

not be over."

In a message to the country Pandit Nehru defined the charter of independent India as follows: To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, peasants, and workers; to fight poverty, ignorance, and disease; to build a prosperous, democratic, and progressive nation, and to create social, economic, and political institutions that will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

In a message to Indians oversea Mr. Nehru said: "None of India's children, wherever they be, may submit to anything that is against national self-respect or the cause of freedom. They must preserve their own freedom and respect the freedom of others."—*Reuter.*

CALCUTTA CELEBRATES

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

CALCUTTA, Aug. 14

Hindus and Muslims, freely mingling, were wildly celebrating the approach of freedom in Calcutta to-night. The scenes of former communal battles were full of happy crowds shouting and dancing in the streets. No incidents were reported throughout the day. Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Suhrawardy (who ceases to be Premier of Bengal at midnight), and Mr. Usman, formerly Mayor of Calcutta, are beginning a 24-hour fast to celebrate the country's independence.

INDIAN CABINET FORMED

DELHI, Aug. 14.—The Cabinet of the new Dominion of India, announced here to-night, will comprise:—

PANDIT NEHRU	Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs and Scientific Research
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL	States, Home, Information and Broadcasting
DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD .. .	Food and Agriculture
SARDAR BALDEV SINGH .. .	Defence
SHANMUKHAN CHETTY .. .	Finance
DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR .. .	Law
DR. JOHN MATTHAI .. .	Railways and Transport
DR. SHAYAM APROSAD MUKHERJEE	Industries and Supplies
C. H. BHABHA	Commerce
N. V. GADGIL	Works, Mines and Power
RAFI AHMAD KIDWAI .. .	Communications
RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR	Health
MAULANA AZAD	Education
JAGJIVAN RAM	Labour

—*Reuter.*

EARLDOM FOR LORD MOUNTBATTEN

It is announced from 10, Downing Street that the King has been pleased to approve that the dignity of an Earldom of the United Kingdom be conferred upon Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma.

HYDERABAD'S STATUS

COOPERATING WITH NEW DOMINIONS

Speaking last night at a banquet given at Hyderabad to the retiring British Resident, Mr. Herbert, the Nizam of Hydera-

bad and Berar said that it was his desire and that of his State to remain within the British Commonwealth.

"After all these years of friendship," he said, "I am confident that the ties which bind Hyderabad to Great Britain will not be severed. A long association, a common history for more than 100 years, with no strife at any time to mar our alliance, ensure that, though the nature of our association may differ from time to time, still Hyderabad will always remain associated in some measure with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"When the British go from India," continued the Nizam, "I shall become an independent sovereign. But this does not mean that I wish Hyderabad to stand aloof either from old allies or old neighbours. I have already taken steps to initiate negotiations with them on matters of common concern, and it will always be my earnest desire to maintain and develop friendly relations with them and to act in concert with them.

"To this end, I propose to appoint representatives authorized to act for my Government in Delhi and Karachi. I greatly hope that some form of Standing Conference may soon be established, with regular meetings which may assist the new Dominions and such States as may decide to remain autonomous to cooperate actively in all matters concerning their common welfare, as members of what may grow to be regarded as a united Indian Commonwealth."

INDIA'S STERLING BALANCES

AN INTERIM AGREEMENT

The following announcement was issued yesterday by the Treasury:—

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of India have to-day concluded an interim Agreement, to cover the period up to the end of 1947, relating to India's sterling balances. The Agreement is of an interim nature and without prejudice to further discussions for a settlement of India's sterling balances.

The Indian and British Delegations have in a friendly and understanding spirit examined the economic and financial problems of the two countries. After reviewing the situation of the United Kingdom and the probable requirements of India, it has been agreed that a sum of £35,000,000 should be available from India's existing balances for expenditure in any currency area up to December 31, 1947. In addition, a working balance of £30,000,000 will be at the disposal of the Reserve Bank of India.

Agreement has also been reached on the method of identification of capital transactions to be permitted between the two countries without charge against or addition to funds available for current payments. In particular the two Governments have agreed that no restrictions will be placed by either Government on the remittance of savings belonging to persons of United Kingdom origin who are proceeding to the United Kingdom to take up permanent residence or on the voluntary repatriation of investments in India by persons resident in the United Kingdom.

India remains in the sterling area, but will continue to impose certain restrictions on remittances from India to other parts of the sterling area.

NEW MINISTER OF STATE

Mr. Henderson has been Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma since 1945. During the Coalition Government he was Joint Under-Secretary of State for War, and then Financial Secretary to the War Office. He has been Labour member for Kingswinford since 1935.

MR. HENDERSON'S DUTIES

' The Times '

August 15, 1947

RELATIONS WITH THE NEW DOMINIONS

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent

The King has approved the appointment of Mr. Arthur Henderson to be Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations. He will assist Lord Addison, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in the discharge of his responsibility for the conduct of relations with the independent Dominions of India and Pakistan.

This appointment is a consequence of the assumption by India and Pakistan to-day of the status of Dominions under the Indian Independence Act. To-day Lord Listowel will hand in his seals of office to the King, and so bring to an end the historic office of Secretary of State for India.

Mr. Henderson's former post of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India also terminates, and he has resigned from the office of Under-Secretary of State for Burma. With the cessation of the functions of the India Office, it is announced that its staff will be combined with that of the Commonwealth Relations Office. Sir Archibald Carter, the present permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, will act as a joint Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. Mr. A. G. Bottomley will continue to perform the duties of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the enlarged department.

Mr. Henderson's transfer from the India Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office will ease the burden of work which would have fallen upon the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. This work will be mainly winding-up matters arising out of the transfer of power to the two Indian Dominions. Mr. Henderson's knowledge of the problems will be of great advantage in dealing with affairs that would not normally fall within the scope of Lord Addison's responsibility.

The Prime Minister announced his intention to appoint a Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations when moving the second reading of the Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons on July 10. As he explained then, there is no need for legislation to create this new post. It is one of the posts allowed under the Re-election of Ministers Act, 1919, as amended by the House of Commons Disqualification (Declaration of Law) Act, 1935, and is commonly called that of "Minister without Portfolio."

INDEPENDENCE IN INDIA

THE END OF AN ARMY

A TRIBUTE TO BRITISH OFFICERS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—August 15 is historic in the life of the Indian Army as henceforward it is no longer to be a British-Indian Army. It ceases to be under the control of his Majesty's Government but will be divided into the armies of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan. For nearly 200 years Indians and British have served together in the Indian Army.

While it would not have been possible to produce so efficient a fighting machine unless the Indian fighting man—V.C.O., n.c.o., and sepoy—had been the first-class material he has proved himself to be in many wars, our Indian friends will support us in paying a tribute to the British officers of the Indian Army. We ourselves, as British Service officers, have had the opportunity of seeing the fruit of their work and, since all of them who continue to serve in the Indian Army are transferred to the British Army list from to-day, we take this opportunity to record our appreciation for all they have done. India and Pakistan owe them and their predecessors more than can be expressed in words. Yours, &c.,

JOHN SWAYNE, Lt.-Gen., late Chief of the General Staff in India.

A. READE GODWIN-AUSTEN, General, late Principal Administrative Officer in India.

KENNETH LOCH, Lt.-Gen., late Principal Administrative Officer in India.

ARTHUR SMITH, Lt.-Gen., Chief of the General Staff in India.

Sir,—May I on this day of the inauguration of Indian independence convey through *The Times* our greetings to the people of this great country? We Indians have fought them for the last 30 years to win the freedom which is ours to-day. Last night the Constituent Assembly at Delhi stood in silence for two minutes in memory of those who gave their lives in this long struggle for freedom in India. We are also sure to remember the many long, lonely years thousands of us have spent in British prisons during the last 30 years. Our great leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (like many of his colleagues) spent 14 years of his precious life within prison walls. But to-day time has come for us to forget the past. For the past is dead. We face the future—not in any easy optimism but with firm faith in the destiny of India. And as we face the future we shake hands with your people. For as we fought them we also learnt to understand and respect the good that is England.

We will remember to-day the father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi—a true friend and lover of the British. Gandhi it is who made India peace-minded and made it possible for our British connexion to end in comparative peace. If we are free from hatred and bitterness to-day, it is this strange and unique personality who taught us to be so. The experiments he has made with himself and with us may have failed in a political sense, but they are things of eternal validity and eternal truth. To-day he is a lonely man. He will take no part in our celebrations. He is bent and tired with his tragic pilgrimage in Bengal and Bihar, where brother killed brother in a fury of unreason. This frail figure moves among Hindus and Muslims in the slums of Calcutta, saying to men and women: "Love and forgive. Love and create. Love and be free."

As we celebrate Indian independence in London we will endeavour to be true to him. The High Commissioner therefore invites all Indian nationals in the United Kingdom to come to India House at 11 this morning to salute not only the flag of India but also the flag of our friends and comrades the British nation.

Yours sincerely,

SUDHIR GHOSH, Public Relations Officer, Government of India.
India House, Aldwych, W.C.2.

' The Times '

August 15, 1947

THE END OF AN ERA

To-day sees the completion of a profound change in the relations of peoples whose institutions have been shaped for several generations under the authority of the British Crown. The Indian Empire disappears from the political map and the circle of the Dominions is enlarged in idea as well as in fact by the admission of two Asiatic States which, as the VICEROY truly said in his farewell speech yesterday, derive from their own ancient and lofty civilizations their title to the full sovereign privileges implicit in Dominion status. That this enlargement of the conceptions on which the Commonwealth rests should have been carried through smoothly and swiftly, with the manifestations of mutual good will which accompany the culmination of a natural process, is a tribute not only to the statesmanship which contrived it but to the confidence of the British Parliament and people in the strength and adaptability of the British tradition of political freedom. "I know," wrote the KING in his message to Pakistan, "that I can speak for all sections of opinion within the British Commonwealth when I say that their support will not fail you in upholding democratic principles"—

emphatic words to which their source gives final authority. As the new Dominions cannot fail to note, the beginnings of their fulfilment are already manifest. Burma, which under its provisional Government ranks as a Dominion, has received and accepted an invitation to the Canberra conference on the peace terms for Japan, and the advancement of Ceylon to full self-government only awaits the election of the island's Parliament.

Great, however, as is the significance of to-day's events for the Commonwealth, their influence also extends beyond its boundaries. In the hour of its creation Pakistan emerges as the leading State of the Muslim world. Since the collapse of the Turkish Empire that world, which extends across the globe from Morocco to Indonesia, has not included a State whose numbers, natural resources, and place in Islamic history gave it undisputed pre-eminence. The gap is now filled. From to-day Karachi takes rank as a new centre of Muslim cohesion and a rallying point for Muslim thought and aspirations. No such immediate and spectacular accretion of external influence attends the formation of the Dominion of India, though PANDIT NEHRU has already and inevitably insisted on its right to pronounce on all matters of Asiatic concern. None would deny that so complete a transfer of power from European to Asiatic hands must be of moment to both East and West, but the immediate significance of the event must be sought in the circumstances of India itself. The caste system and the barriers which it sets up between the inhabitants of even the same village long seemed to forbid the rise in India of such a community of sentiment as the western world inevitably insisted on its right to pronounce on all matters of Asiatic concern. None would deny that so complete a transfer of power from European to Asiatic hands must be of moment to both East and West, but the immediate significance of the event must be sought in the circumstances of India itself. The caste system and the barriers which it sets up between the inhabitants of even the same village long seemed to forbid the rise in India of such a community of sentiment as the western world describes as national. The barriers have not yet been removed, though the constitution now under draft looks forward to the abolition of "untouchability," but national feeling has transcended them

and has brought the Dominion of India into being. Such is its power of attraction that most of the Indian States have decided, in response to the VICEROY'S wise initiative, to associate themselves with the new Dominion and participate in its common services; and though Hyderabad, first and greatest of the States, prefers that its relations with the Dominion, as previously with the Crown, should be regulated by treaty, its projected terms will create ties of an intimacy unusual in diplomatic instruments.

All these considerations, the full bearing of which is not yet apparent, must be borne in mind in any attempt at a critical verdict on British rule in India. It has reached its term but it cannot yet be viewed in perspective. Nevertheless, some claims can be advanced and some tributes paid without fear that posterity will dispute them. The formal unity of India, created by the British, has not survived their withdrawal, but the decision of the two Dominions to set up a Joint Defence Council under LORD MOUNTBATTEN'S chairmanship is evidence that in the face of a common danger India would still be one. Nor is this the sole extent of the sense of unity that will still persist in partition. If the new order succeeds and flourishes abiding unity will grow. The influence of the British example has created in Indian minds a new conception of public service. In the past the Indian genius has found its characteristic expression in contemplation remote from everyday affairs. To-day India can command the services of men and women wholly responsive to the needs of the hour. LORD MOUNTBATTEN yesterday praised the public spirit of the Indians who had striven to check the deplorable disorders at Lahore, and dwelt upon "the spirit of cooperation and compromise" which had inspired Indian leaders. These are British qualities, and the political ideas and constitutional methods for reconciling liberty with order which are now guiding the deliberations of the Assemblies at Delhi and Karachi are of British origin, are, indeed, Britain's special gifts to mankind. That Indian minds are now enriched by them is the result of the quiet, persistent work, maintained for generations, of British men and women who under the Indian sun and at the sacrifice of domestic happiness did their duty unflinchingly before God and man. History will codify their achievements and record outstanding names; the memory of those who, seeking no special prominence, persevered in their tasks day in and day out until they had changed the face and thought of India claims its due of reverent honour now.

What was it—the question is one that both Britain and India to-day have cause

to ask—that the British servants of the Company and the Crown brought to India? Their presence was marked not by any glittering display of intellectual gifts but by a certain refreshing diffusion of wholesome air. In retrospect, and in his image as nowadays presented by Indians, the British official in India was like the British climate, more than trying at times but very healthy to live with. The parallel between temperament and climate has struck one of the most penetrating of living observers of men and affairs—GEORGE SANTAYANA. His typical Englishman

carries his English weather in his heart wherever he goes, and it becomes a cool spot in the desert, and a steady and sane oracle amongst all the deliriums of mankind. Never since the heroic days of Greece has the world had such a sweet, just, boyish master.

So these adventurers from their gusty island constructed a bridge between East and West. Once before in history another people, the Romans, constructed such a bridge and across it, in the fullness of time, came Christianity. Over the British bridge the traffic in ideas has been all from West to East. Now, if the bridge but hold, there is opportunity for a reverse movement and the new India, quickened by acquired political sanity and a zeal for human welfare, can give to the West, storm-tossed by circumstance, something of her tranquil wisdom and her sedulous pursuit of eternal verities.

Sterling, Rupee and Dollar

The financial agreement between the United Kingdom and India signed yesterday is no more than temporary; it runs only to the end of 1947. A long-term agreement, in the middle of the political transfer, was hardly possible. But an immediate agreement on India's sterling balances was at once difficult and urgent. Much controversy and prejudice have surrounded these balances since the end of the war. The balances, estimated now at £1,160,000,000, are a war-time accumulation. On the other hand, India imported little and drew substantially on her stocks during the war, her economy was profoundly disturbed, and latterly she has faced the prospect of entering the new political dispensation with an impoverished economy, low reserves and low production of food, and an adverse balance of payments probably exceeding £100,000,000 a year. She has no external reserves except sterling, and she needs reasonable supplies of sterling, freely expendable and transferable if necessary into other currencies, to finance her day-to-day trade, and to cover her deficit temporarily until measures, which have

already been taken, to reduce that deficit can become effective. India deserves reasonably generous treatment in the short term, just as this country is entitled to no less generosity on India's part in the long term.

In the present circumstances of this country, the generosity of the new agreement cannot be doubted. In effect it puts £35,000,000 of free and transferable sterling at India's disposal between now and the end of the year. A special arrangement covering pensions payable in this country will make perhaps another £2,500,000 available. In addition, a further £30,000,000 will be released as a working balance, which is supposed to be maintained over a period and is intended to cover only short-term differences between external payments and receipts. The remainder of the sterling balances will not be available for current purchases; they will repose in the Reserve Bank of India's "No. 2 account" with the Bank of England, and this account will be regulated by mutual agreement. The amount freed is liberal, especially as much of it—perhaps £15,000,000—is likely to be needed in dollars. Certainly it can set no standard for the amount of releases in future years. But India's economic adjustments, like this country's own adjustments, cannot be made in an instant. An over-restrictive policy might entail the risk of almost bringing India's import trade to a standstill. India for her part remains in the sterling area and has given some important undertakings. She will, for example, permit those of United Kingdom origin who are returning permanently to this country to transfer all accumulated savings in India to this country, and will also permit United Kingdom residents who sell investments in India to repatriate the proceeds; this will remove an anxiety which has weighed heavily upon many. Such transactions would represent movements of capital; and they, together with all other forms of transfer of capital, will be dealt with by special arrangements. India will be allowed to supply the sterling required for any movement of capital to this country out of her frozen "No. 2 account"; likewise, if there should be a net movement in the opposite direction and the Indian authorities should acquire sterling thereby, this will accrue to the "B" account and will not be available for India's current purchases. Indeed, the agreement provides wide facilities for the movement of funds between the two countries. So far as current transactions are concerned, of course the proceeds thereof will be freely expendable on both sides. It is a comprehensive agreement and should pave the way for a satisfactory permanent agreement later.

PARTITION OF INDIA

EMERGENCE OF TWO NEW DOMINIONS

FUTURE OF HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

From Our Special Correspondent in Delhi

India and Pakistan officially make their debut on the world stage to-day. One is larger in population than Russia; the other is the largest Islamic State in the world. The creation of these two new States marks the close of one chapter and the opening of another in the long history of relations between India and Britain, yet this day has come in a way that has been a disappointment to many Indians who have devoted their lives to the struggle for independence. The vision which they have always had of a strong, united India has proved impossible of attainment. Partition has brought sadness to many, and joy in the ceremonies which are taking place in many parts of India to-day is not unalloyed. But the prospect of civil war, which a year ago seemed almost inevitable, has temporarily receded into the background.

A remarkable change was wrought in the situation by the announcement of the British Government's decision to transfer power by June, 1948, and the appointment of Admiral Mountbatten as Viceroy. A year ago few Englishmen could have foreseen that when the transfer of power was eventually made it would take place in the present comparatively smooth manner, with the creation of two new British Dominions. Still fewer would have thought it possible that these two Dominions would then choose, if only temporarily, an Englishman as one Governor-General and five others as Provincial Governors. Friendship between many Englishmen and Indians who have been working closely together in India for many years was probably proof against any political shocks. But recently there has been a great improvement in the general relations between India and Britain, dispelling much of the bitterness and frustration that filled the minds of so many Indians, and it is to be hoped that this improvement will continue.

A DYNAMIC APPROACH

Although much of the ground had been cleared by his distinguished predecessor, Admiral Mountbatten brought a new and dynamic approach to this tangled problem,

a technique which has been described as a high-powered diplomacy of discussion. He has displayed a flair for defining areas of agreement and finding ways of bridging disagreements. The June 3 plan was the fruit of many weeks' tireless and detailed discussion with Indian leaders, and the Viceroy knew in advance exactly how far they were prepared to go.

On the Indian side much credit is due to the partnership of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, the idealist and the realist who between them have carried their party to accept a conclusion which, although rendered inevitable by circumstances, was nevertheless directly opposed to everything for which Congress had always stood. Sardar Patel, although well over seventy, has emerged with greatly enhanced stature, a courageous man with a firm grip of administrative problems. Much has also been due to V. P. Menon, the Viceroy's senior Indian adviser, who, as Reforms Commissioner and more recently as Secretary of the newly created States Department, has played an important and constructive role.

Nor should the influence of the Father of Indian nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi, be forgotten at this moment. Although he has resolutely refused to accept partition and at this culminating juncture has been over-ruled by younger men to whom hitherto his word had been law, yet his influence is to be seen in a much wider sphere. In spite of reports of bloodshed which appear in the papers every day, the fact remains that this gigantic surgical operation has been performed with amazingly little bloodshed and violence. For this development Gandhi's doctrines of non-violence and the conception of non-violence which spread among millions of people have been mainly responsible.

The operation has really fallen into two parts; first the decision to allow Muslim areas to secede, and secondly the campaign to persuade predominantly Hindu States to accede. One has averted civil war, the other has averted Balkanization. One means that 70,000,000 people go out, the other that 90,000,000 people come in. It is here that the strong hand of Sardar Patel has been visible. As soon as he

took over the States Department with V. P. Menon as Secretary, there was an immediate improvement in relations with the States, and if local States Congress organizations had been allowed to take action on their own against the rulers there would already have been woful fragmentation and chaos in many parts of India.

Although the transfer of power from British to Indian hands has been successfully, indeed brilliantly, overcome, this can be no occasion for facile optimism. Partition is no final solution to Hindu-Muslim relations. Tremendous problems loom ahead and the dangers which have been so narrowly averted this time still lurk in the background. Partition of Punjab and Bengal is leaving hundreds of thousands of people unsatisfied and resentful. It is wishful thinking to imagine that force of circumstances will bring the two new States together at least for two or three generations.

TIES WITH BRITAIN

It is also thought unlikely that the Dominion of India, once her Constitution is framed by the end of the year, will continue to remain in the Empire. Pakistan will remain longer, but there, too, forces will press for the cutting of ties with Britain which it will be difficult for the moderate leaders to resist.

The "successor authorities" to whom power has been transferred are in reality political parties both founded on negation, the one on hostility to the British, the other on hostility to the Hindus. Both have now achieved their objective, and there will follow a period of political turmoil during which new parties, new programmes, and new groupings are worked out. This inevitably imposes a heavy strain on already sorely tried and weakened administrative machines. Pakistan has the advantage, during this crucial initial period, of the dominating and all-powerful personality of Mr. Jinnah, but he has no heir-apparent and Pakistan is as full of potential fission—racial, regional, political and economic—as India. The latter has much more administrative talent than Pakistan, is more advanced politically and industrially, but the signs of political fragmentation are more clearly in evidence. There will now be an intensification of the struggle for power between the right wing of Congress supported by wealthy industrialists and its socialist left wing led by Jai Prakash Narain, not to mention groups like the militant Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists.

A CRITICAL PERIOD

The next few years will be a critical period. Can the political issues be settled peacefully? Can the administrative machines hold together? Can disunity and disintegration be avoided? The fortunes of India and Pakistan will be watched anxiously, not only by their many friends and well-wishers throughout the world but especially by their Asiatic

neighbours. A stable India is a source of stability to the rest of Asia, in particular to the smaller countries of south-east Asia. Through that great idealist Pandit Nehru India has already made a bold bid for the moral leadership of Asia. First proclaimed at the Inter-Asian Conference in Delhi last March, it has been reaffirmed more recently in connexion with Indo-China. But it is obvious that this claim can only be sustained if India and Pakistan are at peace with each other and themselves strong and stable. Asia to-day is in a desperately unhappy condition. Many countries are mired down, unable to extricate themselves and torn by internal conflicts that are keeping millions of people in fear and poverty and want.

If India and Pakistan can avoid this fate, not only will their own future be bright, but they will be in a strong position to help their neighbours and to help put the whole of Asia on to the path of progress and material prosperity.

' The Times '

August 15, 1947

FINAL BOUNDARIES OF NEW DOMINIONS

BENGAL AND PUNJAB PARTITIONED

INDIAN COMMISSIONERS' WIDE DISAGREEMENT

The Boundary Commissions charged with the task of partitioning Bengal and the Punjab between the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan announced their findings last night.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, chairman of both commissions, has explained that, in view of a wide divergence of opinion among his Indian colleagues, many decisions had to be given by himself.

Calcutta, in Bengal, is assigned to India, and Lahore, in the Punjab, to Pakistan.

RISING TENSION IN PUNJAB

BRITAIN BLAMED

From Our Own Correspondent

DELHI, AUG. 17

After two days' celebrations a reaction has set in and the "morning after" sees India confronted with some of the grim consequences of partition. Although Bengal continues to be quiet, the situation in the Punjab has deteriorated and rioting during the past week has been worse than for many months past.

Owing to the disturbances at Amritsar rail services between Lahore and Delhi are interrupted, and the Frontier Mail which left Delhi on Friday for the north-west was obliged to return. Fires are raging in Lahore and troops have been obliged to open fire several times. Since all normal communications with the Punjab except by air have been cut, it is not easy in Delhi to form an accurate picture of the situation, and rumours of all kinds abound.

Hindu refugees coming out by air are very bitter, not only against the Muslims but against the British too. The latter, they say, have backed the Muslims, and long ago adopted the attitude that when the British went the whole place would go up in smoke. This blaming of the British for the situation in the Punjab, which is widespread in India, arises partly from the Punjab Governor's policy of putting British officials in bad trouble spots, where, of course, they have been exposed to charges of partiality from both sides.

DEFENCE COUNCIL

The first meeting of the joint Defence Council was held at Government House yesterday, under the independent chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten, to discuss the situation in the Punjab. It was attended by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan (Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan), by the two Home Ministers (Sardar Patel and Mr. Fazlur Rahman), by Sardar Baldev Singh (Indian Defence Minister), and Field-Marshal Auchinleck (Supreme Commander).

It was decided, first, to reinforce military forces in the Punjab forthwith; secondly, to abandon recriminations for what happened before August 15 and to concentrate on measures to end the state of lawlessness; thirdly, to hold a further meeting to-day at Ambala which would be attended by the Prime Ministers and Defence Ministers of India and Pakistan, and by the Governors and Ministers of East and West Punjab. Major-General T. W. Rees, commanding the Punjab Boundary Force, and Major-General D. C. Hawthorn would attend the meeting and also, it was hoped, the two Sikh leaders, Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh.

After yesterday's meeting the Governor-General took the opportunity of placing before the Indian and Pakistan leaders the reports of the Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commissions. These reports were released to-night and it is hoped they will have a steadying effect on the situation in the Punjab. People will now know definitely where they stand.

It will be recalled that in an important statement issued by the Partition Council on July 24 the Governments of both India and Pakistan pledged themselves to accept the findings of boundary commissions and implement them immediately. Whether they will do so in practice remains to be seen. Already the Indian Press carries inflammatory reports, with banner headlines, accusing Pakistan troops of firing on Hindus and Sikhs.

CALCUTTA FOR INDIA

In Bengal, as was generally expected, Calcutta city and the district of the 24 Parganas (delta area south of Calcutta) have been assigned to West Bengal, as well as the whole of the Burdwan division. Pakistan receives

the whole of the Chittagong and Dacca division. The Presidency and Rajshahi divisions have been divided. The whole of the district of Sylhet, less four thanas, has been transferred from the province of Assam to East Bengal.

In the Punjab Lahore city goes to Pakistan, while Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs, remains in India. The province of West Punjab will include the whole of the Multan and Rawalpindi divisions and the districts of Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Sialkot from the Lahore division. The province of East Punjab will include the whole of the Jullundur and Ambala divisions and the Amritsar district of the Lahore division. The Gurdaspur and Lahore districts of the Lahore division have been divided between the two Dominions.

In his reports to the Governor-General Sir Cyril Radcliffe, chairman of the two commissions, explains some of the difficulties involved. In the case of Bengal, he says, the "question of drawing a satisfactory boundary was one to which the parties concerned propounded the most diverse solutions. The province offers few, if any, satisfactory natural boundaries, and its development has been on lines that do not well accord with a division by contiguous majority areas of Muslim and non-Muslim majorities."

On seven major issues, he continues, one of which was the assignment of the city of Calcutta, his four colleagues on the commission (two Hindu and two Muslim judges) were unable to arrive at an agreed solution, and he had no alternative but to go ahead and give his own decision. They were similarly unable to agree on the boundary of Sylhet.

In the Punjab the task was no easier, and here, too, other members of the commission were unable to agree. The "claims of the respective parties," states Sir Cyril, "ranged over a wide field of territory, but in my judgment the truly debatable ground in the end proved to lie in and around the area between the Beas and Sutlej rivers, on the one hand, and the River Ravi, on the other. The fixing of the boundary was further complicated by the existence of canal systems vital to the life of the Punjab but developed only under the conception of a single administration and of systems of road and rail communication which had been planned in the same way. There was also the stubborn geographical fact of the respective situations of Lahore and Amritsar, and the claims to each or both of these cities which each side vigorously maintained."

Commenting on the proposed boundary, he writes: "I am conscious there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it: as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen." The award, he concludes, cannot go far towards satisfying sentiments and aspirations deeply held on either side but directly in conflict in their bearing on the placing of the boundary. If means are to be found of gratifying them to the full they must be found in political arrangements with which the Commission, by its terms of reference, was not concerned.

TROOPS LEAVE INDIA

QUAYSIDE SCENE IN BOMBAY

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BOMBAY, AUG. 17

Lord Mountbatten bade farewell here this afternoon to the 2nd Battalion, The Royal Norfolk Regiment, and to a contingent of the Royal Air Force who left India by the troopship Georgic, the first

troopship to repatriate British forces from here since the attainment of Indian independence.

The Georgic was beflagged for the occasion, and massed bands played a series of airs known in every Indian barrack-room. The troops joined in the choruses. Lord Mountbatten, who was accompanied by Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, the Supreme Commander, addressed the troops in informal manner on the quayside.

He thanked the British forces for the part they had played in the establishment of good relations between India and Great Britain, and more particularly in recent times for what they had done in the preservation of peace, life, and property in India. He said the occasion was historic, for with their going British rule in India ended. Its place, however, was taken by something very much more valuable—friendship between the British and the Indians. He wished the men "Bon voyage," good luck, and prosperity in their future careers.

PANDIT NEHRU'S MESSAGE

A message on behalf of Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of the Dominion of India, was read to the departing contingents by Major-General K. M. Cariappa, Chief of Staff, India. Pandit Nehru wished them "God speed," and trusted that between the soldiers and the people of India there would ever be good will and friendship such as could only subsist between equals who did not fear each other. "It is rare in history that such a parting takes place not only peacefully but with good will. We are fortunate that this should have happened in India. It is a good augury for the future."

This evening Lord Mountbatten, accompanied by Lady Mountbatten, attended a reception given in his honour by the Prime Minister of the Bombay Government.

The Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar has declared that his sovereignty over Berar continues and that the *status quo* will remain until a new agreement is reached with the Dominion of India. Several arrests have been made in the State of people who hoisted the Dominion flag without also hoisting the State flag alongside it.

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

NO TAKING OF SIDES

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

KARACHI, AUG. 17

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister, has made a statement of policy according to which Pakistan will take no sides in the conflict of ideologies between the nations. The Dominion, in his words, starts its career without prejudices in international affairs.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan hopes that the sorrows of the Muslims of India will soon be over, but if the Muslims continue to suffer aggression and humiliation Pakistan will not remain an idle spectator. The social and economic policy of the Government will be dictated by the resolve that the rich do not become richer nor the poor poorer. Capital, however, will get due encouragement to play its legitimate part in the development of the State.

"UNFAIR TO PAKISTAN"

KARACHI, Aug. 17.—Members of the Pakistan Cabinet were to-night bitterly critical of the Boundary Commissions' decisions,

especially in relation to the Punjab.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister of Communications, said: "This is a parting kick of the British to Pakistan. It is a sop to the Sikhs and a reward for Goondaism (hooliganism)."

Gazanfar Ali Khan, Minister of Health and Education, said: "This disgraceful injustice will not encourage us to remain in the Commonwealth. This decision seems without principle."

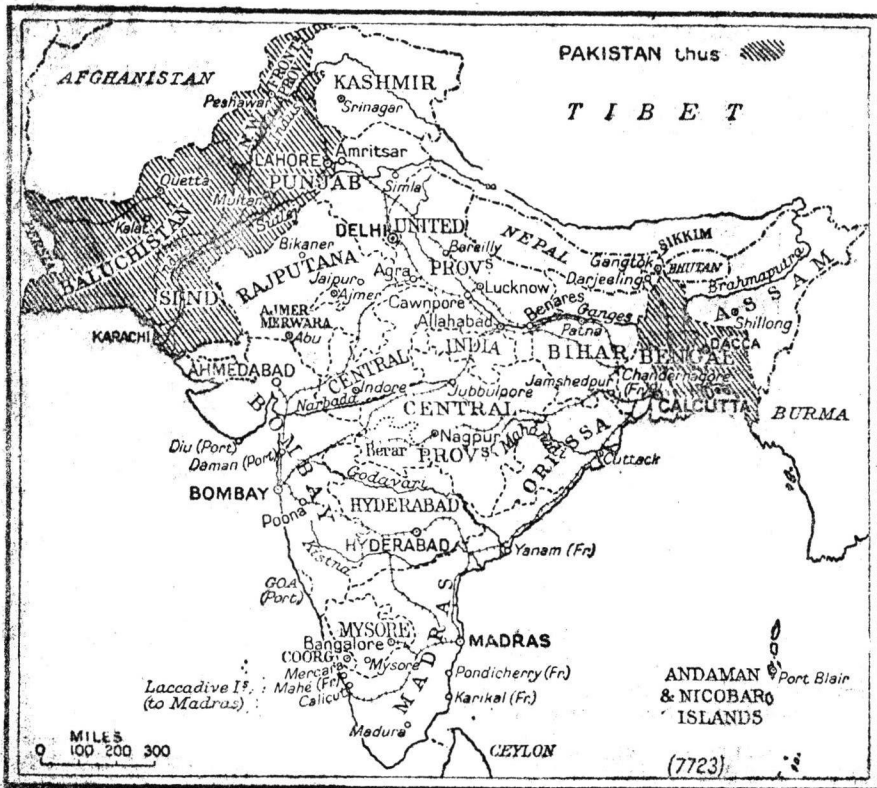
Diwan Bahadur S. P. Singha, Speaker of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly and an Indian Christian leader, said: "It is a one-sided award, and most unfair to Pakistan. The principles of the contiguity of majority areas have been completely overlooked."—*Reuter.*

REFORMS FOR FRENCH INDIA

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

PARIS, AUG. 17

M. Baron, Governor of French India, has announced reforms which, it is declared, will give "practically complete autonomy." The Governor will in future be called Commissioner of the Republic. "When the great neighbour nation has a firm constitution," said M. Baron, "the population of French India will be able to decide its future in complete sovereignty."



'The Times'
August 17, 1947

NEW FRONTIERS IN INDIA

UNPOPULAR AWARD

SIR CYRIL RADCLIFFE CRITICIZED

From Our Own Correspondent

DELHI, AUG. 18

The awards of the Boundary Commissions have, as was generally expected, been unpopular with both sides, but much more so with the Muslims than with the Hindus. Ministers of the Pakistan Government are quoted as describing the Punjab award as "extremely unfair," "disgusting," "abominable," and "one-sided."

The chief target of their abuse is Sir Cyril Radcliffe's decision to include three small sub-districts with marginal Muslim majorities in East Punjab (Dominion of India), which, as he explains in his report, was rendered desirable by three other factors—namely, geographical conformation, communications, and irrigation.

To-day's leading Hindu newspapers criticize the award in fairly moderate language, chiefly on the grounds that the claims of the Sikhs to some of their sacred shrines have not been met.

REVISION POSSIBLE

DELHI, Aug. 18.—The possibility of a revision of the boundaries between the new Dominions of Pakistan and India was suggested to-night in a joint statement by the Premiers of East and West Bengal.

Appealing to the population on both sides of the boundary to accept the Commission's award for Bengal, they said, according to reports quoted here, that nothing could prevent the leaders of India and Pakistan coming to a new agreement in the future to readjust the present dividing line.

This runs approximately north-south from east of Darjeeling, in the Himalayan foothills, to east of Calcutta on the Bay of Bengal, leaving East Bengal in Pakistan and West Bengal in the Dominion of India.

The Premiers said they recognized that some features of the award were open to objections and had caused dissatisfaction, but they

emphasized that the leaders of all communities had pledged themselves to accept the award so that the task of reconstruction might begin in an atmosphere of peace and good will.

The Premiers of East and West Punjab have also issued a joint statement, it was reported to-night.

THE PUNJAB DISORDERS

Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of the Dominion of India, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, after conferring yesterday in Ambala, East Punjab, and Lahore, West Punjab, to-day visited Amritsar, chief city of East Punjab and a Sikh holy place.

To-night they issued a joint statement of arrangements to suppress disorder, including both administrative and military moves and appeals to the people. They added jointly according to reports here, that the two Punjab Governments were determined to restore peace and security.

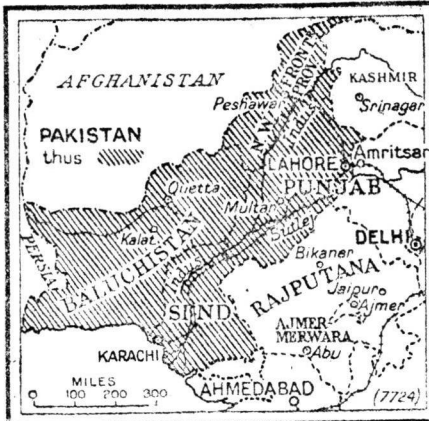
Arrangements were being made for concerted action by the Governments of East and West Punjab with the support of the central Governments of India and Pakistan. All officers would be fully supported by the Government in any action taken.

Success of such measures must necessarily depend on the people, who were asked to give their full support to suppress lawless elements.

Lord Addison, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, welcomed India and Pakistan into the Commonwealth in a statement issued in Calcutta to-day, where he halted on his way to the British Commonwealth conference in Canberra, at which India and Pakistan will be represented. Lord Addison was accompanied by Mr. Hector McNe Minister of State.—*Reuter*.

' The Times '

August 19, 1947



MASSACRES IN PUNJAB

MUSLIMS BUTCHERED BY ARMED MOBS OF SIKHS

BREAKDOWN OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

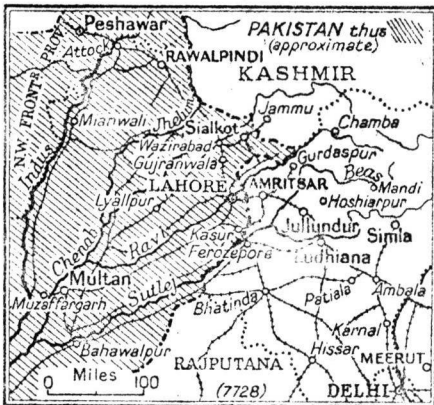
From Our Special Correspondent in Punjab

JULLUNDUR, Aug. 24

As a reminder that this communal war is not one-sided, a train loaded with Sikh refugees from west Punjab was attacked by a Muslim mob west of Ferozepur yesterday and arrived with 25 dead bodies on board and more than 100 passengers with stabbing wounds of varying degrees of seriousness. Three small girls in one compartment had been hacked to death.

When the Punjab mail-train was derailed and attacked on Tuesday night by Sikh mobs east of Ferozepur, a valiant and successful defence was organized by two British passengers. They were Mr. Harington Hawes, secretary to the Agent for the Punjab States, and Major Rob Major, late of the Indian Political Service, who was on his way to Kashmir with his wife and daughter. The mail-train had been diverted south from Ludhiana, and

on fire, the Major and Mr. Hawes decided that it would be wisest to spend the night at a deserted station up the line. About 150 passengers, all Muslims, went to the station and most of them climbed on the roof. The Sikh Sepoy killed one man in an approaching mob, and this seems to have kept the Sikhs off for the night. During the night a military patrol arrived and left one section with the stranded passengers. While looking for water Mr. Hawes found four Muslim members of the station staff murdered. On returning to the train in the morning they found it had been looted clean, and several Muslims who had insisted on staying behind to look after their belongings had been killed. Although the line had been interfered with west of the station, they reached Ferozepur without any further adventure. There is no doubt that but for the presence of these two Britons the entire trainload of passengers would have been massacred, as had already occurred in several instances.



east of Ferozepur it was halted by obstructions on the line. All the Sikh passengers had been tipped off at a previous station and had left the train. After being halted the train was surrounded by armed Sikhs. The major noticed that they advanced and retired in military formation, with a Sikh in blue commanding each section of about 12 men. They were driven off by shots fired by the British passengers and a few others who had arms, and by the train's armed escort, which consisted of two Muslim Sepoys, two Hindus, and one Sikh.

As night was approaching and the train was surrounded by long grass easily set

THE JATHAS AT WORK

"A thousand times more horrible than anything we saw during the war," is the universal comment of experienced officers, British and Indian, on the present slaughter in east Punjab. The Sikhs are on the war-path. They are clearing eastern Punjab of Muslims, butchering hundreds daily, forcing thousands to flee westward, burning Muslim villages and homesteads, even in their frenzy burning their own, too. This violence has been organized from the highest levels of Sikh leadership, and it is being done systematically, sector by sector. Some large towns, like Amritsar and Jullundur, are now quieter, because there are no Muslims left. In a two hours' air reconnaissance of the Jullundur district at the week-end I must have seen 50 villages aflame.

The Sikh *Jathas*, armed mobs from 50 to 100 strong, assemble usually in the Gurdwaras, their places of worship, before making a series of raids. Many *Jathas* cross over from the Sikh States. The armament of a typical *Jatha* consists of one or two firearms, army and home-made grenades, spears, axes, and kirpans—the Sikh sabres, which are also religious em-

blems. The Muslims are usually armed only with staves. When threatened they assemble on their roofs and beat gongs and drums to summon help from neighbouring Muslim communities and prepare to throw stones at the attackers. The Sikhs attack scientifically. A first wave armed with firearms fires to bring the Muslims off their roofs. A second wave lofts grenades over the walls. In the ensuing confusion a third wave goes in with kirpans and spears, and the serious killing begins. A last wave consists of older men, often army pensioners with long white beards, who carry torches and specialize in arson. Mounted outriders with kirpans cut down those trying to flee.

British officers have seen *Jathas* that have included women and even children with spears. Appalling atrocities have been committed; bodies have been mutilated; none has been spared—men, women, or children. In one village, out of 50 corpses 30 were those of women. One Viceroy's commissioned officer found four babies roasted to death over a fire. Although the *Jathas* are often led by former soldiers, in whom this region abounds, they are cowardly bodies. One well-armed *Jatha*, which had burned a string of 15 Muslim villages and murdered at least 500 people, was finally halted with the loss of six lives by a small Muslim village possessing only one rifle and one pistol but dauntlessly led by a former captain of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps. Two British officers effectively dispersed a mob about to attack a train which had been expertly diverted into a siding. The young Indian pilot of my Auster aircraft dispersed several *Jathas* (only temporarily, alas!) by firing Verrey lights at them.

FRIGHTENED OFFICIALS

The three battalions of the Boundary Force have lately been reinforced by a fourth, but they have had to cover three large districts and have been faced with an impossible task. By the time they have received one report and acted on it, the *Jatha* has moved on elsewhere. Moreover, Sikh and Hindu troops have refused to fire on Sikh gangs, or else they have fired to miss. The Muslim police were disarmed before August 15, and the Sikh police have looted and killed with the mobs. The civil administration has been gravely weakened by the summary recent dismissals of several key Englishmen, and wholesale changes among the Indian officials have now caused control to break down completely. Those officials whose sympathies are not with the mobs have been threatened by the Sikhs and are frightened out of their lives. In Jullundur city the civil authorities first disarmed the Muslim police and then forbade the military authorities to post Muslim troops inside the city boundaries. The troops who had to be posted—namely Sikhs, Dogras,

and Jats, made no effort to prevent last Wednesday's massacre or the subsequent looting and burning.

A refugee problem of gigantic proportions is building up which is completely beyond the capacity of the civil authorities to handle. The army has done valiantly. Even mess orderlies and bearers have gone out on escort jobs. Refugees are pouring in. At one Jullundur camp, started by the army, but now under the direction of the civil authorities, the majority of the 8,000 or more people accommodated have had only one meal in five days. The troops are spread out over an enormous area. They are having small success in breaking up the *Jathas*, and the men they do arrest are usually released almost immediately by the civil authorities, but they are succeeding in establishing a number of defended assembly points for the refugees.

The Sikhs will tell you that this is retaliation for what the Muslims did to the Sikhs in Rawalpindi in March—which was retaliation for Hindu massacres of Muslims in Bihar, which was retaliation for Noakali, which was retaliation for Calcutta. So it goes back, violence begetting violence. But even India has never seen anything worse than this present orgy, which has already sullied the name of the Sikh, synonymous in two world wars with martial valour. Only most determined efforts on the part of the leaders can end the madness.

' The Times '

August 25, 1947

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India is Free

The New York Times, Friday, August 15, 1947, observes :

In a historic event equal in importance to the most momentous happenings of our crowded days, the British flag is being hauled down today all over India, and two hundred years of British rule over that teeming sub-continent and its ancient civilization comes to an end in a manner far more noble than it began. In place of the Union Jack, there rises the orange, white and green banner of the Indian Union and the white and green flag of Pakistan. With that ceremony the four hundred million Indian people assume among the powers of the earth their own separate and equal status, and establish for themselves new governments which to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. By the same token, the British Empire, which has held dominion over one-quarter of the globe and one-quarter of mankind, now enters into a process of self-liquidation which removes from it what has always been its backbone and richest prize. Yet, this dropping of an anachronistic pomp and circumstance holds out the promise of transforming an empire of unwilling subjects into a voluntary association and commonwealth of free men.

The birth of the new India comes not without pain and violence. But this violence is taking place between the Indians themselves, not between the British and their Indian subjects. And regrettable though it is, this violence is of minor import compared with the spectre of an Indian revolutionary war, which could scarcely be confined to India alone. *Indeed, it is part of the greatness of the day that the transition from British rule to Indian self-government is being accomplished by mutual agreement and amid reciprocal good-will equalled in colonial history only within the British Empire itself, and outside of it only by the American grant of independence to the Philippines. In that respect it represents a triumph for both British and Indian statesmanship—for the British because it recognized the historic tide and did not attempt to beat it back, for the Indian because it accomplished its ends by compromise and the principle of non-violent resistance which carried the day at less cost than would have been possible otherwise.*

The technical significance of this day is that the Indian Union and Pakistan now become dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations, "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs," though still owing a common allegiance to the British Crown. But this condition is established only till June, 1948, at which date the British originally pledged themselves to terminate their rule. It will be in June next year, therefore, that the final pay-off of British rule will come; it is then that the Indian Governments will decide whether to hold on to the last ties that still unite them with the British for their common protection, or whether they will cut even the gossamer threads of dominion status in favor of complete independence.

The real significance of the day, however, is that it marks the twilight colonialism everywhere. The whole world of Kipling's imagery sinks into oblivion, the captains and the kings that strutted across the

scene of India's history depart, one hopes, never to return. Yet at its passing it is only fair to remember that with all its grandeur and its misery, colonialism, too, has performed an historic mission in bridging the cleavages between different civilizations, and that the British Raj in particular has been not without benefit to the Indian people. It left India more united and peaceful than that seething land of many races, many creeds and many invasions has ever been. And it advanced the democratic ideal of popular self-government much farther in India than other Oriental countries with their patriarchal traditions have been able to develop within themselves. Its last act of peaceful renunciation of power at the demand of the Indian people is the final proof thereof.

Now the power and the glory, but also the responsibility, devolve upon the Indian people and their leaders. It is now up to them to demonstrate that they can at least hold what British rule has achieved, and that they know how to proceed from there to do what the British have left undone, and to develop their country to its full potentiality. *The problems they face are many and complex, but there is hope that the same wise statesmanship and restraint which made this day possible will also guide them to a better future. In that hope, we welcome the new India into the family of the free nations of the world.*

From : ' The Modern Review '
September 1947, p.248

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Independent India

In an Editorial, *New York Herald Tribune* writes on August 15, 1947:

In all the history of India this is one of the greatest days. The new Dominions of India and Pakistan today become sovereign states in the British Commonwealth, linked to Great Britain only through the British Crown. They have full independence and could break their connection with London tomorrow if they so desired. They are wholly on their own. Their leaders, heirs of the ancient cultures of India, now are obligated to prove they can carry out some of the glowing promises they made conditional on independence.

Only a glance at the news dispatches from India is needed to indicate how perplexing are the tasks faced by these leaders. Most of these tasks are connected with the fact that all India, like most of Asia, is in the midst of several revolutions—not only political but social and economic revolutions. In addition the Indians are afflicted with bitter religious controversies, related to the division of the country between the Hindu Dominion of India and the Moslem Dominion of Pakistan. The religious controversies have produced one mass murder after another in recent months and thousands of Indians have been slaughtered.

But the religious killing, horrible as they are, do not seem to many Indians to be as grave a threat as other dangers, for the killings should stop after the division of the country has been completed and mass migrations have reduced minority populations in both Hindus and Moslem cities. *To some Indian minds the prevalence of corruption in official life in India is even more distressing than murders in the name of religion, for not much can be done about murder of anything else if officials are not honest. The corruption—nothing new—has become far worse since the original announcement by the British of their firm intention to withdraw from India. It is now so serious that it is drawing comment in vigorous terms from such conservative sources as Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, and officials of the Reserve Bank of India.*

Scoundrels in office certainly would not do much to alleviate the present distress of the Indians, and especially that caused by their basic problem, which is the dire poverty of most of the people. Much has been heard in recent months and years about poverty in various countries of the world, but the poverty of the Indians can hardly be visualized by any one who has not seen it. Millions upon millions of Indians live on the border-line between starvation and bare survival. Even the most honest and competent government would have trouble in filling so many mouths from so little agricultural land. Food production might be increased considerably and so might imports of food but there is dire need to find acceptable measures to reduce the present high birth-rate.

The shortage of food, and of almost every necessity of life, except air, is one of the causes for the rapidly growing Left-Wing movement in India, now largely under the control of Communists. There is a possibility that India will be won by the Reds unless officials of the new dominions can counter Communist

propaganda by actually filling the stomachs of hungry Indians. Such a victory by the Reds would be a calamity of great magnitude for both the Indians and the world.

Aside from these problems the officials of India and Pakistan must deal with abominable health conditions, with illiteracy, with the Hindu caste system (now beginning to break down) and with many other grave matters. The jobs they have ahead are as difficult as those of political leaders anywhere—perhaps the most difficult to be found in any country. They have vast opportunities for accomplishment but the load they carry is heavy.

Despite the weight of the load, however, India's difficulties should not be viewed in a vein of pessimism. Most nations, including the United States, were born in the midst of tribulation. The nations which overcame their troubles, as we hope the Indians will, have been inspiration to all mankind. All men who hope for a sound and peaceful world will extend good wishes to the people of India on this day. Let us hope that India's independence will be celebrated annually for centuries to come as the beginning of a great era in Asia.

From : ' The Modern Review '

October 1947, p.333

NOTES ON PARTITION OF BENGAL

By AN F.R.S-S. & F.R.ECON.S. (Lond.)

According to C. R. formula, the partition was envisaged district wise. In the present scheme, West Bengal has been taken to consist of the Burdwan and the Presidency Divisions plus the two Hindu majority districts in Northern Bengal, viz., Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling.

In our scheme we have added the three Muhammadan majority districts of Nadia, Jessore and Murshidabad to West Bengal; and the Hindu majority district of Chittagong Hill Tracts to Eastern Bengal. We have tried to follow three principles: principles of contiguity proportionate area, equal number of hostages.

The Hindus are 45 per cent of the population of Bengal; so they are entitled to 45 per cent of the Bengal Presidency's area of 77,442 sq. miles, or 34,849 sq. miles. Our West Bengal contains a little less.

The number of Muslims in West Bengal in our scheme is 74 lakhs—they are hostages to Hindus; in East Bengal the number of Hindu hostages is 101 lakhs. In any other scheme (considered districtwise) the disparity between the number of Muslim hostages in West Bengal and the Hindu hostages in East Bengal would be greater.

One can have easy access to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri through present Bihar. If the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santhal Parganas and Purnea and other areas are added to West Bengal, it will form a continuous stretch of territory; not so Chittagong Hill Tracts.

A. AREA

Division	Area
Burdwan Presidency	14,135 sq. miles
	16,402 sq. miles
<hr/>	
Western Bengal	30,537 sq. miles
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	3,050 sq. miles
	1,192 sq. miles
<hr/>	
New Western Bengal	34,779 sq. miles
New Eastern Bengal	42,663 sq. miles

It may be noted here that the area of some other existing provinces is smaller than or almost equal to each of these new provinces. For instance, N.-W. F. P. has an area of 14,263 sq. miles, Orissa 32,198 sq. miles, Sind 48,136 sq. miles and Assam 64,951 sq. miles.

B. POPULATION

Division	Muslims	Non-Muslims (Mostly Hindus)
Burdwan Presidency	14,29,500	88,57,869
	57,11,354	71,05,533
<hr/>		
Western Bengal	71,40,854	159,63,402
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	2,51,460	8,38,053
	9,125	3,67,244
<hr/>		
New Western Bengal	74,01,439	1,71,68,699
Total	2,45,70,138	
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Rajshahi Division	75,28,117	45,12,348
Less Jalpaiguri	2,51,460	8,38,053
Less Darjeeling	9,125	3,67,244
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New Rajshahi Division	72,67,532	33,07,051

Dacca Division	1,19,44,172	47,39,542
Chittagong Division	63,92,291	20,85,599
<hr/>		
New Eastern Bengal	2,56,03,995	1,01,32,192
Total	3,57,36,187	

There will be 74 lakhs of Muslims in Western Bengal and 101 lakhs of Hindus in Eastern Bengal. The proportion of minorities in New Western Bengal will be 30.1 per cent; the corresponding figure for New Eastern Bengal will be 28.3 per cent.

MINORITIES

The Muslims will be in a minority of 30.1 per cent in West Bengal; and the Hindus a minority of 28.3 per cent in East Bengal. So, the two minorities are practically equal. Any weightage or any disability given in West Bengal, will automatically be claimed in or imposed upon in East Bengal on usual grounds.

C. POPULATION : POSITION OF SCHEDULED CASTES

(1) Census Figures, 1941 :	No. of Scheduled Castes
Burdwan Presidency	18,35,038
	18,94,897
<hr/>	
Western Bengal	37,29,935
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	28,922
	3,25,504
<hr/>	
New Western Bengal	40,84,361
New Eastern Bengal	32,94,609

Thus out of every 1,000 scheduled caste Hindus, 553 will be in New Western Bengal, and 447 in New Eastern Bengal.

(2) Reform Office Figures : But it should be remembered that in the 1941 Census, many Hindus did not return castes. Therefore, the above figures may be a little unrepresentative. We, therefore, also give below the figures about the distribution of scheduled castes as shown in Appendix I, pp. 268-9 of the *Report of the Reforms Office, Bengal, 1932-37* :

Burdwan Division	28.2 per cent.
Presidency Division	22.1 per cent.
Jalpaiguri and Siliguri	12.8 per cent.
<hr/>	
New Western Bengal	63.1 per cent.
New Eastern Bengal	36.9 per cent.

If this be true, then out of every 1,000 scheduled caste Hindus, 631 will be in New Western Bengal and 369 in New Eastern Bengal.

D. FOOD RESOURCES

Will the new provinces be self-sufficient, at least tolerably so, in food supply? According to the Flood Commission's figures (see Vol. II, p. 106), the production of paddy in thousand maunds is as follows :

Burdwan Division	89,732
Presidency Division	89,793
Darjeeling District	965
Jalpaiguri District	16,085
<hr/>	
West Bengal	196,575

Total BENGAL	482,032
Therefore of <i>East Bengal</i>	285,457
Consumption per head of population as in 1941 :	
West Bengal	8.02 mds.
East Bengal	8.00 mds.

E. MINERAL RESOURCES AND FOREST RESOURCES

Coal : Coalfields are all concentrated in Western Bengal.

Forest : "In the Eastern zone, i.e., Bengal, the Forest Department has divided the forests into two circles, the Northern and Southern circles. The forests comprised in the Northern circle fall entirely within the Non-Muslim portion of Bengal and of those in the Southern circle roughly two-thirds fall within the Muslim and one-third within the non-Muslim portion of Bengal."—(Rajendra Prasad : *India Divided*).

F. INDUSTRY

Professor Coupland has described the position as follows: "Bengal, as it is now, with 20 p.c. of the population of British India, possesses (on the basis of the average number of workers employed in factories) 33 p.c. of its industry. In Eastern Bengal without Calcutta, the percentage of British Indian industry falls to 2.7."

Jute mills, Iron and Steel works, the most important Government and Local Fund factories, such as Ordnance factories, Railway workshops, Docking and Printing presses, are all concentrated in Western Bengal. Of the nearly 30 cotton textile mills, about 27 are in Western Bengal with about 1,12,000 spindles and over 2,600 looms in 1945. Since then there has been expansion.

G. DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS

The possible developmental projects have more scope in Western Bengal than in Eastern Bengal. All the big irrigation-cum-development projects, such as the Damodar and the Mor schemes, must be, by their very nature, confined to Western Bengal.

H. REVENUE AND FINANCE

1. Land Revenue—

It should be remembered that at present the revenue paid by the landlords is available to the State. But if the rent-receiving interests are abolished, then it would be wrong to calculate in terms of the present land revenue only. Instead, we should calculate in terms of the raiyati assets, i.e., what the raiyats used to pay to the landlords and will now pay to the State. We show both the positions :

(a) Existing Land Revenue .

	Rs.
Burdwan Division	87,09,665
Presidency Division	63,15,341
<hr/>	
<i>Western Bengal</i>	1,50,25,006
Plus Jalpaiguri District	15,15,501
and Darjeeling District	3,93,008
<hr/>	
<i>New Western Bengal</i>	1,69,33,515
Rajshahi Division (Less Jalpaiguri	
and Darjeeling District)	61,14,643
Dacca Division	55,56,485
Chittagong Division	39,23,933
<hr/>	
<i>New Eastern Bengal</i>	1,55,95,061

These figures taken from the Land Revenue Administration Report, 1939-40, reveal that as at present, new Western Bengal will be paying nearly 13 lakhs more.

But what about the future? The Land Revenue Commission calculated the total assets by adding up the actual figures of rent paid by all classes of tenants, as given in the Settlement Reports. On that basis the position appears to be as follows :

(b) The future land revenue position :

The Land Revenue Commission calculated the raiyati assets in the following way : "The actual figures of rent paid by all classes of tenants are now available from the Settlement Reports of all districts. On this basis we have found that the assets of the Province amount to 11.32 crores." (Vide *Report*, Vol. I, p. 56, para 122). The details of these assets have been given in the *Report*, Vol. II, p. 111. There we get the following figures :

<i>Division</i>	<i>Raiyati Assets</i> (cash rent plus valuation of Produce rent) Rs.
Presidchey Division	2,61,47,000
Burdwan Division	2,58,79,000
Plus Jalpaiguri District and Darjeeling District	11,79,000 4,16,000
<hr/>	
<i>New Western Bengal</i>	5,36,21,000
<i>New Eastern Bengal</i>	5,95,83,000

Reduced to a per capita basis (i.e., dividing the assets by the population figure), we obtain the following figures :

<i>New Western Bengal</i>	Rs. 2.18 rent per capita
<i>New Eastern Bengal</i>	,, 1.70 rent per capita

2. *Jute Export Duty* : Of the Jute Export Duty, over 95 p.c. is collected in Western Bengal.

3. *Income Tax* : From the number of assesseees, it appears that over 85 p.c. is realised in Western Bengal.

4. *Other Taxes* : Figures for other taxes, such as Agricultural Income Tax, Sales Tax, etc., are not easily available, though according to certain rough calculations it seems probable that West Bengal pays 79 per cent of these other taxes and East Bengal 21 per cent.

5. *Central Taxes which will probably come to the Provinces in future* : Up till now, we have analysed only the existing provincial sources of revenue. But it should be remembered that in the future constitution, the powers of the Central Government to raise finances will be confined only to three subjects, viz., defence, communications and external affairs. Taxes which do not relate to these subjects are likely to be transferred from the Centre to the provinces. What will be the position then ?

Of the Central heads of revenue, the following do not relate to the future Central subjects : Customs, Excise, Corporation and Income Taxes, Salt, Opium, Currency and Mint. It is not easy to get district or division-wise figures of these tax-receipts, but the following approximations may not be quite inaccurate :

(a) *Customs* : From the *Finance and Revenue Accounts*, it appears that there are no land customs receipts in Bengal and all the customs receipts are from sea customs. From Table No. 253 in the Statistical Abstract, 1938-39 it appears that of the two ports of

Calcutta and Chittagong, the latter clears about 6 to 7 per cent of the total volume of sea-borne trade, foreign and coasting. The rest passes through Calcutta. On that basis, the new Western Bengal will get about 93 p.c. of custom receipts and new Eastern Bengal about 7 p.c. The total net custom receipts from Bengal in the year 1939-40 (including the share of net proceeds of Export duties assigned to the Province which that year amounted to Rs. 2,55,61,946) came up to Rs. 18,44,74,645. If the two new provinces get respectively 93 per cent and 7 per cent, then new Western Bengal will get Rs. 17.17 crores and New Eastern Bengal will get Rs. 1.27 crores.

(b) *Central Excise* : It is difficult to have a correct apportionment of the Central Excise receipts between West Bengal and East Bengal and the amount involved is also not much (In 1939-40, net receipts from excise duties amounted to Rs. 1.09 crores in Bengal). There are, however, three most important items in these Central Excise Duties, viz., Excise Duty on Motor Spirit (which in 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 62,651), Excise Duty on Sugar (which in 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 28.70 lakhs), and Excise Duty on matches (which in 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 78.49 lakhs). It is obvious that the first two duties cannot be realised where there are no roads and no sugar production. The mileage of roads is greater in Western Bengal than in Eastern Bengal. From the Sugar Industry Annual, 1945-46 prepared by Mr. M. P. Gandhi, we find that of the 9 existing sugar mills in Bengal, the mills in Western Bengal have a daily cane-crushing capacity of 2725-3025 tons and those in Eastern Bengal have a daily cane-crushing capacity of 2850 tons. The position is almost equal. It is very difficult to apportion the receipts from the match duty.

(c) *Corporation Tax and Income Tax* : The industrial concerns are concentrated in Western Bengal, so also big business houses. The corporation tax paid by Western Bengal, therefore, is heavier than that paid by Eastern Bengal. So also is the position of Income Tax, as appears from the list of assesseses.

(d) *Salt* : The main item under this head is the duty on Imported Salt, so far as Bengal is concerned. In the year 1939-40, out of a total receipts by the Central Government from Bengal on account of salt revenue of Rs. 2.45 crores, the receipts from the duty on imported salt amounted to Rs. 2.44 crores. This again leads to the relative importance of ports, where the proportion of Western Bengal to Eastern Bengal is 93 : 7.

I. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

These statistics, though somewhat out of date, give a correct over-all idea in 1936-37 :

(a) First Grade Colleges

	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	3	3	5	11
Presidency Div.	1	3	Nil	4
Burdwan Div.	1	3	2	6
<i>West Bengal</i>	5	9	7	21
Dacca Div.	Nil	3	Nil	3
Rajshahi Div.	1	1	Nil	2
Chittagong Div.	1	2	Nil	3
<i>East Bengal</i>	2	6	Nil	8

(b) Second Grade Colleges

	Govt.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	1	2	4	7
Presidency Div.	..	1	..	1
Burdwan Div.	3	3
<i>West Bengal</i>	1	3	7	11
Dacca Div.	3	3	1	7
Rajshahi Div.	..	1	..	1
Chittagong Div.	1	1
<i>East Bengal</i>	4	4	1	9

Boys' Secondary Schools in Bengal, 1936-37 (Vide 9th Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal, p. 57).

(a) High English Schools

	Govt.	Municipal or D.B.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	5	Nil	41	44	90
Presidency Div.	7	2	113	122	244
Burdwan Div.	6	1	104	123	234
<i>West Bengal</i>	18	3	258	289	568
Dacca Div.	10	Nil	126	201	337
Rajshahi Div.	8	Nil	76	38	122
Chittagong Div.	5	1	80	67	153
<i>East Bengal</i>	23	1	282	306	612

(b) Middle English Schools

	Govt.	Municipal or D.B.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	6	Nil	8	Nil	11
Presidency Div.	Nil	1	324	45	370
Burdwan Div.	Nil	8	334	59	401
<i>West Bengal</i>	3	9	666	104	782
Dacca Div.	Nil	9	257	138	404
Rajshahi Div.	Nil	20	293	57	370
Chittagong Div.	1	2	220	78	301
<i>East Bengal</i>	1	31	770	273	1075

(c) Middle Vernacular Schools

	Govt.	Municipal or D.B.	Aided	Unaided	Total
Calcutta	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Presidency Div.	Nil	2	6	Nil	8
Burdwan Div.	Nil	Nil	8	Nil	8
<i>West Bengal</i>	Nil	2	14	Nil	16
Dacca Div.	Nil	Nil	10	4	14
Rajshahi Div.	Nil	5	5	Nil	10
Chittagong Div.	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	2
<i>East Bengal</i>	Nil	5	17	4	26

As District figures are not available, we have to go by Divisions. These figures are, therefore, not strictly comparable to the other tables; nevertheless they will be helpful for forming a general picture :

Primary Schools, 1936-37 (Vide 9th Quinquennial Review, p. 41).

<i>Boys' Schools</i>	
Calcutta	509
Presidency Division	8270
Burdwan Division	8918
<hr/>	
<i>West Bengal</i>	17,697
Dacca Division	12416
Rajshahi Division	8395
Chittagong Division	5,593
<hr/>	
<i>East Bengal</i>	26,409
<i>Girls' Schools</i>	
Calcutta	Nil
Presidency Division	2420
Burdwan Division	1927
<hr/>	
<i>West Bengal</i>	4347

Dacca Division	6795
Rajshahi Division	2708
Chittagong Division	3443
<hr/>	
<i>East Bengal</i>	12,946

J. MEDICAL

<i>Number of Hospitals and Dispensaries</i>	
West Bengal (including Calcutta)	709
East Bengal	716

Number of indoor and outdoor patients treated in 1941

West Bengal	44,84,330
East Bengal	32,80,391

Incidence of disease (patients) per lakh of population

West Bengal	18,200
East Bengal	9,200

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' The Modern Review '

February 1947, pp.130-133

By AN F.R.S.S. & F.R.Econ.S. (Lond.)

SOME friends have complained that in our "Notes on Partition of Bengal," appearing in *The Modern Review* for February, 1947, our figures for Bengal are not correct, and why we have not included the district of Dinajpur in Western Bengal. We shall give the facts, and the reader is asked to draw his own conclusions.

A. CONTIGUITY

Many of the existing British provinces have discontinuous areas and districts. In the Punjab, the Bombay and the Madras Presidencies, there are patches of British territories surrounded entirely by the Native States. Ajmer-Merwara are two separate patches of territories. The province of Orissa is separated into three main blocks of territories by the intervening Native States. The total area of Orissa is 32,198 sq. miles. The coastal block stretching from Balasore to Ganjam is 25,098 sq. miles; the former district of Angul (now incorporated in Cuttack) is 1681 sq. miles; and the far away Sambalpur is 5,419 sq. miles. Compared with the coastal block Sambalpur has an area of about 22 per cent.

The area of Darjeeling (1,192 sq. miles) and Jalpaiguri (3,050 sq. miles) block is 14 per cent of the Burdwan and the Presidency Division combined, *i.e.*, of West Bengal main block. Dis-continuity of the provincial parts is, therefore, no argument against the formation of a separate province.

B. DINAJPUR

The facts about Dinajpur are narrated below. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the district since 1881 has been as follows:

Year	Percentage	Inter-censal increase (+), or decrease (-) of Muhammadans
1881	52.55	..
1891	51.59	-0.96
1901	49.57	-2.02
1911	48.84	-0.73
1921	49.07	+0.23
1931	50.51	+1.44
1941	50.18	-0.33

The figures for 1881 to 1931 are taken from the Bengal Census Report, 1931 Pt. I p. 411; and that for 1941 has been calculated from the primary figures given in the 1941 Census Tables. The percentage of the Muhammadans was steadily getting less, so between 1921 and 1931, and again between 1931 and 1941, certain areas were added to the district to redress the percentage in favour of the Muhammadans. The areas of the district as given in the several Census Reports are as follows:

Census Report of	Area in sq. miles	Difference
1901	3,946	No change during 20 years
1921	3,946	
1931	3,948	+2 sq. miles
1941	3,953	+5 sq. miles

According to the Census Report of 1941, the population of the present district of Dinajpur is 19,26,833 in 1941, and in 1931 it was 17,62,113. But according

to the 1931 Census Report the population in 1931 was 17,55,432. Between 1931 and 1941 an area of 5 sq. miles with a population of 17,62,113—17,55,432=6,681 was added to it. Similarly according to the 1931 Census Report the population of the then area of Dinajpur was 17,11,895, in 1921; but according to the Census Report of 1921, the population was 17,05,353. Between 1921 and 1931 Dinajpur lost some area by transfer to Bogra, and gained some areas by transfer from Rangpur and Malda. The net gain was an area of 2 sq. miles with a population of 6,542.

In 1941, the number of Muslims in the district is given as 9,67,246; and their majority over the non-Muslims is 7,659. Had no addition been made between 1931 and 1941 of 6,681 persons, their majority would perhaps been wiped away or reduced to 7,659—[6,681+9.3% (the inter-censal increase) of 6,681]=357 only. In 1931, their majority was similarly 18,014. But for the addition of 6,542 between 1921 and 1931, their majority would have been LESS THAN 11,472 in 1931; and it would have been wiped away by 1941; and the Muslims would have been in a minority.

If we assume that the relative percentage of the Muhammadans has been changing at the same rate as between 1931 and 1941, they are now in 1947 in a minority of 49.98 per cent.

No wonder, therefore, if Suhrawardy and the Muslim League Ministry, tries to dump a few thousand Bihar Muslim 'refugees' or 'invited immigrants' into the district to restore the tottering Muhammadan majority.

C. KHULNA

Dinajpur is not the only district, where territorial adjustments have been made with a view to restore Muhammadan majority. In Dinajpur they have succeeded; in Khulna they have failed. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the district of Khulna since 1881 has been as follows:

Year	Percentage	Inter-censal increase (+), or decrease (-), of Muhammadans
1881	51.44	..
1891	51.29	-0.15
1901	50.46	-0.83
1911	50.22	-0.24
1921	49.75	-0.47
1931	49.50	-0.25
1941	49.36	-0.14

The decrease in the percentage of the Muhammadans has been a steady one during the last 60 years. From being in a majority, the Muhammadans are now in a minority. They became a minority for the first time in 1921. So in 1929 by Notification No. 408 political, dated the 22nd January, 1929, a population of 15,936 was transferred from the Nazirpore Police Station of the Bakarganj district to the Mollahat Police Station (where the recent several Namasudra-Muhammadan riots took place) of the Khulna district. The population of the district, according to the Census Report of 1921, was 14,53,034, of whom 7,22,887 were Muhammadans. The non-Muhammadan majority over the Muhammadans was 7,260 only. To wipe out this majority and to convert it into a minority the above transfer was made. The area transferred was included

in the zamindari of the writer's father, and thus he had special means of knowledge to say that almost all the inhabitants, excepting his father's *tehsildars* and *durwans* and a few Namasudras, who were given lands for their services elsewhere, were Muhammadans. The writer's ancestors built a mosque there for the benefit of their tenantry as early as 1822.

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta complained of this transfer in the pages of *The Modern Review* as "Communism in the Bengal Administration" as early as January 1931 in these terms :

"In the Nehru Report it (Khulna) has been described along with Dinajpur, which has a small Muhammadan majority of five per cent over the Hindus (leaving aside the Animists and others), as a neutral district. To convert this small Hindu majority into a small minority or to reduce it to practical nullity, in January 1929, the Government acting in its reserved department, has sliced out from the Nazirpore Police Station of Backerganj a large tract peopled mostly by Muhammadans and transferred it to Khulna to form an integral part thereof.

"In the district of Backerganj as a whole the proportion of the Hindus to the Muhammadans is as 29 : 71; in the Pirojpur Sub-Division of which this portion formed part, it is 33 : 67. It is estimated and shrewdly suspected that the number of Muhammadans transferred from Backerganj to Khulna is sufficiently large to convert the small Hindu majority into a minority. Let us Hindus, hope that such is not the case!"*

This was penned before the Census of 1931 took place on the 26th February, 1931. In spite of Governmental machinations, the Hindus are in majority both in 1931 and in 1941.

D. MALDA AND MURSHIDABAD

District boundaries have undergone radical changes between 1872 and 1881. There was no district of Khulna in 1872. Since 1881, the Muhammadans have become majority in the two districts of Malda and Murshidabad; and from a majority they have become a minority in the district of Khulna. Their percentages in the two districts of Malda and Murshidabad at the several Censuses have been as follows :

Year of Census	Malda	Murshidabad
1881	46.38	48.09
1891	47.20	49.46
1901	48.07	50.77
1911	50.33	51.97
1921	51.51	53.57
1931	54.28	55.56
1941	56.76	56.55
Increase during 1881-1941	10.38	8.46

The figures are not strictly comparable with each other as they do not refer to the same area. A part of the increase is due to the alteration of the bound-

daries of the above two districts. Their respective areas have been as follows :

Year	Malda	Murshidabad
1901	1899	2143
1921	1833	2121
1951	1764	2091
1941	2004	2063

Sometimes they have gained from one district and lost to another; the net loss or gain being reflected in the total area.

E. WILL THE HINDUS REGAIN THEIR MAJORITY IN BENGAL ? YES

Discussing the question in the pages of *The Modern Review* for December, 1940, Mr. J. M. Datta showed on statistical and biological considerations that the non-Muhammadans will regain their majority in 66 years, i.e., the Muhammadans will lose their majority by 1997; and that the Hindus alone will be in majority in course of another 150 years. His prediction that the Muhammadans are losing ground has been justified by the 1941 Census Results. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the population of Bengal has been as follows :

Year of Census	Percentage of Muhammadans	Relative increase + or decrease -
1872	48.5	.
1881	49.7	+1.2
1891	50.7	+1.0
1901	51.2	+0.5
1911	52.3	+1.1
1921	53.5	+1.2
1931	54.4	+0.9
1941	54.3	-0.1

The Muhammadans became majority in Bengal in 1891 for the first time. Their percentage in the population has begun to decrease—this is not a mere accident, or due to the alleged inflation of the Hindus at the time of last Census (1941). For the Hindus are increasing at a faster rate than the Muhammadans, as the following rates of increase obtained by deducting the respective recorded death-rates from the respective recorded birth-rates will show. The figures by communities or by religion earlier than 1933 are not available from the yearly Bengal Public Health Reports.

Year	Hindus	Muhammadans	Advantage +, or disadvantage - in favour of Hindus
1933	6.6	4.2	+
1934	5.5	5.7	-
1935	9.1	10.6	-
1936	9.1	8.7	+
1937	8.9	9.8	-
1933-37	39.2	39.0	+
1938	4.3	3.6	+
1939	8.7	11.1	-
1940	9.0	11.5	-
1941	9.0	7.5	+
1942	5.6	2.1	+
1938-42	36.6	35.8	+

It may be urged that in our country neither the births nor the deaths are always registered; so the

* *The Modern Review* for January, 1931, p. 47.

above rates of increase do not represent the true state of affairs. That may be so; but as the same errors of registration affect both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the difference between their two rates do represent something which is very real and fundamental. During the first five years the advantage in favour of the Hindus was for 2 years; in the next five years the advantage was for 3 years. Further the advantage in favour of the Hindus is rapidly increasing; the advantage during the last five years is four times that during the previous five years.

F. ALL-INDIA DISTRIBUTION OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS

What weight or influence the Bengali Hindus can pull either in the All-India Congress Councils or in the Constituent Assembly; and what weight the Bengali Muhammadans pull in the All-India Muslim League circles depends partly upon their numerical strengths or proportions. Taking the Hindus and the Muhammadans of All-India to be represented by 100·0 each, we get their territorial distribution as follows:

	Hindus	Muhammadans
India	100·0	100·0
Native States	25·1	13·9
(Hyderabad)*	(5·2)	(2·3)
(Kashmir)*	(0·3)	(3·4)
British Provinces	74·9	86·1
1. Madras	16·8	4·2
2. Bombay	6·5	2·1
3. Bengal	9·8	15·8
4. U. P.	18·0	9·1
5. Punjab	3·0	17·6
6. Bihar	10·4	5·1
7. C. P.	5·1	0·8
8. Assam	1·6	3·7
9. N.-W. F. Prov.	·07	3·0
10. Orissa	2·7	0·1
11. Sind	0·5	3·5
Minor Administrations	0·4	1·1

Now taking the Hindus and the Muhammadans of the British Provinces to be represented by 100·0 each, we get the relative distribution to be as follows:

	Hindus	Muhammadans
British Provinces	100·0	100·0
1. Madras	22·4	4·9
2. Bombay	8·6	2·4
3. Bengal	13·1	41·6
4. U. P.	24·0	10·6
5. Punjab	4·0	20·4
6. Bihar	13·9	5·9
7. C. P.	6·8	1·0
8. Assam	2·1	4·3
9. N.-W. F. Prov.	0·1	3·4
10. Orissa	3·6	0·1
11. Sind	0·8	4·1
Minor Administrations	0·5	1·3

No wonder that in the Congress circles, apart from the question of personalities, the U. P. and Madras command more attention. For after all that may be said for its non-communal Nationalist out-look, the

Indian National Congress is a Hindu body, with such Muhammadan 'show-boys' like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who threatened resignation from the Congress unless the Communal Award was accepted, and the late Dr. Ansari, who wanted to hold the Hindus of Bengal as "hostages" for the good behaviour of the Hindus elsewhere.

One reason why the Muslim League started its "Direct Action" in Bengal by organized massacres and mass terrorisation in Calcutta and at Noakhali is that if the 42 per cent of the Muhammadans cannot achieve an object here, 4 per cent of them in Sind will not be able to do that.

G. WILL WESTERN BENGAL OR EASTERN BENGAL BE TOO SMALL?

In our "Notes on Partition of Bengal" in *The Modern Review* for February, 1947, we have shown that several of the present-day Governors' Provinces are smaller than either the proposed Western Bengal or Eastern Bengal in area. The population of the several Governors' provinces are shown below:

	Population in 1941		
1. Madras	493 lakhs
2. Bombay	208 "
3. Bengal	603 "
4. U. P.	550 "
5. Punjab	284 "
6. Bihar	363 "
7. C. P.	168 "
8. Assam	102 "
9. N.-W. F. Prov.	30 "
10. Orissa	27 "
11. Sind	45 "
Average	267 lakhs

Bengal as at present constituted is the most populous province. Its population exceeds that of the next most populous province, viz., the U.P. by 53 lakhs. Even after the proposed partition, the population of the separated halves will exceed that of 7 other provinces.

H. ROAD CESS AND PUBLIC WORKS CESS

Statement showing the gross rental for the year 1932-33, as compared with that shown in the returns when road cess was first introduced by Bengal Act X of 1871:

	Gross rental (in lakhs) at		Increase during 60 years
	First valuation	Present	
Burdwan Divn.	187	363	176
Presidency "	163	367	203
Jalpaiguri Dist.	13	58	45
Darjeeling "	5	14	9
New Western Bengal	368	802	434
Dacca Division	163	326	163
Chittagong "	95	175	80
Rajshahi Division	151	347	196
(minus the above 2 districts)			
New Eastern Bengal	409	848	440
Percentage of increase of rental during 60 years in			
<i>New Western Bengal</i>			118·0
<i>New Eastern Bengal</i>			107·5

* The figures are included in the total for the Native States.

New Western Bengal
New Eastern Bengal

Cess valuation
per sq. mile
Rs. 2306.2
Rs. 1988.3

Rs. 317.9

The valuation in Western Bengal exceeds that in Eastern Bengal by some 16 per cent.

Since the introduction of Chapter VI-A by the amendment of the Cess Act in 1934, the principle of assessment has been altered, and the figures obtained are not strictly comparable with each other or with the earlier figures.

I. LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT

District	Land Revenue		Assessment per—		
	Acre of cultivated area		Head of population of fully assessed area		
	Rs. as.	p.	Rs. as.	p.	
Burdwan	4	15	1	14	0
Birbhum	1	12	1	1	8
Bankura	0	6	0	7	2
Midnapore	1	5	0	15	7
Hooghly	1	10	0	13	8*
Howrah	4	9	0	8	1

Average for
Burdwan Divn. 2 7 6 0 15 4

	Rs. as.	p.	Rs. as.	p.	
24-Parganas	1	13	1	4	0
Nadia	0	14	0	9	9
Murshidabad	1	4	0	12	0
Jessore	1	2	0	8	9
Khulna	1	1	0	9	1

Average for
Presidency Divn. 1 4 2 0 11 11

	Rs. as.	p.	Rs. as.	p.	
Rajshahi	1	0	0	15	4
Dinajpur	1	4	0	13	10
Jalpaiguri	1	14	1	3	2*
Rangpur	0	9	0	6	4
Bogra	0	14	0	7	9*
Pabna	0	9	0	6	0
Malda	0	8	0	7	3
Darjeeling	1	2	1	8	2

Average for
Rajshahi Divn. 1 0 0 0 12 5

	Rs. as.	p.	Rs. as.	p.	
Dacca	0	7	0	3	0
Mymensingh	0	6	0	2	11
Faridpore	0	8	0	5	2
Bakarganj	1	8	1	0	8

Average for
Dacca Divn. 0 11 11 0 6 11

	Rs. as.	p.	Rs. as.	p.	
Chittagong	2	8	0	10	11*
Noakhali	1	10	0	11	6
Tipperah	0	13	0	6	2
Chittagong Hill Tracts	2	9	0	11	0

Average for
Chittagong Divn. 1 14 4 0 9 10

Bengal 1 2 7 0 11 7

The figures are taken from the *Incidence of the Land Revenue Assessment on Area and Population in each district of Bengal*, published by the Bengal Government in 1940.

Those figures marked with an * are calculated by us from the figures given in columns 5 and 6 of the Table.

The Divisional averages calculated by us are unweighted averages. Similarly the unweighted averages of New Western Bengal including the districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and of New Eastern Bengal are given below :

	Land Revenue		Assessment per—			
	Acre of cultivated area		Head of population of fully assessed area			
	Rs. as.	p.	Rs. as.	p.		
N. Western Bengal	1	13	9	0	15	0
N. Eastern Bengal	1	1	9	0	8	11
	0	12	0	0	6	1

The incidence per acre in New Western Bengal exceeds that in New Eastern Bengal by some 66 per cent.

J. PLOUGHS AND CARTS

The numbers of ploughs and carts in the several areas of Bengal before the War were :

Division	Ploughs	Carts
Burdwan	7,87,111	2,83,240
Presidency	8,00,299	2,42,346
West Bengal	15,87,410	5,52,586
Jalpaiguri	1,24,419	27,318
Darjeeling	15,836	3,485
New Western Bengal	17,27,665	5,56,389
Rajshahi	13,14,073	2,73,321
Dacca	12,00,124	44,798
Chittagong	4,90,588	5,722
East Bengal	30,04,785	3,23,891

Deducting the figures for
Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling
New Eastern Bengal 28,64,530 2,90,801

	Number of persons per—	
	Plough	Cart
New Western Bengal	14.2	44.2
New Eastern Bengal	12.5	122.8

The paucity of carts in Eastern Bengal is due to want of roads, and frequency of rivers and canals. The relatively lesser number of ploughs in Western Bengal is due to greater industrialisation of this part of Bengal.

K. BOATS AND STEAMERS

Bengal is unique in India for the extent of its navigable waterways and for the number and variety of boats which ply upon them, but no estimate for the whole province exists from which the numbers can be calculated. At the time of the 1931 Census an attempt was made to obtain an estimate of their number. The figures given below make no pretence to completeness or accuracy, but they are interesting as the first attempted estimate of their kind.

	West Bengal			Total
	Burdwan	Presidency		
Dinghis, dugouts etc.	5,296	54,916		60,212
Others of less than 50 mds. capacity	427	23,754		24,181
Big boats maundage 50—1,000	318	5,097		5,415
1,000—3,000 and over	26	128		154
Maundage not known				
" Big	70	1,985		2,055
" Small	742	16,013		16,755
Steamers	8	960		968
Launches	8	3		11
	East Bengal			Total
	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong	
Dinghis, dugouts etc.	78,719	5,68,976	1,72,820	8,20,515
Others of less than 50 mds. capacity	17,747	5,049	1,512	24,308
Big boats maundage 50—1,000	2,599	10,718	2,472	15,789
1,000—3,000 and over	17	148	23	188
Maundage not known				
" Big	6,793	5,561	1,975	14,129
" Small	6,120	41,962	14,096	62,178
Steamers	11	51	24	86
Launches	..	8	1	9

Although the statistics are neither accurate, nor up-to-date—there has been a large destruction of bigger boats on account of the "Denial policy" during the threatened Japanese invasion—one particularly noticeable is that the larger the size of the boats, the disparity between Western and Eastern Bengal is reduced. In the case of *dinghies*, dugouts etc., the Eastern Bengal, is 13 or 14 times that of Western Bengal; in the case of big boats they are in virtual equality. In the case of steamers, the advantage passes to Western Bengal.

L. AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

The agricultural income-tax, as collected during 1945-46, is shown below. (The figures are taken from Starred Question No. 6 of the 3rd February, 1947).

Burdwan Division	Rs. 6,96,947
Presidency Division	.. 45,29,789
Jalpaiguri	.. 5,29,043
Darjeeling	.. 54,082
New Western Bengal	Rs. 57,09,861
New Eastern Bengal	.. 33,81,871
Bengal	Rs. 90,91,232

Out of the Rs. 92 lakhs collected, a large portion—Rs. 36,68,567 is collected or paid in Calcutta, for convenience of the assesseees. A portion of this amount—estimated at *one-fifth* to *one-sixth* should be allotted to Eastern Bengal. The position then would be as :

N. Western Bengal :	Rs. 57—Rs. 7 lakhs=Rs. 50 lakhs
N. Eastern Bengal :	Rs. 34+Rs. 7 lakhs=Rs. 41 lakhs
or	
N. Western Bengal :	Rs. 57—Rs. 6 lakhs=Rs. 51 lakhs
N. Eastern Bengal :	Rs. 34+Rs. 6 lakhs=Rs. 40 lakhs

M. CULTURABLE WASTE LANDS

The total culturable waste-land in Bengal, outside Calcutta, Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts, measures 25,68,759 acres. The figure is obtained by adding the sub-division war-figures given in column 45 of Table V of Agricultural Statistics by plot to plot enumeration in Bengal 1944-45, compiled by Mr. H. S. M. Ishaque. The total given at p. 31 of the above 2,768,758·84 is incorrect.

The cultivable waste in the several divisions of Bengal is as follows :

Division	Acres	Per cent
Burdwan	5,59,713	21·8
Presidency	7,71,832	30·1
West Bengal	13,31,545	51·9
Rajshahi	6,77,906	26·4
Dacca	4,24,128	16·5
Chittagong	1,35,180	5·2
East Bengal	12,37,214	48·1
BENGAL	25,68,759	100·0
Jalpaiguri	1,37,002	5·3
.. New Western Bengal	14,68,547	or 57·2
.. New Eastern Bengal	11,00,212	or 42·8

No wonder, therefore, that the communally-minded Muslim League Ministry would try to acquire this vast land at the nominal rate of Rs. 5 per acre, which is another name of expropriation; and try to settle more than 1,50,000 Bihari Muslim refugees. The definition of "cultivable waste land" is such that it includes *char* lands.*

Survey and settlement operations, including the revisional settlement operations took place between 1908 and 1938. Comparing the figures then obtained and Mr. Ishaque's own *Crop Survey*, he makes the following observations :

"It would be noticed that while *aman* paddy cultivation has increased from 19,000,000 acres to 20,700,000 acres in round figures approximately 9 per cent increase—the area described as culturable waste has decreased from 5,300,000 to 4,000,000 acres in round figures—a decrease of 1,300,000 or approximately 24 per cent. The area under orchards has come down from 1,859,000 to 1,400,000 acres—a difference of about 460,000 giving a percentage of 25. Obviously, the population is making heavy inroads on the timber and wood stock of the province and what is still more dangerous on the fruit supply. This is a tendency which requires very serious attention.

The area under unculturable waste which includes the area covered by water has increased from 7,229,000 to 7,774,000 acres—an increase of 544,000 or approximately 7 per cent. More houses, more railways and roads, more tanks and so on, are the obvious explanations. There has been some increase in the area under sugar-cane, tobacco and other crops also but the increase is not particularly noteworthy."

* See Sec. 13(i) of the Bengal Acquisition of Waste Land Bill.

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N. CULTIVABLE BUT UNCULTIVATED LAND

In answer to a question by Maharaja Sris Chandra Nandy, the Government laid a table of cultivable but uncultivated land in Bengal, district by district, before the Legislative Assembly on the 18th February 1947. The table is summarised below :

Burdwan Division—7,58,000 acres :

Burdwan	127,000 acres
Birbhum	81,000 "
Hówrah	12,000 "
Hooghly	34,000 "
Bankura	227,000 "
Midnapore	277,000 "

Presidency Division—7,29,000 acres :

24-Parganas	141,000 acres
Nadia	213,000 "
Murshidabad	75,000 "
Khulna	112,000 "
Jessore	188,000 "

Jalpaiguri	137,000 "
Darjeeling	"

<i>New Western Bengal</i>	1,624,000 acres
<i>New Eastern Bengal</i>	1,535,880 "

Thus of the total cultivable but uncultivated land 51.4 per cent lies in New Western Bengal, and 48.6 per cent in New Eastern Bengal.

The cultivable waste lands have increased from 14,68,000 acres to 16,24,000 in course of 2 years in Western Bengal—an increase of 10.6 per cent ; while in Eastern Bengal it was increased from 11,00,000 to 15,36,000, an increase of 43.6 per cent !! Is it due to the effects of Famine ? Or, is there some jugglery with figures for political purposes ?

O. FOOD SUFFICIENCY

According to Mr. Ishaque "districts which have a per capita paddy acreage of .5 acre would be self-sufficient or a little surplus. Those which have less would naturally be generally deficit." Applying this test, we find the following districts to be deficit areas :

New Western Bengal

1. Murshidabad	.48 acre
2. Howrah	.19 "
3. Hooghly	.43 "

New Eastern Bengal

1. Tipperah	.37 acre
2. Noakhali	.45 "
3. Chittagong	.36 "
4. Faridpore	.36 "
5. Dacca	.28 "
6. Mymensingh	.49 "
7. Pabna	.44 "

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THE DANGERS AHEAD

By D. M. SEN, B.A. (Cantab.), B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

AFTER a long drawn-out battle, the Hindus have been forced to accept the theory that Muslims belong to a different nation. For over two decades now, the Muslims have played the part of an irritable and touchy old granny, desirous of only being left alone. They did not want "Hindu" domination, so they decided that large chunks of territory must be dominated by them and a clean State, Pakistan, must be formed to keep the Hindus in check.

While this pernicious doctrine was being propagated with all the venom and wrath of the kind of which only the League was capable, the battle for freedom was being fought by valiant patriots like Nehru and Gandhi and Bose and a host of the unknown soldiers of the Congress. After years of struggle, the Congress has at last won a place of freedom for India among the nations of the world, but the virus of communalism now has attacked the very heart of the country.

India is now going to be divided, the British papers say, into Hindustan and Pakistan. Pakistan will be admittedly a Muslim State, while Hindustan will still be the polyglot state that it ever was. There will be a fanatic Muslim fervour supporting the Muslim State. Will there be an equally fanatic Hindu fervour supporting the so-called Hindu State?

NATURE OF PARTIES

The time has come for clear thinking. Congress, we know, is not a Hindu body, in the sense that its *leitmotif* is not Hindu, despite everything the Muslims and the British may say about the "Hindu" Congress. When the Hindus were massacred in Eastern Bengal, the Congress did not lift its finger. When the Hindus of Bihar were shocked into paying the Muslim back in his own coin, the Congress sent its highest leaders to remonstrate with the Biharis. The Hindus are not allowed even to be shocked by the inhuman acts of savagery perpetrated by the dear old granny who sometimes assumes the shape and the functions of the wildest witch that the annals of witchcraft have recorded.

The only organisation in Hindustan capable of rallying the people, the Congress, is thus a body not mobilised against the Muslims. Indeed, it is not capable of mobilising itself against any innocent

citizen, be he a Hindu or a Muslim. An organisation receives its general character from its leaders. With leaders like Azad, Nehru and Gandhi Congress could not possibly become a movement of irrational fanatics, bent on loot and murder, rape and arson, as are found under the banners of some communal parties in India.

It is important to remember this. A whole movement cannot change its nature overnight. It has its history, its traditions, its links, its ideals, which may seem from the outside changeable without much effort, but in fact a movement is as much chained to its philosophy and history as a man to his mind. That is why the Conservative Party of England cannot become Labour, nor can it help hating the Congress and its leaders as breakers of the British Empire. That is why the Communists cannot become, as a body, supporters of private property. This is not to say, however, that individuals will not change, or that parties will not alter their policies in the least detail. On the contrary, live political parties constantly review their activities to bring themselves up to date and in line with the public sentiment of the moment. But where matters of great moment are concerned, large political parties, with supporters in every part of the country, trained in the traditional policies of the parties, cannot change their whole nature. A non-communal organisation cannot become an aggressively communal body; nor can an aggressive and fanatic body of communalists become overnight placid supporters of peace between communities.

OUR ADVERSARIES POISED

Therein lies our danger. Pakistan will be a Muslim State, prepared to stand its ground, and to advance, on every pretext, against the neighbouring State of Hindustan with a zeal and a determination that only fanatics can muster. Hindustan, on the other hand, will be a state of "non-Muslims," or of "general" constituencies. There will be no fanatical fervour binding Hindustan together. Let not the idealists object at this juncture that fanatical fervour is not a good thing in the long run, that it cannot last, that it leads itself to its own destruction and so on and so forth. My answer will be, with Lord Keynes, "We are all dead in the long run." The damage that is done in the short run by fanaticism must be checked;

otherwise it will be decades before the ill-effects can be remedied. It was short-term fanaticism that divided Ireland and the bitterness that it has left tends to grow, not diminish. It was short-term fanaticism that plunged the world into a second world war, but its aftermath will be long and sad and arduous. And again it may be short-term fanaticism that today has succeeded in cutting us in twain; but the pangs of pain and misery that will inevitably result from this division will last for centuries.

In history, fanaticism has not been successfully met by any other force but an equal determination to withstand it. Fanaticism must not be appeased, as we have done in India of late years.

But, in India, we had to deal with two enemies, the enemy without and the enemy within. In our zeal to free the country, we sacrificed half of it. Half a loaf is better than none. As patriots, the Congress and the people of India had no other choice than to submit to all the demands of the touchy and scheming granny.

But that stage is over now. India is divided into Muslim and non-Muslim areas. As the Muslim area is militantly Muslim, or will be, as I have explained above, because a party cannot suddenly change its whole character, the non-Muslim area must be mobilized to preserve its integrity against possible depredations of predatory fanatic States.

THEIR STRENGTH

The Muslim State of Pakistan will be strong because it will start its life with a victorious air about it. The psychological background is extremely valuable. When armies crash, they mostly crash because a feeling gets around that all is over. Equally, small bands of soldiers will fight on against incredible odds, if they are infused with a sense of victorious superiority. Hence, the British inculcate the spirit of invincibility. Every Britisher believes that he is the best man under God (even though he has to beg for the dollar). It was for that same reason that Adolf Hitler tried to instil among his followers the doctrine of *Herrenvolk*, the master-race. The Japanese believed, too, that they were the direct descendants of the Sun-God; hence they were a tough band of soldiers. Karl Marx, well realising this principle, worked his argument for Communism in such a way as to make the victory of the proletariat *inevitable*, sooner or later. It was merely a question of hastening the historical process of dialectical materialism. The Muslims, too, believe in this process of inevitable ultimate victory over the Kaffir. *Dena parega Pakistan*, *Larke lenge Pakistan*, these slogans have an air of inevitability. The Muslims like that. They are now in a victorious mood, flushed with easy success. They will be prepared to follow as one man their Qaid-e-Azam, their great leader.

When fanaticism meets with easy success, it develops a kind of blind faith in its own strength and infallibility. That is the danger which will constantly be a threat to our peace.

OUR POSITION

What will be the position of Hindustan in the face of such constant threat of irrational fanaticism trying to frighten us out of our wits?

Will Hindustan settle once and for all which is to be the State religion? So long as religion persists,—

and religion will persist in this world, particularly in India,—it is better to have one religion recognised as the supreme and the State religion in a country. The dangers of having two religions, trying both to secure a place of supremacy in the country, are well-known to us. If Hindustan does not stabilise its position with regard to religion, religion will continue to be a disturbing factor. You cannot wish away religion either, however much one may wish to do so. Religion is a force in India. It had better be recognised as such. Let the new State of Hindustan immobilise it, not by ignoring it and thus allowing every fanatic to raise his head on the pretext of religious equality, but by enacting that Hinduism will be supreme in Hindustan. Hindus did not want this state of affairs. Hindus fought tooth and nail against a religious dispensation of things. But our dear brethren, the Muslims of Qaid-e-Azam, have now pushed us in the corner. They are forming a sovereign State of their own. And unless miracles happen (which of course do not happen), the Muslims will bear their customary hatred and wrath against the Hindus. What will prevent them to try and emulate their forefathers, the Mughals? What will prevent them from marching against Hindustan, unless Hindustan is positively and consciously ready to meet such an emergency.

Between sovereign States, there is no love lost. The mind of Pakistan will, by the conditions of its birth and development, antagonistic to Hindustan. Its early success, its memory of what is considered its ancestors, the Mughal Empire, its belief that Hindus are disunited and effete, above all its blind fanaticism, will all lead it to a militaristic career on the slightest pretext. Our only defence will be our own right arm.

OUR WEAKNESS

The weakness of Hindustan lies, of course, in the easy gullibility of our intelligentsia. The Muslim fanatics scream that the Hindus worship "stocks and stones and snakes." I have heard a Muslim minister use these very words. The Hindu intelligentsia immediately accepts such perverse criticisms and bows its head in shame. We learn about the essence of Hinduism from the ravings of English Tory drunks or Muslim bigots. Why do we not read Radhakrishnan and be proud of that great and tolerant faith that bears malice to no one and to nothing in the world, except the evil-doer and the evil? Let us read the Gita anew, and hold our heads in pride on high. Let us be prepared to meet the evil, irrespective of any consequences. Let us be missionaries in a great cause. We are the torch-bearers of a faith that, above all, teaches human beings to be civilized in the truest sense of the word. The instinct of murder, violence and near-cannibalism is eradicated from our hearts by the gentle teachings of the great sages of ancient Hinduism. Our tolerance, however, must have its free play. It must not be destroyed itself. How far fair means must always be used to attain fair ends is a philosophic problem. It is an intensely practical problem, however, that we, as a race, must live, in order to be able to carry our message to less tolerant people. We must not be gullible; we must be proud of our heritage; we must be thrilled to be the torch-bearers of the highest moral civilisation that the world has ever seen. Our greatest weakness, our desire to uproot ourselves from our inherited past, must now be forsaken.