

The Sunday News of India

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THE ATOMIC CRISIS

PROFESSOR Blackett writes in our columns on the political and military implications of atomic energy as a noted authority. His views are entitled to respectful attention. The revelations contained in his survey of the problems of atomic energy are the result of interpretations and analyses which have diverged widely from those of his colleagues.

On a subject which has provoked so many hysterical and impassioned irrelevancies, there is real value in the objective appraisal which the Professor has put forward. The initial chapters are devoted to a fascinating study of the actual military effectiveness of the atom bomb, and lead to the conclusion that in view of the present technical difficulties and the strategic situation that would prevail in the event of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union, the use of atomic bombs would not amount to a decisive blow against the enemy.

Professor Blackett cites facts and figures to prove that during the last Great War, despite the magnitude and intensity of Anglo-American strategic bombing, German production continued to increase till the summer of 1944. From this the Professor deduces that only by throwing in vast masses of land forces and by the largely tactical use of air power would a war between Russia and the United States be brought to a conclusive victory.

The average reader, willing to be convinced up to this point, would probably confess bewilderment when Professor Blackett describes the Baruch plan for atomic control as "an astute move" by the United States and as a "specious plan" by which the Soviet Union has been branded as the sole obstacle to world peace. Among the imperfections of the Baruch proposals mentioned by Professor Blackett is the possibility—and it is no more than a possibility—that after the world Atomic Development Authority has been established, there would be no guarantee beyond America's word that the later stages of the Baruch plan involving the release of technical information and the destruction of American stocks of bombs would be implemented. In addition the terms of the Baruch plan are such that the Atomic Development Authority would have powers of control over the development of atomic energy as a source of power for industrial purposes—an aspect which, the Professor points out, is of far greater concern to Russia than to the United States whose sources of industrial power through coal, oil, natural gas and water are enormous. Hence the ADA on which nations sympathetic to the American viewpoint would have a voting majority could halt the development of atomic energy in Russia for the production of industrial power.

But to the query how, without the degree of international supervision envisaged in the Baruch proposals, there can be any effective guarantee against clandestine development of atomic weapons, the Professor has no reply. If the reasons for legitimate Russian suspicion of American motives are accepted, there must also be similar acceptance of American suspicions—suspicions, moreover, which are shared by the rest of the democratic world.

Since land forces might still be the decisive factor in any future war, it is precisely in this category that Russian might is concentrated. American superiority, such as it is, derives from what is presumably a yet a small stock of atom bombs which, the Professor himself has shown, do not constitute a decisive superiority. The Professor traces big-power suspicion and hostility in respect particularly of atomic energy to the use by America of the atom bomb in the war against Japan. While his contention that from the purely military viewpoint Japan had been defeated before the atom bombs were dropped is undeniably true, it does not follow that the Japanese, faced with ultimate defeat, would not have resorted to a last-ditch stand on their home islands if Hiroshima and Nagasaki had not been atom-bombed.

Professor Blackett's review performs the much-needed service of enumerating those points about which the Soviet Union may legitimately have a grievance. It is surprising and unfortunate that Soviet spokesmen have not put forward constructive and critical views in the impressive manner of Professor Blackett. There is always room for a readjustment of view, despite the majority in favour of the Baruch proposals, provided Russia shows a greater willingness for constructive and co-operative effort and a somewhat lessened capacity for offensive and flamboyant accusation.



It was a week of jubilee for New Delhi with Puja and Id holidays interspersed. Every one from Minister to menial was in real holiday mood. Government offices, banks and other establishments remained closed on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. But for a few pavements of refugees, Connaught Circus was a deserted appearance to the annoyance of social butterflies.

Tuesday was the climax of the Dusserah celebrations when thousands of people flocked to the famous Ram Lila grounds to witness the ten-headed demon king Ravana. A flashing arrow from Rama's bow set fire to tall cracker-stuffed effigies of Ravana and his brother, Kumbhakarna. That was the signal for tumultuous scenes of enthusiasm and joy, for it symbolised at once the triumph of good over evil. The significance was underlined by the Governor-General when he addressed the gathering and exhorted them to emulate the example of Rama's disciple, Hanuman, in the matter of serving God and man. The carnival spirit was highly infectious and the huge crowd made "whoopie". Rajaji was in the heart of this gay gathering and narrowly escaped injury from a cracker, which exploded as he passed by.

Less exuberant but more dignified were the Dusserah celebrations held by the Bengali residents at the Kali Bari temple and by Maharashtrians and Gujaratis jointly at the residence of Kaka Gadgil, the Minister for Mines, Works and Power. It was refreshing to see the rival claimants for Bombay united in observing the Hindu festival and incidentally paying homage to the greatest Gujarati after the Mahatma at the residence of a veteran Maharashtrian Congressman, and one hopes with Sardar Patel that this spirit of unity and nationalism would pervade not only Bombay but the entire Indian Union. Colour was added to the function by an interesting programme of music, dances and drama. Sudha and Kranti, daughters of Mr. Gadgil, gave a dance in their child-like simplicity, followed by one depicting a facet of the life of Shiva and Parvathy by the Mathur sisters of the Gandharva Maha Vidhyalaya. Garba dances and a piece from the Marathi drama "Samshaya Kallol" were other highlights of the function which concluded with the singing of "Jana Gana Mana." There was also an exhibition of paintings and photographs of J. D. Gondekalekar and Captain S. K. Koparkar.

Side by side with the Dusserah festivities, Muslims celebrated what is stated to be their best Id for some years. For the first time since the Delhi disturbances, about fifty thousand Muslims congregated at the Idgah and offered prayers which bore eloquent testimony to the sense of security felt by them. The Governor-General was also there to cheer them up. The secular spirit inspiring the Indian Union was further demonstrated by the fact that Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims mixed freely in these celebrations as citizens of free India.

Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, the new Naval Commander-in-Chief of India, created an excellent impression on local journalists as a man of transparent sincerity. While he was keen on making Indian Navy strong as early as possible, in view of the vulnerability of this peninsula, he showed himself to be a realist. I am inclined to remind the maritime people of South India of the impending visit of H.M.I.S. DELHI to some of their ports during her two-month cruise in the Arabian sea, the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal. The ship will also pay a courtesy visit to Ceylon, our island neighbour. Symbol of Indo-British collaboration, as Pandit Nehru put it aptly, the DELHI will also participate in exercises off Trincomalee.

K. S.

Where Atom Policy Went Wrong

Prof. P. M. S. Blackett
Writes in His
Latest Book:

THE origin of this book was an attempt to find a rational basis for a policy for the United Kingdom in relation to atomic energy. As one of the members of the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy, set up by the British Government in August 1945, I was officially concerned with the formulation of such a policy; but after the hopeful start represented by the Attlee-Truman-King declaration in November 1945, and the setting up of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in the following January, I found my views diverging more and more widely from those of my colleagues.

The conviction gradually grew in my mind that the policies of Britain and the United States—for, in essentials, the two seemed the same—were following paths which were as unrealistic in their military basis as they were likely to be disastrous in their political consequences.

Effect Of Atomic Bombs On Wars

ANALYSING the main source of my disagreements with my colleagues, I found them to lie, firstly, in a different view as to the probable effect of atomic bombs on wars between great continental powers; and, secondly, in a different estimate as to what was and what was not practical international politics in the world of today.

It seemed clear to me that where our policy had gone wrong was in failing to base the plans for the control of atomic energy not only on realistic military thinking but also on realistic political thinking. So it seemed necessary to write an account of the campaign for control with the object both of bringing to the surface its implicit military assumptions, and of attempting to forecast the effect of setting up such a control system on the future relations between the major Powers. What finally drove me to complete this heavy double task was the belief

that it was precisely through the artificial separation of the political from the military consequences of atomic energy, that Anglo-American policy had gone astray.

When the book was finished I found I had signally failed to write a recipe for action which would be likely at the present time to commend itself to the political taste of a majority of my countrymen. But for this state of the world, not I, must take the blame. Moreover, this lack may be all to the good, for the world has perhaps already had a plethora of recipes in the field of atomic energy, but too little diagnosis and too little understanding.

Prof. Blackett then introduces his subject by writing about the two extreme views on the effectiveness of the Atomic Bomb.

When an important new weapon is invented, one finds opinion as to its effectiveness lying anywhere between the two extremes of what may be called the radical and the conservative views. The radical view, that the new weapon (be it cross-bow or atomic bomb) has revolutionized warfare and made all other arms obsolete, is usually supported by a few military enthusiasts and by many amateurs. On the other extreme lies the conservative view, popular in most military circles, that each new weapon is only one more new weapon, and will eventually be absorbed, as in innumerable cases in the past, into the practice

THE BOOK: "Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy" is a brilliant and masterly exposition of a subject of vital interest to the world. We are starting today a serialised version of extracts from this book, which its publishers (Turnstile Press, London) claim will startle politicians and strategists. The book characterises the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan as being "not so much the last military act of the Second World War as the first act of the cold diplomatic war with Russia now in progress."

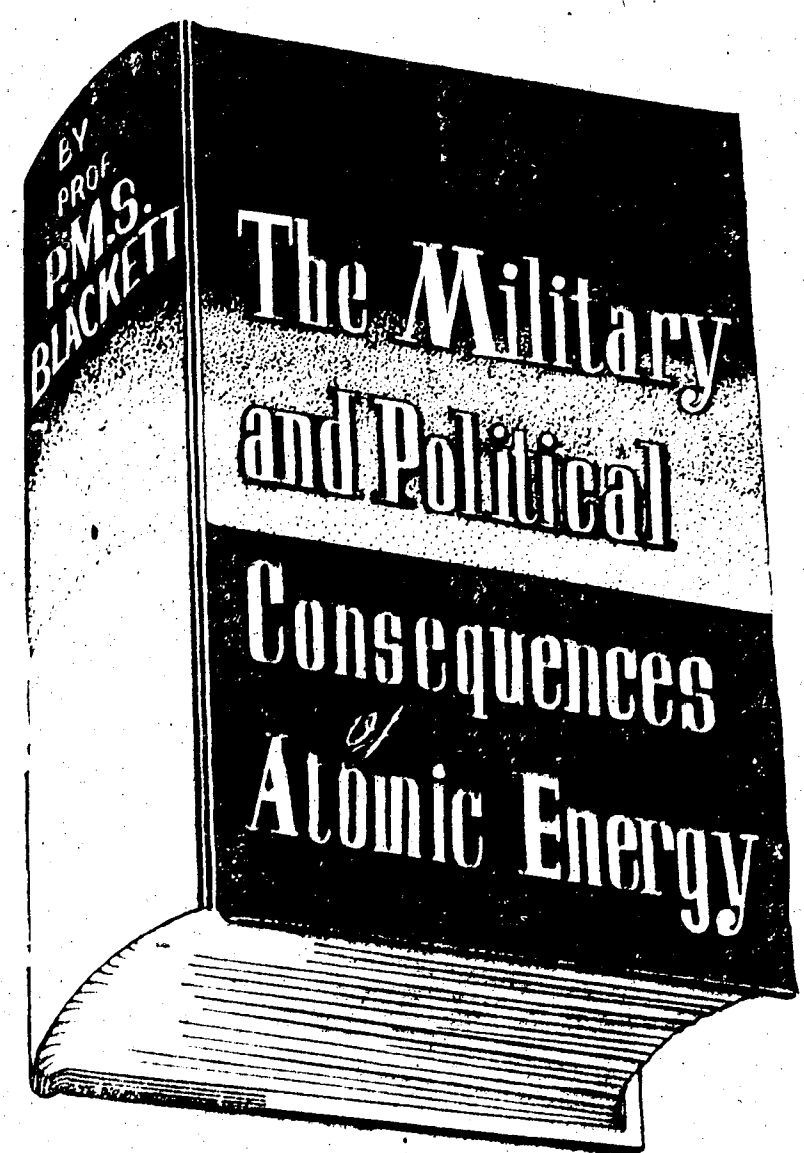
THE AUTHOR: Prof. P. M. S. Blackett is one of the world's leading atomic physicists. Whilst working with Lord Rutherford, he obtained the first photograph of the transmutation of an atom. He is at present engaged in an advisory capacity by the Government of India. He was a member of the advisory committee on atomic energy set up by the British Government in 1945 and abolished in January last, and his views are known to have diverged widely from those of his colleagues.

of the military art, without essentially changing its character. Somewhere, of course, between these extremes, the truth must lie.

The evidence which will be presented here later shows that many of the proposals for the control of atomic energy, in particular the Lillenthal and Baruch Plans, appear to have been based on a superficial appreciation of the effectiveness of atomic bombs in wars between Great Powers. In the writer's view almost irretrievable harm has resulted from this error.

As will be shown, three million tons of ordinary bombs were dropped by British and American aircraft in the European and Pacific wars. Since one atomic bomb of the 1945 type produces (as will be shown later) about the same material destruction as 2,000 tons of ordinary bombs, it is certain that a very large number of atomic bombs would be needed to defeat a great nation by bombing alone.

The Allied bombing offensive in the Second World War has been far more scientifically documented than most other aspects of the war. It is a significant fact that the excellent and comprehensive reports of the bombing of Germany and Japan, published by the United States Bombing Survey, have had only a limited circulation in America and have neither been reprinted in England, nor attracted Press attention. This lack of notice, especially in England, is certainly connected with



the contents of the reports, which prove the surprising ineffectiveness, as judged by their impact on German morale and industrial production, of the bombing attacks on German cities which constituted such an important part of the British war effort. In startling contrast is the enormous publicity lavished on all aspects of the atomic bomb, and of its effects at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Atom Bomb No Decider

THE most important deduction is that any future war in which America and Russia are the chief contestants—and this clearly is the only major war which needs serious consideration—would certainly not be decided by atomic bombing alone. On the contrary, a long-drawn-out struggle over much of Europe and Asia, involving millions of strong land armies, vast military casualties and widespread civil war, would be inevitable.

It is one of the main themes of this book that the acceptance of this thesis undermines the logical basis for the plans for the control of atomic energy which have been recommended by a majority of the member nations of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission.

Neglect of the broad lessons of the Second World War is not the only charge that can be levelled against much contemporary discussion of atomic bombs; another serious lapse, in the writer's view, has been the failure to take fully into account the role that atomic energy may play as a source of industrial power, especially in countries such as the Soviet Union, which before the war had a much smaller energy production per head of her population than the United States of America. It will be shown that the marked tendency in America and, to a less extent, in Great Britain to play down the possibilities of atomic power has an understandable origin in the already adequate, or nearly adequate, supplies of energy from coal, oil and water power, in these advanced industrial countries.

The Commission's Plan And Russia

WHEN we come to consider the implications of the Atomic Energy Commission's (A.E.C.) plan for the control of atomic energy, we shall find that it could, and in all probability would, have led to a slowing down, or even to a halt, to the exportation by Russia of atomic energy for industrial purposes. The theme that atomic bombs are so dangerous that humanity should be prepared to forego the

advantages of atomic power in order to save itself from destruction by atomic bombs is becoming energetically canvassed today in America. The well-established, but often forgotten, fact that the standard of life of the citizens of a country is closely dependent on its supplies of energy, makes it evident that a nation which already has achieved a high energy production, and so a high standard of life, is likely to be much less interested in increasing its energy supplies than a nation with a lower energy supply and so a lower standard of life.

The American plan was hailed by the more restrained in most of the Western world as a great contribution to world peace, or as one of the most generous political gestures of all time, and by the more enthusiastic as a seven-league stride into Utopia. Russia's rejection of the plan has earned her unlimited abuse, and has been widely held to have been a major cause of the rapid deterioration in the relations between the Great Powers during the last two years. If the argument of this book has validity, some of these judgments require modification.

Atomic Energy And The Veto

AMONG the several points of difference between the majority of the nations on the A.E.C. and Soviet Russia, the question of whether the veto should operate in relation to matters concerning atomic energy was probably decisive in producing the final deadlock. Mr. Baruch, in putting forward the official American proposals in June, 1946, placed great emphasis on the necessity of revising the Charter of the United Nations so as to free the infliction of punishment for violation of an atomic energy agreement from the limitation imposed by the unanimity rule. The Soviet Union energetically opposed any such alteration.

In April, 1948, the deadlock on the A.E.C. became so clear that the discussions were effectively brought to an end, thus terminating for the time being the attempt to obtain international control of atomic energy. It is of the highest interest to note that shortly afterwards, Mr. Marshall, United States Secretary of State, told the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee that he was opposed to any scheme for amending the Charter. He was in favour of abolition of the veto in the Pacific settlement of disputes, but the veto was necessary where acts of aggression were concerned. He is reported to have added: "We do not want our manpower and our strength committed by a two-thirds vote."

(To be continued)
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Salient Features Of Our Draft Constitution

by
S. K. Raghavendra Rao

WHEN the Constituent Assembly of India first met on December 9, 1946, it was not a sovereign body. Its freedom to frame any constitution it chose was subject to numerous restrictions and conditions. The Cabinet Mission had laid down the basic principles on which the constitution had to be framed and which the Assembly was bound to follow.

But by February 20, 1947, a revolutionary change had come over the land which compelled the British to change their plan. As a result of this the British took their decision to quit India. Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act in July, 1947. The country was divided into India and Pakistan with a Constituent Assembly for each and with freedom to frame any constitution it liked. That was how the Indian Constituent Assembly acquired sovereign status.

On August 29, 1947, a Drafting Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Ambedkar to prepare a draft of the constitution. It is this draft that we are going to discuss now.

Secular State

IN the preparation of the draft, the draftsmen have borrowed much from the constitutions of the United States of America, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Irish Free States. But the draft owes most to, and is in fact mostly an imitation of, the Government of India Act of 1935 which the Congress had condemned in the strongest terms.

As contemplated in the draft, India will be a sovereign democratic Republic. It is also intended to be non-communal and secular. Lately Dr. Ambedkar had brought a motion to substitute the word "State" for "Republic". His contention was that the word "Republic" would stand in the way of India continuing as a member of the British Commonwealth and that she would lose the benefits of such membership.

The Union of India as contemplated possesses the general characteristics of a federation. Firstly, the citizens owe a double allegiance—in certain respects to a Central Government and in certain others to their provincial units. Secondly, the constitution affords a guarantee against encroachment by the Centre on the provincial sphere. Thirdly, there is a Supreme Court which acts as interpreter and guardian of the constitution.

Two Defects

HOWEVER, there are two defects in the draft constitution inconsistent with the principle and spirit of federation. Article 226 empowers the Union Parliament to transfer any item in the State list to the concurrent list if the matter involves national emergency without amending the constitution, for which the consent of the State Legislature is necessary. The proper course ought to be to amend the constitution and get the subject in question transferred with the consent of the State Legislature. If an emergency of such a magnitude demanding the interference of the Central Government occurs, the Union Government could as well make use of the "emergency provisions" specially provided for in the constitution. Secondly, the Indian States will

less than 35 years of age and qualified for election as member of the House of the People in the Union Parliament. He is not eligible for re-election and is removable by impeachment.

There will be a Vice-President, elected by members of both Houses of the Union Parliament. He will be "ex-officio" Chairman of the Upper House in the Council of States. He holds office for five years and officiates for the President in case of the latter's casual absence. He is liable to be removed for incapacity or want of confidence.

Disparate Units

"A FEDERATION" as Venkatarangaya admirably puts it, "in which some units are of one status and some others are of a different status cannot work smoothly and efficiently. A federation of disparate units based on inequality of status is not the kind of federation that we should create, but it is such a federation that will come into existence under the draft constitution. All the units must occupy the same status and have similar forms of government if the federation is to work smoothly and efficiently."

If by a secular state is meant a state whose central features is the distribution of the services of the state among the citizens in accordance with their individual needs and not on consideration of caste, community, religion, or race, some provisions in the draft constitution are inconsistent with that conception. Article 10 (1) states: "There shall be equality of opportunities for all citizens in matters of employment under the State. But by clause (3) of the same Article the State reserves for itself the right to keep aside posts in favour of backward communities. Also, Article 296 states that in making appointments the claims of minority communities shall be taken into consideration."

Inconsistent

GAIN, Articles 202 and 204 provide for reservation of seats to Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Indian Christian communities, while Article 298 provides for the appointment of a special officer of minorities for the Union and each of the Governors' States. These officers are to investigate all matters relating to safeguards and report on their working. To call the Indian State a non-communal secular state and yet to provide for constitutional safeguards on a religious and communal basis would be a contradiction in terms. These provisions are fundamentally inconsistent with the conception of a non-communal secular state.

The executive power of the Indian Union will formally vest in an indirectly elected nominal head called the President. Elected once in five years by both Houses of the Union Parliament and the elected members of the Legislatures of the States. He is also the supreme Commander of the Indian defence forces.

For election as President one should be a citizen of India of not

President's Powers

WITH the enormous power granted to him the President can, if he takes it into his head, encroach on the decision of the Cabinet and compete with it for leadership of the Legislature. He can ask Parliament to reconsider any Bill pending before it. If this were to go against the declared policy of the ministers it will result in conflict.

The Union Legislature is called Parliament and consists of two Houses—the Council of States and the House of the People. The Council is an indirectly elected body. It is a permanent body not subject to dissolution, one-third of the members retiring every two years.

The members of the House of the People are chosen directly on the basis of adult franchise. The House sits for five years unless dissolved sooner.

It is strange that the authors of the constitution have thought of a double chamber system necessary while its value is doubted by some prominent writers on political science. Professor Laski observes: "The single chamber and magnificent legislative assembly serves best to answer the needs of the modern state."

Supreme Court

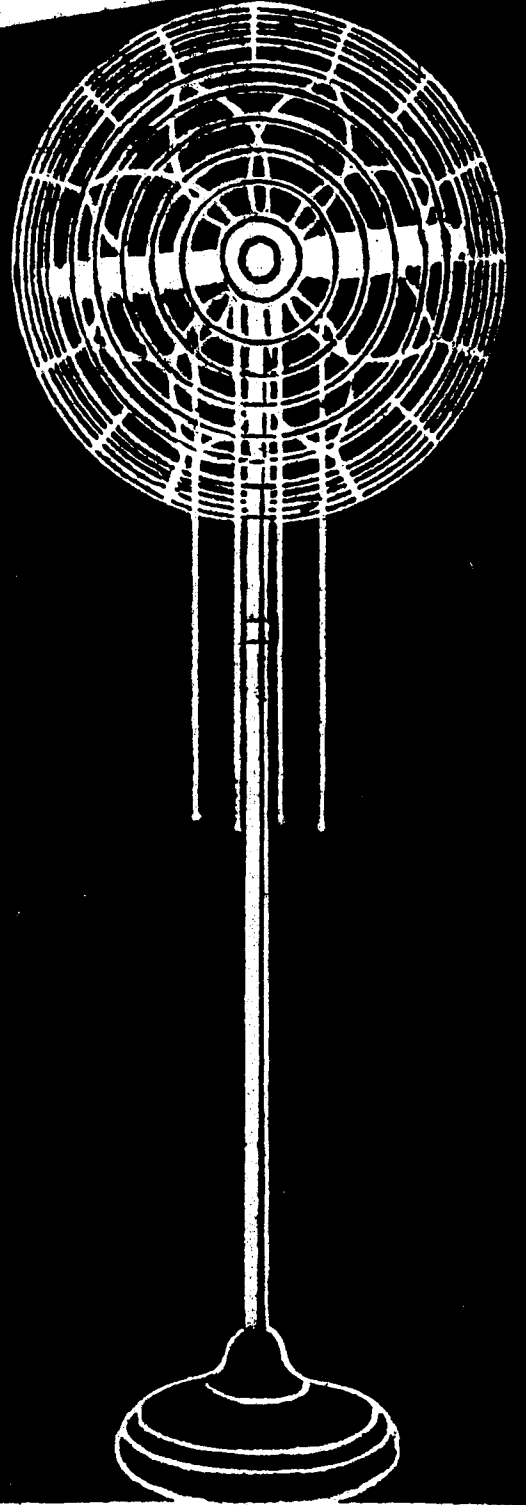
THE Supreme Court is the highest court of justice under the constitution. It consists of a Chief Justice and fewer than seven other Justices. All of them are appointed by the President.

In case of national emergency i.e. when the security of India is threatened by war or domestic violence, the President can proclaim a state of emergency and Parliament acquires the powers to make laws on any subjects in the State List. The result is that the federal Government converts itself into a unitary Government and the federating units lose their autonomy. The President is all powerful and need not in any way care for the Legislature. A parallel to this existed in the Weimar Constitution, which finally resulted in dictatorship.

These are the salient features of the draft constitution of the Union Government of Free India. In the formation of the Central Government, the authors of the constitution have succeeded in creating a strong Centre while maintaining the diversity of India. The Drafting Committee have evidently tried to steer the middle course between reducing the President to a mere figurehead and giving him powers, similar to those of the American President, which with India's lack of democratic experience, will be an invitation to dictatorship.

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