

New India

— FORTNIGHTLY —

FOUNDED BY DR. ANNIE BESANT IN 1914

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THE GLORY OF SERVICE

BY GEORGE S. ARUNDALE

NEW INDIA daily, founded by Dr. Annie Besant on 14th July 1914 and closed on 15th March 1927, was revived on 10th April 1928 with two editions a day—morning and evening. NEW INDIA Weekly was also continued, chiefly intended for overseas readers and for those in provinces resident outside Madras, and contained news of special interest to them. On the eve of the rebirth of the daily edition in 1928, Dr. George S. Arundale, our late editor, wrote the following article in the "Weekly" which we reproduce here as it is not merely of historical interest but is as apposite to the circumstances prevailing in the country today as they were nearly two decades ago.—Mg. Ed.

How glorious is the service of our mighty Motherland, and how great a privilege to to be in her service at such a time as this. India to-day stands on the threshold of her Freedom—a Freedom which is her birth-right, a Freedom for which her noblest sons and daughters fought in the past and are fighting to-day, a Freedom which her splendid Rishis will that she shall have. Those who fight for India's Freedom in spirit of utter selflessness; who fight relentlessly, yet ever honourably; who fight with unquenchable enthusiasm, yet with courteous restraint; who fight, never for a moment forgetting their chivalry, however much their opponents may forget theirs; who fight unyieldingly, yet ever generously;—such are India's true soldiers and sons and daughters, belong they to whatever Nation or Race.

Nothing can stand in the way of India's early emancipation from her thralldom, save her own weakness as manifest in the unworthiness of those who are in the forefront of the fight. Be Britain however powerful, be her determination to withhold however fixed, be the threats of her statesmen however menacing, once the knell of India's servitude has been sounded by her spiritual Guardians, that servitude must cease. If we who work for India to-day prove unworthy, may we ruthlessly be swept aside, that those worthier may take our place. Now that India's face is square set to the goal, she may not be denied, either by those without or by those within, either by her

foes or by those who are not worthy of their citizenship, of the splendid trust conferred upon them. Those who stand in the way, either through ignorance or through ill-will, shall in no wise stay India's irresistible onward march to her destiny; and those of her sons and daughters who love and serve her passionately yet calmly, with their whole hearts yet seeking naught for themselves, will find themselves sure and certain of the out-come of the struggle, whatever be the fleeting phases of success and failure. No rebuff shall daunt them, no success elate them unduly. The goal is sure; no need even for exultation. The fight must be won by us or by others. It must be won with little delay. Therefore let us win it. Let it be our proud privilege to be in at the end with all our strength, with all our wisdom, with all our devotion.

NEW INDIA returns to be in at this glorious end. Round NEW INDIA will rally those who love India, be they sons of her very soil or sons from other lands. In every department of India's life NEW INDIA will sound the note of the Motherland's approaching Freedom, and will summon the workers in these fields to contribute of the wealth they garner for the service of the common Mother of us all. All faiths must contribute to India's Freedom, by uniting in bonds of common fellowship, by mutual understanding and forbearance. All social life must contribute to India's Freedom, by making custom inspiring and ennobling, rather than degrading. The educational life of India must

contribute to India's Freedom, by giving to her happy and patriotic sons and daughters who shall wisely use the inheritance of Freedom into which they are about to enter. The industrial life of India must contribute to India's Freedom, by giving the Motherland material prosperity deep-rooted in the happiness and contentment of the manual workers. The political life of India must contribute to India's Freedom, by fashioning noble forms for the inflow of the National Consciousness, so that every citizen may share in the mighty life according to the measure of his need, according to the measure of his wisdom. The cultural life of India must contribute to India's Freedom, through the glory of Indian art, Indian music, Indian philosophy.

NEW INDIA stands for India's Freedom and Literature in all the varied aspects of her complex life. NEW INDIA stands for wise Freedom, for a Freedom rich in Brotherhood, for a Freedom which binds and unites, not for a Freedom which drives apart. NEW INDIA stands for a Fellowship of Faiths; for National Brotherhood ever dwarfing all distinctions of colour, creed, caste and custom; for an International Brotherhood, in which each Nation shall be free and equal, to which each Nation shall contribute the gift of its genius and of its power, consecrated to the end of Peace Universal.

So stands NEW INDIA. God-speed to her, blessed as she is by Those whom she serves, as, rejoicing, she goes forth once more on the final pilgrimage. *Vande Mataram!*

ROWLEY SCHOOL OF THE HUMANITIES

BY DR. PHILIP WELTNER

President, Oglethorpe University, Atlanta, Georgia

The world has just witnessed in stark tragedy the crescendo of a titanic bout between two forces which long have faced each other in grim struggle. One is the will to power, that lurking instinct in the human breast which sates itself on dominion over other men. Sometimes the worst in human nature finds some focal personage about whom that worst can rally and then breaks loose in frenzied might. Such a personage was Adolf Hitler. The instinct that drew him followers and drove them on was quenchless lust for power.

Nineteen hundred years ago, the Man of Nazareth came into the world. At the outset of His ministry, He, too, felt the tug of power. The vision of the kingdoms of the world at His feet presented itself with full allure. But He represents a principle, the very antithesis of power; a principle, the negation of power; the principle of brotherhood. He left us a method and a prohibition—to lead, yes; to drive, never. He recognized in each man, woman and child a tremendous potential, by some called soul; by others personality—which must forever be free from coercion in order for that potential to release itself under the one condition necessary to human growth—the opportunity for personal choice. To accord to others that opportunity is respect for human personality, which Christ would have no man deny his fellow men.

These lines may sound abstruse, but great truths can be couched in the simplest terms, terms which any child can understand, yet which the deepest comprehension will never exhaust. When children are encouraged to be kind, is not that the first step towards respect for human personality? Kindness and justice are attitudes of the mind towards all sentient life. In its highest form, it becomes a character which reinforces its integrity by freely according to others the opportunity to develop their own.

In 1889, George T. Angell founded the American Humane Education Society to foster and awaken,

especially in childhood, the spirit of kindness as a first and, therefore, essential step towards human brotherhood.

Dr. Francis H. Rowley, for more than thirty-five years President of this Society, enlarged on the scope of this work, making the Society's influence felt, not only nationally but internationally, as well. In this country, for instance, more than eight million children have been enrolled in Bands of Mercy or Junior Humane Societies, an experience that greatly enriched their lives.

And now, due to the fact that other good men and true founded Oglethorpe University to help college youth grow and develop in terms of their highest humanity, the two parallel ideas will be combined and find expression in the Rowley School of the Humanities at our University, named in honour of Dr. Francis H. Rowley, Dean of the humane movement, as a mark of esteem for his outstanding contribution in the development of Humane Education in America and his great work for a better world.

To the present time, the Society has limited itself primarily to bringing the teachings of Humane Education to elementary and high school students, through its humane workers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but with this new step, the fundamentals of these teachings will be correlated, also, with college subjects and brought to a higher level of education.

Oglethorpe University and the American Humane Education Society exhibit a purpose identical to each other in an on-going process whereby, in good time, the kingdoms of this earth shall become transformed into the Kingdom of God.

For Oglethorpe University to form a close association with the American Humane Education Society is an inspiring privilege. It is another of those links which some day will bind together all mankind in an abiding sense of brotherhood, begun in kindness and justice and achieving maturity through informed and intelligent goodwill.

All things seen and unseen are beautiful when expressed by the Divine in His own way.—RUKMINI DEVI.

New India

Benares City

15 April 1947

Trust life; that is the great lesson for these days of change, for change is coming, change from every side. Those changes that are good will endure, and you must be very patient while they are in the making. Be full of hope and full of courage.

—ANNIE BESANT

INDIA'S ILLS: A DIAGNOSIS

Some one had remarked the other day that the talks now going on at New Delhi between the new Viceroy and some of India's top-ranking leaders have produced the least sensational effect on the public. Newspapermen and special correspondents, accustomed to sense the inside happenings with certain precocity on such occasions, do not seem to have been able to lift even a little of the lid that holds tight the confidence prevailing either at the Bhangi Colony or at the Viceregal Lodge. There have been very few tendentious reports, if at all, appearing in the press. The country seems to be curiously unconcerned about the trend of the talks going on between the Viceroy and the leaders. And such unconcern is only heightened by news from New Delhi that these talks are of an "exploratory" nature, and that they may well last for nearly the next three months.

In the meantime strange events are happening in India for the proper understanding of which a right historical perspective is necessary. Such a necessary background is well furnished by the remarkably frank and objective analysis of India's ills today, made by the Home Member of the Government of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in the course of a recent outspoken speech by him at Ahmedabad.

The speech perhaps was meant to constitute a reply to Mr. Jinnah's recent offer of "truce", though clothed in more conciliatory tone than is characteristic of the Home Member. How could it be a truce, he asked, when it was based on a demand that the Congress should surrender? To accept Pakistan was not a compromise, but surrender.

According to the report of the Special Correspondent of *The Times of India*, Sardar Patel asked what kind of a truce it was when, simultaneously with the offer, the League was preparing to invade Assam and uproot the Ministry of the Province and similar demands were made by show of force to break the Frontier Ministry. In the Punjab, the League was trying to force a purely communal Ministry over a little less than half the population of the Province.

Pakistan was not a plaything, the Sardar continued. In the Punjab this had been proved beyond doubt that neither the League, nor the Sikhs and the Hindus can form a stable Ministry without the co-operation of each other. That was the plight of the centre of Pakistan. It was a matter of shame that through internal differences, the Governor should rule over a Province on the eve of independence.

"The whole world is watching us. Britain has made public declaration that she will quit India by June 1948. Few doubt that declaration. Imperialism is at an end. It only remains for India to take over from Britain. The world is wondering why, instead of making arrangements to inherit power, we are quarrelling among ourselves and killing each other."

Sardar Patel's analysis of India's present troubles was that there was nothing communal about it. It was the result instead of a feeling of uncertainty about the future, of mistrust of one another, of a sense of fear lest one Section should dominate over another. The Home Minister exhorted his countrymen to rise to the occasion and become worthy of the heritage and the great responsibility which was about to descend upon them.

The foregoing is indeed a very correct diagnosis of our malady at the present moment; but let us examine *with whom does the remedy lie*.

It is just precisely because India knows with whom the remedy lies that there is this curious manifestation of indifference on the part of the public to the talks now going on at New Delhi between the new Viceroy and India's top-ranking leaders. India has lived and learned that the remedy lies here and now in this land and not anywhere outside—in the plans and policies already embarked upon by all progressive elements in the country. The British Labour Government has been shrewd enough to realize this truth and to act upon it promptly by sending a Viceroy with great administrative ability and tact in the person of Lord Mountbatten to prepare for the change-over in the course of the next few months.

The sense of fear and mutual mistrust to which the Sardar referred as constituting our present ill is operative all over the land—in the Centre no less than in the smaller provincial settings, and it is very necessary that such fear and mistrust should be obliterated from the minds of the people by agreement amongst the leaders both on the wider and narrower spheres.

Such an agreement is possible only in

two ways: either by a completely new plan or on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's scheme to which the Congress has already unequivocally expressed its agreement and in pursuance of which it has undertaken responsibility at the Centre—responsibility that it is discharging with admirable adroitness and tact amidst very trying situations.

To implement the long term proposals of the British Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly of India, which has been acclaimed as a statutory body, has been at work for some months now and has come to unanimous decisions in regard to certain fundamental issues. It is due to meet again shortly to continue its labours now being attended to by the special Committees set up by that body to deal with specific issues. We would respectfully urge the Viceroy to make it clear to the League leaders that the only constitutional way in which the Muslims of India, who are no less sons of the soil than Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, and Indian Christians, and all other creeds and communities, could gain their objective of freedom is by logical and

immediate participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly. To this end, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders and the Congress Working Committee have already appealed to the League leaders. It is surprising that Mr. Jinnah has not thought it right to even summon the Working Committee of his League to discuss and arrive at a workable settlement. On the other hand, if the "truce" that he calls for on the basis of Pakistan is to be taken seriously by the country, it could only mean a partition which does place large and solid minority groups in the very position to which the Muslims themselves object. No amount of argument would lead us anywhere except to this conclusion. As the *Bombay Times* says, "Mr. Jinnah must be well aware that that is the only answer any reference to 'disinterested arbitration,' as suggested by Sardar Patel, could possibly give." Will the League leaders see that dilatoriness leads no one anywhere and contribute their effort in time for the final emergence of India as a free Nation?

—G. R. V.

IMMIGRANTS IN ASSAM

BY JOKEN SAIKIA

It is commonly believed outside that the province of Assam abounds in cultivable wastes, but in reality the local Assamese people have little cultivable waste to fall back upon. The delusion—for it is hardly more than a delusion—is the result of the Muslim League propaganda based on the League desire to pack Assam with non-Assam immigrants.

The news of a "Mass Invasion" of certain areas of Western Assam from Bengal and the report that the Central Government are understood to be directing the Eastern Command to place troops at the disposal of Assam as a precautionary measure lends the accompanying article a highly topical interest.

The process of immigration into the province of Assam began as early as in the second decade of the present century. In the year 1911-12 a few Muslim immigrants made their entry into the province and occupied lands under a Zamindar in Goalpara. A few years later a number of immigrants from Mymensingh were settled in the district of Nowgong by the Deputy Commissioner. From the beginning the government, under the plea of increasing the revenue of the province, encouraged immigrants into it.

As there was some room for the immigrants at that time, nobody opposed their settlement in the province until 1920. Things went on smoothly enough so long as these cultivators were engaged in occupying only plots which lay vacant. But as they drew nearer to the areas held by the indigenous people, it led to a clash of interests between them and the local people and became a danger to the internal life and habit of the latter.

Meanwhile, some of the greedy immigrants had already succeeded, in the absence of any interference from the government, in taking possession of large tracts of land amounting from 500 to 1,000 bighas. These petty landlords imported more and more immigrants to work in their fields. Being hardpressed by the landlords after two or three years labour in their fields the immigrant labourers, who were called "Kamlas" by their lords, used to give up their service and became unemployed.

These unemployed persons began to encroach upon the lands of the indigenous people. Thus the increasing fall in the area of available waste-land gave birth to a struggle between the incoming immigrants and the local indigenous people. The nature of these immigrants were vividly described by many impartial officers, and here is an example. The Sub-Divisional Officer of Barpeta observed: "The immigrants are so violent in nature that it is impossible for indigenous people to live in their close proximity. There are instances when villages have been abandoned, after a few families of immigrants settled in, for fear of molestation to women."

This was the state of affairs that led to the idea of keeping the immigrants away from the indigenous, particularly from the tribal people and settling them in separate blocks where lands were available. That idea was translated into a resolution by the district officer of Nowgong in 1920. By this resolution the lands of the districts were sub-divided into three categories—(a) those in which they could settle and (b) those in which the immigrants might settle freely, and (c) where a line was drawn on the map or on the ground on only one side of which the immigrants might settle, in order to protect the indigenous Assamese, especially easy-going people like Kacharies who could not fight against the virile Mymensinghians.

To stop hooliganism and fraud, the settlement work was placed in the hands of colonization officers

or Sub-Deputy Collectors and was known briefly as the "Line System" of Assam.

The area settled with the immigrants from 1921 to 1930 was 84,349 acres by Hindus and 203,018 acres by Muslims.

During the next seven years from 1930-37 not less than 7 lakhs of acres were settled with them. Over and above these lawfully settled areas, the immigrants according to Government calculations trespassed into scores of villages. Eviction of trespassers was, however, very unsatisfactory.

In 1937 the League Cabinet of the province headed by Sir Muhammad Saadulla favoured unrestricted inrush of Muslim immigrants into the province and began to settle them irrespective of the conditions under the so-called "line system". In response to popular opinion, a Committee was appointed and it submitted a report including minutes of dissent by the Assamese and immigrant members in 1938.

The report was largely pro-immigrant in its recommendations which included that the indigenous people should get protection from the government in the shape of control over the influx of immigrants. The committee admitted that there were no more waste-lands in the province and some districts were already over-populated.

In spite of this, the League Government of Assam scrapped the report and went on with their own policy of settling immigrants. But when the League Cabinet fell in 1938 and a Congress-Coalition Ministry was formed, the subject engaged the earnest attention of the new government. The new government decided to open some forests and government reserves under a systematic plan to provide land to all the landless of the province both indigenous and immigrants. An adequate area for future expansion of the local people was also reserved. But the Government fell and nothing could be done. The Congress was directly influenced by the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League, ushering in lawlessness in Assam.

The policy of the League government, till the Congress again came to power, ushered in an era of lawlessness. Sir Muhammad in his eagerness to convert Assam into a majority province adopted a policy which practically invited the immigrants to come in thousands to Assam. The policy created a sensation in the minds of the people of the soil, but their protest went unheeded.

League leaders themselves went to East Bengal to persuade Muslim cultivators to come to Assam. The landlords there, in their eagerness to divert the tide of agitation against the Zamindari system, encouraged the tenants to come to Assam.

All the while, the indigenous landless people of the province prayed for land but in vain. This enraged the people and led to the fall of the Ministry in 1940. The government was censured and Section 93 rule was set up. This new government not only admitted that there was no land available for immigrants coming to the province after 1937, but also reversed the policy of Saadulla government in March 1942 and resolved to remove all encroachments from reserved areas and to keep them reserved in future, giving land to the old encroachers elsewhere. But before the policy could be carried out a League Ministry again came into power for the third time in the middle of the year and took up the reins of government in their hand. The time was suited for their machinations to bear fruit because, with the subsequent imprisonment of Congress leaders following the August Revolution, the League could do anything it liked. Now they used the plea of "Grow More Food Campaign" to their advantage and in the

absence of cultivable wastes threw open a considerable number of professional grazing reserves for the immigrants, deciding not to levy any revenue for five years upon the new settlers.

When the news of this new policy reached the ears of the people of the East Bengal districts, immigration figures went up by leaps and bounds. Before the special officer, who was appointed to examine the Professional Grazing Reserves, could go into the matter, almost all the reserves fell a prey to countless fresh immigrants. The limit of 1938 was thrown to meaningless terms.

These P. G. Rs. (Professional Grazing Reserves) on the other hand play an important part in the life of the people of the province. These are the only source of (1) supply of draught animals for the plough or the cart, and (2) supply of milk, Assam being an agricultural country and the method of cultivation in the province being backward, the draught animals are of vital importance to the people. Mr. S. P. Desai, I.C.S., the Special Officer, after due consideration of available facts submitted a report in February 1944 which revealed that in some Sub-divisions the grazing reserve was not even one-sixth the total requirements. He came to the conclusion that all the grazing reserves should be cleared of encroachers.

Mr. Desai's report did not suit the Muslim League government and bitterness continued until the advent of Sjt. Gopinath Bardoloi. He attracted the attention of Mahatmaji to the subject, who in a message from Panchagani said: "If the people feel that the present policy of the Government on settlement and immigration is oppressive and anti-national, let them fight it non-violently, if necessary."

The Governor of Assam, Sir Andrew Clow, in his inauguration speech, characterised the subject as the most important problem of the day. There was an assurance from the side of the government previously that they would do according to the decision of the All Party Conference; but they accepted a resolution on the subject on 15th January 1945 in which the provisions of the agreement were considerably altered. The result was that the non-Muslim members of the conference withdrew their consent and a reshuffling of the Ministry took place on the Land Settlement issue again by the end of March 1945.

The new Government headed by Sir Muhammad decided to supercede all previous policies and to implement a new one based on the terms of the All-Party Agreement. They formulated a policy to be governed by four main objects: (a) The establishment of a system of planned settlement so designed that when allowance has been made for the future expansion of the existing population, the remaining areas of cultivable waste lands may be settled to the best advantage as early as possible with those whose need is the greatest, i. e., with those who have no land or insufficient land for their support, (b) the recognition of landless immigrants from other provinces who came to Assam before 1st January 1938 as being equally entitled with landless indigenous persons to consideration in the allotment of surplus cultivable waste on application, (c) the protection of the tribal classes in areas predominantly occupied by them against aggressive elements which are apt to endanger the normal economic and social basis of village life, and (d) the maintenance of all reserves necessary for grazing or other purposes free from encroachment and, subject to certain exceptions, the eviction of all encroachers therefrom.

With the Congress again in power from February, 1946, the subject was again taken up, but it was decided not to revise the policy which the Saadulla Cabinet adopted after full agreement with other parties concerned.

The only new thing they decided to do was to accelerate the process of giving effect to the proposal and the Revenue Minister proposed to have an "enumeration of the landless people and devise measures by which the landless as well as those who have got un-economical holdings were settled in better and more economic holdings."

It is commonly believed outside the province that Assam abounds in cultivable wastes, but in fact there is no actual reason except the League propaganda to back such a belief. The previous Government of Assam, in spite of repeated requests from the indigenous people, did not take up the matter of re-surveying the cultivable land of the province and as such no accurate and definite figures of waste land are available.

The Congress Government is attempting to collect figures of available wastes. The six districts of the Brahmaputra valley affected by immigration, viz., Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Nowgong, Kamrup, Darrang and Goalpara have a total area of 23,795 sq. miles. Excluding about 11,295 sq. miles comprising hills, rocks, beels, marshes, jungles and rivers, we get about 12,500 sq. miles or about 236 lakhs bighas of cultivable land. A good portion of this amount is very low and remains under water for more than six

months, and as such is not suitable for cultivation.

The influx of immigrants was so virulent that the Census Superintendent in 1931 was constrained to observe, "Probably the most important event of the province during the last twenty-five years, an event, which seems likely to alter permanently the whole future of Assam."

It is quite clear that the land settlement question of Assam is not quite the finding of land for the landless people. A large portion of landless people have remained so for all times, the fathers before them and the children after them, while the Dewaniams, Matbors and other rich men among the immigrants are acquiring large estates of land extending over hundreds of acres, by bribery and corrupt and deceitful methods.

Neither is it a question between the indigenous peasants and immigrants, but a struggle between a nation on the one hand and a gang of exploiters on the other. The invaders, the aggressors of the worst type, want to exterminate the Assamese with their distinct culture and civilization. The Assamese, on the other hand, stand for their birth-right of retaining their own in the bosom of their beloved Motherland.

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OUR POPULAR GOVERNMENTS AT WORK

Social and Cultural Development: A New Experiment

A new experiment in the field of social and cultural development is being made in the United Provinces with the assistance of Shrimati Mira Ben, Honorary Special Adviser to the Provincial Government. The scheme involves intensive activity in eight villages in the neighbourhood of Kisan Ashram near Jwalapur (District Saharanpur), the headquarters of Shrimati Mira Ben, and the building of two model villages. In its dual aspect, namely, experiment and demonstration on the one hand and intensive development on the other, it is calculated to serve as a model as well as bring immediate benefit to the 5,000 inhabitants of the eight villages concerned.

In connection with the Model Village project, 58 acres of land of the Emergency Landing Ground have already been taken over and a further 10 acre plot in the vicinity belonging to non-resident Zamindars of Rhorkee is to be purchased or acquired to secure a total area of 68 acres. On this will be settled a Co-operative Group of Cultivators, drawn mostly from landless labourers, each with an economic holding of 8 acres and a pair of bullocks and two cows. There will also be a small group of cottages of craftsmen, weaver, *dhobi*, blacksmith-cum-carpenter, *tehi* and a *Kumhar*. Each of these cottages will have a garden plot of one acre, sufficient for growing vegetables and a few fruit trees. In addition to these families, there will come to settle a number of other cultivators, whose fields adjoin the Emergency Landing Ground, but who live in villages at a considerable distance therefrom. The Khaddar Department at present functioning in the Kisan Ashram is to be installed here and a small centre of leather workers is also proposed to be set up.

The complete Model Village will consist of about 30 families, a school, a dispensary, a Panchayat-ghar with a play-ground, a Women's Welfare Centre and an allotment garden. Government have decided to place funds at the disposal of Shrimati Mira Ben for the purpose of giving subsidies in kind to families invited to settle here.

Another Model Village will be formed by re-siting

Bicchhpuri which has been devastated by the hill-torrent, Pathri Rao.

THE PROGRAMME

The eight villages coming within the intensive development scheme (for which the necessary staff, etc., has been sanctioned by the Government) will be divided into four groups of two villages each. Every group will be under an organiser who will organise, guide and supervise Panchayats and will, through the agency of the Panchayats, take up the development of approach roads and inter-village roads; the improvement of drinking water supply by repairing wells or providing new wells and hand pumps; the construction of drainage, pavements, Panchayat-ghars, etc., and the organization of 'Culture Clubs' and 'Seva-dals,' both of young boys and adults. It is the Panchayats that will carry out the improvements. Grants to the extent of 3/5ths of the cost will be given to them by the Development Committee which will technically be the Sub-Committee of the District Rural Development Association, Saharanpur; grants from Government for various development schemes will be placed at the disposal of the Committee.

A notable feature of the programme is the proposal to set up Women's Welfare Centres in two villages in the first instance and to extend this scheme in due course to the remaining 6 villages when suitable and trained workers become available.

Each of the two centres will be placed under a trained Women Welfare Worker assisted by a local woman worker. The duties of these Welfare Workers will be to organise Women's Panchayats and impart literacy, to introduce home-crafts such as carding, spinning, knitting and sewing, to supply home remedies and run a Child Welfare Centre. Both the villages will, of course, have buildings, equipped with necessary material, to house the Women's Welfare Centres.

The separate Women's Panchayats, which are to be organised in all the eight villages, are intended to function as integral parts of the general Panchayats dealing with village advancement, and to train and prepare women for direct participation in the work of the general Panchayat.

INDIAN ART THROUGH THE AGES

I. Its History

BY PROF. V. N. BHUSHAN

Confining myself to the Art-traditions of India, let me ask the pertinent question: How many of us are deeply aware of those halcyon days in which Indian Art and Architecture rose to their highest pinnacle? How many of us are alive to the fact that in dim half-forgotten days our artists and sculptors turned even stones into scriptures, and flung the girdle of æsthetic enjoyment round our land? We in modern times are apt to look askance at them with the settled conviction that they were crude and barbaric ages, devoid of the light of improved knowledge and advanced amenities. But, have we ever visited the sacred places in India and seen the ancient temples there? And, while standing in their sacred shadows, have we ever paused to think of their antiquity and artistry?

Do not, pray, question as to what Indian Art has achieved. Despite the havoc wrought by the ravages of Time, we yet can view around us the scattered remnants of the bygone glories. The stately temples of South India, especially in Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura; the Sittannaval caves in the Pudukotah State; the frescoes and friezes of Ajanta, Ellora, Elephanta, and Bagh; the Dilwara Jain temples at Mount Abu; the stupas of Amaravati, Sanchi and Saranath; the mural decorations of the Yogimara caves in the Central Provinces; the snow-white marble dreams at Agra and Delhi; and finally, the safeguarded treasures in the British Museum;—behold all these, and bow down with folded hands. In their sanctifying presence will you realise the holy import and spiritual significance of Indian Art. Then will be revealed to your astonished gaze the manifestation of the Divine in drab and dreary stones.

The history of Indian Art is very old. Though at the present time Indian Art is at a very low ebb, yet in the past it enjoyed its high-tide. It received the blessings of sages and saints; obtained the patronage of royalties; secured the support of the wealthy classes; directed the moral and the spiritual outlook of the people; and helped to increase the beauty and splendour of the land.

In the history of Indian Art there are three main stages,—the Hindu, the Buddhistic, and the Moghul. In the most high and palmy times of the Hindu era, the ideal of the artist was indeed noble and magnificent. Art, then, centred round Divinity, and worked into form the figures of Gods and Goddesses. Vishnu poised on the folds of the hooded Sesha; Shiva mounted on his sturdy milk-white bull; Lakshmi on her lotus-throne; Saraswati with her stringed Kachhapi; Rama in his exiled wanderings; Krishna with his flute and the truant gopis; Nrisimha with his awe-inspiring teeth and sword; Nataraja in dancing ecstasy;—these were some of the ingenious fancies chiselled into shape. The Hindu artist was independent, enterprising and devoted. On the bark of joy he set afloat across the Ocean of Form, and brought home coral cargoes. On wings of Imagination he soared into regions unseen and beheld the great Gouri-Shankar couple on white mountain tops, and the gleaming heavenly hosts in God's own abode. Such were his dreams and deeds.

In Buddhistic age, true it is, that the divine ideal of Art was warped a little, but not completely forgotten. The high Hindu traditions were forsaken to a certain extent. Buddhistic Art has not imaged Divinity or the celestial denizens, but it has created scriptures on stones. It dreamed of the Nirvana

ideal. The whole country was studded with Buddhistic images and stupas. World-forsakers and world-lovers, the Buddhistic *bhikkus* were still the movers and shakers of the artistic world. Patiently, yet persistently and powerfully, they hewed hill-sides and mountain-caves, and filled them with figures from their deft hands. Their craftsmanship beats all record. They were perhaps inspired with the faith that though the Buddha passed out into the Beyond, Buddhism should live for ever. Not only did they fill the whole land with their *viharas* and *tapovanas*, but also reverently carried the Goddess of Art on their heads athwart seas to distant lands. Art aided their religious propaganda, true, but too achieved the singular distinction of spreading beauty across land and over the seas.

Later, in the Moghul times, Indian Art abandoned its august ideal and became a refuge in the palaces of the Badshas. It pampered their pleasures and tickled their vanities. Most deplorable this; its fall from a high pedestal, but we must not forget that Art still retained its inherent vitality and inner rapture. It imbibed and assimilated new influences and put forth delicate and darling petals. It reflected the glory and grandeur of the Moghul Empire and sang the praises of their *Samrajya Lakshmi*. It rowed serenely on the sempiternal stream of Love, and thrilled spotless marbles into a thousand flowery shapes. Especially, under the ægis of Shahjehan and Akbar who was himself a painter of good promise and rich fulfilment, artists blossomed forth with all their delicate skill. Who can see the Moghul works of Arts and remain silent without feeling an inexplicable thrill? Contemporaneous with the Moghul times and till half a century later too, various other schools of Art flourished—the Rajasthanee, the Pahri and the Kangri schools. Though short-lived, these were advanced in their achievement, combining as they did idealism and realism in their representations, revealing the inner secret of things. With simple contours and brilliant colours, the Rajasthanee art attempted a correlation of distinct arts, specially, the *ragamalas*—the several Indian melodies and their associations. Rigid with rules and regulations, Indian music yet was portrayed with marvellous imagination and dazzling brilliance. In the *Ragini* art-productions—most of them were portrait-paintings—the music-enchanted soul of the people kept rhyme and rhythm with the song of the universe. The efflorescence was effective, though feminine.

The Kangra Art combined secular and spiritual ideals, and dealt with the amours of Radha and Krishna. It was fundamentally feminine in tone and temperament, with flowing lines and flower-like figures, but at the same time possessed irresistible charm and graceful sentiment.

The Pahri school too, akin to the Kangra one, busied itself with *puranic* themes and mythological scenes, and expressed itself in characteristic style through the conventional and convenient symbolism of Vaishnavism. Love was its main inspiration, and expressed itself in variegated deathless forms. Thus extending her influence for nearly two thousand years, inspiring in people aesthetic taste and receiving royal patronage, Indian Art by the middle of the 19th Century made its exit from our unfortunate land. But her radiant footprints—the scattered remnants of centuries—still echo her ancient fame, and remain as fountain-heads of faith.

Fortunately, through the renaissance winds that are sweeping over our land, and through the renewed vigour of our own artists and the enthusiasm of alien friends, Indian Art is once more receiving a fillip, and promises to regain her olden glory. The Art Centres at Bombay, Bengal, Andhra, Madras and Delhi are leaving no stone unturned to instal the Goddess of Art on her golden pedestal once again.

The Village Teacher

The Congress has always looked upon the village teacher as the backbone of the country's progress and his place in the cultural life of the country is indeed high. From ancient times, the *guru* in India has been a venerated and austere figure. The respect the guru commanded was as much due to his knowledge as to his vow of service and poverty. This great and grand tradition, venerated throughout the Eastern countries, has been woefully violated by the primary teachers during their recent agitation. From Morocco to Manchuria the village-school master was, from times immemorial, looked upon as a friend, philosopher and guide, rather than an employee. The introduction of Trade Unionism into this profession, it is feared, spells the doom of its character-building utility and the destruction of the respect and veneration which we all felt for the teacher. And all this damage has been done for no cause whatsoever. Within the limits of its finances the Central Provinces Government has done its utmost to give relief to the teacher as the details which follow will show.

The primary school teachers in the province now receive Rs. 30/- per month as basic pay plus Rs. 11/- as compensatory cost of living allowance. The compensatory cost of living allowance is higher at certain places, which is double the pay they used to receive so far. Average salary of the primary teachers in the province when the war broke out and for a long time during the pendency of the war was about Rs. 15/- per month. In 1945-46 Government agreed to provide funds to the local bodies to enable them to pay Rs. 6/- per month as compensatory cost of living allowance to all the teachers. Government undertook to pay half of the cost under this head i.e. Rs. 3/- per month per teacher on the condition that the local bodies paid from their own funds at the same rate. This cost Government Rs. 3,68,000/-.

In 1946 the Congress Government considered the amount of compensatory cost of living allowance paid to the primary teachers under the local bodies to be insufficient and provided funds to enable the teachers to get Rs. 5/- per month as additional compensatory cost of living allowance. In effect the minimum compensatory cost of living allowance for primary school teachers was raised from Rs 6/- to Rs. 11/- per month, towards which Government contributed Re. 8/- per month per head. This cost Government an additional sum of Rs. 4,50,000/-. At certain places, like Jubbulpore, the primary teachers under the employment of the Municipal Committee were getting compensatory cost of living allowance at Rs. 16/- to Rs. 18/- according to their grades of the basic pay.

In 1946-47, Government further decided to revise the grants for maintenance paid to local bodies. The ordinary maintenance grant paid during many years in the past was Rs. 18,80,064/- annually. Government revised it and nearly doubled it by an addition of Rs. 11,97,526/- and directed the local bodies to utilise the increased grant to raise the minimum basic pay of the teacher to Rs. 30/- per month.

Towards the end of February 1947, Government further considered the position relating to the emoluments received by the teachers in primary schools and decided that :

- (i) The minimum pay of every teacher in the primary and middle school throughout the Central Provinces and Berar shall be Rs- 30/- per month.
- (ii) The existing rates of compensatory cost of living allowance (Rs. 3/- paid by local bodies and Rs. 8/- by Government) will be maintained.
- (iii) If any local body is paying more than Rs. 3/- per month as its share, the higher rate shall be maintained.

It is estimated that the cost of raising the basic pay to Rs. 30/- per month and additional compensatory cost of living allowance would work out to more than Rs. 5,00,000/- annually and the total expenditure on the salaries and compensatory cost of living allowance of primary teachers borne by Government would be more than Rs 42,00,000/-. The total Government assistance to local bodies has increased almost by 150 per cent as compared with what they were ordinarily paid. The total expenditure on primary education is thus coming to about Rs. 82,00,000/-.

It is believed that even the figures given above may have to be revised and the actual cost may work out to be much more heavy than anticipated. Every one has, therefore, to see that there is after all limits to the resources of our popular governments and that the primary teachers are, after all, not the only persons who have been hit by the trouble from which all the world is suffering.

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