony both to their anxiety to know this country and to the academic and cultural benefits that India offers.

The special attractions to the foreign student of the India of which he has read in epic and story, poetry and geography do not need to be stressed. But to an Indian born and domiciled in a remote part of the world, a return to India for study has special emotional appeal. This second home-coming at an age at which he can understand and appreciate a motherland has all the fascination of a dream dreamt long, long ago, the echo and shadow of which lurked, perhaps, in a nursery or school in distant Malaya, South Africa, Ceylon, the British West Indies, Fiji or Mauritius, British East Africa or Burma. Here at last in India he may see for himself the mythological fields that make sense of the "Mahabharata" and "Ramayana". He can see the great plain of Hindustan, historic Rajasthan and the Deccan, meet the peasantry of the country who epitomise its history, watch the growth of Indian cities and sense the blend of common sense and mysticism

that is Indian character. Romances of India's heroes and her shrines take on new point ; historic and architectural monuments, the panorama in stone and brick, of India's history is made suddenly vivid. What was a name becomes a fact ; what was ancient becomes contemporary (for continuity is established) ; what was remote becomes intimate and intelligible.

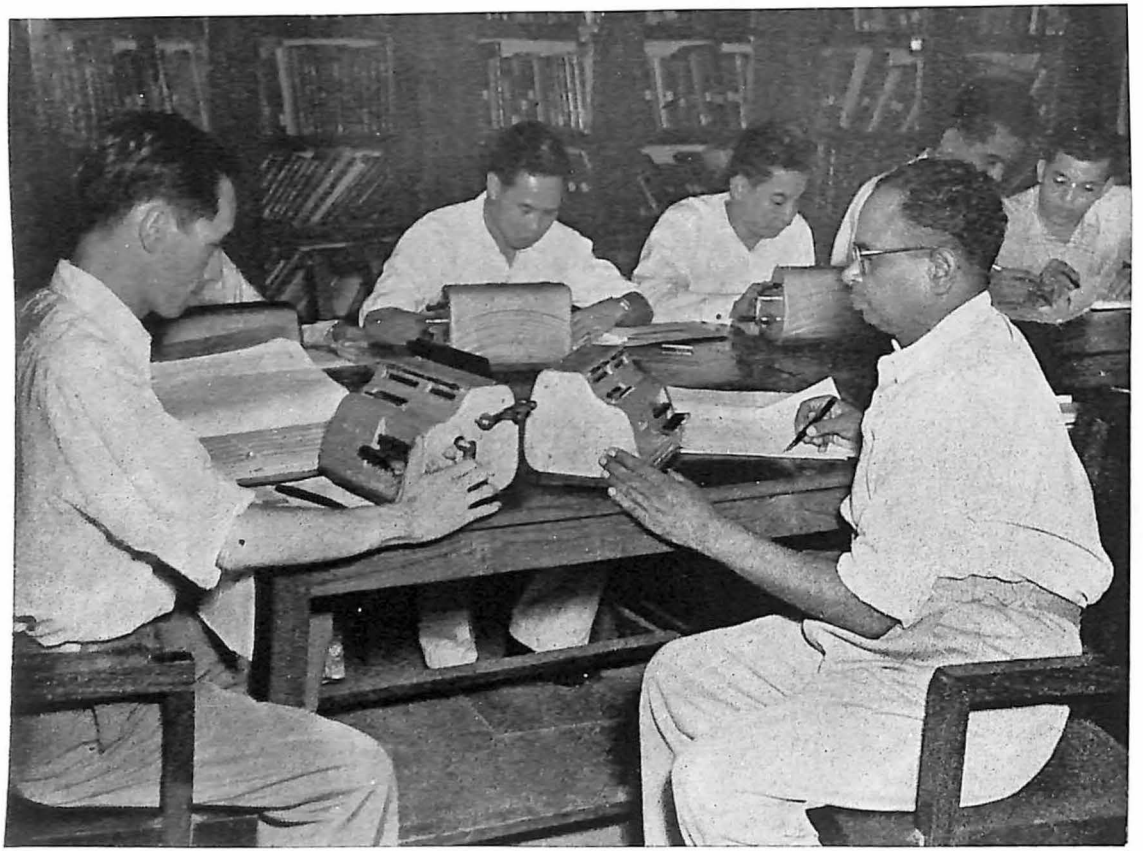
The amount that a foreign scholar sponsored by the Government of India receives ranges from Rs. 75 a month to Rs. 500 with or without passage, but is generally Rs. 200. Not all find this enough to enable them to see as much of the country as a knowledge of India would imply. James Maura, 26, from Kenya, who arrived in India in the autumn of 1950 and is at present reading for the Bachelor of Commerce at Delhi, says he cannot meet his expenses, though he adds smilingly : "But I make do with budgeting". Mr. Maura's experiences of social and cultural conditions in India and his reactions are not unrepresentative. He has travelled in north India as far as his vacations and allowance permit—to the hills, Kashmir and Nainital, for he comes from a hilly country, and regularly to the villages surrounding the capital that he finds strangely reminiscent of the villages of British East Africa. He has enjoyed his stay in India and would not like to go home quite so soon, but if his scholarship can be extended would wish to stay and read law.

As students come from a variety of countries with varied climates, standards of living and ways of life, their experiences, impressions and reactions are necessarily diverse. One of them is fascinated by Indian dancing ; another is impressed by the need for large-scale planned social work in the villages ; a third is amazed by the high standards of scholarship in Indian cities ; a fourth is charmed by the innate good manners of the Indian people ; and several enjoy Indian food having once got acclimatised to its spices. The impressions and reactions are always interesting and often intructive. This is so partly because, though coloured by individual conditioning and temperament, impressions and reactions always reflect comparative conditions and attitudes in the home country and India. It is, for instance, Mr. Maura's conviction that the African

student who comes to India for advanced studies is more useful on his return to his own country than the African student who goes to the U.K. Perhaps, he explains, it is that India and Africa have more in common economically, than Africa and the more advanced countries of the West ; perhaps, we have the same basic mental attitudes, but in any case the process of adjustment when the African student returns from India is comparatively easy, whereas the student back from Europe ordinarily takes time to readjust himself.

Occasionally, the special circumstances of India today provide the enterprising foreign student with a ready-made field for specialised investigation. Witness Mrs. Koenig, a graduate of the University of Florida, Miami, and a Fulbright Scholar, at present engaged in reading History at the University of Delhi, and in research into the refugee problem with special reference to the exchange of populations. Mrs. Koenig particularly chose to come to India. She is studying under the Chairman of the History Department, University of Delhi, but browses in press and government libraries where she can read to her heart's content on the background of India's displaced persons, their present situation and what is being done to rehabilitate them. She meets refugees of all classes and experiences, lives with an Indian family, eats Indian food and has a large circle of Indian friends.

The distribution of nationalities among faculties at Indian Universities is revealing at once of varied foreign needs as of special Indian academic excellences and facilities. Of the three German scholars at present in India under the Indo-German Industrial-Co-operation Scheme, one is at the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, reading Indian linguistics ; another is at Aligarh University for Biology ; and a third is at Poona for Agricultural Meteorology. There is at present one scholar from Burma at Roorkee University, reading Engineering. One of the students from Indonesia on a Goverement of India scholarship is, interestingly, engaged in research in Archaeology at the University of Calcutta. There are seven Nepalese scholars studying at Osmania Medical College, the Mysore Medical College, the Patna



Japanese and Indian trainees carrying out statistical analysis of data on calculating machines at the International Statistical Education Centre in Calcutta

University, the Jadavpur Engineering College and the Statistical Institute, Calcutta. The Philippines have two students at the Medical College, Mysore and Loyola College, Madras. Technology and Medicine appear to have great attractions for most Asian and African students and women students from these countries come primarily, though not entirely, to read Medicine or Education.

India in World Affairs

J. N. Sahni

THE foreign policy of a country is determined less by opportunism and the whims and caprices of politicians in power, and more by stable permanent factors governing the relationship of a nation with the rest of the world. It has to be based on a sense of enlightened self-interest, considerations of national security and a continuity of advantageous economic relationship. This is as true in the case of India as in the case of any other country in the world.

Whether a country is expansionist, interventionist, isolationist or is just aggressively or pacifically neutral, its foreign policy is mainly determined by the circumstances of its existence. Ideologies and the human element play a great but not a vital part in shaping its relationship with other countries.

Governments have come and gone—autocratic, democratic, even oligarchic and bureaucratic—, but for more than a century and a half Central Europe has continued to be the cockpit of European diplomacy. The Magyars endeavoured to stabilise international relationship in this area by a process of domination and expansion. Men like Dr. Massaryk and Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia worked very hard to neutralise national jealousies by creating an island of democratic pacifism. And yet the impact of international forces upset the equilibrium for both.

Between Bismark and Hitler lies well nigh a span of fifty years. Bismark was the creation of Prussian autocracy as

represented by the Kaisers. Hitler, a social democrat, was the product of a vast irresistible national upsurge. And yet during all these years, Germany felt compelled to pursue a policy of expansion, trying to extend its frontiers into the Mediterranean and the Baltic on the one hand and from Warsaw to Antwerp on the other.

Ever since the Industrial Revolution and the founding of its vast colonial empire, France has had only two objectives, preservation of a 'status quo' in Europe and continuity of its hold on colonial dependencies. As one of the oldest Republics in the world, it may have changed governments by the year, month or hour, but it has never altered the essential basis of its international policy. Great Britain because of its insular position never had any expansionist designs in Europe. All its international policies, whether its Prime Minister happened to be Disraeli, Gladstone, Churchill or Attlee, have been directed towards maintaining a favourable balance of power in Europe to keep the sea lanes open for preserving its hold on its colonies and dependencies abroad.

So long as American industrial expansion did not depend on foreign trade, and the seas afforded impregnable security against aggression, American Governments, whether Republican or Democrat, remained wedded to the Munro Doctrine. But the two world wars exposed the impracticability and futility of Munro neutrality. With the advent of the atomic age and the rapid growth of air power as a means of attack, the United States finds itself suddenly not only a part of Europe, but also a part of Asia. For at least the next fifty years its international policy, irrespective of internal politics of parties, has to be based on security as much in the Atlantic as in the Pacific. It cannot easily ignore even the Arctic or the Antarctic. Its interests have virtually become global.

Fortunately for India, during the first five years of its freedom, its foreign policy has been laid down by a far-sighted statesman, who made it his special concern to study international affairs most closely, namely, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

In its several details, that policy is still in an experimental stage. But its basic foundations are sound. Whether the reins of power, direction and control remain in the hands of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru or someone else, whether it is the Congress in power in New Delhi, or some other party, for several years to come the basic elements in India's foreign policy cannot easily be altered.

Even to a school boy looking at the map of India the fact should be apparent that India's boundaries are naturally circumscribed by the sea on the one hand, and lofty mountains on the other. These natural frontiers not only afford India a certain amount of security and isolation, but they also prevent it from thinking in terms of expansionism for many many years to come. Though India has unlimited resources of human power, its economic resources are not sufficient to enable it to play a militant role in international affairs. Its people have been always peace-loving. Psychologically they are more capable of playing a pacific role in international affairs than in helping to tilt the military balance of power in favour of one group of nations against the other.

To these general observations may be added a few more. Even though the Himalayas afford India an extraordinary sense of security, in the absence of any expansionist designs of her own, it is but natural that India should seek all possible means of maintaining cordial and friendly relations with the powerful nations whose boundaries are contiguous with the Himalayan range. These happen to be China and Russia. Equally, India has to depend for its export and import trade and for the security of its thousands of miles of sea coast on friendly and cordial relations with the countries which control the sea lanes of the world and which can assure the safety of the sea whether in peace or war. It would have been an ideal situation if India's neighbours across the Himalayas were also friendly with large maritime powers on whose friendship and goodwill India's vital foreign trade at present naturally depends.

But when relations between these two groups are, as currently, in a state of tension, as much out of a sense of enlightened

self-interest as perhaps out of considerations of "noble altruism", India can best help by playing the part of an active, even aggressive, peace maker. It must lend its support to all those endeavouring to remove the causes of world tension and mitigate the factors of international hostility.

In relation to its immediate neighbours, India has to play a more specific role. Its interest in the countries of South-East Asia is natural. It is dictated as much by its geographical position as by her relationship going back to several hundred years before Christ. By supporting Burma and Indonesia in their struggle for independence and by strongly championing the cause of freedom for Indo-China and Malaya, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru has only revived centuries-old relationships which had been obliterated by the domination of India and these countries by foreign powers. To that extent he has shown the wisdom of a great and practical statesman. As immediate neighbours India's relations with Burma and Ceylon have to be of the closest. Certain evil legacies of the immediate past may lead to periods of temporary tension bordering even on mutual irritation. But wise statesmanship would require the building up with these countries of a relationship of friendly and helpful co-operation as much for mutual economic prosperity as for mutual security. On the whole we are well on the way to achieve this end.

Whatever may have been the justification for the creation of Pakistan, the fact remains that for the first time in India's history an artificial political boundary line, instead of the natural boundary of mountains and seas has been introduced. The manner in which Pakistan was created and the memory of events that followed, have had their legacy of tension and irritation on both sides.

Prime Minister Nehru has frequently stated that on permanent basis India's relationship with Pakistan should be not merely of peaceful neighbours, but of two most friendly countries if they have to grow and prosper across an artificial boundary line. It is not therefore enough that India and Pakistan should suffer

each other in peace, but it is necessary that they should hold up a relationship like that of Canada and the United States.

Such a relationship can only grow through mutual trust and an attitude of mutual helpfulness. The Government of India has done everything possible in this direction despite serious set-backs. It is to be hoped that the response from Pakistan will in due course be equally encouraging. While the path of wisdom would lie along a policy of friendliest helpfulness, those interested in the security of India cannot forget that a hostile Pakistan makes India vulnerable. Pakistan by itself may never be able to have the strength to successfully attack India, but a hostile Pakistan can in any emergency work up alliances which might seriously endanger the peace and security of its neighbour. Till India's relationship with Pakistan can be stabilised on a basis of cordial co-operation and friendliness, the makers of India's foreign policy, while working towards this objective will need a great deal of patience, tact, foresight and vigilance. There are also bound to be periods of tension and anxiety. The manner in which some of the difficult, delicate and complicated problems are resolved will be the test of statesmanship on both sides.

Judged by these basic standards India's foreign policy during the past five years has followed the course of enlightened self-interest and noble altruism. During the process of experiment we may have been driven into some avoidable pitfalls, but in broad outline India has pursued a course natural to the circumstances of its existence, and in harmony with the psychology of its people.

New though we are to the international game, it speaks highly of India's foreign policy that not only is it in accord with the circumstances of our existence, but has about it an element of dignity and nobility, and is based on high ethical principles which have won the respect of many nations and have been a source of inspiration to quite a few.
