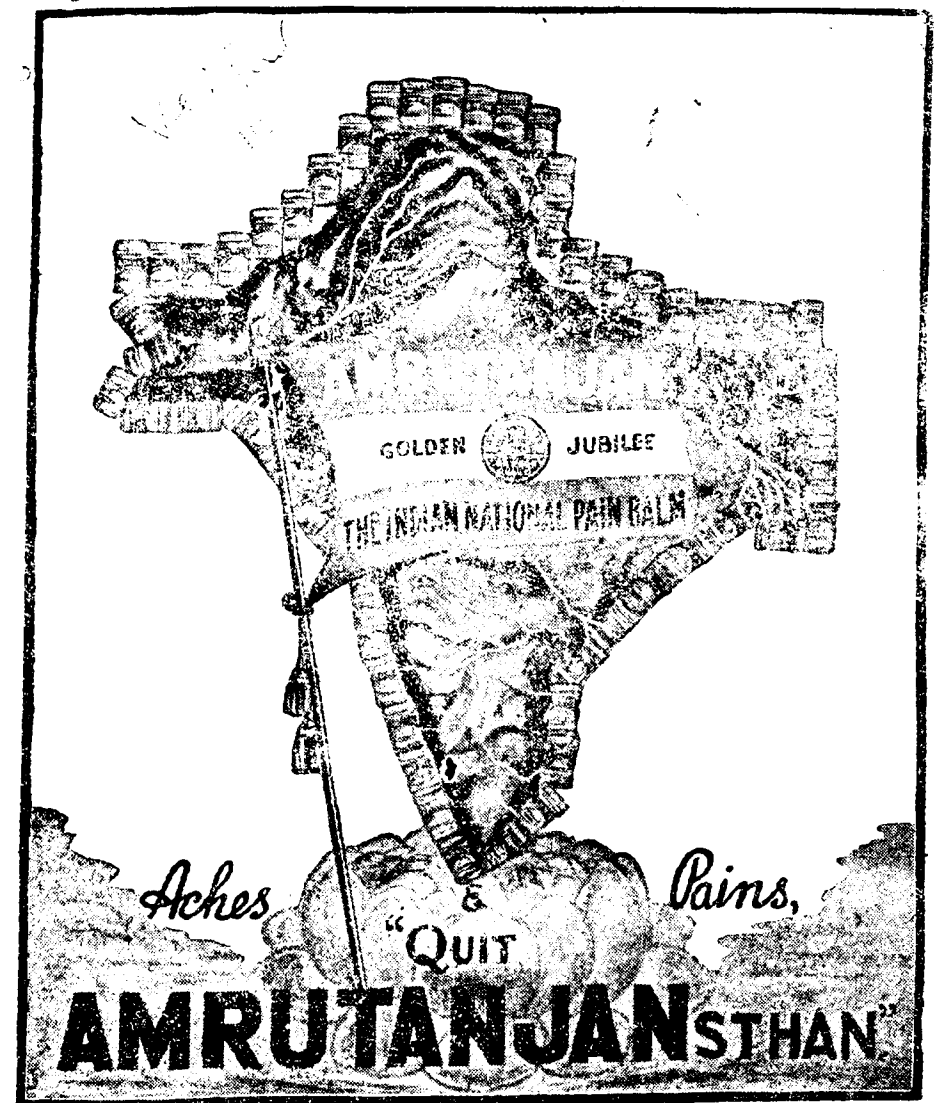




The HUB of ASIA
and eventually of
The One World

Krishna

JUPITERS

Manam

THE MOST MAGNIFICENT
PSYCHOLOGICAL PICTURE OF THE YEAR?

Because of the
SECRETS...
PRODUCTION MAGNIFICENCE
UNPARALLELED SCREEN MAGIC
NEVER-DATING MUSIC
above all its appeal
ESPECIALLY to the LADIES!

JAN 14 to
THESE ARE THE RELEASE DATE
YOU WILL REMEMBER FOR EVER
AT
GAUTU
CINEMA HOUSE SOUTH
BRIDGE ROAD, CHENNAI

SELECTED BY
SUNDAY AND MONDAY
THE CENTRAL

SWATANTRA

VOL. IV, NO. 48.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1950.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
On The Cover—Hollywood Star Errol Flynn (See Page 47).	
Frontispiece	4
Editorial Comment	5
Sotto Voce—By Vighneswara	6
Nehru's Chicago Address	8
A Tale From Tibet (Short Story) —By M. Krishnamoorti	9
The Story Of The Cub—By V. Subramaniam	13
Educational Qualifications For Legislators—By Seshagiri Rao	15
The "Descent" Of Man—By Sir Ribton Meredith, I.C.S.	17
The Fifth Freedom—By A. Sita Devi	20
Pandit Nehru In America—By V. Kalyanasundaram	22
Manchurian Mystery I—By Andrew Roth	23
Foreign Ministers Meet At Colombo—By H. V. Hodson	25
Model American Kitchen	26
Caste—By S. Krishniah	29
The Teaching Of Jesus—A Socia- list Message—By Richard Chirupthembi	31
Planning Cities Of Tomorrow —By Emile C. Schurmacher	33
New Delhi Diary	37
The Natyakala Conference—By "Artlover"	39
The New Year (Azad Qalam)—By K. A. Abbas	41
Sidelights—By Saka	44
The Third Test—By V. P. Raman	45
Film Fare—By Sirocco	47
Letters To The Editor	48

Drawing largest crowd in its 3rd week from today

AT ASHOK

(41, Sydenhams' Road, Periamet, Opp. Corporation Stadium)

MEHBOOB'S MASTER CREATION

ANDAZ

Starring Top Rank Stars:

**NARGIS, DILIP KUMAR,
RAJ KAPOOR, V. H. DESAI**

AND

CUCKOO



Daily 3 shows: 3, 6-15 and 9-30 p.m.

RATES:

Rs. 2-8-0 and 1-14-0 (balcony)

Rs. 1-4-0, As. 15, 10 & 6

Advance booking for Rs. 2-8-0 & 1-14-0 classes
between 9-30 & 11-30 a.m. daily



SWATANTRA

VOL. IV
No. 48

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1949

ISSUED
WEEKLY

INDO-PAKISTAN DEADLOCK

IT is reported that Pakistan will soon release the five lakh bales of raw jute, purchased and paid for by India before the devaluation of the Indian rupee, which she had been wrongfully holding up for over three months. Two high officials of the Pakistan Government have explained that this decision follows from the removal of the misunderstanding which had caused the hold-up. But the rest of the world will not fail to see that Pakistan woke up to the equity of India's claim only after India suspended deliveries of coal to Pakistan. It would be unfortunate if trade with Pakistan is to be conducted, under the shadow of economic sanctions. In June last when a trade agreement covering the exchange of essential goods was signed the hope was expressed that the agreement might serve as the precursor of a fuller understanding which would render free and unfettered trade possible between the two Dominions. That was not to be. In September came devaluation all round, with Pakistan alone among the sterling area countries deciding to plough a lonely furrow. As the relation between the Pakistan and Indian rupees was governed by a separate currency agreement, Pakistan's decision not to fall in line with India and to maintain the parity of the two rupees not only tore up the basis of the monetary agreement but brought the trade between the two countries to a complete standstill. Assuming that the Pakistan Government felt that in their country's interest the best course for them was to keep the value of the Pakistan rupee at a high level, the right thing for them would have been

to seek an arrangement with India by which the transition to the new relation between the two rupees could be rendered smooth. On the contrary the Pakistan leaders acted as if they were in an unassailable position and India would have to yield all along the line. The unexpressed hope was that overnight Pakistan's balances in India could be swelled by 47 per cent and higher prices in Indian rupees could be secured for Pakistan's raw jute and cotton. India naturally would not oblige and the result has been a complete cessation of trade between the two Dominions, except for such smuggling as might take place across the land frontiers, since September 20, 1949.

There can be no doubt that India's firmness in refusing to deal with Pakistan on her terms has greatly upset Karachi's calculations. The jute industry in East Bengal has been caught up in a major crisis from which the newly set up Jute Board has been unable to rescue the growers. Pakistan's cotton has fared better thanks to large-scale purchases by speculative interests who are reckoning on a devaluation of the Pakistan rupee in the near future when they expect to make a sizeable profit. Pakistan's so-called favourable balance of trade, on which her leaders had reckoned for the maintenance of the value of the over-valued Pakistan rupee, it is now known, is nothing more than her favourable balance with India which has vanished during the past three months. With all other countries she has an adverse balance. Whether in the circumstances she would be able to maintain the present high

Photograph taken on the occasion of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, inaugurating the Twelfth Indian Political Science Conference, held in the City recently.

Photo by S. A. Padmanabhan.



exchange rate for long is problematical. At any rate it is already clear from the trend of prices in Pakistan that the price to be paid for a high exchange rate is a heavy dose of deflation and a steep fall in prices all round. That will undoubtedly hit her agriculturists. There are of course advantages in respect of imports, particularly of capital goods. But as her capacity to import will depend on the level of her exports, except for what she may get by way of loans from the U. S. or release of sterling balances, it is by no means certain that over-valuation of the Pakistan rupee will stimulate a flood of capital imports from abroad. Meanwhile, the fact that exchange controls have had to be drastically tightened up shows that the authorities are faced with a serious problem of preventing flight of capital—for, the obvious effect of the Government's decision is to make the Pakistan rupee more valuable externally than internally.

Whatever may be the future of the Pakistan rupee, it is ridiculous that differences over exchange rates should lead to virtually an economic war between the two countries. A frank discussion between the two Governments could have easily paved the way for an equitable solution if neither side had the idea of trying to over-reach the other. India probably erred in not taking the decision to

devalue her rupee in consultation with Pakistan. The latter certainly miscalculated in imagining that she could retain the old value of the Pakistan rupee in the face of general devaluation in the sterling area without serious consequences on internal prices and exports. The International Monetary Fund, before which Pakistan's application for membership is pending, may settle the question of the exchange value of the Pakistan rupee. But irrespective of the Fund's decision, it is essential that a new financial and trade agreement should be concluded between Pakistan and India on a mutually satisfactory basis if the present drifting apart of the two Dominions is not to lead to permanent distortion of the economies of the two countries. It is ridiculous that Pakistan should seek to import coal all the way from Poland for East Pakistan's railways instead of getting it from across the border. Similarly it is not good economy that India should seek to secure from East Africa or Egypt cotton which could be had more easily from her neighbour, Pakistan. It would be a great pity if long-range economic sniping continues to thwart a rapprochement between the two Dominions and results in the building up of two mutually exclusive economies in what was barely three years ago one country.

Sotto Voce

Musical Squalls

MY most vivid recollections of childhood days in a village are of the enviable ease with which card-players vigorously debating the inner points of the game moved from words to blows. I find that our musi-

cians are not quite so ready with their fists, but that may be merely a sign of the degeneration of the times. Anybody who attended the Expert Committee discussions of the Music Aca-



demy cannot but have been struck by the readiness with which they let fly at each other or the splendid irrelevance of much of their indignation. Tan Sen sang *Deepak*, we are told, burning himself to vindicate his art. Our savants need no such excuse for self-ignition.

Being a democratic body the Academy settles *raga lakshanas* by vote. Its theorisings probably do not influence current practice widely. This may or may not be a good thing. It all depends upon whether you think that whatever is is best. The framers of the Hindu Code argue that Hindu law should be made not merely to conform to current practice but also to give present tendencies the reins. Even so, our musical progressives, who seem to be in a majority on the Academy, argue that *raga lakshanas* should be redefined according to the practice of our foremost musicians. These by proposition are those whom the box office crowns.

It is hardly surprising that the decisions of one year are brought up for review a year or two later when probably the tide of fashion has set in the contrary direction. And the new decisions taken can have no more finality than those which they supersede. Meanwhile, for lack of a rudder, music is rapidly becoming a subordinate branch of entertainment. And the hurdy-gurdy-men, moving between the twin poles of popular acclaim and their own untutored impulses, end up by exalting the lowest common measure of intelligence as the standard of reference.

A democratic art is a contradiction in terms. An art may be widely popular, as for instance the marionettes were in the south even in the early years of the century. But mastery in it depends as much on painstaking and prolonged practice, careful apprenticeship and exacting standards as in the more sophisticated arts. And informed appreciation of the one as of the other requires almost as much native taste and aptitude as does the attainment of executive skill. A superficially pleasing voice and a pretty talent for imitation can no more make a good singer than an imposing presence and a phenomenal

memory for case-law can make a great jurist.

An untutored voice weathers pretty rapidly, and the parrot-singer begins to pall. On the contrary a difficult voice can, provided the root of the matter is in the man, be kneaded into shape by constant and wise application. And if he begin by laying a stock of fundamental musical knowledge and aim constantly at integrating it with practice, in time it may lead to a ripeness before which your "native wood-note wild" is as the grating on seranbell pipes. It is on the practice of such masters of the art, a Varadachari, a Vasudeva-char, a Subbarama Bhagavata that any systematisation of knowledge must build, not on the chirrupings of the cicadas, your catch-penny favourites of a day.

In choosing Vidwan Mudikondan Venkatramia Iyer as the President of this year, the Academy honoured sterling worth. He is in the authentic tradition of which the giants above named are such superb exemplars. His task in keeping the flag of true music flying is even more difficult than theirs. For he belongs to a later generation which is fast allowing itself to be submerged by the rising tides of musical illiteracy. His conduct of the discussions must have come to many as a surprising revelation of mettle. That he and such as he are not given opportunities to display their erudition, technical accomplishment and mastery of musical form before a larger audience cannot but be deplored. It betrays an excessive consideration for cash returns which is not conducive to musical health.

Singing in *vilamba kala* and in *mandra sthayee* is become almost a lost art. Reputed vidwans seriously maintain that the huge audiences of today have no patience with slow tempo and simply cannot hear what is sung in the lower octave. And yet we have still with us representatives of the Dhanam school of singing Kshetragnya Padams and faithful disciples of Patnam Subramanya Iyer and Poochi Iyengar who can give us a taste of the art of those masters.

Those of us who had the good fortune to hear the Titans recall how a thousand devout listeners remained suspended in wordless ecstasy as, singing like the bee in the *mandra*, they

drew honey out of your soul and tears to your eyes. The rearing of a musical elite is the first duty we owe to the most secret of the arts.

VIGHNESWARA

NEHRU'S CHICAGO ADDRESS

WE wonder how many Americans were struck by the simple honesty and depth of Pandit Nehru's talk, broadcast from Chicago. To us, it seems no exaggeration to say that it made comparisons of the Indian Prime Minister's mode of thinking with that of any other major political contemporary utterly impossible.

Introducing the speaker, the Governor of Illinois spoke with sympathy of Nehru's years in prison on behalf of a cause identical in spirit with the cause of the American Revolution. Nehru began his extemporary remarks by replying that the Governor's sympathy was "rather wasted," for does not the highest human happiness lie in the sort of fulfillment one gains from supporting without reservation the cause closest to his heart?

Nehru referred to the extravagant compliments paid him by distinguished Americans. He protested this praise, although with complete graciousness, saying that such exaltation could not be good for anyone. He implied that to be the object of excessive flattery makes a man a poor psychiatric risk.

On the question of his mission in the United States, he acknowledged that most people have supposed he had come to make some sort of a deal for India with the American Government. His real reason for coming, he said, was because there were various things he wished to learn from America, and not because he sought some political or economic end. Speaking personally, he said he did not want the United States to "do things for India." It would not help the Indian people, he said, to have the tremendous task of economic and political integration performed for them by some outside power. The true expla-

nation for India's relative success, thus far, he suggested, is that she has earned every bit of it herself. What people do for themselves they are better able to understand and preserve.

Nehru gave evidence of being proud that he had never sought a political career, suggesting that an absence of political ambition makes a man independent of the pressures and compromises which beset the office-seeker. Point for reflection: Is there any doubt that men who keep political objectives secondary in their lives are the very ones who preserve the objectivity and humanity most needed in the sphere of political action?

Again with pride, Nehru spoke of the uniqueness of the Gandhian revolution, saying that the achievement of Indian independence was not as important as the method by which it was gained. The ending of physical conflict, as all historians should know, amounts to little if the psychological antagonism remains to burst forth at a later time. He called India's non-violent revolution one of the most significant experiments ever undertaken—concluded successfully by the establishment of good will on both sides.

Can any reader recall a similar speech under similar auspices by the head of a modern State? Nehru's sentiments and reasoning are not new, of course, to the American tradition. The tone of his address will be familiar to readers of Jefferson, Washington, Madison, Paine, and Lincoln. But these men lived a long time ago. Perhaps India, with all her poverty, is not so unfortunate; perhaps she will some day be grateful for her freedom from excessive wealth and the materialistic spirit which wealth usually engenders.—MANAS.

Short Story

A TALE FROM TIBET

By M. Krishnamoorthi

THIS is a tale from Tibet, that land of mystery.

Once upon a time there was a sage, sitting serene under whatever tree it is that spreads itself out generously in that highland of bleak desolation and eternal snows, and performing penance day in and day out. And the animals played around him and even the carnivora came to him as to a trusted friend and he patted them gently on their heads and they went away smirking with satisfaction. Even men, women and children came to the spreading whatever-it-was tree and they worshipped him with the deep reverence with which we all worship money.

It so happened one day that the Sage, in his infinite wisdom, saw that the Time Had Come, not to talk of many things like shoes, ships, sealing wax, cabbages and kings, but to undertake an act of supreme creation which would leave its indelible mark on the sublunar world. In fact, he felt like the learned Brahmin who was hurrying home to his wife but gave shape and breath *en route* to the famed Emperor of Hindu mythology, Salivahan. He looked around, and behold! there was a damsel sporting in his presence, under the kind shade of that tree, sublimely unconscious of the presence of the hoary Sage and his penance.

All of a sudden the Sage came down on her like the Wolf on the Fold; and made as if to embrace her. And she, quite willing to be embraced, but by a youth appropriate to her age, shrank back from the Hairy Ape, who was, I am afraid, even more stinking than the average Tibetan who, I believe, cannot afford to bathe more than twice or thrice a year. The last time the Sage had shaved and bathed, I am told on the best of authorities, was When He Was Very Young (and now he was quite an old man though he liked to believe that he was still fit as a fiddle and as young as Peter

Pan) and, naturally, even that Willing Damsel drew her line at something short of that stinking specimen of sagehood. She resisted; he attempted; and he failed and she went home in a hurry and told Mummy all about it and was completely surprised at the effect on her mother.

"Wretch, dolt, ass, idiot," shouted the irate mother, "Are you not old enough to know better? Know you not what a great Sage that One is? Are you not old enough to be a mother; and what better father could your child have than that Venerable One, whose wisdom is infinite, whose piety is world-famous, whose..."

"O, Ma! stop it," cried the daughter, "Not that foul-smelling wretch! Indeed I know better. Tyan Shun wants me and Hyan Chun and..."

"Stop, wretch," shouted the mother, "Don't talk to me about your lovers, you shameless hussy—and you know you do not have even half as many as I had when I was your age—I am talking to you about That Sage." And the emphasis on That and Sage was so terrific that I've had to put them down with capitals. "Let us go back to that Great One and fall at his feet and beg his forgiveness and ask him to take you back to his arms." And the old woman dragged her sobbing daughter unwilling and threw herself at his feet and threw her daughter also down, even though the younger woman objected very vociferously to that degrading process; youth is always like that, not knowing the worth of Sagy Age.

"Lord," said the old woman, "Forgive her for she knew not what she did."

"Arise, my children," said the Sage, in the unctuous tones which only sages know how to use, and those who pretend to be sages, "There is nothing to forgive. Stupidity is a crime which you cannot help, it comes so naturally to you. If your daughter had only been quiet and willing, that is if you

had brought her up in the proper manner, telling her of the need for being respectful towards Sages and doing whatever the Sages want her to do, she would have become the mother of the greatest man on this earth and she would have become a great lady herself. The stars in their courses had reached such a position, and the planets were most of them in their ascendant that I felt it my duty to produce such a son as would have led a glorious life and added to the genuine happiness of mankind, like a second Buddha. That alas!" added the Sage, with a sudden snarl of too-human ire, "was not to be, thanks to the impenetrable stupidity of your ignorant daughter whom I have seen sporting in the arms of Tyan Shun, Hyan Chun and..."

"Stop, you old goat," shouted the angry daughter, quite forgetting to weep, "You old snooper, you ancient..."

And she would undoubtedly have gone on to give you and me and the rest of the world the benefit of her opinion of that Ancient Mariner if a stinging box on her ear from her mother had not dissolved all that unborn great literature in howls of pure and unadulterated pain.

"Don't be too harsh on the little one," said the Sage, scarcely bothering to hide his satisfaction at the course of events, "She is more to be pitied than to be thrashed (though heaven knows she has given us extreme provocation) and you must find another father for her son—or her daughter. I have tried and failed."

"Lord," sobbed the mother, prostrating herself before the Sage, "They say it is better late than never. Can't you oblige us now?"

The Sage caught a glance of the girl's determined face and pushed back all the natural instincts of an old goat and said, sorrowfully, "It is too late now, my good woman. I would like to oblige but, as you know, the call of the flesh has no attraction for me and I only wanted to do my duty by the world but your daughter's crass ignorance has spoiled my chance and that Moment of Moments has passed and the incarnation of a great soul as a son of mine is not to be. In fact, at that very moment two

asses have mated and a great ass will be born instead of a great man. And now," added the Sage briskly, "Be off with you two. I've already wasted my time in talking to two ignoramuses like you and I want to get back to my business which, as you know, is penance." And he closed his eyes and the sorrowing old woman and the happy young woman went back home, roamin' in the gloamin'. This is the tale they tell in Tibet though I suspect they do not tell it quite in the manner in which I have told it.

But that is not the truth.

I shall tell you now what really happened. What happened was this.

It was not two asses which had mated but an ass, a She-ass to be exact, and that Sage. You should know by now that sages are strange folk and can do many things which you and I cannot, or may not like to do. So, as the girl could not be had and his flesh, alas, was only too willing and had been roused to the heights of passion by a too-close inquiry into the movements of the stars and the planets, the Sage looked around him, after the girl had fled from his embraces, for some substitute and the She-ass was the only female vessel available. He worked his will upon the poor creature, which deserved a better fate, and went back to his accustomed seat under the tree, where he was when the old woman, as you know, brought her unwilling daughter back. In due course the ass gave birth to a monstrosity which, however, bore a close enough resemblance to humanity as to pass off for a man. And I must say that the Sage followed the education and career of his son with care and interest and sent him off to India, that Tibetan's El Dorado, to make his living and to finish his higher education. Some years passed and the son, now a mature thirty years and more of age, decided to visit his father and came home to Tibet for that purpose.

He kissed the dust off his ancient parent's feet—he never knew who his mother was, fortunately—and asked "Father, what shall I do next?" And the Sage pondered awhile, like the Comet de St. Germain before recounting an experience of his some supposed hundreds of years back, and finally spake thus and thus:



Winter

Old grandma warms her hands at the fire in the little earthen pot. The cold wind blows through the bare branches of the trees as they scatter their last leaves. Along the winding, dusty lane a bullock-cart creaks and jolts, while its driver draws his chuddar tight against the penetrating cold. On the road and in the hut, in the fields and under the trees, everyone looks forward to the warmth and comfort of a cup of tea. There is no refreshment so universal, so cheap, so satisfying and so easy to get.



Tea

Any Time is Tea Time

CREATED BY THE INDIAN TEA MARKET EXPANSION BOARD

"My son," said he, "From my seat below this kind tree I have been watching every single action of yours and my powers are such, and so deep have I drunk of the Ancient Wisdom, that I even know of every thought that has passed through your alert mind all these years, and is passing at this very moment. You are very clever and, what is better, you are completely unscrupulous. You know how to hide your feelings and you are even more cold-blooded than the proverbial viper which men too often take to their bosoms. You are an expert in revenging your private wrongs on purely public grounds. With an air of innocence and a front of brass you know how to create mischief and know how to hunt with the hounds while running with the unfortunate hares. You know how to add to your private fortunes by exploiting public causes. You are an expert blackmailer and you can fawn upon those in power and stamp upon those below you. The setting off of one person against another, one party against another, and making good yourself from the ensuing conflict and confusion comes naturally to you. You know how to exploit public opinion for your private benefit. You are a completely selfish person and blissfully unconscious of it all the time during which, quite often, you think you are being of service to humanity. You are thoroughly jealous and completely unreliable. You make promises only with the intention of breaking them. You are careful, clever and very often mistake craft for good nature. Never are you guilty of fine emotions and enthusiasm and idealism. You are a colossal humbug and even Titus Oates must take lessons from you. You know how to teach others, to sneer without yourself sneering, you are willing to wound but afraid to strike...."

"Pope," murmured the son of the Sage.

"I know, I know," said the Old One, irritably, "Of course it is Pope but do not the famous lines on Atticus hit you off to a T?"

"Father!" protested the Son.

"Shut up," replied the Sage, "It is a wise father that knoweth his son; and, as you know full well, I am nothing if I am not wise. Don't try to hoodwink me. I know you for what you are and, while I entirely disapprove of what you are, an unprincipled scoundrel and rogue, I yet cannot help admiring your dexterity in cheating all the world all the time, a thing which poor old Abraham Lincoln, I believe, said one could not succeed in doing. I am very near my end now and, though born of an ass you are still my son and I wish to give you advice which will bring you worldly success even if it may assure for you a place in hell at the same time. Anyhow, you are far too advanced on that downward path for me to see with my own eyes that brilliant monster I have given breath and shape to. I am about to die. Lean down near my ear and I shall tell you what you should do in this world." Eagerly the son leaned down and the Old Sage whispered with his last breath into his son's ear and fell back dead. With a sneer on his lips the son kicked the corpse aside with characteristic callousness; but he followed the wise advice tendered to him by his expiring father and profited well by it.

He became the first Indian (—). (Here, dear Editor and dear Reader, fill in the blank with any profession which is your *bete noire*!) And the whole brood has taken after him from that day onwards.

NEW AUTO TYRE

A new automobile tyre, which is said to give greater traction and safety, is announced in the United States. Its special tread pattern, consisting of countless flexible tread blocks, greatly increases straight-line stopping power and virtually eliminates the need for chains in most kinds of winter driving. The tyre also features a rib of rubber around the rim of the sidewall that prevents scuffing tyres when parking against a curbstone.

THE STORY OF THE CUB

By V. SUBRAMANIAM

"THERE are few however of those who know me as a child, who are yet alive. The words of those few are concealed in the warps of distance and isolation from the gaze of publicity." So wrote Sardar Patel recently in the Children's Number of Delhi's *Shankar's Weekly*.

Patel's early days, however, are worth the labours of the most understanding and sympathetic chronicler. But in our country, a country which produced the most extensive child study, and still the most delightful, in all literature, namely that of Krishna, the baby, at present biography has fallen on evil days. With the notable exception of Kelkar's biography of Tilak, all other worthwhile biographies in India are autobiographies, like the Mahatma's and the Pandit's.

But one's own childhood and early youth are periods which cannot be completely chronicled by any raconteur however gifted. Childhood is the most important period from the biographer's and historian's point of view. The clues to the conflicts of a man's personality are to be found in the incidents of childhood. Modern psychology attaches very great importance to childhood as the source of personality. The bachelor of bombast that was Macaulay, made himself evident in his childhood, when he replied, to a lady asking him about his ailment, that the agony was much abated. The war Premier of England could probably be traced back to that bonny baby called Winnie, who delighted to play with toy guns and soldiers. Washington Irving, the biographer of George Washington, America's first President and greatest gentleman, could not therefore help inventing a story about his hero's youth, when he cut a sapling with his new knife, and spoke the truth to his father. In fact, even if it never happened, it is more illustrative of truth than any true narration of events.

But Patel's youth has not been left alone in oblivion, as he himself seems to think. I recently saw a Tamil translation of a book in Gujarathi called "Purathan Pooch" by one Visak

Nemi Kumar, where many interesting incidents of the Sardar's life are faithfully recounted. One is reminded of the youth of Bismarck the bad boy, of Clive, and in a smaller measure, of Krishna the diplomat in his early butter stealing days.

The tough little peasant boy was not afraid of anything. Intrepidity was his second name. The school where he studied was miles away from his village. But the peasant boy would not dream of a cart at all. Undaunted he footed the distance every day with his poorer friends.

Patel as a schoolboy was the leader of a gang of mischievous comrades. He was a terror to schoolmasters who transgressed their limits. Once a schoolmaster who traded in stationery was compelling boys to purchase only notebooks of a particular brand. Patel brought his own notebooks. The angry teacher asked him to quit the class unless he purchased his own brand of notebooks. But Patel with his gang organized a complete strike of his class. The flabbergasted schoolmaster had to bow down before such determination. Patel himself has given in detail another incident, when he refused to do the heavy task imposed on him by a school master, and finally got his own way.

With the band of admiring boys around him, Patel walked about the taluk as if he owned it. Once, on an evening, the gang turned up at a village festival gathering. At the end, there was to be *harathi*. The honour of the first *harathi* was to go to the one who could put three rupees into the *harathi* pan. How could poor Vallabhbhai, who walked to school, produce it? So wondered his gang. But out from his pocket there came three solid rupees, and he got the honour of the first *harathi*.

Once the boy Vallabhbhai had an abscess in his leg. The elders advised him to get it cauterized before it became septic. The boy went to the village smithy. The smith had heated the iron red-hot, but could not find the courage to cauterize the

tender child. His hands trembled in loving fear. But suddenly Patel himself snatched the red-hot iron from his hand and applied it with a steady hand to his abscess, with a grim smile! Would he treat the abscess in the Congress organization equally fearlessly?

The impetuous bravery of youth turns into the calculating timidity of middle age in those that keep not the springs of youth fresh for ever. But the Sardar never lost his boyish courage and abandon. Even when he was nearing forty, when he was studying for the bar in London, he repeated the performances of his youth. The Middle Temple where he studied was eleven miles away from his residence. But the Sardar footed the distance to and fro each day and he would sit up studying his lessons till the book fell from his limp hands, and the tired eyes closed in sleep. The Professors were impressed by such indefatigable industry, and recommended him to a suitable job in the Middle Temple. But Patel, with his native village always at heart, embarked for India, the day

after he finished his examinations.

In London, he had a growing sore in his foot. His friends advised him to get treated by a physician, preferably English. But Patel wanted something more drastic and quick. He wished to get it operated. His friends advised him to go to a German surgeon. The surgeon examined Patel and decided to operate him, after anaesthetic treatment. But Patel refused to have anything to do with chloroform or cocaine! He was still the peasant boy who snatched the red-hot iron from the ironsmith's hands and cauterized himself.

The Sardar of today is just the Patel boy enlarged. Age has added the wisdom of experience, but has been powerless to rob him of the simple boldness, intrepidity and realism of his earlier years. Patel is cent per cent right, when he says of himself, "The many qualities or defects of character which I might exhibit today, can probably be traced to the characteristics which I displayed when I was a child."

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR LEGISLATORS

By SESHAGIRI RAO

IN the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Brajeshwar Prasad, speaking on the necessity of insisting on certain minimum educational qualifications for candidates standing for the Legislature, observed in effect that whereas, for obvious reasons, prescribed qualifications are considered a desideratum in the case of doctors, lawyers and engineers whose role is obviously less important than that of legislators, it is of ill omen that it is considered sufficient qualification in the case of a legislator 'if he knows how to pull the strings behind the screen, if he is a demagogue, a professional political dancer and a scoundrel.' Apparently because the prospective 'Honourables' cannot be considered as being wanting in honour and virtue (which the expression 'scoundrel' means) the President of the Assembly ruled that the expression should not have been used if used it was. Dr. Brajeshwar Prasad, however, warned the Assembly that educational qualifications should be insisted on "if we want to eliminate the defects of democracy and make it a decent system of government." Dr. Rajen Babu also deplored the absence in the Constitution of any provision regarding qualifications of legislators.

In his book "Progress and Poverty" Henry George, the American author, portrayed some of the dangerous defects of democracy in America (where cent per cent literacy obtains) as he noticed them in his time. As politics in India are running on almost parallel lines at least so far as the electoral machinery and other connected things are concerned, the following extracts from Henry George's book will be found illuminating and instructive by the members of the Constituent Assembly in their efforts at ridding the Indian Constitution of all possible sources of corruption, frustration and ineptitude. "To give suffrage to tramps, to paupers, to men to whom the chance to labour is a boon, to men who must beg or steal or starve, is to invoke

destruction. To put the political power in the hands of men embittered and degraded by poverty is to tie fire-brands to foxes and turn them loose among the standing corn. It is to put out the eyes of Samson and to twine his arms around the pillars of the national life. . . . Tortured by want and enbruted by poverty these voters are ready to sell their votes to the highest bidder or follow the lead of the most blatant demagogue. . . . The average American voter has prejudices, party feelings, general notions. . . but he gives to the fundamental questions of the government not much more thought than a street car-horse does to the profits of the line."

"The people at large are become used to growing corruption. The most ominous political sign in the United States today is the growth of a sentiment which either doubts the existence of an honest man in public office or looks on him as a fool for not seizing his opportunities."

Speaking on the great American cities he says that "there is in them today as clearly defined a ruling class, as in the most aristocratic countries in the world." Are they the wise, the good and the learned men who have earned the confidence of their fellow citizens by the purity of their lives, the splendour of their talents, their probity in the public trust, their deep study of the problems of the Government? "No," says Henry George. "They are gamblers, saloon keepers, pugilists or worse who have made a trade of controlling votes and of buying and selling offices and official acts. . . . It is these men who make school directors, supervisors, assessors, members of the legislatures, Congressmen." (Strength to Dr. Brajeshwar Prasad's elbow).

"In the corrupt democracy the tendency is always to give power to the worst. Honesty, patriotism are weighed and unscrupulousness commands success, the best gravitate to the bottom, the worst float to the

PATRUDU'S

'BALASANJEEVINI' (Regd.)

Cures Infantile Liver & Spleen Disorders.

Dr. PILLA PAPIAH PATRUDU & BROR.

11, South Mada St., Mylapore, Madras.

KUMBAKONAM BRANCH:

7, Sarangapani Koli
East Street.

TRICHY BRANCH:

15, Pugulal Pillai Street,
Teppakulam Post.

Consult our specialists at the above places.

top and the vile will only be ousted by the viler."

"As corruption becomes chronic, as public spirit is lost, as traditions of honour, virtue and patriotism are weakened, as law is brought into contempt and reforms become hopeless, then in the festering mass will be generated volcanic forces, which shatter and rend when seeming accident gives them vent. Strong, unscrupulous men rising up upon occasion will become the exponents of blind popular desires or fierce popular passions and dash aside forms that have lost their vitality. The sword will again be mightier than the pen and in the carnivals of destruction brute force and wild frenzy will alternate with the lethargy of a declining civilization." Whence come these new bar-

barians? Go through the squalid quarters of a great city, he says, and you may see even now their gathering hordes.

It is impossible for any honest Indian political not to identify present day political India in the above picture as drawn by Henry George though it relates to America as he saw it. May the warnings of Henry George which two global wars and their aftermath have only too tragically confirmed, save us from the impending disaster whose rumblings have been heard in the bye-election to the West Bengal Assembly from South Calcutta and in other Communist activities elsewhere even before adult franchise (with 90% illiteracy) to which we are committed has come into operation.

The very fact that some cities in Europe still subsist has become a kind of miracle which adds tacitly to the emotion of the traveller in them. The Frenchman travelling in England feels not only that this country was for long years the fortress of Europe, not utterly defeated so long as we remained, but that the physical survival of nine-tenths of London is a victory over chaos. The immunity of Paris from destruction has the strength to the English visitor of far more than material presence.—STEPHEN SPENDER.

THE "DESCENT" OF MAN

By SIR RIBTON MEREDITH, I.C.S.

THE Darwinian theory of man's evolution has had to fight its way into general acceptance against much prejudice and adverse criticism. How, it was felt, could man, that noble creation in God's own image, possibly be descended from an ape-like beast? The men of the Church, in particular, fought hard against a theory so derogatory to man's dignity. Was not man distinguished from all the beasts of the field by the possession of an immortal soul? I myself, being more of a scientific than of a religious bent, felt even at an early age that the logic of facts must outweigh the dogmas of authority, and the facts of the geological record and of comparative anatomy were so compelling as to force assent however reluctant. Yet it was not until the other night, when I had a strange dream, that I fully realised the possibility of a point of view wholly different from the orthodox.

I dreamt that I was in conversation with an intelligent ape who, strange to say, spoke excellent English. The subject of our discourse was this very question of the descent of man, and I found him as reluctant to accept the evolutionary theory as any Father of the Church. "Even though," he said, "you may stress the word 'descent' and concede that it is a descent indeed, we apes find it difficult to admit that so degenerate a creature could have issued from our loins."

"You will not ask me," he continued, "to emphasise the physical degeneracy, for it is so obvious. Your teeth have become so feeble that you cannot crack a bone. Your sense of smell is almost gone. Your power of hearing is insignificant compared with that of us animals. You have almost lost your fur. That useful member, the tail, has disappeared. Your joints are so stiff that you cannot even scratch your backs. The thumb of your foot has ceased to be opposable, and your power of grasping is now limited to your hands. It makes us apes laugh to see your feeble attempts at climbing a tree. You

cannot swing from branch to branch, as we do. The soles of your feet have become so tender that you have to cover them with the skin of other beasts before you can walk. The skin of your bodies is so soft and degenerate that it has to be protected by coverings both against the sun of the summer and the frost of the winter. Your muscles have become so feeble that, as you get on in life, your bellies sag in the most unsightly fashions. Indeed your internal organs are generally degenerate. Your appendix and your tonsils are useless relics without function except as repositories of disease. I notice, my friend, in your particular case—and it is not an unusual one amongst your species—that even the hair of the head has disappeared.

"I need not go on. All this is too obvious to merit discussion. It is of your moral degeneracy that I wish to speak. To us your moral defects are as obvious as your physical. But as a species you do not appear to be sensible of them. You engage in wholesale war and destroy each other merely to satisfy the ambition and lust for power of particular groups. These conflicts of yours often appear to us apes completely without reason or sense. Certainly we do not indulge in them. We kill, if we must kill at all, only for food. But you are not merely satisfied with killing, you must also torture. You spend your ingenuity in thinking out new forms of torture, and—horror of horrors—you appear to take delight in causing suffering to others. How else can one explain this habit of devising the cruellest forms of death for your enemies, or even for those with whom you happen to disagree on some trivial point of religious doctrine? To us it seems most strange that your men of religion are just those who seem to take most delight in causing suffering. It surely is a most extraordinary practice, of which no reasonable being could be capable, to attempt to induce belief, not by argument and logic, but by compulsion and torture. Yet that, so far as we can see, is the record of

Purity Barley
goes eight times further



Purity Barley contains, in concentrated form, all the goodness of pearl barley. One spoonful of Purity is equal to eight spoonfuls of pearl. And you will always buy it fresh because it comes to you in hygienic, sealed tins. You can make a delicious cunjee in only twenty minutes. Barley water can be quickly made by mixing a paste of two level teaspoonfuls of Purity Barley with water and simmering for only five minutes with one pint of water. Add salt, sugar or lime to taste.

PURITY BARLEY

ATLANTIS (EAST) LTD. POST BOX No. 664, CALCUTTA

talist deviationists' and liquidated in Siberian concentration camps. Yes, men still have to die for their beliefs.

"Even the most advanced of you are so credulous that you will believe any rubbish, and accept any lie if told often enough. Many of you are so absurd as to believe that the events of your lives are controlled by the chance position of the stars at the time of birth. But, while some of the planets exercise a beneficent or baneful influence on the affairs of men, it is remarkable that others—Uranus, Neptune, Pluto and Vulcan—have no such power. By a strange coincidence they are just those which were unknown to the astrologers. Others think that a man's future history is depicted in the lines upon the palm of his hand, or that the future can be foretold by the fall of cards or even by the tea leaves in a cup. You will not act unless upon so-called auspicious days.

"In medicine you are equally ridiculous. Because in a single instance it appeared, wrongly as it happens, that like cures like, you extended this into a universal system, against all reason and then avoided the inevitable disasters, which such methods would involve, by making the doses so infinitesimal that they could have no possible effect one way or the other.

"Your legal systems have displayed equal absurdity. For centuries you determined guilt or innocence by the chance result of an ordeal. The English, in particular, were noteworthy for making justice depend upon empty formalities. I have referred to one instance—How they made the plea of guilty or not guilty a prerequisite to trial, so that they would

not convict even the clearest criminal unless he would plead, and then piled unreason upon unreason by putting the man to death without trial whether guilty or innocent. They developed a divorce law whereunder a couple could be separated where one partner wanted it but not the other, but could not be separated if both wanted it.

"Numbers of you are prepared to believe in tricksters who for money or notoriety profess to summon up the spirits of the dead, and you persist in these beliefs even when these charlatans have been openly exposed over and over again.

"Can you wonder that we apes regard with abhorrence the doctrine that you are descended from us? Alas! unless we emulate your stupidity, we can no longer dispute it. The skeletal remains of *Pithecanthropus Erectus*, *Eanthropus Dawsoni*, *Homo Neanderthalensis* and *Sinanthropus Chinensis* actually left no doubt. But the recent discovery in South Africa of *Australopithecus*—the true Missing Link—in conjunction with remains of a primitive bone and horn culture, have placed the matter beyond controversy. Now we can only hope that our degenerate descendants, having proved themselves unfit to inherit the earth, are doomed to extinction. We think that in time they may well be replaced by"—at this moment unfortunately I awoke, and so lost the remainder of this interesting discourse. I realised at once, of course, that the ape had been talking a lot of nonsense; and yet somehow it has seemed to me ever since that perhaps the man who said the more he learnt of humanity the more he loved his dog was not altogether wrong.—N.P.S. (Copyright).

THE FIFTH FREEDOM

By A. SITA DEVI

WE Indians look with longing eyes, and rightly do we look, to a time when the four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt on 6th January 1941 will be ours. We have achieved freedom of speech and expression, and we have always had

freedom to worship as our conscience dictates. In India the refugees of every faith have found safe haven. We are comparatively free from fear save as our fear arises from a lack of the Third Freedom—Freedom from Want. So as we look at weal-

thier nations we are apt to be consumed with envy and longing for a time when we, too, will be in possession of all that makes for comfort and prosperity.

But we are heirs of a greater freedom which the world in its mad search for wealth has lost, and we must be careful in working for the Third Freedom we do not lose the Fifth—a freedom which most people have not even envisaged, and yet a freedom that our sages have declared from time immemorial. The Fifth Freedom is Freedom from Things, and even the ordinary householder in an Indian home is remarkably free from the burden of possessions. In a Western paper the life story of a woman who had lived long in India was told, and one of the characteristics which seemed most remarkable to the writer was that though this woman had married a very wealthy man, her rooms were so empty—only a few rugs spread on the floor, cushions here and there, a beautiful picture or two and a few fine pieces of statuary. Such a room all of us here would understand and appreciate. This woman had quite evidently during her long stay in India acquired the Fifth Freedom. Even though she had money to cram into her rooms every possession her mind might fancy, she enjoyed that airy empty spaciousness that only the uncluttered room can have for mind and spirit. In such a room the aloneness within us can soar to the Divine Aloneness.

And what a convenience it is to be free of things. Every object we own owns us far more than we own it. It must be cared for, replaced, and otherwise guarded and worried over. Our plated ware soon loses its silver; silver itself tarnishes quickly and is a lure for thieves. Fine china breaks. But how simple is the banana leaf on a clean floor with the clean magnetic hand as utensil. Then the simplicity of our Indian life puts fewer barriers between ourselves and others. Our hospitality is only limited by our capacity to buy some light refreshment and our sitting space, never by the number of eating utensils and vessels in our possession. Tied to the bed-idea we would need much larger homes for our joint families, and we could invite only as many guests for

a celebration as we had extra beds. But when we can sleep on a mat, guests are always welcome so long as we have an inch of floor space, and we can move our mats here and there as we like. We need not bother even about space for cradles, for we can hang our babies in the traditional way in their small comfortable hammocks that fit all sized babies.

As Indians, let us never measure the Third Freedom by the number of things we possess. Let not freedom from want become desire to have more and more as this present civilization is doing. Wants have multiplied until men with means are afraid to live normal family lives, hounded by the fear that if they have even two or three children they will not be able to keep up with the Joneses.

Freedom from want for an Indian will mean that he has sufficient food for his simple needs, a shelter in inclement weather, a place where his mental urge to know can be satisfied, a home wherein he can satisfy his need to love and protect. But since the innermost craving in an Indian is desire for *yukta* or union with the Divine, his freedom from want will give him the fullest opportunity to unfold his spiritual nature. And this will lead him naturally to the Fifth Freedom, a freedom from craving for all lesser things. And the liberation he craves will never be an intellectual and heartless isolation from his fellow-humans, for all our greatest Indian sages have declared that the quickest road to the spirit is by way of the heart. A great Indian teacher, J. Krishnamurti, when asked as to the meaning of Liberation, has defined it as the breaking of the bonds that keep us from our fellow men. So in our freedom from things we seek no freedom from our fellows. Rather, as we have less pre-occupation with things, we shall have more time and affection for embodied life—human, animal, and even plant. Let us, therefore, in striving for the Third Freedom, realize it in its inner significance as well as the outer, and let us hold fast to our heritage—the Fifth Freedom the world will have some day to acquire if it would be happy—freedom from all that obstructs our way to the highest.

PANDIT NEHRU IN AMERICA

By V. KALYANASUNDARAM

IN the din and fanfare of our Prime Minister's "Discovery of America" certain other discoveries of equal importance have failed to attract public attention. It was simply on a goodwill mission that Pandit Nehru went to America. He had an equal fund of goodwill for U. S. S. R. Only in October 1948 he could not go to Moscow, from Paris, as he was then short of time. Throughout his U. S. trip, in all press conferences, he categorically denied that it had any political or diplomatic purpose. On the question of arms, he referred the questioner to the Defence Secretariat. Attempts to angle him on the significance of his journey to Commonwealth relations and to the Pacific and Atlantic pacts yielded no better results. Though the burden of Pandit Nehru's song in all his utterances in America was America's financial aid to India, he was accompanied by the Secretary-General of the External Affairs Ministry and not by any economic adviser of the Government of India.

There was however an uncommercial traveller who landed in America unannounced and virtually incognito and who stayed practically throughout Pandit Nehru's stay in America and who returned in time to receive Pandit Nehru in London but not too soon to miss any important engagement of Pandit Nehru in America. While in America, except when he was engaged in such innocent occupations as expatiating upon the ideals of a true democracy in Montreal, his whereabouts were little known to the outside world. Similarly but absolutely unconnected with it, we are yet to know what transpired in the long talks of Panditji with President Truman. Mr. Sahni, who shadowed Panditji in his tour, reports that during the two days that the latter was the Canadian Governor-General's guest he was behind purdah and the world had no glimpse of what

happened inside. The other gentlemen who came to America for the singular purpose of speculating on political theories at Quebec and Montreal was not known to be at any particular place at this time. After all, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations is not such an inconsequential being as to merit no notice at all from the press or public, when the entire New World was surging up to receive his opposite number of India, a sister country. This may be freedom or conspiracy of the press, we have no concern with it. The U. N. E. S. C. O. will deal with it appropriately. It is not Panditji alone that discovered America. There is nowadays quite a scramble for it. After Pandit Nehru, the Shah of Persia, Liaquat Ali Khan, Thakin Nu and their like follow suit, the reception of each being measured in terms of the populations (food for powder) and strategic geographical position their countries possess in relation to Russia. These happenings, though on the eve of the Commonwealth meet in Colombo, should not be associated with it.

These are days when high-ups commit suicide, crash down from skyscrapers or get into mental clinics imagining they are hunted by the Red plague. Hence one remarkable feature in 20th century diplomacy is, that all giving and taking are transacted at top level without trusting to the routine diplomatic channels of communication for fear of the complexion of the underdogs. Such was the flight of Hess to England. Such also were the Atlantic meeting in August 1941 between Roosevelt and Churchill, Harry Hopkins tarrying in the European capitals and Churchill's holidaying in Handaye on the eve of Potsdam. But this is not to say that Panditji got down in London for other than relaxation at Mountbattens' after a tiresome flight.

—
Quite often when a man thinks his mind is getting broader it is only his conscience stretching.—H. Boyle.

MANCHURIAN MYSTERY-I

By ANDREW ROTH

In spite of the apparent amity between Mao Tse Tung and Moscow, Manchuria is likely to become the Sino-Soviet rubbing spot. That region must inevitably be the hub of any Chinese industrial programme. In this, the first of a series of two articles on the subject, Andrew Roth who has just completed an intensive tour of China explains that Manchuria is the key to the future of Sino-Soviet relations.

THERE are few mysteries in the "mysterious East" to compare in importance with that of Manchuria. That region—with a population as large as that of France and twice its area—is the key to China's industrialization and also to the future of Sino-Soviet relations. Yet it is extremely difficult to piece together an objective picture of developments there, as this reporter found during his two months in the Peiping-Tientsin area, just south of Manchuria.

The facts I did secure I was only able to put into focus after a most meaningful interview in Shanghai during the feverish days between the fall of Nanking and the Shanghai takeover. My informant, one of the world's great hydro-electric and planning engineers, is one of the few people in the world qualified to give a truly informed estimate of Communist China's industrialization potentialities and Manchuria's role. A Russian-born American engineer, Dr. Solomon Trone had a distinguished career with General Electric before becoming chief foreign adviser on the great Dniepestro Dam, hydro-electric queen of the first Soviet Five Year Plan. As such he had an unparalleled opportunity to observe the Soviet industrialization programmes from the inside and from its beginnings. Recently he has spent two years laying out industrialization plans for the Nanking Government. He had hopes of staying on to advise the incoming Government but feels there is no future in China now for an American—even for one who played an important role in Soviet industrialization.

It was interesting to learn that Dr. Trone—unlike most Western observers—feels that China can be industrialized about as fast as the U.S.S.R. "Labour, after all, is the main investment in industrialization,"

he pointed out and China has about three times as many pairs of hands and already has the same number of industrial workers (two millions) as the Soviets had when they started. Although its mineral resources are probably not as extensive as those of the U.S.S.R., China does have extensive resources, much of them unexplored. The Soviets started with a somewhat larger industrial plant, more exportable products, and much greater railway mileage. Furthermore, China's population is much closer to the subsistence level and therefore it will be much more difficult to depress living standards in order to accumulate social capital for investment. However, Dr. Trone pointed out, China is not as isolated as the Soviets were and is much further advanced in thinking about national planning. China already has an excellent core of some 15,000 engineers, technicians and managers in the Kuomintang-established National Resources Commission. It also has several dozen young Communist planning engineers who were trained in the U. S. S. R. and can apply the experience of the Soviets to China's not-too-dissimilar conditions. Furthermore the Chinese Communists have a more extensive organization and more political experience than the Russian Communists had when they came to power and thus can mobilize people more effectively.

Very soon we found ourselves talking about Manchuria, as is natural in any discussion either of China's industrialization potentialities or the future of Sino-Soviet relations. Manchuria must inevitably be the hub of any Chinese industrial programme. It has fabulous natural resources, including coal reserves of 27 billion tons, iron ore reserves of over a billion tons as well as large reserves

of aluminium, molybdenum, magnesite, and substantial reserves of copper, lead, zinc, graphite, gold and oil shale. There are some 54 million acres of standing timber. There are great water power potentialities, particularly if the Russian-controlled Argun, Ussuri and Amur rivers can be used. Manchuria is also China's chief agricultural export region and its normal export surplus of 2,500,000 tons of soya beans would be worth over \$400,000,000 at today's prices and would help finance much of China's import needs. *Industrially speaking, Manchuria alone has the value of the rest of China put together.*

Manchuria's potential has attracted so many pairs of covetous eyes that the area is usually coupled with the terms "problem," "cockpit" or "tinderbox." Three hundred years ago, the Manchus—who have now been almost absorbed into the Chinese population—drew sustenance from this reservoir and poured south of the Great Wall to conquer China. At the end of the 19th century, Russian Czarism, backed by French bankers, made the first penetration, seeking railway shortcuts and a warm-water port. The British and Americans were also interested but they decided to back Japan's initial probings, hoping this would stop Russian expansion and divert Japan's attention from British and American spheres further south. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5, Japan's 1918-22 continental adventures, as well as the final attack of 1931-32 were all part of Japan's attempt to secure Manchuria as a continental base.

In the following decade, Japanese capital (about U. S. \$2 billion) and technicians and Chinese labour managed to convert Manchuria (then designated as "Manchukuo") into the most highly industrialized area of Asia after Japan and the Soviet Far East. Its annual coal production surpassed thirty million tons. The steel-works at Anshan developed a capacity of two million tons of pig iron and 1.5 million tons of steel, with additional capacity elsewhere. Mukden, Manchuria's chief industrial city had a population of two million, including

some 360,000 working in over four thousand industrial plants, including some producing tanks, automobiles, aircraft, machine-tools, artificial rubber and fertilizers. The Japanese kept the key technical jobs in their own hands and final finishing processes had to be done in Japan. But, in general, Manchuria had the same industrial potential as a secondary European manufacturing state, such as Belgium or Italy. And its resources were used to conquer half of China.

At the war's end, both the Communists and the Kuomintang made a wild scramble for the Manchuria prize. On August 11, 1945 picked units of fast-marching Communist troops were ordered north from Yen'an on the double and Shantung troops were sent north by junk. These were to link up with the Communist-led Manchurian Volunteers who had been forced to fragment into small units by Japanese suppression. Curiously enough, General Lin Biao, probably the Communists' best strategist, hitch-hiked part of the way to his Manchuria command on a U. S. Army plane.

The overwhelming weight of American transport power, however, was mobilized to assist the KMT to capture Manchuria. In what was the world's greatest airlift until Berlin, the U. S. Army transported U. S.-trained and U. S.-equipped Chinese troops from as far as India and Burma to Central and North China. From there, the U. S. Army and Navy moved a good portion of them into South Manchuria. There they linked up with the Chinese puppet troops who had served the Japanese and whom Chiang Kai-shek had ordered to change their allegiance, to hold Manchuria for the KMT.

Chiang Kai-shek considered possession of Manchuria so vital that during the peace negotiations in 1946 he insisted the military standstill agreement should extend to all of China—except Manchuria. He expected that Manchuria would be the anvil on which he would pulverize the Communists. Instead, by following superior political and military strategy, the Communists reversed the position.—N. P. S. (Copyright).

FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET AT COLOMBO

By H. V. HODSON

"The Colombo Conference (of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers) is no sudden or out-of-the-way phenomenon, but is the latest event in a clear sequence of developments in Commonwealth co-operation. The purpose is to discuss, with frankness and goodwill that are the hall-mark of relations between members of the Commonwealth, problems of common interest in the field of foreign affairs," says H. V. Hodson, the author of this article, who was Reforms Commissioner in India in 1941-42. He recalls the earlier meetings of Commonwealth statesmen in 1943 and 1949 and outlines the likely subjects for discussion at the Colombo Conference.

BETWEEN the two World Wars, the Imperial Conference was the coping-stone of co-operation among the independent nations forming the British Commonwealth. It met irregularly, at intervals of several years, but between meetings its effects clearly went on rippling, through committees which it set up and reports which it published.

And when it met, it was an imposing institution, bringing together Prime Ministers each with an array of Ministerial colleagues, secretaries and advisers, who spent perhaps a fortnight in formal conference. Though it had no executive or legislative authority of its own, being but an assembly of representatives of independent Governments, its very nature, and the publicity that attended it, gave it great prestige. It agreed upon vital constitutional developments like, for example, the Statute of Westminster, which remoulded the Commonwealth and left the Dominions as completely sovereign independent nations.

When year after year passed after World War II, and no Imperial Conference was held, many British people were disappointed because they believed the structure of Commonwealth relations without that coping-stone would suffer greatly. There were, in fact, several strong reasons against holding such a conference at that time.

India, Burma and Ceylon were in process of re-birth as independent states. The United Nations and its associated organs, besides helping to integrate the policies of members of the Commonwealth, gave opportuni-

ties for their representatives to meet and discuss informally common problems without having to call a special conference for the purpose. Every member country, too, was pre-occupied with its own post-war readjustment, and it was difficult to find any time or occasion at which all of them could simultaneously spare a large Ministerial and official delegation.

Yet, manifestly, something was lacking, all the more certainly in that the last traces of limitation on the independence of the Dominions—from Canada to Ceylon—had vanished. They had gained in strength and self-confidence in the intervening years, and their national policies, if not at least discussed with their Commonwealth colleagues, were all the more likely to lead eventually to a split in the Commonwealth and thus to their own injury. The admission of India, Pakistan and Ceylon as independent members underlined the need for a fresh assessment of common problems in the light of their special interests and attitudes.

It was, therefore, with relief that the public in Britain and the other Commonwealth countries saw the calling of the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in October, 1948. It was brief, informal and very confidential, quite unlike the old Imperial Conferences; but it was a genuine success and was likely to set the pattern for future collaboration at the highest political level.

The communique issued at its close recorded that proposals to maintain and extend the means of consultation within the Commonwealth were being laid before the member Governments.

These proposals have not been disclosed in detail, but it is generally believed that they included the calling of similar informal Ministerial conferences for special purposes, not necessarily in London; more frequent individual visits by Ministers and senior officials to other Commonwealth capitals, and arrangements for permanent liaison at the official level.

Another meeting of Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth was held in London in April, 1949, but the first of the special Ministerial conferences on the new model, however, was a meeting of Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth held in July, 1949, primarily to consider the problem of finding some equilibrium with the dollar area, and the related problem of the release of sterling balances held by the Commonwealth in London.

The intention had been to anticipate it by a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth in the spring of 1949. Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, was chosen as the venue. Occupying a central position in relation to four of the Commonwealth countries besides Ceylon herself, its choice met the criticism of those who felt that the pre-eminence of London had led to undue domination of the United Kingdom point of view.

The Conference had, regrettably, to be postponed, since it proved impossible for the Ministers concerned to detach themselves from their international duties and political pre-occupations at that time. This conference is now going to be held at Colombo from January 9. Mr. Bevin, Britain's Foreign Secretary, accompanied by Mr. Noel-Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, will lead the United Kingdom delegation.

It will thus be seen that the

Colombo Conference is no sudden or out-of-the-way phenomenon, but is the latest event in a clear sequence of developments in Commonwealth co-operation. The purpose is to discuss, with the frankness and goodwill that are the hall-mark of relations between members of the Commonwealth, problems of common interest in the field of foreign affairs. Yet these discussions will be without any prejudice to the freedom of each Government represented to pursue its own national policy, at the United Nations or elsewhere, in responsibility to its own Parliament.

The detailed agenda has not been published. One may, however, take for granted that it will include the latest developments in the "cold war" between Communism and Democracy, the situation in South-East Asia and the Far East, and the relations of Britain and the Commonwealth to the movement for European union.

Today, the Commonwealth fills a role in world affairs even more vital and indispensable than in times past. The strategic and political problems of the whole world having become, in effect, one problem, through the annihilation of time and space by modern inventions and through the emergence of two great Powers each straddling half the globe, it is a task of paramount importance to keep a group of nations including three Asian states that believe in democracy and freedom as united as their different circumstances allow.

In performing it, the Commonwealth makes a unique contribution which no other kind of organisation could render, and a notable part in that contribution is likely to derive from the Colombo meeting of Foreign Ministers.

MODEL AMERICAN KITCHEN

THE United States Department of Agriculture turned architect in 1948 to design the ideal kitchen for American farm homes.

Since then the kitchen has become the most popular in the country—not only with farm women, but with those building new city homes. More than 15,000 copies of the floor plans

of the kitchen, together with designs of its equipment, have been distributed by the Department of Agriculture. The plans are now available without cost at agricultural extension offices throughout the United States.

Mrs. Lenore Sater Thye, housing specialist with the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Human Nutri-

tion and Home Economics, designed the kitchen at the National Farm Laboratory at Beltsville, in the state of Maryland.

She began by analyzing all the activities that must be carried on in the kitchen of a farm family of six or more persons. These activities included preparing meals, preserving fruits and vegetables, eating, cleaning, planning menus, and ordering supplies. She then set out to plan adequate work space for each of these activities. She arranged equipment compactly, and located storage space so that all articles could be seen. Counters were planned at a comfortable working height and shelves so that they were within easy reach. Good natural and artificial lighting on all work areas and good ventilation were also important considerations in Mrs. Thye's plans.

The final design called for a U-shaped kitchen, 16 feet long and 11 feet wide, that has the step-saving virtues of a well-engineered industrial assembly line.

The mixing center in the kitchen is on the right, extending from the refrigerator to the right-hand corner of the room. Here, the housewife prepares cakes, bread, biscuits, and pastry. Kitchen utensils and ingredients that are normally used in baking are within easy reach. A small flour bin, which provides a day-to-day supply of flour, is easily refilled from a larger bin just above it. Similar small bins hold granulated sugar, meal, and other cooking grains.

The working surface of the mixing counter is spacious and wide. Bread pans, pie tins, and other flat baking dishes are stored vertically in built-in cupboards above the working counter, thus utilizing every bit of storage space. Mrs. Thye estimates that the kitchen can hold half again as many pots, pans and packages as other kitchens of equal size.

Under the counter are two boards that can be pulled out to provide extra working space. These boards are low enough so that the housewife can sit while she cuts cookie dough, makes sandwiches, or does other chores that do not require her to be on her feet.

Located in both bends of the U, below and above the counters, are

four revolving shelves, which are outstanding features of the kitchen. Because they revolve and thus present a continuous view of the objects stored on them, the shelves can hold more articles than if they were of the flat conventional type. The lower right-hand revolving shelf, between the sink and mixing center, is big enough for large mixing bowls, baking utensils, and various saucepans. The upper right-hand revolving shelf holds the staples used at the mixing center.

From the sink, in the middle of the U to the mixing center on the right, is one of the most important work areas in the kitchen—the vegetable preparation center.

Here again, all of the equipment is near at hand. Potatoes, onions, and other commonly used vegetables are stored in easy-to-clean, pull-out storage bins that line the wall. Without having to take a step, the housewife can place them in the sink to wash them. Then she needs to move the vegetables only two or three inches to peel them through a metal-lined slot in the counter which empties directly into a garbage pail below. The pail sits in a metal-lined compartment that has a small door cut into the exterior wall, so that the pail can be removed from outside the house. A similar compartment makes it possible for milk to be delivered without coming into the kitchen.

Paring knives, peeling utensils, and other equipment used in preparing vegetables are located in a small rack. Although this rack is out of the way, it is in plain sight and easy to reach.

Immediately to the left of the vegetable preparation center, in the center of the U, is the sink. It is divided into two sections, each on a different level. One sink permits dish-washing at a comfortable height, while the other is for draining dishes or washing vegetables.

Over the sink is a small compartment for soaps, scouring powders, and other cleaners.

The problem of drying dish towels is solved neatly and logically. In a narrow compartment below the sink is a towel rack. The compartment is ventilated so that the towels can dry although they are hidden from sight.

From the sink, extending left

CASTE

By S. KRISHNIAH

around the U to the stove, the counter is continuous. This permits ample space for placing dishes while serving. Where the counter meets the stove, sliding doors conceal an opening in the wall. This opening leads to the dining-room, thus permitting the housewife to pass dishes into the dining-room without having to take them through the kitchen door. This direct passage from kitchen to dining-room saves countless steps.

The cooking center, perhaps the most important area in the kitchen, is a model of simplicity. Natural or butane gas is used in the stoves on most farms, while electric ranges are preferred by city dwellers. Shallow, open shelves, which hold the bottles of condiments normally used in cooking, are built above the stove in Mrs. Thy's kitchen. A wall cabinet above these shelves is wide enough for meat platters. This cabinet is but one of many in the kitchen built to hold the utensils used in specific work areas.

Most housewives have long wanted a place in their kitchens where they can sit down to plan their meals or to telephone orders to markets. The model kitchen has a desk. The desk, however, is multi-purpose. It has folding wings and, when opened out, can be used as additional working space. It will also seat two extra persons comfortably for meals. Above the desk, recessed in the wall, is a niche for a small radio and cook-books. Over the niche is a mirror so that the housewife may check on her appearance before answering the door-bell.

Near the kitchen door is a closet for cleaning equipment. The lower section of the closet can hold a broom, brushes, a dustpan, and a kitchen stool. There is a hook for aprons. A rack on the door can be used for first-aid supplies. The upper section of the closet is for canned foods.

The final area, on the right side of the room, is dining corner—large enough to seat six persons comfortably. Most families and many city dwellers like to eat their daily meals in this convenient "dinette," reserving the dining room for formal occasions.

The dinette table faces a six-foot window which, when opened, provides cross ventilation with the large window over the sink. There is enough space in the dining corner so that the table and chairs may be pushed aside to provide room for a baby's play pen. Thus the busy young housewife need not leave the kitchen to make frequent visits to the nursery.

Because women spend so much time in their kitchens, lighting received unusual attention and treatment. Mrs. Thy won the merit award certificate of the Third International Lighting Exposition for her fluorescent light conduit which casts no shadows and minimizes eye strain by providing proper lighting.

The fixture is a U-shaped wooden trough which follows the contour of the room. Four 40-watt fluorescent tubular bulbs are mounted in the trough. The conduit is hung several feet over the housewife's head and four inches from the edge of the work counters. Thus, direct light does not strike the eyes, yet every part of the kitchen is properly lighted. The large windows over the dining table and sink provide enough natural lighting on all but the dullest days.

The colour scheme of the model kitchen is attractive. A dark, mottled green linoleum is used on the floor. The walls are covered in a light-green washable paper. The ceiling is a cream colour and the woodwork is pearl gray. The counter tops are covered with a light yellow linoleum which blends with the green floor and walls.

Mrs. Thy designed the kitchen to be practical, not as a show piece. It has, therefore, gained popularity because of its combined usefulness and simplicity, not because of architectural tricks.

The kitchen is constructed simply and, according to Agriculture Department authorities, can be reproduced by any good carpenter using standard tools and supplies that are normally available in the average lumber yard and hardware store.—USIS.

LONG ago I lived in a small town at a time when my youthful optimism looked upon the world as peopled with readers clamouring to peruse my short stories which I proposed to mass-produce. In this town I had no standing whatsoever. But I stayed long enough to notice that there was one person there who was much above the humdrum 'party politics' of that domesticated township. He was Dr. A. Menon, M.B.B.S., the M.O.-in-charge of the small mission hospital of twenty beds.

Dr. Menon went about his duties with a supercilious non-chalance occasionally condescending to console the bereaved relatives of his erstwhile patients with blithe unconcern, assuring them aphoristically, that despite penicillin and the best medical attention human beings could not go on living for ever. His popularity was such that, to the inhabitants of the town, he was the local god.

But his towering reputation was not built on his wizardry in diagnosis and medication. It was due to the beauty of his person. His handsomeness and winning bedside manners (professional or otherwise) never let him down. Dr. Menon was as handsome as a sculptured Apollo. Luxurious unruly hair framed a striking face in which long palpebral lashes and pearly dimpled cheeks were effeminately conspicuous. His infrequent shaves and faulty attire served to invest him with that look of debonaire absent-mindedness usually ascribed to genius.

If he was an Apollo in looks, he was a Don Juan at heart. He had flirted with every girl in the town who had pretensions to good looks. Neither had they been able to resist his charm when they were brought to close physical contact with him in the confines of his consulting room where he gripped their arms to feel the racing pulse, or uncovering their torso pressed the business-end of his stethoscope to the softest and tenderest regions of feminine anatomy, or gently squeezed their abdomen to find out whether it was duodenal ulcer or

appendicitis they were suffering from.

Dr. Menon and I were good friends because we had known each other in Madras where he was a medical student at a time when I was cooling my heels there. We had kept up a friendship 'of sorts' and I was grateful to him for the medical attention which I was periodically in need of and which he dispensed gratuitously.

Our friendship threatened to give way when my brother-in-law, Dr. Krishnan, came to stay with me for a few days. Dr. Menon happened to visit me when my brother-in-law and I were having tea.

"Hello, Menon!" I greeted him. "Meet my brother-in-law; Dr. Krishnan—Dr. Menon."

"How do you do?"
"Pleased to meet you."

They both spoke simultaneously and shook hands.

"Krishnan has come down from Madras," I informed my visitor, "He is a dentist there."

Dr. Menon stared at me as if I had slapped him on the face. For a few seconds he glowered at me with accelerating ill-will and then strutted out. I was too surprised to say or do anything.

"What's wrong with Menon?" I asked when I found my voice.

Krishnan laughed. "I suppose he considers it an insult to be introduced to a dentist."

"What do you mean?"
"Don't you know? The dentist is a pariah in medical circles."

It was then that I discovered that there was an infamous caste system rampant in the medical profession.

Do you know that certain members of the medical profession get all the gravy while others sometimes not even the proverbial lick at the ladle? Or to put it differently, why should certain parts of the human body be set apart as preferred stock, bringing wealth, prestige and honour to those who have chosen them for exploitation, and certain other bits bring only a meagre reward? Why, for instance, should the man who makes it his life's

"Iron rusts from disuse; stagnant water loses its purity and cold weather becomes frozen; even so does inaction sap the vigour of the mind."—LEONARDO DA VINCI.

work to remove that unspeakably unattractive bit of tissue called the tonsil be considered the spice of society and he who does the same thing for the teeth be forbidden such delights?

Nobody really knows the whole answer; nobody even talks about it—not that they will be considered as promoting class hatred but because—well, I shall tell you presently.

Doctors have their living to make; they have social aspirations like other men and naturally when the time comes to choose a speciality they like to know in advance what will ultimately be worthwhile and what will not. The barrier that divides dentist and tonsillectomist is as if ordained by law. Though tooth and tonsil are separated only by millimeters as the crow flies, and though they are equally important to their owner's health, the crow isn't hatched which can flap across the abyss of caste that divides them. And we, the beneficiaries and victims—the surgeon's raw material, so to say,—are so beguiled by his professional hanky-panky that we meekly follow his lead.

Not that the mouth is the only region where such distinctions prevail. Far from it. The entire body has been surveyed and staked out. The chiropodist (I had always thought of him as one chirping at his work, until I had the misfortune to be his patient when he made me chirp) who lulls the agony of your corn is scornfully looked down by the specialist who X-rays the same foot to locate a dislodged bone. Is one a greater benefactor than the other?

Further it is an accepted fact that the obstetrician performs a useful office. Yet there is another who is just as necessary, who is in fact society's one indispensable servant, the man nobody knows, but nevertheless one nobody escapes. He performs practically the same function at the end of life's journey as the obstetrician does at the beginning. He smells of death, it is true, not of new life, which is reason enough for not wanting him about. But should one be welcomed with open arms and the other shunned as a social leper? I accept that the function of each is lightly mysterious as functions go, but it is hard to believe, with all the practice both have had, that the art

of one is very much harder than that of the other or should deserve a richer reward. But I can assure you that a couple of Mahathmas would not bridge the gulf of caste which separates the obstetrician and the obsequician.

What then is the professional snob-value of the various muscles, organs, bones, vessels, appendices and tissues of the human body? Why do certain bits have a higher market value and carry greater social prestige than others equally unpleasant? Whence these distinctions? Why should the pectoral region, the abdomen, the joints, the ear-nose-throat, the eye be considered socially impeccable, and the skin, the hair, the toes, and the corpse *declassé*? Is it the difference between dead and living tissue that forms the dividing line? It can't be entirely that. My teeth are still alive—at least some of them. Or is it a mere matter of custom? Or fear?

Partly fear, maybe, but not wholly. Take the heart specialist. Have you seen a cardiologist smile? Of course not. He can't afford to. He moves in a rarefied air, a cold, lonely stratosphere of professional fame so potent that the laity regard him with awe—in the same way, in fact, as Hottentots look upon their No. 1 medicine man. But nobody is afraid of the ear specialist. He is merely set apart as something extra-special and of course propitiated by the richest gifts the community has to offer. It is a tribute to his courage and skill in monkeying with the most delicate part of the human mechanism (and who are you to say that he does not rate every bit of it?).

People are more scared of mental specialists, who tinker with men's minds—but with a difference, resembling rather the average man's fear of clergymen. We tend to keep both of them outside the circles of our intimacy because we are afraid, not that they will bite, but that we may be called sinners or lunatics.

As a rule the surgeon is the Brahmin of the medical profession—the presiding deity at the ritual. Consider the difference in prestige between the surgeon and the physician. The surgeon gets it every time because popular imagination is captured by the dramatic setting of his art—the

gowned figures, the mumbo-jumbo of sterilisation, the silent sacred secret operating theatres, the shadowless illumination, the vestal virgins' hocus-pocus with knives and forceps. To the uninitiated all this is as mysterious as a religious rite. In a just world the diagnostician ought to get jam on both sides.

I suppose the reason such things are not talked about is that nobody knows when it may be his turn. Imagine

yourself in a chair (not the one they use in America) cowering beneath the drill of a dentist who bears you something less than goodwill.

Not my own dentist! Oh no. He is the salt of the earth, exquisitely skilled in his profession. In spite of all taboos he is my brother-in-law and I love him. But I have a date with him next week and so I think it will be to my advantage if further observations are temporarily suspended.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS—A SOCIALIST MESSAGE

By RICHARD CHINNATHAMBI

SOME nineteen and a half centuries ago a Jewish girl called Mary gave birth to a son in the stable of an inn in Bethlehem. The birth of Jesus was not noticed at the time. Kirkland Bridge says that every reporter in the world would have wished to cover it and William Temple in one of his highly valued newsletters wrote 'It was not in the news' and moralised that the significance of the Birth was not recognised by contemporaries for what it was. "Spiritual events can be known only by their results."

What are these results? What is the significance of the Birth? What are the central facts of the life and teaching of Jesus? A gleam of what it was going to be is afforded in the Magnificat—a hymn which Virgin Mary sang when Elizabeth her cousin saluted her and called her Blessed among women. The hymn has been hailed as revolutionary for, at a time when slavery in Athens was supported by the opinion of Plato, it upheld the rights of every human being. At a time when Aristotle countenanced the subjection of women—he believed that women were Nature's failures to produce men—this hymn glorifies womanhood and the lot of a country wench is really great to be chosen to be the mother of Christ. At a time when Labour was not recognised, the hymn exalted the common man and proclaimed the unity of the human race. It was a new message

for the world: "He hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away."

Even the forerunner of Christ—John the Baptist—indicated the nature of the new social order. He centered his thoughts around this new fellowship which soon the world was to know. He believed that every valley will be filled and every mountain brought low. He foretold a levelling up, an equal distribution of wealth. Brotherly love would reign supreme.

When Jesus was twelve years of age He went into the synagogue and dwelt on these words from the Holy Books: "He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor." When He grew up the same current of thought keeps flowing in all His utterances. The same anxiety for the welfare of the poor, the sick, the downtrodden and the hopeless dominated His actions. The miracles show graphically how He fought death and disease, in the slums and sideways of human existence and in the midst of the suffering middle classes. His parables are earthly stories with a very earthly meaning. The Good Samaritan teaches us how all the world is our neighbourhood and every man born of a woman is our neighbour. What Jesus sought to establish was a human brotherhood founded on love and understanding. To Him duty to one's

neighbour was no less important than duty to one's God and only those who ministered to one's neighbours qualified themselves for entry into His Kingdom. "I was hungered and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these least, ye did it not unto me." Only those who had looked after these unfortunate people and fulfilled themselves in acts of social service could claim to have done their duty by God. That was Christ's idea of a perfect Social State—His Kingdom on Earth. The greatest bar to this Kingdom was wealth and Christ never tired of pointing out how wrong it was to make money. It was the root of evil, He said, and condemned the rich man as being unfit to enter the Kingdom. That is why Dives had to be consigned to hell fire. He could not pass through the eye of a needle because he was a camel! And if the wealthy Dives should be saved from the poverty of his soul he should have to be relieved of his riches in this world. Dives should have distributed his wealth and shut not his compassion from those who needed it. What Christ aimed at was this equitable distribution of wealth, a social reform which the world has not succeeded in establishing even after so many centuries. In His Kingdom no one would have gone hungry or

naked or suffered from want. It is difficult to believe that the message of Christian Socialism was always there for the world to strive after and achieve. When Dr. Kagawa wrote his book "Brotherhood Economics" and dreamed of a co-operative federation as the means to a world government based on social justice he was guided by this essential teaching of Jesus.

The early Christians succeeded in establishing such a social order. On baptism these were admitted into the brotherhood of the Church. They became one body with different members and lived in a form of voluntary communism. They became co-sharers in the perishable as well as the imperishable things of life. From each member according to his ability and to each according to his need. When this was possible some nineteen centuries ago, is it impossible of achievement in this century of the many many have-nots? Is it because we love the poor man less and the rich man more? The teaching of Jesus is rich with this socialist message. A true socialist, like a true Christian, should be full of self-control and brotherly love and like a drilled soldier be ready for self-sacrifice for the cause. His character should be elevated and his convictions fired with enthusiasm lest this great social change that is coming over the world and especially in India with the inauguration of the Republic should not fructify or the new order break down.

THE CENTURY OF THE UNCOMMON MAN

Our era should be the era which endeavours to find the man out of the common lost in the masses of common men; and to draw out that which is out of the common in every man. For the issue is neither of class nor of wealth but of spirit. There is always something common, in uncommon men, and something out of the common in common ones. There are splendours of abnegation, courage, heart, in the humblest folk. The century must look upwards and not downwards, must seek the uncommon, not the common man.—**SALVADOR MADRIAGA.**

"Our own death is the premium which we must pay for the far greater benefit we have derived from the fact that so many people have not only lived but also died before us. For if the old ones had not in course of time gone there would have been no progress; all our civilisation is due to the arrangement whereby no man shall live for ever, and to this huge mass of advantage we must each contribute our mite; that is to say, when our turn comes we, too, must die."—**SAMUEL BUTLER.**

"In my judgment, the woman is the equal of the man. She has all the rights I have and one more, and that is the right to be protected. That is my doctrine."—**INGERSOLL.**

PLANNING CITIES OF TOMORROW

By EMILE C. SCHURMACHER

As feature writer and foreign correspondent, Emile C. Schurmacher has visited out-of-the-way places on four continents, including Ethiopia and the Gran Chaco. In this article he outlines a project for ultra-modern Cities of Tomorrow, as envisaged by William Zeckendorf, the man who gave up his first dream city to provide the United Nations with a home-site.

IS the modern city as we know it becoming obsolete? Is its never-ending struggle for expansion, instead of being a healthy sign of progress, in reality a symptom of slow strangulation caused by unregulated growth?

William Zeckendorf, astute New York realtor and lusty-voiced prophet of the City of Tomorrow, believes many of our cities, originally laid out in a horse-and-buggy era, are becoming centres of chaos and confusion, instead of contributing to the convenience of urban living.

Zeckendorf big and bouncing, is neither dreamer nor theorist. President of the firm of Webb and Knapp, which has holdings in many cities of the U. S., he is 43 years old. His vision is realistic.

It was he who conceived the idea of an ultra-modern metropolis which he called "X City," and which was to be built on the East River water-front of mid-town Manhattan at a cost of \$150,000,000. It was to contain skyscraper apartments, office buildings, an opera house, convention hall, theatres and stores. There were to be underground garages for parking thousands of cars. There was to be a helicopter landing field from which travellers could be aerially ferried to airports in a matter of minutes.

Zeckendorf worked day and night on the project. He acquired the necessary land at a cost of \$7,000,000. X City, concept of a City of Tomorrow, was becoming an imminent prospect when Zeckendorf learned that the United Nations was just about ready to give up hope of finding a site in the U. S.

"Here was the chance to make New York City the capital of the world. It was one that no citizen

could be selfish about," says Zeckendorf. "So I decided to shelve X City if the U. N. wanted the site."

He called Mayor O'Dwyer, and offered his East River properties to the U. N. at any price it was willing to pay. It was this offer which set in motion a series of fast-moving events culminating in the U. N. moving to New York. The Mayor talked to Nelson Rockefeller, a member of his site committee, who in turn spoke to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., his father. Mr. Rockefeller then acquired the properties from Webb and Knapp, Inc., for \$8,500,000, and gave them as a home site to the U. N.

Zeckendorf gave up the chance to turn a handsome potential profit on X City. His one regret was that X City could not be constructed in New York as a full-scale example of his idea of a City of Tomorrow.

Despite the fact he has made it possible for the U. N. to take up its headquarters in Manhattan, and notwithstanding the popular conception of New York City as the greatest city in the world, by Zeckendorf standards the metropolis has lamentable shortcomings.

"Can any city or any community lay claim to greatness when it tries to live within the framework of a master plan conceived in 1811?" he demands. "That was a plan designed for horse-drawn vehicles, for industries that got along very well in 25 by 100-foot lots, where the most distant point in the community was less than three miles from the centre of the city.

"As a result of having lived and planned and built within that 1811 concept, we are suffering greatly today. New York's sprawling bulk is destructive of all sense of community

living. We face huge areas of miasmal slums, traffic congestion to the point of throttling, inadequate recreational facilities, lack of industrial impetus and, it should be noted, a bankrupt treasury.

"The situation in New York City today is but a magnified stencil for almost every other so-called modern city east of the Mississippi river and many beyond."

In many a city, he points out, a man may have a car with the most modern devices that automotive engineers can think of—and no place to park it. A city child may be vaccinated, inoculated and otherwise have his health safeguarded by medical science—only to risk his life daily by being forced to play in unsafe surroundings. A woman may have an ingeniously laid-out, steps-saving kitchen but walk miles to do her shopping.

Zeckendorf has evolved his own remedies to cure some of these headaches and the greater pains of city-strangulation. Some of these are still ideas. Some are in blue-print or model form. Some are in the process of being carried out.

As a method of coping with the parking and traffic problem, for example, he designed and, at a cost of over \$200,000, built a model of a 20-storey, 5,400-car garage with no ramps or other waste space. Entirely mechanical, it works as efficiently as a typewriter.

Cars, driven on to standardized dollies on the ground floor, are mass-parked automatically in any unoccupied berth on any level of the garage without moving any other parked automobile.

Conversely, any parked automobile can be delivered from its berth to the exit without moving any other parked car. Ramps and parking jockies are eliminated, and damage to cars is ruled out. Access to floors is by a continuous chain elevator. Under this system, cars may be parked fender to fender and bumper to bumper by lifting them out of their berth and moving them by an automatic overhead conveyor to the elevators.

Another idea was a \$50,000 shopping centre of 23 acres in Flushing, New York, a short distance from Manhat-

tan. Zeckendorf envisaged it as a concrete example of what could be accomplished towards eliminating some of the many inconveniences of modern urban living.

As originally planned, the shopping centre was to have office buildings, theatres, super-markets, speciality and department stores, gasoline stations, nursery, park, covered air-conditioned sidewalks for all-weather, all-season use. Shoppers would not have to walk. The sidewalks would move along past the shop fronts.

Zeckendorf threw himself into the project with characteristic energy. Through painstaking negotiations with individuals over a long period, he managed to accumulate nearly 90 per cent of the land necessary to the project. Then the plan struck a snag. The owners of the remaining 10 per cent would not sell. And the city refused to widen streets necessary to the scheme and thus to condemn the remaining land vital to the project.

Here, Zeckendorf realized, was a problem facing future transformation of obsolescent cities into modern living cities. He points out that here was a vitally needed project stymied by holders of only 10 per cent of the land area (many of them demanding high prices) having a total assessed valuation of less than one per cent of the ultimate cost of the venture.

The Flushing project, nevertheless, is going ahead, although not on the scale Zeckendorf originally visualized. He points to it as an object lesson in the necessity of municipality and private enterprise working wholeheartedly together in planning the better cities of the future.

"What is needed now," he says, "is an informed and aroused public opinion to get things done. The tools and techniques, mental and physical, are at hand. But in many cities the necessary zoning causes difficulty under present laws except in those rare instances where everything happens to fit in."

Recently, Zeckendorf made a tour of Europe to see what was being done abroad in planning for tomorrow's cities. He was impressed with the way in which England in particular is abolishing slums and creating entire areas for healthful "garden

a precious head



Gently massage scalp with oil and brush daily.



Wash hair regularly once every week.

How endearing and charming is a baby's head with its mass of fluffy curls and how precious. Give it the best and you will help the growth of a healthy and lustrous head of hair.



TOMCO

coconut Hair Oil & Shampoo

THE TATA OIL MILLS COMPANY LIMITED

living." He also thought it significant that large cities were being decentralized into smaller communities, each complete unto itself with homes, factories, shops, offices and amusement facilities.

While he believes that more of this vision might well be utilized, he does not see decentralization in the English sense as the answer in the construction of North American Cities of Tomorrow.

"I think that over here we've got to go further in planning master projects and in making zoning limitations to prevent new slums arising in place of old slums," he declares. "We've got to prevent unbridled speculation among builders who have only short-range plans and no concern for the best interests of the community."

"So far as living is concerned, we must open up our cities, bring in fresh air, sunlight, trees. The way to do this and meet the economic factor is to 'go vertical' rather than, as at present, to spread out horizontally."

The Zeckendorf concept of an ultra-modern, really livable New York or Toronto, Chicago or Montreal is a series of cities within cities. His City of Tomorrow is a series of self-contained communities based on super-blocks.

A super-block, he explains, comprises any number of blocks necessary to the type of community in question, but before starting to build, one-third of its area would be dedicated to park-like landscaping so that each resident could have his full share of fresh air and sunshine.

Says Zeckendorf: "Today, most cities that boast of the extensiveness of their park systems overlook the fact that they are not readily accessible, geographically, to all citizens. In many cities, if a resident sees a bit of greenery at all, it's on a Sunday when he has plenty of time to ride or walk to a park."

Buildings would be erected on the remaining two-thirds of the land.

"Instrumental or mechanical science is the noblest and above all others the most useful, seeing that by means of it all animated bodies which have movement perform their actions; and the origin of these movements is at the centre of their gravity, which is placed in the middle with unequal weight at the sides of it, and it has scarcity or lever."—LEONARDO DA VINCI.

They would be lofty apartment houses with garages below the ground. In some super-blocks, where buildings reach skyscraper proportions and residents are especially numerous, a mechanical garage might be necessary to accommodate all their cars.

From an economic standpoint, Zeckendorf explains, the super-block communities would make an increased contribution to a city's taxes. Although one-third less space would be occupied by buildings, the valuation of the area would be greatly increased.

Each super-block community would make up a unit flanking an avenue or express highway connecting it with other such communities. Cross-streets through the community itself would be sealed off. Children could play safely anywhere in the area.

Imaginative as many of Zeckendorf's ideas are, he has both feet planted solidly on the ground. Back in 1938 when he joined the organization as Vice-President, Webb and Knapp was a conservative real estate firm. Today, with Zeckendorf as President, it is one of the largest, most forward-looking in the country.

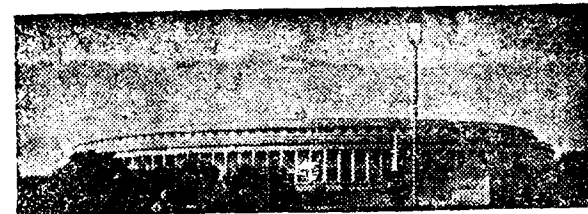
Zeckendorf himself moves about in an atmosphere of quick decisions, of important deals, of projects which at times are staggering in their immensity. His fellow-workers have grown used to all this, and now take it in their stride.

Firm in his conviction that our cities become old-fashioned despite their boasted "modern conveniences," inspired by his ambitious project for X City which he scrapped in favour of the United Nations, Zeckendorf is busy with other plans for Cities of Tomorrow.

They are impressive. They are also as practical as scientific planning and engineering can make them.

"They have to be," Zeckendorf explains with a grin. "In my business, to think big also carries with it an express obligation to think sanely." —Copyright.

NEW DELHI DIARY



FINAL touches are being given by the Secretariat to the programme of celebrations on the 26th of January—Republic Day. In accordance with the instructions of the Prime Minister, a great deal of economy has been effected in the number of items. The biggest event, of course, will be the assumption of office by the President and the formation of a new cabinet by the Prime Minister at the request of the new President.

But who will be the first President of the Indian Republic or the Provisional President until the General Elections are held? Almost everyone in New Delhi is asking this question to himself, but unable to give a definite answer. It is now known that the choice lies definitely between Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the present Governor-General, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly. On the surface there is no such thing as a Presidential contest, but the fact that no decision has been taken so far on this vital question has given room to considerable speculation and even mild controversies. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who has created a very good impression as the first Indian Governor-General, is ready to leave. He has said so publicly in Mysore.

In the Government House itself, all indications point to the impending retirement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. The Governor-General is giving a sort of farewell touch to his interviews and calls, but will he be allowed to retire? Left to themselves Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel would very much like Mr. Rajagopalachari to continue as the Head of the State. They cannot think of losing the services of this able and seasoned politician, who is also held in the highest esteem by the representatives of foreign Governments in Delhi and by a large section of the country.

Normally the choice of his name for

Presidentship would be a foregone conclusion. A complication has however arisen because of the fact that a large number of the Constituent Assembly Members expressed last month a desire to see Dr. Rajendra Prasad elected as the Provisional President, after the Constitution is adopted on the 26th January. That was a well-meaning decision directed to confer the highest honour on the President of the Constituent Assembly. But the Assembly Members did not take into account the other factors to be considered in making the final choice. There were several practical difficulties. Sensing the hasty step of some members of the Congress Assembly Party, Sardar Patel took the Party members into confidence and convinced them of the complications that would arise by the Party passing an amendment which would automatically make the President of the Constituent Assembly the first President of the Indian Republic. After his address to the members the amendment was withdrawn, and the question was left open for a sound decision on practical considerations later. Last week, Sardar Patel called a section of the legislators to sense their views on the subject. No decision was taken at the meeting, but the general desire was expressed that the services of Mr. Rajagopalachari should not be lost to the Government or the country because of any constitutional change-over. The Constituent Assembly meeting on the 24th of this month will have to elect unanimously the first President. Informed quarters here believe that Mr. Rajagopalachari may be persuaded to accept the Provisional Presidentship of the Indian Republic. A contest will most certainly be avoided and the decision will be unanimous.

Whoever is elected President, his first assignment under the Constitution is to ask the Prime Minister to

reconstitute the Cabinet. This will be a mere formality and with few changes the present team is expected to continue. Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Minister for Railways and Transport, has expressed his desire to be relieved, but it is doubtful if Pandit Nehru will lose the assistance of this experienced administrator. One or two departments may not remain under the new set-up while some departments may be reorganised in the interests of efficiency.

The President will unfurl the Tricolour at the Irwin Stadium after a long procession through the main streets of the capital. Delhi may witness the biggest military parade on the 26th of January. All wings of India's Armed Forces will present colours to the President. The Services on that day would have lost the prefix "Royal" and would be truly Indian in name and composition. New crests, insignia and badges are being designed to keep in conformity with India's new status. All the pomp and splendour associated with such occasions in the past will not be there. That will be so because of the economy Government has been laying emphasise on in all its declarations. The message of the Republic to every Indian is, therefore, "work and economy." Pandit Nehru made this quite clear at Nagpur when he gave his New Year message to India: "Work and more work." That was the only way to lift the country from poverty and economic distress and the only way to prevent repetition in India of events in China.

Talking about China, it must be mentioned to the credit of Pandit Nehru that India announced the recognition of the new regime in advance of all other Commonwealth countries. India's decision, therefore, has been taken independently of other countries, even though the majority of Commonwealth members might follow the same policy. America has not made up its mind yet and is likely to delay the decision for some months. To India the problem was one of urgency and, as a leading state in Asia she had to announce her policy for the guidance of other countries in the Eastern hemisphere. India's recognition of Communist China has brought the immediate

future of Tibet into prominence. The official communique announcing India's recognition clearly says that diplomatic relations will be entered into with Red China on the basis of equality, mutual interest and mutual respect for sovereign and territorial rights. China's nominal suzerainty over Tibet was and continues to be respected by India. By recognising the new regime in China, Red China's suzerainty over Tibet is also recognised. The Anglo-Chinese treaty, which accepted the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, made it clear, however, that Tibet would remain fully autonomous. India continued to accept this position even after Independence. The new Government of China is expected to respect the terms of the Treaty and accept Tibet's autonomous position. Granted this, Tibet would not become a major headache to the Government of India's foreign policy. Reports of Tibet approaching India for separate treaty arrangement have been officially denied in New Delhi. Britain has not so far declared her official attitude on Tibet's position. Tibet does not enjoy a separate international status and has no diplomatic relations with any country in the world. So far as India is concerned, it desires *status quo* with Tibet, while recognising the new Government of China and its nominal suzerainty over Tibet. These developments in China and Tibet have, however, necessitated a review of the defence policy of the Government. Special attention will have to be paid to India's Eastern borders. The Prime Minister of Nepal has been invited to Delhi by the Prime Minister of India for consultations regarding a new treaty with that country covering all aspects of Indo-Nepal relations.

The total expenditure incurred by the Government of India on its diplomatic and trade missions abroad during the year 1948-49 is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 2 crores. Attempts have been made not to increase the expenditure under this head in the coming year by postponing some of the less important missions in foreign countries, but no appreciable reduction is likely in the existing figure. The Embassy in Washington costs the

Indian Exchequer Rs. 22,91,000. For the same item the 1947-48 figure is Rs. 10,84,000. The Consulates in San Francisco and New York and the Indian Delegation in New York account for an additional expense of Rs. 8 lakhs. The total expenditure in 1948-49 for our diplomatic missions in America is Rs. 31,21,400. The High Commissioner's Office in London is the next biggest charge on the Budget on the diplomatic side accounting for an expense of Rs. 23,09,000. The Embassy in Moscow accounts for only

Rs. 8,70,000. Paris and Cairo approximate to this figure. The High Commissioner's Office in Karachi costs Rs. 5,17,000. The Embassy in Rangoon has been ear-marked Rs. 8 lakhs for 1948-49. The figure for the previous year is Rs. 1,64,000. The Embassy in Nanking has been provided Rs. 7,15,000. The Consulate at Kashgar in Sinkiang has been budgeted Rs. 1,29,000. Trade Missions abroad accounted for a total expenditure of Rs. 22,45,000.

THE NATYAKALA CONFERENCE

By "ARTLOVER"

THE third South Indian Natyakala Conference organised by the Indian Institute of Fine Arts, Madras, came to a happy close on the 1st January at the Museum Theatre. This session was presided over by Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer and was inaugurated by Mr. Justice A. S. P. Aiyar on 27th December, 1949. During the six days' proceedings there were discussion in the mornings in which many artists and connoisseurs participated including Sri Chittoor Subramania Pillay, Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastriar, Prof. P. Sambamurti, Sri E. Krishna Iyer, Kuchipudi Natyakalanidhi Vedantam Lakshminarayana Sastri, Tiruvadamarudur Kuppiyah Nattuvanar, Natyasamrat Gopalakrishna and Ramani, Prof. A. N. Parasuram, Vidwan Kalakad Ramanarayana Iyer, Pandanallur Sri Muthiah Pillay, Syed Shah Mohamed of Gwalior and Sri Gopala Sarma. Shrimati Ragini Devi and Dr. Achyuta Menon who were expected to address the conference on Kathakali could not attend.

The discussions covered many interesting aspects of dance and music. There was controversy over the question as to whether any age limit should be observed by family girls performing on the stage, during which Sri E. Krishna Iyer vehemently asserted that art had nothing to do with the morals of society girls; Mr. A. S. P. Aiyar was on the opposite bench. Yet another hot discussion was over the method of singing "Sollukattu" in varnams and padams. Vedantam Sri Lakshminarayana

Sastri and party demonstrated the Kuchipudi school of Bharatanatya and a charming little girl, Kamala Gnaneswari, wonderfully acquitted herself in this fanciful style, whose main charm was the "Sollukattu" sung to the sruti and raga. Sri E. Krishna Iyer suggested that this plan might be used in the Tanjore school also, when Tanjore K. P. Kittappa, and Tiruvadamarudur Kuppayya Nattuvanar demonstrated that this was impractical in the Tamil style wherein the calculations and patterns were much more intricate. They however admitted that wherever it was possible this more musical method of singing the "Sollukattu" was worth trying. There were also speeches and pallavi demonstrations by Mannargudi Nagaraja Iyer and Srirangam T. Narasimhaachari on Brahma Tala and Kanta-jathi Triputa respectively.

The entertainments in the evenings were enlivening and included Veena performances by Mrs. and Mr. S. Parthasarathy (of *The Hindu*), K. P. Sivanandam, and students of the Veena Section of the Institute. There were also classical Bharatanatyam recitals by Vasanta, Revati, Lalita, Sivaram and G. Kousalya, diploma-holders of the Institute, and Pandanallur Devanayagi. Kumari G. Kousalya's performance was attended by the delegates to the All-India Political Science Conference who termed it an "unforgettable experience." Kousalya with her charming figure, graceful and supple movements, swift steps and quick play of emo-

tions on the face, easily claimed equal status with any of the most brilliant exponents of classical Bharatanatyam on the stage today. She is indeed a credit to the Institute.

The highlights of the season were "Bharati Kannan" dance drama and "Pinnal Kolattam." "Bharati Kannan" was a dance drama composed of some of Bharatiar's songs on Lord Krishna and prepared to *Nritta* and *Abhinaya* by Pandanallur Sri Chockalingam Pillay, the dance instructor of the Institute. The "Thillana" by the lithe little D. Kamala as Balakrishna was exhilarating while *Natyakala-bhushanams* Kalyanasundaravalli, Kousalya and Lalita Sivaram offered enchanting portrayals of Krishna, Radha and Yasoda respectively. "Bharati Kannan" was of a different type from the dance dramas seen these days, with a technique not in any way corrupted. The spiritual atmosphere of the show seemed to reflect the culture of the girls who participated in it as also of the organisers.

"Pinnal Kolattam" was yet another

novel conception of a group dance and was wonderfully colourful. It was also in pure Bharatanatyam technique and seemed worthy of emulation by other dance troupes.

Resolutions were passed demanding the establishment of a dance university, restriction on the foreign tours of pseudo artistes, and amendments to the Devadasi Act which bans dancing by a girl in a temple.

On the whole this year's conference was a grand success thanks to the untiring efforts of Sri Sarangapani Iyengar and other executives of the Institute. But one did feel the absence of proper co-operation from the artistes. These days when Indian dance art has attained international status, South India, where the art has developed in its most chaste and classical forms, does need an yearly gathering like this to discuss matters connected with the development of the dance art and to provide an opportunity for younger artistes to present themselves before a learned audience. This festival has been a real Carnatic Music Congress.

THE NEW YEAR

ON January 1, 1950, Indonesia was free—though the shadow of Dutch imperialism has not altogether disappeared from the landscape!

On January 1, the recognition by India of the new Communist regime in China became an established fact.

On January 1, America announced her decision to make a desperate, eleventh-hour attempt to hold Formosa as a bastion for Chiang Kai-shek.

On January 1, Russia decided to give a loan to Communist China.

On January 1, *Tass* announced that Russia's 1949 grain crop was 51 per cent higher than production in 1945.

On January 1, U. P. A. announced that the U. S. Government had asked farmers to reduce their 1950 plantings of maize by 11,333,000 acres to "hold down burdensome surpluses."

On January 1, Britain started the New Year with a deficit of 22,170,767 pounds sterling.

On January 1, Russia charged Finland of violating her Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

On January 1, Military quarters in Helsinki denied the New York radio report of Soviet Russian troop concentrations along the Finnish border.

On January 1, forty armed raiders from Pakistan who had penetrated six miles within Indian territory near Jammu were beaten back by villagers organized under the Jammu Joint Defence Committee.

On January 1, the special correspondent of *Times of India* in Karachi reported that "an optimistic view that there should be a revival of Indo-Pakistan trade in the near future is prevailing here."

On January 1, yet another state, Cooch-Bihar (once famous for its fashionable Maharanis and shikar-loving Maharajas), disappeared from the map of India, and was merged with the province of West Bengal.

On January 1, five Communist security prisoners escaped from a jail in Cooch-Bihar.

On January 1, the

Madras Premier in a speech made a reference to "the gloomy food outlook for the Madras Province for the New Year."

On January 1, reports from Calicut indicated that the stock position of rice in Malabar was critical.

On January 1, British R.A.F. planes made the biggest air attack on "Red" guerillas in Malaya.

On January 1, Malayan "Red" guerillas wrecked a British train and shot its Eurasian driver.

On January 1, France granted "qualified autonomy" (under the French flag) to the Bao Dai regime in Viet Nam.

On January 1, eight explosions took place in different parts of Saigon in Viet Nam.

On January 1, more explosions were reported from Calcutta.

On January 1, Prime Minister Nehru said reports of terrorist activity in Calcutta as published in papers were much "exaggerated."

On January 1, at least one man (in Agra) died of drinking too much while celebrating the New Year.

On January 1, several refugees were on hunger-strike while others were orally protesting against the lack of Governmental aid given for their rehabilitation.

On January 1, 290 persons died in U.S.A. in New Year holiday fatalities including 174 in traffic accidents and eight in plane crashes.

On January 1, Indian cricketers dismissed the Commonwealth team for 190 runs and forced a follow-on on them.

On January 1, Rewa police opened fire on striking workers, killing four and injuring 26....

On January 1, in short, the Happy New Year looked not very different from the Unhappy Old Year!

HOPE ETERNAL

All over the world, from Moscow to Washington, the New Year was ushered in with great rejoicing. In New York three quarters of a million revellers jammed Times Square to wel-

THE VANGUARD INSURANCE CO., LTD.

**THE VANGUARD FIRE AND
GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.**

Head Office: MADRAS.

Transacts

**LIFE
ACCIDENT
MARINE**

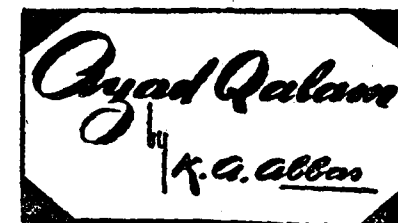
**FIRE
WORKMEN'S
COMPENSATION**

**MOTOR
MISCELLANEOUS,
ETC., ETC.**

Liberal Policy Conditions, Moderate Premiums and Low Expense Ratio
have carried VANGUARD POLICIES to every place.

Branches & Agencies:—ALL OVER INDIA, CEYLON & F. M. S.

**H. D. RAJAH,
General Manager.**



come 1950. In London "the biggest crowds since the war thronged Piccadilly Circus and Trafalgar Square to usher in 1950 with sirens, songs and cheers." Paris "celebrated quietly" and Moscow ushered in the New Year only with the chiming of the Kremlin clock. In India, the fashionable folk in the big cities mustered strong in hotels, night clubs and restaurants to drink and dance in pitiable imitation of the Western New Year revelry. By the time the clock struck the zero hour, the Common Man of India was, of course, sound asleep—if he had a place to sleep!—after a hard day's work in field, factory, office or workshop. To him the New Year morning sun brought no special message of cheer, no hope of higher wages or increased rations, nor the larger hopes of security—or of Peace!

And yet, to most of us, the beginning of a New Year does bring a thrill, however faint or dulled by the unpleasant realities of life. New Year day, like a birthday, should be a sad reminder that Life is passing by and Death getting nearer. But it is not. If only because it is a holiday and provides relief from work, we look forward to January 1. Or, more likely still, it is 'hope that rises eternal in the human breast' that makes us rejoice—or at least relax—on January 1, hoping against hope that at least during the coming year, something, somehow, somewhere, will turn up to bring about a change for the better in our life and in the lives of the people of the world!

Who can stop us from hoping—specially at the beginning of a New Year! Hope, after all, is today the only unrationed commodity in the world.

LET'S CENSOR THE CENSORS

It is good news that at last the Government of India has decided to centralize film censorship. It is to be seen, however, whether it will mean a more rational, consistent and sensible policy of censoring or (we shudder at the prospect) merely the centralization of all the vagaries and stupidities of the different provincial censor boards.

The case of the Bengali film "42," a splendid effort by a patriotic producer (Hemen Gupta) to dramatise and glorify the non-violent heroes of the

"Quit India" struggle has already attracted some attention from the press. It was banned by the Bengal Board of Censors—but passed by the Bombay Board! Two other Bengali films, also set against the patriotic background of the 1942 movement, "Jagrit Bharat" and "Jagriti" were also likewise banned by the government of Dr. B. C. Roy.

Strangely enough, under a Congress government it has become illegal to make films glorifying the anti-imperialist movements led by the Congress!

Now comes along another patriotic young producer from Calcutta, Mr. Jalan, with a similar tale of woe. In a moment of inspired folly, he decided to risk a few lakhs of his and his family's money in a film venture. Still more foolish of him to select not a boy-meets-girl-song-dance story but a patriotic saga of a non-violent hero of the "42" movement who dies fighting in Kashmir, shoulder to shoulder with his Kashmiri Muslim comrades like Maqbul Sherwani whose martyrdom provides one of the dramatic highlights of the picture. Since the picture dramatizes Gandhiji's gospel of Unity and self-sacrifice, it was called "Bapu Ne Kaha Tha."

I am told that when *Sher-i-Kashmir* Sheikh Abdullah saw the picture he was greatly moved by it. So was I. So would you be. But the members of the Bengal Board of Censors were moved in the reverse gear—they were moved to order the banning of the film!

Of whom does this all-important Censor Board consist of? It is heavily loaded with officials—Home Secretary, Commissioner of Police, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Director of Publicity and an Army representative. Among the non-officials two names are important—Mr. Laxminivas Birla (son of Seth G. D. Birla) who has the reputation of never attending Board meetings and one Mr. Hafizjee, Manager of the Metro Cinema, Calcutta, and thus an employer of a foreign film interest.

When the Board discussed the film this Metro Manager who is alleged to have pro-Pakistan sympathies led the opposition, and the picture was banned. The main reasons given for the ban was that the Kashmir episode

involved a breach of the Indo-Pakistani Agreement!

Strangely enough, the episodes shown in the film are based on facts revealed in "Kashmir Story," a Government publication!

Moreover, the film was shown to a dozen Muslim editors of Calcutta who unanimously voted the picture a commendable attempt to propagate the ideal of Hindu-Muslim unity.

But, for the Bengal Government, the word of the Manager of Metro carried more weight than even that of Sheikh Abdullah!

This and other similar bans on purely patriotic works of art expose the pretensions of the Bengal Government. It is not the Communists alone they are fighting over there; they seem to have launched a "crusade" against the patriotic traditions and memories of the Indian people.

BOOK OF THE WEEK

All the way from *Mother India*, Katherine Mayo's monumental slander on a whole nation, to Beverley Nichols' vindictively and provocatively anti-Indian *Verdict On India*, books on India by foreigners have been marked by hostility for the resurgent, dynamic, nationalist, new India and patronizing praise for the decadent, feudal, "picturesque" old India. A psychological analysis of the books—and their authors—might have revealed a sub-conscious, if not conscious, desire to justify, prolong and perpetuate the imperialist rule in India as their prime motive. The freedom of India having become an established fact, it is more likely now that at least the sincere and disinterested visitor from abroad will be able to see real India in a more objective light. And yet the tradition of "drain-inspecting" dies hard and even Dorothy Jane Ward's fairly balanced "INDIA FOR THE INDIANS" is marked by a lurid dust-cover with a montage of the " quaint and queer" aspects of Indian life, and a chapter with the heading, "Bazars And Baksheesh" which harks back to the bad, old days when sniffing spinsters arrived in India on drain-inspecting missions. This fixed notion that there is something " quaint" and abnormal

about India and Indians has vitiated the writings of most foreign authors on India. "Accounts of the fabled Indian rope trick are inconceivable until one has visited India. After that, they sound quite understandable, if not entirely natural... There is such a wonderful unreality about India..." After such an opening of the very first chapter headed "Grand Illusion", you expect another dose of mumbo-jumbo about India. But, actually, Dorothy Jane Ward has compiled a sketchy and somewhat superficial but not entirely uninformed or unsympathetic report on the new, post-independence India. If now and then, she allows her objectivity to be clouded by the allegedly oriental "unreality," not she but the Western world's deep-seated illusions about the East are to blame. And if she sounds rather harsh in her criticism of many of the undoubted mistakes and weaknesses of the new India, as free men let us grin and bear it. For now and then, it is good and healthy to see ourselves as others see us. It punctures our conceit and saves us from drifting into national self-complacency. "INDIA FOR THE INDIANS" (Arthur Barker, London, 9s. 6d.) is racy and readable and holds promise of a better type of books to be written by foreigners about India.

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

NEW YORK: Lynchings of, and mob violence against, Negroes showed an "appreciable increase" in 1949, according to the National Association For Advancement of Coloured People.

WASHINGTON: New plans to extend eleventh-hour American aid to the faltering Chinese Nationalists appeared to be gaining strength today within the Truman Administration... Informed quarters said that the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended first a new U. S. Military Mission to advise Chiang Kai-shek...

KARACHI: The Indonesian Prime Minister, Dr. Mohamed Hatta, (passing through Karachi) described his country as "an Asiatic state" rather than "an Islamic State"... He told journalists, "We have no quarrel about religion." "In fact," he added, "we have so many religions in Indonesia."

SIDELIGHTS : :

Party standards are the shadows in which patriotism is buried.—
ST. PIERRE.

THE demand for Andhra separation has been taken over by Tamils. They are now more anxious to get rid of the Andhras than the Andhras are to get rid of the Tamils. One reason for the change might be the prospective disintegration of Hyderabad into its component linguistic units. If the Telugu districts of that State are added on to Madras Province, the Tamil majority in it would be reduced to a minority. Tamil leaders like Sri Kamaraj Nadar have no objection for a composite province in which they constitute the majority, but they are unable to tolerate even the idea of the advantage of numbers which they have been enjoying so far, going to others. Hence their desire to see to the bundling of Andhras from Madras City before other complications set in, connected with the dismemberment of the territory at present comprised in Hyderabad State.

The expelling mentality has given rise to possessiveness and exclusion. Madras City is the outcome of the constructive labours of a multi-lingual people. Wealth from all the districts has poured into it. It is not easy to assess in terms of cash how much the Andhras contributed, through decades of loving nurture, to its present form. To reduce to the sum of a crore the value of their share in the building of the city was ridiculous, unjust, offensive, and it set the backbone of Sri Prakasam up against being stampeded out of the status of partners with rights to a common property, into that of strangers tolerated on sufferance.

Among the Andhra members on the Partition Committee, there has been no agreement in outlook. Sri Gopala Reddi has towering ambition without any qualifications for leadership, and is unwilling to exchange his present position for the uncertainties of the struggle for power in the new province in which there is every chance of his

getting worsted. Tamil leaders are exceedingly shrewd, and they have realised the enormous advantage to themselves of an inferior type of Andhra Ministers in charge of various portfolios. In the Madras Cabinet, the Tamil members have considerable ability. Sri Bhaktavatsalam, a close second to Sri Kamaraj Nadar in taciturnity, is an expert in the unobtrusive consolidation of power for the furtherance of long-range personal ambitions. He is self-centred, but cautious, competent, vigilant, industrious: a wily tactician with the wisdom of the serpent who knows how to help himself and favourites of his own furtively without rousing comment and can even make it look like efficiency. Dr. Rajan is endowed with an enormous practical sagacity and an absolute fearlessness and indifference to the judgment of others. Sri Kumaraswami Raja, though of average intellectual attainments, has as Premier shown himself to be accessible, affable, painstaking, courteous to subordinates. He is not prestige-ridden and endeavours to keep an open mind. He has made no enemies. His errors are not of illwill, but of comprehension merely, and so removable in the light of proper argument and presentation. Whatever their differences among themselves, the Tamil Ministers work like a team. The Andhra Ministers are like pulp in their dexterous hands. Not one of them has the knowledge, stature or character necessary for being able to exert real influence in the Cabinet. They have no hold on the people of their own area. They are maintained in position with the aid of their Tamil colleagues. They have no sense of administrative duty or fairness. Discrimination is rampant in their departments. It is one law for their favourites, and different for the rest. Even in the administration of the sales tax in some Andhra districts, there is discrimination between ministerial favourites and others. While the Andhra Ministers imagine

that they are ensuring their careers by conferring lavish benefits on vote-farmers, it is their Tamil colleagues that really rule and control them. After the fall of the Prakasam Ministry, the Andhra side of the Ministry has become a subordinate body and for their crude nepotism, they are an object of derision to their more civilized and sophisticated Tamil colleagues.

In view of the huge disparity in power between the Andhras and the Tamils in the present Madras political set-up, it was too much to expect, as at first we did, that impartiality would prevail in the division. Even the Premier's fairmindedness which was revealed promisingly at the outset, broke down under the disequilibrium of the situation. Politicians being what they are, no justice can accrue from any act of division between parties unevenly matched, unless a superior power steps in to exercise supervision. If the separation of Andhra is to be effected with solvency, stability and security to the new province, the Central Government should step in as a sponsor of equity, instead of washing their hands of res-

pensibility as they have been doing.

The Madras Congress Party has selected its candidates for India's Parliament. The Tamil selections could have been better, but some of them at least are passable. The Andhra selections are disgraceful. The selectors do not seem to have attached any importance whatever to considerations connected with fitness. They have dealt with the selection as if it were a favour to be disposed at will, and not a responsibility to be discharged in the public interest. For the time being, no doubt, the patrons and their favourites are happy with the thrill of victoriousness. But they have not done a service to the Congress. An institution is judged by its representatives. Had there not been a Nehru and a Patel in the Congress, it would have gone to pieces by now. But not even Nehru and Patel can save it against the Basi Reddis and Kodandarama Reddis inflicted on it by the Gopala Reddis. The Andhra members of India's Parliament can aspire to be no more than dummies. Some of them possess names that will only infuriate the public and add to the volume and virulence of anti-Congress sentiment in the country.—SAKA.

THE THIRD TEST

By V. P. RAMAN

THERE is perhaps no greater enthusiast of the game of cricket in India than the Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram, better known by the sobriquet of Vizzy. His ecstatic ejaculations on India's "first Test victors" in the course of a broadcast commentary are not therefore surprising; nor is Berry Sarbhadikari's impression that the "unofficial" preposition to this series of Tests, does not in any way detract from its importance. Berry's contention is, that Livingstone's men are as good as any battalion of batsmen and bowlers from any member-nation of the Imperial Cricket Conference. While an assessment of the strength of the visiting team is now likely to suffer by our recent victory at Calcutta, there is

little doubt that this team is neither as weak as Fingleton believed, nor as invulnerable as Duckworth wants us to think.

What does this victory mean to us? How does it reflect on India's status in the world of cricket? These are the queries that bombard our minds as we contemplate a new era in our Sporting history, a fresh chapter in our book of Cricket.

The third "Test" has a few facts to reveal to the cricketers and cricket managing bodies of the land. Hazare has shown how the burden of captaincy does not tell upon his batting, which is more precious to us than his skippermanship. But, his very faculty of blending his two responsibilities of leader and batsman, should ensure

for him permanent captaincy. He is still young and need not think of old-age or ill-health for quite some time to come. His continued stay at the helm of his side would go to build a strong eleven; birds of passage as captains do more harm than good. The folly of excluding Mushtaq Ali from the previous Tests should, by this time, be sun-clear to the eyes of the selectors, fogged by prejudice, which can impair the sight as much as a cataract. An even more impressive win could have been registered if the Indian fielding had not lapsed in the second innings. Occasional brightness in this department of the game is a characteristic of our men, who have one great lesson to learn from

unflagging fielders like Alley and Worrel. The usefulness of Chowdhury has not fortunately been overrated. Credit is no doubt due to him for capturing a few Commonwealth wickets; but a conducive environment in a home ground largely accelerated his success. To try him on the matting wicket at Kanpur may not yield the expected results. Gaikwad of coir-fame is, by far, a better choice. In conclusion, we wish Hazare's team more such successes, which must however be well-earned by their own effort. The perennial necessity to learn and improve is always there, and let not the Indian cricketers wait for defeat to realise that!

(Education) should be a unifying influence, freeing the mind from prejudice, class distinction and intolerance. It should be a search for truth and a willingness to discard preconceived theories, when convinced they are untenable even though at the sacrifice of self-interest. It should lead one to a positive attitude towards life and to one's place and role in the community. Only by an enlightened adult generation of today, actively participating in its social and political responsibilities, can one guarantee an enlightened generation of to-morrow facing its problems with greater confidence and wisdom than its fathers.
—ERNEST GREEN.

QUALITY PRODUCTS:

Mysore Sandal Soap

Cleanse and beautify!

Recommended for use on the most sensitive skins.

Mysore Silks

Real Oriental Silk—

in art shades and several qualities.

Mysore Sandalwood Oil

has won world-wide reputation

for its purity and fragrance.

MYSORE MAKES MANY PRODUCTS BUT ONLY THE BEST OF EACH.



ERROL FLYNN IN INDIA

ERROL Flynn, the matinee idol of millions of movie-goers arrived in Bombay on Friday, 2nd December '49. The tall and handsome star has grown a beard for his role as the Afghan trader in M-G-M's 'KIM,' to be shot at various places in India. The dashing star was mobbed by fans and reporters.

Showing a tremendous obliging nature Flynn never posed as a Hollywood star or as a stranger. His gestures and walk were much dignified and typifies a man of extraordinary warmth, sincerity and kindness.

Errol Flynn possess the he-man element and has had a colorful life so far and his record is Hollywood's liveliest adventure. He was born in Northern Ireland on June 20, 1909. Since he was a lad of 17, Flynn has been his own, facing adventures; Olympic boxer in 1928, pearl-fisher, gold prospector, policeman, roving yachtsman, and the author of the book 'Beam Ends.' He made his first movie appearance in 'The case of the Curious Bride' as a corpse in 1935. This man of action shudders at the word 'swashbuckler,' a word that has been applied to him with varying degrees of emphasis since his Captain Blood and Robin Hood days. Throughout his film career, Flynn has usually portrayed adventurers, sailed the seven seas and played heroes of legend and history.

Flynn has been a headliner without any veritable reason such that he never cares for either a bouquet or a brick-bat. He has been very much victimized by the press and is one of the few men highly misunderstood by society today. Beyond doubt he is one of the few persons never conscious of

popularity or greatness. Flynn enjoyed his visit to India and is carrying back with him happy memories of this country.

THE BEST FILMS OF 1949

"The Bicycle Thief," Italian film directed by Vittorio de Sica, has been named the best movie of 1949 by the committee on exceptional films of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures. The committee also named de Sica best director of the year. The ten films chosen as outstanding by the committee are: (1) The Bicycle Thief, (2) The Quiet One, (3) Intruder in the Dust, (4) The Heiress, (5) Devil in the Flesh, (6) Quartet, (7) Germany Year Zero, (8) Home of the Brave, (9) A Letter to three Wives, (10) The Fallen Idol.

De Sica, director of "The Bicycle Thief" is remembered by American movie-goers for his earlier film success "Shree Shine." Born in 1902, De Sica began his professional career at 21 as an actor, after serving as a baker's helper. He played romantic leads in musical comedies and later starred in Italian productions of American stage successes, among them "The Time of Your Life." De Sica directed his first film in 1936, but achieved international recognition with "Shree Shine" in 1947. He acknowledges Rome Clair and Charles Chaplin as the two most important influences in his work. With only one exception, the players de Sica used in "The Bicycle Thief" had never acted before. They were recruited from the streets of Rome and through radio advertisements.—SIROCCO.

Letters To The Editor

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Madras Housing Schemes

The members of the Madras House Construction Society are much obliged to "SWATANTRA" for the "side-light" thrown on the condition of buildings constructed by the Society in Adyar.

The account given by you about the Society will not, however, be complete without a reference to the pitiable plight of other members of the Society, who are yet to be provided with houses in Mylapore and Ayanavaram.

The members of the Mylapore area paid their share capital as early as in Aug. '47 with the fond hope of occupying houses of their own by the middle of Oct. '49, if not earlier. But they have been bitterly disappointed. Enquiries as to how the matter actually stands do not elicit any definite reply from the Society. No general body meeting has yet been convened for this year. Members are at a loss to understand the inordinate delay. In sheer disgust many members have withdrawn their share capital.

It will not be out of place to mention here that many have in fact borrowed money for payment of share capital and hence they are doubly losers: losing not only interest on the amount invested in the Society till now but also paying interest on the money borrowed. Few members, therefore, appear to be still continuing from the very beginning with an optimistic outlook. Because members come and go, there is probably no one to take up the matter to a higher level. The Society does not appear to have realised its responsibility inasmuch as it has not appreciated the anxiety of the members and has not kept them fully informed of the day to day progress made in the execution of its schemes. One avoidable outcome consequent on the delay in the acquisition of lands in Mylapore will be that those members will probably be required to pay more—for no fault of theirs—towards the cost of site than the value that prevailed at the time the Society notified their proposal for acquisition of lands in the area.

The plight of Ayanavaram members is still more pathetic. Land had been acquired even before July last, but no individual intimation has been received officially by the members regarding the allotment of sites to them nor building plans supplied to them. At this rate, God alone knows how and when the schemes referred to above will come to fruition.

You have, therefore, rightly described the feelings of the members of the Society as "acute dissatisfaction." The members

will feel highly grateful to you if you can draw the attention of the powers-that-be to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs of the Society.

M. SIVARAMAN, B. A.

The Andhras

The time has come for the Andhras not only to sink all their past differences but also come together closer and act in unison in the larger interests of the province that is to be formed very shortly.

The top-ranking leaders should so conduct and change themselves that the people rely on them with full confidence and support them in every way. The younger generation too on their part should be ready to be led by the elders and co-operate with them. Scrambling for this job and that job should be avoided. We must at all cost eliminate the communal spirit that is eating into the very vitals of the body politic.

It should be the duty of all concerned to pool together the best brains available at the moment irrespective of their politics, of their age, caste or creed and utilise them for the advancement of the province economically, culturally, industrially, politically and, last but not least, geographically, giving up if necessary some of the fads that are being indulged in by the Congress Governments. Our time, energy and money need not be frittered away in useless silly reforms but utilised for bigger, better schemes, policies and plans that will really enrich the province and enhance its prestige and power.

Ch. SATYANARAYANA RAO.

Matunga.

Kural On Isai

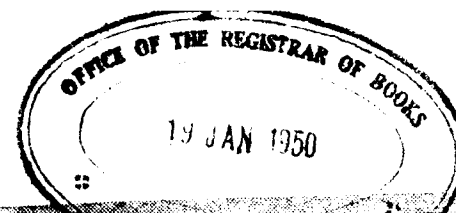
In the course of his address to the Tamil Isai Conference, Mr. Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai is reported to have quoted the following from the Kural:—

"Of what use is melody if the words do not lend themselves to music?" and deduced from it the corollary:

"This supports our contention that 'Sahitya' (words) is of primary importance to 'Sangita' (music)."

I should think that far from supporting the primary importance of Sahitya to Sangita what the quotation does really mean is that good music can be easily spoiled by bad Sahitya. In other words, however perfect a Sahitya may be, semantically, it would be useless for Sangita if it were not intrinsically musical.

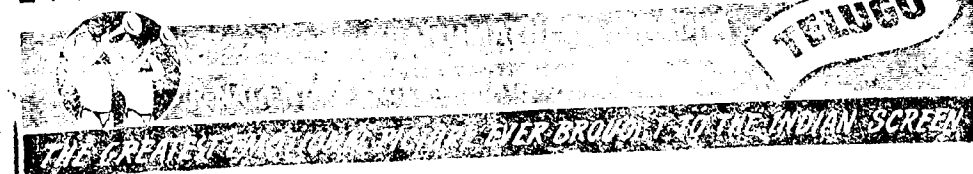
R. RAMACHANDRAN



At the following stations:

VIJAYAWADA
BERHAMPUR
VIZIANAGARAM
VISAKHAPATNAM
KAKINADA
RAJAHMUNDRY
ELURU
TENALI
GUNTUR
BHIMAVARAM
NELLORE
BELLARY
CHITTOOR
ANANTAPUR
NANDYAL
SECUNDERABAD
WARANGAL
CUDDAPAH
RAICHUR

APDORVA SAHODARULU



**YOU ARE
GOING TO SEE
the PICTURE FROM
TO-DAY**

14.1.50

JUPITER'S Krishna Vijayam

MADRAS
GAIETY CROWN

&

ALL OVER TAMIL NAD
AND ANDHRA

Directed by
GANDER RAO HADKARNI
Studio CENTRAL

SWATANTRA

VOL. IV, NO. 49

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1950

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ON THE COVER—Rajkumari Amrit Kaur At Madras Last Week When She Laid The Foundation Stone Of The Andhra Mahila Sabha Nursing Home.	
CARTOON	4
EDITORIAL COMMENTS	5
SOTTO VOCE—By Vighneswara	7
SIDELIGHTS—By Saka	9
AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRICES—By Ramnandan Mishra	10
NEW DELHI DIARY—By A. S. R.	12
THE DUMB WITNESS (Short Story) —By T. Rajaraman	14
PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION —By Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswamy	17
WHITHER INDIA? (Poem)—By "A Service Man"	20
CENSORSHIP OF FILMS—By "Mars"	23
THE INDIAN FILM INDUSTRY—By Doulatram Parshuram	25
MANCHURIAN MYSTERY II—By Andrew Roth	27
STALIN'S SECRET ATOM CITIES—By L. W. Phelps-Orion	29
ARE ANDHRAS GETTING A FAIR DEAL? —By Major D. V. Raja Rao	31
THE SCIENTISTS MEET (Azad Qalam) —By K. A. Abbas	33
TRUMAN'S FAIR DEAL AND U. S. FOREIGN POLICY—By Saul K. Padover	37
HUMAN HANDS (Short Story)—By S. Krishniah	41
PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA—By V. G. Nair	45
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	48

for over 15 years



PRODUCTS

have been prescribed regularly by Physicians, and have an established reputation for reliability and maximum efficacy

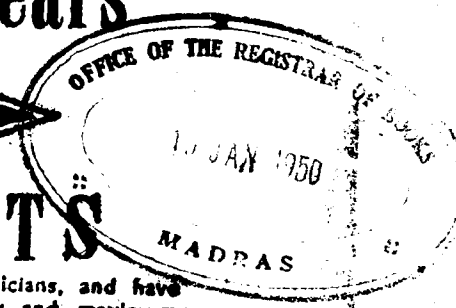
2. GRIPE SYRUP
3. ITEOL
4. JECOBAL

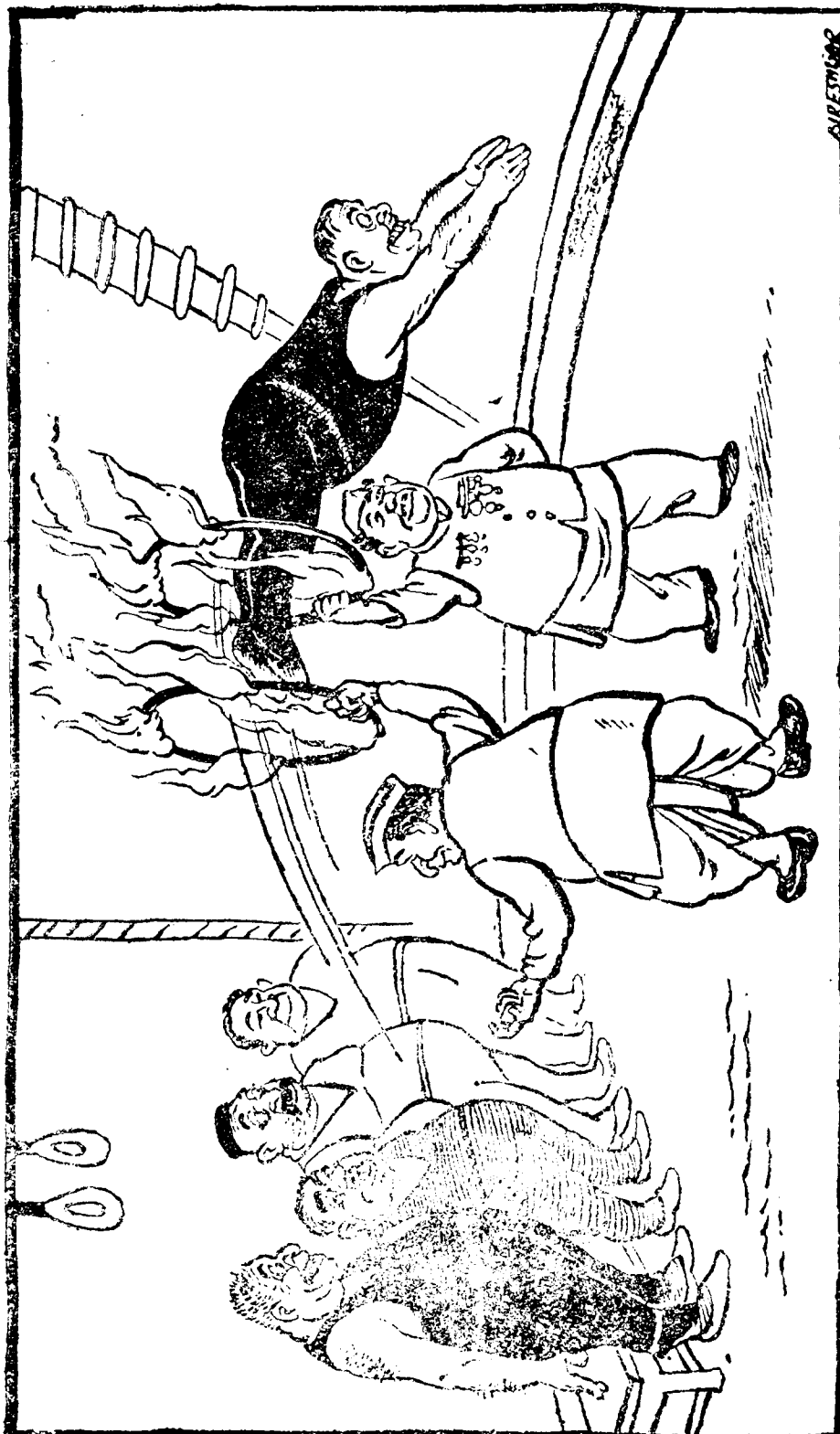
8. EXTRACT OF MALT WITH COD LIVER OIL
5. RETICULIN
6. SEDATIN
7. VITOFERRIN

9. GLUCONATE D
9. VITOMALT
10. HYPER-D COD LIVER OIL

Manufactured By
The Mysore Industrial & Testing Laboratory Ltd.,
Malleswaram, Bangalore.

Selling Agents:
BEST & COMPANY LTD.,
POST BOX No. 63, MADRAS.





Pandit Nehru says that it is difficult to catch blackmarketers.

—Courtesy "National Herald."

SWATANTRA

VOL. IV
No. 49

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1950

ISSUED
WEEKLY

PARTITION AND PARTIES

FROM Pandit Nehru's statement in Madras, it is clear that there is no prospect of the formation of the Andhra Province before the inauguration of India's new Constitution on January 26. The Prime Minister described the emergence of the Andhra Province before that date as a hardly feasible proposition. Nothing daunted, Dr. Pattabhi declared at Tiruchi that it was a quite feasible proposition. It was not very dignified for the Congress President to enter the lists as a controversialist against the Prime Minister in an administrative matter, but Dr. Pattabhi seems to have set his heart on the Andhra Province being formed during his tenure as President. It is not an unnatural aspiration to have oneself established historically as the architect of an important measure, and the energy and determination with which Dr. Pattabhi threw himself into the task of wringing the dream of his ambition from the reluctant hands of the Congress Working Committee and the Central Cabinet, deserve to be recorded with appreciation. Unfortunately in the over-personalisation of a policy essentially impersonal in character, Dr. Pattabhi provoked resistances which he should have avoided but failed to foresee. It shifted the Andhra Province question from the position of being an objective of common interest to all having it in their power to bring it into being, into an objective of special extra interest to himself. The measure of Dr. Pattabhi's anxiety to hasten the promotion of the Andhra Province, became, it would seem, a measure of the reluctance with which Sardar Patel viewed the question as a means

to provide a feather to Dr. Pattabhi's cap. While Dr. Pattabhi laboured for credit, his Secretary Sri Kala Venkata Rao strove for power. From him, now stationed at New Delhi, are emanating assurances in defiance of the Prime Minister's Madras statement, and through obviously inspired press reports, people are still called upon to expect the Andhra Province in another fortnight. After the conclusion of the labours of the Partition Committee, Sri Kala Venkata Rao left Madras for New Delhi armed with a memorandum demanding quick implementation of the Committee's recommendation signed by some 45 Andhra legislators, purporting to represent a majority in the new province. The days are gone, however, when legislators' signatures commanded respect, and nowadays such signatures register merely the helplessness of their authors against the pressure of masterful claimants demanding them. The flourish of signatures by the Congress Secretary was a stroke of tactlessness on his part, since it reduced the demand for Andhra Province into a device to establish himself at the head of its Government. So crude an exhibition of manoeuvring for power has had a repelling effect, and it is responsible for the curious fact that there is not disappointment but relief, among the Andhras themselves, over the postponement of the executive measures for the creation of the new province.

The plain fact of the matter is that people in the Andhra area are frightened of being consigned administratively to the mercy of corrupt and disliked politicians with a gift for successful intrigue. There is dis-

equilibrium in Andhra politics due to discordance between general public opinion and the legislators. If leadership and premiership is derivable from public opinion, and a plebiscite to ascertain it were in operation as in the U. S. A. for the selection of the President, there is none among all Andhra leaders capable of withstanding Sri Prakasam. He is not only the most popular, he is the only mass leader of the Andhras. But it is not the people that will elect the Premier but the legislators. Into the ranks of the Andhra legislators have crept in a substantial number, of deplorably low public morale, given to the worst forms of corruption and self-seeking. The votes of these are plainly open for sale to the highest bidder. Naturally, the Ministers that have emerged have had, in the main, far from creditable records. There is perhaps in all the world not one Finance Minister with such poor qualifications for the post as Sri Gopala Reddi. While his financial regime has been characterised by ignorance his power as Minister has been employed for the enrichment of relatives to an unconscionable degree. In the recent nomination of candidates to Parliament in which he exerted a considerable influence, the selections for which he made himself responsible were distinguished by an absolute lack of principle. A Minister like this does not deserve to be trusted with public responsibility, and had Congress rule developed proper standards, there should have been a tribunal by now to call him to justice for abuses of power as Minister. Even more grievous is the record of Sri Chandramouli. The Tamil Ministers are no paragons of virtue, but they shine by contrast with their Andhra colleagues, and their nepotism is not so crude. There are also some among them of undoubted ability and rectitude. If the people of Rayalaseema have come to the forefront opposing separation of Andhra, in part at least their attitude must be attributed to the miserable character

of the administrative achievements of the present set of Andhra Ministers.

These Ministers have carried the spirit of faction to their districts and made it the dominant feature of their local politics. In most Andhra villages there is a ministerial gang and a Ranga gang. In between, the Communists flourish. If the Andhra Province is to have an auspicious start, the present legislature must be dissolved, and fresh elections must be ordered, with no hand in the selection of candidates allowed to persons like Sri Gopala Reddi patently guilty of having abused such a power hitherto. Congress credit hangs on the character of Congress candidates in elections to the legislature, and the present system in which the despicable motives of power-seekers arrayed in groups play so prominent a part, must be ended forthwith, if Ministers and legislators of the Congress Party are to cease to be rapacious, anti-social adventurers. An impartial body with no group interests and of sufficient patriotism to seek out honestly the best talent for national service, must be set up in each province to select candidates for elections, with special instructions to exclude those who have already abused their position as legislators. In the division of assets between Andhra and the residuary Madras Province, as the interests concerned are unevenly matched, decisions likely to adversely affect the weaker party must be taken out of the purview of the stronger. The question of the capital must be decided by the Centre and should not be allowed to become a pawn in the game of power politics between group leaders. The postponement of partition has afforded an interregnum of respite from hustle which should be employed in calm and careful study of the entire policy of linguistic separation. Its dangers must be watchfully scrutinised and wisely provided against, so that each linguistic unit will not cultivate an attitude of separate nationality treating its neighbours as hostile aliens.

Sotto Voce



Dodging or Sharing?

IN an age which feverishly seeks anaesthetics against the pain of living, it requires considerable courage to proclaim that it is best for every man and woman to experience pain in a measure. Speaking at a gathering of obstetricians Dr. Jerath deplored "the modern trends among the enlightened public," such as demanding painless labour and even caesarian sections, contraceptive advice and sterilisation. She observed, "Pain is a relative factor, and in a large number of women it is the right attitude to the oncoming event that has to be inculcated." And she emphasised the doctor's duty to persuade the woman that if it was possible to have a natural delivery she should get reconciled to the fact.

Labour pains are most prolonged for well to do women with whom it is a sign of refinement not to soil their hands with domestic work. Deprived of the natural exercise that useful activity involves and brought up in an anticipatory dread which is almost pathological they are miserably helpless before the sudden onset of pain. The old Tamil saying, "If the faggot seller develops a carbuncle, smash the carbuncle with the faggot," is not cynicism but folk wisdom. Women who labour hard in the fields from dawn to sunset with calloused hands and aching backs may move us to pity, but they also move us to respect. Fortitude, like other things worth having, comes only by suffering.

Kausalya bore Sri Ramachandra for twelve whole months, says the poet. Did he wish thus to account for the divine tenderness of the son towards that simple mother? And

in one of the most moving passages to be found anywhere in the world's poetry the saint Pattinathu Adigal weeps manly tears over the dead mother who had sheltered him in her womb with her immeasurable love. Freudians may pour superior scorn over mother-fixation. And "vampire" mothers are a characteristic product of a tortured civilisation. But could there be anything more noble than the anxious solicitude for the spark of life within her which made the young girl of an earlier generation subject herself to endless privations without a murmur?

Dr. Jerath remarked with mild irony that in go-ahead America the wheel of fashion has now come round full circle. Medical opinion there favours a natural child birth without artificial aids. And "the women think it is the latest fashion and express great satisfaction at their experience." It is quite on the cards that in another half a century or so our enlightened women may catch up with this fashion. But in the meanwhile contraceptives and artificial sterilisation will have done their work so effectively that there would be no question of labour for their class with or without pains.

Danger delayed is not danger defeated. Dr. Jerath pointed out that a young woman who marries at twenty-five and wishes to postpone conception by a few years must be advised against such a course "as a first pregnancy nearer or after thirty years carries proportionately greater hazards." But very often male selfishness and female vanity triumph over prudence. The desire to have "a good time" unburdened with child-

ren and the fear of losing her figure combine to send young married couples in avid pursuit of the phantom vision of the rose without the thorn. The agonised conscience of the hero of *East Lynne* wrestling with doubts whether it would be proper to save the mother's life at the expense of the child's would seem preposterously mid-Victorian to our sophisticates.

There are as many varieties of pain as there are temperaments and modes of experiencing it. A Shelley may bleed on the thorns of life while appearing to go about his business like any other sensible man in a lounge suit. The Greek stoics made a cult of the endurance of pain. Ancient Sparta and modern Russia have put a premium on this type of heroism, which has a knack of proving very uncomfortable to the rest of the world. The old Indian way was not to take endless pains to stop the leaks

through which the winds of destiny might break in upon the quivering flesh, but to detach the mind from the suffering body. The sage of Arunachala is a living example of the triumph of the spirit.

Even for men of common clay a little less self-absorption would not be amiss. It may be better for a man's health to take the allotted mixture of pain and pleasure spread over a lifetime in fairly small quantities than to have to lump it in large doses. You cannot of course anticipate the onsets of circumstance. But it seems a good plan, when you are in high fettle, to enter imaginatively into the sorrows of your neighbour next door. Pain takes its keenest edge from a sense of forlornness, a lack of communion. It is remarkable how much men may still help each other if they will.

VIGHNESWARA

SWATANTRA SUBSCRIPTION RATES

ENGLISH		TELUGU
Rs. Twenty	Yearly	Rs. Twelve
Rs. Ten	Half Yearly	Rs. Six
Annas Six	Single Copy.	Annas Four

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

THE RATES APPLY BOTH TO ENGLISH & TELUGU

	Full page	Half page	Quarter page
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Casual	80	45	25
Contract (24 insertions and above for a year)	60	35	20

For further details, apply to:

MANAGER, SWATANTRA,
160, Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

SIDELIGHTS : :

All frauds, like the wall daubed with untempered mortar, with which men think to buttress up an edifice, always tend to the decay of what they are devised to support.—WHATELY.

IN the recent bye-elections to the Central Legislature, a committee of five was formed to select candidates in the name of the Congress. The manner in which the selections have been made indicates the urgent need for a tribunal to try and punish politicians who abuse their public positions for personal ends. The House of the People is the highest constitutional body in the State under the new Constitution. It is entitled to be manned by the best talent that the country can offer. The Madras selectors seem to have made a point of sending to it not the best, but the worst. This is an offence against the State of the first magnitude. It is a pity there is no law to deal with it, while comparatively minor offences receive more condign treatment.

Of the twenty new legislators, two or three possess overage educational qualifications. The rest cannot claim even that. Their names are unknown to the general public. They have rendered precious little of service to Congress or country. Some are positively undesirable and enjoy unsavoury reputations in their respective localities. One had been considered unsuitable for the Provincial Assembly by the Central Parliamentary Board at the time of the last elections. Another has the distinction of having been defeated in every election for which he stood. If the list of applicants is studied by any impartial authority, it will be found that, except in the case of the Harijan seats, the candidates chosen are in every way inferior to very many that had been rejected. Why were inferiors preferred to their betters? Because they were hangers-on of Sri Kamaraj Nadar on the Tamil side, and of Sri B. Gopala Reddi on the Andhra side. Each of these two leaders with the help of the other got in his favoured

sycophants while the rest of the committee, with the exception of Professor Ranga, played the part of dummies. Professor Ranga did not count in the selections except as a rubber stamp of Sri Gopala Reddi who had the support of Kamaraj Nadar who had the other two members of the committee in his pocket.

These elections are a fraud on the public. If, instead of the pretence of an election machinery being set up, all of the Madras seats in the Central Legislature had been declared a pocket borough of Sri Kamaraj Nadar, it would have conformed more realistically to the actuality. Dummies of Sri Kamaraj Nadar and of his creatures in the non-Tamil areas of the province, have brought the name of legislator into contempt. The pranks and misdeeds of legislators, chosen for their servility to ruling cliques, have spread corruption over the administration and ruined the prestige of the Congress. Sick of the Nadar incarnation of Congress rule, people have begun to bless the Adviser regime as a heavenly era of infinitely superior rectitude.

Andhra has been hit particularly hard. In the councils of the Centre, Malabar and Tamil Nadu are splendidly effective. But thanks to Sri Gopala Reddi, in the name of Andhra, such gems as Kodandarama Reddi, Basi Reddi and Ranga Reddi have been chosen to represent Andhra at New Delhi, where it will be their inglorious lot to be outshone by stalwarts from other provinces and cut no figure at all and exert no influence. The political affairs of Madras Province are being attended to as dolefully as its finances, and as the architect of the ruin of the last remnants of Andhra importance at the Centre, Sri Gopala Reddi is fit to be ranked as a Public Enemy by people of the area.

In its choice of legislators to adorn the House of the People, the selection

committee has been treacherous to provincial and national interests. The imprimatur of such a committee is no substitute for the suffrage of the public. Denunciation of the selections has been vigorous and widespread. Our trains, buses and trams ring with it. If the leaders at the Centre have any imagination and wish to save the Congress from gaining an anti-social character in the public estimation, they will, despite the unusualness of the step, call for the resignations of the new legislators, set up a competent body of selectors with regard for the public interest and no clannishness, and secure as Congress representatives capable persons of credit and of some reputation for public spirit and integrity.

It was stated in the papers that Pandit Nehru's circular letter advising liberal representation for women in the Central Legislature, reached the provincial authorities too late. Pandit Nehru is extremely punctual in correspondence and is not likely to defeat his own purpose through slack-

ness in a case of this kind. No credence can therefore be given to the report, and it must be added to the growing list of prevarications that have served to bring the trustworthiness of the clique in power in the province so low. It would appear that Dr. Subbaroyan was unwilling to go to Indonesia and preferred to remain in Parliament at the Centre. He was persuaded to go by the Prime Minister who is also reported to have suggested that Mrs. Subbaroyan might be returned and make way for Dr. after termination of his work in Indonesia. As a candidate Mrs. Subbaroyan is far superior to any of the nominees of the selection committee, and her name was in the list before them for consideration. Nor were the Premier and Sri Kamaraj Nadar unaware of Pandit Nehru's wish. They had been told about it and they had promised to see to the selection of Mrs. Subbaroyan. The theory that the Prime Minister's recommendation in favour of including women in the list of Congress candidates did not arrive in time is—only a theory.—SAKA.

AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRICES

By RAMNANDAN MISHRA

THE main occupation of the majority of the world's population still remains agriculture. On the prosperity of tillers depends the prosperity of the world. Unless they are freed from devoting all their energies just to keep their bodies and souls together, the world can never prosper. Even after all reforms have been carried through, the basic problem of (i) production, (ii) man—land relation and (iii) agricultural versus industrial price parity will remain. Apart from agrarian reforms, the prosperity of the peasantry depends on the satisfactory solution of these problems.

During the last 100 years the world population has doubled, and the demand for food and fibre is as acute as it was a century before. It is the cruel irony of the capitalist social order that while we have both the capacity of production and acute demand, want of purchasing power

still stands in the way of fulfilling the primary needs of vast human masses. The tillers of the world have remained on a sub-human level. In the words of Sir Josiah Stamp, "the world has been fed at less than cost price." The main reason of this has been forced depression of agricultural prices. To quote again Sir Josiah Stamp, "In the 18th century by cheap wheat, manufacturers were able to keep the cost of living, and therefore wages, relatively low, and to make large profits."

"At the World Economic Conference of 1927 they (European farmers) complained bitterly of the discrepancy between the cost of industrial products which they had to buy and the price they received for their own products. They were convinced that the organisation of the industrial world, with its trusts and cartels, placed agriculture, with its world-wide diffusion and the consequent inherent difficulty of combination among far-

mers, at a serious disadvantage" (World Agriculture—Royal Institute of International Affairs). According to the same authority, "An investigation of the economic status of the small holder was made in 1925-27 in a district of Germany where 98 per cent of the farmers are peasant proprietors. In most cases the farmer was said to earn less than the paid labourer, and in all cases less than the wages of an ordinary industrial worker. To secure this reward the average farmer and his wife both worked at the rate of over 10 hours a day, Sunday included."

Normally prices are governed by market laws. But these days where have we a real "free market"? Currency-manipulation, trade-monopolies, and state-intervention have highly regimented the economy. Depression of agricultural prices has not been the result of excess of supply over demand. Capitalism has to face serious inner contradictions and must find artificial means to check the declining rate of profit. One of its stratagems has been the exploitation of the agricultural population through the manipulation of prices. This aspect has not been so far given due attention.

As a matter of fact since 1870, agriculturists have never got fair prices, except for brief intervals now and then. "Adoption of the Gold Standard in several countries at various dates and the demonetization of silver, together with a decline in the annual gold output of the world, coincided with what was, for those days, a rapid price-fall—of 40 per cent, in two decades, which continued with hardly an interruption until 1896" (Royal Institute of International Affairs). The crisis of 1930, completely broke the back-bone of the peasantry. In India the total price of agricultural products fell from Rs. 1030 crores (1928-29) to Rs. 473 crores (1933-34). Even in the U.S.A., the prices of agricultural products fell more steeply than those of industrial products. Ratio of prices received by agriculturists compared to the prices paid by them fell to 44 points on the basis of 1909-14 prices as 100 in U.S.A. Legislation to deal with this issue was twice vetoed by President Coolidge

during the 1920's." The principle of parity was accepted as late as 1938, by an amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act in the U.S.A.

The principle of parity has now received world recognition. Even the Economic Programme Committee Report, which was presented to the A.I.C.C. in January, 1948 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru contained the following para:—

"Satisfactory means should be evolved for achieving and maintaining more equitable exchange relation between agricultural and non-agricultural products. This should be done by fixing a juster level of prices of agricultural commodities and manufactured goods and commercial and other social services, calculated to result in remunerative prices for basic agricultural products."

For this section of the report a sub-committee was appointed consisting of Prof. N. G. Ranga, Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan and Prof. M. L. Dantwala.

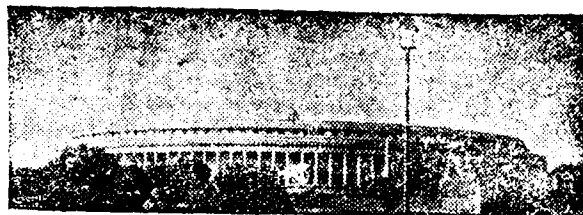
The annual conference of the Socialist Party held at Patna last year, put the final seal on the matter by including the following in its nine-point programme:—

"Recognition of the principle of parity between agricultural and industrial prices."

Those who argue that cheap grains are necessary for field workers and sub-marginal producers and point out that high prices only help those who have surplus to sell, forget that our demand is not high prices, but a just relation between agricultural and industrial prices. Moreover, unless the agricultural industry is made paying, the demand of higher wages for agricultural workers, which needs urgent fulfilment, loses all force.

Obviously the mere establishment of price-parity will not raise the standard of peasant life. Agrarian reforms, cultivation of new lands, raising the yield of cultivated land, and relieving the pressure from the lands are urgent and necessary requisites. The problem of a rising population that is undoing all efforts for improvement of standards of living has to be dealt with immediately.

NEW DELHI DIARY



THE biggest surprise of the week has been the decision of the Government of India not to hold interim elections in West Bengal. The announcement came in the form of a statement by the Prime Minister, which was released to the press after Pandit Nehru had left for Colombo. The Prime Minister did not utilise his monthly Press Conference to give out this important news when all subjects ranging from atomic bomb to agricultural production were discussed. Bengal did not escape the inquisitive minds of the newsmen at the conference, but it did not strike the imagination of anyone that the Government of India would come out with an announcement reversing its earlier decision to hold elections in West Bengal. At the Press Conference, the situation in Calcutta and the refugee problem were mentioned, but there was not the slightest hint of the bigger and more important decision taken by the Government.

Political observers here are surprised not so much at the decision of the Government of India to postpone elections in Bengal as at the fact that an earlier decision supposed to have been taken after mature consideration of all aspects of the problem could be completely reversed. This sets an unhealthy precedent and would inevitably lead to doubts and uncertainties in the mind of the public about Government policies in general. Such a procedure was unheard of in the days of the British. The fault clearly lies in the earlier decision of the Government to hold elections in West Bengal this winter. It was known at that time that general elections would be held soon after the inauguration of the new Constitution on adult suffrage and fullest opportunity would be given to the people to have the government of their choice both in the Centre and in the Provinces. The situation in

Calcutta in particular, and in West Bengal in general, was carefully considered by the Government, and Pandit Nehru paid a special visit to conduct an on-the-spot survey. He came to the conclusion that general elections in West Bengal were necessary at a date earlier than the elections contemplated under the new Constitution. The decision was also fully supported by the Congress Working Committee. Doubts were expressed by many even at that time on the feasibility of such a hurried election. It was, however, believed that the Government of India had very sound reasons to hold an election this winter to stabilise parliamentary politics in West Bengal.

Now the surprise announcement has come that it is impossible to hold elections, especially as it is difficult to work the details concerning revision of electoral rolls and delimitation of constituencies. Political observers are of the view that the Government of India should have allowed the people of West Bengal to have the final say in the matter and the decision to postpone elections should have emanated from public organisations in the Province. Instead, a rough and ready method of ascertaining political opinion was resorted to. More than anything else, the very idea of reversing a decision taken by the Government only a few months back has come as a rude shock. It strikes at the very basis of Governmental policies, however well-intentioned and sincere Government's approach may be. It adds to the criticism generally levelled against the Government that its policies are inconsistent and aimless. One wonders whether Pandit Nehru looked at the problem from this angle as well. Government's decisions and policies need to be firm and final, more so at a time when the money market and the investing public are

shy and hesitant owing to the uncertain attitude of the Government.

Private advices received here from East Pakistan continue to mention economic distress and consequent political unrest in large parts of the Province. The Pakistan Central Government's determination to maintain the value of the rupee at pre-devaluation level has brought ruin to the economic structure of East Bengal, based as it is on jute production. Following this, complete autonomy, except in matters of defence and external affairs, was demanded by the League Party of East Bengal, which was negatived by the Centre. The matter, however, does not seem to rest there. Political opinion in East Pakistan, which is now influenced to a large extent by economic conditions prevailing there, following the "No Devaluation" policy of Karachi, is getting restive and in this there appears no difference of objective between Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Muslims. In fact, leaders of the Scheduled Caste population recently criticised strongly the actions of West Pakistan and in effect pleaded for autonomous existence for East Bengal to pursue freely her trade and commercial policies. Rulers of Pakistan have seen in this move of East Pakistanis a long range plan for political integration of East Bengal with India.

Both the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India have told in plain terms that they do not wish the reunion of Pakistan or parts of Pakistan with India. Even so, the Pakistan Government appears worried over the situation in East Bengal and fears that public opinion there might suddenly swing in favour of "independent Bengal" if not East Bengal as part of the Indian Union. Karachi also apprehends that all communities irrespective of religion might join on the issue. To obviate this an attempt is reported to have been made to separate Scheduled Castes and Muslims politically by granting the former separate electorates. Leaders of Scheduled Castes are being encouraged to voice the demand so that the community can make separate and opposition claims to suit the policies of the ruling power. This is in conformity with the old British policy of

divide and rule. The Scheduled Castes are now being ranged politically against Caste-Hindus and also against Muslims of East Bengal. How far the Pakistan Government will succeed in this new policy remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that the economic crisis in East Bengal is reaching a breaking point and may result in startling political developments.

Indo-Pakistan relations have so far shown no sign of any improvement. The matter does not in any way concern directly the Colombo Conference, where Pakistan also is represented. International discussion on the subject between the British Foreign Minister, Pandit Nehru and the Leader of the Pakistan delegation are not ruled out. Pakistan's stand has always been that the Kashmir issue is the main source of friction between the two Dominions and that unless that was solved amicably for Pakistan, all problems, political and economic, will continue. So far as India is concerned, her position has been explained more than once. The Kashmir issue can be settled only by the democratic method of a plebiscite and that is possible only if Pakistan, having been proved the aggressor, is prepared to withdraw unconditionally all her armies along with Azad irregulars from the occupied zone. This Pakistan refuses to do and the Security Council will have to consider the issue at its next meeting. Both the Governments have submitted amendments to General McNaughton's proposals and the Security Council will have to determine its attitude on the basis of these amendments.

Meanwhile, Pakistan is continuing its campaign of hatred and vilification against India as evidenced by speeches of prominent leaders and writings in the Pakistani press. Some Pakistani leaders are angry that Afghanistan should have entered into a treaty of lasting friendship with India. Sardar Patel was obliged to be frank on the subject of Indo-Pak relations. He has told in clear terms that India wants friendship with Pakistan, but it could not be one-sided and it was impossible if Pakistan talked in a war strain. No reply has been received in Delhi so far to

the draft declaration sent by Pandit Nehru to be accepted both by India and Pakistan renouncing war as a means of solving problems between the two countries. The declaration was sent at the suggestion of Pakistan, but no reply has been received nor any indication has come so far of its being considered acceptable to Pakistan. The mind of Karachi is overawed by thoughts of Islamistan and Islamic State!!

Meanwhile, Pakistan is continuing its undeclared war with India after the devaluation of the Indian rupee in terms of the U.S. dollar. The deadlock in Indo-Pakistan trade relations is now complete. After the decision of India to stop further despatches of coal to Pakistan, the Muslim Dominion is reported to have passed orders for complete suspension of all exports to this country. Pakistan is also tapping alternative sources of supply for coal, including South Africa and Great Britain. Poland is believed to be one of the countries that may

export coal to Pakistan. If Pakistan enters into a deal with South Africa for the supply of coal, then it will be clearly in violation of trade sanctions imposed by undivided India against South Africa as a protest against the anti-Indian policy of the Cape Government. That policy was continued by Pakistan even after partition and India's case was supported by that country in U.N.O. But now she seems to have decided to ask South Africa to supply coal and may in turn sell jute to the Union of South Africa, which needs it badly. A new situation may thus be created where Pakistan will not be opposing South Africa on the racial issue. This gives rise to doubts as to whether the Round Table Conference at Cape Town between India, South Africa and Pakistan to discuss formulation of an agenda for a further conference will succeed, even if it materialises. India has announced her delegation to the Conference, which will be headed by Pandit Kunzru.—A. S. R.

Short Story

THE DUMB WITNESS

By T. RAJARAMAN

THERE was something extremely pathetic about the figure clad in white hanging from the tree, the feet almost touching the earth as if indicating that the man would fain have lived on its surface but for some grave calamity which had made his life unbearable and indeed impossible. One of the constables cut the rope and the police-inspector lowered the body almost with reverence. They knew him. He was Jagadish who had been dumb since he was born. The tragedy was all the more poignant because only last week his mother was found dead in the well in the garden.

His handsome face was twisted in agony, the last agony which he must have felt when the noose tightened round his neck, strangled and suffocated his breath. The police-inspector covered the face. Even he whose feelings had been hardened by similar experiences was deeply moved.

Jagadish was young and he was handsome with an angelic beauty. It seemed as if the destiny which had deprived him of the power of speech had attempted to make amends by favouring him with a fine appearance. The fact that he of all men should have committed suicide at the prime of his life was something that the inspector could not comprehend. "Has his mother's recent death got something to do with this?" he asked himself.

He examined the shirt pocket of the young man and found two sheets of paper. The sheets were full of writing. The handwriting was scarcely legible. His hand must have shivered when writing it. With a vague dread and knowledge that he was at the brink of the discovery of a dreadful secret, the inspector went to a room, seated himself in a chair and began reading the strange epistle of

the unfortunate young man. It began abruptly.

"My God! How can I bear it? How can I live after witnessing the dreadful scene of my mother's death, a death as unnatural as it was grotesque, inflicted on her when she was weak and helpless? Life has ceased to have any significance for me. Life hereafter only means wading through every moment monotonously with the memory of that horrible scene haunting me all the while.

"I was born dumb—as dumb as a lamb. I was of course able to make incoherent noises as the animals do. I have been always very sensitive and impressionable—all dumb men are. My parents loved me dearly and loved me sorrowfully because of my pitiable condition. They consulted many doctors about me and were told that my case was hopeless. One of the doctors told us that a particularly great shock might give me the power of speech. Little did I dream then that the doctor's words were to become true one day when I had the greatest shock of my life.

"Having abandoned all hopes of ever restoring my power of speech, my parents did all they could to make me feel less keenly my congenital handicap. They did not send me to school lest my feelings be wounded by the insulting jokes of mischievous boys. Instead they engaged a private tutor to educate me. I learnt quickly and diligently and pleased my tutor as well as my parent.

"All was well with our family, till, four years back, my mother had a severe attack of paralysis. The doctors gave her up in despair. She survived the attack. The attack had however been a severe one and deprived her permanently of the use of her two legs. Our misfortunes began from that day. My gentle, loving mother with an angel-like patience was thoroughly transformed. She became peevish, complaining, restless and angry. She was especially hard on my father who had always been sympathetic and considerate to her. She pestered him day and night with her fantastic and mad suspicions. Age and worry were telling upon my father. There was a stoop in his back and his pace had lost its springiness. His sprightly

nature had thoroughly vanished. He became morose, moody and silent. With a bitter pang in my heart, I realised that our family would never again be what it had been in the past. Since a month my mother was definitely becoming worse. Her sudden outbursts of temper became more frequent and at the slightest pretext she poured forth venom on my father. She was impatient of my gestures and practices and instead of pitying me for my helpless condition as she used to do formerly, she scolded me and sent me away from her weeping.

"It happened last week. Only the previous night my father and mother had had a hot exchange of words and there was a strained silence. It was sunset in the morning. I went to the backyard of my house to wash my face in the well. I stopped suddenly when I looked at the queer scene near the well.

"My mother was sitting on the parapet of the well, her face turned away from me. But it was not the sight of her that made me stop. Behind her was standing my father with a curious expression in his face.

"I watched the pair with interest, with a strange fascination. I had a vague nameless fear that something was going to happen. The scene was set for a tragedy and it was left to the actors to do their part and my part was watching.

"I observed a medley of emotions on my father's face. The expressions in his face changed kaleidoscopically. His lips throbbed in excitement and fear at the thought that was passing in his mind. His face bore the impress of weariness. It deepened and I could read aversion and rage in his face and a shudder passed through my frame.

"It is impossible to forget what happened afterwards. My father pushed her and she fell into the well with a shriek. There was a splash and all was silent again.

"I ran into my room madly. 'My father murdering my own mother!' I almost shouted. It was then that I realised the change that had come over me. I had spoken! The doctor had been right. The shock of seeing my mother being killed by my father

brutally had loosened my tongue and restored my power of speech!

"A post-mortem examination and an inquest was held over the body and a verdict of 'death by accident' was recorded. Accident indeed!

"The days that followed passed with a dreadful slowness and monotony. My father appeared ten years older than he really was. Intrinsically guileless and good-natured, his guilt weighed heavily on his mind and tortured him every moment. He had not the slightest suspicion that I knew his secret. He now felt remorseful and grieved and I understood that he had been driven to murder by the intolerable behaviour of my mother.

"Yesterday, he was sitting in the chair at the table. I calmly went towards him and sat in a chair beside him. He looked at me, his eyes gleaming with a sort of sympathy. I flashed him the question, 'Do you feel sorry for killing mother?'

"When I write these lines, I can vividly recall him sitting like a man utterly crushed and glaring at me like a mad man. The miracle as it seemed to him of my being able to speak and my knowledge of his horrible secret—the double shock—was too much for him to bear.

"I have been able to speak since I saw you pushing mother into the well," I said, to clear the mystery.

"With surprising self-control, he composed himself. 'What do you propose to do, now that you know that?' he asked me coldly. His manner was not that of a father to his son. It was more like the manner of a guilty man to a blackmailer. When I saw the change in him my heart bled. 'I don't know myself,' I said. 'Perhaps I may put an end to my life.'

"In his eyes, something like the old

gleam of love and sympathy returned and he looked at me fixed. Then he rose and went away walking like a drunkard.

"I wonder what anybody in my position would have done. I am now worse than an orphan. An orphan does not have the unbearable reminiscence which tortures me day and night. He does not have a guilty father who fears that his own son will betray him. Life under such conditions is out of question and I have decided to put an end to my life.

"As regards my father, I no longer intend to shield him. I have passed the stage when I considered arrests, jails and gallows with abhorrence and fear. Let the law take its own course. My mother and I will be waiting for him in the other world and we shall keep our trust there. I can only hope that my mother won't have an attack of paralysis there!"

The letter ended with his signature. The police-inspector wiped the tears from his eyes. There was something very melodramatic and ghastly about the whole family. The mother was cowered in the well. The son had committed suicide and the father was on his way to the gallows! The inspector made a motion as if he would tear the letter, the only witness being Ravindran, the father of the deadish.

A man entered the room and came towards the inspector. He was a newspaper reporter and, besides, a friend of the police-inspector. He was naturally inquisitive and asked, "What does he say in his letter? Anything worth printing?"

The inspector was no longer undecided. "Plenty" he said, and added: "Please read it here and give it to me as soon as you have finished. It is an important document."

Last Christmas a man in Tulsa received a gaily wrapped flat envelope from his wife. Inside was a gift certificate. He read it, and read it again. Then he nearly fell over backwards. The card said: "Gift certificate—to be delivered on or about August 24—a baby boy or girl."—**ROGER V. DEVLIN.**

A woman was boasting to a friend that her husband had quit smoking.

"My, that takes will power," said the friend.

"Indeed it does," agreed the wife, "and that's just what I've got."—**PHILADELPHIA EVENING BULLETIN.**

PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

By Dr. R. VAIDYANATHASWAMY

(Professor of Mathematics, University of Madras)

IT is a truism that university education occupies a key position in the building up and maintenance of national life, as it is the source of the engineer and technician, the thinker and the writer, the scientist and the inventor, the lawyer and the administrator, the teacher and the doctor—in fact of all the skilled leadership necessary for the social economy. Any flaw or crack in the machinery of higher education will have far-reaching consequences and may poison the stream of progress and its source. The independence of India has brought with it a responsibility for straight and fundamental thinking on the present set-up of higher education, the kind of teaching to be given in our colleges and universities, and the position of the teacher vis-a-vis the management, the university and the government. It is certain that the University Commission will have made wise and far-reaching recommendations on these issues, and it is the fervent hope of everyone who has faith in the future of this country, that their recommendations will be implemented and a new era will dawn on higher education.

Not even the most inveterate optimist can look with equanimity on the present state of higher education. An eloquent symbol of the present conditions is furnished by the position and status of the college teacher, and in particular of his economic condition which has deteriorated badly during recent years. While the cost of living is four times the pre-war level, there has been no substantial increase in the salaries of college teachers, which continue to be lower than in other provinces and much lower than the scales recommended by the Central Pay Commission and the Inter-University Board. The Government and the University cannot but be aware of the demoralisation in this state of affairs, and of the peril in delaying relief. The Government have in fact

recently given a certain degree of relief to their own teachers, in the matter of starting salary and allowances. But in a key branch of national service like college education, is it justifiable or wise for a popular and a national Government to discriminate between teachers in Government colleges and in private colleges? The whole future of this country is mortgaged in our colleges and institutions for advanced study; and that future can be redeemed, only if we can attract the very best available talent in the country to the teaching profession, by offering suitable incentives and opportunities. For developing and inspiring the minds of our youth, we want men who are more able than those recruited for the administrative services by the Government, and the emoluments and opportunities we can offer should not be less than in these services. And our inducements to the university teacher should include a provision for superannuation, similar to what the Government have organised for the Postal Department. And to make any distinction in this matter between teachers in Government and non-Government colleges would be not only irrational; it would amount to winking at inefficiency and lower standards in private institutions.

This Association has had to deal, as part of its routine work, with various complaints of teachers in private institutions against their managements. Teachers with a personal grievance rankling in their minds are not the most suitable persons for guiding the mind of youth in its unfoldment to discovery and new knowledge. Disputes on petty matters between the teachers and the management will vitiate the whole atmosphere in which college teaching should be done. The Government, who give grants, and the University have both a responsibility in this matter. Some machinery should be

devised which can settle these disputes informally, on accepted principles of academic administration, without leaving behind grievances. It is important to remember that we cannot build up sound and healthy college teaching, if we allow injustices of any kind to pass.

The grievances of university teachers in regard to their status, and their freedom to hold and express opinions are all traceable to the fundamental attitude which looks on them not as persons entrusted with the responsible task of shaping the growth and personality of the younger generation, but as casual hired workers, who have to lecture so many hours per week, at wages determined by the law of supply and demand. The natural and proper thing in a collegiate institution or university would be for most decisions on academic matters to be made by the Head of the Department concerned, in consultation with his colleagues. But this fundamental attitude to the University teacher has helped to perpetuate an invisible wall of separation between the *administrative educationist* who is on the executive and can contribute to the making of decisions, and the mere *working educationist*, or the actual teacher who should not be entrusted with the making of decisions, but only with carrying them out. Responsible bodies like the Inter-University Board have sensed the danger to the whole basis of University education hidden in this attitude, and have recommended as a remedy that teachers should be given a predominant representation in the board of management. But the obstacle in carrying out this recommendation does not lie with private institutions who may readily follow suit, but with the Government and the University who set the style in higher education and are committed to outmoded policies. Among universities in general the Madras University is somewhat exceptional in that the Madras University Act contains an explicit provision forbidding any university teacher to stand for election to the Syndicate, or to be a member thereof. This curious provision has been explained on the ground that it is unnatural for a teacher to be a member of the body which pays his

salary. It is a fact that on occasions blundering decisions on technical academic matters have been made by the Syndicate, which could have been easily avoided if university professors had been on the body. It is also worthy of note that the Madras Government, which recently made elaborate proposals for revising the Madras University Act, saw nothing out of the way in this statutory inhibition, and did not refer to it. When the employer-employee idea of the university teacher is asserted in this glaring fashion, it is no wonder that his function as the impartor of knowledge and the builder of the personality of his pupils becomes quite submerged, and neither the individual teacher nor his calling commands the respect of students. It will be difficult to rescue university education and put it on a sound footing, unless this idea of the university teacher is radically changed.

Our whole higher education has been criticised as foreign and anti-national and as something apart from the mass mind which is unable to strike any roots into it. It is vaguely said that it does not give any training in character or culture. Granting that this criticism is just, the question arises as to what we are to do about it. It is a fact that the education is in a foreign language, English, but the fault is hardly in the language but in what we put into it. The mass mind in India, and the university education which we impart do not easily mix with each other. What we teach is a number of unconnected optional subjects. We do not teach the pupil the meaning of life in general or his own life, the science of the Real or the Self. It is a fact that the educated man at any crisis or trial of life has to cling for support to religion or traditional philosophy. What we give in the college is information, not a total outlook on life, which will serve as a saving principle and the germ of growth and capacity for acquiring knowledge. Speaking broadly, the Western thought which we contact in our university training has many currents and cross currents in it and is not capable of giving that total creative outlook on life, which is the foundation of character or culture. This lack in Western education

is often supplied by the inspiration of Christianity which has been responsible for so many educational and social service enterprises in India. The mass mind in India feeds on the Puranas and builds its character on books like the Ramayana, and on the forms of Siva, Subramanya and Devi sculptured in temples. Our college teachers have lost the intuition and the understanding of these forms and cannot transmit to the young the power and the inspiration they may carry. The only way out of this fundamental impasse in our higher education, it seems to me, is to go back and learn from the past. In the university of Takshasila, where Yajna-Valkya taught, all sciences were studied of course up to the standards of that day. But we may be quite sure they were not taught, as unconnected schedules of information like the subjects of our college curriculum today, but as parts of one great science,—the Science of the Real.

I personally see no reason why a similar method should not be tried today in our colleges. It is of course not easy, but then nothing which is worth while doing is ever easy. But the point is, it can be done and, if we start doing it, we can get into the stride of it in a few years' time. This will remove all the drawbacks and the flaws in our educational system, and make of it something real and vital.

Another important question is the kind of pupils who are to be admitted to the university. I believe that it is generally realised now that it should not be open to all who come from the school. This is because university education is not the logical continuation of school education. It is said in an Upanishad that Man is a tree whose root is above and whose branches grow and spread downward. This means that social organisation generally must be built from the top, the Dharma which holds it together being maintained by a higher intuition and knowledge. So also university education must be built from the top—from the level of research and advancement of knowledge. Only those who have a call for the pursuit of knowledge and truth should be admitted to the university. Advantage should be taken of the coming census for a careful occupational analysis of the popu-

lation, and technical and industrial schools in sufficient number and of suitable kinds should be opened for training the non-university student population.

The kind of teaching which we give in the colleges today is of the same kind as school teaching, and encourages all and sundry to come into the university. On the other hand if the colleges were really an *attache* to the university, a different kind of teaching would be called for, on the principle that the pupil has to learn the subject by himself from a good text-book, and the teachers' help is given only when called for, and to the extent it is called for. The continual lecturing and the spoon-feeding which goes on in the colleges under the name of teaching, may perhaps help the dull pupil, but does definitely blunt the growth of the better class of student. The good college text-books available for various subjects, are really for the student to learn from, mainly by his own initiative. This kind of tutorial teaching will automatically weed out the unfit, and bring out the best in those who can profit by the university course. A group of students trained in this manner will naturally display initiative and the power of independent thinking and could serve as the recruiting ground for higher study and research, and many of them would become in course of time, themselves teachers in colleges, technical institutions and schools, and their abilities would help to improve the level of teaching in all stages of education. If this cycle of training, growth and development could be maintained, all the hidden resources of the national ability and talent could be brought out, and afforded creative expression, and the national life could be raised and transformed in all its phases. Then we would have the fulfilment of Love—for Love, as contrasted with desire, means essentially the direct appreciation of the ability and talent, and the soul-quality cooped up in each human being, yearning for expression and manifestation; and for this final culmination, it is the university teacher of today who is both the precious raw material, and the instrument for gradual transformation.

WHITHER INDIA?

By "A SERVICE MAN"

Be ev'r an Indian true,
As Indian all things view,
A nation we must be,
Or weaken woefully,
Our duty understand,
Work for the Motherland,
No caste or creed uphold,
Nor join a party's fold.

When Britain ruled the waves,
When Indians were but slaves,
With for our country love,
I thought much as above.
Our freedom we have got,
Our youth today may not
Remember great the souls
Who played the fighting roles.

Tilak was noble, great,—
A patriot first-rate—
Belonging to a time
When it was grave a crime
A patriot to be,
Tilak courageously
Resisted British *Raj*,
Demanding full *Swaraj*.

Then Besant taught us how
To organize somehow.
She made us realise
From stupor we should rise.
Unflagging was her zeal
To work for India's weal.
The glory of our past
In simple form she cast.

Then Gandhi came along,
Defining right and wrong,
He in an epic fight
Resisted Britain's might.

We never can forget
Some not here mentioned yet,
And scores of others not
Here named, who helped a lot.
Let's honour those who fought
And for us freedom wrought,
And having done their work,
Do not among us lurk.

They helped to liquidate
The greatest Empire-state,
To giddy heights which rose
And at the end which chose,
Our just demands to see
And to declare us free;
Now to forget them is
All gratitude to miss.

To the Punjab we owed
Our Lajpat Rai, who bowed

To none but Mother Ind;
He moved about like wind
And like a lion he roared,
Till the Police him gored,
And death following, he
Amidst us ceased to be.

Tagore was bright our star,
Admired from near and far;
With poetry and prose
He thrilled us and he chose
To politics to take
And make us wide awake
To all the Motherland,
Had of us to demand.

Of Motilal to write
Is like describing light.
A prince among men he
Renounced his wealth to be
A leader in the fight.
For sacrifice outright
His equal is but one—
Jawaharlal, his son.

When there was C. R. Das
A leader great he was,
He galvanised Bengal
And brought together all.
His sacrifice was great;
He did much to create
The unity we lacked
And doing so, nev'r slacked.

Then Malavya was there,
Respected everywhere.
A patriot supreme,
He did not look extreme
In politics, but he
Strove hard and constantly
Religion to rescue—
To be a Hindu true.

For sacrifice Subash
Deserves our full "*Sabash*"
His meteoric rise
To Fame was no surprise.
He flashed across and went
On his own mission bent,
Till tragic death (in doubt)
A rare career sniffed out.

Heroes have played their part
And giv'n us good a start.
Among them few survive
And they like Nehru strive,
The Nation's ills to cure
To make of freedom sure,
And to protect it from
The forces unwholesome.

But pseudo heroes are
Our problem grave, by far.
By Gandhi's name they swear.
And Gandhi caps they wear!
And yet, bargaining hard
They clamour for reward!
Like all mercenaries,
They are corrupt with ease.

Our Gandhi was a light,
Which was extremely bright.
When Gandhi died, the light
Went out and blurred our sight.
'Tis fashion with the lip—
No more, to him worship.
For Gandhi's death are we
To mourn or happy be?

Has Providence him saved
From seeing us turn depraved?
Have we the right today
To boast of Gandhi'n way?
Such gloomy thoughts oppress
Us in present our mess.
Let's buck up or perish
As would have been his wish.

Inflation goes its way
And worsens day by day!
Tax-dodgers claim virtue
For paying no tax due!
Black-markets all flourish
As money pots may wish!
Big business dictates
And sells at its own rates!

And Labour slows down work
And deems it fair to shirk!
Aware that now at last
It can avenge its past.
It hits both high and low
Forgetting that the blow
On itself also falls
When it production stalls.

Amidst us there are some
Who all this mess welcome.
Determined to destroy
They talk of great the joy
Of building up again.
Misguided ones remain
Their fodder and their prop
And know not where to stop.

A brainy few them lead
And do so well indeed.
If driv'n underground
They stay away unfound.
But all the same they lead
And keep alive their creed.
In secrecy they act
And tragedies enact!

Their skill is consummate.
Their strength is based on hate.
The others' scruples all,
Hypocrisy they call!
And Stalin is their God,
All else to them is fraud!
They want our Motherland
To be of Soviet brand!

We have our Socialists,
But are they realists?
Their principles are good,
With ease well understood.
They say the Congress is
Slow and the bus will miss.
They know communism
Is fire—*consumism*.

By Jai Prakash inspired,
Of hope, they are not tired.
They hope he would evolve
A plan, Our ills to solve.
When they work hard, they find
Communists from behind,
Wrest from them the results
And heap on them insults!

Their number is not large.
They hope it to enlarge.
Their strength is at the top,
Their leader is their prop!
A friend of Nehru, he
Resists the urge to be
A thorn on Nehru's side—
A fact he cannot hide!

A hard critic today,
In future he well may
The reins of state control
And lead us to our goal.
But meanwhile Jai Prakash
Is mere a colour wash
Unable to resist,
Unwilling to assist.

The common man was not
Concerned once, with his lot.
He knew not then his rights,
But now for them he fights!
He thought then 'twas his fate
And did not remonstrate.
With stamina he worked
And seldom work he shirked.

If one was bad to him
He just pitied one's whim.
By anger unconvulsed
He bounced if left repulsed.
By poverty when pained
Unruffled he remained.
Such was, sometime ago
The case; 'Tis not now so.

The common man has rights,
And for them he now fights.
And soon he will dictate,
For, he will run the state.
Democracy is there
To reach out ev'rywhere.
Is it to be a flood
That leaves behind but mud?

Will vested interests
Adjust, or be the pests
To be destroyed? Their end
Is near unless they bend.
Communists want it now
And outright force they vow
The others hasten slow
To soften big the blow.

In our present poor state,
When we have to create
Our wealth, it to enjoy
'Tis madness to destroy
Talent, unless reform
Has failed and total harm—
Which is terrible—
Is inevitable.

The good that's in our past
Let's now revive at last.
For inspiration, if
We look abroad and sniff
At power politics
And *isms* of a sick
And battered world, can we
A healthy nation be?

If Gandhi were with us
Would he not tell us thus?
Left with us is his soul
To lead us to our goal.
His job has been well-done
Our freedom he has won.
Our job has just begun
And from it let's not run.

Let's realise at least
The lessons of our past.
Past glory can't sustain
Us now as we remain.
Sobriety sustained
Us then, when we maintained
Sound social sanity
And sensibility.

The rich then shared their wealth
And sought spiritual health.
The poor supported by
The rich, them didn't decry.
And differences all
Were just ignored as small.
Let's this aspect revive
If we want to survive.

Conditions have now changed,
The rich and poor estranged
Drift more and more apart;
And there is the upstart
Who on his riches banks—
With arrogance who swanks.
The common man today
Has turned while kept at bay.

"To be or not to be"
That is the question we
Have got right now to solve.
Should *isms* us involve
In waste of energy
Or in disunity?
Should we for ever talk
Not knowing cheese from chalk?

If only we decide
To squabbles set aside;
If only we work hard
Or look for bare reward;
If those who can afford
Let wealth go round unstored;
Then India's freedom will
Our purpose full fulfill.

Let's Nehru trust and get
Along. Let us forget
The little flaws of men.
Let's act as gentlemen;
Let's solve at once for good
The problem of our food.
Let us restore our wealth
Which is the people's health

Let's more and more produce
And more exports induce.
Let's bring down prices and
Our grave inflation end.
Let's lead a simple life
For jealousy is strife.
Let's think high, not low
And sense of duty show.

Our hope in Nehru lies
For singly he denies
The Right and Left the chance
Their own ends to advance.
He guides our destinies
And tries us all to please.
By letting him down we
Can only fallen be.

Patel, we need him most
He acts, nev'r does he boast.
He with an iron hand
Well wields a magic wand.
United India is
His work. Let's not this miss.
His job has been done well
And that indeed is s'well.

Now what about C. R?
I cannot think that far.
Of Rajen Babu, well,
All that's good one can tell.
Should Kripalani just
Give in to mere disgust,
Pattabhi talks aloud
And ends up in a cloud.

No list can be complete.
So one can't all here meet,
And there are some pygmies
To be dismissed with ease.
What India needs today
Is for us all to play
Our part; for our progress
Let's get out of our mess.

Democracy is good
If it is understood.
Else, 'tis mobocracy—
Worse than autocracy.
Let's all be wide awake
And of our freedom make
The fullest use—the best
By ev'ry fair good test.

Let's work, work harder still
Let's all the land well fill
Our granaries, let's fill.
"Go slowism" let's kill.
And let us wealth produce,
Let's poverty reduce
And in the poor induce
No *isms* which seduce.

On ourselves let's depend,
Our attitudes let's mend,
Let's not be unashamed
And leave culprits unnamed.
Let's not the government blame
When we don't pay the game
Let's not perfection seek
When we ourselves are weak.

CENSORSHIP OF FILMS

By "MARS"

THE Cinematograph (Second Amendment) Bill centralising censorship of films was passed into law the other day; in support of the Bill, Mr. Diwakar, Minister of State for Information, stated that, at present, "It was not possible to evolve any uniform policy" and that inconsistencies cropped up between the various provincial boards in their individual application of the Censorship Code and hence "censorship did not command the respect it ought to."

Recently, the Hindi film "RAM BANN" was banned by the Madras censors, as per clause VI of the code relating to costume, though it had already been passed by the Bombay board. The president of the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association and some other leading producers of Bombay rushed to Madras in a deputation; and what happened later or how the matter was solved are still unravelled mysteries. Nor do we know what procedure was adopted or which board rightly interpreted the code.

Censorship was originally created by British authorities on the present lines mainly to safeguard their imperialist interests. Moreover, during their reign, the foreign films were never touched by censors even with a pair of tongs. Today, unless the production code is applicable as strictly to imported films as to national efforts, the very object of censorship will be lost.

Theodore Dreiser, one of America's outstanding novelists, in his opinion on censorship, says:

"With censorship, as with everything else, there is always the tendency on the part of certain people to go too far. Those persons without brains, taste, or artistic discrimination and the ones who put on sordid shows and publish trashy magazines, are the ones who bring about censorship. Ignorant folks, who patronise obscene shows and buy the cheap art magazines and dirty books, are the guilty ones.

"Yet it is not the ignorant who create the laws or take aggressive code.

action in cases of the kind which often create so much discussion. Those who are doing all the active work of suppression are conservative, cool-headed, cold-blooded individuals, who have decided notions as to what society and morals ought to be. It is the ultra-religionist who dictates."

Dreiser further says that "how to find the men qualified by mind and nature to be censors is the real rub." He warns that "power of censorship is so dangerous and so impossible to place in ideal hands that you hate even to talk about it. . . . If you say to a group of men, religionists, or reformers, or whoever serve in the capacity of censors: 'Go and raid such and such a cheap book,' they will not stop there. . . . They are now out for blood, their holy wrath aroused. They will march off to the office of a high class magazine or launch an attack on Tolstoy or Dostoevsky. It is terrible to see masterpieces emasculated."

Great caution and deep thinking are essential before any reform is put into action. To start a reform and then repeal it or amend it again is a thing which should be avoided at any cost. In Parliament the other day, Sri C. Subrahmaniam remarked that "the Minister had not clearly stated what would be the composition of the authority. If it was contemplated to make the chief censor the sole authority, it would make him a dictator and would be giving him a corrupting power." Diwakar replied that "the chief censor with a panel of advisers would constitute the authority." How the objects of the Bill, (which are proclaimed to be "to provide healthy entertainment, education, etc.") cannot be achieved with the present boards, the Minister never mentioned;

but he said that he could not go into details. Evidently, none has taken the trouble to find out where the defect exists. While the Film Enquiry Committee has circulated questionnaire to the trade and the public, the Bill should not have been hastened into law, without a deeper analysis and wider knowledge of the implications.

The principles followed in the application of the Criminal Procedure Code can hold good even for censoring films.

(1) Each linguistic area should have a censor board, situated in that area for censoring the particular language film. The Government should have a number of persons from the public and the trade on their list of censors.

(2) The production code should be re-drafted, avoiding all the defects now inherent in it. On the completion of a picture, the producer should hand over the censoring copy of the film to an appointed authority or the police commissioner.

(3) A judge should select a few from the list of censors and keep the name of the film as well as the name of the selected censors confidential till the show. The film should be viewed *in camera* by the censors and the police commissioner, and their individual opinion should be conveyed then and there by each separately. On the basis of these reports, the judge should pass his certificate.

(4) Where a film has been scissored or banned, the producer should be allowed to appeal to a court of law.

This way the Government can neither take arbitrary decision nor give way to corruption.

Mr. Diwakar's hasty action is certainly not going to be easy for the film people or the censors either.

The countries of the world are isolated in their separate experience. Yet, the pressure of awareness is so great that the world today has a kind of transparency. We look through our own experiences to those of other countries. They might be us, and we might be them. What has happened to us might happen to them. Through the streets of London and Paris we see the streets of Hamburg and Warsaw. Yet, it is easier in Paris to imagine the whole city being destroyed, than in Berlin to imagine Berlin being rebuilt.—STEPHEN SPENDER.

THE INDIAN FILM INDUSTRY:

A GENERAL SURVEY OF 1949

By DOULATRAM PARSHURAM

THE Indian film industry, curiously enough, does not know itself. It grew up carelessly, and has developed into one of the largest film industries in the world, almost unconsciously, in response to popular demand. It did not know it had an art till we, the journalists, said so. It does not bother about its responsibility of which, I should think, it is fully aware, considering that we have been harping on it ceaselessly. I wonder if the Indian film industry has as yet realised what a power it is. Nor, I am afraid, has it stumbled on to the fact that it is great luck for the country that such a big thing as itself should have come into being in this (in many ways) still ancient and somewhat hidebound country, attracting beauty and brains from all the strata of society, 'creating a whole new folklore of heroes and heroines for people of every colour, race and creed.'

More than a million people visit the two thousand cinema houses in this country every week, and quite a large number of Indians and others overseas see Indian films whenever they have the opportunity. With such a large audience, the Indian movie-makers are in a position to mould the thoughts and influence the minds of the people: which is tantamount to their wielding a great power of which, if they are at all conscious of it, they don't make proper use. All they seem to care about is the return on their investment!

Mammon is the god of the Indian film industry. Everything anybody does is actuated by the profit motive. They hardly, if ever, put their money to proper use. Pleasure-seeking is their main avocation. They overlook the fact that they have immense power in their hands, and most of them plump for a bungalow in the suburbs, a sedan car, and some or all of the vicarious pleasures of life.

They are extremely careless about the quality of their product, and yet they have the gumption to call even

their indifferent pictures "great," "colossal," "stupendous" and even "a marvel of the times"! They conveniently ignore the fact that there is hardly any justification for such epithets. The bubble of their super-inflated pictures bursts at the box-office.

If, on the other hand, they get a boost at the box-office, it adds to their complacency, which is rather bad. As it is, supplying regular entertainment for their large audience is a factory-size job for them, and inevitably some of the pitfalls of the assembly line creep in. If anything adds to their smugness, the position becomes almost hopeless.

One of the greatest faults of the Indian film industry is that it thinks it knows more than it actually does. It thinks, for example, that it knows what the people want. It watches the reactions of the public, and studies them with infinite patience. The knowledge it gains thus, it utilises in making pictures according to public taste, which are assured of box-office success. The producer evolves a formula which he considers sure-fire; and just when he is beginning to be sure of himself, another picture comes along that breaks all rules and scores an even bigger success. The producer—poor sap!—has then to revise his formula!

I wonder if the Indian film industry really thinks of its audience. Though he has written it about Hollywood, the following observations by James Hilton are relevant to my thesis: "There ought to be inscribed over every film-maker's desk, in letters of glorious techni-colour, the slogan: 'The public are not such fools.' Because they aren't. And the really brilliant picture-maker, if he thinks of them mathematically at all, goes after the Highest Common Factor rather than the Lowest Common Multiple—if only because of the vast psychological difference between seeking the highest and seeking the lowest. Let's make a picture that intelligent people

will not think too stupid' is a better (and more profitable) maxim than 'Let's make a picture that the least intelligent members of any conceivable audience will not think above their heads.'"

All these things have been prominently noticeable in the year that has just passed into the limbo of time, the year of grace nineteen hundred and forty-nine. Mammon was, perhaps as never before, the god of the film industry. The film producers did not bother about their responsibility, nor did they make any use of the great power they have of moulding the minds of the people. Pleasure-seeking was, perhaps more than ever, their main avocation.

We had a "wonder film of the decade" and a "movie marvel of the century," both of which failed at the box-office, despite the terrific boost given to each of them. The bubble of these pictures was really burst.

Those who had a boost at the box-office and are really complacent are Filmistan Ltd. and a few other companies. The famous formula has been proved ineffective, during the end of the year, by the failure of "HAMARI MANZIL". Another formula, which has already won its favourites and is being actively considered by all and sundry for adoption is the Gemini formula, which has been exploited so successfully in "CHANDRALEKHA" and "NISHAN". The former, incidentally, grossed the highest figure yet attained by any Indian picture. These pictures also marked the victory of the South Indian film industry which has stormed the citadel of Hindustani films and brought it to an abject position. Apart from Gemini Studios, other South Indian film production concerns are also planning pictures in Hindi.

The trend of pictures, as is clearly discernible, is changing now. More and more producers, awed by the success of "CHANDRALEKHA," are re-shuffling their formulas and trying to ape the Gemini formula. The spate of pictures which was produced in the years 1947 and 1948 when the position of the film industry was

comparatively good, have most of them been released in 1949, without much success attending them. It is remarkable of this year that pictures were released in quick succession, and very few had the substance to hold them in the theatres for very long. The trend of quick releases and quick departures still persists, and we have now sometimes as many as a dozen releases in a month!

It is apparent, therefore, that the public are not such fools as the producers thought they were! Only such pictures stayed during last year as were not too stupid for the intelligent audience. The pictures produced with the other aim in view were, more or less, flops.

One factor, though, was a highlight of the pictures released in 1949. The production standard of the Indian film industry seems to have improved very much indeed. We no longer have sloppily produced pictures, and if the story is good, the picture usually pleased everyone including those with an eye for technical finish.

The main point I want to make, therefore, is that the story material of our pictures must improve considerably if our industry has to make any advance—much more so, if it has to survive the present depression period. Greater care must be taken in planning each production, costs must be reduced by employing fresh talent (which has no inflationary price tags attached to it and the insurgence of which would help to lower the prices of the currently popular stars), inexpensive pictures must be taken on hand, and the least possible time must be spent, thus further reducing costs.

Conscious as it is of the vast audience it can command, the Indian film industry must think of its responsibility to the people—more than ever now, when the public has begun to spurn the pictures it does not like. The responsibility of the film industry is not only to entertain but to inform, to educate, to enlighten the masses. The film industry must depict life not only on its inconsequential side, but also in its worthwhile aspects.

MANCHURIAN MYSTERY-II

By ANDREW ROTH

MANCHURIA, the final bit of which the Communists secured at the end of 1948, was not quite the prize for which they had begun fighting in August 1945. Instead—as a result of Japanese sabotage, Soviet removals, Chinese looting, "scorched earth" destruction and deterioration—Manchuria has probably been set back more than a decade in its development.

Today Manchuria's industrial production in the key categories is down below ten per cent of what it was four years ago. Much of Manchurian industry was based on cheap electricity supplied by the great hydro-electric projects of Kirin and the Yalu River (shared with Korea). About 2½ million kilowatts were used. Now, largely as a result of Soviet removals, Manchuria is limping along on something like 150,000 kilowatts. Steel production is probably about 40,000 tons yearly, as against about three million in 1944. Coal production is somewhat better with over six million tons being produced or more than a fifth of the 1944 output.

The Communists have put top priority on restoring this industrial productivity. They have retained several thousand Japanese technicians and are hurriedly training and upgrading Chinese to replace them. They have given extensive encouragement to small private industrialists.

Most of the slowly increasing industrial production is being squeezed out of patched-up plants. When Chu Hsueh-fan, vice-chairman of the All-China Labour Federation, visited Mutankiang he was told of a visit to a workshop by an American expert in 1947. "When I asked the American if this damaged workshop could be restored or not," a foreman remarked, "he shook his head, saying it would be better to build a new one. But we took only three months to repair it."

This same sort of patchwork has restored over seven thousand of Manchuria's ten thousand miles of railway. When the Japanese railway

heads left in 1946 they boasted: "Not a locomotive will move in all Manchuria six months after we are gone." The Chinese Communists inherited worn-out roads which scarcely had been repaired during the war, lacked spare parts and lubricants and then were fought over for three years. During much of 1946-48 the Soviets withdrew their railway technicians—although they had acquired half-ownership of the Chinese Changchun trunk lines under the 1945 Sino-Soviet treaty—because they did not want to become involved in the civil war.

Chinese railway workers have had to learn the jobs which previously the Japs had pre-empted. They have also had to repair damaged railway stock and rummage in scrap heaps to assemble "new" locomotives. At times they have had to baby these locomotives along for lack of proper lubricants. At present, conditions appear improved. The Soviet railway technicians have returned and more proper lubricants are becoming available through trade with Hongkong, Siberia and through limited domestic production.

Although some headway can still be made through patching and repairing, any substantial restoration of Manchuria's multiple damages will take years and heavy imports from abroad. Dr. Solomon Trone, famous planning expert, estimates that, if political considerations and payment were not a question, it would take American engineers a minimum of two years and a billion (U. S.) dollars to restore steel production to three million tons. With the U. S. rather unlikely to aid a Communist state and Soviet industrial goods already committed elsewhere, it seems likely to take upwards of ten years.

Whether that gap can be cut down depends largely on the rate of expansion of Manchuria's trade. In 1948 a barter trade began both with the Soviet authorities and with Hongkong merchants. The Manchurians are reported to be trading hog bristles and wheat for Soviet gasoline, trucks, cotton and beet-sugar. To the Hong-

"If Mr. Henderson, who sat for this constituency, will consent to stand again and run, he will probably have a walk-over and sit in Parliament."—EDITOR & PUBLISHER.

kong traders they bartered soya beans, bean oil and bristles for rubber sheets, diesel and lubricating oils, giving the Hongkong traders very generous terms.

This foreign trade depends in turn on the Communists' ability to increase Manchuria's agricultural export surplus, in which field they seem to be having their most pronounced success. It is indicative that they have been re-settling urban poor on farms, instead of absorbing farm labour in factories. Manchuria presents many fewer agricultural problems than the rest of China because it is spacious, with much uncultivated land. About eighty per cent of the land was in the hands of the top ten per cent of landlords and rich peasants. Almost half of this was in the hands of Japanese and the Manchukuo Government and much of the rest in the hands of Chinese who had collaborated extensively with the Japanese. In many cases, apparently, land redistribution was accompanied by the execution of collaborationist landlords, particularly in the tense days of 1946.

Land reforms have given the peasants fairly good-sized farms and an effort has been made to give every farm family a draft animal. Because Manchurian tracts require three horses to a plough, there has been considerable development of co-operative "mutual aid teams" as a transition step to co-operative and ultimately collective farming. Several experimental state farms have been set up in the sparsely populated north where experiments are being conducted with tractor cultivation. For the most part, however, agricultural cultivation is being pushed up by carrying out slogans like: "One more cart of manure means one more bushel of grain." It is difficult to estimate the precise measure of enthusiasm the Communists have evoked but no one who has seen the well-fed, determined-looking Manchurian volunteers going through Peiping would suspect otherwise than that the Communists have got at least the poor peasantry enthusiastically behind them in Manchuria.

Much has been said about Li Lisan—who once played the Trotsky to Mao Tse-tung's Stalin—as the "boss" of Manchuria. Actually the semi-

autonomous Manchurian regime—known as the "North-east Liberated Area"—is headed by Lin Feng, a dour, thick-set Manchurian who was Political Director of the Shansi-Suiyuan Military Headquarters during the war. No. 2 man in Manchuria, and Governor of Liaoning Province is General Chang Hsueh-shih, son of the former Manchurian warlord, Marshal Chang Tso-lin, and younger brother of the "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang. The Communists have peppered their administration with veterans of the Manchurian anti-Japanese underground and for the rest drawn largely on Shantung Communists, which is the area from which most Manchurian peasants migrated.

One would expect that the Communists could be rather lenient in Manchuria. The Kuomintang party organization was eradicated during the long Japanese administration and the big landlords became heavily tainted through collaboration with the Japanese. Furthermore, the Kuomintang discredited itself by bringing in hordes of avaricious carpet-baggers after the war. After the Communist victory, the middle class has remained discontented at the decline of its privileged position, but this discontent does not appear to be well-organized.

Despite this the Communist regime in Manchuria is notably more repressive than in North China and has been so since July 1947. While Chinese can move about quite readily in North China, they require road passes in Manchuria. Chinese trying to enter Manchuria from North China have to show Manchurian residence certificates. In Mukden you have to report to the local police whenever you want to stay overnight at a friend's house.

Largely because of the Communist-imposed news blackouts it is rather difficult to discern the precise cause for this tighter "bamboo curtain" around Manchuria. There is good reason to believe there is some resentment against Soviet removals of machinery and their continued occupation of Dairen and Port Arthur. The Communists may well fear this resentment will be organized into some outburst against their loudly-praised Soviet ally.

STALIN'S SECRET ATOM CITIES

By L. W. PHELPS-ORION

A journalist-diplomat, the writer is the author of "The Third Mrs. Stalin" and has written several information studies on Russian affairs.

NEARLY 200 years ago when Catherine the Great made a grand tour of Russia, her Prime Minister sent armies of slaves ahead to throw up make-believe paste-board towns and villages to help impress her with the size and magnificence of her realm. Today, in the vast and unknown hinterland of Soviet Russia, new cities have sprung up with equal speed, tangible constructions of steel and concrete devoted to Stalin's challenging race for atomic power.

Though already shrewdly known to the British and American war departments, their sites are shown on no published map. Within the Politburo itself their very existence—still deemed of top hush-hush quality—is mentioned only in numbers and symbols. To well-informed diplomatic officials in Moscow they are the 'bezimysnkan,' literally 'nameless cities.'

Concealed in anonymity, stacked with Manchurian loot, part-powered by British turbines and part-equipped with American machinery, these new 'Atomgrads' shroud the Kremlin's most closely-guarded secrets.

But come with me to the Sverdnl railway station in Moscow, start of the six-day journey across the Urals into the former Siberian wastelands. You're watching not the official-packed Trans-Siberian Express but one of the Emigrant Specials, a scene reminiscent of the sagas of the covered wagon days.

Whole families deploy into the blue compartments with their hard wooden bunks. Housefuls of furniture are stacked in the goods wagons. Cheering on-lookers throng the plank platforms; there are, Party speeches and cheerful bands. Colonizers who quit European Russia and set up house-keeping in far Asia receive premium of up to L 200 per family and are granted lifelong tax exemptions plus guaranteed housing and health ser-

vices.

Incessant propaganda paints Siberia as a wonderland of stupendous development, the greatest boom land in the world. The result has seen something like 1,000,000 people shipped into Asia since the war, supplementing an earlier 3,000,000 'pioneers' between the wars.

They have travelled by train and truck, by river-boat to the Urals and on by motor-way and—especially from the Caucasus—by mile-long cavalcades of horse-drawn wagons that sometimes transplant complete villages.

Simultaneously, armies of technicians and thousands of tons of equipment have been flown across the bleak steppes in a spectacular high-speed operation akin to the Berlin airlift. In Russia itself this astonishing mass migration has been adequately camouflaged as a fervour of colonial opportunity towards the new worlds in the east. As the train moves through the interminable birch and fir forests, broadcast gramophone records echo through the corridor loudspeakers.

"Forward to new lands we go, brothers of the future...." sings the choir. Yet to the skilled international observer, the trek has deep significance. The massed statistics of the Soviet Union contain only scanty references to the republics of outer Siberia! Economic figures nevertheless indicate that financial investment in eastern Siberia since the war's end has been from six to 16 times above normal.

Far beyond the smoky industrial empire of the Urals, where Russia re-established munitions production far from German reach, the train jolts on. Occasionally when it steps for priority expresses, passengers climb down to collect fresh water from the trackside streams or to pick flowers or break off aromatic branches to

sweep the floors. If one generally pictures Siberia as a blizzard-swept waste there are shocks in store.

Much of this sub-continent lies in normal North European latitudes and shares a temperate climate. Yet for 4,000 miles eastward the conversion of the bad lands is a solid achievement. On the fourth train day, everyone stares with pride at the towering chimneys and blast furnaces of Kuznetsk, itself a 'nameless city' of barely 15 years ago. Comes 1950 and still newer townships straddle the line: Sevdouralsk, planned to become the largest steel producing centre of all Europe or Asia; Kuibyshev IV, designed to group enormous precision instrument plants.

The essential atomic region at the end of our journey, however, is grouped around the frozen shores of Lake Baikal, an inland sea nearly as large as Denmark. Glance at an atlas and you may find the lake, like a blue boomerang, north of northernmost Mongolia. Rugged and remote, edged with mountains of granite and marble, it is small wonder if this represents the Soviet notion of innermost security.

American military strategists estimate that it lies some 3,000 flying miles from the nearest U. S. bases in Alaska. It is reported that Russia exploded her first atom-bomb on an island on Lake Baikal, deepest freshwater lake in the world. Significantly, British and American instruments accurately pinpointed the explosion to this area.

Clustered in a great arc just west of Lake Baikal, in short, are no fewer than 17 unnamed cities and townships representing the Harwell and Oak Ridge—the atomic centres—of the U.S.S.R. Due north of the great synthetic oil centre of Irkutsk, snuggled into the protecting mountains, there are great deserts for test purposes and deep clefts and canyons to conceal the Soviet's future stockpile of bombs.

Like America's Oak Ridge research development, the entire project has been rushed through at breathless speed. In August, 1946, the first conference of top Soviet scientists and economists was called to Irkutsk for survey work, and nearly 400 exploratory expeditions made reports on the unexploited mineral resources.

New camouflaged roads were soon hacked into the barren wilderness. At a bend of the fast-flowing Angara River, the scientists set their fingers on the site for a 'heavy water' development. In the great chain of 17 cities, some have been allocated to uranium production, some to supplying hydro-electric power, others to atomic industries, and all have been geared to a strictly scientific plan.

With its arsenals and great tractor and motor-car plants, its shipyards and pre-fab. house factories, Irkutsk is known to have doubled its population since the war to a new pitch of 1,000,000. It is now the military headquarters of all Siberia and capital of an atomic industrial region as large as France. Yet in 1929 it was a minor township producing only leather goods, timber and perhaps a few thousand tons of flour.

The new towns are no makeshifts. Though many of the new workers are housed in miles of squalid hutments, the nameless cities are being built to provide enormous factories, mining plants, railway junctions, outside communal restaurants and even theatres. In each town the largest public building is generally the post-office. When Ivan emigrates to this strange new world, he leaves no address. His mail is forwarded merely to a number, say No. 45678, Outer Siberian Republics, which in theory at least duly reaches Ivan in care of an unnamed post-restante.

Which city of all the secret seventeen focusses the actual manufacture of atom bombs? The United Nations have been given news of a township that stands alone on a fir-strewn plateau, guarded by granite watch towers, fenced by heavy wire, accessible by only one road, policed by a special force of troops. Its population is known to have suddenly risen to 12,000. It is believed to have absorbed many young physicists and technicians who have been suddenly whisked from European Russia.

The accumulation of detail amounts to a graphic picture. This is the stronghold from which the Politburo seeks to distract attention with carefully planted stories of mountains blasted from their rock-bed and rivers diverted wholesale by atomic explosions.—N.P.S. (Copyright).

ARE ANDHRAS GETTING A FAIR DEAL?

Major D. V. RAJA RAO

ANDHRAS have always been ardent followers of the Congress and our leaders have always subordinated the issue of the province in favour of the greater issue of independence. Though the agitation for a separate Andhra Province was started long before the fight for independence under Mahatma's leadership, during the long period of the fight our leaders took practically no interest in the question of our province. When the provinces of Sind and Orissa were created under the 1935 Act, I asked Desabhakta Konda Venkatappiah if we did not miss a good opportunity of getting our province for want of agitation at the opportune moment. He explained that independence was more important than the province and, as the Congress was committed to the principle of linguistic provinces, we would be getting our province along with independence without any special agitation and that it was not worth having a separate province while we were still a subject nation. The average Andhra sincerely believed so and earnestly hoped for a separate province with the advent of independence.

However, after the Congress took up Ministries in 1937, an attempt was made to get the Andhra Province under the 1935 Act by an Order in Council by the Governor-General. That attempt failed but it brought to light the forces within the Congress that were not in favour of a separate Andhra Province. I happened to be present at the Subjects Committee meeting of the Andhra Mahajana Sabha at Madras in 1938. In that meeting Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah was challenged by a group of people led by Mr. N. V. L. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Gummididala Subba Rao if he was not letting down the question of the Andhra Province in view of a promised Presidentship of the Congress for himself. However that might be, there had been some significant whippers when Tamilnad subsequently

plunged in, in its large numbers, in favour of Dr. Pattabhi in his last election as President of the Congress.

In 1948 when the Dhar Committee was enquiring into the issue of linguistic provinces, I happened to discuss the prospects of our province with one of the Andhra members of the Constituent Assembly. I was told that the Andhra members of the Constituent Assembly were not in favour of separation of the province at that juncture and that they would give evidence accordingly. It was thought that, if the province were to be constituted then, it would go into the hands of what our Constituent Assembly members thought to be 'undesirable leadership.' It is still fresh in our memory how this so-called 'undesirable leadership' was steadily and successfully undermined and discredited with help from above. This leadership, though rendered politically powerless, was gaining strength and popularity by insisting on and agitating for the separation of the Andhra Province before the new Constitution came into operation and made it rather hot for the anti-separation people.

When Dr. Pattabhi became the President of the Congress in 1948, the so-called 'desirable leadership' in Andhra began to gain ground. But even these 'desirable leaders' know that their political future was not safe unless they could bring about the separation of the Andhra Province along with the new Constitution.

The Dhar Committee recommended postponement of the formation of linguistic provinces. The Central Government, anxious for the unity of India, was more or less adamant on the question of linguistic provinces. But the 'desirable leadership' brought into power in Andhra against heavy odds and by very clever and difficult manipulations, even with blessings from above, could not be let down, and, may be, if it is let down the Congress would lose its hold in Andhra.

The J. V. P. recommendations were grudgingly offered to appease a turbulent people. But the people were not satisfied with it and the Andhras almost in one voice rejected it as arbitrary and unreasonable at the Andhra Convention at Vijayawada. But still with hardly a few weeks for the new Constitution to come into operation, we were served with, more or less, an ultimatum either to accept the J. V. P. report or to go without our province for an indefinite time. But with this ultimatum came also Dr. Pattabhi's interpretation of the J. V. P. recommendations. The Andhra P. C. C. and others of the Andhra Convention were lured to accept the J. V. P. recommendations on the basis of Dr. Pattabhi's interpretation. It is noteworthy that Dr. Pattabhi's interpretation is not endorsed so far either by the Working Committee or the Central Government. Under the circumstances the value of that interpretation is open to question.

As soon as the J. V. P. recommendations were accepted even conditionally on the basis of Dr. Pattabhi's interpretation, machinery has been set afoot for the separation, the keynote of the whole procedure being absolute agreement on all issues between the contending parties. There is no provision for arbitration on issues of disagreement. This gives Tamilnad a whip hand. They could always say "Agree to this, or go without your province". It was owned at the outset that the separation could not be effected before April. But the whole matter is hustled through and

agreements are reached quickly without any hitch. That there are grave doubts amongst the Andhras as to whether they are getting justice in this procedure is obvious from the proceedings of the P.C.C. recently held at Madras. Considering that this Legislature was elected in 1946 mainly on the issue of independence and on a policy mainly of obstruction to British imperialism, one is justified in questioning their right to settle far-reaching issues involved in the separation by mutual agreement between themselves without any specific mandate from the people.

Are Andhras to be treated just as troublesome bad boys and given their province only conditionally because otherwise they would not keep quiet? Have we no right for a separate province? Is it not an economic and social necessity for us? Would not a contented and prosperous Andhra add to the strength and stability of India? Does the nationalist record of Andhra justify any doubt about it? Then, why should we be forced to compromise on our rights at the risk of losing our province? Or, is it that this separation now is being implemented just as a lever for the political aggrandisement of some individuals and parties and so manipulated as to give them the best advantage thereof? Would a disappointed, disillusioned, truncated, and deficit Andhra be an asset or credit to its perpetrators or to India as a whole? For all the faith we had in the Congress and for all the zeal with which we implemented its programmes, are we Andhras getting a fair deal?

HEMISPHERIC CENSUS IN 1950

The United States is co-operating with the 21 other nations of the Western Hemisphere in what is believed to be the first jointly conducted hemispheric census in history. This project, says Philip M. Hauser, acting director of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, will help provide the kind of "basic economic data needed to develop economically the more backward areas" of the world as envisaged in President Truman's Point-Four programme.

Results of the census, expected to be completed in 1952, will be published by each participating nation. As far as practicable, however, the same standards and scientific procedures will be applied in collecting data in each country. As a result, instead of providing 22 separate and unrelated facts of data, the 22-nation study is expected to produce a single store of vital economic and social information concerning the estimated 300,000,000 inhabitants of North and South America.

THE SCIENTISTS MEET

DURING the last fortnight, Science has been front-page news in India. This was as it should be, and provided a welcome relief from the spate of political pronouncements, economic grouses and social gossip which otherwise flood our papers.

It all began with the convention of the Indian Academy of Sciences which met in Bombay in the end of December. The occasion was notable for the presence not only of almost all the leading Indian scientists but also of delegates from the United Kingdom, France and Sweden—all of them scientists of world-wide fame. The international representation was further augmented at Poona where more foreign delegates arrived to attend the Indian Science Congress—including one who had flown all the way from Russia!

The speeches of the scientists, dealing as they did with objective phenomena and concrete realities, provided a refreshing contrast to the airy generalities and pompous platitudes of politicians.

At Bombay, Dr. C. V. Raman, our world-famous physicist who has been quietly carrying on research of far-reaching importance in his laboratory at Bangalore, spoke on "Thirty years of light scattering" in which field he is the greatest authority in the scientific world.

Professor O. H. Rydbeck did not merely convey the greetings of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Sweden but spoke on ultra-violet radiation and the phenomenon of ionic disturbances in Arctic regions, graphically illustrated by a film he had himself shot in the Arctic.

Dr. J. H. Bhabha, the brilliant young Indian scientist, expounded a new theory of nuclear forces, while Professor J. D. Bernal of England delivered an inspiring address on "X-rays and analysis of crystals" and the French atomic scientists, Professor Jean Joliot Madame Joliot Curie (the pair that discovered uranium fission and thus made

the atom bomb possible) spoke on the future of atomic energy.

ATOM TO SERVE HUMANITY

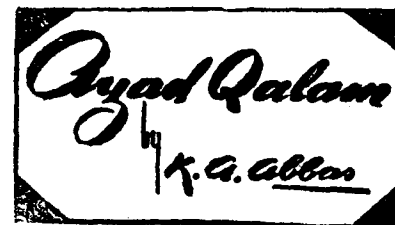
Thus, gathered here and later at Poona, were men (and at least one woman) of science, coming from the ends of the earth, belonging to different nationalities and professing different ideologies, and yet bound together by their common loyalty to Science—i. e., to Objective Truth.

The presence of the Joliot-Curie pair and Professor Bernal, whose progressive views have made him an outcaste in orthodox scientific circles in Britain, further highlighted the fact that the truly great scientist is no longer content to remain in the ivory-tower of his research laboratory, cut off from the hard practical realities of politics and economics. In their speeches and press interviews, the Joliot-Curies and Professor Bernal stressed the fact that scientists could not evade their social responsibilities as citizens. In her speech, Madame Joliot-Curie (who is the daughter of the great Madame Curie who discovered Radium) assured the scientists present that in future the practical application of nuclear energy would be used only for the welfare of mankind. In an interview, later, her husband categorically stated that "Scientists should resolve among themselves to refuse to work on the atom bomb."

Madame Joliot-Curie stated that atomic energy could be used for such peaceful purposes as to run industrial plants, motors, trains and ships. Both of them condemned the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes.

That this development is no longer in the realm of theoretical possibility was confirmed at Poona by Dr. Engelhardt, Director of the Pavlov Physiological Institute of Moscow and a

world-famous biochemist noted for his research on Vitamin-A and respiration in the human system, who is on a tour of India. Atomic energy, he revealed, is already being used in Russia principally



as an explosive force for cutting mountains and gave an assurance that "we have the least intention of using this discovery for any destructive purpose." He also indicated the possibility of using atomic energy in the near future for biological research and even for medicinal and curative purposes.

SCIENCE COMES TO INDIA

This galaxy of international scientists and the discussions they are having with their Indian colleagues is sure to give a tremendous impetus to scientific research as well as to the practical application of science in India.

The fact that the department of scientific research has been kept under his own personal care by the Prime Minister is a hopeful indication of the importance he attaches to science. The opening of the great Chemical Laboratory in Poona and other similar centres of scientific research in other places, gives us hope that soon India will be in the vanguard of scientific progress.

Already our Boses and Ramans and Bhabas have placed India on the science map of the world. What we need, however, are not merely a few such geniuses but a vast net-work of scientific research *closely linked in its practical application with industrial activity* to serve the interests of the whole nation, to raise our standard of living and to improve our national health.

Science today cannot be a luxury for the few—it must become a servant of the people.

The fact that hundreds of young men who have been given, at Government expense, costly scientific education in foreign countries are today wandering about unemployed, or forced to take up clerical or administrative jobs, is certainly an alarming symptom. What is the use of training scientists if the State is not able to provide them with opportunities to use their knowledge for the economic and industrial regeneration of the country?

GROWING RICE IN LABORATORY!

That, here and there, valuable work is being done to use science to solve

our urgent economic problems is happily indicated by a few news-items which appeared, coincidentally enough, during the last two weeks.

At the Food Technology Laboratory in Mysore, they are reported to have produced "synthetic rice" out of maize, jowar and other millets. The possible far-reaching results of this development can well be imagined in the context of the prevalent shortage of food—specially rice—in the country.

Then, again, the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, has made it possible to produce "treated timber" which is strong enough to be a substitute for steel in the construction of bridges, factories and buildings. In view of steel shortage for building purposes, this too is a hopeful development of considerable national significance.

But we need, not two, but a hundred such practical applications of science to serve our people and to raise our present low standards of living as soon as possible.

SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT.

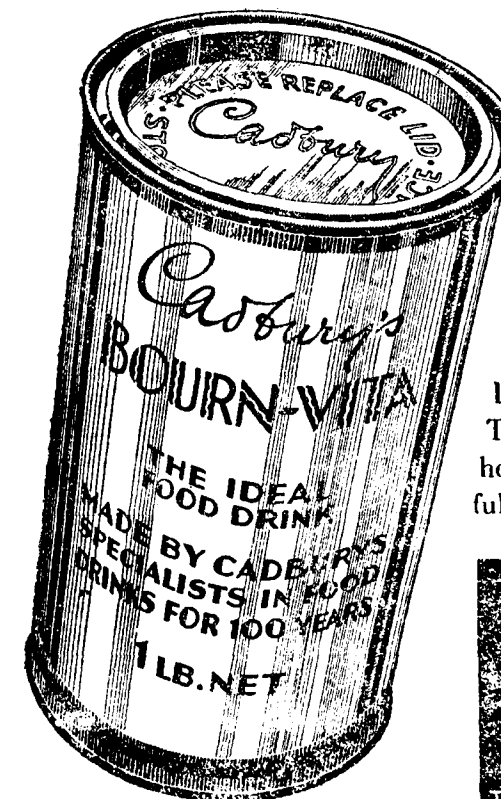
And, no less important than scientific research, we need the cultivation of the scientific spirit, both among our leaders and the common people.

You cannot raise a scientific superstructure on a psychological foundation of superstition and unreason. What is the use of science laboratories if the mass of the people, continue to be steeped in ignorance and even the so-called educated classes are susceptible to superstitious and irrational beliefs and practices?

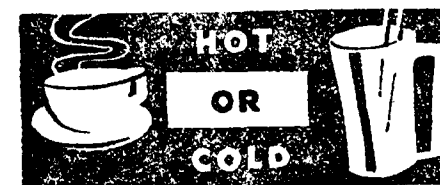
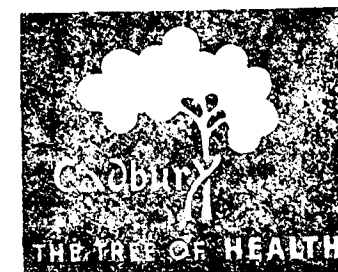
How many of our popular beliefs and social customs can stand the test of reason and science?

Is it not a fact that many of our leaders—Ministers and Administrators—advocate and adopt unscientific attitudes not only in their private but also public lives? Superstition still plays an important part in official public ritual in the allegedly "secular" India—in the form of coconuts, *tilaks*, recitations from scriptures, 'holy ashes' smeared on Ministers! Government departments are said to be "officially" consulting astrologers, soothsayers and *sanyasis* about public affairs.

DRINK YOUR HEALTH



BOURN-VITA is more than a milk drink. It contains energy-giving vitamins and calcium. It is ideal for ATHLETES and INVALIDS alike. Children love the chocolate flavour. Take it morning and night, hot or cold, two teaspoonfuls in a cup or glass of milk.



CFY-2

Cadbury's
BOURN-VITA
RICH IN CALCIUM AND VITAMINS A & D

CADBURY FRY (INDIA) LIMITED
P. O. BOX 1417, BOMBAY - P. O. BOX 251, CALCUTTA - P. O. BOX 1725, MADRAS

How can one reconcile such goings-on with the "scientific spirit" which our leaders and Ministers extol in conferences and congresses?

Science, let us be clear about it, is the enemy of unreason, irrational taboos and superstitions, of castes and sub-castes, of gotra and non-gotra, of moralist fads, of communalism, fanaticism, jingoism, of worship of the past, of denominational education, of astrologers, palmists, soothsayers, swamis, jyotshis, etc., etc.

Do we want them—or science?

BOOK OF THE WEEK

Another volume of the Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia (Oxford University Press, Price 30 shillings) has been published. This one deals with Natural History and provides exhaustive, properly indexed information about the fascinating world of Plants and Animals. As such it serves not only as an excellent reference book but a useful introduction to a more detailed study of Botany and Zoology. Once again, though primarily intended for children, it will give hours of fruitful relaxation to many an adult. The illustrations are a specially attractive feature and make the volume an ideal gift for the intelligent child. When are we going to have such useful works in Hindustani and other Indian languages?

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

WASHINGTON: The United States built about 2,500 military planes during 1949 according to an estimate by the Aircraft Industries' Association.

GENEVA: What is believed to be the first open advocacy of international cartels as a means of preventing or frustrating integration of the European market, which is being demand-

ed by the Economic Co-operation Administration as the price of further United States aid, is being examined with interest by anti-trust experts here.

LUCKNOW: Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, was arrested at Rewa and taken to an unknown destination.

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

NEW DELHI: One fine morning a boy dropped in at the house of Narain Das at Barakhamba Road and offered to sell sugar at Rs. 1-4 per seer. Narain Das paid As. 10 to the boy, who handed him a bag containing "sugar." When the lad was asked to weigh the same he hesitated. Getting suspicious, Narain Das opened the bag himself. It was found to contain wet earth.

NEW DELHI: Some members of the Constituent Assembly will have to go without the supply of water and electricity for their failure to liquidate outstanding bills, and to deposit the necessary security for future payment, following the decision of the Electric and Water Supply Committee of the New Delhi Municipal Committee. The sub-committee has decided to cut off their connections for both as repeated reminders for the payment of the old bills had failed to bring any results.

KANPUR: Eight boxes alleged to contain bogus sale deeds and other forged documents pertaining to smuggling and blackmarketing transactions, were reported to have been seized following simultaneous raids by the local Anti-Corruption Staff on 18 prominent firms of Cawnpore yesterday. No arrests have so far been made in this connection.

Officers in the U. S. Navy have been ordered to be courteous to the President of the United States. This is the outcome of an incident which happened recently to the President, whose affable early morning "Hello" was ignored by a naval officer who turned on his heels and walked away. The order recalls a similar one issued in our local Secretariat requiring *chavris* to salute Ministers. It all came about in a curious way. Ministers were such impermanent beings and owners of such lack-lustre countenances, that the poor peons were at a loss to know if a certain Khadder-clad individual was a job-hunting ex-municipal councillor or an ex-Minister or Minister in office. This bewilderment resulted in an open insult to a bonafide Minister who lost no time in promulgating a "Salute the Minister" ordinance.—ROE.

TRUMAN'S FAIR DEAL AND U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

By SAUL K. PADOVER

To lead is to live in a glass house, the U. S. is finding. That is why it is doing its utmost to present a reassuring domestic picture to a watching world.

WASHINGTON: Returning here from a long stay abroad, one realizes anew how much this centre of U. S. power is also the capital of Western Europe. Measures taken in Washington affect the outside world directly, as for instance the Marshall Plan, and also by ultimate impact. For steps taken here influence the security and perhaps the very life of a considerable number of foreign nations.

Peoples abroad, moreover, aware that their destinies are shaped in Washington, watch the U. S. with understandable anxiety. Everything of importance that occurs or is done in the U. S. is observed abroad, commented upon, judged and filed away in memory for some future occasion. Hence the extraordinary paradox that the U. S. domestic policy has become, in essence, its foreign policy.

Increasingly the U. S. Government is aware of this situation. From the White House down, responsible Americans in official positions keenly realize that their actions and utterances, even though mainly designed for domestic purposes, are scrutinized by foreign eyes. The U. S. is now forced to consider the opinions and reactions of non-Americans, of remote neighbours, so to speak, who are not always sympathetic or understanding. For the U. S., this is uncomfortable and often painful, but it is the price of world leadership, especially in a crisis.

The whole point is, of course, the hard fact of crisis, a struggle for the world which, in the last analysis, will be decided in the hearts and minds of men. We are witnessing, today, a world-wide effort on the part of the giant powers to win friends and influence loyalties. In the deepest sense, this is the meaning of the cold war. As Stephen T. Early, U. S. Under-Secretary of National Defence,

said: "We are engaged in a struggle which calls for the same judgment, the same acumen, the same kind of executive ability we need in war-time. What we are endeavouring to do now may help keep us out of war. Our whole national policy is based on that kind of reasoning."

Viewed thus, President Truman's "Fair Deal" assumes different proportions. While designed as a domestic reform programme, the Fair Deal has far-reaching foreign policy implications. Among other things, it aims to correct the widespread impression abroad that the U. S. is socially backward; that its workers have not the kind of security enjoyed by, say, Scandinavians; and that it is racially bigoted.

For U. S. foreign policy it is important that the outside world have a fair picture of life and conditions within the U. S. Abroad there is a great deal of misunderstanding about the U. S., even on the part of well-intentioned people. Europeans form their picture of the U. S. from five main sources: (1) Hollywood; (2) U. S. visitors, including tourists and, formerly, G.I.'s; (3) U. S. novels; (4) Communist propaganda, and, finally, (5) reports in the press. Most of these hardly can be considered as unpolluted sources of the whole truth.

Even educated Europeans are puzzled what to make of the U. S., of U. S. aims, manners, morals and civilization. At the University of Paris, where I lectured on U. S. political institutions, I found that even my learned colleagues were poorly informed and sceptical. The general attitude of teachers and students went something like this: "We accept the reality of U. S. power, but we are worried by the lack of U. S. culture. We Europeans are troubled by the fact that we are dominated by

a nation that is culturally and socially backward."

This feeling that the U. S. is socially backward is widespread. Europeans, in general, still consider the U. S. an old-fashioned capitalistic country of the "classic" type—that is, a place where big profit-making is completely unhindered by governmental controls or taxes and where labour has little protection and few rights.

The deepest single cause of European doubt about U.S. integrity is the treatment of Negroes and other minorities. Whenever and wherever the subject of the U. S. comes up, so does its King Charles' head—the Negro problem. Europeans always ask: "Is it true that Negroes in the U. S. are constantly humiliated, persecuted and lynched? If it is true, then how can the U. S. call itself a democracy or even a Christian land?" Communist propaganda naturally takes advantage of this wide crack in America's moral armour, and sees to it that European public opinion does not forget the Negro question.

The press of Europe, Asia and Africa could do much to enlighten readers about U. S. life, but to do so it must have favourable conditions about which to write. If, in other words, the U. S. needs and desires a friendly world opinion it must do much to cure itself of certain social illnesses at home. It is here that the Fair Deal comes in.

A large part of the outside world has not yet realized how far the U. S. has already moved in the direction of social welfare. Beginning with the Roosevelt New Deal, the U. S. Government gradually has been transforming itself from an old style capitalistic society to one with a high degree of responsibility for all the people. It now spends, annually, some \$25,000,000,000 for public benefits—for such things as social services, public housing, economic and business assistance, health and welfare, the building and maintenance of great hydro-electric and irrigation projects.

The Truman Fair Deal, now in the process of being fought out and partly carried out, is expected to help dispel much of the world's false picture about "reactionary" America.

There are eight main points in the Truman programme, each capable

of having repercussions abroad and so influence the outcome of the cold war. Consider, first, agriculture. Together with Canada and the Argentine, the U. S. is among the world's chief suppliers of food. But apart from that, U. S. farmers are thoroughly organized and wield political power that is decisive on a national scale. Their support in the presidential election of 1948 was a leading factor in Truman's victory.

The prosperity of U. S. farmers today is unprecedented. In the last dozen years the percentage of farms with electricity has risen from 11 to 55. This means that more than one-half of the 6,437,000 farms in the U. S. now use electricity for light and power. About 45 per cent of the farms have telephones (as compared with only 25 per cent in 1940). Around half have refrigerators. More than 60 per cent have baths. Millions of farmers have billions of dollars in the savings banks.

The rural population, which makes up about 40 per cent of the U. S. total, is determined to retain its prosperity. It still has bitter memories of the days—only some 15 to 20 years ago—when farms were foreclosed, when nearly all farmers were in debt, when agricultural prices had no bottom. Farmers, once staunchly Republican, know it was the Democratic New Deal that gave them their first programme of security. That is why they vote largely Democratic and why one of the main planks in the Fair Deal is the so-called "Brannan Plan."

This plan, named after Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan, who is himself a wealthy stockman, outlines a farm programme with revolutionary implications. In brief, it provides for a permanent Government-guaranteed farm income based on 1939-1943 averages, which were exceptionally high. Brannan's chief argument is that such a concrete floor under agricultural prices would not only help the farmers but also U. S. consumers in general. It would eliminate depressions because, he argues, an economic crisis usually starts with a fall in agricultural prices.

Economists are inclined to agree with Brannan that a healthy and guaranteed farm economy is a powerful deterrent against a depression. A

U. S. depression, nowadays, could play havoc with the international situation. The Soviet Union and the Communists throughout the world make no secret of the fact that they are counting precisely upon that. Communist theory states that capitalism must lead to depressions, depressions to acute political crises, and political crises to war and revolution. Obviously, one basic way of disproving this Communist dogma is to stay economically healthy. Thus the Brannan Plan, though a domestic programme, is clearly also foreign policy.

A second important point in the Truman Fair Deal is civil rights. This, too, has wide international implications. It concerns the legal rights and physical protection of U. S. Negroes, particularly in the Southern States. President Truman, to a large extent, staked his political life in 1948 on this issue. To him the question is both moral-democratic and political-international. Apart from the fact that he finds it repugnant that 10 per cent of the U. S. population should be deprived of full citizenship, he also knows that millions of men of colour throughout the world point fingers of scorn at the U. S. for its treatment of Negroes.

This is particularly grave in Asia, where at least 1,000,000,000 darker-hued people resent white arrogance. Asia is definitely in revolt, and the Western democracies have already lost a large part of it. To save the rest for the democratic camp—India, for example—the democracies must show themselves considerably more democratic than they have been hitherto. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the battle for the loyalties of hundreds of millions of Asians can be won or lost in the U. S. Congress.

Another plank in the Fair Deal is the question of labour. Here again there are international implications. The essence of the problem is the Taft-Hartley Act, which the Republicans passed when they controlled Congress. This Act deprives organized labour of a number of rights it had won under Roosevelt's New Deal, and restores both to management and Government certain powers, such as the right to sue the

unions and the right to issue injunctions against them.

Regardless of the inherent rights and wrongs of the Taft-Hartley law, it is a fact that it has aroused the bitter anger and hatred of labour. President Truman himself opposed it as unfair and unworkable. Elimination of the law, as proposed in the Fair Deal programme, would find a favourable echo in the democracies, particularly of Western Europe, where strong pro-labour sentiments prevail. It would also deprive Soviet propaganda of one of its telling arguments, namely, that the U. S. is a reactionary country where workers are at the mercy of unscrupulous "bosses."

Still another item in the Fair Deal package is public health. President Truman has proposed to Congress a five-point programme: (1) compulsory health insurance; (2) free medical service of every kind; (3) construction of new hospitals; (4) subsidizing doctors in rural areas; and (5) maternal and child-health care.

This programme has been sharply attacked as costly and bureaucratic, but the issue has been joined. If West European experience is any guide, the U. S., sooner or later, will have Government-guaranteed medical care. Most European Governments have been unable to resist public demands for free medical services; and if the U. S. should follow in the same path, it will prove to the Western democracies that, far from being socially backward, it is actually progressive.

The same is true of another point in the Fair Deal—public housing. Already the Senate has passed a bill providing \$1,500,000,000 to be distributed among localities for the construction of 810,000 housing units in the next six years. Each unit would rent for the comparatively low sum of \$27 a month. An additional \$275,000,000 was voted for rural housing.

Another Fair Deal plank, already passed by Congress, is aid to education. This affects largely the poorer Southern States, which cannot afford schools that fit modern standards. Congress provided \$300,000,000 to be distributed among the States, ranging up to \$30 per school child (ages 5 to 17). This will have a considerable effect on Negro education also.

Possibly the most challenging and imaginative of all Fair Deal measures is President Truman's now-famous "Point Four," sometimes known as the "bold new programme." In a speech delivered on Jan. 20, 1949, the President set the world buzzing with these words:

"We must embark on a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas. . . . Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burden."

These words are being translated into a programme of action. A group of high-placed Government experts, headed by an Assistant Secretary of State, are working out the details in Washington. No fewer than three bodies of specialists are preparing the ground for this bold new programme. The State Department's inter-departmental advisory committee on technical assistance is mobilizing technicians. The Treasury Department's national advisory council on international monetary and financial problems is studying investment conditions in under-developed areas. And the

Economic Co-operation Administration (E.C.A.) has a colonial development section, which is working on the possibilities of raising the economic levels of dependent areas. It is estimated that the first year's cost of the Point Four programme will involve an outlay of around \$30,000,000, mainly for technical experts and instruction.

Such countries as India and Iran in Asia and Brazil in the Americas, are slated to be the first to benefit from Point Four in the form of assistance and advice by U. S. experts and technicians. Already Prime Minister Nehru of India and the Shah of Iran, chiefs of two under-nourished and under-developed states, have come to the U. S. seeking aid—which they will unquestionably receive. They need technical help and training even more than loans of money or machines. As Assistant Secretary of State Willard L. Thorp said: "There are things we can do. Probably the most important is for us to organize a better way of getting our technical knowledge to other peoples."

Thus the whole Fair Deal has wide-ranging foreign consequences, and is bound to affect many a national destiny abroad. The Truman programme, though immediately domestic, is also an important instrument of foreign policy in today's battle for the world.—*Copyright.*

ON THE WAY

Lenin laid down this formula shortly before his death: "We shall force the United States to spend itself into destruction."

While riding in a taxi in Washington, D. C., I noticed a leatherette case full of small cards and asked the elderly driver what they were. "Well, young man," he said, "you'd be surprised what a lot of fun I've had with those cards. I had a thousand printed when I first got the idea, and thought they would last me years. That was just about a year ago and the ones you see are the last of my fourth thousand."

I took one of the cards. On it was printed: "PLEASE, DEAR GOD, HELP ME TO MIND MY OWN BUSINESS."—KARAN SINGH, Prince of Kashmir.

Late one evening I paused at a street corner in Syracuse, N. Y., to listen to the rantings of two sidewalk orators. They stood on box platforms outside a confectionary store window, and took turns decrying the evils of the democratic way and extolling the virtues of Communism. A small man in front of me muttered softly to himself for a while, then walked over to the door of the shop, produced a key and disappeared into the dim interior.

Suddenly out of the darkness, a mere foot above the speaker's heads, a large neon sign blazed forth a single word: NUTS.—R. W. RICE.

Short Story

HUMAN HANDS

By S. KRISHNIAH

EVERYBODY in South India has heard of Dr. Immanuel Schneider although only a very few have actually been his patients. Not everyone could afford to consult that eminent specialist and only the rich could become in-patients in his up-to-date surgery on Mount Road. But in spite of the Jewish surgeon's extortionate fees his fame spread, within a few months of his setting up a practice, all through the length and breadth of India. His surgery was full almost always. Businessmen from Bombay, Government officials from Delhi, landlords from Punjab, merchants from Calcutta—all visited his consulting rooms and sometimes received the beneficent touch of his healing knife. Many are the stories still circulating of miraculous cures Dr. Schneider has performed and of the people he has rescued from the certain clutches of premature death.

Dr. Schneider's fame in surgery was eclipsed only by the notoriety he obtained by his religious outlook. Dr. Schneider was an atheist. Not only was he an atheist but he was also offensively irreligious. He revelled in blasphemy and never let an opportunity slip when he could heap curses and malediction on anything divine or sacred.

He had his excuses of course but even then few could understand his monomania. As an Austrian Jew who had for years experienced life in a concentration camp under Hitlerite Germany one could condone his lack of faith in a God of Love. Suffering untold tortures under inhuman fiends, Dr. Schneider had more than once lifted his frail voice to the God of Abraham and the God of Jacob only to find that Deity deaf and unconcerned.

Dr. Latif understood him a little. He was Dr. Schneider's assistant. He had a brilliant career and had taken up an appointment under this eminent

surgeon more for the valuable things he could learn under the master than for the unattractive salary he received. It had been a terrible surprise to Dr. Latif when he had been taken on. Higher qualified surgeons than he had sought the post, just to apprentice themselves under Dr. Schneider.

Dr. Schneider himself was pleased with Latif. He had tried many assistants since he had set up practice but had found that most of them were not keen on hard work. On the contrary he found Latif a willing worker and a brilliant assistant and also one in whose care he could safely entrust the post-operation care of his patients. Dr. Schneider also took great pains to teach Latif Neuro-Surgery in which he was a specialist.

From the professional point of view Dr. Schneider was Latif's hero. He admired the surgeon's dexterity of fingers as they probed with certitude for a tumour in the brain. The slightest fumbling, the most delicate pressure on the wrong spot and the patient on the table would die forthwith. It was not every surgeon who could crack open the skull of a living man and remove a tumour from the brain. It was sheer wizardry and Latif knew it.

But there were times when his admiration for the great man was displaced by pity. Through being his assistant for several years he became a close personal friend and discovered that beneath the harsh exterior of the atheist was a man with tender emotions. He knew that in the breast of the extortionate professional man pulsed a tender heart. Latif alone knew the story of his life—of how he had seen devilish maniacs butcher his wife, of how his fifteen-year old daughter was successively raped by numerous German soldiers drunk with the pride of Austrian occupation. Latif had seen the indelible mark of hot iron across the chest of

Dr. Schneider—a brand he had received in one of the concentration camps. He knew why nails did not grow on some of his fingers. His heart ached for Dr. Schneider when the latter cursed and maligned the God of Jacob.

They were a strange pair—the doctors Schneider and Latif—but they pulled on together for years. They respected each other and together they stood sentinel at Death's doorway for many a human being suffering from otherwise incurable ailments.

Now Dr. Schneider has disappeared leaving no trace. Whether he would have continued to practice but for that incident is a moot point.

Dr. Schneider and Dr. Latif had finished their morning rounds and just entered the consulting room when two visitors were shown in.

"Good morning, doctor," greeted the elder gentleman, "I am Ramakrishnan."

"Good morning, Mr. Ramakrishnan," greeted the surgeon mispronouncing his visitor's name. "Meet my assistant, Dr. Latif."

Dr. Latif shook hands with the newcomer.

"Please sit down.... What can I do for you?"

"I've come to consult you, doctor, regarding my son," Mr. Ramakrishnan said pointing to the younger man.

Thereupon Dr. Schneider closely questioned the visitor and went through the sheet of paper which another surgeon, who had initially handled the case, had given them.

Dr. Schneider and Dr. Latif examined the patient. The symptoms were clear. Severe, continuous headache, failing eye-sight, onset of paralysis on the right side—all these could only mean one thing.

"The doctor whom you consulted first is perfectly right in diagnosis," said Dr. Schneider. "I'm certain that there is a tumour in the brain. I can realise the nature of the operation. It is an extremely difficult one."

"Yes, I was told so. They also told me that you are a neu. neuro surgeon or something like that and you would be able to remove it."

"That's right. And, of course.... Will you come to the other room with me?"

Dr. Schneider took Mr. Ramakrishnan to a private room adjoining the consulting room leaving Dr. Latif to chat with the patient.

"I didn't like talking in the presence of your son. You know, Mr. Ramakrishnan, that if the tumour is not removed your son may not live very long."

Mr. Ramakrishnan remained silent.

"I'm almost sure the operation will be successful. Only last week I had a similar case and the patient is now progressing satisfactorily."

"I do hope my son will be all right."

"There is every hope that he will be.... Perhaps you know my fees are rather high. It'll cost you two thousand five hundred rupees."

"What? Two thousand five hundred? That's exorbitant."

"I told you about my fees being usually very high."

Mr. Ramakrishnan thought for a while.

"All right, doctor. It's not the money I'm much bothered about. It is my son."

"You need have no fear, Mr. Ramakrishnan."

"Thank you doctor. Next to God my trust is in you."

And it was this that caused Dr. Schneider to explode.

"Next to God, What do you mean?"

"I mean that if it is God's will you will save my son."

"Nonsense. I'm going to cure your son—not God!" he protested brusquely.

"Of course, but...."

"There is no but."

"You can't say that, doctor. After all only God can cure him although you operate."

"God cure him?" Dr. Schneider laughed derisively. "So why don't you take him to God? Why do you bring him to me? I tell you I'm the only man who can cure him—God willing or not. Got that? Since you talk so much about God, take him away and see whether you can keep him alive for another few months. That'll be a damn good cure!" Dr. Schneider laughed again.

Mr. Ramakrishnan did not know what to say, but Dr. Schneider was really incensed.

"Don't blink, man. Come on. Take your son. Take him to God. Next to God, eh? Then why do you come to the second best? Take him away and damn soon you'll know a lot about God."

Dr. Schneider had worked himself to a frenzy as he pushed his client towards the consulting room.

"So Latif," said the surgeon as they entered the consulting room, "Mr. Ramakrishnan is going to entrust his son with a better surgeon than I." He laughed again and turned to the father and son holding the door open for their exit. "Wish you luck—and please do come and let me know the result." His tone was bitter with sarcasm.

Still in a daze, Mr. Ramakrishnan led his son out of the room. Dr. Schneider banged the door shut and turned towards his assistant. "There the fools go," he said. "They'll damn soon realise their mistake."

"But what happened?"

"What happened? I'll tell you. That fool of a father tells me that if it is God's will I'll successfully operate on his son. I told him that if it is God's will I need not operate at all and sent him away. To come and tell me that!...."

Latif listened patiently but he could not get rid of the thought that Dr. Schneider had virtually signed the death-warrant of the young man. No other surgeon could remove that tumour. And according to medical science if that tumour was not removed it was certain death for the patient. Latif almost felt himself a party to crime. He knew it was no use trying to change Dr. Schneider's decision. He was very bull-headed

where his religious outlook was concerned. But he could not allow a man to die because of a trifling difference in religion. It was shameful. And yet, what could he do?

Dr. Schneider and Dr. Latif were in the consulting room a month later having a chat because the latter had just returned from a month's vacation. It was then that two visitors were announced and Mr. Ramakrishnan and his son were shown in.

"Good morning, Dr. Schneider," said Mr. Ramakrishnan beaming from ear to ear, "I've come to thank you. God cured my son!"

"What?"

"I said God cured my son!"

It was evident that the young man was suffering no more from any disease and was in good health.

Dr. Schneider blinked uncomprehendingly for a few moments and slowly he realised that the young man had been cured.

"Now I must take leave, doctor," said the father. "I came here because you told me that last time I met you, to come and inform you about the health of my son. Would you like to examine him?"

"No.... n-n-no...." stammered Dr. Schneider.

"Then I'll be going," and with a *namaste* the father and son left the consulting room.

Suddenly Dr. Schneider understood and looked accusingly at Latif.

"So you operated on him?"

Latif remained silent.

"Do you know you could have killed that boy? How dare you take such a risk? You know very well that neuro surgery is no joke. It required trained fingers."

Latif smiled innocuously.

"God guided my fingers!"

A group of children who were taken to the Philadelphia zoo recently were keenly disappointed to find no monkeys visible at either the monkey house or on monkey island. "Where are all the monkeys?" the young lady chaperoning the party asked an attendant. "This is their mating season," he replied. "They are all back in the cages."

"Oh," said the lady, then after a moment's thought, "The children are terribly disappointed. Do you think if they threw peanuts into the cages the monkeys would come out?"

"I don't know, lady," the attendant replied laconically. "Would you?"—READER'S DIGEST.



There is always
someone or something
to save for

Invest
in

NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

Obtainable from Post Offices,
Authorized Agents and Savings Bureaux.
Issued by the Ministry of Finance Govt. of India, New Delhi

AG-74

PLIGHT OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By V. G. NAIR

THE principle of racial inequality is applied nowhere in the world more ruthlessly than in the Union of South Africa. Indians there are subjected to many kinds of persecution and harassment at the hands of the White rulers. Such atrocities will not be tolerated in any civilized country. We do not understand the reason why the U.N.O. still hesitates to bring Africa under the Trusteeship system of administration in order to root out the evil of racial inequality practised by the South African Whites. It is vainglorious to preach a principle which we cannot practise in our life. While the U.N.O. preaches racial equality and international peace, the Whites of Africa are labouring hard to achieve the opposite end. Can the United Nations tolerate any longer such inhumanities committed by the Whites in the name of Christianity and civilization?

The history of Indians in South Africa is full of tragedies. It is a story of diabolical deeds and unpardonable crimes committed by the Whites on the Indians. It has appeared so often in the headlines of Indian papers. Yet it requires the widest publicity possible in the world press for no wrong can be righted unless it is made widely known to the public.

The great majority of South African Indians are descendants of the Indian labourers who were indentured by the Government of Natal from 1860 onwards to work in the sugar fields. These workers were invited to make South Africa their home and they went there under an agreement with the Government of India. Under the terms of the agreement, the Government of South Africa promised to help them to settle as permanent residents of the country and guaranteed them citizenship rights after their period of indentured labour was over. But the White rulers not only violated the terms of the agreement, but

kept the Indians under a state of slavery.

Today, there are roughly two lakhs and fifty thousand Indians in the Union of South Africa. Of these 210,000 are in Natal; 31,000 in Transvaal; 13,000 in the Cape and none in the Orange Free State. The vast bulk of Natal Indians are workers engaged in the secondary and sugar industries. There are farmers and professional people and a few wealthy merchants. Most of the Transvaal Indians are small traders and hawkers. The average Indian worker receives wretchedly low wages amounting to about £1-10s. per week. Rural workers in Natal get as little as £3 per month. Only 15.4 per cent of the Indian children receive education. The annual subsidy per head for a European child is £16-7-6 and for an Indian child £5-5-6. Despite the outcry about penetration in Durban, the huge population of Indians there own only 4 per cent of the land. The Durban City Council spends £7-3-6 per head on housing schemes for Europeans and 17sh. 6d. for the Indians. In 1940, the average property per head owned by Europeans was £477-19-9 and by Indians £43-4-11.

Indians are discriminated against in many ways in South Africa. Apart from the Ghetto Act there are 65 different laws restricting the rights of Indians in one way or another. Some of them are: (1) The immigration Act of 1913, prohibiting any further immigration from India. (2) All Indians are denied parliamentary, provincial and municipal votes on the common roll. (3) In Transvaal, Indians are denied the right both of ownership and occupation except in certain areas exempted by Parliament and they could not own land or property in their own names. (4) Provincial barriers prohibit the entry of Indians from one province to another. (5) The Orange Free State has since 1891 debarred Indians from residing within its boundaries. (6) The White labour policy of the Government precludes

Indians from employment as skilled workers.

These are but a few of the types of racial discrimination practised against Indians in South Africa. At present a small minority among the Europeans own over 70 per cent of land in South Africa. African natives who constitute the great majority of the total population are deprived of the right of land tenure outside segregated reserves which amount to less than 13 per cent of the land area. The talk of (White) civilization, the spreading of the *Herrenvolk* ideology and the inflaming of bestial racial and colour prejudice, all these are done by the ruling class to win the support of the European population and to conceal the true motive for colour oppression. Segregation means cheap labour policy pursued by the great capitalists of the mining and farming industries. It is a policy which has already dragged down the African people to the depths of poverty and disease, misery and starvation and now threatens to engulf all races in disaster. The essence of the new Indian Act is that it aims to drag down yet another section of the people to the economic level of the Africans. It is, therefore, a move to create another depressed group which will reduce the living standards of all.

The Ghetto Act not only cripples Indian trade in South Africa and bars progress, it will also reduce the opportunities of masses of Indian people to earn a decent livelihood and ultimately condemn them to exist in increasingly overcrowded slum locations. The Indians are today faced with ever-increasing overcrowding and congestion. This must lead to poverty and disease among the Indian youth; the degenerating and evil environ-

ment of such segregated life will lead to crime and anti-social conduct. It will brand the Indian community with the stamp of inferiority; it will cast a slur on India's national pride. The life and conditions in African (native) locations and Asiatic bazars in Transvaal and elsewhere are a living example of the poisonous fruits of segregation.

The first passive resistance struggle was launched in South Africa in 1906. It lasted for eight years and ended in victory. The South African Indians cherish the memory of the heroes and martyrs of that struggle, their many noble deeds of sacrifice and bravery. While serving imprisonment a young girl of only 16 years contracted a fatal fever and she died within a few days of her release. Her name which has now become immortal in South African history is Valliamma R. Munuswami Mudalliar. Her parting message to Gandhiji is worthy to be emulated by every Indian girl. In the coal mines throughout the south and north coast of Natal, Indian workers struck work. The European police opened fire and many died. In 1913 the struggle came to a head over the question of the £3 annual tax which ex-indentured Indian labourers had to pay. Mahatma Gandhi led a gallant band of over 2,000 men, women and children in a great march from Newcastle to Charlestown and thence crossed the border into the Transvaal. The struggle continued and at last the Government had to give in, the £3 tax was repealed and a settlement was arrived at known as the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement. This great struggle will always live in the minds not only of the Indians but all who care for human freedom.

STELLAR ATTRACTION:

A salesman stranded in a small village asked one of the natives if there were a movie in town.

"Nope," was the reply.

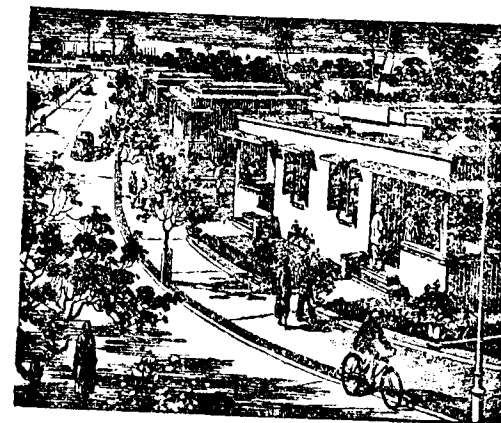
"Any poolrooms or bowling alleys?"

"Nope."

"What form of amusement do you have?" asked the exasperated salesman.

"Wal, come down to the drugstore," said the old man. "Thar's a freshman home from college."—PELL-MELL, quoted in STANFORD CHAPARRAL.

Industrial Housing



ACC Cement

Is helping to construct durable, economical, clean and fire-proof houses for industrial workers. Well-planned, hygienic living accommodation amidst cheerful surroundings will promote workers' health and efficiency and will thus contribute towards increasing output.

For safety specify any of these well-known brands of cement:
• A.C.C. • NILGIRI • CHAR-MINAR



14 factories throughout India and Pakistan

THE CEMENT MARKETING CO. OF INDIA LTD
Sales Managers of the A.C.C. Ltd.

Letters To The Editor

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Nominations To Parliament

Members of Parliament were nominated and duly elected, on what principles we do not know. Mr. S. Guruswami who by virtue of his position in the All-India Railwaymen's Federation is more deserving than others now sent up to sit in the Parliament, withdrew. In one case, one who had been defeated at the last general elections is now elevated to the Parliament. In another case, one who had cut a most unpopular figure as the former President of a District Board is now an M. P. About his District Board presidentship, the less said, the better. It may be interesting and not put of place to recall that he moved heaven and earth last time also to instal himself as the District Board President and later withdrew, as the reports go, on the assurance that he would be made a Member of Parliament when occasion and opportunity arose. All credit to his friend in the Ministry, he has reached his life's ambition. But can there be more humiliation and insult to the electorate than these nominations? Are the seats in Parliament to be distributed to one's camp-followers? If people lose faith in the Congress and also in the successful working of democracy in India, it is only due to such short-sighted action as these nominations. These gentlemen can represent none but themselves and their clique at Madras. But people are not sheep to be led by their noses. They can think and do think for themselves. The time is fast approaching when the voice of the people will be heard and heard most distinctly.

POLITICUS.

Rice Ration At Vizagapatam

I send herewith a sample of the boiled rice issued for the last two weeks to most of the ration depots at Vizag. As you will see, the rice is such that evidently two different qualities are mixed therein. I have, therefore, separated the bad quality rice which has been deliberately mixed at some source, which it is difficult for us to know, and sent herewith a sample of it. To all appearances, the separated sample looks like decomposed rice unfit for human consumption and whoever is responsible for mixing it with the other good quality is culpable, because it is likely to lead to epidemics, if consumed by the people on a large scale.

I would like you to take up the matter with the Food Department authorities

with a view to having the separated sample examined by the King Institute, Guindy, and their finding obtained as to whether it is fit for human consumption.

Since almost all the local ration depots have been supplied with this quality of rice for the past two weeks, obviously a considerable quantity of such rice is available. It will be worthwhile to investigate how such a large quantity of rice came to be adulterated and at which source by what agency. If the sample separated turns out to be unfit for human consumption, as I fear it will, a thorough inquiry should be conducted and whoever is detected to be responsible for mixing it with such a considerable quantity of good rice should be penalised, even deterrently.

K. Y. KRISHNAMURTHI.

Waltair, Jan. 7.

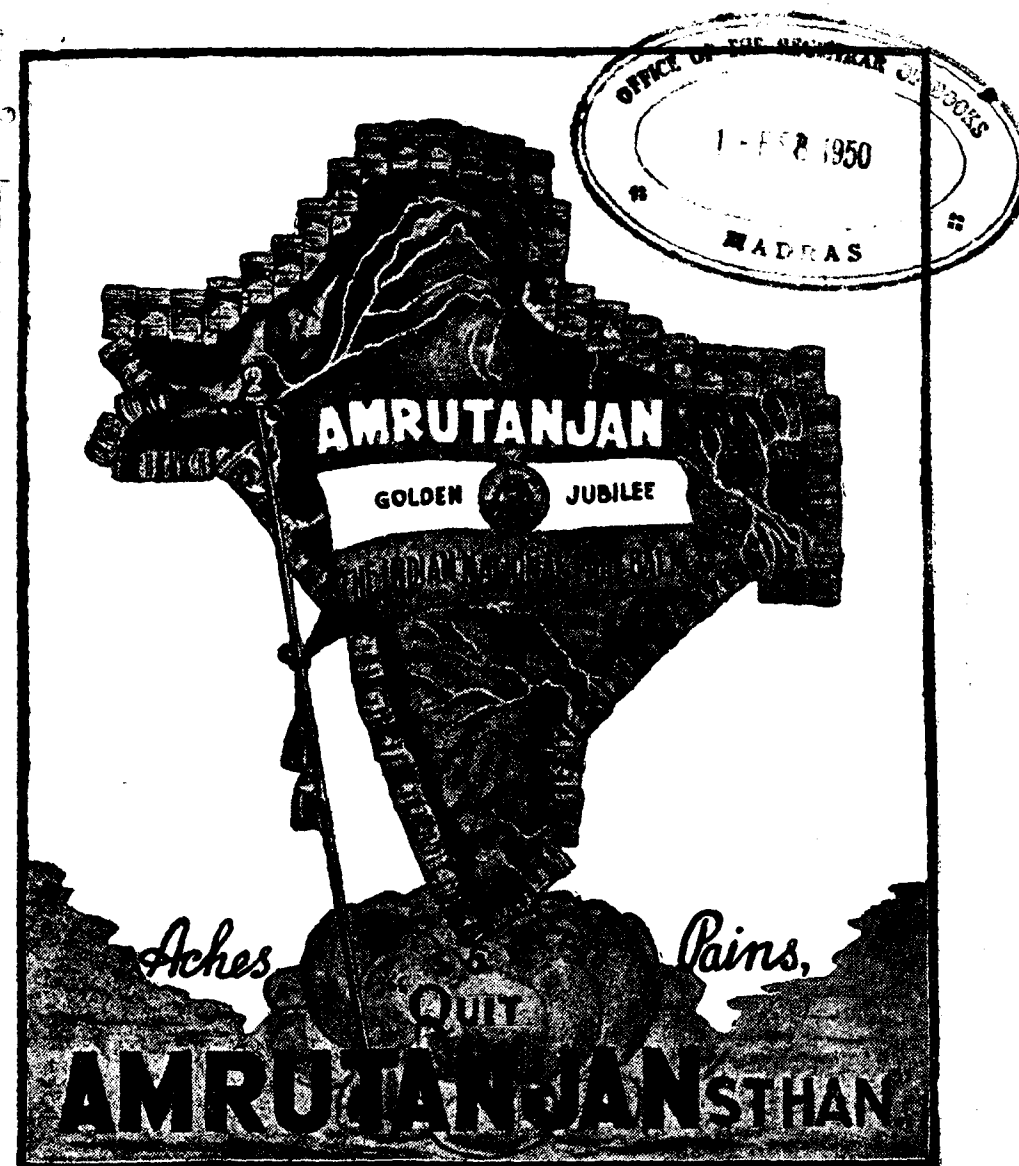
Along with his letter published above, Sri. K. Y. Krishnamurthi enclosed two samples of rice which we have sent to the Food Minister for suitable action.—Ed. S.

Give Congress A Chance

Up to August 1947 all eyes were concentrated on the freedom struggle. Barring the League all the parties became anti-British and naturally became complementaries and auxiliaries to the Congress. The Congress thus became a mighty organisation with countrywide following. From August 1947 up to now it is a very short period for any political party to get established so as to challenge the Congress at the polls. The Hindu Maha Sabha has no mass support. The Socialists are scattered. And the Communists are stamped as anti-national for their loyalty to Moscow. Thus we see no ready-made opponent and immediate successor to the Congress. The complaint against the Congress is that objectionable elements have been infiltrating into it. Some speak of the cracks in the Congress. But where is the guarantee that the non-Congress parties will be any better? The presence of such giants as Nehru and Patel is a vital factor in determining the attitude of the people towards the Congress. The Congress has taken charge at a critical time. A chance must be given to it to promote the welfare of the people.

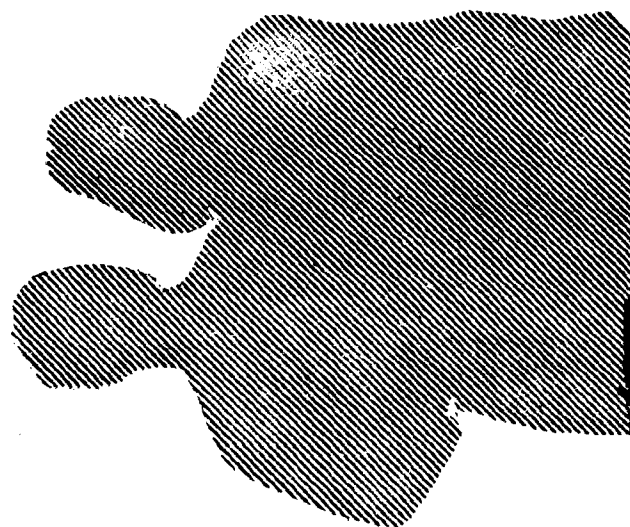
D. SITARAMA SASTRI.

Guntur.



The HUB of ASIA
and eventually of
The One World

There comes a time when you wish you'd saved



Invest
in

NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

Obtainable from Post Offices,
Authorized Agents and Savings Bureaux.
Issued by the Ministry of Finance Govt. of India, New Delhi

AC 75

THE ANDHRA BANK LIMITED

Estd : 1923

Head Office :
MASULIPATAM

Paid-up Capital & Reserves
Rs. 34,00,000

Deposits Exceed
Rs. 5,00,00,000

Total Working Funds Exceed
Rs. SIX CRORES

Madras Office: 378, Esplanade,

Thyagarayanagar Office:
81/82, Pondy Bazaar.

Mylapore Office: 49, Kutchery Road.

CHAIRMAN

S. R. Y. SIVARAMA PRASAD
BAHADUR GARU
Rajah Sahib of Challapalli

MANAGING DIRECTOR
Sri Tadepally Sriramulu Garu

Branches & Sub-Offices all over
the Northern Circars.

All kinds of Banking Business
transacted.

London Agents:

MESSRS. BARCLAYS BANK LTD.

For Particulars:

Please apply to any Office of the Bank

K. VARNASY,
M.A., B.Com., LL.B., C.A.L.B.,
General Manager.

OFFICE

SWATANTRA

VOL. IV, NO. 50

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1950

CONTENTS

	PAGE
On The Cover—Students Of The National Girls' High School, Triplicane, Madras, At A March Past On Pongal Day	
The Lover (Poem)—By Manjeri S. Isvaran	4
Editorial Comments	5
Sotto Voce—By Vighneswara	6
Sidelights—By Saka	8
Press In Free India: Healthy And Helpful Trends—By A. S. Iyengar	10
Rajaji As Journalist And Author —By V. Subramanian	13
Science And Food—By M. S. Parthasarathi	15
The Photo-Album (Short Story) —By S. Krishniah	17
Debate Over The Andhra Pro- vince—By B. Rajabhushana Rao	22
The Secrets Of The Beehive —By George Mann	25
The Battle Of Formosa In Washington—By P. G. Krishnayya	27
How The British Parliament Is Elected	29
50 Years Of British Parliament —By Ernest Atkinson	31
Britain Getting Set For The Election—By W. G. Matters	33
Purdah Conferences—By V. Kalyanasundaram	36
The Sugar Muddle—By "A Service Man"	37
Tale Of A Golden Isle (Azad Qalam)—By K. A. Abbas	39
New Delhi Diary	43
White House: Residence Of U. S. Presidents—By Edward T. Folliard	45
Film Fare	47
Mrinalini Sarabhai	48



SWATANTRA

VOL. IV
No. 50

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1950

ISSUED
WEEKLY

THE LOVER

(A Malabar Folk-song)

Rendered by MANJERI S. ISVARAN

When will the plant flower,
and when will the hour
ring for me
to drink in glee
the honey with the honey-bee?

Will she forever be twelve?
O, the dimples that delve
her rosy cheeks
when she smiles
her winsome wiles,
and lo! all her body speaks!

When will the plant flower,
and when will the hour
ring for me
to drink in glee
the honey with the honey-bee?

CONTROL FROM BACK DOOR

A crisis is threatened in the film trade as a result of the recent legislation passed by the Government of India to control the show business. When the announcement was made in the press that the Government had introduced a bill to amend the Indian Cinematograph Act, people in the trade thought that the purpose of the bill was to correct the anomalies of provincial censorship and introduce Central censorship for which they themselves had pleaded. The Statement of Objects and Reasons gave ample room for such a belief. But actually it was found that, under cover of introducing Central censorship, Government through this bill took extra-ordinary powers that had virtually the effect of passing on to official control the whole of the film show business. Under Section V of the bill, every licensee of a theatre is liable to be asked not to exhibit in it any film "contrary to any directions that may be issued from time to time by the Central Government." Instructions could also be issued to any licensee for the purpose of regulating the exhibition of any film or class of films so that scientific films, educative purpose films, documentary films, and films dealing with news and current events may "secure an adequate opportunity of being exhibited." Under the Section, which looks innocent and virtuous, the Central Government is established as a dictator in control of the show business with powers to decide which films shall be shown and which not. In these days when restraint in the exercise of power is not fashionable, the possibilities of what Government

might do in exercise of the powers assumed by them through the new legislation, are appalling. They may pack theatres with propaganda, they may play ducks and drakes with freedom of exhibition of producers, they may force the trade to pay for their own inexpert handiwork with the proceeds of its superior efficiency. In the fiercely competitive sphere of film production, popular appeal is the all-important test, and films that fail to appeal to people go out of existence. The attempt of the Government is nothing less than to graft on the exhibition machinery of the films, work of their own freed from the troublesome requirements of competition and make the film trade pay for it. It is as if the Government ordered editors of newspapers to take out of their columns attractive material collected with much labour and put into shape with great skill, and publish instead dull drab propaganda got up as official routine with the usual lack of imaginative interest, and what is more, forced them to pay for the exchange.

The bill introducing all these extraordinary innovations was introduced on 9th December, passed on 26th December and received the assent of the Governor-General on 29th December. The first, second and third readings of a measure vitally affecting the whole future of an important industry were passed within a fortnight, at the fag end of the session of the legislature, without any chance being given to the public to grasp its content and express itself on it. The film enquiry now proceeding is reduced to an absurdity by the drastic powers

assumed with such a hustle by the Government in anticipatory disregard of the findings that might emerge out of the enquiry. The film trade is naturally in a furore over this attempt of the Government to strike at their freedom through a side door. Not only is this legislation rash and ill conceived, it is confiscatory in character and grossly unfair to the film trade. The demand of the representatives of the trade that the exactions of Section V should be kept in abeyance till the completion of the work of the film enquiry committee, is extremely just and moderate, and deserves to be forthwith complied with, by the authorities concerned.

Madras Corporation's Finances

IF a person were to go on paying a high rate of interest on a debt, while having enough cash with which to redeem it, his sanity would be called into serious question. Yet such precisely has been the position of the

Madras Corporation all these years. It owes to private debenture-holders Rs. 37.54 lakhs carrying interest at 4, 6 and 7 per cent. In its own Sinking Fund the Corporation has Rs. 38 lakhs. It has, in addition, a balance of Rs. 15.4 lakhs in a Special Depreciation Fund. The Corporation is thus in a position to completely discharge its debt to private debenture-holders, and by doing so it would gain substantially, as it earns barely 3 per cent on the securities in its possession. This was brought to light by the initiative of the Corporation's Accounts Department but it would appear that it is not legally free to redeem its debentures before the prescribed due date. It was folly on the part of the Corporation's administrators in the past to have tied it down in this manner to high rates of interest, but that folly can now be repaired by suitable legislation. It is to be hoped that the Government of Madras will lose no time in introducing such a legislation, especially as the Corporation is financially in a sorry predicament, faced as it is with a deficit of over Rs. 15 lakhs.

Sotto Voce

Sweets For Swaraj



DID you ever hear of a Government giving away something for nothing? No. Did you ever hear of a political haranguer giving away anything to anybody—though he might promise the millennium out of hand? The answer is, No, again. But here are Premier Kher and the Bombay Government giving away two whole annas to every boy and girl at school and asking for nothing in return. The present is no doubt to be

accompanied with an improving lecture on the benefits of a Republic. The little patriots, let us hope, will regard the lecture not as a bore but as an appetiser.

Mr. Kher is very much like Mr. Baldwin. He gave away, not a mere fourth of his patrimony, but the whole of it to his country. And though he might not boast of "God's own Indian," he gladly breaks cocoanuts and offers

camphor whenever a bridge is to be built or a school opened. And recently he exercised the Brahmanical privilege of offering *tarpanam* to the manes of Pandit Malaviya. But, it must be sorrowfully admitted, he has his critics. I shall not therefore be surprised if his bounty to the school children is fastened upon by these cantankerous folk.

The Editor of *Gee-Whiz* will see the conspiratorial hand of the *petit-bourgeoisie* in what Mr. Kher evidently intended to be a first essay in self-determination; I refer to the thoughtful provision that the children should be absolutely free to spend their two annas as they wished, "whether on sports or on articles useful in the class room or on nuts and fruits." "Sports, indeed!—what do they think the magnificent sum of two annas will buy? We suppose they want the children to blow themselves out of breath inflating rubber balloons. It would be just like them to encourage sheer infantilism. And 'nuts and fruits' comes straight from Wardha, doesn't it? We say 'Nuts!' to all such blather."

No amount of comradely cavilling will, I know, upset Mr. Kher's equanimity. His modest bounty may not buy you a whole stadium. But it should be vastly appreciated by our cricket fans—ranging from seven to seventy—who stand craning their necks patiently before newspaper offices following with breathless interest the vicissitudes of the game. It will buy them enough puffed rice to sustain their vicarious raptures during their day-long *tapas* before the score-board. If they want a change there is the itinerant vendor of salted groundnuts and boiled taploca to oblige—and even the most robust stomach can hardly accommodate more than two annas' worth of these!

In England, when a general election comes round many a fashionable lady may be found fondling the tapster's brat, as that has proved an infallible recipe for getting the tapster's vote. And though Mr. Kher is too high-

minded to have thought of it, this two-anna distribution should prove a good investment against such a contingency, which, however, it is only fair to say, seems at the moment rather remote. Our thrifty parents cannot but feel grateful recollecting that in the old days every gala day at school meant that *they* had to shell out anything from four annas to one rupee per young hopeful. The British Raj flourished on the glorious practice of propitiating the Vighneswara (I mean the Lord of Obstacles, not yours truly) invoked in the jaggery lump, with an offering of jaggery gouged out of his belly.

Giving our mites a sticky packet of sweets worth a fraction of the parental contribution was the time-honoured way of celebrating, in the days of the captivity. The day of the annual school inspection began with the ordeal of an oil bath intended to avert "the king's eye." After a hasty meal steaming from the oven you had, perspiring and protesting in vain, to put on the swell long cloth shirt which flapped about you as the sails flapped on the phantom ship. Running all the way to school from the morbid fear of being late, you were collared at the gate by the martinet of a drill master and made to stand one of a row in the broiling sun.

When at long last the carriage of the distinguished visitor was sighted and we heard the staccato word of command of our stentor we bobbed and curtsied as we had been drilled to do and squeaked our welcome in words from which all meaning had been squeezed out. Then came the blessed order to "disperse." And as we ran towards home and our half-holiday, the packets of sweets, running with the heat and of the colour of addled rainbow, were thrust into our unwilling hands. It was with very different feelings that I looked forward to my aunt's weekly visits and the humble delicacies she brought from our village home. She had the art of mixing them with affection—and that is what no Government seems able to do.

VIGHNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS : :

Power is ever stealing from the many to the few. The manna of popular liberty must be gathered each day, or it is rotten.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

TAMIL friends have objected to my description of the Tamil nominations to Parliament as "passable." They hold that they were no less disgraceful than the Andhra ones. I must own myself in error in making the distinction I had done between the two sets of nominations. As evidence of the peculiar working of the mind of Sri Kamaraj Nadar who influenced the nominations more than all other members of the selection committee put together, special mention must be made of the case of Mr. Ahmed Meeran, chosen in preference to all other applicants for one of the two Muslim seats in Tamil Nadu. This gentleman had once been elected to the Madras Legislative Council on the Muslim League ticket. As one of the Secretaries of the Madras Provincial Muslim League, he had taken a conspicuous part in anti-Congress activities. When his term on the Council expired, he applied to be taken a second time as the League candidate for a seat in the Legislative Council. But though he was then a member of the League Parliamentary Board for the province, his application was turned down for the reason that a seat had to be found for Mr. K. T. Ibrahim, brother of Mr. Mohamed Ismail, then President of the Madras Muslim League and now successor to Mr. Jinnah as President of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Meeran appealed to the League High Command against his rejection but secured no redress. Some two years later, Mr. Meeran stood as an independent candidate in a bye-election to the Legislative Assembly. There were then three candidates for the seat, the League candidate, Mr. Meeran, and a pro-Congress candidate set up and backed by Sri Kamaraj Nadar. The position was such, that if Mr. Meeran had withdrawn, the pro-Congress candidate would have won, and Sri Kamaraj Nadar would appear to have earnestly pleaded with Mr. Meeran to step down. The appeal was spurned

and the League candidate won, Mr. Meeran sustaining a crushing defeat with forfeiture of security. Madras boasts of many a distinguished Muslim politician that had braved the wrath of their co-religionists throughout the period when Jinnah hypnotised the Muslim mass mind, and remained in steadfast loyalty to Congress incurring the jibe of being stigmatised by the Jinnahites, as was Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, as stooges and show-boys of Hindus. And some of them had applied to be chosen as candidates for the seat for which Sri Nadar selected Mr. Meeran! An erstwhile Secretary of the Muslim League, later rejected by the League, and still later routed at the polls, is by Sri Kamaraj Nadar preferred to all other Muslim applicants with records of devoted loyalty to Congress for long periods under extremely difficult conditions! It is as if Moulana Azad were rejected in favour of Chowdhri Khalikuzzaman. The selection of Mr. Meeran as a Congress candidate for the Indian Parliament is nothing less than a pathological case of inexplicable perversity, and no institution permitting it in its name can hope to survive. In making himself responsible for such a selection, Sri Kamaraj Nadar must be charged with having dealt a death-blow to the prestige of the Congress, and every loyal Congressman throughout the country has the right to demand of the Congress High Command that the charge be gone into fully, and suitable measures taken forthwith for transferring the right of selecting candidates in the name of the Congress to more trustworthy hands.

If the Congress is to be saved from breaking and going to pieces, the High Command should realise, so far as Madras Province is concerned, that the organisation can no longer bear the weight of the vagaries of Sri Kamaraj Nadar's leadership. The pattern of this leadership can no longer be mistaken. It is there for all to see who have eyes to see. Nothing matters except the one supreme consideration that for every kind of

position carrying political importance the most valuable of all qualifications over-riding every conceivable variety of worth, ability, character and competence, is the grace of Sri Kamaraj Nadar. Premiers who failed to secure that grace have been unseated. Our legislatures are being packed with yes-men of Sri Kamaraj Nadar, in complete disregard of their fitness to occupy them, while their superiors, feeling themselves ousted high-handedly, become centres of furious resentment, exercising increasing influence on an utterly disillusioned public that has learned to see in most of the Congress leaders in power rank hypocrisy, corruption, nepotism, self-seeking and incompetence. The yes-men cluster with minor loyalties round Ministers, and lord it over the districts as privileged tyrants empowered to make local officials dance to their bidding. The whole drive of the administration is to consolidate the loyalties of adherents of the

dominant group with special favours, and the relentless pursuit of it leaves no scope for integrity of standards. Rowdies infest the scene. The four hundred and odd Prohibition officers may not contribute much to the sobriety of people, but it is certain that they will be a serviceable army of canvassers at election time. The same may be said of the bulk of the recipients of grants of land in supposed reward for patriotism. It has become a speciality of Congress rule to divert to group benefit what belongs to all, and as the process is in essence spoliatory, it shines before the public eye with an anti-social colour. Congressmen in power are no longer looked upon as benefactors. They are distrusted as exploiters. The still persisting reverence of people for honoured names like Nehru is the only thing left out of the great Gandhian movement that had held the whole nation under its spell before the advent of power started the corrupting process.—SAKA.

MARGO SOAP
for Healthy Skin

It is the famous genuine
Neem Oil Soap of
quality. Keeps the
skin free from skin
troubles and ensures
health and beauty.

It has the properties of NEEM in it

Calcutta Chemical Product

PRESS IN FREE INDIA: HEALTHY AND HELPFUL TRENDS

By A. S. IYENGAR

“WE cannot do good to the people without the goodwill of the people” declared Pandit Nehru at a Press Conference held in New Delhi soon after the formation of the National Government.

A few months earlier, Pandit Nehru, addressing the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Allahabad, advised, “You must publicise the average man so that the social side of India is pictured correctly and rural India is not forgotten.”

These pregnant observations of India's Prime Minister come uppermost in my mind as I reflect on the role of the Press in Free India under a democratic Constitution. The average voter under the new Constitution may take some years to realise what a great part the newspapers play in the building up of the nation. But already he is shrewd enough to understand that newspapers spread necessary information and enlightenment about various countries as judged by the fact that even in the remotest villages nowadays Indian language newspapers are read with avidity and their contents discussed. It was the Simon Commission which in 1928 computed that for every Indian language newspaper subscriber of those days there were at least six listeners. Two decades have passed since then and the circulation of these newspapers as well as the circle of their reading public have multiplied and widened enormously. The next six or seven years are important from the point of view of educating the electorate as to their rights and responsibilities. This electorate under the Republican Constitution will in a few years time have become our real masters deciding not only as to the composition of the Parliament and the Legislatures at the Centre and in the Provinces (or States) but demanding the right type of service from those in Government as official servants and demanding also from the Pressmen as unofficial servants yet greater

attention and better service as “watchdogs of the public.” The set-up will thus be a triangular one in which each side has to understand and appreciate the responsibilities as well as the difficulties of the other in an adequate measure, if the fabric of the State is to withstand whatever shocks may be administered whether from within or outside and India is to progress as a great nation in the East.

It is regrettable that the Press in India has not got in the Constitution any specific provision for its freedom as in the American Constitution and that instead we have to content ourselves for the present with a verbal assurance from the Minister of Information that “freedom of expression” includes “freedom of the Press.” Despite this initial handicap the Press of India, anxious for the preservation of the country's freedom, is showing signs of helpful attitudes towards working the Constitution by self-control and prudent handling of national as well as international problems. In this task the lead given by Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs and by Sardar Patel as Minister for law and order is being followed by Pressmen in a spirit of understanding and confidence, while not surrendering the right to criticise Governmental measures wherever they happen to affect the people. With the ban on the Communist Party there is no such thing as the Communist Press now. As for the Socialist Party, there are just a handful of papers trying to espouse their creed but the manner of their appeal is so blatant that even those to whom it is addressed, while pleased at heart, hesitate openly to respond to it. The Hindu Mahasabha which after two years of self-imposed silence has announced its own revival as a political body, has also only a handful of newspapers to give expression to its point of view. Thus, whether belonging to proprietors or to

one or two capitalists is supporting or criticising the Government without any special political bias. No doubt there are two or three journals which the public are being told to regard as belonging to the yellow Press. But it is a healthy sign that these very journals protest against being dubbed as such! As for the foreign-owned Press in India there is only the *Statesman* published from Calcutta and Delhi having circulation both in India and Pakistan and, therefore, trying to serve the Britishers' interests in both. And fortunately the threat to indigenous newspaper industry by American capitalistic invasion has receded for the present, but we have to be watchful.

Just as there is no Opposition party in the Indian Parliament so there is no Opposition Press as such in India. But it is the duty of the Press to be critical of Government, and so whenever Government measures or actions are against the interests of the country, then indeed, the Press generally speaking, becomes Opposition-minded, according to the prevailing temper in the country. For instance, there was not a single newspaper which did not take severe notice of Government's vacillating policy in regard to the sugar scandal over which not even a satisfactory explanation has yet been furnished. Otherwise, generally speaking, so far as the Central Government is concerned, there is what may be called a helpful Press.

The position, however, is somewhat different in the Provinces where problems affecting the life of the people even more intimately occur more frequently and, therefore, the Press in order to voice public opinion becomes more vocal besides critical. No wonder, there have been several clashes between newspapers and the provincial administrations. Still the Pressmen, particularly that section who are constituents of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, have shown anxiety not to embarrass Government because it is our own Government and the State is an infant one faced with enormous difficulties and troubles. How one wishes that Government had avoided embarrassing the Press and availed themselves of the machinery of the Press Consultative Advisory Committee as a rule

before action was contemplated against any newspaper. And we all know how two Provincial Ministers of Finance, not knowing the peculiar economics of newspapers, thought fit to have legislation for imposition of a tax on advertisements in the newspapers and that it was not without some considerable agitation that the Pressmen succeeded in having this power transferred from the Provincial to the Union list in the new Act.

Under the new Constitution there are more powers with the Centre than with the Provinces. This was only to be expected in view of the lamentable weakness displayed by administrations in several provinces and the desire of Parliament to ensure that a uniform policy should, as far as possible, guide public interests throughout the country. No wonder, therefore, in Delhi where there was not a single newspaper till 1924 we have now the largest number of newspapers and journals, with the prospect of five more daily newspapers being published from the capital within a few months. Further, in Delhi we have the largest concentration of journalists representing newspapers not only of Delhi but published all over the country and not only of India but of newspapers and news agencies in America, Britain, France, Russia, China, Australia, Indonesia and several other countries of the world. As one who has witnessed the growth of journalism in the Capital for over three decades I feel proud of this development and hope that it will lead to a better understanding between our Government and the Press in India and as between India and other countries of the world.

The problem facing working journalists in India is that they are economically worst hit by inflation in the same manner as the middle class in India to which the bulk of them belong. Whenever a journalist goes apparently well-clad, let not the public think that he is either well paid or well fed, for he is actually semi-starved and has not had a bank account. He has not only to dress but live like a gentleman, go about among gentlemen, but voice the grievances of the poor and very often of the rich, himself eking out a rather miserable existence all the time. Still Govern-

ment cannot perhaps very much help in a matter which essentially belongs to a professional class where the law of supply and demand has to operate, but there should be some minimum scales of salaries according to the types and grades of services employed in the profession. The Bombay Government have instituted an enquiry into the conditions of employment in newspapers; its result will be watched by all working journalists throughout the country. Indeed an attempt is being made for working journalists to have an All-India Federation by integration of regional organisations and the move may materialise resulting in some sort of trade unionism if the hardships experienced by them were to continue without abatement. It is, therefore, to the credit of the working journalists in India that they have exhibited "strong professional conscience" and avoided the perils and temptations besetting their path. Further, they have maintained secrets, official or otherwise, whenever confided to them. There are several experienced journalists today in India who carry top secrets and I am glad to say that the number of such journalists who could be trusted with such secrets are rising. The widespread and magnificent response for funds from many public men and several public institutions that is noticed in respect of the proposal for a Press Club in Madras inaugurated under the auspices of the South Indian Journalists' Federation serves to reassure the working journalists of India that their interests will not be ignored and that they can always expect to receive a fair deal. Pressmen in India secure for Government the goodwill of the people more than what several administrations are able to earn.

There are several helpful trends from the Central Government towards the Press in India. Sardar Patel when he became the Information Minister readily agreed to the demand of the Editors' Conference and set up a Committee which examined the Press Laws and recommended repeal of several of them and changes in other. Owing to the preoccupation of the Central Government it has not been possible to bring legislation to implement them before Parliament.

But I have a feeling that they will not long delay in the matter when the new Parliament meets. Though the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act of 1931 will be repealed certain provisions will be sought to be retained in different form. But as the Press of India is opposed to some of these provisions there is room for negotiation between the Government and the Press in the light of the changed conditions. Similarly, the Foreign Relations Act 1932 and amendments to Section 124 (a) (sedition) and 153 (a) (class hatred) will undergo changes. There are also irksome laws like those relating to contempt, libel and official secrets. But the objection is more against the manner of their administration than against the laws themselves, so that here again the Pressmen may be trusted to develop conventions in course of time. In any case there is a commitment by the Government of India since 1946 to consult the A.-I.N.E.C. in regard to any legislation concerning the Press which they may promote. This may be considered as some guarantee against hasty legislation. Further the manner in which Mr. C. R. Srinivasan the President of the A.-I.N.E.C. has been received recently under Government auspices in Delhi, Bombay, Nagpur and Calcutta and the cordiality of the discussions he held with the Ministers concerned has been a heartening feature in the relations between Government and the Press.

The Press knows what all it has to do and would like to do, but in several cases it has not the means to do it. The public have a right to be critical when there is any omission to report a public event. For instance, there should have been no occasion given for Mr. Ashok Mehta to complain that the newspapers and news agencies failed to take notice of the procession in public of Trade Unionists in the Bombay City a few weeks ago. Such a protest by a Socialist leader only shows the resentment to which the Press is exposed from the public or their leaders whenever there happens to be any serious omission on its part to do its duty. It is the duty of the Pressmen to give objective account promptly of all manifestations which the people have a right to know. In these days of demands for

free access to information and free flow of information any failure to report a public event will be taken severe notice of. As Jefferson, the author of the American "Declaration of Independence" remarked, with reference to the specific provision in the American Constitution guaranteeing the freedom of the Press, the newspapers should indeed contrive to penetrate the whole mass of the people. Compared to the Press in the West the Press in India is still inclined on occasions of floods, cyclone or other disasters to obtain situational reports from public men who visit the areas rather than obtain its own reports through reporters or special correspondents. This is not a satisfactory state of affairs. It was not until Pandit Nehru returned from the American tour and after going through the reports received in Delhi issued his appeal setting forth the position, that the public in India realised the full magnitude of the disaster and the extent of the damages. In countries more advanced in journalism, the leading newspapers often pool their resources and even charter planes to fly their special representatives in order to obtain authentic versions. In India the newspapers are yet to show a similar co-operative enterprise.

If I may peer into the immediate future, it appears that with the inevitable formation of provinces on lin-

guistic basis in South and West India the newspapers in regional languages, will, besides increasing in numbers, develop greater strength. Then with the 15 year limit for Hindi to become the State language, the Hindi newspapers and journals already in wide circulation over a greater part of India will develop into first-rate newspapers commanding yet wider circulation. These almost certain developments are not, however, likely to affect well-established newspapers now printed in English while those of the latter class which have only limited circulation will either become weeklies or periodicals in English or shift themselves to mofussil centres with a regional outlook and serve the interests of the rural classes better than they do now. Thanks to the success of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy India has acquired high international status not only in the East but in the world. India's commercial and cultural relationships have thus widened with the result that the newspapers of India whether English, Hindi and also regional languages are being flown almost daily to readers in countries as far as Singapore in the East and Cairo in the West. Thus the Press of India under a sovereign democratic Republican Constitution will have the opportunity of serving the needs of the millions of India and the East in a greater degree than ever before.

RAJAJI AS JOURNALIST AND AUTHOR

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

POTHAN Joseph once wrote of Rajaji that to know the real Rajaji one must talk to him everything except politics. The versatility of Rajaji's gifts is really amazing, and in no other field does he make it more evident than in his writings, literary as well as journalistic.

Few in the north are aware that Rajaji is a highly accomplished writer in Tamil. Most politicians are nowadays journalists, in more senses than one. Besides helping to fill the columns of newspapers with their statements and speeches, most of them have taken to syndicated jour-

nalism as a hobby or a source of income. But few of their articles treat of anything except controversial politics, and fewer still are in their mother tongue. These facts are the measure of the complete divorce of their brand of journalism from enduring literature. Rajaji's writings are rarely on controversial politics, and mostly in his mother tongue, Tamil. Most of it is worth preserving as high class literature.

As an editor, Rajaji had been one of the most successful editors in the history of Indian journalism. Early during his legal career in Salem, he

began to take an active interest in popular science and started a journal in that subject, mainly with a view to making Tamil an effective instrument of expression on scientific subjects. He was thus one of the pioneers of scientific education in the mother tongue, in India. Though his venture did not bear fruit immediately, many more followed in his wake later and have helped in forging an effective scientific terminology in Tamil, while Rajaji himself never lost sight of his first love, and produced, in his leisure hours, some model books in Tamil on popular science. Later, after his joining the non-co-operation movement and the incarceration of the Mahatma, he was entrusted with the editorship of *Young India*. He did his editorial work so well as to earn praise even from the fastidious Mahatma, and gained reputation as the chief interpreter of Gandhiji to the world. It was also during his leadership of the No-changers' party that he discovered *Kalki*, the most influential writer in Tamil Nad today.

But his greatest achievement as a journalist came during his editorship of a journal called *Vimochanam*, which he started during his residence in Tiruchengode Ashram, to carry out the constructive programme of the Mahatma. The main aim of the journal was to root out the drink evil. This journal discovered and developed Rajaji's literary talents as well as managing ability. It was in *Vimochanam* that Rajaji began writing those short stories, which have earned him a high place in modern Tamil literature. It was the first language journal in India to claim a circulation of 5,000 copies at a time when language journals counted their circulation in hundreds. Like his master the Mahatma, Rajaji was as efficient on the business side of journalism as on the editorial side, and his journal was one of the financially sound ones in Tamil Nad.

Rajaji is acknowledged as one of the best short story writers in Tamil today. Amongst European writers, he resembles Tolstoy; he writes with a purpose. Like him, he has no use for literary adornments and tricks of the trade but employs a direct, simple and crisp style, but with a very subtle

intellectual polish. If one were to measure literary success by the effect one's work has on the contemporary public, Rajaji's place will be at the top level. His story called "The Dream Of Jagadisa Sastrigal" written during the Harijan Uplift Campaign of 1930 was more effective in converting the halting orthodox than many a speech. Another story of his written during the hectic days of 1942 brought home vividly to the public the utter folly of removing rails. But there are other stories in which this veiled under-current of moralization affects the quality of his short stories. I wonder whether Rajaji would not after all make a greater writer, if he would forget for the time being his politics and morals.

But Rajaji is at his best when he writes on philosophical subjects. He has often been called a philosopher-statesman, and his writings on philosophy richly justify the appellation. In fact, it is in his philosophical writings that he empties out all the literary treasures of his mind and employs all the weapons in his literary armoury, like his power for concretization, crystal clarity of style and an economy of words more eloquent in suggestion than in expression. It was during his enforced leisure, before his assumption of the Madras Premiership that he began seriously studying the Sanskrit originals. Rajaji found the love of his life there, and since then he has been continuously engaged in studying philosophy, both ancient and modern. Among his famous philosophical writings are "The Way That Krishna Showed," which is a popular exposition of the Bhagawad Gita; "The Balcony Of Upanishads," which is a short and lucid treatise on the Philosophy of the Upanishads; and "Let Competition Go," which is a remarkable pamphlet, which evolves a synthesis of ancient Hindu philosophy and modern economic theories. His study of philosophy has refined his inherently subtle intellect and has given him an undisturbable peace of mind. The philosopher who braved the wrath of his master and colleagues in 1942 was much more than the shrewd politician of 1920. In fact, his philosophical studies gave Rajaji the strength of granite, which even the vilest calumny could not affect.

Typically enough, when hot controversies about his position in the Congress raged about his head in 1946, Rajaji withdrew himself into his literary activities and produced his monumental work called "The Feast Of Vyasa," a re-telling of the story of the Mahabharatha, directly from the Sanskrit original. His literary abilities and knowledge of philosophy have been happily blended to produce this masterpiece.

It is a pity that little of his work has been translated into English or other Indian languages, for Rajaji's works, being almost biblical or Tols-

toyan in style, would lose little in translation. Rajaji seems to have promised to translate "The Feast Of Vyasa" into English. I have no doubt that, when it is published, it will be welcomed as the most lucid and gripping book on the subject.

Time and again Rajaji has promised that when he finds leisure after his political retirement, he would devote it entirely to the study of philosophy and literature. When that promise is redeemed, Indian literature will gain immensely from the results of his labours.

SCIENCE AND FOOD

By M. S. PARTHASARATHI

"THE political problem of problems," said T. H. Huxley, "is the problem of population, and it faces us on all sides." Never were his words truer than at the present time. For the greatest reality of the present day, a reality more threatening than either the East-West cold war or the dollar crisis, is the struggle for human survival revolving round the problem of food. And the food problem is only another aspect of our population problem. It was with great insight, therefore, that President Truman enunciated his Point Four programme under which he proposed to render technical aid to under-developed countries. Sir John Russel sees great possibilities in this proposal, if it is given effect to sincerely and disinterestedly. Much of the present unrest in backward countries, as in the Far East, is the result of hunger, and the Communists are not slow to take advantage of this. If America means business in her attempt to prevent the spread of Communism, she cannot do better than immediately offer the aid she has dangled before the eyes of the undeveloped countries.

The central fact in the present world situation is that, though the gloomy predictions of Malthus have not come true as yet, there is always the danger that they may come true at any time, and this danger had never been more likely than now. But this is not to deny that there are

immense possibilities of averting a disaster. As a matter of fact, there is every chance that, with the aid of science, Malthus's prophecy might be falsified for ever. All the same, the present state of affairs is sufficient to cause anxiety to many countries. For, though there are some countries with huge agricultural surpluses, the world as a whole is running short of food. That is why those nations which are deficit in food are feverishly attempting to increase their production and solve their food problem.

But when we consider the achievements of science in the past half a century in the field of agriculture, there is no need to worry about our food, or about the ability of agriculture to progress and keep pace with the requirements of an ever-increasing population. About half a century ago, in 1898, Sir William Crookes, the famous scientist, declared that there was no longer any possibility of opening up new territories and that consequently by the thirties of the present century, the world food supply would be insufficient to feed the population, unless the land was made to yield more by radical means. But during the thirties the world had plenty of food, which it had to get rid of by burning! This was because new technical methods were introduced in farming. And the possibilities of further improving the techniques are not exhausted.

Science can help in increasing production of food in several ways. It can, for instance, help in the discovery and manufacture of different fertilisers that may have to be applied to different kinds of soil. As a matter of fact, when Sir William Crookes made his prediction, he himself prescribed a remedy to meet an eventuality. He proposed the manufacture of artificial fertilisers by fixing the nitrogen from the air and utilising them to increase production. It was by adopting this very suggestion that the catastrophe Crookes foretold was averted. At present the application of manures to land is confined to the advanced countries in the West. If fertilisers are used in the backward countries their potentialities would be immense, since the use of fertilisers has resulted in increasing the output of an acre in Western countries by nearly four times.

Plant genetics have also combined with soil chemistry and soil physics to extend the use of lands which were formerly considered unprofitable and unfit for cultivation. Large tracts of land hitherto considered unfertile have yielded to one or other of modern techniques of agriculture, and now produce food. New varieties of plants suited to the different conditions prevailing in different parts of the world have been evolved by agricultural scientists by crossing crops borrowed from different parts of the world. Thus crops suited to the soil and climatic conditions of various areas have been produced. Not only this. Often it has been possible to combine hereditary characteristics and obtain new varieties to meet specific conditions, such as drought and frost resistance and early ripening.

The extension of irrigation throughout the world has also increased agricultural output. Apart from huge projects like the Ramapadasagar Dam and the Damodar Valley Corporation, relatively simple measures—such as using the bull-dozer to scoop out water-holes and sinking of tube-wells have been employed in different parts of the world with great effectiveness. Irrigation can not only increase the

yield per acre but also the acreage; it can help in bringing new lands under cultivation. Similarly, science can also help to increase both the average output as well as the total area under cultivation. Soil erosion, a serious threat to the world, can also be arrested and reversed. As a result of the measures taken by the Soil Conservation Service in the U. S., many States which were menaced by soil erosion formerly are now producing much more than they ever did before. In a dozen other ways also, science can increase food supplies—by attacking pests, weeds, plant—and animal-diseases which destroy the food of millions.

Mechanisation can increase food production out of all proportion since, over a large part of the globe, cultivation is carried on with primitive tools only. About 11,000 million acres of the earth's surface are estimated to be climatically suited for growing crops. Of this vast area, at present only 4,000 million acres are actually cultivated. It would easily be seen what great scope there is for extending cultivation. About 90 per cent of this 4,000 million acres is used for food and the rest for industrial crops. This works out at 1½ acres per head, which, at the high level of productivity in countries like Britain, would be sufficient to give a high level of dietary to every individual in the world. But the regrettable fact is that in many countries the output is low. It is obvious that even if we raise the level of output in these countries to the level prevailing in the advanced countries, the output of food would be enough to meet the requirements of the world's population.

From the foregoing, it will be clear that if we adopt the methods suggested by science, the world's food problem, and with it the many political problems which now threaten the world—for it is hunger which is at the root of all these—could be solved. In this, Mr. Truman's Point Four if applied without any attempt at American commercial domination, can help much.

Short Story

THE PHOTO-ALBUM

By S. KRISHNIAH

KRISHNA Mohan strained his eyes at the distant horizon where amongst the summits of the lesser hills of the Nilgiris, Dodapetta reared its head proudly against the bright eastern sky. A few lazy clouds girdled its middle but its scraggy top was clearly outlined. After scanning the distance for a few moments he decided that there would be no rain that day. The forecast was rather cheeky in spite of the fact that the morning was bright and sunny, because it was the month of June, and the Nilgiri climate in the first grip of the monsoon is as fitful as a woman's fancy. But Krishna Mohan, although he was only about thirty years old, seemed to know what he was about and displayed the sagacity of a seasoned planter.

If it continued to be sunny the whole day it would be just ideal to start on the grafting of the young pear plants. The few days of rain earlier in the week and the rain that would surely follow must help the graft to 'take.' He was dressed in a pair of old khaki corduroy trousers and a wollen jersey that suggested a war-time origin. A pair of thick leather boots helped him in walking through the slushy nursery. Muthu, the aged gardener, now almost a family relic, was with him giving the young planter the benefit of his wide experience unobtrusively.

Krishna Mohan was correct in his weather forecast and it was nearly tea-time when he completed all the grafting that was to be done. He was rather tired and turned back home when he noticed a blue speck on one of the rose-stems near the portico. He went nearer to scrutinise what appeared to be just fungoid growth but something which might eventually turn out to be a disease spoiling the bloom of his special roses. It was while deep in cogitation weighing in his mind the need for spraying his plants with lime and copper sulphate solution that he was interrupted.

"Hello!" said a tiny voice behind him.

He turned round and looked into the cherubic face of a girl who had obviously stolen in through an opening in the hedge. The child must have been about

four years old and was round and fat. It stood rather coyly looking at him.

"Hello!" said Krishna Mohan taking a long time to recover from his surprise, "How did you get here?"

"Through that," the child indicated an opening in the hedge. "Ayah would'n't let me but I ran!"

Krishna Mohan smiled and went nearer. "What's your name?"

"Romilla," she answered with an air of supercilious nonchalance as if she were saying, "I am Rita Hayworth!"

"Come, Romilla, I'll give you a rose." Krishna Mohan plucked a large Lady Caroline from a bush and gave it to her.

"Thank you," Romilla said with careful politeness.

There was a moment of awkwardness when the child gazed intently into the mystic beauties that lay immured in the bosom of the red flower in her hands. Krishna Mohan was not accustomed to children. He did not know how to handle them or how to talk to them. In the lonely life he led as a planter he had never even thought about children. Least of all he knew what to do with this angelic trespasser.

Romilla looked up at him taking her eyes off the rose.

"You're Kitchu, aren't you?"

Kitchu! It was a bolt from the blue. Nobody had called him Kitchu since his mother died a couple of years ago. Only his parents and very close friends had called him by that name. How did that child know that name? Who was this child anyway? Suddenly a deep interest in Romilla welled up in him. He went close to her, squatted on his haunches and holding her shoulders with his grubby hands peered in her face.

"Who are you, Romilla?"

"Mummy's daughter," she replied unhesitatingly.

"Where do you live?"

Romilla turned round and pointed her finger towards the south. The only house in that direction was on the adjacent estate belonging to Mr. Ramamurthi. No, thought Krishna Mohan,

Romilla must be mistaken. She couldn't be living there. Impossible. Romilla could not be Padmini's daughter. Padmini was in Bombay.

"Romilla! Romilla!!" came a shrill cry from not very far away. That was the Ayah who was coming up the main drive in search of her truant charge which had crawled through the hedge. As the Ayah came panting up she apologised to Krishna Mohan for the intrusion of the child but Krishna Mohan waved away her profuse excuses for having been unmindful of the child in her custody.

"Oh, it doesn't matter. I love children," lied Krishna Mohan glibly. "Is Romilla Mr. Ramamurthi's grand-daughter?"

"Yes, Sir," she replied, "We came from Bombay yesterday."

"Have her parents also come?"

"Her mother is here, Sir. Of course you ought to know what happened to her father."

"What happened?"

"Poor man!" exclaimed the Ayah. "He died about a month ago after an operation." The Ayah paused for a moment and turned to Romilla. "Come, Romilla, we must go now."

"I no want to go now." Romilla was emphatic. "I want to see Raja, Ram and Rancee. I want to see Muthu also. I also want to see the tiger Kitchu shot. It is in the drawing room. Will you show me the tiger, Kitchu?"

"Oh, sure," assented Krishna Mohan wondering how Romilla could have known not only his pet name but also the names of his dogs, his gardener and about the man-eater he had shot many years ago.

"How do you know about all this, Romilla?"

"It is all in the Photo-Album. I've seen you all there. All these stories Mummy tells me."

Krishna Mohan led Romilla by her hand to the kennels where the dogs were chained during day. Romilla played with even Raja, the most ferocious of them and then went with him to the house where she told him about how he had fought with the tiger and killed it! It was all in the Photo-Album she assured him. After having a cup of tea, most of which she spilt on her pretty embroidered frock, Romilla was taken away by the Ayah.

Muthu came up behind him as he stood watching Romilla hopping away on her piggish legs.

"Sir," he called, "shall we graft those apple plants tomorrow?"

"Don't worry, Muthu," Krishna Mohan turned to him with a smile, "Tomorrow is another day!" and leaving behind him a rather astounded gardener he trudged into the house.

So Padmini was back. She was a widow. These two bits of information had changed the whole complexion of his life. But still he could not understand why there should be any change. Five years ago he had definitely made up his mind. He had resigned his job in the Structural Engineering firm, shelved his degree in engineering and sworn that he would immerse himself in the estate and never think about the past. When he had made that irrevocable decision he had never bargained for what happened just then.

He walked over to the writing desk which was seldom used and pulled open one of the drawers. Somewhere in the recess at the back there was a neat bundle of letters. He opened it and extracted the last one. It was a short letter received by him five years ago.

Kitchu Darling,

I suppose you must have realised by now that this is the parting of ways. Somehow the war has changed all standards of life. I know I had vowed and promised many times that you are the only man I love and I would marry only you. But perhaps you cannot understand the heart of a woman.

All the love I had professed for you up to now appears to me girlish fancy. It was perhaps because you were the only boy near our estate and our parents always said we would marry each other. But since Naresh came into my life everything has changed. I love him more than anything else in this world and I am going to marry him. Perhaps you will also realise soon that ours was only calf-love, which we had mistaken for the real thing.

Whatever happens, Kitchu, you will be my best friend and we will always love each other, won't we?

Yours with love,
Padmini.

That letter had broken his heart, darkened his future. To think that Padmini should play false by him! There was no hope left in his heart—no faith in any good in this world. He had been in Madras at that time working as an

engineer and this letter had come from Bombay where Padmini had been spending a few months with her aunt. Straightaway he had resigned his job. He had gone back to the Nilgiris to join his widowed mother on the estate. He had given notice to the lessees of his estate and in a few months had taken into his hands the management of the vast acreage of fruit and potato cultivation.

Krishna Mohan was a practical sort of man. There was a touch of fatalism ingrained in his character which helped him to shrug his shoulders and face any disappointment in life with a calmness and fortitude far beyond his age.

On receipt of this letter he had bid good-bye mentally to Padmini and although all sorts of memories constantly haunted his waking moments yet he strove rather successfully in pushing them back until they became vague reminiscences of half-forgotten days.

It had been easy for an engineer to yoke himself to hard plantation life. But here again the vein of sterling character in Krishna Mohan's personality asserted itself. Years had passed slowly and painfully in the beginning but later unobtrusively. His mother had expired and he had got into the groove of his lonely life without any aversion.

And now Romilla! To be jolted out of the rut of daily routine by that tiny tot! So Padmini was a widow—she could only be twenty-five now—perhaps still beautiful. Krishna Mohan thought more of Romilla than Padmini. Imagine that slip of a girl audaciously calling him Kitchu! Padmini must have told her about him—and also about his dogs and Muthu. It was likely his picture with the dogs was in Padmini's Photo-Album. That was why she had referred to it and said that it was all there.

Krishna Mohan wondered whether he would fall in love with Padmini all over again. Meeting her, now that she was his neighbour again, was of course inevitable.

Romilla and Krishna Mohan became great friends. He never knew that he would take to children so easily. But there was something instinctively likeable in that vivacious child that held Krishna Mohan's interest. It was nearly two months later that Romilla brought her mother to Krishna Mohan's garden.

"Hello, Kitchu," shouted Romilla from a distance. "That is Mummy."

As if an introduction was necessary.

Krishna Mohan turned his swarthy weather-beaten face to look at Padmini. His eyes twinkled piggishly. He could have sworn that it was only the previous day he had kissed her in the dappled shadows of the Blue-Gum copse in the western border of his estate. She had not changed a bit. The five years of married life had left no trace of their passage on her face or figure. Not a line on her face, her figure supple and adorable as ever, the same mischievous twinkle in her eye—everything about her was the same.

"No, Romilla, you mustn't say 'Kitchu.' You must call him Uncle Kitchu."

That relieved the tension a bit.

"Hello, Padmini! How are you? Romilla and I have been getting very friendly. You are lucky to have such a wonderful daughter."

"Yes, she can talk, can't she?... I've been expecting you to call at our house but was disappointed."

"Oh, I never go out of the estate."

"You never go out of the estate? What do you mean?"

"Just that. That last time I left home was when I went on a shooting trip after a rogue elephant—but I never saw it. Why should I go out? I have my work and my recreation and everything else I want here itself."

"You were always a peculiar sort of a bloke!" Padmini laughed innocuously and her contagious mirth infected Krishna Mohan.

"Aren't you coming in?"

"No, Kitchu, not now. I brought Romilla out for a walk since Ayah is ill."

"I no want to go, Mummy. I want to be here with Kitchu... Uncle Kitchu."

"Sure, I was expecting you as a matter of fact."

....Padmini and Romilla stayed for a long time with Krishna Mohan. He took them round the estate. Every nook and corner had pleasant and poignant memories for the two grown-ups. Romilla became silent and moody because she smelt something tense in the air which she could not understand.

As days passed Padmini and Krishna Mohan became more and more intimate. Although they always thought of the same thing they never mentioned it. Not a word was spoken about their broken engagement, about Padmini's married life, about Naresh. They both strove to bury the five years although their imprint was clearly outlined in the furrows and

wrinkles which had ploughed their way through Krishna Mohan's face.

"Where is Mummy today, Romilla?" asked Krishna Mohan when the child came to him one morning alone a few days later.

"She's got a headache....Mummy is naughty today."

"You mustn't say that," advised Krishna Mohan suppressing a smile.

"She beat me," complained Romilla.

"I'm sure you were up to some mischief. Now, come on, tell Uncle Kitchu what you did."

"I took the Photo-Album."

"I'm sure Mummy didn't beat you for that."

"No. I took it to bring it here and show you. For that she beat me."

"I don't find anything wrong in that. But perhaps she thought that you'd dirty the album."

"No, not for that. She made me promise that I'll never show it to you."

Meanwhile tears had welled up in Romilla's eyes and they were falling down her cheeks. Krishna Mohan picked her up in his arms and wiped her face.

"Don't worry, Romilla, I am not keen on seeing it."

"But I want you to see it," she cried, "I want to tell you the story about the Fairy Prince and the Fairy Princess."

"You can tell me the story without the Photo-Album, can't you?"

"I can, but I can't show you your photograph and Mummy's."

"But what have the photographs to do with the story?"

"Because you are the Fairy Prince and Mummy is the Fairy Princess!"

Krishna Mohan laughed.

"Who told you that?"

"Mummy."

"Cross your heart?"

"Cross my heart."

Krishna Mohan became serious. He had not expected things to develop so quickly. At the back of his mind had always existed the thought that one day he would be able to forget Padmini for breaking his heart and forget that she had been the wife of Naresh for nearly five years. And Romilla would not be an unpleasant reminder of those things because he had grown to love the child for her own sake. But he did not expect the smouldering lambent flame of love in his heart to leap into eager passionate fire so suddenly.

The next time Krishna Mohan met

Padmini he started to flirt with her. It was so easy because it was a path along which he had trod before. It was easy to forget that Naresh ever existed and Romilla only added to the touch of romance always telling him of how according to the Photo-Album the Fairy Prince married the Fairy Princess and lived happily ever after with her.

The final act of their love affair was staged in the copse of Blue-Gum trees on the western border of his estate.

"Remember this place, Padmini?...It was so long ago."

"Yes....I remember. It was dusk and you kissed me hurriedly because Muthu was coming up by the fence." Lights and shadows of reviving memory played upon her face.

Krishna Mohan put his arms round her and drew her close to him. Their lips met. Five years! Yes, it had seemed an eternity. But it was all wiped out by that close physical contact. Yes, he could forgive Padmini anything, he could forget everything. Krishna Mohan knew he had loved her all the time.

"Darling!" he whispered, "when will you marry me?"

"I'm yours any time you want me, Kitchu."

He kissed her again. His happiness was complete....

"Where is Romilla?" asked Padmini waking from the transports of love's dream.

"I don't know?" explained Krishna Mohan with a smile.

"Romilla! Romilla!!" they both called aloud but there was no answer.

"She must have gone home," suggested Krishna Mohan.

"I guess so....I'll go and look for her."

They kissed again and parted. Krishna Mohan did not leave the copse which was so full of pleasant recollections. He walked to the small stream that flowed by and sitting on a stone beside it he started throwing pebbles into the water. He was happy, extremely happy to be alone with his pleasant thoughts of the future. New dreams began to take wing in his imagination.

"Uncle Kitchu! Where are you?" Romilla's voice came from very near.

"Here, Romilla, near the stream."

Romilla appeared in a few seconds.

"I've brought the Photo-Album. Has Mummy gone?"

"Yes, but...."

"Don't worry, Uncle Kitchu, she won't

beat me. She is very happy nowadays. Here it is." She gave him the Album.

"May I play in the water, Uncle Kitchu?"

"Sure!" Krishna Mohan in his happiness would have let her do anything.

Romilla ran to the stream.

Krishna Mohan opened the Album. The writing on the fly-leaf arrested his attention.

"To Darling Padmini, from Naresh, with Love and Kisses."

The words went like a poisoned dart into Krishna Mohan's heart. To be reminded of Naresh just when he was experiencing the ecstasy of a dream about to come true! He turned to the first page and saw the portrait of a young handsome man with laughing eloquent eyes. Yes, that must be Naresh of course—Naresh, whose wife Padmini had been for five years—Naresh, for whom she had thrown away his love—Naresh, the crumbs from whose table he was picking up.

Krishna Mohan gazed hard at the portrait. It was impossible to hate that face; it was so vivacious and genial. The eyes were kind and honest. They seemed to speak to Krishna Mohan:

"Hello, Mr. Krishna Mohan!" they seemed to say, "Pleased to meet you. So you are going to marry my wife, are you? You're welcome. Now that I am gone, I suppose, Padmini is making the next best choice. What a pity that she had to give you up for my sake. But I tell you the five years of our married life were grand. Padmini is a great girl and I wish you all the luck. May be if I were alive she wouldn't take a second peep at you but now that...."

"Oh, shut up!" shouted Krishna Mohan banging shut the Photo-Album.

Romilla came running from the water's edge.

"What did you say, Uncle Kitchu?"

"I said that the Fairy Prince is not going to marry the Princess."

"Why?"

"Because we just aren't fairies!"

Romilla ruminated over this puzzle and Krishna Mohan was also thinking hard.

The pear trees had to be pruned and the soil on the southern side must be turned over, aired and manured to be ready for the autumn planting of potatoes.

PATRUDU'S 'BALASANJEEVINI' (Regd.)

Cures Infantile Liver & Spleen Disorders.

Dr. PILLA PAPIAH PATRUDU & BROR.

11, South Mada St., Mylapore, Madras.

KUMBAKONAM BRANCH:

7, Sarangapani Koll
East Street.

TRICHY BRANCH:

18, Pugulal Pillai Street,
Teppakulam Post.

Consult our specialists at the above places.

DEBACLE OVER THE ANDHRA PROVINCE

By B. RAJABHUSHANA RAO

IF the province slips through the fingers of the Andhras now, the consequences will be disastrous. To say that the Andhras will be smitten with a feeling of frustration is to underestimate the result. To isolate the issue and to think that something will befall the Andhras alone is to draw a false picture of the future. The real question is how their relations with their non-Andhra neighbours to the south will be affected and to what extent their sense of loyalty to the Indian Government itself will be undermined. That linguism should wait and cower before Indian nationalism is, to say the least, beside the point. Not to recognise that a rising tide of indignation will overrun the Andhra country, if it should be balked in its efforts for the province is, to put it mildly, foolhardiness. If not actual revolt, there will be something worse in its place, poisoning for ever of the psychological springs of nationalism. A cold war is undoubtedly more far-reaching and damaging in its effects than a revolution, which is necessarily of short duration. It would be a tragedy of the first magnitude if a people in the vanguard of the fight for freedom should be driven to cherish feelings of sullen resentment and bitterness against fellow countrymen. One would be playing false to oneself and to the cause of Indian nationalism, if one did not tell a few unpleasant truths on this occasion.

The J. V. P. Report marked a new chapter in the history of the movement for the Andhra Province. It saw that the Andhra Province was ripe for immediate formation. It was not swayed in this conclusion by the finding of the Dhar Committee resting on erroneous and inconsistent figures that the deficit in the budget for the Andhra Province would be nearly 6½ crores per year. If the authors had believed that Andhra would be a deficit province or that the deficit would be so great that the new Andhra Province would be unable to

meet it, they could not have held that it might be separated without delay. Further, the Report appeared not to permit any dispute even over boundaries. The Report therefore determined the territorial limits of the Andhra Province to be immediately carved out, so that there need be no loss of time over this question. It stated that the Andhra Province would not include the city of Madras and the six disputed taluks of Bellary for the present. The Report further asserted that, if it was accepted by the parties, the Andhra Province would be separated. Some of the top-ranking leaders, without being contradicted by others, rightly said, on the strength of this report of which the authors were the President of the National Congress and the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India, that if only the parties agreed to the J.V.P. Report, the province was there asking to be taken. It was even said that it would not take more than a week after such an agreement for the province to materialise. Thus nothing seemed to stand in the way of the province except the acceptance of the J. V. P. Report. The difficulty in acceptance, so far as the Andhras were concerned, centred on one point. The city of Madras was the sorest spot in the Report. Naturally, for some time, some of the Andhra leaders could not contemplate with equanimity the loss of a city which once belonged exclusively to the Andhras and in which they had large stakes. Already in the north, at the time of the formation of the Orissa Province, a slice from the Andhra territory was amputated; and of it a clean present was made to the Oriyas with the result that the Andhras in that unfortunate area became foreigners and outcasts in their own land. This wound was inflicted on the Andhras by a foreign ruler, before whom the strident nationalism of the Andhras prevented them from making any representations at the proper time. The wrong

done by the Britisher became right in free India. Again the Andhras were asked to give up Madras in the south once and for all. This question was not even left to a boundary commission for final decision. Yet in its eagerness to seize the province before the Republican Constitution threw up new hurdles, on 11th November 1949, the Andhra P. C. C. at last reconciled itself to a truncated province.

The Andhras however felt that the province was within their grasp. They were eagerly looking for the Governor-General's announcement regarding the province. The Congress Working Committee of which the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister were members, met on 14th November and recommended early steps for the formation of the province. Nothing more remained to be done at the provincial level.

Long days and nights passed without the Governor-General's proclamation. The Constituent Assembly met for the third reading of the Constitution. The Andhras were sure that the Andhra Province would be included in the First Schedule. Even the 26th November, the last day of the sitting of the Constituent Assembly, passed by without a whisper of the Andhra Province. The Andhras were losing their patience and yet they pinned their faith in the power of the Governor-General to announce the new province. Instead, the Andhras were told that a Partition Committee would meet for the division of assets and liabilities, and that probably a High Court Judge would again go into the question of the Bellary district. The situation seemed hopeless. Two sovereign Dominions of India and Pakistan came into existence without half of this ado. This division of assets and liabilities could certainly wait and there was no understandable reason why accounts should be settled in such mortal hurry between two sister provinces. Were all the accounts between India and Pakistan settled in advance when they became Dominions? Were they settled between Britain and India, when India attained her freedom? Have they been settled yet? As for the Bellary district, the J. V. P. Report decided how it should be divided for

the time being. Why this attempt by the Government of India to give a go-bye to it? It was taken for granted that the new Andhra Province which had no first-rate city within its own territory would retain Madras as its temporary capital. But no. The question of the temporary capital also should be settled by agreement. At Vizag, the Governor-General counselled patience and fuller consideration of the question. It looked as if the more the Andhras gave in, more points were discovered over which they were required to come to an agreement. The slogan of complete agreement between contending parties as a condition precedent to the granting of freedom developed a bad taste in the mouth of Indians. Now there is the same insistence, to a greater degree on a much smaller issue. If the leaders of the Andhra Province and of the residuary province of Madras must come to an agreement on everything to an extent to which even the members of a family ordinarily cannot, why should the Andhras clamour for a province at all eagerly looking for it as the only key to their emancipation? This seemed to encourage everybody to exploit the anxiety of the Andhras to the fullest extent. Although the Andhras were prepared to forego in the district of Bellary the six taluks which included the seat of the great Andhra empire of Vijayanagar over which the renowned Andhra emperor and patron of Andhra literature Krishna Deva Raya ruled, the Kanadas were making further claims.

Nevertheless, the Andhra representatives on the Partition Council set to work with a determination to come to an agreement on all points at all costs. One section of the Andhra representatives obviously felt that since, after the 26th of January, the Constitution required a resolution of the Madras Legislature, it automatically placed a right of veto in the hands of the non-Andhra members who dominated with their majority in the composite legislature. The Andhras would be dictated to at every step if such a resolution was to be passed. If however the State of Hyderabad was split up and each part joined the province to which it was naturally allied by the bonds of lan-

guage, the tables would be turned. But there was no early prospect of that event. On the eve of the election of the Constituent Assembly that would decide by a 'free vote' the future of Hyderabad State, the Governor-General spoke against the popular trend, and in favour of the preservation of the integrity of the State. Sometime later, the Prime Minister of India also expressed himself against the disintegration of the State. There was therefore no alternative for the Andhras but to yield on every point. But the other section of which the sole representative on the Partition Council was Sri Prakasam seemed to have asked itself the question whether, what was being already done by the non-Andhras, encouraged by the attitude of the Centre, was itself not the exercise of the right of veto. Unless there was perfect agreement on every question, which meant nothing but absolute surrender by the Andhras, the Centre did not seem to move an inch. After all this surrender, there was no knowing if the Centre would not raise some more questions on which there must be total agreement. Despite the categorical assurance in the J. V. P. Report that the Andhra Province would be formed, if there was agreement on certain aspects, the question of the deficit of the province was being raised by the Prime Minister, who was himself a party to the J. V. P. Report. In spite of the hollowness of the deficit bogey being shown up times without number, he harped on it. Though the Report determined the areas that should be included in the Andhra Province, the Prime Minister again referred to the question of the Bellary district. After numerous commissions, findings, awards and promises, even dead issues were being resurrected. The Centre was

not convinced; and it appeared the Centre could never be convinced that anything was settled at all. "The early steps" that were being taken without the delay of a single day appeared to be an eternal process of inventing new conditions that must be satisfied before the province could be formed. The Andhras were only asked to wait, as if they had done anything else all these 35 years. The cause of the Andhra Province thus seemed to have been betrayed at the highest level. The replies that the Prime Minister gave to pressmen at the Meenambakam aerodrome on 8th January 1950 created the impression that he was not fully alive to the seriousness of the Andhra Province question. If the Centre meant business, it was asked what could be the difficulty in separating the Province at once, subject, if necessary, to arbitration or the setting up of other machinery for the settlement of disputes over details. The answer was that there should be absolute concord before separation. This is too hackneyed to convince any one. Would a boundary commission or a partition council examining all questions in a satisfactory manner without undue haste after the formation of the province create more friction than the tension and the feelings of distrust with which the whole atmosphere is surcharged today? The question is not whether the Andhras will get the province, but when they will get it. If not today, why not? Elasticity of mind has its limits; if the point of fatigue is crossed, perfect recovery is not possible. Any further suspense turns the attention of the Andhras to the Centre in whose bonafides the Andhras still have faith. May that faith be not shaken in the interests of all concerned.

When I was a girl I had great confidence in my glamorous Aunt Mary's judgment. "Auntie, do you think I ought to allow Henry to hold my hand and kiss me?" I asked her one day not long after I began having dates.

Aunt Mary considered for a moment and then replied, "Not if he asked permission, my pet."—READER'S DIGEST.

THE SECRETS OF THE BEEHIVE

By GEORGE MANN

MAN has gorged himself on honey for thousands of years—yet never realised that hidden away in the hive is a food that may add years to his life. True, both bee-keepers, and entomologists have known that the queens in the hive are fed on a special kind of food called royal jelly. And they have also observed that the queen bee lives for five years or so, about 20 times as long as the workers who get no royal jelly, after their first few days.

It remained for Dr. Thomas Gardner of New Jersey to put these facts together and come up with an answer, the results of which may be startling in extending our own lives. He examined this royal jelly, which comes from certain glands in the heads of the worker bees who tend the young queens, and found it fantastically rich in vitamins.

First there is pantothenic acid—it had quite a vogue a few years ago as the anti-gray hair vitamin until, in the U. S., the Federal Government clamped down on such advertising claims. Then there's pyroxidin, one of the vitamin B's. Biotin, the mysterious growth that has been proven to be one of the most powerful biological chemicals known, is another. And the fourth is sodium yeast nucleate.

The next step was to test the vitamins, first separately, then together on other insects. Dr. Gardner chose fruit flies, the classic insects for all kinds of experiments. Pantothenic acid by itself seemed the most effective, stepping up the length of the fly's life by 27 per cent. The other ingredients didn't work as well. But, when Dr. Gardner combined all four of the vitamins as they are in the royal jelly, the flies lived almost half again as long as before. In man, that might increase the average age at death to around 99 years. Dr. Gardner has not begun to experiment on human beings yet, but the entire project offers fascinating possibilities.

One interesting aspect of the problem is the connection between pantothenic acid and young and growing things. The acid is particularly

common in the tissues of young animals and in the foods they eat, such as milk. Perhaps it works not by extending old age, but by extending the growing period, making youth last longer. There's another medical aspect of bees, one that's part folklore, part modern medical practice, and still part mystery. You've heard about bee stings as a treatment for rheumatism. This legend was partly based on the fact that bee-keepers were seldom troubled by rheumatism or arthritis. Doctors have been tinkering with bee venom for the last 120 years.

In Germany, before World War II, producing bee sting venom was a small industry in itself. The American Medical Association recently came out with a modified approval of the treatment. It did point out, however, that bee venom is never quite harmless to the human body, and there was a chance the cure might be more painful than the disease.

There's a little-known danger in bee stings as well, one that makes them extremely harmful to certain sensitive persons. When such a person is stung by a bee, his breath grows short, his skin may first become cornered with hives, then cold and clammy, presenting all the evidence of shock. Eventually, it may be almost impossible for him to breathe. Fortunately, injecting adrenalin usually clears up the symptoms in a hurry. There's one strange angle to it. The reaction may be caused by the bee venom itself, or by the pollen which clings to the bees' stinger when it is shoved into the body. But such reactions are rare. There are records of persons who have been stung 100 to 1,000 times at once by bees without any extraordinary ill-effects.

There's one secret of the beehive, discovered in recent months, that promises to make more money for bee-keepers and more and better honey. Although man has kept bees for several thousands of years, they have been the one domesticated animal that resisted all attempts at improvement through breeding. The big hitch in

bee breeding has always been the mating habits of the queen. When mating time comes, the queen suddenly flies high in the air and mates with the first drone that reaches her. There was almost no way in which the keeper could control the mating of the queen and keep unwanted drones away from her.

Now, scientists at the U. S. Department of Agriculture have devised a fairly safe method of breeding the queen, making sure of the heredity of her offspring. The queen bee is anaesthetized, artificially fertilized and bred to her own drone sons to establish a truly inbred line. With this start, the bee breeders can now begin to pick and choose among the bees, breed them for various wanted qualities.

Bee keeping has been the object of serious study in Russia, where Professor Eugene V. Arafiev recently won a Stalin prize for his work in improving Russian bees. By using artificial insemination, Arafiev claims he is able to get 7 to 10 new colonies from a single colony of bees, far outstripping former records in bee production. He has also tinkered with honey. Feeding the bees on fruit juices instead of the nectar from flowers produces honey rich in vitamins. Switching the bees to a diet of gland extracts and drugs produces a variety of honeys that can be used in medicine. Further, the Russians have reported they can addict the bees to kinds of flower nectar and pollen that don't ordinarily attract them. Thus the addicted bees gather new kinds of honey-making materials and produce new varieties of honey instead of going back to their old gathering habits.

New Jersey bee-keepers have reported they can make their bees even busier by feeding them on a little super-fermented honey in the spring before they leave the hive and get to work. The bees drink the honey, stagger around for a bit, then go out and work off their hangover in a fury of collecting nectar and pollen. At least that's the report from New Jersey.

The whole problem of honey production is enormously complex. Perhaps the Russian methods of shifting the bees around from one kind of plant to another may make it possible

for the bee-keepers to keep a tighter control of the plant sources of their honey. In New York City, before World War II, there were as many as 150 different varieties of honey on the market at the same time. Unsettled post-war conditions have the market down to around 42 varieties at present. The honeys vary in colour, taste, and aroma. There are seven different colour standards for honey, and the darker honeys are usually the strongest.

It staggers the imagination to think that a colony of bees may have to travel 50,000 miles from flower to flower to gather a single pound of honey. The U. S. alone produces more than 200,000,000 pounds of honey a year. Important as honey is, there is another activity of the bees that is far more valuable. Travelling from blossom to blossom, bees carry pollen on their hairy hind legs, allowing the flowers to fertilize each other and produce seeds. Scientists estimate that without bees more than 100,000 plants would not be able to produce seeds, and would therefore die out.

Bee superstitions die hard, in spite of all scientific evidence to the contrary. Farm families have given up "telling the bees" when a member of the family dies. But some bee-keepers still have a hunch that bees start laying eggs furiously in the fall; they are banking on weather warm enough to hatch the eggs. The interior of the hive has to be kept at around 94 degrees before the eggs will hatch. Other bee-keepers scoff at such a theory, pointing out that bees lay eggs even in mid-winter if the mood strikes them.

Bee language is quite elaborate, quite meaningful. When a worker bee comes home from a new patch of nectar-rich flowers, she delivers her load, then goes into a dance. Scientists have checked up and found that, if the worker bee dances around and around in a sort of a circle, the source of the pollen is more than 100 yards away. Furthermore, scientists have figured out that the faster the bee waggles, the farther the flowers. The direction in which the dancer moves is also considered part of the language. The kind of flower to look for is indicated by the odour clinging to the body of the messenger bee. This

bee language is accurate enough for the other bees to leave the hive and find the new patch of flowers without waiting for the leadership of the dancing bee.

Another thing about bees is described as the chemical time-table of their bodies. Their bodies' chemistry helps them tell what time of day it is. Scientists discovered this by putting out dishes of sugared water for the bees to eat at a regular time every day. Then for days thereafter, even when the food wasn't displayed, the bees turned up at the right time every day looking for a handout. Tracing the bees' sense of time to their bodies' chemistry involved drugging them. When the bees were given thyroid, which speeds up body chemistry, they consistently arrived ahead of time, looking for a meal. When they were fed on quinine, which slows down body operations, the bees' internal clock slowed down, and the bees arrived late for their meals.

Even more important and worth investigating is the mysterious chemical calendar that seems to regulate the activities of a worker bee. Finding a way to alter the calendar might make bees even more productive. Here's the schedule that regulates the life of the worker-bee. The newly-hatched worker-bee first dries and cleans herself, then cleans out the wax-cell in the comb in which she was born. After three days, she gets to work feeding the bee grubs in the hive. Then she quits as a nursemaid, and turns to the grocer business. At first she sucks up the nectar brought by

other workers, has it turn to honey in her body and stores it away in the honeycomb. Meanwhile, she is also busy taking pollen from the returning workers and storing it away as well.

In the next stage, the worker bee turns to cleaning up the hive. The chemical time-table starts to work again and the worker turns to making bees-wax, which appears on plats on its abdomen. Finally, the worker serves a term as a door-keeper. Twenty days or so after birth, the worker leaves the hive, spends the rest of her life roaming over the countryside, bringing nectar and pollen back to the hive to feed the other members of the colony. Her life-span varies, depending on the amount of work there is to do. If there are many blossoms, the worker will kill itself through overwork in a couple of months. If less food is available, the bee takes it easy, lives longer.

There is the mystery of the bee colony, with its three well-organized castes—queens, drones and workers. Some power-seekers might admire the efficiency of the workers and the sad end of the non-working drones whose only function is to fertilize the queens. Others might envy the technique of the queen whose first act after birth is to stab her rivals to death. Biologists have studied the complicated co-operation of a honey-bee colony, admitted that it holds parallels and lessons for human society. At any rate, the structure of honey-bee society has lasted—in a permanent form for longer than any equivalent human society—Copyright.

THE BATTLE OF FORMOSA IN WASHINGTON

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK: The Battle of Formosa raged furiously last week in Washington. Formosa, of course, is the packed and seething island one hundred miles off the coast of China to which Chiang Kai-shek and his battered Nationalists have retreated for a final stand against the Communists. Last week the highest American military and diplomatic officials

argued bitterly within the executive branch whether U. S. interests required the defense of Formosa. Leading Senators rushed to take strong positions on one side or the other of the question; and, though vestiges of discretion prevented Gen. MacArthur in Tokyo from speaking out openly, his press officers were briefing newspapermen with vigour,

even to the extent of providing them with a purloined State Department directive discounting the possible loss of the disputed island.

Beneath the smoke and fury of battle three groups could be discerned. One group could be designated the Formosa All-Outers. Its captain was Gen. MacArthur; and other important members of the team were Secretary of Defence Johnson, Senator Knowland of California, Senator Smith of New Jersey and Herbert Hoover. They believed that Formosa must be held at almost any cost—Hoover and Knowland urging U. S. naval intervention and Smith even advocating American occupation of the island. The second group could be called the In-Betweeners. As its name implied, this group had found it hard to make up its mind concerning the importance of Formosa. President Truman himself had been of this school; and Gen. Bradley and the Joint Chiefs of Staff formed its main component. The Joint Chiefs, for example, had been agreed until recently that Formosa had no decisive strategic importance. Then renewed pressure from MacArthur and the Formosa All-Outers a few weeks ago caused them to put a higher value on Formosa. Similarly the President had clearly been impressed in recent weeks by indications from Capitol Hill that obstinacy on Formosa might lose the Administration votes on E.R.P. and other issues. The third group, the Asiatic Long Rangers, had their headquarters in the State Department. Their captain was Dean Acheson, and outside the department, they commanded the support of Senators like Lodge of Massachusetts and of influential columnists like Walter Lipmann as well as of allies both east and west such as India and Great Britain. Their case was that last-ditch aid to Chiang's carpet-bagger regime in Formosa was futile; that its only result would be to identify the U. S. more than ever with reaction in Asia; and that this identification would gravely jeopardise our attempts to develop an affirmative Asian policy based on progressive Nationalist regimes like Nehru's India (which has already recognised Red China). As

Lodge summed up the Long-Ranger case against Formosa, "I think we have got to stop the military aspect of Communism somewhere but I do not think that is the place. For a minor military success we might suffer a major loss politically and propagandistically."

Last week the three teams gathered together at a meeting of the National Security Council. The outcome was in general a victory for the Long-Rangers. In face of Acheson's persuasiveness, Bradley and the In-Betweeners moderated their recent alarm over the threat of Formosa; and, with Louis Johnson absent, the Formosa All-Outers lacked strong representation. The National Security Council decided flatly to reject the possibility of U. S. occupation, or of military intervention or military advice. But it also decided to continue economic aid to Chiang. This was plainly not an entirely satisfactory result. The process of compromise was promising to create a situation where we would help Formosa just enough to get stuck with it but not enough to avoid. The Battle of Formosa was thus an episode in the painful search for a Far-Eastern policy. But the odd thing about this battle was that Formosa itself was in no immediate danger of invasion. Why then the flare-up of temper over it? Part of it, of course, was an honest desire on the part of the military for once to plan in advance. China had been one country to which the bi-partisan policy had not applied; it was a country with a great sentimental appeal for Americans; and many Republicans could not resist the temptation to pick up the loose ball and run with it, not caring to whose goal line they were running forward. That may be why Herbert Hoover who in October 1917 opposed the sending of American troops to France and who in 1941 was an ardent isolationist, now suddenly wanted to send American forces overseas, not of course to Europe which after all had become virtually a Democratic province, but to Republican Formosa. As Max Ascoli has put it, an isolationist today is a man who wants to help some other continent than the one under discussion.

HOW THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT IS ELECTED

GENERAL ELECTION PROCEDURE

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee has just announced that Britain will go to the polls on Thursday, February 23, to elect a new Parliament.

Outlined here is the procedure that is followed at a General Election in Britain.

A General Election is held in Britain when the period of five years fixed by Statute for the duration of Parliament has expired, or before the end of that time when the King, on the advice of the Prime Minister, dissolves Parliament. This usually happens when the Ministry either feels that it may properly ask the electorate for a further mark of confidence to continue its policy, or, on the other hand, has been defeated on a major issue.

A proclamation is signed by the King dissolving the old and calling the new Parliament and ordering the issue of Writs of Election. The date of Nomination Day, the same for all constituencies, is announced and on that day the candidates must present themselves to their local Returning Officer, who is usually the Mayor or Chairman of the local authority. As far as the political parties are concerned, a candidate is usually officially adopted at least a year before the probable date of an election. Before that he may have been "nursing" a constituency as a prospective candidate since the last election. In order to prevent freak candidatures each candidate is required to deposit with the Returning Officer the sum of £150, which is forfeited if he does not receive one-eighth of the total votes cast. Usually about six or seven per cent of the candidates at a General Election forfeit their deposit.

If only one candidate is nominated, he is declared elected; otherwise polling takes place nine days later. The candidates will have been known for some time before Nomination Day and the election campaign will probably have been progressing, with quickening tempo, since the date of Dissolution was known. Almost every candidate has an election agent who should be fully conversant with electoral law and procedure and who

looks after administration, leaving the candidate to spend his full time speaking and canvassing. The party organizations in most constituencies maintain full-time agents, who manage not only elections but also party activities at other times.

CONTROL OF CANDIDATE'S EXPENDITURE

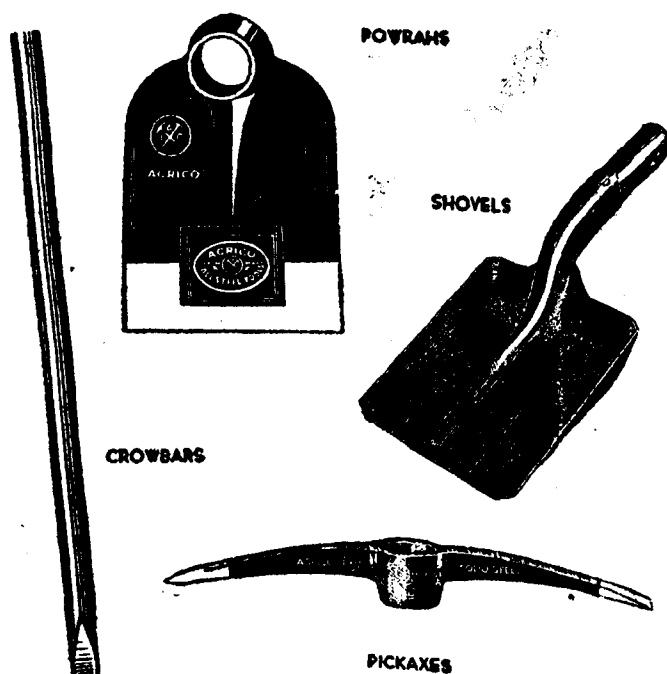
Each candidate is allowed one free postal delivery to every elector, and by this means sends out an Election Address, which usually consists of a folder bearing on the outside his photograph and a short biography with a list of meetings to be held, and inside a statement outlining his policy. A candidate may supplement this free delivery by further circulars at his own expense. To ensure equality, however, the maximum expenditure which may be incurred by a candidate for all purposes is, under Representation of the People Act 1948:

in borough constituencies, £450 plus 13d. for each elector;
in county constituencies, £450 plus 2d. for each elector.

Before polling day every voter on the register receives a polling card bearing his polling number and the location of his polling station. In the past the candidates have been responsible for the distribution of these cards, but under the Representation of the People Act, this will now be done by the Registration Officer, who is either the Clerk of the County Council or the Town Clerk of a Borough.

The Parliamentary Register is compiled yearly by the Registration Officer, and contains the names of all British subjects over the age of 21 unless they are serving a prison sentence, certified lunatics, or Peers of the Realm. All who are qualified to vote are also qualified to stand for election, except Clergymen of the Established Churches of England and

AGRICO TOOLS



**THE TATA IRON
& STEEL CO., LTD.**

Head Sales Office:
23B, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta.

land, and of the Roman Catholic Church; undischarged bankrupts; persons holding a salaried office in the Crown—excluding, of course, members of the Government and the members of the Opposition. Special arrangements are made for members of the Armed Forces and Merchant Navy, Crown Officials abroad and others, such as travellers, deep-sea fishermen and members of touring theatrical companies, whose professions will prevent their polling in person. They are allowed to cast their vote by post or, alternatively, to nominate some other person to vote for them. Similar arrangements are made for invalids; in addition, most candidates have a car service to carry incapacitated persons to the polling booths.

THE POLLING

Polling stations, which are normally open from 8 a. m. to 8 or 9 p. m., are in charge of a Presiding Officer and assistants, with a policeman in attendance. Votes are cast by entering a screened booth, placing a cross on a ballot-paper against the name of the selected candidate, and putting the paper in a locked ballot-box. On the close of the poll the Presiding Officer makes up into sealed packages the unopened ballot box, the unused ballot papers, the marked copy of the Register of Voters showing those who have cast their votes, and any other relevant documents, and delivers them to the Returning Officer.

The counting of the votes takes place under the supervision of the Returning Officer and the local Under-Sheriff or Town Clerk, and if the first count shows only a small majority a recount may be made. Candidates may demand recounts until they are satisfied as to the result. In the event of a tie the result is decided by lot, and not, as was the procedure before the Representation of the People Act, by the casting vote of the Returning Officer. After the result is declared the candidates make short speeches of condolence or congratulation, as the case may be, and thank their supporters and the officials.

There is no system of proportional representation and no alternative vote or second ballot. A succession of electoral laws has abolished unfair or corrupt practices and any infraction of those laws involves severe penalties, including annulment of the election if the winning candidate is found to have transgressed.

The Representation of the People Act framed with the object of establishing the principle of *one man, one vote, one value*, abolished plural voting for Parliamentary elections, that is, the additional university and business vote; and made changes in the boundaries of constituencies which sought broadly to give each an average electorate of about 57,000. Out of a population of 50 millions there is an electorate of about 20 millions.

50 YEARS OF BRITISH PARLIAMENT

By **ERNEST ATKINSON**

WITH the opening of the last year of the half-century, it is appropriate to look back at some of the changes that have come upon Westminster—upon the British Parliament—since 1900. There were great Parliamentary figures at work then. The results of many of their actions are still to be marked in the life, not only of Britain, but also of many lands overseas.

Fifty years ago, the general level of eminence of leaders and parties in the House of Commons may not have been markedly greater than it is now. But

then, as now, there were outstanding men of a calibre that would have made them remarkable in any company.

The Labour Party had not yet begun to make its important impact on Westminster, although the prophetic eye should have distinguished some of the powerful influences that were to concentrate upon Westminster. Now the Labour Party itself has what would have been known as patricians in its ranks and among its leaders, and the Conservative Party

has a wider cross-section of the population among its members.

Statistics for the '90s and 1900's may not have been computed, but in the present House of Commons, 42 per cent of the members are university men, one in every 10 is an Old Etonian and one in every eight is either an Old Etonian or Old Harrovian. A little over a quarter of the Labour Members went to public schools, nearly a third to secondary schools and the rest to primary schools.

But statistics cloud the personalities. The men of today are well enough known and history's verdict on some of them can already be assumed. Back, when the century began, the most personally fascinating figure was probably that of A. J. Balfour. He had already been a member of the Government for 15 years when the century opened. He had the uncomfortable and difficult office of Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1900; in 1902 he was Prime Minister. A man of letters and philosopher, he had yet made himself a prime political controversialist who had nothing to fear in the sharp battling that went on then in Parliament. The struggle he had to carry on for years in the Irish Office is one of the most remarkable things in Westminster's political history.

Joseph Chamberlain was reckoned greater as a debater. Politically, his strength was based in the first place on his personal dominance of the politics of Birmingham—this family connection continued and fortified his son Neville.

Energy, political strength and imagination were all his. British imperial policy had been profoundly influenced by his commanding characteristics, and he learned how to exercise this power early in his political career. He was made a member of the Cabinet after only four years in Parliament—in those days a very short spell. Indeed, only the Younger Pitt, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer after only one year in the House of Commons at the age of 23, had risen more quickly to ministerial rank. Nowadays promotion can be much quicker. Several members of the present Government were appointed to

office within a day or so of their first election to Parliament.

Those two, Balfour and Chamberlain, were the outstanding Parliamentary figures of the day and they may serve as examples though the tale is not complete without mention of a dozen others, among them Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Gray, later to be in the line of the greatest Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries.

Parliaments nowadays have, perhaps, more arithmetic to do. There is more pre-occupation with economic matters—natural enough, when even in the last 10 years the Central Government expenditure has been multiplied by four and the interest on the national debt has doubled.

But so many great issues remain remarkably unchanged. At the beginning of the century, Parliament was at issue over Ireland and South Africa, over Imperial Preference and the price of food. Now, in the last years of the half-century, it is Parliament's business to see that the Government of the day justifies its policies over India and Burma, over the wealth and strength of the Sterling Area, and over the prospect that the people can continue to work and prosper in a changing and competitive world.

Earlier Governments were accustomed to describe their problems in a more grandiloquent literary style. Classical quotations had sometimes a more obvious place than economic calculations in leaders' speeches. Speeches were longer and figures were shorter. Mr. Churchill's grandfather, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, could off-handedly dismiss the decimal system in a speech in the House of Commons by asking what were "these damned dots."

The character of the problem and the manner of approach, however, were much the same, and Parliament's responsibility, with some practical differences that the pace of these present times has called for, remains the same, to see that the administration of the day maintains its trust for the nation's present and its future. The coming half-year will see a new Parliament elected to carry out that tradition and, it may be hoped, to enrich it.

BRITAIN GETTING SET FOR THE ELECTION

By W. G. MATTERS

On doorsteps and street corners, at mass meetings and local clubs, the arguments flow back and forth as Britain prepares for the coming general election which promises to be unusually fierce.

THE young man at my door was earnest and enthusiastic. His message concerned the future of Britain, and he explained that only by embracing the new Toryism could the country stave off certain disaster. At the corner of the road the local M. P. was addressing the first public meeting held here since 1945, and explaining in even more eloquent terms that only by keeping the Tories out of office could the country go forward to build the new Britain, the foundations of which the Labour Government had already laid.

On doorsteps and street corners, at mass meetings and local clubs, in public and private, the arguments flow back and forth as Britain prepares for the forthcoming general election, and the contestants for power for the next five years are getting set for a battle which promises to be—for Britain—unusually fierce.

Those among the electorate who want to make a polling decision based on the written word are reading two pamphlets, "The Right Road for Britain," published by the Conservative Central Office, and "Labour Believes in Britain," respectively outlining draft proposals for inclusion in each party's final campaign manifesto.

Labour's programme is a moderate, somewhat uninspiring document. For rank-and-file members of a party which throughout its history has been crusading for spectacular social advances, it offers little excitingly new. What it proposes, in effect, is a period for consolidation of gains already made.

The new policy document proposes transferring to public ownership cement manufacturing, concerns, sugar refineries, industrial insurance, wholesale meat distribution and the

nation's water supply. The last is a long overdue reform, and no one seriously quarrels with it. Industrial insurance, which Labour claims should be organized as a national service, was included in the original state scheme drawn up by Lord Beveridge; the rest of his recommendations have been incorporated into legislation already passed.

If Labour were in power for another five years, Government-sponsored manufacturing enterprises would be established on a fair competition basis wherever private industry is inefficient, the aim being to force incompetent firms to mend their ways. The shipbuilding and repairing industry is warned that a Labour Government would not hesitate to take steps "to ensure that this national asset is never again neglected," as it was between the wars.

Controls over capital investment, distribution of industry and foreign exchange would be maintained "as permanent instruments of planning in a thriving national economy." Education, housing, town-planning, recreation and the arts, health service, the welfare of old people and the disabled are all down for improvement or extension. Farmers would be further assisted by the advance of money to set up co-operative marketing organizations and in other ways. And as light relief, the Labour party offers cheap holidays in new, attractive centres with cheap family travel.

Having read "Labour Believes in Britain"—it was published first—the conscientious elector turns to the Conservative party programme. He might be forgiven for thinking it reads in parts like another Socialist tract.

The Tories have no intention of dismantling the welfare state. The programme proposes no basic changes in the whole field of social service which, under their care, would be improved administratively and even increased where possible. Pensions would be raised and small additions made to the national health scheme. There would be higher salaries for teachers, improved conditions for the regular army and equal pay for women in Government service. Most of Labour's bulk-buying schemes would be continued, farming subsidies would go on, and home and agriculture would be given more protection "against destructive imports." Colonial development would be expanded. Nearly all controls at present imposed on trade and industry would be restored, and private builders would have greater freedom to build houses for sale.

A Conservative Government would try to maintain wage levels, and the party repudiates "any suggestion that deliberate creation of unemployment is necessary to maintain high production and industrial discipline." Income tax and purchase tax would be reduced "as soon as possible."

With one important exception, the nationalized industries and services—coal, electricity, gas, transport and civil aviation—would continue as state enterprises, administratively improved. The exception is passenger and freight road transport. This would be handed back to private owners. Private enterprise would also be given greater opportunities in civil aviation.

There, in brief, are the platforms from which the two major parties will fight for this important election. The Conservatives, officially at least, have accepted the revolution of the 20th century. Having, therefore, adopted most of their opponents' policy, the only specific issue dividing the two parties is nationalization. Cement and sugar—and steel which is due to be taken over next year if existing legislation is allowed to take effect—are flourishing industries. The British steel industry is recognized as among the most efficient in the world. Supported by the big industrialists, the Tories argue that state interference

would damage these important enterprises and lead to increased prices.

There is nothing in their claim that nationalization so far, has been "a colossal failure." But it certainly has not been the cure-all some people expected, and the Conservatives are able to make great play with its disadvantages. It may be true that dramatic results should not have been expected in so short a time. It may be true, that if the profitable steel industry had been taken over first instead of derelict coal and financially embarrassed railways, the story would have been different. But it is also true that prices of coal and, for some people electricity and gas have gone up, that coal, railways and civil aviation recorded considerable trading losses during the early years of state ownership. And there is little evidence that the worker has acquired the new sense of responsibility and status which national ownership was supposed to give him. The average elector may be more impressed with these facts than he is with weighty economic considerations and long-term benefits.

Labour supporters point out with considerable force that, for all their intense dislike of nationalization, the Tories would return to private ownership only one part of one of the undertakings recently taken over. And that part, the road section of the transport service, is the only part making large profits!

On general lines, Tory propaganda seeks to show that the country's present rulers are "a bunch of incompetents," responsible for every major and minor ill suffered by the highly taxed, austerity-burdened electorate. This, in spite of the fact that Britain's overriding problem, the "dollar deficit," has nothing to do with Socialist administration—as Tory publications have admitted.

The Tories will have to rely, to a large extent, on simple anti-Government propaganda. Labour's great reforms, especially, are popular with the people and, unless it supported them, the Conservative party could not expect to get votes. So enthusiastic are they, in fact, about the social services, that the Tories are claiming they invented them while

remaining discreetly silent about their recent parliamentary record, which shows they voted against the health service bill as well as against many other reform measures.

There are Tories who cannot accept the idea of the welfare state, with its underlying concept that wealth should be fairly shared. They want the social services out, taxation reduced, a "moderate degree of unemployment," to stimulate production and other typically Conservative measures. But the more enlightened among the leaders of the party, or the more astute—had their way when their official statement of policy was drawn up. Their alternative to Socialism is, in Anthony Eden's phrase, "a property owning democracy." This implies taking away from the few the power of wealth and property and placing it, not under control of the state, but in the hands of as many individuals as possible.

Conservative party policy, as it appears in the official statement, represents a compromise between the views of some of their younger men like R. A. Butler (a former Minister for Education and responsible, in 1944, for Britain's big reform in that field), who clearly see the need for a policy, and the views of Winston Churchill and his traditionalist colleagues who are against making any definite promises. As a result, the programme is so hedged about with qualifications as to mean very little. And critics have been quick to point out that "it doesn't add up."

Labour's appeal to the electorate rests upon past performances, on promises fulfilled. The Government claims a full share of the credit for Britain's post-war recovery achievements, for the country's smooth switch-over from war to peace production, for raising the standard of living of millions, for a successful housebuilding programme, for giving the farmers a fair deal, for full employment, for making Britain the busiest nation in Europe and for keeping the country relatively free of industrial disputes. Comparisons with what happened after World War I in all these fields show the Labour Government in a tremendously favourable light.

But the fact remains that even

among those who have directly and personally benefitted from Labour's policies, there are many who cannot see why they should not be even better off than they are. Their resentment has been reflected, to some degree, in the local elections, which have shown a marked swing away from Labour in the past year or two. And although in parliamentary by-elections since 1945 the Government has not lost a single seat—an unprecedented achievement in British political history—the figures again show that Labour has lost considerable support in some areas. Numbers of "middle-class" people, who helped give Labour the victory in '45 but who have been called upon, through high taxation, to assist in the Government's redistribution of income policies, may have decided to switch their allegiance.

Aided by the Communists, who will be stoking the fires of discontent for their own ends with increasing vigour, the Tories hope to make a great deal of capital out of this feeling of grievance, as well as out of the general feeling of apprehension resulting from distressing world economical facts.

Labour's defence is to show how the Conservative party managed the nation's affairs during their long period of rule. The Tories' pre-war record contributed largely to their disastrous defeat in 1945, and, for all their efforts to create the idea of a new Toryism, their opponents' argument that the leopard cannot change its spots may very well destroy their chances in the coming battle for power.

Both parties have efficient national organizations. The Labour movement—the Labour party, the trade unions and the co-operative movement—enters the fray more united than ever before. Their leaders are tired. Four gruelling years without let-up have taken a heavy mental and physical toll. But this year's party conferences showed they are more popular than ever before. Prime Minister Attlee, Herbert Morrison, Ernest Bevin, Hugh Walton and the fire-eating genius, Aneurin Bevan, all received tremendous ovations, as did, in fact, every other leader present at the conference.

Although unity is not the great feature of the Conservative party, that

will not prevent them from going all out to re-establish themselves in their new guise. Dispirited after their 1945 debacle, the Tories have since made great efforts to build up an effective nation-wide organization—and a huge fighting fund collected from undisclosed sources—ready for the battle which some people think, will decide the fate of this ancient party of privilege and private interests. Speakers whose job it is to spread the gospel of the new Toryism among the workers

have been advised to don cloth caps and discard their old school ties.

It is too early for serious discussion of polling prospects. Most observers feel Labour will lose a number of seats. In 1945, they won 393 seats, to the Tories' 188, and they could afford to lose, say 50, and still have a large majority (in the House of 613). The issue may well be decided by events or trends affecting Great Britain's international trading position which take place between now and the polling date.—Copyright.

PURDAH CONFERENCES

By V. KALYANASUNDARAM

SECRET conferences have their debit and credit sides. Not often the results of these secret conferences are disastrous to the careers of politicians. The *in camera* conference of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in October 1948 in London had quite a mixed reception. While one section of the Commonwealth press was very jubilant over it, the other section exhibited much acrimony over the secrecy of the proceedings. In fact one prominent weekly went to the extent of characterising the conduct of our Prime Minister in that context as "constitutional bigamy of the worst type."

Similarly after the *in camera* session of the A.-I.C.C. in Dehra Dun about the middle of last year Dame Rumour became very active whereupon our Prime Minister himself came out with an explanation for the exclusion of the press from the session and made a statement of policy at Calcutta that secret conferences, whatever their necessity, had pernicious results and that thenceforth there would be no secret meetings. But our Prime Minister proved to be no more powerful in translating into action this policy statement than he had been in implementing several of the dreams that he had been dreaming since the starting of his political career.

He could not remove the purdah

from the proceedings of the Commonwealth Conference in April last in London. He could not also persuade his colleagues to throw open the proceedings of the Colombo meet to the press notwithstanding his universally acknowledged leadership of Asia, a man of the "highest stature in the world" and recognised as the most competent person to solve the differences between the Eastern and Western blocs. The Colombo Commonwealth Conference once again brings into prominence the potentialities of secret conferences, at any rate among representatives of democratic States. If the Conference had been open at least to the press, it would have disproved Radio Moscow's accusation that Mr. Bevin was hatching a plot behind the curtain at Colombo. It must be remembered that in all these conferences, Pandit Nehru participated not in his individual capacity, nor even as a representative of the Indian National Congress but as a representative of us, the people of the Indian Union.

The report of the proceedings of the Commonwealth Conference of the 10th and 11th instants appearing in the press regarding the part attributed to Pandit Nehru gives rise to serious questions about India's foreign policy and Pandit Nehru's repeated declarations touching the same. Is the report going to remain unchallenged by the Government?

THE SUGAR MUDDLE

By "A SERVICE MAN"

"The sugar muddle is
A molehill; out of this
A mountain has been made
And there is a tirade
Against our capitalists
You must be realists.
If you dislike us, then
Look out for better men.
Your choice is now but one.
There's alternative none.
Should you for trifles fuss—
Adversely us discuss?
If you us want to go,
Then plainly tell us so.
If you have gratitude,
Now mend your attitude."

Thus spoke our great Sardar
So, safe the muddlers are.
We clearly understand
His wish is a command.
We never can forget
We owe him great a debt.
United India is
A boon to us that's his.
Patel we needs must trust.
We can't cause him disgust.
We gladly should accept
Sardar Patel's precept.
But even so, 'tis hard
The muddlers to regard
As free from all the blame
Or not subjects for shame.

To pick a trifle out
And 'bout it then to shout
To scandalise the few
Whom we cannot eschew;
To blame the industry
In Freedom's infancy;
'Tis unbecoming and
We must our manners mend!
This bitter pill is big,
Enough the throat to dig.
'Tis hard it to swallow—
To make white of yellow.
The sugar interests
By all standards and tests
Have badly let us down.
Have we no right to frown?

No longer sugar is
A trifle one can miss.
The poor also it need;
Their children on it feed.
The rich don't mind the cost
And what's to others lost.
The industry has had
Protection long. The sad

Result is contrary
To what was hoped would be.
The price has shot up high
And made the people sigh.
Imported stuff is cheap
But cannot to us creep
The common man is sore—
With freedom so, the more.
At people's cost financed,
With prices much enhanced,
The sugar interests
Have feathered their own nests.
'Twas said some months ago
The industry had no
Intention to exploit
And left to itself, it
Would more and more produce
And prices much reduce.
The contrary occurred,
For scarcity recurred.
The surplus stocks are there;
Black-marketeers them share.
The stocks said to be much
Have gone out with a touch!

The few enriched are glad;
The others raving mad.
Man-made this scarcity,
In India free? Pity
The people agonised,
Not those who improvised
A state of sad affairs
To swell up their own shares.
To common man 'tis all
A sign of India's fall.
If Gandhi were with us
Would't he have stated thus?
Such is the grave complaint
'Tis glaring and not faint.
Now, what's the remedy?
For us, silent, to be?
When Kripalani said,—
And he is not Red—
"If govern you cannot,
Get out," then he was hot
With rage by others shared.
The other leaders dared
Likewise to criticise;
Were all of them unwise?
The scandal has occurred.
Our confidence is blurred
Will our Big Business
But land us in a mess?
Have we no right to ask
The State to take to task
All those responsible
For muddling terrible?

Wealth has its part to play,
But can it do away
With people's interests?
To tolerate the pests
Who wrongly make their wealth
And poison India's health
Cannot be in a plan
That's for the common man.
Sardarji! your advice
For once, is far from nice
Permit us to declare
That we for you much care.
But yet, we can't dismiss
So lightly hellish this
Our sugar scarcity
A sheer monstrosity.

You have many a care
Which we are well aware
Is for us and our good.
Are those who pinch our food
—It sugar does include—
To get their plentitude
Of wealth at any cost?
Has freedom purpose lost?
Can capital flourish
On popular anguish?
We need democracy,
Not Mammonocracy.
When Mammon's devotees
Have their own way with ease,
Have we no right as best
As we can to protest?

Sardarji! don't suspect
Our sincere respect.
You are to us not new;
Our Gandhi swore by you.
You are our Iron Man
You know how well to tan;
We know it for a fact
You keep our land intact.
We need you most today;
We feel so everyday.
Permit none us to hurt;
The hurter treat as dirt.
Protect us; crush the few
Subjects of this review
Who seek but to replace
The ones of 'nother race.

QUALITY PRODUCTS:

Mysore Sandal Soap

Cleanse and beautify!

Recommended for use on the most sensitive skins.

Mysore Silks

Real Oriental Silk—

in art shades and several qualities.

Mysore Sandalwood Oil

has won world-wide reputation

for its purity and fragrance.

MYSORE MAKES MANY PRODUCTS BUT ONLY THE BEST OF EACH.

TALE OF A GOLDEN ISLE

THE Commonwealth Conference turned the world spotlight on Ceylon, while the royal reception accorded in Colombo to the Prime Minister of India has naturally revived the memories of the ancient links, historic and cultural, friendly and otherwise, that have bound the sub-continent of India with the island of Ceylon which looks like a natural appendage of India on a map, and for many, many years, was regarded as such.

The people of Ceylon—or Lanka—believe that their beautiful island has existed for several million years. There is no doubt, of course, that at least in the days of Ramayana, Lanka was already a highly developed city state.

LANKA IN LEGEND

Since Lanka is associated in the imagination of most Indians with the events in the Ramayana, with Ravana, the king of Lanka, who carried away Sita, and was later defeated in battle with the help of the valiant Hanuman the Monkey-God, there is a tendency to believe that Lanka at that time was a land of the demons—or of uncivilized brutes.

The evidence of Ramayana itself is contrary to such a notion:

"On the shore of the southern sea there is a mount named Trikuta. On its brow is a beautiful and broad city built by Visvakarma, named Lanka, resembling the city itself of Indra the Great, designed for the above of the Rakshasas, a city like unto the Amaravati of Indra.... That romantic city is surrounded with a golden wall and a moat, and is furnished with machines and weapons; and it has gateways of gold and lapis lazuli...."

The further description of the palace of Ravana certainly does not conform to the conventional notion of Ravana as a savage and Lanka as demonland which Dussanah dramatics have helped to create in the minds of most Indians. This is how the city

of Ravana is described in Ramayana whose author had the rare gift of giving full credit even to the enemy:

"Lanka, ruled by Ravana, was situated on the top of Trikuta, ten yojanas in width and twenty in length. And that city was guarded with lofty ornamented gateways resembling pale clouds, and golden and silver walls; and it was adorned with palaces and similar structures, like the sky graced with clouds on the approach of the rainy season. And that palace which was adorned with thousands of pillars, and which, as if piercing the heavens, looked like a peak of Kailasa, was the residence of the Rakshasas—the ornament of the city, ever guarded by full hundreds of Rakshasas."

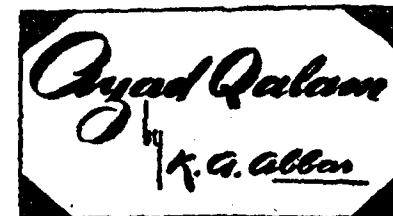
Even allowing for the exaggeration of epic style, one can readily see that the Lanka of Ravana was a highly advanced, civilized (perhaps over-civilized) state, with all the outward trappings of culture.

DID LANKA RULE OVER INDIA?

The author or authors of *Arabian Nights* (who must have wandered all over the world and across the seven seas) also lavish extravagant prose on the natural and man-made splendours of Lanka. It is interesting to read the Arabs' poetic description of the island which they called Sarandeeb:

"The island of Sarandeeb is under the equinoctial line; its night being always twelve hours, and its day also twelve hours. Its length is eighty leagues; and its breadth, thirty; and it extendeth largely between a lofty mountain and a deep valley. This mountain is seen from a distance of three days, and it containeth varieties of jacinths, and different kinds of minerals and trees of all sorts, of spices, and its surface is covered with emery,

wherewith jewels are cut into shape; in its rivers also are diamonds and pearls are in its valleys. I ascended the summit of the mountain, and diverted myself with a view of its wonders, which are



not to be described; and afterwards I went back to the king and begged him to give me permission to return to my country. He gave me permission after great pressing, and bestowed upon me an abundant present from his treasuries; and he gave me a present and a sealed letter, saying to me, "Convey these to the Caliph Harun al Rashid, and give him many salutations from us." So I replied, "I hear and obey." Then he wrote for me a letter on the skin of the khawee, which is finer than parchment, of a yellowish colour; and the writing was in ultramarine and the form of what he wrote the Caliph was this:—*'Peace be on thee from the King of India, before whom are a thousand elephants, and on the battlements of whose palace are a thousand jewels. To proceed, we have sent to thee a trifling present; accept it then from us. Thou art to us a brother and sincere friend, and the affection for you that is in our hearts is great; therefore favour us by a reply. The present is not suited to thy dignity; but we beg of thee, O brother, to accept it graciously. And peace be on thee!'* and the present was a cup of ruby, a span high, the inside of which was embellished with precious pearls; and a bed covered with the skin of the serpent that swalloweth the elephant, which skin hath spots, each like a piece of gold and whosoever sitteth upon it never cometh diseased; and a hundred thousand *mithkals* of Indian aloe's-wood; and a slave-girl like the shining full moon. Then he bade me farewell, and gave a charge respecting me to the merchants and the master of the ship."

The title of "King of India" which the authors of the *Arabian Nights* bestowed on the King of Ceylon raises the interesting historical question: *Was there ever a time when Lanka ruled over India or, at least, over South India?*

At any rate, as Vijayatunga remarks in his *Island Story* (the beautiful little book about his homeland from which the above quotations are taken), "Ceylon has been always a

proud and beautiful island, admired and envied by many."

"A DREAM JOURNEY"

To Pandit Nehru, the recent highly official and political visit to Ceylon must have evoked memories of an earlier sojourn which he described as a "Dream journey":

"Then came Lanka, and for a month we made glorious holiday and tried to forget our troubles and worries. Up and down that most beautiful of islands we went, wondering at its exceeding loveliness and at the abundance of nature.... But, above all, I love to think of the cool tropical jungle with its abundant life, looking at you with a thousand eyes...and the palm-fringed sea-shore where the emerald green of the island meets the blue of the sea and the sky; and the sea-water glistens and plays on the surf, and the wind rustles through the palm leaves."

"PEESE" QUILTS "SEEPSE"

P. C. Joshi's expulsion from the Communist Party of India, though expected for a long time, ever since he was removed from the General Secretaryship at the last Party Congress in Calcutta and his allegedly "reformist" line was discarded in favour of B. T. Ranadive's aggressive revolutionary line, yet must cause considerable surprise in the country. For P. C. (all his comrades call him "Peese"), though still in his early forties, was one of the senior-most leaders of the Communist Party, having been an active and loyal "comrade" for more than twenty years. His expulsion is historically analogous to the exile of Trotsky and the expulsion from the Cominform of Tito.

Puran Chandra Joshi, like Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant the Premier of U. P. and Sumitranandan Pant the Hindi poet, comes from the beautiful hilly district of Kumaon. As a student at the Allahabad University, he came under the influence of Marxism, joined the "Party" which was then illegal, and found himself rounded up as one of the accused in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, which dragged on for years, thus giving the young student an opportunity to have a post-graduate course in Marxism through daily, intimate contact in jail with

some of the best brains of the Communist Parties of India and Britain.

JOSHI AS JOURNALIST

Joshi's role in the Communist Party has been neither that of a theoretician nor that of a typical field-worker. He was an intellectual convert to Marxism, loyal in his devotion to the Cause, but still retaining his sense of humour and his wide cultural interests and contacts.

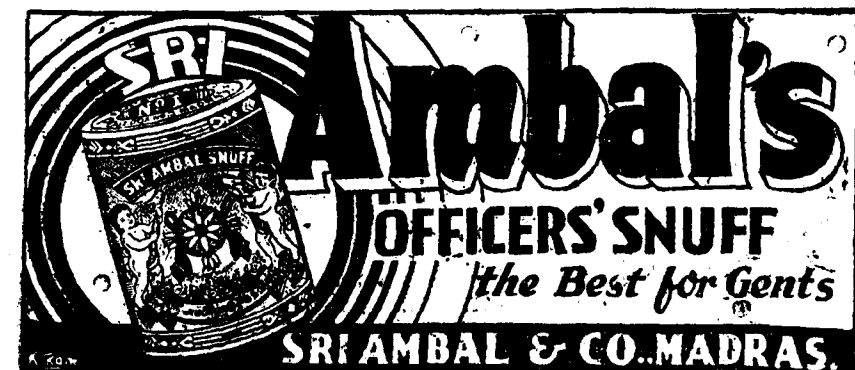
His energy and industry are simply incredible. I remember seeing him at work in the dingy one-room hovel which served as a "Commune" for several comrades as well as the office of the *National Front*, over ten years ago, continuously at his desk for eighteen to twenty hours a day, studying books, reading newspapers, making clippings, looking up references in files, writing, editing, and laying-out the paper which, though a Party organ with hardly any financial resources, had always a bright and attractive look. In those days his food consisted of a dozen or more cups of tea every day and, perhaps, a couple of slices of bread. He lived mostly on his nerves and was constantly ill. His nervous, machinegun-fire way of talking is a legacy of the many years of strain and over-work, suffered in the cause of the Party. It was only after his marriage (to the Bengali former terrorist, Kalpana Dutt) and the setting up of the Commune at Raj Bhawan during the "People's War" days that he led a comparatively normal life, with regular meals and few but fixed hours of sleep, and improved his shattered health. In spite of the many years he spent in jail and, at other times, in the hard and precarious 'underground'

he managed to preserve a youthful appearance and youthful enthusiasm to match, very different from the dry cynicism which some of his comrades liked to affect.

As editor of *National Front*, *People's War* and, later, of *People's Age*, Joshi made a striking contribution to Indian journalism—though the sedate members of the A.-I.N.E.C. might not like to admit it. One of the senior-most editors in India once told me that *People's War*, under Joshi's editorship, was the finest model for a bright, intelligently got-up and hard-hitting weekly news magazine.

COMMUNISM AND CULTURE

P. C. Joshi has always been an ardent Communist, a stickler for the Party Line, like any other Comrade. But where he differed from some of the other leaders of the Party was in his lovable human qualities, the personal attention and homely touch he gave to Commune life, and the cheerful, friendly contact he maintained with all the Party members—and even non-members who were in sympathy with the objectives of the Party, though disagreeing with some of its policies. Of course, the "United Front" policy of the "People's War" period was not due to Joshi personally but, rather, to the exigencies of the international situation. But Joshi was the ideal Party leader to put through that "line." Near and around the Communist Party he managed to gather a large and increasing number of friendly non-Communists—writers, poets, intellectuals, artists—who helped to create cultural consciousness and interest in Party "cadres" and also to take back some of the broader con-



cepts of Marxism to the art world. As a Communist and as an Indian proud of his cultural heritage, Joshi was keenly alive to the need for creating a broadly progressive and humanitarian art and literature.

Poetry, drama, painting, dancing, photography—P. C. was interested in everything and did not think it was un-Marxist for the General Secretary of the Communist Party to associate with dancers like Uday Shankar, poets like Josh and Pant, artistes like Prithviraj. His *People's War* gave full coverage to cultural activities. He once even wanted me to write a regular Cinema Page in the *People's War* but the plan did not materialise as I demanded, in return, the freedom to write in the same paper—if and when I had any fundamental ideological difference with the policy of the Party and the paper. And P. C., for all his mellowness and friendliness, was too good a Communist to allow that kind of freedom to a non-Communist—even if he was not an anti-Communist!

And yet with P. C. Joshi one could talk and exchange jokes, discuss and disagree, without being made too conscious of his Communism. He could be human, because he loved humanity even more than the Party. That is why he had so many friends among non-Communist progressives.

And that is why, perhaps, he is no longer in the Communist Party!

What next, Peezee?

STRAWS IN THE WIND

COLOMBO: Canada and the United Kingdom alone among the Commonwealth countries reported increases in dollar earnings since devaluation.... India, in particular, is understood to have said that devaluation conferred little real advantage to her economy.

LONDON: A preliminary agreement has been reached between the United States, Britain and India on measures aimed at preserving Tibetan autonomy.

LIMA (U.S.A.): The United States has sold 200 combat vehicles—tanks and armoured cars—to the Chinese National Government for shipment to Formosa.

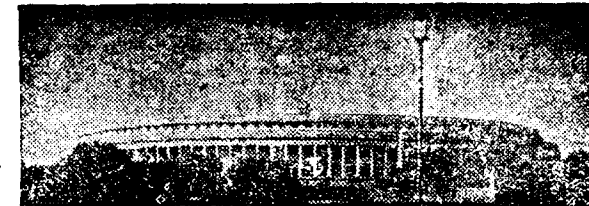
HINDUSTAN HAMARA

JODHPUR: About 50,000 square miles of Rajasthan are in the grip of famine, more acute in magnitude and intensity than in previous years.

SIMLA: Continued drought, described as the worst during the last 20 years, is feared to have nullified East Punjab's efforts to increase production.

SHILLONG: The members of a gang of able-bodied professional beggars are found sending regular and handsome remittances to their homes.

NEW DELHI DIARY



THE interview that India's Ambassador in Moscow, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, had with Marshal Stalin last Friday, is the main topic of discussion in Delhi political circles. Even if one chooses to describe the meeting as a formal one, the timing and the rarity of such discussions have lent considerable significance to the occasion. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's predecessor in Moscow, Mrs. Pandit, was not able to meet Marshal Stalin even though she stayed in the Russian capital for more than a year. What really prevented a formal official meeting between Marshal Stalin and Mrs. Pandit no one has been able to find out. It remains an unsolved diplomatic riddle. One possible explanation is that the Soviet policy towards India during that transitional period had not crystallised. India had also not made up her mind about her decision to stay in the Commonwealth. Now India has got down to some kind of settled foreign policy and even though a member of the Commonwealth, she is taking independent decisions in world councils on important foreign policy matters.

Pandit Nehru has, true to his professions, kept India strictly neutral in the cold war between America and Russia. His visit to America, far from affecting the policy of neutrality, has confirmed India's independent position and her desire to work for international peace at all costs. There is hardly any one better qualified to give expression to this policy in the diplomatic field than Dr. Radhakrishnan. No wonder he has started well in Moscow. The timing of the interview is no less significant. It has come after recognition by India of Communist China, headed by Mao Tse Tung. India also supported Russia's complaint demanding the expulsion of Dr. Tsiang, representative of the Nationalist Government of China, in the Security Council.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's talks with Marshal Stalin may or may not have a direct bearing on these recent developments, but the fact remains that the interview has taken place in the context of sweeping political changes in Asia and the shift of world balance of power from the West to the East. Dr. Radhakrishnan's report to the External Affairs Ministry on the interview has been received in Delhi and is being studied by the Prime Minister.

The shift in the balance of power from Europe to Asia was in full evidence at Colombo, where the Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met and discussed various problems. As was expected, Mr. Bevin was the central figure in the Conference and discussions on all subjects were initiated by him. The next important man at the Conference was, undoubtedly, Pandit Nehru, who fully represented the point of view of Asian countries. He took a definite stand in regard to the peace treaty with Japan and asked for the acceptance by the Conference of the right of the Japanese people to form their own Government. This meant, of course, the withdrawal of the American Occupation Army from Japan and the substitution of an elected Government of the Japanese people. Even though such a policy did not find ready response from countries like Australia and New Zealand, Pandit Nehru made it clear to the participating Governments that it was the only way to prevent Japan falling a victim to extremist leanings.

No formula or agreed solution was reached at the Conference on economic issues, but the opportunity was utilised to have a full and frank discussion on common problems with a view to developing a common line of approach. The Conference, however,

Under the Distinguished Patronage and in the immediate presence of His Excellency the Governor of Madras and Her Highness the Maharani of Bhavanagar

DARPA NA

Presents

MRINALINI SARABHAI

in a programme of Bharatha Natyam and

"MANUSHYA" & "ABHISARIKA"

(Dance Drama)

at St. MARY'S HALL

on

Sunday 22nd at 6-30 p.m.

Monday 23rd at 6-30 p.m.

Plans open at theatre and J. F. Letaille, Mount Road, Madras.

Complete change of programme on 22nd and 23rd.



agreed to the setting up of a Working Committee to continue discussion on economic subjects and to provide a machinery for consultation. On the economic side, the trade policy of the sterling area was closely studied after the devaluation of sterling in terms of the U. S. dollar. Members of the British Treasury, who attended the Colombo Conference, are arriving in Delhi to have an informal conference with the Government of India. Talks will cover mainly the working of the July Sterling Balances Agreement between India and Great Britain. On the Indian side, Secretaries of Commerce and Industries Ministries and the Secretary of the Economic Affairs Department will participate. The effects of devaluation on trade in the sterling area in general and Indo-British trade in particular, are expected to be fully investigated. The Colombo Conference concerned itself with the problem in general terms and trade development in the sterling area as a whole. A common economic policy aimed at preserving and increasing the dollar resources of U. K. and Commonwealth countries appears to be one positive outcome of the Colombo meeting. Into this general policy may be dovetailed all plans of economic assistance to backward countries in South-East Asia. It was agreed at the Conference that one of the effective means of containing Communism in Asia was to help countries away from Communist influence by raising the standard of living of their masses. India will probably have to play the double role of benefactor and beneficiary. While her help may be sought to aid Burma and some other countries, she herself would have to receive aid to increase her industrial and agricultural production.

India is interested in developing the economic resources of her neighbours and to stabilise economic conditions in countries that are close to her. One result of this policy is the Government of India's desire to import sugar from Indonesia. Indonesia has not been able to export much of sugar in recent past due to uncertain political conditions. Now, with the emergence of a democratic Government in Indo-

nesia, some kind of political stability is assured. Economic stability can come only if Indonesia resumes her exports of raw materials on the pre-war scale. Sugar being the main export of that country, the Government of India has made enquiries from the Government of Indonesia about the surplus stock of sugar available with a view to finding out if an adequate quantity could be imported to India. Negotiations in this connection are proceeding at high governmental level and imports from Java would, it is felt, relieve the internal shortage, besides helping the Government to build up sufficient reserves, if necessary, to prevent sugar scarcity in the future. The Government of India's policy on sugar control will be finally settled by the end of this month after the report of the Tariff Board is received in New Delhi. The fact, however, that the Government has decided to explore the possibility of securing imports to meet an internal crisis is sufficient warning to the industry not to put up prices artificially. The visit of Dr. Soekarno to Delhi in connection with the celebrations of Indian Republic Day may be utilised to sound prospects of increased trade between India and Indonesia. New Delhi will also be receiving other important foreign guests at the time of the inauguration of the Indian Republic.

According to present indications there is no likelihood of any major Cabinet change on 26th of January. There will be formal reconstitution immediately after inauguration of the Republic. The existing Ministers are expected to continue till the end of the Budget Session. After the attempts may be made to reconstitute the Cabinet to suit the administrative needs of the country better. The Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers will continue till that time under a special bill to be passed by the Provisional Parliament. Mr. N. Gopala swamy Iyengar, who was earlier credited with the intention of resigning from the Cabinet on grounds of health, may be persuaded to continue for some time longer by the Prime Minister.—A. S. R.

WHITE HOUSE: RESIDENCE OF U. S. PRESIDENTS

By EDWARD T. FOLIARD

THE White House, its grounds piled high with lumber and echoing to the whang of hammers, seems good for at least another century.

What the last half century has demonstrated is that the American people have a fierce affection for the lovely old mansion, ravaged by war, fire, and 150 years of wear and tear. They are determined, it is clear, that the house shall be subjected to no radical changes.

There have been many controversies over the White House from 1900 to 1950, from William McKinley to Harry S. Truman. Usually, these have been sparked by the same cause: the need for additional space.

In 1900 only 22 persons worked in the White House.

In 1950 the White House force numbers 301—far more than that if you include people who work for the White House but are on other payrolls: the police, for example; the crew of the yacht *Williamsburg*, the crew of the Presidential plane *Independence*, and so on.

AN ALIEN DESIGN

In the second year of McKinley's Administration, just before the arrival of the twentieth century, a furious argument arose over the White House. It was provoked by Col. Theodore Bingham, Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds, who was trying to work out plans whereby the President would be afforded more space.

Colonel Bingham had big ideas. He decided that the White House ought to be twice as large and also a lot fancier.

The men he employed to work out the plans came up with something completely alien to Washington. The new Executive Mansion would have looked something like an old Old World castle, with two huge wings, each surmounted by towers. There would have been statues, an allegori-

cal foundation, palms, conservatories and a lily pond.

The Washington Chapter of the American Institute of Architects set up an outcry. Ultimately, architects all over the country were aroused and protests began to pour in on President McKinley.

Glenn Brown, a Washington architect, writing about the Bingham design later, said:

"It was a mongrel, unrecognizable contraption, out of harmony with and destroying the individuality of the old building."

Nothing came of it, of course. Nearly 50 years later there was to be a somewhat similar row, but in the interval much was to happen to the White House.

PRIVACY GAINED

Theodore Roosevelt, who succeeded the martyred McKinley, brought about revolutionary changes at the White House without disturbing the original design. An office building was erected, taking the place of a greenhouse on the west side of the grounds. For the first time now, the offices were moved out of the White House proper and the First Family got privacy it had never known before.

There were other changes in Teddy's time. The mansion itself underwent extensive repairs, with new supports, joists and wiring. Modern plumbing was installed, too. It was necessary for the Roosevelt family to move out, taking up temporary residence at No. 22 Jackson pl.

Up until T. R.'s time, it had been called officially the Executive Mansion, although the term White House had long been a favourite with the public. The first Roosevelt made this official, ordering that the words White House be placed on White House stationery.

William Howard Taft, who succeeded T. R., had the Executive Office doubled in size.

There were no substantial changes during the two terms of Woodrow Wilson. However, one might have noticed something new out on the White House lawn—a flock of sheep nibbling at the rich grass.

FIRE ROUTS HOOVER

President Calvin Coolidge, like T. R. before him, had to live away from the White House for a while. This was in 1927 and the occasion was a reconstruction of the roof and attic of the White House. Mr. Coolidge's temporary home at this time was the Patterson mansion at Dupont Circle.

President Herbert Hoover didn't have to move out of the mansion, but he did have to get himself a new office. This was the result of a fire which broke out in the Executive Office on Christmas Eve, 1929, and did severe damage. While repairs were being made Mr. Hoover used the office of Gen. John J. Pershing in the old State, War and Navy Building, across the street.

In the 12 years that Franklin D. Roosevelt occupied the White House, a swimming pool was constructed, a new kitchen installed with all-electric equipment, and another office building erected on the east side of the mansion. This new wing had a \$65,000 air-raid shelter, which was never used.

President Truman got into his first controversy over the White House when he proposed that the old Executive Office on the west side be enlarged. He wanted more office space, a cafeteria and an auditorium.

The Fine Arts Commission approved the scheme. However, some of the Nation's leading architects objected. So did many civic leaders.

Mr. Truman said it was all a tempest in a teapot, but in the end he had to back down. Congress simply wouldn't give him the money for the enlargement.

COMMISSION APPOINTED

There was another uproar later when Mr. Truman asked for a modest little \$15,000 porch outside of his bed-

room. This time the Fine Arts Commission opposed the President, saying the porch would "permanently change the appearance of the south facade of the White House." There was some press opposition, too, one newspaper—the *New York Herald Tribune*—saying that Mr. Truman had "a lamentable penchant for meddling with a historical structure which the Nation prefers to retain as it is."

Mr. Truman got his porch. So far, however, he has scarcely used it.

While these aforementioned controversies were raging, the White House was literally in danger of collapsing. Also it had been adjudged "one of the worst firetraps in the country."

The question arose as to whether there should be a new house for the President or whether an attempt should be made to preserve the old and strengthen it by reconstruction.

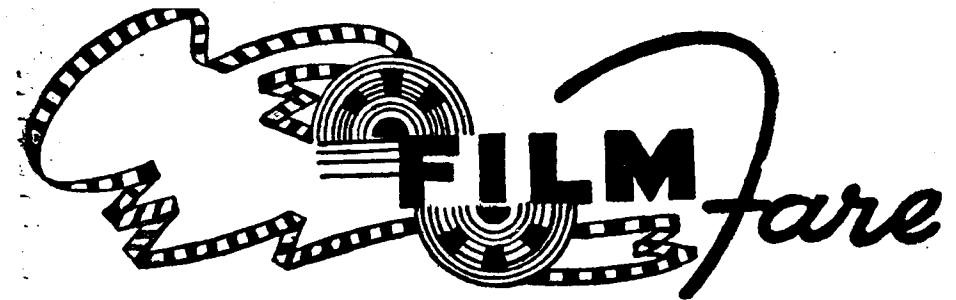
CONTROVERSIAL PORCH

Representative Clarence Cannon (D., Mo.) chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, argued that it would be wiser and cheaper to put up a new house. He would pull down the old one and substitute a "shiny, beautiful new building of marble like the Supreme Court."

Mr. Truman appointed a commission to decide. Speaking for himself, he agreed that it probably would be cheaper to put up a new house. He pointed out, however, that tradition and sentiment were powerful arguments in favour of preserving the old one, and he expressed the hope that it would be preserved.

The commission, headed by Senator Kenneth McKellar (D. Tenn) agreed with the President. The signal was given to go ahead with a \$5,400,000 reconstruction job, which will see the whole inside renewed while the walls are preserved.

And so, as 1950 dawns, the famous old mansion is being made ready for, what is hoped, will be at least another century of life. Meantime the Truman family lives across the street in historic Blair House.—*Washington Post*.



"SAMSON AND DELILAH"

THE largest crowd ever to attend the world premiere of a motion picture flooded Times Square, New York, as Cecil B. DeMille's "Samson and Delilah" was unveiled to the world at twin premieres in the Paramount and Rivoli Theatres. The overflow crowd, which necessitated assignment of extra police to keep order, was headed by a scintillating collection of celebrities from every walk of life in New York. Leaders in the entertainment field, in business, publishing and other professions were on hand to usher in the picture which has been the subject of widespread discussion for the past year.

With the premiere scheduled to get under way at 8:30 p.m., Times Square

started to fill up by six. There was a crowd rivalled only by that of New Year's Eve milling up and down the length of the square.

People had to be pushed by police to keep some space clear for the arrival of celebrity-laden limousines. As the cars pulled up in front of the theatres, the autograph fans in the crowds would surge up and surround their occupants, thrusting out pictures, cards and scraps of paper.

Each lady who entered the lobby of the theatre was presented with a "Delilah" orchid flown in for the premiere by American Airlines from Hawaii. Beautiful stewardesses from the airline were in charge of distributing the blooms.



Acting as hostesses were a bevy of beautiful young women, all of them resembling the film's star, Hedy Lamarr.

Reaction to the picture was uniformly enthusiastic, with the press and public in the audience going out of their way to congratulate Paramount on the excellence of the production. Adjectives flowed freely from the typewriters of the New York critics, as was evidenced by their reviews as they appeared in the next morning's newspapers. Ethel Colby of the *Journal of Commerce* wrote that the film "is a triumphant production which brings to the screens of the world a motion picture that does

the entire industry proud!" "A lavish, eye-filling movie," is what Rose Pelwick of the *Journal-American* reported. Lee Mortimer of the *Daily Mirror* wrote that "Samson and Delilah" is beautiful and magnificent, an enthralling photoplay from start to end. DeMille's epic will be talked about as long as there is Hollywood." Kate Cameron of the *Daily News* echoed the sentiment expressed by her fellow reviewers in calling "Samson and Delilah" a spectacular film.

Hedy Lamarr and Victor Mature play the title roles. Also in the cast of star names are George Sanders, Angela Lansbury and Henry Wilcoxon.

MRINALINI SARABHAI

Mrinalini Sarabhai, the talented young Indian danseuse whose sensational tour of England and Europe last year was the talk of every capital in those two continents, is now planning an all-India tour in the course of which she hopes to visit Madras, Colombo and other art centres. Her recent recitals in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Lucknow and Calcutta were received by the public with great acclaim. After her tour of India she plans to retire to Ahmedabad for a course of intensive training before launching on a tour of the United States early next year.

Mrinalini has learnt her art under some of the best teachers, beginning with Srimathi Rukmini Arundale at the Kalakshetra in Adyar, Madras. She studied Manipuri and Kathakali at Shantiniketan and enrolled in the Academy of Dramatic Arts at Carnegie Hall, New York, for 15 months. Her recent tour was by no means her first. She has danced to enthusiastic audiences at the Royal Academy of Dancing, London, and in the Vie-Well's Ballet.

Since her return from England, the zealous young dancer has started a school of dancing in Ahmedabad. Her

enthusiasm for the art is unflagging, her energy in the pursuit of it ever fierce. A critic has called her a "rebel" in the world of art with a



background and training purely traditional. She is not merely a great dancer, she is a passionate dancer-lover.



The HUB of ASIA
and eventually of
The One World

Acting
beauti-
res

Kesari's THREE GEMS

★ ★ ★ LODHRA UTERINE TONIC

CURES: All Women's Ailments. Hysteria, Rheumatism, Sleeplessness, Indigestion, Constipation, Cough, Asthma, Headache, Backache, etc.

★ AMRITA BLOOD PURIFIER & TONIC

CURES: Anaemia, Indigestion, Constipation, Brain-fag, Debility, Palpitation, Loss of Memory, Dimness of Vision, Dizzy Head, Skin Diseases, etc.

★ ARKIA IDEAL FEVER CURE

CURES: All kinds of Fevers including Influenza, Typhoid, Malaria, etc. Also cures Enlargement of Spleen and Liver.

★ ★ ★

Ask for literature:

**KESARI KUTEERAM
LIMITED**

Royapettah, Madras-14.

Use
JEEVANJAN
FOR COLDS ACHES & PAINS



For all
**HEADACHES
COLDS & PAINS**

**JEEVANJAN LABORATORIES
Ltd.,
MADRAS-14**



Sole Agents:

K. K. PILLAI & Co.,
Royapettah :: MADRAS

THE **MADRAS** **ANDHRA BANK** LIMITED

Estd. 1923.

Head Office: MASULIPATAM

PAID-UP CAPITAL AND RESERVES
Rs. 34,00,000

TOTAL WORKING FUNDS EXCEED
Rs. 6,00,00,000

Madras Branch: 378, Esplanade

Mylapore Office:
49, KUTCHERY ROAD.

Thyagarayanagar Office:
31/82, Pandy Bazar.

OTHER OFFICES:

Amadalavalasa (Vizag Dt).
Amalapuram.
Anakapalli.
Arundelpet (Guntur).
Bapatla (Guntur Dt).
Berhampur (Ganjam).
Bhimavaram.
Challapalli (Kistna Dt).
Chicacole.
Chirala.
Cocanada.
Duggirala.
Ellore.
Gollaprolu.
Gudivada.
Gudur (Nellore Dt).
Governorpet (Vijayavada).
Guntur.
Jaggayyapet.
Jayapore (Orissa).
Maharanipet (Vizagapatam).
Masulipatam.
Narasaraopet.
Nellore.
Ongole.
Palakol.
Parvatipuram (Vizag Dt).
Pedana (Kistna Dt).
Peddapuram.
Pithapuram.
Rajahmundry.
Ramaraopet (Cocanada).
Salur (B. N. Ry).
Samalkot.
Tilaru (Vizag Dt).
Tuni.
Tenali.
Vijayavada.
Vinukonda (Guntur Dt).
Vizagapatam.
Vizianagaram (B. N. Ry).
All kinds of Banking
Business including Foreign
Exchange transacted.
TADEPALLI SREERAMULU,
Managing Director.
K. VARNASY,
M.A., B.COM., LL.B., C.A.I.B.,
General Manager.

1-FEB-1950

SWATAN

VOL. IV, NO. 51

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1950

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ON THE COVER—The Smile Of Hope	
EDITORIAL COMMENT	5
SOTTO VOCE—By Vighneswara	7
SIDELIGHTS—By Saka	9
APPRECIATION—By K. Chandrasekharan	11
PATEL, POLICEMEN AND PEOPLE —By Baroo	14
A NEW SECTOR IN COMPLACENCY —By S. Narayanaswamy	17
ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN?—By Santha Rungachary	19
TIME TO STAND AND STARE—By S. Parthasarathy	25
FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL—By Andrew Roth	29
THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT—By Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya	32
A CRY IN THE NIGHT—By Manjeri S. Iswaran	39
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA —By Sir S. V. Ramamurthy	42
THE BOOST-UP—By J. Vijayatunga	49
FREE INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY —By Amar Lahiri	52
OUR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM: A SURVEY—By Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	55
"DARPANA" PRESENTS SRIMATI MRINALINI SARABHAI—By "Nabus"	61

THE RAILWAYS OF INDIA

On this historic occasion, when India attains the status of an Independent sovereign Republic, let us recall with pride that the Railways constitute the Nation's biggest industry. Efficient transport is a vital factor governing a country's economy, and it is particularly so in India, where major industrial schemes are contemplated in the near future. Railways will doubtless be the chief mode of transport for a long time to come and their stability and advancement depend not only on the efforts of the Railwaymen but also on those of the public. It is needless to remind the public that India's nationalised Railways belong to them. They can help Railways by

- ★ *Discouraging ticketless travel which is causing leakage of a large volume of legitimate revenue.*
- ★ *Safely packing, securely labelling and clearly marking consignments before tendering them for rail despatch, thereby minimising the possibility of damage, pilferage, etc. en route.*
- ★ *Promptly loading and off-loading wagons, so as to make them available for further use.*

**RAILWAYS WELCOME THE GOODWILL
AND HEARTY CO-OPERATION OF
THE PUBLIC.**

*(Inserted by the Public Relations Officer, M. S. M. & S. I. Railways,
Madras 2).*

SWATANTRA

VOL. IV
No. 51

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1950

ISSUED
WEEKLY

THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

THE inauguration of the Indian Republic is a historic occasion worthy of a national celebration and international felicitation. There is no lack of the recognition of the importance of it in India and abroad. The power of the propaganda machinery of Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces, all the publicity resources of the Press, the zest for self-glorification of the Congress leaders, the plaudits of statesmen and trained diplomats from the capitals of the world, have all been geared up to a high pitch to signify the glorious uniqueness of the momentous occasion. Nothing has been left to chance in the matter of mobilising power and resources to produce flag-wavings, parades and the like to serve as the fitting atmosphere of rejoicing for the birth of a new republic. Yet it must be confessed there is something wanting in the whole grand show. The soul of the nation is left cold by the tamasha. For all the vigour of advertisement put in to make it look vital, there is now a lack of that delirious rejoicing which poured out of the hearts of millions of enthusiastic people who fancied themselves liberated for enjoyment of a new millennium on earth, on August 15, 1947.

Two years of Congress rule have wrought the change. They have driven the nation into apathy. The hope of better things to come that was kindled at the dawn of freedom, is gone. In its place has come a vast emptiness. There is no lack of appreciation in any quarter of the greatness of the country's top leaders. We are all proud of the international renown of Pandit Nehru. There is

an all-pervasive enjoyment of the sense of his charm, the freshness and purity of his idealistic outlook, of his unspoiled rectitude through the giddy passage from tribulation to power. He is the adored hero of millions. Scarcely less cordial is the popular comprehension of the calibre of Sardar Patel. When the British left, the princes were all primed for the assertion of their complete independence. Had that mood of theirs gained momentum, a chaos of sovereignties would have followed, and the country would have gone to pieces. It was not a situation that could be tackled by any piecemeal manoeuvres to check and counter acts of rebellion as they arose. The potency of the disruption that filled the air could only be quelled through swift generation of an impression of invincible strength to over-awe the recalcitrant before a blow could be struck. Sardar Patel proved himself capable of producing such an impression overnight. He thus saved India from the ruinous aftermath of Paramountcy which literally had beckoned the princes to defiance. A grateful people look upon him as the country's deliverer from anarchy and disorderliness.

Nehru and Patel have grown in stature through the transition from agitation to office, and no critic of Congress rule is slow in recognising and paying tribute to their indispensability. But a great part of the rest of the set-up of Congress administration, for which also they as leaders are responsible, has been bleak and dismal. In the new Republic the highest sovereign power is vested in

Parliament. But the arrangements devised for the initial constitution of Parliament have been not only shabby and unsafe, they have been in gross violation of every recognised principle of democratic election. The members have been gathered in an *ad hoc* manner, the choice being left to men deplorably deficient in political conscience. In Madras, for example, which provides the stock illustration for every enormity, the power of 20 constituencies has been put, for all practical purposes, in the pocket of one man, Sri Kamaraj Nadar. The result is that twenty dummies of the Nadar faction who are in no sense representatives of the people have been sent up to Parliament. It has thus come to pass that India's Parliament which should have been manned with the choicest of the nation's leaders, has come to be packed with a servile host of yes-men of unscrupulous provincial Tammany men, and the process of selection has opened the door to crooks, nincompoops and blackmarketeers. The names of a large number of members of India's Parliament signify either nothing to people, or something abhorrent and disreputable. What good can be hoped for out of a Republic cursed with such a sovereign body at birth?

The untrustworthiness of legislators, put in their positions by unpatriotic selectors for their own personal aggrandisement without

regard to considerations of fitness, has been the worst blight of Congress rule, and in the provinces it has given rise to Ministries that have in two years depleted almost completely the entire stock of goodwill built up for the Congress in a quarter century of strenuous struggle and service. In contests for leadership, we have legislators who sell their votes to the highest bidder. It is not surprising if Ministries thus formed become rackets abusing power for the benefit of their supporters. The integrity of district administration has gone to ruin through incessant ministerial interventions for the benefit of ministerial supporters. There are not a few legislators who are really pests of society, while the Ministers are their creatures repaying their undeserved elevation to ministerial office with unconscionable interference in the ordinary course of administration. People are thoroughly disgusted with Congress rule and only await an Opposition party of some merit to transfer their affections to it. We see no hope for the Republic so long as a Parliament like the present one is allowed to continue, foisting as legislators and national representatives, a large body of insignificant men of questionable worth with no right or title to their positions. The death of the present legislatures is necessary for the rebirth of the nation into a Republic worth the name.

Sotto Voce

Our Rama Rajya



DUTIFUL citizens will doubtless perform *paaraayanam* of the Constitution on Inauguration Day. But the appearance of Dr. Ambedkar's formidable masterpiece between two covers sent me scurrying back behind the wainscot. And there I lighted upon a considerable pile of old books—Manu and Mahabharata, Ramayana and Rajadharman galore. And I made some surprising discoveries. I found, for instance, that the *rishis* barely mentioned a Republic. That should suffice, for most of my readers, to dismiss them incontinently as fossils whose dead bones it would be charity not to disturb.

I must confess that the old law-givers were equally strong in their expressions of dislike. The wise men of Dasaratha's Court were inclined to equate with anarchy a kingdom which could not show a king; an interregnum was for them a political vacuum. Vidyumazalee, the great rain-bearing cloud, (so they said), withholds his guerdon from such a hapless people. Nor do their townships know the footfalls of the world-renouncing sage, whose home is where the sun sets, who journeys forth from the alone to the Alone. In a realm left protectorless no man may call anything his own; men gobble up each other like fish.

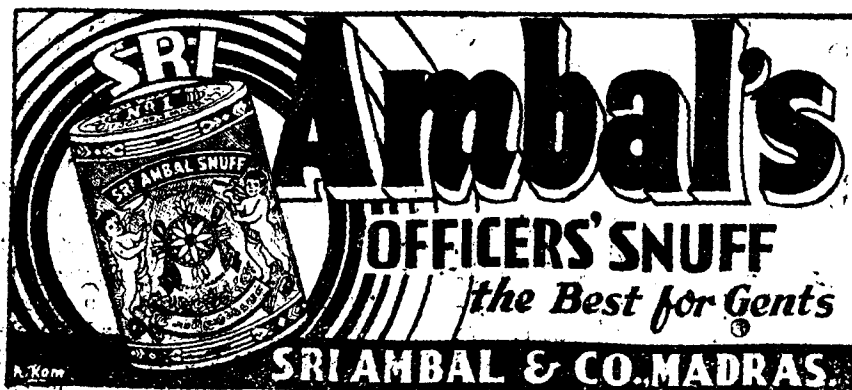
We who live under the strong arm of our glorious Republic need have no such fears. But those who suffer from the hit and run tactics of the Communists and the hooligans of Calcutta cannot help asking why Freedom from Molestation was not included among the justiciable Fundamental Rights. "Equality before the law and equal protection of

the laws within the territory of India," looks admirable on paper. It too often seems to lead merely to equality in suffering in practice. But, however imperfect the realisation, you can take comfort in the thought that you are promised not only Equality but also Liberty and Fraternity.

It is true that in France they cut innumerable throats in the name of Fraternity. And it is a familiar gibe against Britain that she has sacrificed Equality for Liberty, while Soviet Russia is charged with smothering Liberty in the name of Equality. I do not profess to understand how we shall work the miracle of reconciling these opposites. But if you read the Preamble you will find that Justice takes pride of place; I guess it is the sauce with which you swallow seasonable helpings of the other three goods without making a wry face.

We are to have not merely equality of opportunity but also equality of status—though Mr. President will have his Rs. 5,500 tax-free and his *chuprasee* his Rs. 50, and the latter would find himself in a mental home if like Bhrgu of old he were to test the equality of status by sitting in the Presidential Gadi for a brief blissful moment. And we shall have all the liberty to pull each other by the ear and to scrawl indecent remarks on the wall that school-boys have when the schoolmaster's back is turned. But woe betide him who dare cheek the dominie merely on the strength of being in the right.

Old Manu, for all his aristocratic prejudices, had rather different ideas on the subject. He knew that untrimmed hedges had a way of helping the



jungle to eat up man's labour. He would have no truck with the omnipotent totalitarian State. In picturesque language he speaks of *danda* as the son of Brahma born of *Brahma-tejas*; dark-featured and red of eye, he roams the world striking down the sinful, at the behest of a watchful king. And if the king should prove unkingly, a hollow reed, an *akrita-atma*, *danda* will turn and rend him and it will lay waste the world besides—a point which it is unnecessary to labour after Hiroshima.

Manu would have split his sides with laughter at the idea of adult franchise. What will they make of this, who grouse against him on the ground of his supposed partiality for the Brahmana? "A gathering of thousands does not become a parishad (deliberative assembly) if these happen to be only Brahmanas in name and have achieved neither self-control by personal austerity nor wisdom by study and meditation." When one

member of Parliament is elected by 750,000 (mostly) illiterate people it is not difficult to guess how much of political justice—the essence of which is regard for minority opinion—we shall achieve.

How then is the State to protect "the weaker sections of the people" from "social injustice and all forms of exploitation"? This is one of the pious Directive Principles of State Policy—and put on the same level as the fostering of village panchayats and cottage industries! Our Constitution pays lip-service to "the dignity of the individual," but nowhere betrays the slightest consciousness of the truth that all reform must begin from within. Manu, who was no world-denying anchorite, said that the man who, controlling the mind and the senses, engaged himself in the righteous pursuit of the *purusharthas*, fulfilled himself. Will our Republic bring us *swaaraajyam*?

VIGNESWARA.



PATRUDU'S

'BALASANJEEVINI' (Regd.)

Cures Infantile Liver & Spleen Disorders.

Dr. PILLA PAPIAH PATRUDU & BROR.

11, South Mada St., Mylapore, Madras.

KUMBAKONAM BRANCH:

7, Sarangapani Koll
East Street.

TRICHY BRANCH:

15, Pugulal Pillai Street,
Teppakulam Post.

Consult our specialists at the above places

SIDELIGHTS : :

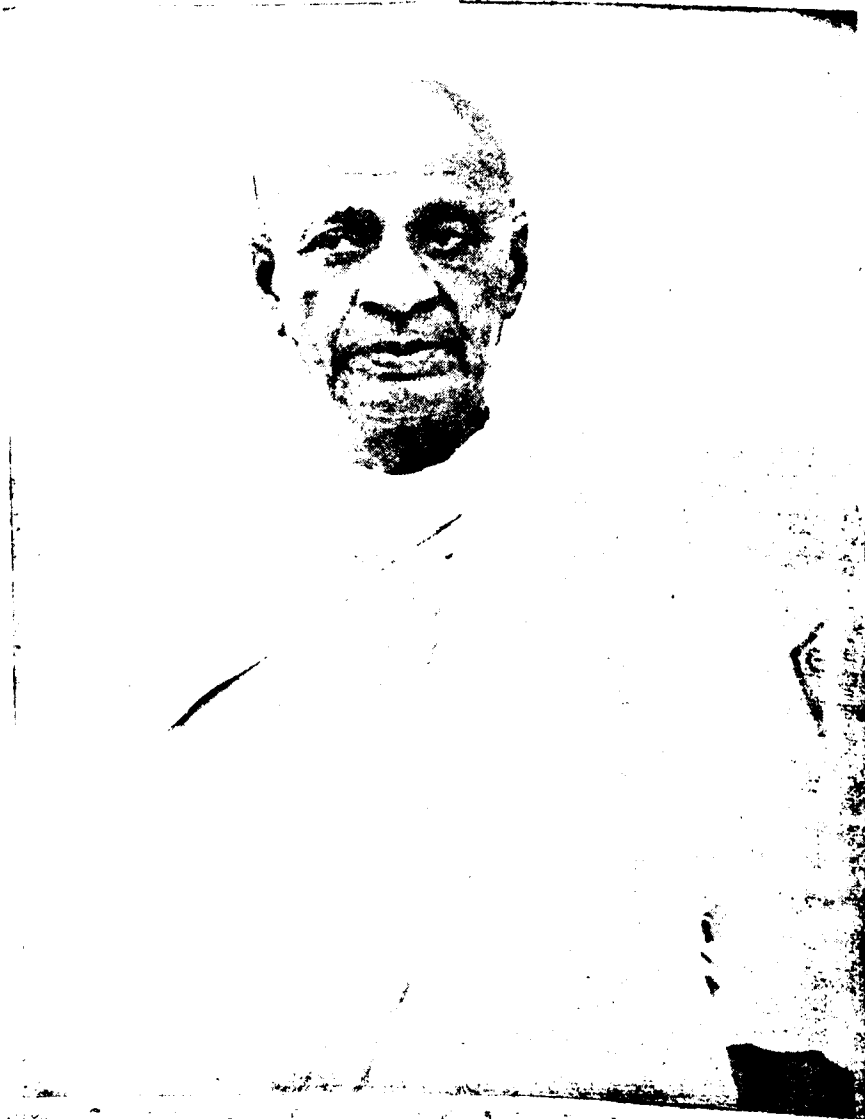
No Government is respectable which is not just.—DANIEL WEBSTER.

SRI Rajendra Prasad, as first President of the Indian Republic, symbolises the malady that has overtaken Indian politics, preference for the second-best over the best. The story goes that C. R. gave mortal offence to Sri Ramnath Goenka by calling him an intriguer at a tea party. Thenceforward, with ferocious wrath Goenka dedicated all his energies to the holy purpose of providing a perfect justification for the description. It cannot be said that C. R. is not a match to Goenka in offensive or defensive warfare. But as the Governor-General had other work to do, he was handicapped. He could not devote to self-protection against the plottings that followed, that full-time concentration of effort which Goenka could and did give to his mission. The result was that opinion against C. R., which was at first a barely discernible speck, grew in size like a snowball; the assumption which once was taken for granted, that the first and last Indian Governor-General would also be the first President of the Indian Republic, was overcome, disproved and reversed.

In the period of hectic underground anti-C. R. campaigning that preceded the inauguration of the Republic, Sri Rajendra Prasad became, without any effort on his part, a rallying point for agitations like North versus South, Hindi versus English, pumped up without a moment's respite into feverish intensity, until the majority of the members of the Constituent Assembly were successfully reduced to the position of pawns in Goenka's private quarrel with the Governor-General. In the Parliaments of the world, the members are generally capable of exercising independent judgment. But the Parliament of India consists for the most part of nominees of political bosses like Sri Kamaraj Nadar, chosen for their servility, mediocrity, incapacity for dissent, inconspicuousness, and lack of dangerous attainments like know-

ledge, independence, patriotism, public spirit and intellectual integrity. The result is that in such an important matter as the selection of the President, it is not the voice of a leader like Nehru that prevails, but a wire-puller like Goenka. The triumph of questionable personal objectives over the public interest is sadly reflected in the constitutional arrangements for the formation of the nation's sovereign legislature.

Sri Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Republic, is not spruce like C. R. Nor is he so brilliant in forensic and other gifts serviceable for making an impression on others. His economic nostrums are out of date. They belong to a time that is past, and take no note of a world that is swiftly moving. He is a revivalist, unlike C. R. who is a progressive. Except in the case of three or four persons of whom he is very fond and to whom he can deny nothing, C. R. is capable of absolute impartiality. None can therefore take a liberty with him. But Rajendra Prasad has few defences against the importunate, and is given to the habit of issuing chits to all and sundry recommending them to the mighty for special favours. In the recent Madras elections to Parliament, he wrote letters to Sri Kamaraj Nadar and Kala Venkata Rao pleading on behalf of one of the candidates. No notice was taken of the recommendation and the candidate failed to win. In a similar position C. R. would have succeeded, without anyone spotting out that he was interested. C. R.'s rectitude makes him appear cold and creates enemies for him. Rajendra Prasad's susceptibility to suitors for favour, sets in motion trends that lead to nepotism, but it gains for him lifelong friendships steeped in gratitude. C. R. as Governor-General was tidy, dignified, fit as a fiddle, a hard taskmaster to himself, incessantly vigilant for loopholes through which to exercise power, resourceful in emergencies and ready with formulas (that never occurred to



others) to tide over the difficulties of critical situations. Sri Rajendra Prasad as President will be genial and easy-going, sickly, kind-hearted, generous and bounteous, a darling of the Dalmias, an inviting magnet for sycophants, loved and blessed by all as a saint on earth. C. R.'s exit from the Centre will be a cause of impoverishment to the Centre in many matters of moment. It is unlikely that any mere convention will be allowed to put him out of political action for long. The nation cannot sustain the explosive possibilities of one of his power being sealed in a vacuum for an indefinite period.

In Nehru and Patel, the new Republic possesses leaders as able as any in the world. It is recognised that they are irreplaceable. Out of their position as irreplaceable leaders have sprung up many anomalies out of accord with the requisites of democracy. Under cover of the great names of Nehru and Patel, political bosses of no particular worth have arisen in the provinces who have been dragging the Congress in the mud. In a province like Madras, there is no correspondence at all between the

outlook of the top leaders in the Centre and the character of the administration in the districts. People here have come to detest Congress rule but they adore Nehru and rely on Patel. Our provincial Congress administrators have proved unfaithful to Congress principles, and are now among the worst of the fomentors of communalism. They have completely lost the affections of people. The deadweight of the antipathies provoked by the ruling cliques in the Congress organisation will prove before long to be too heavy even for such stalwarts as Nehru and Patel. The present trend is towards the suppression of the true Congressmen by the false in the provincial citadels of Congress power and influence. Some of the Congress leaders in office and in control of the Congress organisations must be classed as enemies of both Congress and country and the task of saving people from them is the most urgent and important of the tasks now confronting national leadership at the top. If a rout at the polls at the next election is to be prevented, a party of true Congressmen must arise to defy and defeat the false ones that now dominate. —SAKA.

The problems of the transition from a capitalist society, depending for its motive power upon the traditional incentive of the carrot and the stick—the carrot of higher wages and greater profits, the stick of unemployment and industrial bankruptcy—to a new socialist society in which the carrots have been much diminished in size and the stick has disappeared, and in which they have been replaced neither by the tyrannies and compulsions of communism nor by the emotional stimulants of mass propaganda and leader-worship which it so effectively employs, are not, however, capable of rapid solution. The attitudes of mind induced by the past do not automatically amend themselves to the coming of new events nor are the processes of democracy conducive to sudden and dramatic change, for it is by their pervasive rather than their eruptive influence that they achieve a permanent influence over men's thought and actions. This is particularly true of British democracy, which is founded on, and continuously shaped by, the British character. The British character in its approach to political problems is evolutionary and practical rather than theoretical and emotional, so that great changes seem sometimes to be painfully slow in coming. When they come they are the more permanent for being the result of unhurried gestation.—From *The Triple Challenge*—By Francis Williams.

APPRECIATION

By K. CHANDRASEKHARAN

APPRECIATION of others is a quality of healthy growth. While nourished a good deal by warm and spirited natures, it is exposed to neglect by others as a sign of weakness or inferiority. Strangely enough, men with a strong will power and potentiality for action, have hardly resisted the desire to appreciate good points in others. They are not influenced at all by the consciousness of their own capacities when they think highly of others. This is pre-eminently the reason why sometimes men of great renown also find qualities to admire in others much less important or widely known than themselves. Only those who cannot really perceive the good, the rare and the beautiful in life outside themselves fall easy victims to self-complacency, which they honestly mistake for grit and power of the mind.

Those who have followed the speech of Dr. Ambedkar concluding the third reading of the Constitution Bill passed by the Constituent Assembly, will be struck by his emphasis on the necessity for eschewing 'bhakti', as he calls it, from the field of politics. The cheers that followed the utterance in approval of the significance behind his statement easily make us imagine how much hero-worship, according to them, has undone individuality and independence of thought in political life. But one feels unable to understand exactly the significance of the word 'bhakti' in that context. Unless he means by it 'blind faith' in others, there is no justification for condemning bhakti as such in human beings. For as long as human qualities last there will be a strong desire in men of understanding and power of vision to follow ideals wherever they are housed. It is not the person that is drawing to himself the allegiance of discerning individuals, but his qualities that make him appear superior to the rest of mankind and attract willing converts to his creed. Bhakti

is impersonal in that sense. Hero-worship for that matter cannot be dethroned in the hearts of ardent souls by furious declamations of reformers or even enactments of Parliament.

The lives of reputed men in all ages and parts of the world bear ample evidences of a striking similarity in this quality of appreciation. Perhaps it is this faculty which, whether in-born or inculcated, enables them to learn to emulate nobler virtues than they themselves possess and even to excel those whom they greatly appreciate.

Many of us are very familiar with the story of the Ramayana. But how few of us have truly appreciated its teachings to such an extent as to reform ourselves! Rama was the peak of human personality. He was noble and brave and relinquished the crown at the command of his father in order to lead the life of an ascetic in the trackless forests. But how much more glorious of Bharata, his younger brother, who denied himself all power, position and luxury at the thought of the inequity in wearing the crown which was due only to his elder! Here is an example of one who appreciated sacrifice in another and in expressing his appreciation of it outdid the other. If this is hero-worship or bhakti in the sense in which Dr. Ambedkar uses it, let us produce more such hero-worshippers who would sweep the land with their bhakti.

Again, it was the boy Gandhi, whose appreciation of the play of Harischandra induced him to put himself the question oftentimes, "Why should not all men be truthful like Harischandra?" And what a Mahatma the boy grew into with his great bhakti in Truth!

The quality of appreciation, if it is genuine, lifts the mind out of the morass of selfishness. It leads the way to self-forgetfulness and self-advancement. It makes of the ordi-

nary man a great gentleman. It invests the literary mind with sustaining power and self-examination. It chastens the morbid mentality which mistakes itself for a victim to misfortunes and adverse circumstances. In short it makes of every one of us a man.

But the quality of appreciation is hardly encouraged either in the school, where in the formative years of childhood one can learn to emulate good things in others, or in later life when one can, by witnessing great things around him, liberate himself from the meshes of introversion and inanity. Those who have known the childhood of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, would have noticed a little incident which reveals the inwardness of his great quality of appreciation. As a boy he was unwilling to go to school and proved often a truant and received scoldings from the elders in his house. He was even given up as useless so far as school education was concerned. But once when one of his cousins returned from the school with a number of prizes for proficiency in his lessons, the boy Rabindranath was the first to welcome his dear cousin who was the hero of the day, and danced with joy at his being the recipient of so many congratulations. An elderly kinsman of his, noticing the quality of appreciation in the boy, was so much taken up with it that he hugged him and made it known to others. Apart from having not yielded to the slightest tinge of jealousy, the boy spontaneously reacted to the situation in the most worthy manner. Had his faculty for appreciation been stifled, he would not have grown into those proportions which gained him the meed of universality.

The power of appreciation when it is sincere and spontaneous can transform even men of clay into shining heroes and make them look like "rubies girt in epic gold."

We have made of civilisation a wilderness inhabited by lost souls, where poverty is an offence, happiness beyond the circumscribed limits of carefully drawn-up moral code a crime, and honesty forbidden altogether—for the really honest man is a Philistine in the camp of civilisation. The wonder is not that there is so much suffering and lack of satisfaction in life, but that there is any form of happiness at all. The decay of civilisation as we at present know it is humanity's only hope of saving its degraded soul alive.—Confessions and Impressions—Ethel Mannin.

But what we see today everywhere around us is the very negation of the quality of appreciation. Strangely perhaps, men even believe that it is a waste of time to try to understand others or to convey to others the good things which they find outside themselves. The Press in a modern Democracy has a tendency to make much noise only about politicians. It gives prominence, often undue, to those who by the strange coincidence of circumstances have come to the forefront. For a brief time every paper and journal makes it its sole pre-occupation to boost them to the skies. This cannot be true appreciation. On the other hand, men of learning and substance in spheres other than politics never have the chance of being mentioned for their true worth anywhere. Save for the occasional obituary appreciations—which get reduced further under the editorial pen—there are very few occasions for non-politicians, otherwise praiseworthy, to receive the light of publicity. We do not know how things are in other countries; but we have to own that in our country true values have yet to receive proper recognition. What was once yielded to learned poverty, before which even diadems of kings rolled in the dust, is not paid to it today. Literary achievements are hardly noticed or made much of in any prominent manner. Everything shows how much the lack of timely appreciation has been withering away our budding talents.

Appreciation, if it is genuine, adds wholesomeness to the mind. If it is natural, it brings confidence both to the person who evinces it and him who receives it. It turns, like a plough, the mind into fresh furrows. There is no more congenial soil than the imaginative mind of youth for inspiring ideas to take root in and grow with the growing years. Appreciation is the only quality which can inspire idealism in youth and sanity in age.

FOR ALL VARIETIES OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY OF THE BEST ENGLISH MAKE

Needed for Growing More Food

1. NATIONAL DIESEL OIL ENGINES
2. WORTHINGTON SIMPSON PUMPS for all sizes
3. CROMPTON ELECTRIC MOTORS
4. WORTHINGTON SIMPSON PUMPSETS directly coupled with Crompton Motors
5. WORTHINGTON SIMPSON MONOBLOC PUMPSETS with B. T. H. Electric Motors
6. AGRICULTURAL PLOUGHS (Bullock-Drawn) SEEDLING & MANURING MACHINERY FENCING MATERIALS & TRACTORS



Apply to:

INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Head Office:

15/16, Angappa Naick St.,
MADRAS.

Branches:

Room No. 406,
Hotel Tokyo,
TOKYO (Japan).

No. 40-III Main Road,
Gandhinagar,
BANGALORE.

N. C. THIMMA REDDY, B.A., B.L.,
Sole Proprietor.

PATEL **POLICEMEN AND** **PEOPLE**

By BAROO

CONTINUED lawlessness in Calcutta and acts of mob violence against the police in places as far apart from one another as Travancore in the South and Malerkotla in the North,—to say nothing of Telingana, where the problem of law and order is being more seriously tackled by the Army—have rightly drawn the attention of authority to the urgent need for mobilising popular support behind its efforts to maintain peaceful conditions in the country. Once again it is Sardar Patel who has given the lead. Though his inaugural address to the Provincial Police Chiefs' Conference touched on many points of departmental interest such as improved armaments and equipment, better co-ordination between provincial forces, and even revised badges of rank, the core of his advice to policemen was contained in his exhortation that they should cultivate better relations with the public and seek its active co-operation in their fight against subversive elements.

For it cannot be denied that, far from getting help from the people in its arduous task, the police in most parts of the country today is operating in an atmosphere which is at best apathetic to its doings and at worst actively hostile. In glaring contrast with this state of affairs is the love that policemen in other countries inspire among the people they serve. It is important to inquire into the causes of the unpopularity of our police, not only because this unpopularity is having a very bad effect on its operational efficiency but also because it is giving a bad name to the Government. For the police, as the

executive arm of the Government, impinges most directly on the lives of the people and indeed is its representative in their eyes. An oppressive police force means an oppressive Government: a hated police force means a hated Government.

As the ultimate civil instrument of Government policy, a loyal and reliable police force must necessarily be exactly as popular or unpopular as the Government's policies. But what if a police force is not a completely reliable instrument? What if in actual practice it does things the Government never wanted it to do, exceeds its mandate and behaves tyrannically and oppressively? Will it not be, in that case, a double danger to the Government that wields it?—not only preventing their policies from being faithfully implemented, but also earning rich unmerited odium for it. By their acts shall ye judge them. And the people always judge a Government by the acts of its police.

In India today, there is little question that the unpopularity of the police is not matched by a corresponding *intrinsic* unpopularity of the Government's policies. On the other hand, the enthusiasm of the people for their leaders is in marked contrast with their indifference, if not antipathy for the policeman. It is therefore clear that there is a lag between the policies of the Government and their implementation at the police end. In other words, our police is not a reliable and trustworthy instrument of policy. This is a view seemingly shared by the Prime Minister himself. When reminded at a recent press conference of an earlier

statement that blackmarketeers and profiteers deserved to be hung, he is reported to have said that in view of public complaints about police oppression, it was not desirable to increase its powers by starting another witch-hunt. In other words, he was not sure these new powers would not be abused by the police.

The evils in our police are explained by its mercenary and privileged past. To keep the force happy, our erstwhile rulers cared little what else it did, so long as it zealously stood by them in the face of rising popular opposition. Service to the paymasters, not to the public was the watchword of the day. Nobody frowned on a little money earned on the side, as long as you were sufficiently effective against political outcasts. Nay, more, policemen were actually encouraged, for the greater glory of the Raj, to lord it over the common brood for all they were worth. For if the pettiest constable was such a fearsome nabob, how much more, how much more terrible must the Sarkar Himself be?

This then, was the legacy we received thirty months ago. Naturally a great deal of it persists till the present day. A greater deal than might perhaps have survived in more peaceful conditions, for men accustomed to feel important thrive best in abnormal times. Internal insecurity and Authority's pre-occupation with dreaded political opponents have helped to delay the scrutiny to which the working of our police might have been subjected in happier circumstances. Therefore it is that the police continues, by and large, to be rapacious and corrupt and inefficient in respect of ordinary crime, but a little more than effective in respect of matters nearest to Authority's heart. Except that the Communists have taken the place of the Congress as the Government's bugbear, there has been little change, from the police point of view, in the conditions that existed before the attainment of independence.

Sardar Patel is no doubt aware of all this. But a statesman has to proceed warily against evils in the order of their priority from an overall, national point of view, and the Deputy Prime Minister has rightly

judged the terrorist menace to be of first importance today. To fight this menace, it will be necessary to rely heavily on the police, such as it is. But since to leave an unreformed police force to its own devices during the pendency of a crisis such as the present would involve the danger of worsening that crisis or at least of unduly prolonging it, the Sardar seems to have initiated a movement for reform that will proceed apace regardless of any other developments that might occur. Herein lies the significance of the New Delhi conference at the present juncture.

It is, however, pertinent to enquire whether the proposed reforms—aimed at "securing the active co-operation of the public"—will achieve their object. Success can be achieved only in two distinct stages. First, the police must become a completely reliable and trustworthy weapon of policy, doing neither more nor less than the Government wants it to do. Second, the Government's policies must be such as to evoke the "active co-operation" of the people by virtue of their own popularity. For the police to concern itself with the second and ultimate stage of this process without successfully passing through the first would be nothing but a stupid waste of time and energy. To imagine that the police can become the darling of the people without first ridding itself of all its present weaknesses, and without the existence of really popular governmental policies to implement, is to live in a fool's paradise.

The immediate requirement, therefore, if the Police Chiefs' resolutions are not to remain pious wishes, is for the police to be rid of its venal traits, and what is equally important, its excessive political zeal—both, as we have seen earlier, legacies from the past, but both thriving on present-day bogies. Yet, while the eradication of common corruption and rapacity is an essentially departmental task, the giving up of the habit of pleasing the powers-that-be by an over-enthusiastic persecution of their political opponents will not be possible without the Government itself making up its mind in this matter. For, strictly speaking, the almost unlimited powers that the police possesses today

in respect of subversive activities, cannot be exceeded in a legal sense—whatever be the degree of their moral abuse. The keeping of police activity within bounds to be determined by Government unavoidably necessitates the precise definition and limitation of the powers delegated to the police. This then is the crucial question. Is the Government determined to let the police retain the *carte blanche* it possesses today, or can they nerve themselves to clip its wings a little?

Unfortunately, all the signs point to a continued capitulation to the police. Although Sardar Patel seems to be well aware of the dangers of creating a Police State in the country and warned the New Delhi conference that that would mean an end of democracy, he made it clear in his Calcutta pronouncements that he was not prepared to listen to any criticism of the police, or to arguments based on respect for civil liberties. Maybe he was anxious to keep up the morale of the force by standing by it in public—the not-letting-the-side-down sort of business. But is the police in need of a little more boost, or a bit of a gentle let-down? Nobody who has any experience of its working will have any doubts about the matter.

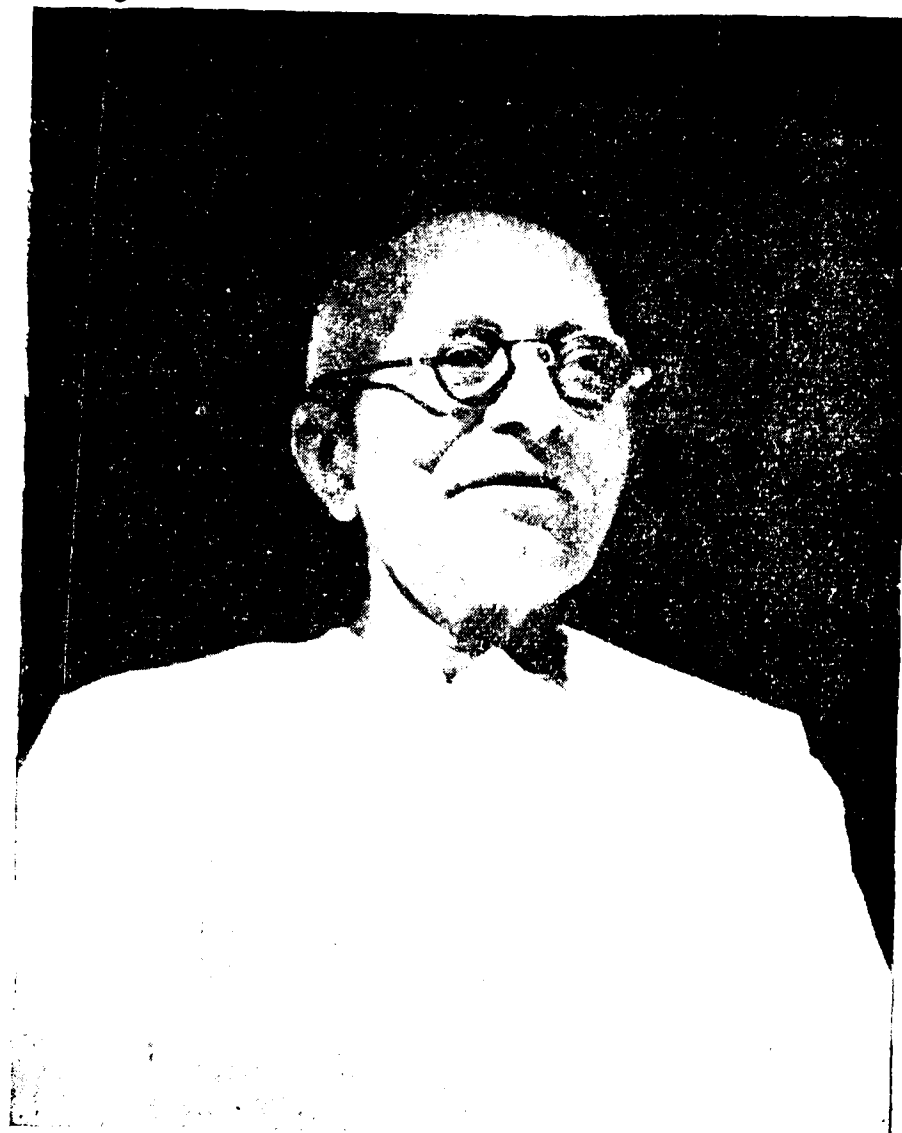
But of course the Sardar is at the centre of affairs and knows better

than most. Maybe his formula of moral persuasion at a psychological time when physical arguments are becoming only too common, will work a transformation in the police. After all, he tamed the princes pretty effectively—or did he? In any case, his is the way that is going to be followed—blandishments in private, praises in public. Let us hope the trick works on a secretly demoralised force. And we can do little else but hope, after the sermon to Calcutta editors!

But even if the Sardar's methods succeed in fashioning out of the near-autonomous body that is the police today, an instrument of Government that will be true and reliable, it will still remain to remove the barrier of unpopular policies before people begin carrying policemen on their shoulders instead of stoning them from afar. For not even a purified police force is going to evoke much love if, for example, instead of speedily apprehending and punishing palpably subversive elements like black-marketeers and profiteers, it is called upon to disperse processions asking for such action. In the ultimate analysis, a police force can be a truly popular force only if it is internally pure, and externally the tool of a genuinely popular Government. That ideal is today a distant ideal but it is the only ideal worth aiming at.

The modern mind, that is to say, the better type of the modern mind, is practical and pragmatic, ethical and social, altruistic and humanitarian. It is governed by a practical idealism for social betterment. The ideals which move it represent the spirit of the age, the *Zeitgeist*, the *Yugadharma*. It has discarded to a large extent the philosophic approach of the ancients, their search for ultimate reality, as well as the devotionism and mysticism of the medieval period. Humanity is its god and social service its religion. This conception may be incomplete as the mind of every age has been limited by its environment, and every age has considered some partial truth as the key to all truth. Every generation and every people suffer from the illusion that their way of looking at things is the only right way, or is, at any rate, the nearest approach to it. Every culture has certain values attached to it, limited and conditioned by that culture. The people governed by that culture take these values for granted and attribute a permanent validity to them. So the values of our present-day culture may not be permanent and final; nevertheless they have an essential importance for us for they represent the thought and spirit of the age we live in.—*The Discovery of India*—By Jawaharlal Nehru.





A New Sector in Complacency

By S. NARAYANASWAMY

WE have during the last ten years been among the victims of the world's flattery. We have been caught in a noose of fine words uttered by great savants and statesmen of other countries out of friendliness and fellow-feeling. We gradually got used to having fine things said of India and Indians—and are in the process of hypnotising ourselves into believing that we are doing rather well. Somebody talks of India's leadership of Asia or the Eastern hemisphere and it goes into our system like a balm. Take a recent instance. Some ingenious journalist starts a tall story about a Nehru plan for Eastern countries as a counterblast to the Marshall Plan and there is great flutter and questions are asked of Nehru, who dismisses the thing as ridiculous. It must occur to any adult person of average intelligence that India herself needs so much help currently and will continue to need it for decades more and that therefore any such proposition as helping other Asiatic countries belongs to the realm of the melodramatic. Many recent happenings have contributed to this feeling of complacency on our part. The world for instance was plunged in sorrow on Gandhiji's death and the manner of it. This drew a lot of attention to India. We have a number of men of international stature in our midst. We have had their praises sung at world gatherings. We have had Pandit Nehru received in the United States and Canada recently with unprecedented warmth and acclamation. We have had Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit listed among the world's great women. We had Professor Radhakrishnan elected as President of the UNESCO. We had Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar elected to preside over the Economic and Social Council. We have had Sir C. V. Raman honoured for his great contributions to Science. His nephew Professor Chandrasekhar has received the homage of the astronomical world by his adventures into the unchar-

tered regions of astro-physics. To all these, what is our reaction—the reaction of the educated Indian?

I suspect we have reacted in an unhealthy way. The fact that some people rose to great eminence in India undeniably proves that given opportunity, we are capable of rising to great heights. It cannot and does not prove anything more. But we have all started feeling complacent over what we have given to the world through the moral, intellectual or scientific leadership of these great men. We should realise that what time we have done this, we have accumulated within the country problem upon problem. One is reminded of the remark made by an opposition member in the House of Commons after the Dunkirk debate: that Mr. Churchill was winning debate after debate in Parliament and losing battle after battle outside. Let us hope like Churchill we shall also win the war in the end—only our war is against poverty, illiteracy, squalor, industrial and agricultural backwardness, obscurantism and a strong reluctance to change our methods.

We have a B. N. Rau sitting at Lake Success alongside of a Gromyko or a Hartley Shawcross or similar accredited representative of Russia, U. K. U. S., or some other great western power. He perhaps secured a polemical victory over them or helps the Security Council out of an awkward power-bloc tangle with ingenious formulas. All honour to B. N. Rau,—certainly one of our best men. But the fact that he sits alongside of the great powers or cheerfully lets them pick his brains does not make us their equal. The gulf continues as wide as ever. Sometimes those international assemblies put us at a great disadvantage. Countries like U. K. or U. S., which have developed their economy, secured and stabilised their markets by means which we need not examine now, bring in measures like the Havana Charter to end restric-

tive practices in international trade like tariffs, quotas and import prohibition, within the orbit of which they seek to bring undeveloped countries like India. It is not my object to start a controversy as to whether or not India will benefit by the Charter—a question posed by the Fiscal Commission to witnesses but I mention it only as an instance of possible embarrassments which the well-developed countries may create for the ill-developed, by trying to get the latter to sign on the dotted line—particularly when it is realised that the U. S., the principal promotor of the Havana Charter, was herself guilty of the most restrictive trade policies in the past and owed her prosperity to prohibitive tariffs in a degree.

Let us examine how we are placed in the world's economic map in comparison with other countries which say so many nice things about India, its temples, its culture, its moral leadership and ancient civilization.

The United States pays annually on its National Debt of 257 billion dollars, a sum of over 6 billion dollars as interest annually. This is equivalent to about 2,400 crores of rupees, which single item of annual expenditure alone is over 9 times India's total revenue,—let alone what the U. S. Government contributes towards the Sinking Funds. U. S. is a large country and perhaps the comparison is unfair. Let us see what small countries are doing. Cuba is an island in the Caribbean sea with one-fortieth the area of India. Its population is 3½ million, say three times that of Madras City. This island produces five times as much sugar as India. Luxembourg is a small country of 999 square miles. It has 3 million inhabitants. It used to be called not a country but the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg before World War I. It is now not referred to separately in European

diplomatic parlance, presumably because it is considered too small. It is referred to along with Belgium and the Netherlands as the Benelux. This principality, which is referred to by the third and last part of this well-known abbreviation, produced in 1948 as much as 2.48 million tons of saleable steel—over three times as much as India, with her colossal Tata Iron & Steel Works, her Bengal and Indian Iron & Steel Works, produced in the same year. A recent review of steel output in Britain puts down the output of South Wales alone at 63,540 tons for the month of October 1949, as much as the average monthly Indian output. The rubber we produce in India for a whole year has been about 16,000 tons and a Malayan rubber authority is responsible for saying that this is about as much as Malaya occasionally shipped from her ports on a single day. It is possible to make other comparisons which are to India's disadvantage but it is unnecessary. On the question of wages, expectation of life, child mortality, incidence of diseases, we are again unhappily at the nether end. Let these facts develop in us a sense of our real backwardness.

Let us therefore shake off this new type of complacency we are developing. Let not newspaper reports of international flattery of India or praise of our eminent men make us forgetful of the pressing problems we have on hand. We have a great way to go. We need public spirit, we need a new resolve, we need to conserve all our energies and our resources. We need courage and an indomitable will—to build the sacred edifice on the foundations our elder statesmen have laid at such great sacrifice. But let us not add complacency to our store of tools and equipment when we set on the task of building our Republic.

Mankind is being immolated to glorify States; and States are governments and their instruments; and governments are nothing but committees of fallible men and women. In other words, mankind is being immolated, willingly, eagerly immolated, to save the faces and serve the ambitions of a few who, if they were seen without the panoply and mystery of state-symbolism to support them, might not inspire one family to sacrifice so much as a night's sleep.—From *The Vulgar Heart*—By Doris Langley Moore.

ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN?

By SANTHA RUNGACHARY

AT one of those intermittent efforts at self-enlightenment which convulse that comfortingly low-brow organisation called the South India Journalists' Federation, the subject of the ideal of authorship was being dilated upon with rather shame-faced fervour by the distinguished British novelist, Vera Britten. She spoke of the ideal goal of the writer as that of widening "the periphery of consciousness" of the common people, of contributing to the human awareness of what was going on and simultaneously of influencing it in such a manner as to bring about a beneficial change. The writer's responsibility, said the charming, urbane visitor, lay not only in interpreting the trends of the times to the people but also in shedding a new light on them. This was especially needed during a time of change and stress, of a war or a revolution. There is naturally diversity of opinion about such a goal. A large section of English-reading people thought George Orwell's "1984" was a fascinating study but quite unnecessary and in fact harmful while another echelon of literates felt disgusted by it but considered it indispensable to a moral awakening of people all over the world. The truth is, some things have to be said whether people like it or not.

But contributing to the widening of the "periphery" of human consciousness is alright so long as such consciousness is obscured only by the darkness of ignorance, because ignorance is not an evil thing; it is merely an unhappy thing and quite eradicable. But when such human consciousness is fortified on all sides by the wire netting of fear and guarded by the sentry of self-delusion, widening it is not only a difficult task, it is a thankless undertaking.

It has often been said that the political consciousness of India's masses has increased tremendously during the last decade. This is true only so far as Indian politics has consisted of anti-British slogans and spectacular defiances, physical and spiritual, of a ruling foreign power. I do not believe we are inherently a patriotic nation. We have never been intensely and overwhelmingly proud of the mere feeling of being Indians. An over-emphasis on the spirit and the soul, on the need for ensuring ourselves a respectable and safe niche in God's mansion in the Hereafter have necessarily excluded from our consciousness such a purely materialistic concept as love of country. Such a completely physical ideal had no place in the orbit of spiritual idealism of which every man considered himself the centre. Our lives were austere, our pleasures simple, our needs few. We had been, so to speak, enclosed within ourselves. A youngster of the present generation would call it a dull life. Tilak and later Gandhiji opened a new door in our lives. It was an unheard-of thing then, that one should strive for the attainment of something outside of one. That awakening was not, except in the case of a handful, inspired by selflessness or a spirit of sacrifice or love of country. Gandhiji's call to the nation awoke in the people a curiosity, not any more sublime than that which sent Eve tip-toeing about her pristine kingdom, and later when he fasted or marched or was lapidated, an involuntary admiration. Freedom for which these fanatic few were prepared to go to such fantastic and insane lengths, suddenly began to seem a very desirable thing. It promised to open the door to an immensity of unheard-of pleasures. To the great majority of the picturesquely shabby nation that we are, it assured econo-

mic betterment. Thus slowly we ceased to be enclosed within ourselves and allowed this new dream to enter our minds and thoughts. The youth of half a century ago looked upon it as the only means for the acquisition of a civilisation they conjured up dimly from the talks of the fortunate few who had gone abroad, saw half-obscured in a picture here or a magazine there. Floodlit by the radiance of youthful idealism, the country overnight became a Naboth's Vineyard and two generations moved apart as suddenly and absolutely as if the chain of sympathy which bound them had been slashed by an unseen blade.

That was Gandhiji's mistake, that he mistook this flush of enthusiasm for patriotism and of that deception which we unwittingly played on him he tasted the bitter fruit in his last days, and we are still paying the price of our duplicity. No other argument quite explains the disintegration since August 15, 1947 of that fervour and ardour with which we started.

It may be offered that August 15, 1947 was in the nature of an anticlimax. It is, of course, to a certain extent, true. The general disillusionment started with the communal massacres and the partition of the country. It was slowly being realised that we were really paying for this bright jewel we had coveted for well nigh six decades. Gandhiji's soul might have felt ripped and slashed by the blood of the massacres and the division of the country, but to most of us it was merely an unfortunate beginning for the millennium. 1947 was, I think, for all the acquisition of freedom, the unhappiest year in Indian history. The people were tired, the leaders apprehensive. But two years have passed by since then and now the "patriotism" which had burnt in our breasts like a bright flame lies dead as ashes and our inherently Laodicean attitude lies barely exposed. It is not merely the aftermath of a long, strenuous struggle. It is something else. It is in us, the want. It is in our way of life; it is temperamental.

Now an appeal to our love of country goes completely over our heads. We no longer seem to care. We no longer care to pretend. One would

have expected that a people who "rose as one"—as the foreign press described it—in a bloodless revolution, would make some effort to pick up again the threads of their administrative and political life and try to make something of the freedom they had gained. Where has the "political consciousness" that our leader writers gloated on in their jubilant lucubrations in the daily press, gone? Why does not the wavering, irregular, flushed pulse of our political life any longer stir us into action? Why are we beginning to be satisfied with lenitives and palliatives?

Everybody has the same answer to that. *The times are hard.* In the house, in the market-place, in the theatre, in the hotel and in the brothel, the reference to the present "bad times" obtrudes again and again. It is the *leit-motiv* of all our conversations and thoughts. The businessman accumulates enormous profits and yet talks of "bad times"; the middle classes bewail their lot, that sandwiched between the rich and the poor they are neither at the receiving nor at the ricocheting end of benefits, state-inspired or privately sponsored; the conservatives talk of the Day of Judgment and are convinced we are inevitably bound for Hell's inner circle. The youth talks of the need for revolution. Times are bad, times are hard.

Ninety-nine of us out of hundred mean by "hard times" the high cost of living. Almost all of the world's troubles can be traced to man's belly, as the cynic said. Prices have gone up, commodities are scarce. The cost of living index which stood at 100 in the base year of 1939, stands now nearabouts 350, which means roughly, that where we were spending Rs. 10 before, we are now spending Rs. 35. The poor, naturally, are hardest hit by this economic hardship. And the *why* behind this unnaturally high cost of living may be therefore said to be the core of the "hard times" which is the general chorus sung by both the haves and the have-nots. What exactly are "hard times?" And why?

An indignant middle-class housewife whom I apprehensively consulted on the matter, said "Wait. I will show you." Within a quarter of an hour she took me into a room and showed

me two heaps of various commodities arranged round a mound of rice. "Look at that," she said indicating the larger heap, "this is what I used to buy for Rs. 5 eight years ago when I married. This is what I get for that same Rs. 5 now," she added pointing to the smaller heap, "and eight years ago, my mother used to say, the prices were absurdly high!" Even six years ago, she said, she and her two children could manage their household expenses within her husband's pay which was then Rs. 85. Now with her husband bringing home Rs. 223 every month and one child dead, she found it difficult to make both ends meet. She has, of course, certain additional expenses. She goes to pictures, she subscribes to a newspaper and two Tamil periodicals and her child goes to a convent school.

"Still—" she said.

"That is a pretty saree you have on," I said.

"Isn't it?" she said at once smiling, gratified. "I paid Rs. 55 for it."

I pointed out to her she had been complaining a few minutes before of not being able to make both ends meet.

"I meant," she said reddening with annoyance, "that I ought to be able to save more. After all, we are just three of us."

She was not *really* hard up, that woman, for all her talk about ends meeting.

Her neighbour, the young wife of a lower division clerk in a Government office, was franker.

"We spend all our pay," she said, "and just manage to exist. Look at that short, fat lady living in the opposite house. Her husband is a contractor and she buys any amount of rice from the blackmarket. I believe he takes bribes from everybody. No wonder. Ah, these are only times for such." In her voice was frank envy. She was not bothered about the ethics of it.

I tackled the rickshawman at the street corner. He spat.

"It is the rich who are the cause of all our troubles," he said. "Look at them with their cars and their mistresses. We starve and cannot maintain even our wives." He traced all

the world's ills to a vague category of human beings called "the rich." To him all who belonged to that category were sadistic profiteers who were out to push him still deeper into the mire of poverty; they all had cars, wore silks and kept mistresses. If ever Fate is so unkind as to catapult that rickshawman to sudden affluence, I know just what he will do with his money.

The old, retired head-clerk (from the Secretariat) whom I approached with my question, seemed unwilling to answer it. He had no sympathy either with my sex or with my generation.

"These evil times are because Gandhi is dead" he pronounced in accents of doom. "When men and women try to live without principles, sincerity or morality, what else can you expect? But worse is to come yet, you mark my words," he said, and added with a touch of bathos, "or I will cut my ear and lay it down before you."

I protested against this promise of mutilation.

"You can't mean everything is because we are going away from the path Gandhiji laid? What about the food scarcity?"

"He asked for the lifting of controls. He asked us all to be good citizens. Did we listen to him? As long as these controls remain, our lot can never be better."

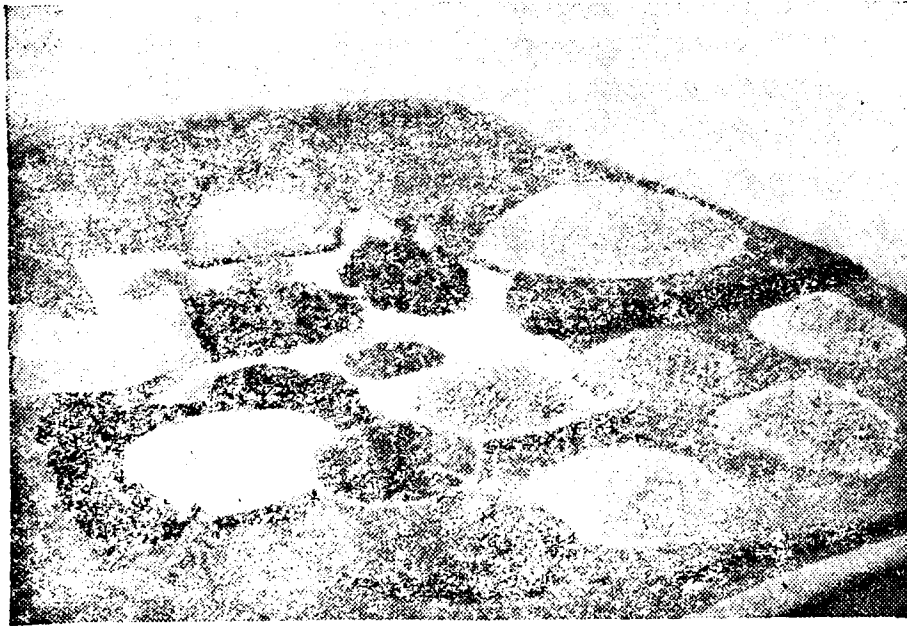
"There were no rains. That was one of the reasons for insufficiency of food."

His wife who was standing at the threshold terminated the conversation for him.

"How can there be rains" she demanded, "when there is so much of evil and corruption?"

Her eldest grandson came from the street carrying a package and this spurred her to a bout of righteous indignation.

"Take this sugar, for instance," she said. "Look at the amount of sugar they are giving us. It is insufficient for anything. My sons cannot do without coffee and my husband wants a sweet dish after dinner everyday. And so now we have to get sugar from outside at Rs. 3 a viss. It is a swindle. This is



Two heaps of rice and between them an indignant housewife.....



how our Government takes care of things."

"So you think an inefficient Government is at the root of all the evil?"

"What is the use of blaming those poor men" she said at once contradicting herself. "They are being led by evil stars."

The younger generation is never guilty of that bad habit of mincing words. A student of the Junior B. A. class I met knew exactly what was at the bottom of all the hard times.

"It is corruption which is ruining us" he said. "From the Prime Minister down to the Lower Division clerk, from the industrialist to the man who sits on the pavement and hawks buttons, the whole nation is becoming corrupt. Look at Nehru whom we used to worship ten years ago. He is fast becoming a show-case dummy. He has put all his relatives, nephews and nieces in good posts in the Government. He has made his sister an Ambassador. The Government which he commands sends his other sister on study tours to America. What had she to tell them, you tell me that. How long are these people going to exploit Nehru's popularity with the masses? Take all the others, even the provincial Ministers."

He looked at me shrewdly.

"Did you say you came from the Swatantra?"

I nodded. I could guess what was coming.

"You tell me then what happened to that tirade against corruption in the ministerial circles that you started? Why did the Congress High Command try to hush it all up? What are they frightened about? Why is nobody able to do anything about this sort of thing in official life?"

The Congress Party members diagnose the affliction in the grip of which the country is held as being chiefly caused by the obstructionist tactics of political parties that are springing up like mushrooms all over the country all bent on one pursuit, the capturing of power and the seats of that power. The members of Government plead that circumstances are beyond their control and their hands are tied. When pressed, they frown and argue that the public do not co-operate with them.

It is impossible, said a learned college lecturer in suitably solemn tones to say in one word or even ten the causes that have led to the present situation in the country. Some of them are beyond our control in the sense that they are part of a world malady, caused by the last war from which, as far as bodily injury and death are concerned, we have emerged the least affected of many nations. Add to this the slight hysteria that the war caused in us and after the war, shrilly-rising, the incessant talk of another war, and the nervousness engendered by the spate of frightful tales about Communism that are going the rounds of all non-Communist nations as if it was a dreadful disease from infection of which the healthy areas of the world have to be protected. He talked academically of inflation and dollar-sterling balances and gaps and pools and areas and drew for me on a piece of paper the perfect solution in terms of figures and facts and scalings down and trade balances. The answer was zero, the figures balanced so precisely. As I took my leave he offered to let his driver take me home. "I would not dream of bothering you in these days of petrol ration" I said. "Oh" he returned slyly, "I have a lot of petrol. Don't worry."

So there is difference of opinion about what exactly "hard times" are. But everybody has a solution for the malady. The politician has one and talks of power blocs and charters and arms and agreements. Oh yes, he has all the data right at the tip of his sharp little tongue. The Ministers have one too, a little shopsold and faded however, and it consists of suggestions like more production, drive against corruption, setting up of new departments, and coming almost as an afterthought, the following of Gandhian principles. The working classes know what will resolve the whole intricate problem—the revision of their wages. Try to argue with them and they immediately talk of strikes and then a young fellow with a hairless chin spouts of Communism. The students warn us to get rid of corruption in high circles; the poor direct all their animosity against the rich, the haves; the middle classes have one and all an unanimous suggestion—get rid of blackmarketing

and profiteering and controls, and Ram Rajya will emerge into sight.

Nobody, oddly enough, mentions one other thing: it is not merely the liberticide which is the result of factions and parties out to secure power; it is not alone the corruption among licentious libertines adjured to guard the welfare and rights of the masses who instead exploit their high office with impunity and impudicity; it is not entirely the work of communists or of blackmarketeers or the consequences of devaluation. It is something else. It is our sense of citizenship. Sense of citizenship is patriotism deglorified; it is loyalty without glamour. It springs from an instinct for fairness and justice, a desire to share, an abhorrence of irregularity and breach. How many of us possess that sense?

It might I think be said of us generally that we have become a selfish people. We are selfish as only a nation which believes in flagellance can be selfish; we are greedy as only a people who drank in the twin concepts of abstinence and sacrifice with their mother's milk can be greedy; we

are afraid of physical insecurity as only a people who believe in the mortification of the body for the glorification of the soul can be afraid; we are self-seeking as only a tribe born of saints can be self-seeking; we are as resentful of being asked to practice austerity as only a race which has always considered self-denial as a short-cut to salvation, can be resentful.

Among us it may be said there are four kinds. The passively virtuous and the actively virtuous need not be considered at all. So also the thoroughbred villains—to which category belong the blackmarketeers and profiteers, people who are out to make money for its own sake. I am speaking chiefly of the other section—the minor bad, the people who can always find an argument to temporise with their consciences, who, never guilty of large breaches of law, yet destroy—like the small insidious canker—the sense of security of society, spread fear, induce discontent, by petty irregularities.

To which of these classes do you belong, citizen?

TIME TO STAND AND STARE

By S. PARTHASARATHY

IT is difficult even for the most assiduous reader of newspapers and journals to form a correct perspective of contemporary events. It requires the exercise of a certain sense of detachment which, in a world where even the private hours of a citizen's life are controlled by the State, is difficult to cultivate. To a politician trained to apply the rule of expediency in all his decisions, to obtain a correct perspective is well nigh impossible. Herein lies the distinction between a mere politician and a statesman. For the statesman has before him an objective for the nation to reach and he tries to the extent he can to mould current ideas and events to conform to that objective instead of allowing himself to be moulded by their impact like the politician.

Mahatma Gandhi was such a philosopher statesman, but even among them he was incomparable. He had a picture of future India firmly fixed in his mind and that picture took note of all sides of the nation's life, social, religious, economic and scientific. But the pattern of his composition did not appear perfect to many. Parts of it were admirable and parts of it appeared conservative, or even primitive or eccentric or too progressive or mystical and incomprehensible. The picture, if the verdict of future historians could be prophesied, was a perfect and harmonious blending of the past, present and future. That picture has ceased to exist; his political followers have torn it to shreds and each has annexed for himself a piece out of it like the souvenir hunters. The basic ideas underlying Mahatma Gandhi's composition were (1) that there was only one yardstick to measure the progress of India and that was the improvement in the lot of the poorest man, and (2) that modern and scientific advancement has no value if it does not bring about an improve-

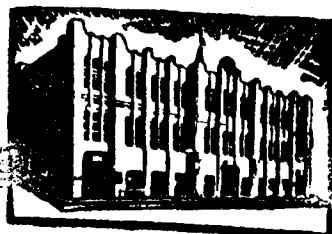
ment in the moral stature of humanity. The emphasis on the village, on simple habits, on a standard of life not out of comparison with the life of the ordinary man and his preparedness to sacrifice even political freedom if it was incompatible with moral improvement are a few examples of his actions based on these basic ideas.

Now let us take the period between the 15th August, 1947, and 26th January, 1950, to estimate the worth of our efforts to progress. We have covered more ground than what is normally covered by a nation in the course of a century. If we now cry a halt to our mad speeding and take a good look or, as some poet said, if we can just afford to stand and stare, we will discover that we have been moving hither and thither like blinded mice instead of progressing any great distance towards our goal. Why? During the two decades before foreign rule terminated, we have been stocking our minds with ideas, some good, some bad, and some indifferent. The moment freedom was obtained, these ideas burst the banks of our minds and gushed forth like flood waters. But flood waters cannot be conserved, stored up and used. Before you have time to think, they tear past the land seeking the sea and spreading desolation in their passage. The country is today suffering from the effects of this flood of ideas and policies which we had no opportunity of testing in practice for their soundness and efficiency before we released them.

Each of our ruling politicians has conjured up a picture of future India in his imagination. One sees India playing a leading role in the colourful atmosphere of international assemblies and measures India's progress in the estimation of other countries with satisfaction. Another sees India in a scene with factories everywhere belching smoke, with capita-

(ESTD:

1907)



Branches and Sub-Offices in all the important places
in the Madras Presidency and in Bombay.

Issued & Subscribed Capital	Rs. 72,00,000
Reserve Fund	" 62,00,000
Paid-up Capital	" 53,00,000

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED
N. GOPALA IYER,
Secretary.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.
HEAD OFFICE: INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS,
NORTH BEACH ROAD, MADRAS.

lists driving about in Rolls-Royce limousines, a land of mansions and country houses, of business men, and labour happy and content in its modest environment—in fact a picture of Victorian snugness. A third sees India with his favourite language, gods and way of life established throughout. But none of them want to be distracted for a moment from their pleasant dreams of future India to the stark reality of life at present—the squalor, the dirt, the ignorance, the hunger and the hatreds—that covers the greatest portion of the landscape.

Let us examine a little closely what we have been doing during this period to see whether it justifies the criticism that we have been going round and round. For instance, the abolition of zamindaris was good. But the transfer of private ownership of land from one hand to another does not result in any radical change. Land, money and goods, always tend to concentrate in the hands of the rich. The poor owner of a small piece of land has never enough capital to effect improvements on it. How much better it would have been if we had used the occasion to nationalise the zamindari land at least by introducing co-operative farming. We would today be handling more effectively the problem of increasing our agricultural production. Similarly, the annexation of Indian States was good. But we have only replaced the autocratic rule of the Maharajah with the corrupt and inefficient rule of the demagogue. The people of Indian States have begun to feel that the change instead of bettering their lot has only worsened it. It would have been better if instead of attempting to introduce democracy all at once in areas where the people are yet to grow up to shoulder responsibilities we had introduced efficient administrations in the first instance.

The military rearmament of India is a bad thing. In this, we have completely scrapped the central theme of Gandhian philosophy. India cannot in the near future think of becoming a military nation on a parity with the western countries. She should have been content with a policing force. To the fanatical Hindu, India is threatened by Pakistan and in spite of our

assertion that India is a secular State our military rearmament is a concession to the Hindu fanatic. For no other country in the world can endanger our security. We have nothing to be afraid of Russia as an external enemy while we have everything to be afraid of Communism as an internal enemy. The resources of the State that have been spent on military armaments could well have been spent on housing, sanitation and education of our people. For to the majority of our people there is nothing worth fighting for. They are in that indifferent mood not minding whether Rama or Ravana rules the land. If you give them something worth guarding against external aggression, then we will have the whole nation as a voluntary army to repel any invader.

Our internal policies during this period are either conceived as a concession to satisfy party interests or as policies where we are willing to wound but afraid to strike. It would have been better to have generously rewarded every Congress Thyagi with large sums of money instead of placing them all in positions of power. We have not merely overburdened our administrations with enormous recurring costs but we have also introduced new men who lack proper training and good traditions. Their poor morale has been responsible for the loss of governmental prestige with the people. Similarly, we have been lenient with black-marketeers, tax-evaders and rapacious capitalists. But at the same time by our threats of doing away with capitalism, we have suppressed the honest capitalist and merchant. Capitalism is not an evil by itself except that, when it is allowed to develop unchecked, it is capable of destroying the solidarity of society itself. But by mere declarations of policies and legislation, we cannot hope to put down the evil tendencies in capitalism and it is only by policing that we can restore moral standards in capitalistic society.

Our policy of total prohibition is an indifferent piece of reform. It stands condemned on the simple ground that it aims at making puritans of people by legislative measures. But, though there is nothing good or bad about prohibition, its introduction has

She insists on cooking with DALDA

—to help replenish the family's energy each day!



Supplies the fat you need in a balanced diet

resulted in a loss of considerable revenue to the provinces. No one has a right to expect the State to profit by the practice of vice among the people. But at the same time a good part of the money which is saved to the drinker should have been made available to the State so that it may spend it in affording him and the rest of the people the essential amenities which they hitherto lacked. No such scheme was thought of before introducing prohibition. On the other hand, we have been content to spend further sums of money every year to enforce prohibition among the people.

The independent attitude that we have taken up in our foreign policy is perhaps our only solid achievement. It has yielded us considerable respect among the nations of the world. But internal affairs should take precedence over foreign affairs. To-day we are a nation of grouse and while we have gained the respect of foreigners we are rapidly losing respect for law and authority and for each other. These are the incipient signs of the onset of a revolution not inspired by any high ideals but merely promoted by a desire for mischief. If the deterioration in our internal policies is unchecked, a revolution of a chaotic character will have to be faced.

Pandit Nehru's recent speech to the scientists at Poona sounded like a wail of despair. For he confessed having lost confidence in the classical philosopher, the lawyer-minded man and in the businessman doing any good to India. The expression of hope in the scientists when analysed is but another expression of despair. For what could scientists do all by themselves? The trouble with us has been that we each see India through different eyes. Some see the future India as an American scene; some as an

English scene; some as India in the Vedic times; some as in the primitive times; some as in the Dravidian age; some in the Russian way; some as the Parisian night life; and some in the atmosphere of American business racketeering. But none of us including Nehru, Patel and Rajaji see India as Gandhi saw it, a perfectly harmonised and blended picture. We forget that India has a soul and individuality all its own. If we can only come together and form a new picture of future India, then these philosophers, lawyers and businessmen will cease to be misfits.

It is time that we cried halt to our reforming zeal and devoted ourselves to the work of reassessment and consolidation of the work so far done by us. It may be that a lot of ideas and policies to which we gave expression will require to be pruned. Here we should not hesitate. A nation will not cease to progress if it halts for some time and reassesses the values it gave to things. We should label values to all our projects and schemes and only execute such of them as we can afford to do comfortably during the next few years. If we are well advised, the next few years from 1950 onwards should be years of consolidation rather than years of experimentation and reform. As Patel rightly stated in Bombay, India is just a toddler and we should give her time to grow up normally into full adulthood. But where Patel erred is in stating that criticism against the Government is directed by non-Congressmen. If Patel will only take a closer look, he will find that all his troubles spring from within his ranks and more perhaps from the displeased loyalties. The people have never been more apathetic than they are today.

HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

India must be true to Sevagram and all it stands for, and must leaven Delhi with it. I say Delhi, but one must include the Provincial Capitals as well. For they seem to be in greater danger of departing from the spirit of Sevagram. In Delhi there is the tried "remnant"—the national leaders who have come to the top through sacrifice and ability. The sag is at the edges—down among the lower officials.

Sevagram means the "Village of Service." If the "Village of Service" can be planted in Delhi, in every Provincial Capital, in every heart, then the future is secure. Gandhi-ism wins over Greedism.

But it may be, that, as Acharya Kripalani said, "Sevagram will be a martyrdom." It will exist in India as a continual crucifixion. If so, then it will exist as a continual resurrection. It will have the seeds of the future in it.—From Mahatma Gandhi.—By E. Stanley Jones.

FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL

Jackling India's Problem No 1

By ANDREW ROTH

INDIA becomes a republic on Jan. 26 but most Indians are gazing at empty plates, empty larders and empty ration shops, as a recently completed tour of the country discloses. In an out-of-the-way village, an agricultural worker pointed with one hand at the sun directly overhead and patted his lean stomach with the other. "I have been working since sunrise and I have not yet had a bite to eat," he complained, "and there is nothing in my hut to eat." In another village, a lean, white-turbaned peasant explained when I queried him about India's politics: "These are matters for the educated or city-folk. All I know is that we work all day and don't get enough food or clothes."

Why is it that a country, 80% of whose population is engaged in agriculture and which has a history of thousands of years of agricultural wealth cannot feed its own people? Failure of rains, wheat rust, hoarding, rapid population growth—all these factors are important in putting a strain on Indian agriculture, but, in the final analysis, they are the latest strains which reveal the inability of India's cumbersome and antiquated agrarian system to meet the needs of its people.

One of the startling facts of the present situation is that, despite Government plans, Government committees, Government experts and much-publicised procurement programmes, a good deal of the food is not in Government warehouses or in ration shops but in the hands of a small percentage of venal blackmarketeers who make huge profits out of the prevailing scarcity.

India before British rule was not a land of milk and honey for all of its people but all observers agreed it was very prosperous and it was precisely this prosperity which attracted the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British empire seekers. At the end of the

18th century, a British M. P., William Fullerton described Bengal as the "repository of commerce, wealth and manufacture in the East." A little earlier, Robert Clive described Murshidabad as "extensive, populous and rich as the city of London."

The India of that period was based largely upon a self-contained village community, raising its own food and providing its own manufactures through handicrafts. The land was owned in common by the peasants who cultivated it in small plots and the village community as a whole paid a part of the produce to the feudal overlords or king who provided for defence and irrigation.

For industrialised Britain, India was first of all a market and its earliest important objective was to replace the Indian handicrafts with its own cheap manufactures. In doing this, it destroyed the self-sufficiency of the Indian village and compelled the peasant to turn to crops which he could sell for money to buy manufactured goods. As a result of this, India's acreage of jute and other cash crops has increased markedly while food crop acreage has stagnated despite growing needs.

As England's political control over India grew, there arose the need for a cushion between British rule and the Indian peasantry. For this purpose, the British created at different times and under different conditions a set of landlord officials whose function it was to keep the peasantry under control, collect land taxes for the Government and, incidentally, line their pockets with as much as they could squeeze out of the peasants. These landlords, unlike the capitalist landlords of the West, made no productive contribution to agriculture. They did not supply capital, technical knowledge, seeds or fertilizer. In short, they were completely parasitic.

Those peasants who still retain

some land have been unable to increase production because they are not left with enough money to invest in fertilizers or better implements. Nor are they given the education which would enable them to realise that their methods of cultivation are antiquated with virtually none of the improvements of the last two hundred years. The land is highly fragmented, with 60% working uneconomically tiny holdings. It is cultivated by the same primitive wooden ploughs in traditional fashion, and food production suffers because the peasantry—whose labour constitutes the most important single item in Indian agriculture—is considerably worse off. It is not possible to expect tremendous labour from a people who are undernourished, diseased, uneducated and lacking in capital.

Efforts are being made to tighten the procurement and ration systems. India's food rationing was hailed by an American committee which studied it for a few days but it is considerably less effective in action than on paper. In the village, which is the base of any food procurement programme, the work is in the hands of the village headman who is usually dependent on the leading landlords. He is frequently open to bribery or influence and favours his large landlord speculator at the expense of the small peasant.

Some irrigation work is being undertaken and artificial fertilizer plants are being constructed but such reforms can squeeze only an additional 10% production from the present system.

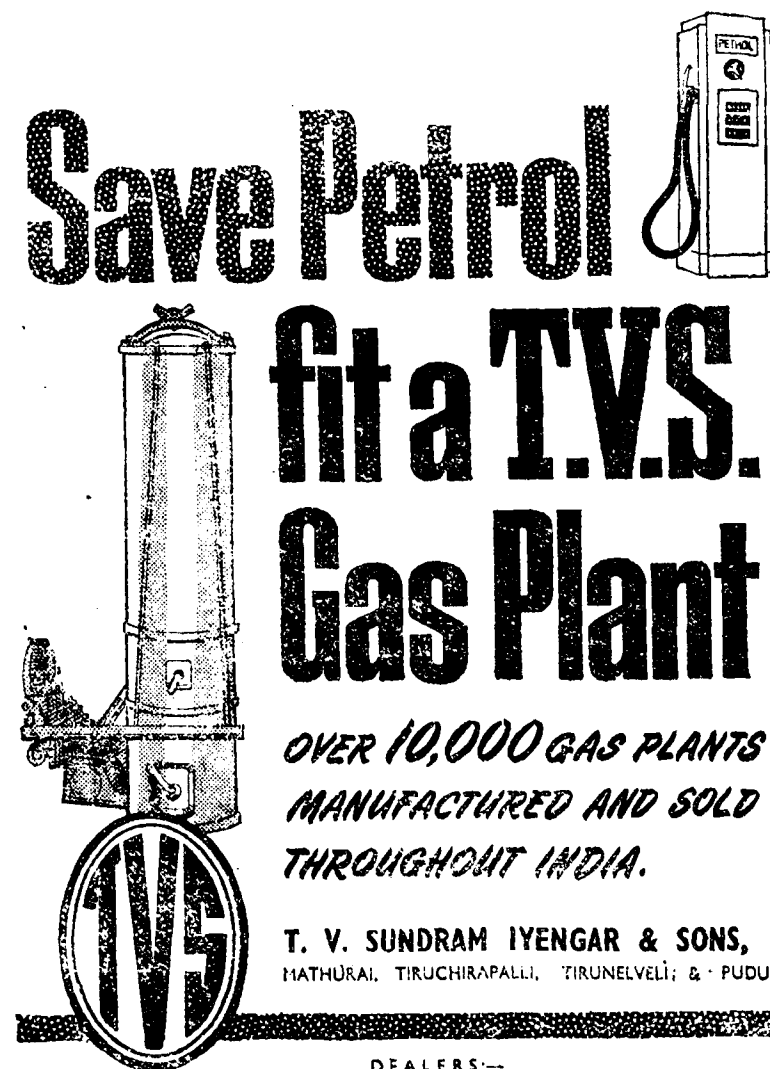
Most agricultural experts agree that, in the long run, India's prosperity is only possible with a much more productive agriculture based on large-scale farming, using machinery and co-operative techniques. But this is admittedly a question for the future because, today, India does not have a single factory which can produce a combustion engine, much less build a tractor, and India does not have financial resources to make large-scale purchases of farm machinery abroad. Furthermore, it is impossible to use machinery on India's fragmented holdings.

A number of people interested in the immediate problem of markedly increasing India's food production

under the present difficult conditions have turned their attention to some of the war-time experiments in the so-called "liberated regions" behind Japanese lines in North China. At that time, the Communists there were faced with the problem of increasing food production without being able to import any new implements or fertilizers. On the basis of trial and error, they worked out a system which had no relation to Communism or Soviet agriculture techniques but which substantially increased food production in the area.

The key note of this system is the organisation and satisfaction of the peasant himself, upon whose efforts increased food production is dependent in a primitive agricultural society like China's or India's. They accomplished this by reducing rents from a prevailing 60% of the crop to 37½%, thus enabling the peasant to feed himself and his family adequately and have enough surplus to invest in better implements and other improvements. At the same time, peasants were organized into village unions to receive and exchange information on improved techniques and to co-operate in mutually beneficial projects such as improved irrigation and better roads. They were of course compelled to sell all of their surplus at fixed prices and kept check on this through democratically elected village councils. This peasant-centred programme resulted in greatly increased production because the peasants had the strength and the incentive to produce more. At the same time, the landlords were fairly happy because, although they received a lesser percentage of the crop, the Government guaranteed that percentage and the increased production brought an amount fairly close to what they had received originally. It should be pointed out that they received their share in money at a fixed rate of sale and therefore did not have a surplus to sell into the blackmarket.

The Indian Communists, like their counterparts in China, have seized on the food shortage as a means of strengthening their position among the peasants. The best way of preventing the growth of Communism is by ending the evils which the Communists can exploit.—Copyright.



Save Petrol

fit a TVS.

Gas Plant

**OVER 10,000 GAS PLANTS
MANUFACTURED AND SOLD
THROUGHOUT INDIA.**

T. V. SUNDARAM IYENGAR & SONS, LTD.,
MATHURAI, TIRUCHIRAPALLI, TIRUNELVELI, & PUDUKOTTAI.

DEALERS:—

Sundaram Motors Ltd., Madras.	Quadir Mohjaddin Saheb, Cuddapah.
The Madras Auto-Service Co. Ltd., Bangalore City.	Mannar & Company, Nellore.
M. G. Brothers, Bellary.	Vellore Automobiles, Vellore.
General Motor Stores, Eluru.	Bezwada Motor Stores, Bezwada.
	City Motor Stores, Vizianagaram.

THE NEW MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

By Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA

WITH the inauguration of the Republic on January 26, 1950 the Government of India will begin to function in accordance with the new Constitution. It will therefore be of some use if on an occasion like this an analysis is made of the nature of the machinery of government that has been created under the new Constitution. Like every other written Constitution of the modern age our Constitution also contains three parts. One of the parts refers to the ideals which the State in India should in future try to realise. A second part refers to the Directive Principles of State Policy—principles which aim at giving a concrete form to the ideals enunciated. A third part is devoted to the kind of governmental machinery and organisation to be established if the directives of State policy are to be effectively carried out. Naturally it is to the third part that the Constitution devotes a great deal of space.

QUASI-FEDERAL MACHINERY

A fundamental feature of the new machinery of government is that it is quasi-federal in character. All functions and powers of Government are divided between a Central authority at the top and a number of State authorities in the several units constituting the Indian Union. The nature of this division is found in detail in the seventh schedule of the Constitution. The Supreme Court is entrusted with the duty of seeing that each authority confines itself to the exercise of only those powers conferred on it by the Constitution and does not encroach on the sphere of the other authority. Thus the doctrine of judicial review which has become an integral part of the Constitutions of other typical federal States like the United States, Canada and Australia has been, in spite of the defects attri-

buted to it, incorporated into our Constitution. It is these two features—the division of powers and the judicial review—that give a federal characteristic to the new machinery of government in India.

All the same it is not the pure type of federalism that characterises the new Government. Because of the peculiar conditions affecting the country at the present day the Constitution-framers found it necessary to endow the Central Government with a large amount of authority as a consequence of which it will be in a position to exercise control over the Units. There is a long list of concurrent powers. There is also provision for items in the State executive list being transferred into the concurrent list under certain circumstances without the consent of the States. It is the President of the Union that appoints the State Governors. Some of the bills approved by the State Legislatures may be reserved for his consent before they become laws. State boundaries may be altered by the Central Legislature without the consent of the States affected. The Centre has complete control over the State High Courts. The whole electoral machinery is under the authority of an Electoral Commission appointed by the President. There are several other features of this nature and it is this that modifies the federalism of the new system of government. It is therefore best to describe it as quasi-federal in character.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE: THE PRESIDENT

We may next deal with the general framework of government at the Centre. As usual with the organisation of modern Governments it consists of four parts—The Executive, the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Civil Service. The Executive is made

up of a President and a Council of Ministers. The President is elected by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of the two Houses of the Parliament at the Centre and the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States. The inclusion of the latter category of members is a special feature that requires to be noted. As the total number of members in the State Legislatures is far more than those in the Central Parliament, the States will have a greater influence in Presidential elections. This will also give to the President a certain amount of moral strength if at any time a conflict were to arise between him on one side and his Cabinet of Ministers. The President holds his office for a period of five years and is eligible for re-election to that office any number of times. He may be impeached for violation of the Constitution if two-thirds of the total membership of each House of Parliament vote for it. All the executive power of the Union is vested in him.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

In the exercise of his functions the President is aided and advised by a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at its head. He appoints the Prime Minister. Other Ministers are appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers is collectively responsible to the House of The People. Ministers have normally to be members of either House of Parliament. All these provisions reproduce the essential characteristic of a parliamentary or Cabinet system of Government as is found in England and makes the executive in our country similar to that in England and different from the Presidential system of the United States and the collegiate system of Switzerland. Under our system the President becomes the nominal executive while the Cabinet or the Council of Ministers becomes the real executive.

POSSIBILITIES OF FRICTION

Here again there are certain features which may modify the working of our Parliamentary system. They may in practice even create a certain amount of friction between the President and the Cabinet and lead to political crises now and then. In

some of the modern States which provide in their written Constitution for a Parliamentary form of government it is clearly and distinctly laid down that the acts of the President must be countersigned by a Minister. For instance, Article 3 of the Constitution of the Third French Republic states that "each of the acts of the President of the Republic must be countersigned by a Minister" and Article 6 says: "Ministers are collectively responsible before the Chambers for the general policy of the Government and individually for their personal acts and the President of the Republic is not responsible except in the case of high treason." Similarly Article 50 in the Constitution of the German Republic (The Weimar Republic) says that all orders and decrees of the President require for their validity the counter-signature of the Federal Chancellor or the competent Federal Ministers. In the Constitution of Ceylon which also provides for a Parliamentary system it is distinctly laid down that all powers, authorities and functions vested in the Governor-General shall be exercised in accordance with the constitutional conventions as are found in the United Kingdom and every one knows that the acceptance of the advice of the Cabinet by the King is one of the principal conventions in that country. The omission therefore of a clause like this in the new Constitution of India gives opportunity for the President to become a rival to his Cabinet. Whether such a thing will necessarily happen depends on a number of circumstances which the future alone will reveal. It will also depend to a great extent on the precedents that will be created by the first holder of the President's office.

THE LEGISLATURE—BICAMERALISM

The Legislature in the new machinery of government is bicameral. The Lower House—the House of the People—shall consist of not more than five hundred members directly elected through joint electorates on the basis of adult suffrage. Constituencies are to be so formed that there shall not be less than one member for every 750,000 of the population and not more than one member for every 500,000. Seats are reserved only to the Scheduled castes and the Sche-

duled tribes. The Upper House—the Council of States—shall consist of two hundred and fifty members. Twelve of these are nominated and the remaining two hundred and thirty eight are distributed among the various States constituting the Union roughly in proportion to their population. The representatives allocated to each State are to be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Assembly of the State in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. The President is expected to nominate the twelve members from out of persons having a special knowledge of literature, science, art and social service. The Council of States thus differs from the House of the People in its strength as well as in the way in which membership in it is secured. Unlike the Senate in the United States and Australia the Council of States in India is indirectly elected. But it is like the Senate in the United States as it is subject to partial renewal, one-third of its members retiring every two years. In point of authority it is normally inferior to the House of the People. In the first place money bills can become law even without its consent. In the second place the Cabinet is not responsible to it but only to the House of the People. In the enactment of other laws however it occupies a status equal to that of the Lower House. Differences between the two Houses may be settled if necessary through a joint sitting of the two and in such a sitting the Lower House with its larger numerical strength will command more weight than the upper one.

It is not possible at this stage to say what position the Council of States will occupy in the future governments of the country. A second chamber has not been found to serve any useful purpose except in countries like the United States where certain special powers are conferred on it by the Constitution. The only special function that the Council of States in India possesses is that under Article 249 its support is required for transferring an item in the State exclusive list into the concurrent list. It has to say whether such a transfer is necessary or expedient in the national

interest. This is however a power which may not have to be exercised very often. It is therefore likely that the Second Chamber in our country will not occupy any significant position except that it will give opportunity for a large number of politicians to stay at the Capital at public expense and share in the distribution of political patronage.

THE SUPREME COURT

It is to be observed that the framers of the Indian Constitution have not shown any originality in the kind of institutions which they devised for carrying on the government of the country. To a great extent they followed the models of the West. It has not been possible for them to escape from the domination of the Western political systems on which they have been intellectually fed. There is therefore nothing novel in the organisation of the Supreme Court of Justice which is the highest judicial organ in the new machinery of government. It has the features usually associated with the Supreme Courts in States following the Anglo-American system of jurisprudence. It will have a Chief Justice and for the time being not more than seven other Judges. All of them are to be appointed by the President after consultation with "such of the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts in the States" as he may deem necessary. They hold their office until they attain the age of sixty-five. They may be removed from office by the President if an address is presented to him for that purpose by a two-thirds majority of each House of Parliament. The only novel feature to be found in the composition of the Supreme Court is the provision for appointing *ad hoc* Judges on it and for the attendance of retired Judges—a provision which may lead to the backing of the Court for political purposes. It has both original and appellate jurisdiction and it is the final authority in the interpretation of the Constitution and in upholding its federal character. It would have served a useful purpose if the framers of the Constitution had given weight to the suggestion of writers like Professor Laski that in appointing Judges the President would do well to consult a standing committee consist-

IN LINE WITH PROGRESS

A new free India is building up and INDIA CEMENTS can tell a story of steady output from the start. Producing to the full rated capacity of 350 tons per day, this newest unit of a well established and efficient industry offers for sale and shipment SANKAR BRAND Portland Cement fully up to standard.

The builders and engineers looking for what was long a scarce item can now look to INDIA CEMENTS to help construction on and to bring new projects into shape. INDIA CEMENTS will surely cement better relations between supplier and customer.

THE INDIA CEMENTS LTD.
FACTORY: TALAIYUTHU, TINNEVELLY DT.
REGD. OFFICE: 107, ARMENIAN ST. MADRAS. I.

Have you saved for them ?



Invest
in

NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

Obtainable from Post Offices,
Authorized Agents and Savings Bureaux.

Issued by the Ministry of Finance Govt. of India, New Delhi

AC-78

ing of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Chief Justices of all the High Courts.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

The Constitution has provided for recruitment of the members of All-Indian Civil and Administrative Services through independent Public Service Commissions and for the security of their tenure and their prospects and promotions. The proviso to Article 320 (3) which enables the President to make regulations specifying the matters in which he need not consult the Public Service Commission may lead to much abuse and lead insidiously to the introduction of the spoils system. Another clause to which some may take objection is that relating to safeguards for officers recruited in the days of the British rule by the Secretary of State. The Constitution guarantees to them their old remuneration and all their old rights in respect of leave, pension and disciplinary matters. It is surprising that the very politicians who took objection to the inclusion of such clauses in the Government of India Act of 1935 should have forgotten their objections and continued the policy of the British. But as the number of such officers is not large this article does not possess any permanent significance.

OTHER INSTITUTIONS

In organising the machinery of the Central Government provision has been made for certain institutions for settling matters which are a little controversial at present or which may grow in importance in the coming years. The Finance Commission and the Language Commission belong to the first category. It has not been found possible to calmly deliberate over the financial relations between the Centre and the Units in the years to come and to include permanent articles on this subject in the new Constitution. The matter is therefore left for future consideration by Finance Commissions to be appointed by the President from time to time. The same is the case with regard to the Language Commission. In the heated atmosphere in which the Constituent Assembly had to discuss the subject of Hindi as a national language it was not found possible to arrive at agreed conclusions satisfactory

from the point of view of the people of the north and the south. The Language Commission to be appointed by the President is expected to make recommendations on this subject in a calmer atmosphere. Among institutions that the Constitution provides for settling questions that may arise in future may be mentioned the Inter-State Council which the President may establish for inquiring into and advising on disputes between States and for bringing about a larger co-operation and co-ordination among States.

STATE GOVERNMENTS

The machinery of government in the States—which are the Units of the Indian Union—is more or less similar to that at the Centre. Each State has a Governor. But like the President he is not elected. He is appointed for a period of five years by the President. He is in the position of a nominal executive as he has to carry on the administration of the State with the aid and advice of a Council of Ministers which in all respects resembles the Council at the Centre. Each State has thus a responsible form of government. But there is not only no reference to the countersignature of the Governor's orders by some Minister or other but there is also a clause—which is not found in the case of the President—which states that the Governor need not consult his Council of Ministers in the exercise of functions left to his discretion. It has therefore to be assumed that like the provincial Governor in the days of the British there are certain matters in regard to which the Governor has discretion. But the Constitution has not laid down what those matters are while the Government of India Act of 1935 made specific mention of such matters. This is likely to create friction between the Governor and his Council. The Legislatures in all the States are not bicameral. They are bicameral in Bihar, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, the United Provinces and Bengal. There are no convincing grounds for having bicameralism in these States. The Upper House in these States has one-fourth of the strength of the Lower House. One third of its members are elected by local bodies, one-twelfth by University Graduates,

another twelfth by teachers of certain grades, a third by the Lower House and the remainder of the members are nominated by the Governor. In other respects and in its relations with the Lower House it is just like the Council of States at the Centre. Each State has a High Court whose Judges are appointed by the President and removed by him just in the same way as the Judges of the Supreme Court. There is also similarity between the Centre and the Units in matters relating to the Public Service Commissions and discipline of the Civil Services. They do not call for any separate description.

In the days of British rule a distinction was maintained between the Indian States and the British Indian Provinces. This was to some extent retained in the original Draft Constitution. But it has now practically disappeared. The new machinery of Government in the Indian States like Mysore and Travancore-Cochin is similar to that in the Provinces. The only difference is that the nominal head is called a Raja Pramukh and not a Governor and there is also provision for the exercise of a large amount of control over them than

over Provinces during the first few years under Article 371.

We have thus more or less the same institutional set-up in the country now as we had under the Government of India Act of 1935. The only significant changes are that the President takes the place of the Viceroy and the Governor-General and that there is a responsible Council of Ministers at the Centre and the Units, responsible to a fully democratic Legislature elected on the basis of adult suffrage. Power has passed into the hands of the masses. This is the great change that has occurred in the machinery of government. But for the friction that may arise between the nominal and the real executive and between the Units and the Centre, the new machinery of government has the prospect of working smoothly until new parties strong enough to oppose the Congress emerge. The question however is whether the new machinery of government has behind it the motive force and vigour needed for putting promptly into effect the Directives of State Policy proclaimed in the Constitution. For it is this that will determine how long the new machinery of government will last.

A CRY IN THE NIGHT

Short Story

By MANJERI S. ISVARAN

THE event is so commonplace; such as one reads in the columns of a newspaper; it can be dealt with soberly as well as given a sensational hue: it all depends on the kind of newspaper that publishes it. Still the incident is commonplace, simple as the facts of birth and death. But whenever I think of it the chill in my spine is a long moment; and you who are going to hear it as a story, however generously endowed with the quality of imaginative sympathy, will not, I am sure, be able to feel as strongly as I did, for although I was not an actual eye-witness of the scene, by sheer contiguity to it I experienced its visual intensity.

My house is old, big, and rambling, built by a forbear who must have been bitten by Victorian ideas and ideals. It had more timber than brick and mortar; windows, doors, ceilings, panel-work, wall-bureaus all of excellent teak and jack and rosewood got down from Malabar. In that locality it was the only building that the changing times failed to remodel; old and big and rambling it sniffed at the concrete box-like structures in the neighbourhood confident that their vulgar nattiness could never disturb its solitary, old-world peace.

The two windows of my bedroom looked out across an area of vegetable garden on to the road. Some years ago the Corporation had brought a charge of encroachment against my father, alleging that on the pretext of constructing anew the old compound wall he had taken a foot off the road; but my father told the inspecting surveyor, cool as cucumber, that he, the surveyor might have looked at the blueprint of the place with a mote in his eye, that he should learn how to handle the theodolite better before rushing to the pick-axe and the spade. This has nothing to do with the story proper; it is just to show that the road was not wide enough to be a main thoroughfare; it was a little narrow arm of the broad river of

traffic a couple of furlongs beyond, quite lively during day but deserted and withdrawn in the night. Almost stealthily a lane ran into it from the right, and at the junction grew a neem. From my window I had a view of both lane and neem.

One night late in December I lay awake in my bed, envious of the wife who was sound asleep on her cot near by. How cruel of her to sleep like that throwing me into the arms of the old hag Insomnia! It is said that he who is separated from his sweetheart seeks sleep in vain; and to the company of the great sleepless belong a bewildering variety; he who has quarrelled with his inamorata; the scheming and the wildly ambitious; those who have lost their reputation and been publicly disgraced; those that pit against the high and mighty; the moneybags. I didn't come under any category, still I could not sleep, I counted the rafters, counted sheep interminably.

The night was bitter cold and the windows of my bedroom were shut. Wondering what the hour was I looked at the time-piece on the chest of drawers to the left of me; its radium dial was a vehement glow in the darkness, indicating five minutes to three. For a moment the ticking time-piece overwhelmed my brain, its symbolism intensified by the silence and the darkness, it was the great heart of life beating, beating through the aeons. Suddenly the alarm went off—I wasn't aware that I had fixed it for three—and seizing it hardly had I turned off the needle before three drops of clear pure melody tumbled into the well of night from the tower of the Ripon buildings.

Silence settled again, more heavily brooding for its momentary break. I relaxed my limbs as fully as I could to court sleep and was beginning to feel a little restful when on a sudden a sound as of moaning galvanized me to sit bolt upright on the bed and

Neem
TOOTH PASTE
an ideal paste
for your teeth
and gum

It is prepared on
hygienic and up-to-date
scientific principles.
Contains the active
properties of the
'Margosa' twig.

Neem
TOOTH PASTE

Cakutta Chemical Product

strain my ears. For a split second I thought I heard my wife sigh in her sleep. Tiptoeing to her cot I bent over her and found her, her head snug in the crook of her arm, slumbering peacefully. A minute might have passed and the sound had stopped. From the railway station not far away came the noise of the shunting steam engine, like the sob of a disconsolate soul, like wind souging over a desolate heath. Then again with the eeriness of the supernatural, as though some horror was latent in it, the moaning started. I listened, every fibre of my body tense. No need to doubt, it came from the street outside. I didn't know at the moment whether I was more curious than nervous or both; whatever it was I moved forward to open the window. The venetian blinds were not working, else I could have drawn them partially for a peep, the vertical bar which made the slats mobile having been nailed down at the ends and the successive coats of green paint through the years like a thick excrescence closing up the smallest chink. But scarcely had my hand touched the bolt when the moan resolved into an abrupt shriek, sharp like a stab. I almost jumped back, affected by the strange horror of it. It was and wasn't human, like the whine of a wounded dog, for the shriek had subsided again to a low wall. I resented my lack of guts and as an aid for composure and the need for it woke up my wife.

"What's the matter?" she asked, peevish at being suddenly roused from sleep.

"Nothing."

"Then why did you wake me?"

"Don't you hear a sound?"

"Sound? What sound?"

"Listen."

"I don't hear any. It's your nerves."

"No."

"So what?"

"Come to the window."

Reluctantly she followed me to the window and there behind the blind slat stood in an attitude of listening attentively, and notwithstanding the gloom of the chamber lit only with the phosphorised face of the time-piece, I could see her perplexed brow smoothening and her lips fashioning into a soundless O as though what she

had guessed intuitively was not an uncertainty.

"Shall I open the window?" I whispered.

"No, don't."

"Then what on earth is it? It fair gives me the jitters. I'll look out and see."

"You'd better not."

The moan ceased abruptly.

Taking courage in both hands I flung open a shutter of the window expecting some wild sight to meet my eyes. But the street was empty, uncannily quiet as a foot-track in a jungle, and I saw nothing except the neem and under it the night more detached from the moonlit environs. A cold draught hit my face, the wind rustled through the ragged banners of the plantain trees in the vegetable garden, it was the chilliest hour heralding the dawn.

"Shut that window and come to bed, will you?" snapped my wife. As my partner in life for over a decade and a half she didn't feel the need to bill and coo any more, though occasionally she did, whenever she wanted a favour from me, for a new jewel or a new saree.

"I thought you recognized the nature of the moan," I said, sitting on my bed.

She did not answer. I repeated my query, some sixth sense in me being sure that she knew.

"How could I know?" she said irritably. "The night has many voices. And if I tell you of my guess you'll only laugh at me."

"What's your guess?"

"O nothing!"

"O hell!"

"Forget it."

"You mean it's just nerves."

"Just nerves."

I felt her cool palm over my fevered brow, so like being etherized, my eyelids drooped....

The day broke. I never am a late riser even with bouts of insomnia and that morning I woke not to the cockorico of cock or to the caw of crow but to a loud clamour in the street outside. I walked hastily downstairs and saw my wife standing in the portico. The milkman was milking the cow. The sight of the

stuffed calf which lay near him was disgusting in the extreme. How man swindled a dumb animal!

I took a beeline towards the gate.

"You needn't bother to go out," said my wife, determining me.

"I knew that something terrible had happened last night, that moan," I said. "Is it a murder and that right in front of our house?"

The milkman turned round with a significant look.

"More heinous than murder," said my wife.

"What is it?"

"Some woman has given birth to a child and thrown it in the dustbin."

I couldn't make out whether she was indignant or frivolous.

"Is the poor mite alive?" I anxiously asked.

Silently she looked at the stuffed calf. My eyes followed the direction of her glance.

Civilization is the garment which man makes to clothe himself with. It is for each of us to help to put in a patch here, to sew on a button there, or to work in more embroidery. But the individual himself, with his own personal organic passions, never becomes part of the garment, he only wears it. Not, indeed, that we are called upon to refuse to wear it. The person who can so refuse to follow the whole tradition of the race whence he springs is organically abnormal, not to say morbid. His fellows have a fair right to call him a lunatic or a criminal. The real question is whether we shall allow ourselves to be crushed to the earth, lame, impotent and anaemic, by the mere garment of civilization, or whether we shall so strive to live that we wear it loosely and easily and athletically, recognizing that it is infinitely less precious than the humanity it clothes, still not without its beauty and its use.—The Art of Life—By Havelock Ellis.

THE VANGUARD INSURANCE CO., LTD. THE VANGUARD FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

Head Office : MADRAS.

Transacts

LIFE
ACCIDENT
MARINE

FIRE
WORKMEN'S
COMPENSATION

MOTOR
MISCELLANEOUS,
ETC., ETC.

Liberal Policy Conditions, Moderate Premiums and Low Expense Ratio
have carried VANGUARD POLICIES to every place.

Branches & Agencies:—ALL OVER INDIA, CEYLON & F. M. S.

H. D. RAJAH,
General Manager.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By Sir S. V. RAMAMURTHI

DURING the last Great War, several countries were able to increase their industrial potential, such as the U. S. A., Canada, Australia and some of the southern American countries. The Grady Committee made proposals for India to take advantage of war conditions for the industrial development which would also help immediately in the war effort. But for reasons best known to the Government of India as then constituted, the Committee's report did not even see the light of day. After the close of the War, the Government of Madras took action along two lines—one was to give an impetus to the starting of industries on a regional basis with the raw materials available in the Province, the other was to provide for future industrial development with elements yet to be made available. It may be broadly stated that there are six elements required for industrial development, viz., natural resources, raw materials and labour at one level and technical personnel, power and a spirit of integration, of adventure and creation at another level. The first three elements are the basis of a colonial economy and the last three elements of a free economy. During the British overlordship of India, the economy that was encouraged was the colonial economy. Rivers and water falls of India could not be exported from India. Even the labour of India could not be exported to the Imperial countries though it was sometimes exported to other colonial possessions. In India labour was applied to natural resources in the main to produce raw materials for export. At the end of the last War we had thus available, groundnut, cotton and tobacco, which could be processed in the country itself instead of being exported. The Madras Government therefore made plans and took steps for their immediate implementation in regard to the

starting of vegetable oil factories, textile factories, besides sugar and chemical factories. Looking ahead to future developments they took steps to provide technical training for personnel, and develop hydro-electric power. A large number of polytechnics was started all over the Province. The number of engineering colleges was raised to five. These institutions will make available in perhaps a couple of years a large number of trained personnel who will be available to develop the industrial potential of this Province. As regards power, the Muchkund hydro-electric scheme is expected to provide about 20,000 kilowatts of power in three years and 100,000 kilowatts of power in another four years. The Tungabhadra scheme will provide about 20,000 kilowatts in about four years. The Ramapadasagar scheme is capable of producing 150,000 kilowatts of continuous power or over 200,000 kilowatts of commercial power in about 10 to 12 years. In the Andhra area where these schemes are being carried out, the power available at present is only about two units per person a year. These schemes will raise it to nearly 100 units a person in North Madras. In South Madras the present availability is about 12 units a person and this admits of further increase with schemes that are now under investigation or execution.

Having already possessed the elements of a colonial economy, the prospect of providing two out of the three elements of a free economy—namely personnel and power—leaves us with the need to integrate these five elements with a spirit of adventure and creation. In Europe, till the beginning of this century, science was largely applied to the manufacture of raw materials imported in the main from colonies. The natural resources of Europe are not on the large scale



JUPITER'S
Krishna Vyayam

A PICTURE UNMATCHED BY
ANY OTHER FOR PRODUCTION
MAGNIFICENCE, REALISTIC
SCREEN MAGIC, ENTERTAINMENT
CONTENT, SPLENDID SONGS
...AND MUSIC...

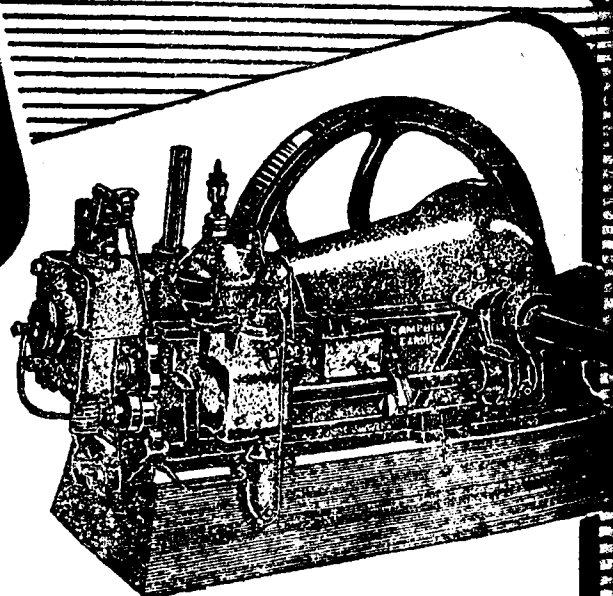
NOW RUNNING AT MADRAS GAIETY-CROWN AND ALL OVER THE PROVINCE...
DIRECTED BY GUNDEE SINGH NARAYAN Studio CENTRAL

For
DEPENDABILITY
and
ECONOMY

VISIT OUR STALLS
IN THE ALL INDIA KHADI,
SWADESI & INDUSTRIAL
EXHIBITION!

*See it working—you will say
it's "CAMPBELL" for me*

FOR LESS FUEL - MORE POWER - LONG LIFE.
For further particulars please ask for literature.



CAMPBELL
CRUDE OIL ENGINE

JAYEMS ENGINEERING COMPANY,

41, Linghi Chetty Street,
MADRAS-1.

Branches at:

Oppanakkara St., Silver Jubilee Park Rd., James Street,
COIMBATORE. BANGALORE CITY. SECUNDERABAD.

Residential Representatives at:

351/9, Ranganavari Street,
BEZWADA.

162-A, West Masi Street,
MATHURAI, (S. India).

of America or Asia. It was an industrial economy with a local agricultural basis that was the strength of Europe and is now its weakness. During the first Great War, America was able to make rapid advances in the types of industries which came to a standstill in Europe owing to the needs of the War. This momentum gained by U. S. A. was continued during the peace period between the first and second great wars and the foundation was laid for a large-scale agricultural as well as industrial development through the construction of multi-purpose river schemes. These schemes which are now very prominent in the economy of the U. S. A., such as the Tennessee Valley scheme and the Bureau of Reclamation schemes in Western U. S. A. have been executed in the course of the last 20 years. The foundation for economic developments lay in the production of large quantities of hydro-electric power. It was this power that not only enabled many factories to manufacture goods but also led to large-scale irrigation and agricultural production which has made the U. S. A. the largest granary of the world. Through the disturbances which were caused by the War and which continued after the War, Asia suffered from famine and it was America and Australia that were depended on to feed the famished parts of the world.

The U. S. A. was able in the course of the last few decades to take advantage of science first developed in Europe and then continued in U. S. A., and the natural resources which had lain unused for many centuries in U. S. A. with the labour available on a large scale in the U. S. A., because of the power of integration of its people. Other countries have natural resources comparable to those of U.S.A. but the spirit to develop them has not yet arisen. The history of the U. S. A. is a record of a spirit of adventure on the part of its people. As men went from the East to the West to the U. S. A., they took their lives in their hands. They overcame many obstacles and were able to build a rich civilisation.

In India too there are natural resources as great as in the U. S. A. The spirit of India has shown staying

power during 4,000 years. For the first 2,000 years, it showed the quality of adventure, of integration, of creation in many fields of religion, philosophy, art, social life, industry, in fact in all the lines along which man could be active both in the inner and outer life.

Europe has been able to develop mastery over nature through science to a greater extent than India ever did. The achievements of Europe are also the inheritance of the world. Science developed in the West is now part of the equipment with which India can further develop her own resources.

In China too there are great natural resources. There is, too, a population which has stood the test of time for as long as India and has developed the arts of life as richly as India. There is also the need now to apply the instruments which Europe has forged to the further exploitation of China's own resources. What stands in the way in China has been the lack of an orderly Government. It was hoped a few decades ago that China would fight her way through to a strong and orderly Government. That hope is yet to be realised. The possibilities of development in China have been so far frustrated through the lack of law and order in the country.

But the tale is different in India. The great gift of Britain to India has been the unification of India with the establishment of law and order. The maintenance of law and order is not something which once attained will automatically remain. Continuous attention and energy have to be applied if the orderly Government of India under the British is to continue with equal effectiveness in the present day Free India. It is our hope and trust that under the guidance of great leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel India will continue to have as well established a Government as in the past. Besides this, it is our hope and our trust that large-scale developments of the human and natural resources of India which were comparatively neglected by the British will now have free play.

Nature has provided for us resources such as rivers and water falls,

cultivable lands and forests. India with its tropical luxuriance of life growth has a vast reservoir of raw materials as well as labour power. The Government of the country can give technical training and provide power for industrial developments. But the creative power which will weld together all the elements that the country has and its Government can give must come from the people.

There are three types of industries—one is the key industry, in which the interests of the consumers are supreme and in which the initiative must largely come from the Government; another is the cottage industry in which the interests of the producers are supreme and which must depend on the initiative of the workers. In between these are the middle class of industries in which the interests both of consumers and producers are more or less balanced, in which the financiers and technicians have to co-operate. If the industrial life of the country is to be compared to a river, the key industries and cottage industries are like its banks, but the stream itself is composed of the middle class of industries. It is as the constructive power of the intelligent middle classes of the country

gets into energetic action that the industrial life of the country grows. In the years to come, the main responsibility for the industrial development of the country is not dependent on our inheritance of resources or the actions of our Government so much as on the spirit of the people of this land.

In the next few years, we shall have a large number of trained personnel from our technical institutions. In the past when technical personnel were scarce, financiers had to seek them. In the future it is the other way round. Technicians will hereafter have to seek the co-operation of financiers. Finance and technics by combination produce industry. If financiers do not seek technicians to produce industry, technicians have to seek financiers to develop industry. It is now the task of the present generation in India to apply all the riches of its inheritance and the country's political machinery and weld them together by its own spirit of adventure and creation.

I have every hope that India which has been weaving her life for four thousand years will produce new patterns with new materials with the spirit that has stood the test of time.

In the years ahead it seems possible that *satyagraha* may take root in the West—not primarily as the result of any change of heart but simply because it provides the masses, especially in the conquered countries, with their only practicable form of political action. The Germans of the Ruhr and the Palatinate resorted to *satyagraha* against the French in 1923. The movement was spontaneous; philosophically, ethically and organizationally, it had not been prepared for. It was for this reason that it finally broke down. But it lasted long enough to prove that Western people—and a people more thoroughly indoctrinated with militarism than any other—was perfectly capable of non-violent direct action, involving the cheerful acceptance of sacrificial suffering. Similar movements of *satyagraha* (more conscious of themselves this time, and better prepared for) may again be initiated among the masses of conquered Germany. The impracticability of any other kind of political action makes it very possible that this will happen sooner or later. It would be one of the happier ironies of history if the nation which produced *Klausewitz* and *Bernhardi* and *Hitler* were to be forced by circumstances to become the first large-scale exponent in the West of that non-violent direct action which has become, in this age of scientific progress, humanity's only practical substitute for hopeless revolution and self-stultifying or suicidal war.—*Science, Liberty and Peace*—By *Aldous Huxley*.



Winter Old grandma warms her hands at the fire in the little earthen pot. The cold wind blows through the bare branches of the trees as they scatter their last leaves. Along the winding, dusty lane a bullock-cart creaks and jolts, while its driver draws his chaddar tight against the penetrating cold. On the road and in the hut, in the fields and under the trees, everyone looks forward to the warmth and comfort of a cup of tea. There is no refreshment so universal, so cheap, so satisfying and so easy to get.



PREPARED BY THE INDIAN TEA MARKET EXPANSION BOARD

Any Time is Tea Time

Industrial PROGRESS

Our industrial progress has been rather slow till recently due to various reasons. But no more can we wait. Many gigantic industrial projects are taking shape and Cement is an important factor in all such constructions. TRAVANCORE CEMENTS LTD., have tackled the shortage problem successfully to satisfy all needs by VEMBANAD BRAND CEMENT.



A PRODUCT OF

TRAVANCORE CEMENTS LTD.

REGISTERED OFFICE: KOTTAYAM

FACTORY: NATTAKOM, KOTTAYAM

CENTURY-





THE BOOST-UP

PRE-INDEPENDENCE PROPAGANDA ABROAD

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

JUST as in a battle it is the commander who gets all the glory and recognition and not the men who do the actual fighting, so also it is in the nature of things that in a country's fight for freedom the succeeding generation are strangers to those who preceded them in achieving what little measure of success their successors were to enjoy. It is not a case of ingratitude but simply the way things happen. So, if certain matters are brought to light and certain names mentioned it is as a matter of record which might serve the future historian, for as Georges Duhamel says "l'historien est le romancier du passé." Such records have at the same time a utility value chiefly to the manufacturers of headgear, for neither the "bowler" nor the top-hat, nor even the "Gandhi cap" sits very comfortably on a swelled head. Though one hears little of Masaryk or of Benes these days there is no doubt that those who strut across the stage there do not feel altogether comfortable thinking of what those who remember but are forced to be silent must be thinking. Who, for example has heard of the Negro, Benjamin Banneker, architect, astronomer, mathematician, who laid out Washington, the American capital in 1792? In his day he was known in England and France, but after his death he was forgotten by the Americans whom he had served so well. It was only recently that a biographer has brought his record to light.

In the same way those who fought for India's emancipation were legion. They have belonged to many races. What a far cry is it from Hume's pathetic appeal for just *twenty-five* selfless workers for the cause of Indian freedom to this year of "Independence" when a drive by the party in power for enlisting "four-anna

members" results almost in a stampede, so anxious are the sons of Bharat today to be labelled "Congressmen." But the efforts of Hume Wedderburn, and Cotton, of Ram Mohun Roy, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, of Sri Aurobindo and Lokamanya Tilak bore fruit, yielding a harvest hardly envisaged by them. There is no such thing as a peaceful revolution, unless it is the revolution of our clocks. A country can buy its freedom, once it is lost, only by the blood of her sons and daughters. A country can safeguard its freedom, once it is won, only by the blood of her sons and daughters. This has been true of India as well as of any other country which fought for its freedom. If the transfer of Government as such was brought about by a peaceful technique, it was preceded by the Jalianwala Bagh and the Rowlatt Acts and the Andamans. How many thousands took bullets in their chests and fell, how many languished in jails, how many died in the malarial swamps of the Andamans? Their name is legion.

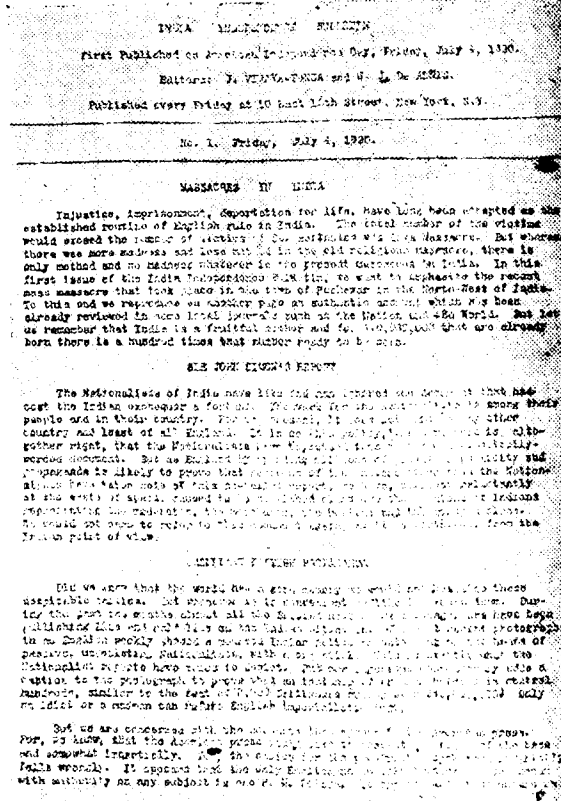
Had they formed battalions of an army their names would have been at least on the roll of honour. But, from the shape of things, they would find no place in a Hall of Fame if such an institution were to be founded in India. However they, wherever their spirits might abide, would be the least disappointed. For theirs was that unalloyed patriotism that did not calculate the chances of profit and preferment as the price of their patriotism. However much we may talk about a One World there will never be a greater glory than that a man lay down his life for his country, for that patch of Mother Earth that demanded of him a love that he would not share with anyone else or with anything else. If India is

Independent today no one individual more than another helped to make it so. Always those who had preceded had made the work of the successors possible. This is what we must remember when we sing our Hosannas on the twenty-sixth of January, 1950.

It was left for India to discover the disease known as "political suffering," its pathology and palliatives. There has never been in the world such an ailment associated with the traditions of patriotism, from the days of Panipat and Thermopylae to recent times. But to the shame of India it must be recorded that the descendants of those heroes who dared untold risks and planned valiant enterprises go about showing their "battle scars" in the form of a term of imprisonment, voluntarily sought in many instances, and ask for pity, preferment, jobs, and all kinds of favouritism. But someday probably the events and personalities in the fight for Independence in India will fall into the right perspective. Let us hope so.

A small part, very small indeed when compared to the risks of those who were frontline fighters in India's fight, was borne by those who went abroad or were forced to live abroad. Perhaps the very fact of their being away from the Motherland kindled in them a love for it which they might not have felt had they remained in their mother-country. While we would like to agree with so profound a thinker as Emerson that the world would beat a path to the door of him who makes a better mouse-trap it does not happen to be so. The world has always been, must always be, told. And there are always two sides to this telling. For reasons too well-known to be detailed here Great Britain (after World War I) found it expedient to give the world a very dark picture of Mother India.

The first India Independence Celebration ever to be held outside Indian soil was when in 1930 (following Jawaharlal Nehru's famous Declaration of Independence), we celebrated it in Philadelphia. There was a Public Lunch at which Dr. Sunderland was the guest of honour, and if I remember right, the Mayor of Philadelphia was also present. Later we all went in a procession to Liberty



A facsimile of the Indian Independence Bulletin published by the author in New York in 1930.

Square and rang the Liberty Bell. The papers headlined the event. The whole idea was Mazumdar's and he worked very hard to make it a success. A member of the Editorial staff of the *Saturday Evening Post* (whose name I forget) helped in making all the local arrangements. And it was at America that the greatest concentration of this propaganda was aimed. Miss Mayo's "Mother India" for all its factual accuracy was less a wholly spontaneous outburst and more an engineered frontal attack. Besides the official avenues through its Embassy and Consulates Great Britain had a host of workers in the field. The British Library of Information in New York carried on as a sideline the job of keeping a check upon Indians who were doing nationalist propaganda in America while at the same time being warily amenable to any approach from blacklegs.

The Nationalist Party in India were at best indifferent to the hostile activities directed against it abroad. Naturally there could be no Government expenditure of money for Nationalist propaganda but we had (as we have) millionaires who were (and are) always willing to make fabulous gifts to this "Mutt" and that Temple, each of them already scandalously overweighted with gold and money. So it was left to those who happened to be in those respective countries to do what little they could to counteract the formidable volume of propaganda that was let loose by those whose belts were stuffed with gold coins (as Lawrence of Arabia has admitted referring to his own work as a paid propagandist).

In America there were at that time (1928-1931, the period of my stay) Sallendranath Ghose, a member of the *Gadr* Party, the late Dhan Gopal Mukherji (already well-known as an author), Syed Hussain, Haridas Mazumdar, T. K. Rezmie, Mr. Bajpai (husband of Ragini Devi) and several others whose names I have to omit but whose work was as valuable as that of anyone else. Dr. Sudhindra Bose of Iowa University was also one of them. India had a host of friends among Americans though of course officially they were not very influential. There was Dr. Sunderland who wrote "India in Bondage"; there was Mrs. Julia Ellsworth Ford (who gave constant encouragement to Syed Hussain), and there was Miss Amy Blanche Watson, who was not rich enough to help with money but did a prodigious amount of work by writing articles and letters to the Press. Dr. John Haynes Holmes has remained a very faithful friend of India.

My own contribution was very modest but I am proud of it and must therefore record it. Though born in Ceylon I had the good fortune to go to Ahmednagar in 1918 when I was only a lad of sixteen. I had the further good fortune to live with the Patwardhan family for the nine months I was there. I still remember how Achyut Patwardhan flared up and corrected me when I referred to Mr. Tilak. "He is not *Mister* Tilak but *Lokamanya* Bala Gangadhar

Tilak!" Achyut was then only twelve but full of spirit.

There followed travel and experience in other parts of India—Travancore, Cochin, etc.—and a short period at the National University at Madanapalle, a period in Madras during the height of "Non-co-operation," Santiniketan in 1927, and then America in 1928.

The best known Indian in America was Syed Hussain, though his work there was not assessed at its proper value here in India. He of course lived in style, the exclusive Hotel Brevoort was his headquarters in New York, but we are yet to learn that the best treaties are drafted and the best propaganda is bruited at a good lunch or over a glass of sherry. Sallendranath Ghose was an uncompromising, somewhat embittered revolutionary but he was very popular with the Irish sections. Haridas Mazumdar who like Jayaprakash Narain, had worked his way through college (for sometime he was a packer and messenger at the *New York Times* office) was full of drive. (He has since acquired American citizenship.)

Besides being associated with them in their numerous activities my work consisted of lectures in colleges, universities and before Clubs and in Churches like Dr. Holmes's Community Church. I had also the distinction of being the first Indian to broadcast over the National Broadcasting Company's stations, both WJZ & WEA, and later I broadcast over every radio station in New York City—there were fourteen including WYNY, which is New York City Municipality's own station. I also published a mimeographed weekly bulletin *India Independence Bulletin*, a thousand copies of which were distributed each week to important people in the country. Except for Jehangir Wakil who sent me seventy-five rupees from Poona I neither received nor solicited any donations for this work the expenses of which were met by my earnings as a lecturer and writer. About this time we also started the Young India League with Haridas Mazumdar as President and myself as Secretary. It was (during the third year of my stay) while I was working with Haridas Mazumdar on the publi-

cations called "India Today & Tomorrow" series that one day I received a visit at our offices at 20 Vesey Street (from where *The Nation* is published) from the most unpleasant person I ever met. A German American, a member of the American Secret Police, he put me through a most gruelling questioning, going back to my ancestors, for over three hours. The result was that

a few days later I received notice to quit within two weeks!

At Southampton I was met by a representative of Scotland Yard; and altogether it was quite a distinction for a humble individual who has never thought of himself as a *revolutionary* but who has always backed the cause that happens to be unpopular.

FREE INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By AMAR LAHIRI

SO deeply is the perspective of world politics tinged with the Democracy-Communism conflict that India, in order to avoid international entanglements, has been obliged to steer a middle course. This fundamental objective has been repeatedly made clear by Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Nehru in clarifying what is generally called the Nehru Doctrine.

The Nehru Doctrine declares that India would not align herself with any Power Bloc, that in case India is menaced by an outside danger she would join that side which would best protect her sovereign interests, and that India would endeavour to promote closer intercourse with all the major powers. The three-step intention of the doctrine represents the idealism of the foreign policy of the Nehru Government. It is problematic whether the doctrine could be effectuated in a non-attached manner, especially when India is deficient in military and economic power and is not yet strong enough internationally to buttress the operation of her cherished non-involvement policy.

In the parlance of politics, the idealism envisaged in India's foreign policy epitomizes a significant Asian-type moral force, and so it discounts the use of military might to settle inter-country or international disputes. In terms of world politics, however, it discloses the external limitations of India to evaginate a third foreign-political force with a view to rendering secure the physical framework of her idealism. On the other hand, due to the lack of required military and economic vitality, it is

not possible for her to assert her moral force for the conjoined benefit of Asia.

There can be no question but that the idealistic aspect of the Nehru Doctrine not only conforms to the principles of the U. N. Charter but it advocates the propagation of friendly international relations, irrespective of irreconcilable political ideologies. It is obvious that in actual practice the doctrine is following a path which leans towards the democratic powers. This is the reason why the Communist bloc of nations led by Soviet Russia are averring that the foreign policy of Pandit Nehru has already made India a "camp follower" of the Democracies—an averment which has been repudiated by New Delhi.

The practical aspect of Nehru diplomacy shows that India has been made to adhere to a "middle of the road" foreign policy, firstly, to prevent an intensification of the Red cold war against her, secondly, to stay India's direct participation in the democracy-fostered cold peace, and thirdly, to maintain a national-international front in conducting external relations. This three-footed stand of India unfolds that she is pursuing a "two-timing" diplomacy, for she does not wish to antagonize either the Democratic or the Communist bloc. The result is that both blocs have become critical about her foreign policy.

This two-timing diplomacy is impeding India's closer relationship with the United States, though New Delhi is more anxious to obtain all types of American economic and technical assistance. The stalemate in the

signing of an Indo-American treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, for which Washington has taken the initiative and has submitted a revised draft to New Delhi, can be largely ascribable to U. S. non-approval of the two-timing diplomacy. Washington desires that New Delhi should openly team up with the Democratic bloc, if it were to receive all possible non-political American aids including capital investment. The desire of Washington and the Red suspicion suggest that reconditioning of the Nehru Doctrine is indispensable to make it more realistic, workable and pragmatic.

Britain too is not completely satisfied with Nehru diplomacy, chiefly because it is not supporting the Whitehall-conceived plan for organising a democratic defence front in South-Eastern Asia as the only means of checking the Red onrush. Moreover, differences exist between New Delhi and London on Commonwealth questions connected with Pakistan and South-Eastern Asia. In spite of such differences, Indo-British relations are progressing smoothly on account of India's broad link with the Commonwealth and her economic tie-up with the sterling area. Hence it can be said that free India's foreign policy is, to a certain extent, distempered with pro-British colouring.

It is evident that Nehru diplomacy has very little connection with India's home policy. In conducting internal affairs, the Nehru Government is exhibiting a definite anti-Red attitude on the ground that Indian Communists are "endangering the security of the State." Externally it is not being funnelled into a coherent anti-Soviet channel, for New Delhi does not want Moscow to gear a Red cold war against India under the aegis of the Moscow-Peking axis. As the Communist bloc looks with disfavour on the domestic Red suppression policy, it is viewing obliquely Nehru diplomacy.

Despite its imperfect nature, Nehru diplomacy has indeed contributed to the popularization of Asian affairs in the various U. N. organizations and in the Western world. This Asian complex points out that India's foreign policy is essentially instinct with Asianism and that, if it is hand-

ed rightly, that is to say, if other Oriental nations are made to feel that India is not remotely ambitious to carve a leadership for herself, she can play a very valuable role in the integration of pan-Oriental homogeneity. Since the Asian complex is still in an experimental stage, it has yet to take a physical shape suitable to the different political tastes of the Oriental nations. Oddly enough, certain Asian nations rightly or wrongly think that the Asia policy of India seeks to create an Indian bloc. Unless New Delhi, through practical co-operative efforts succeeds in removing the lurking suspicion of these nations, it will find it difficult to carry into effect the Asian part of its foreign policy.

The Asian complex apart, Nehru diplomacy is laying stress on internationalism which can be described as a tendency toward focussing India's attention on the Western world, particularly the Anglo-American world. The foreign policy speeches of Pandit Nehru and his recent visit to the United States exemplify the "Occidental trait" of Nehru diplomacy. In other words, like the Asian complex, the foreign policy of India has an Occidental complex. These two characteristics form the two-way make-up of Nehru diplomacy and they are certainly desirable, for they indicate that India, by maintaining cordial intercourse with all countries, can become a bridgehead linking the East with the West. The question is whether India can, at this stage, take up such a role. According to impartial opinion, it is too early to portray a concrete picture of the subject.

The Oriental and Occidental traits of Nehru diplomacy do not seem to have propelled the beneficial prosecution of the Pakistan policy of India. Although theoretically New Delhi is extremely alive to the need for harmonizing its relations with Karachi, even granting to it certain privileges, in actual application the Pakistan policy is not yielding the anticipated results. Indubitably, the India policy of Pakistan is delaying fruition of India's Pakistan policy. Then again, as India in her external affairs is traversing a path which is not necessarily complimentary to that of Britain, London is said to be manifesting more

sympathy to Karachi than to New Delhi. It is reported that Britain is supplying ship-loads of arms to Pakistan to reinforce her defence fabric. This defence preparedness is not unconnected with Pakistan's India policy, especially in view of the protracted Karachi impasse.

It is imperative that India should reformulate her Pakistan policy, so that New Delhi can get round Karachi to establish enduring good-neighbourly relations. An under-current of antagonism between both nations would, in the ultimate analysis, be harmful to India, for it is a foregone conclusion that relations between Karachi and London will be increasingly well-knit in the future. It is time for India to make a definite bid for reaching a durable understanding with Britain on Pakistan. If British-Pakistani friendship takes deep-seated roots without an understanding with India, it may lead to the adoption of a "stop India" policy by

Pakistan tacitly supported by Britain.

There is nothing radically wrong with the foreign policy of India; the only thing is that it is attaching more importance to idealism and moral politics than to realism and practical diplomacy. It is, therefore, no wonder that it is not functioning in a hitchless manner. The actualization of the Nehru Doctrine is dependent, not on manipulating international political deals but on making basically pragmatic moves commensurate with the practical diplomatic interests of India. Consequently, while rating India as "a big nation," steps should be taken to bare her defects and limitations in a subjective and objective manner. If India's foreign policy has to be of wholesome benefit to Asia, it is apparent that India should fit into the broader Oriental way and try to appreciate other Asian nations in terms of their respective policies, aspirations and environments.

VARADACHARY is the WATCH WORD

For Service in everything

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Your old favourite firm

P. VARADACHARY & CO.

with 80 years experience

Estd. 1869

Phone: 2781

Book Sellers, Publishers & Agents for Central and Madras Govt. Publications, Sole Distributors for Butterworth's Legal and Medical Publications, Library Suppliers, University Suppliers etc. etc.

8, LINGHA CHETTY STREET, MADRAS.

OUR FIGHT FOR FREEDOM: A SURVEY

By Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

THE history of a nation is the history of its great institutions and the history of these is the history of its great men. In recounting the events of Indian history over the past century, we have to look upon it as the story of the Indian National Congress.

Five and sixty years of a nation's progress with all its vicissitudes in its march from subjection to Freedom must bear the rudiments of the struggle traceable back to a whole generation. If the movement was born in 1885 under the name and style of the Indian National Congress, the condition that led to the birth were undoubtedly preceded by a period of gestation extending over a whole generation. This movement was the direct result of the repercussion of the three great steps taken by the British Government soon after the conclusion of the Great Indian Mutiny. They consisted in the establishment of three Universities in 1858, three Legislatures in 1860 and three High Courts in 1861. It was thus that the beginnings of the system of English education, method of English law and English style of politics were planted in the domains of education, justice and politics. Two sets of results followed,—one a state of happy elevation of a few in the halls of honour of the British authorities and a sullen attitude in some of these and in the numerous alumni of the Universities who had not made good under the new scheme. In the absence of better methods of agitation, secret societies were hatched in certain districts. To counteract these subversive activities the Indian National Congress was organized to focus public opinion on the national demand as it found expression then, to bring together in social and political comradeship the people of India from

different areas. The institution was ushered into existence, in a sense, under the auspices of the Governor-General Lord Dufferin and an English Civilian A. O. Hume. But ere long the British authorities regarded the movement as seditious so early as in 1888. From that day forward, Congress was hard put to it to prove itself loyal against the charges of the authorities, openly made and relentlessly pursued. The latter however realized that the popular agitation demanded a response and within eight years, the elected element of six or seven members, was introduced into the Legislatures of the day and this element steadily went on being added to in the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1908 and the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. Both these instalments were preceded by conditions which made the response unavoidable. Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty (1899-1907) was marked by reactionary measures, notable amongst which was the Partition of Bengal (16th October 1905) which gave birth to the spread of a new spirit over the whole country, a newly awakened political consciousness. Lord Curzon was followed by Lord Minto who sought to ease the tension in the country, just as Lord Ripon was sent to ease the situation created by Lords Lytton and Northbrook in the seventies of the 19th century. The fact is that as the political demands of the Indian people were rising step by step, Government also made a point of pursuing a dual policy of repression and response. Between 1905 and 1912 there was severe repression consisting of Seditious Meetings Act, 1908, Press Act 1910, Criminal Law Amendment Act 1912, and it was during this period that the second instalment of Reforms was given. This period was one of intense political awakening in which

the terrorist activities of 1908-10 had a bout of recrudescence. Lokamanya Tilak was convicted for six years on 18th July 1908. The Press was gagged and political organizations were declared unlawful. A bomb was thrown on Lord Hardinge in the Chandni Chowk in 1913. The Coronation of King George V provided the opportunity to Government to annul the partition, separate Bihar from Bengal and lay down the principle of Provincial Autonomy based upon linguistic, cultural, administrative and economic affinities.

The Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Mrs. Besant was inaugurated, Lokamanya Tilak being its forerunner as the founder of the Maharashtra Home Rule League (April 1916) which was followed by the All-India Home Rule League (October 1916). Mrs. Besant with two colleagues was interned in Ootacamund (June 14th to November 14th in the year 1917). This was the time of the Mesopotamian muddle in the World War No. 1 and Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State, had to resign and make way for Mr. Montague. This young Jew visited India and published the Montague-Chelmsford Report in 1918 (June) which proposed to establish Responsible Government through dyarchy in stages, with concurrent advance in education and increasing association of Indians with administration. These reforms took shape on the 25th December, 1918 on which day the Ali Brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who had been interned for nearly five years were released. The passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 was preceded by what is known in history as the Jallianwala Bagh massacre—which itself was occasioned by the Rowlatt Bills (two repressive measures invading all civil liberties) and the reactions in the popular mind against them. Gandhi came to India from South Africa and conducted three experiments of his Transvaal Satyagraha movement in Khaira, Borsad and Champaran.

In 1919 the Congress session met in Amritsar. Gandhi had difficulty at the Congress session in carrying a condemnation of mob violence, but succeeded finally in doing so. The fury of the people caused by the Jalli-

anwalla Bagh massacre, was aggravated by the betrayal of the Khilafat cause by the British. The Moslems and the Hindus joined hands and on 9th April 1920, non-co-operation with Government was planned. Tilak died on the 1st of August 1920, and Gandhi assumed leadership. A special session of the Congress was held in September 1920 in Calcutta when non-co-operation with Government in respect of schools, colleges, law courts and councils was passed. With this decision, a new era began, viz., the era of SWARAJ. The Congress creed was altered at Nagpur (1920, December) into "the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means." Swadeshi, from that day, meant hand-spun, hand-woven cloth and the use of all village-made goods. Boycott was to cover all foreign goods, as to single out British goods might smack of violence. National education was once again revived and Home Rule gave place to Swaraj. Congress declined to enter the Legislative Councils. The visit of the Prince of Wales was boycotted in 1921 and the first essay in Civil Disobedience on a nation-wide scale was made in this connection. Gandhi planned a no-tax campaign in the Bardoli and Anand talukas of Gujarat and his plan was endorsed in the shape of mass disobedience at the Ahmedabad session in 1921. On the eve of this session there were some negotiations between Lord Reading and Gandhi, which proved abortive. Gandhi, however, gave up the no-tax campaign on account of the outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura in which 21 constables and a sub-inspector were burnt alive. Gandhi was soon after arrested and sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment. His departure gave the signal for doubts about Civil Disobedience and a special committee was appointed to consider the question. The Committee toured the country and its opinion was equally divided as between Civil Disobedience and Council-entry. In 1923 (September) a special session of the Congress was held at Delhi and the session in a way permitted Council-entry which was ratified at Cocanada (1923 December). Gandhi was released on February 5, 1924 and presided over the Belgaum session in December 1924. The country was not

in a mood to revive Satyagraha. Council entry was endorsed by the Congress in 1925 (Cawnpore) but really the Congress had been partitioned, as it were, at Patna (September 1925) between those who believed in the constructive programme and those who believed in the Council front. It did not take long, however, for the latter group to get disillusioned. It fell to the lot of Pandit Motilal Nehru himself to suggest resignation of Congressmen from the Councils which were tendered early in 1930. Before that stage was reached, i. e., in 1928, the Congress under his presidentship at Calcutta gave a year's notice to the British Government to establish Dominion Status. Nothing having materialised and Gandhi's talks with Lord Irwin on the 23rd December 1929 having proved fruitless, the flag of Independence was hoisted at Lahore on the 31st December 1929.

Here commences the next era,—that of Complete Independence, which threw into the shade the prevailing vague expression of Swaraj which was interpreted to mean within the Empire if possible, and without if necessary. For Independence to be established, a strenuous fight was necessary—which took the form of Salt Satyagraha attended by no-tax campaign in Bardoli in Gujarat, in the Sirsi and Siddapur talukas in Karnataka and minor allied campaigns elsewhere. An eight-month struggle ensued in India while in England the Round Table Conference convened in London in December 1930 wholly failed, whereupon Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Premier thought it necessary, alike in the face of the Congress activities and under the pressure of moderates like Sapru, Jayakar and Sastri, to treat with the Congress. On the 26th January 1931 Gandhi and 26 others who, at one time or other, were members of the Congress Working Committee were released and negotiations were opened while yet the Satyagraha fight was going on and 60,000 prisoners continued to remain inside the jails. The talks ended in the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on 5th March 1931, which marked the first success of the movement and by virtue of which certain salt concessions were made, picketing was permitted on non-violent lines,

the right to Satyagraha for redress of agrarian grievances was conceded and the lands sold out in the no-tax campaign were agreed to be restored. In return the Congress gave up its demand for enquiry into police excesses and undertook to see that the taxes held back in Gujarat were paid. Gandhi thereafter attended the Round Table Conference in December 1931. When Gandhi was still in London, Pandit Jawaharlal was arrested in U. P. and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in N.-W.F.P. while ordinance rule was established in Bengal. On Gandhi's return he found things in a mess. In London the Muslims had adopted an avowedly communal attitude, while the moderates proved a stumbling block to progress, and Government sought to divide the Harijans from the Hindus. Gandhiji wished to see the Viceroy but Lord Willington refused him audience and once again hostilities broke out on Congress re-adopting the programme of civil disobedience. 1,20,000 people were arrested in 1932-33. Gandhi went on a fast unto death, on the issue of the separation of the Harijans from Hindu fold in Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award in March 1932. In six days the Award was amended and the Harijans got many more seats than they were given by the Premier. The repression of 1932-33 was severe and relentless. Gandhi claimed the right, while in prison, to conduct the Harijan campaign and refusal of permission in that behalf compelled him to repeat his fast in 1933. He was released during the fast and, therefore, he avowed abstinence from active politics for a year, during which he exclusively worked for the Harijan cause. In April 1934 he decided to suspend the Satyagraha campaign and his decision was ratified by the A.-I.C.C. at Patna in May 1934. Lord Willington thought that he had crushed the Congress and, therefore, held the election to the Central Assembly in 1934 November. The Congress decided to accept the challenge at its Bombay session (October 1934) under Dr. Rajendra Babu's presidentship. The results were a triumph for the Congress. From 1934 to 1945 the Congress Party in the Central Assembly worked with remarkable unity and in

an unbending spirit of resistance to the bureaucracy.

In 1935 the new Government of India Act was passed and only the part thereof referring to Provincial Autonomy was put into force. The Congress came out triumphant in 6 out of 11 provinces in the new provincial elections held in February 1937 but refused to form Ministries until assurances were given that the Governors would not interfere in the day-to-day administration under the safeguards and reserved powers contemplated in the Act. After 4 months these assurances were given in June 1937 and Congress Ministries were formed in July in 6 provinces. Later Assam and N.-W.F. toed the line with the Congress. Here begins a new era, the Era of Responsibility, to which the era of mere agitation had yielded place. The Congress Governments were in office for two years and three months. During this short period, they had considerable legislation and numerous reforms to their credit. Prohibition and Agricultural Debt Relief were common factors that claimed the earliest attention throughout them all. In provinces like the U. P. and Orissa, tenancy reform was undertaken in accordance with the Fundamental Rights approved at Karachi (1931) and the Agrarian Reforms passed at Lucknow (1936). Village reconstruction obtained special attention in U. P., removal of illiteracy was emphasised in Behar, C. P. specialised in the spread of basic schools along with Bombay, while Madras made decent grants for the promotion of Khaddar. The work of the Congress Ministries had to be collated. There was no Central Government to effect such co-ordination. The Working Committee had, therefore, to do it.

The outbreak of the 2nd World War on September 3, 1939, brought to the fore the question of Congress participation in the war-effort. Since 1929, the Congress had been organising the country in view of a possible war. When the war came, the Congress Working Committee asked the British Government what their war aims were and how they were going to apply them to India. The astounding reply was that the British had not as yet finalised their own war aims. This left no alternative to the Congress

Ministries but to resign and they all went out of office in October and November 1939 with the result that the provinces concerned were taken charge of by the respective Governors under Section 93 of the Act of 1935. In August 1940 Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, made simultaneous statements to the effect that a few more seats in the Executive Council of the Governor-General would be thrown open to the Indians and that Federation could not be implemented as 90 million of Muslims had strong objections to its being done. There was no alternative before the Congress but to meet this affront by declaring Individual Civil Disobedience as a protest against India being dragged without her knowledge and against her will into a war, which was not her own. Gandhi remained outside to conduct this movement and was allowed to do so by the Viceroy. Names were picked and chosen and after a year's campaign the Civil Disobedience prisoners were released.

We now enter upon the year 1942. Early in March that year an announcement was made in Parliament that Sir Stafford Cripps would be taking a new offer from the British Government to India. No sooner had Sir Stafford Cripps reached Delhi than he opened his mission on 25th March with a conversation with the Congress President. India's destiny was to be decided by herself, between Dominion Status and Complete Independence. A constitution-making body was to be formed after the war from out of the Provincial Legislatures after the latter were duly renewed. In return for all this, Indians should co-operate in the war effort and form a National Government, which would, however, not be responsible to the Legislature but only to the Viceroy. In the course of negotiations, it was conceded that although the Commander-in-Chief would be in exclusive charge of the conduct of the war, there would be a Defence Member in charge of certain minor sections of the Defence Department. This did not satisfy the Congress nor would Cripps agree to revise the list of subjects proposed to be handed over to the Defence Member. The negotiations broke upon the

failure to concede the Cabinet's responsibility to the Legislature and the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Defence Member. Cripps placed the responsibility for the failure on the Congress and on Gandhi.

Here begins still another era—the Era of Mass Revolt in India. Gandhi realised that so long as the British held power there was no salvation for this country. He reversed his slogan of communal unity first and Swaraj next, and demanded that the British should quit India, by which he meant that they should cease to rule India. Gandhi agreed to the retention of the American troops for war purposes. But he urged mass disobedience against British rule, of course on his own plans of Satyagraha. On August 8th 1942 the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution setting forth the national demand. Hardly, however, had the resolution been passed on the 8th August 1942, when in the early hours of the morning of the 9th, wholesale arrests were made of Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the Working Committee and many others. The news of the arrest of Gandhi and the members of the Working Committee spread like wild fire and infuriated the masses who gathered in thousands in Bombay and in other cities in India and were dispersed at the point—not merely of the lathi but of the rifle and the machine gun. The leonine violence of the authorities roused the “inflammablest, immeasurablest masses” to the heights of their fury and they soon lost control over themselves. A vicious circle was thus established in which the old story of brickbats and bullets was repeated by Government and of looting and arson was repeated by the people. It would take a volume, to describe the charges of atrocities and crimes levelled against each other by the people and the Government.

At the end of the first six months of his detention Gandhiji went on a twenty-one day fast—the fourteenth one in his life and that, at the age of 73. It was the only means of registering his protest against the living death to which he was consigned, of vindicating his honour and the honour of the Congress. The fast ended on 3rd March 1943 and Government

resumed their wonted ways of repression.

Gandhiji's very serious illness in the Aga Khan Palace in the month of May 1944 made inevitable his release which took place on 6th of May 1944. Gandhi lost no time thereafter in announcing that the Mass Civil Disobedience portion of the resolution of the 8th August 1942, Bombay, stood automatically cancelled. At the same time he took care to emphasise the fact that the rest of the resolution which represented the national demand, stood intact.

Lord Wavell, who succeeded Linlithgow, went the length of suggesting in a letter he addressed on 15th August 1944, to Gandhi on the eve of his talks with Jinnah (as then timed) that it was not enough if the League and the Congress joined hands and agreed, but that the agreement of the various important groups in the country should be simultaneously secured for any progress to be achieved. The failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, which took place in September 1944, on the issue of Pakistan, added another forceful weapon to the British armoury.

On the 14th June 1945 Lord Wavell gave a broadcast in which he outlined the policy the British Government was determined to pursue and concluded the broadcast with the announcement that the members of the Working Committee were to be released forthwith.

That the Congress was greatly helpful at the Simla Conference held in June '45 and that it was a pity that the Conference should have failed was frankly and freely admitted by Lord Wavell. That the responsibility for its failure lay upon Jinnah, who refused to furnish his list of nominees to the Executive Council and who, in the alternative, did not agree to the names included therein by Lord Wavell himself for the League, was made unequivocally clear by the Viceroy in an address delivered on 14th July.

We now come to the last phase of India's struggle for Freedom. The British Cabinet sent in March 1946 a Mission of three to continue the spade work done by Cripps in 1942. The Muslim League was a pawn in the hands of British Conservative leaders

and, to make a long story short, things were so manoeuvred that the League at first refused to join the interim Government at the Centre and later joined it but refused to join the Constituent Assembly and finally it became inevitable for Congress to agree to partition of India into Pakistan composed of Sind, Western Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Eastern Bengal, the rest forming the Indian Union. But the woes of India did not end here, for Pakistan started a genocide of Hindus which roused reprisals in the Indian Union, the deaths aggregating to 7 lakhs—while simultaneously there was an exodus of 55 lakhs of Hindus into the Indian Union and 35 lakhs of Muslims into Pakistan. These events followed the decision of Britain to quit India on 15th August 1947. Quit they did, but they left a bad legacy in releasing the 562 princes from obligation of Paramountcy which was terminated. The sudden freedom so acquired tempted several princes to try their fortunes on the Delhi Fort but in due time they were put in their place. Pakistan did not leave the Union alone but helped the Frontier tribes to invade Kashmir, but was put back. Likewise a revolt was staged by the Nizam but, in September 1948, police action was started by the Union Government and the Nizam surrendered within five days.

The Constituent Assembly which met on December 9, 1946 carried on its work and completed the Constitution on 25th January 1950. A Federal

structure has been evolved, the States and the Provinces have been put on a level, the head of the Republic is to be called President, and executive heads are to be Governors of States (Provinces). The Central Legislature is bicameral and States' Legislatures unicameral to start with. Adult franchise is introduced and voting is to be free, equal, direct and secret. Fundamental Rights have been drawn up including those of minorities, Scheduled-classes and tribes. In addition, directives relating to policy are added. The judiciary including a Federal Court, the Public Service Commission and the Controller and Auditor-General are made independent of the executive, their salaries not being votable. Federal, State and concurrent list of subjects are drawn up, and financial provisions are carefully enacted. A stupendous task has been undertaken and finished. India is today a Sovereign Democratic Republic and, as such, has chosen to remain in the Commonwealth of Nations. She has already made a mark in the international world. She has accredited her diplomatic representatives to 24 nations and received as many from them in her own capital. She has held several international conferences of labour and co-operation, health and food, world government and world religions. India in bondage was, for long, the bone of contention amongst the nations of the world and India free is the guarantee of the world's peace and prosperity. —Copyright.

A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity land there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realisation of Utopias.—Oscar Wilde.

All the art of living lies in a fine mingling of letting go and holding in. The man who makes the one or the other, his exclusive aim in life will die before he has even begun to live....To live rightly we must imitate both the luxury of nature and her austerity.—Havelock Ellis.

Religion to a child simply means fear....And to introduce fear into a child's life is the worst of all crimes. For ever the child says Nay to life, for ever is he an inferior, for ever a coward.—A. S. Neill.

“DARPANA” PRESENTS SRIMATI MRINALANI SARABHAI

By “NABUS”

THE Natya stage of Madras has been, for sometime past, the preserve of the Lilliputians. The “Babies” and “Kumaris” who should have been staying at home hugging their feeding bottles or counting beads in Montessori classes have been allowed to dance and sing of love and devotion, bondage and liberation, and Bhakti and Moksha, while high dignitaries of the State have been presiding at their “arangatras” instead of spanking them on their backs for being “naughty.” It was therefore a great change from the unreal to the real to attend Darpana's presentation (St. Mary's Hall, Sunday) of grown-up women and men in an exposition of a harmonised, pleasing and straightforward synthesis of the South Indian arts of Kathakali and Bharata Natya.

What struck me as very pleasing indeed was the sense of artistry in every detail. Even the two anna programme sheet was beautifully printed on exquisite paper, its editing being excellent. The one rupee programme was a work of superb art, well worth carrying home in its own shape, size and get-up. The stage was decorated with simplicity and elegance; the lighting arrangements were just correct, they did not hurt the eye, and there was no evidence of the crude and vulgar alternation of coloured lights focussed on the artistes which has been a feature of the Natya stage in Madras for some years. The dresses were authentic, effective and elegant; there was enough colour and enough material to give the ‘Indian’ touch. Even the two microphones before the Veena artistes were colourfully clothed and shrouded in a manner that made them look, from a distance, like penguins in Indian costume! Everything was, so to say, very satisfying and artistically appetising!

Of Mrinalini's dancing much that is deserved has been mentioned during recent months. I saw her on the stage on Sunday for the first time,

and I was greatly enthused by her lithesome rhythm and lilt. Her expression was uniformly sustained by her devotion to the authentic, while the grace of her movements was enhanced by the even tempo of her dance carefully correlated to an effective portrayal of the emotion and sustenance of the melody.

The first part of the programme before interval was devoted to Natya exposition in pure Kathakali and Bharata Natya styles. There was a solo, a duet and a group dance item, all rendered in authentic style with perfect harmony and devotion to bhava, raga and tala. After the interval we were treated to two dance dramas “Abhisarika” and “Manushya,” the former devoted to a theme of love, and the latter to the portrayal of human evolution, the birth, life and death of man. Man is born, develops the ego, goes through childhood, attains adolescence, falls in love, becomes mature, sees life in the raw, attempts altruism and fails, fights his three inhibitions of anger, fear and greed, is worn out in the struggle, loses the zest for living and dies—the primordial story of human travail. In portraying this theme, Mrinalini has succeeded very ably in a synthesis of Kathakali and Bharata Natya with a constant emphasis on adherence to the authentic and the complete freedom from any vulgarity, cheapness or lack of co-ordinated harmony. There was perfect team work throughout, such that signified a complete understanding of the theme by all the dancers. The music which was provided by Srimathis Visalakshi and Sankari was of a high order and completely free from any attempt to lower the concept of the theme. When Manushya was attempting to free himself from thralldom, the piece that was sung was “Viduthalai” of Bharathiar, set to music which was extremely appropriate. The travails of a sensitive soul wailing for liberation from human bondage, but not screaming or shouting for it was well

set to melody, and the difference should have been noticed by listeners with perspicacity had they been acquainted with the usual manner in which this song has been sung during recent years.

Several people there are who object to a synthesis of Kathakali and Bharata Natya. They are the ostriches of artistic appreciation. They rebel against any attempt at fusion of the old systems. They constantly remind me of parents who allow their girls and boys to study together, play together, talk, eat and laugh together, but would not have them marry each other and would wring their necks for transgressing the bounds of caste, sub-caste and creed. So, in art, when all systems grow together, and art gets out into the open from being the close preserve of the initiated few, it is bound to be a plaything in the hands of the practising many. It may be that in the process, sometimes a hotch potch may result, but not quite often. In the hands of a person like Mrinalini, who has given handsome evidence of devotion and passion for the promotion of the purest style in

drama and music, a synthesis of Kathakali and Bharata Natya is possible and with extra-ordinarily good effect.

Mrinalini has displayed great courage in the promotion of Darpana which is a non-profit making body sponsored by the Karmakshetra Educational Foundation. I have no doubt that, however tardy may be public response at present to her endeavours, she will eventually carry through her programme for artistic renaissance to blazing success.

Sunday's performance ended with a rendering of "Jana Gana Mana," during which the audience stood demurely without any vocal response. We Indians as a class still lack the vibrant vitality of western nations for full-throated response to the need for community singing. We should develop this habit at least when the national anthem is sung. The silence of the audience reminded me of the devoted Indian husband who was always shy of being affectionate to his wife in public even to the extent of leaving her behind in a crowd trailing his footsteps with demure coyness.

Most people will tell you that communism is known only in this country as a visionary project advocated by a handful of amiable cranks. Then they will stroll off across the common bridge, along the common embankment, by the light of the common gas lamp shining alike on the just and the unjust, up the common street, and into the common Trafalgar Square where, on the smallest hint that communism is to be tolerated for an instant in a civilised country, they will be handily bludgeoned by the common policemen, and haled off to the common gaol. When you suggest to these people that the application of communism to the bread supply is only an extension, involving no new principles, of its application to street lighting, they are bewildered.

** ** ** **

The secret of being miserable is to have leisure to bother about whether you are happy or not. The cure for it is occupation, because occupation means preoccupation; and the preoccupied person is neither happy nor unhappy, but simply active and alive, which is pleasanter than any happiness until you are tired of it.

** ** ** **

To people who are not overworked holidays are a nuisance. To people who are, and who can afford them, they are a troublesome necessity. A perpetual holiday is a good working definition of hell.—George Bernard Shaw.

Jammi's **LIVER CURE**

**TAKES THE DREAD OUT
OF CHILDREN'S LIVER
COMPLAINTS**

Unless it is too late, Jammi's Liver Cure is the one infallible remedy for enlarged liver and spleen in children, as proved by thousands of successful cures in the past years.



Jammi Venkataramanayya & Sons

Mysore, Madras Sandhurst Rd., Bombay 4. Harrison Road, Calcutta
 (Phone No. 8137) (Phone No. 41593)
 Also at: Lucknow, Bangalore, Trichinopoly, etc.

Standard General Assurance Co., Ltd.

(Head Office: CALCUTTA)

Chairman:

Sir Badridas Goenka, Kt., C.I.E.

General Manager:

U. N. Chatterjee

**TRANSACTS FIRE, MARINE, MOTOR AND OTHER
ACCIDENT INSURANCES**

MADRAS OFFICE:

37, ERRABALU CHETTY STREET,

POST BOX No. 1602.

MADRAS 1.

TELEPHONE: 4779

TELEGRAMS: "STANGENAL"

Manager:

T. S. MUTHUSWAMI, M.A., B.L.

Consult

THE
MADRAS PENCIL FACTORY
FOR
STAR OF INDIA PENCIL

HOE & COMPANY

for High Class Printing & Lithography

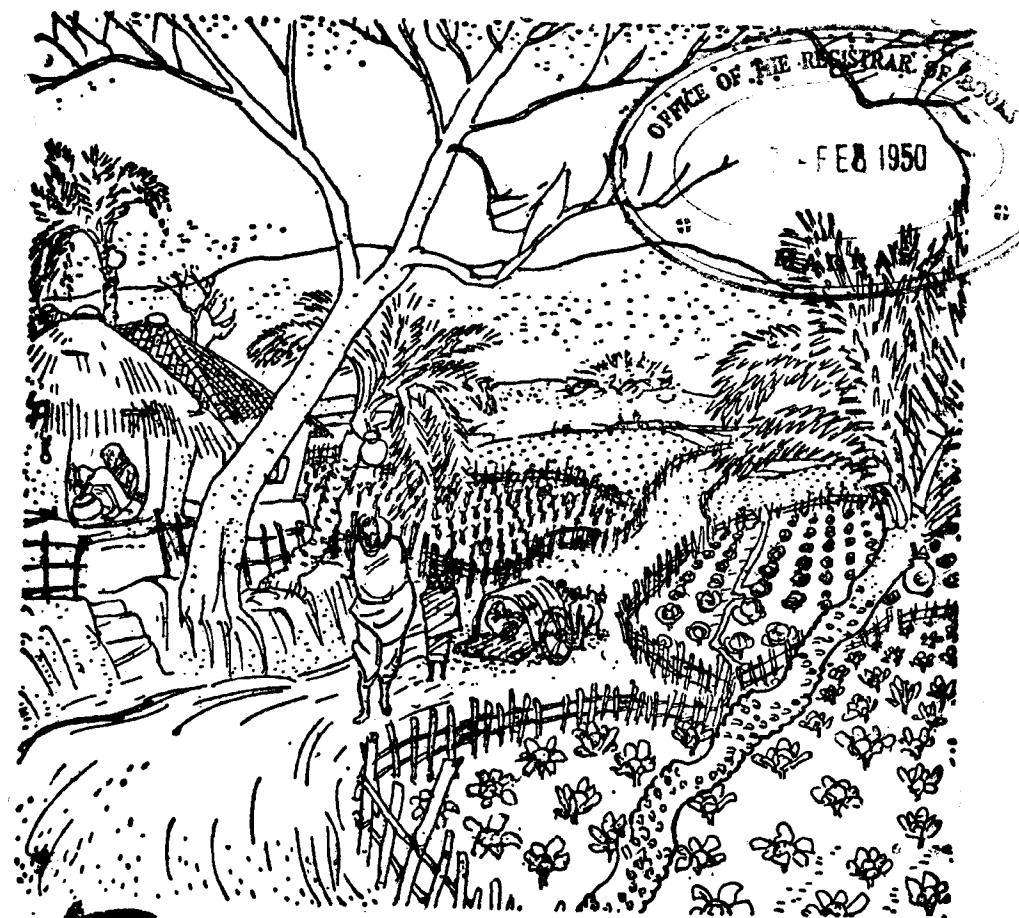
V. PERUMALL CHETTY & SONS

for

All Kinds of High Class Stationery

5, STRINGER STREET,

MADRAS 1.



Winter Old grandma warms her hands at the fire in the little earthen pot. The cold wind blows through the bare branches of the trees as they scatter their last leaves. Along the winding, dusty lane a bullock-cart creaks and jolts, while its driver draws his chadder tight against the penetrating cold. On the road and in the hut, in the fields and under the trees, everyone looks forward to the warmth and comfort of a cup of tea. There is no refreshment so universal, so cheap, so satisfying and so easy to get.

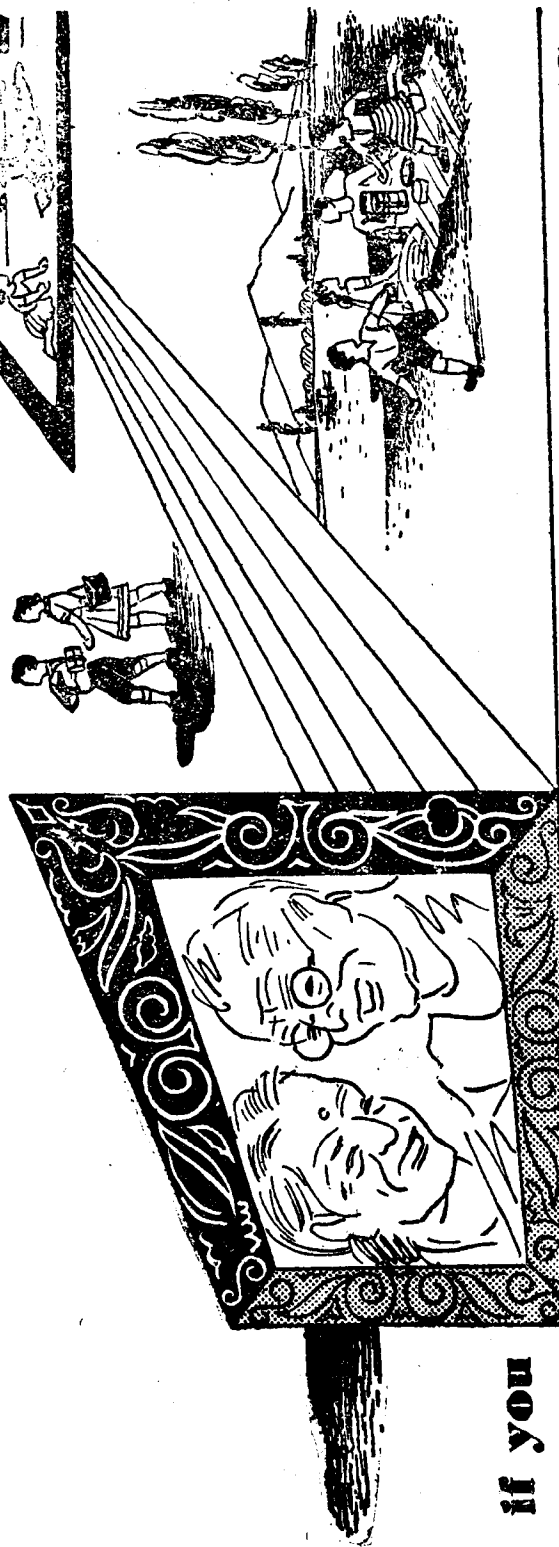


Tea

INSERTED BY THE CENTRAL TEA BOARD

Any Time is Tea Time

You don't have to worry about the future



if you

Invest
in

NATIONAL SAVINGS CERTIFICATES

Obtainable from Post Offices,
Authorized Agents and Savings Bureaux.
Issued by the Ministry of Finance Govt. of India, New Delhi
A.C. 77

THE MADRAS ANDHRA BANK LIMITED

Estd : 1923

Head Office :
MASULIPATAM

Paid-up Capital & Reserves
Rs. 34,00,000

Deposits Exceed
Rs. 5,00,00,000

Total Working Funds Exceed
Rs. SIX CRORES

Madras Office: 378, Esplanade,

Thyagarayanagar Office:
81/82, Pondy Bazaar.

Mylapore Office: 49, Kutchery Road.

CHAIRMAN

S. R. Y. SIVARAMA PRASAD
BAHADUR GARU

Rajah Saheb of Challapalli

MANAGING DIRECTOR

Sri Tadepally Sriramulu Garu

Branches & Sub-Offices all over
the Northern Circars.

All kinds of Banking Business
transacted.

London Agents:

MESSRS. BARCLAYS BANK LTD.

For Particulars:

Please apply to any Office of the Bank

E. VARNASY,
M.A., B.Com., LL.B., C.A.L.B.,
General Manager.

- FEB 1950

SWATANTRA

VOL. IV, NO. 52.

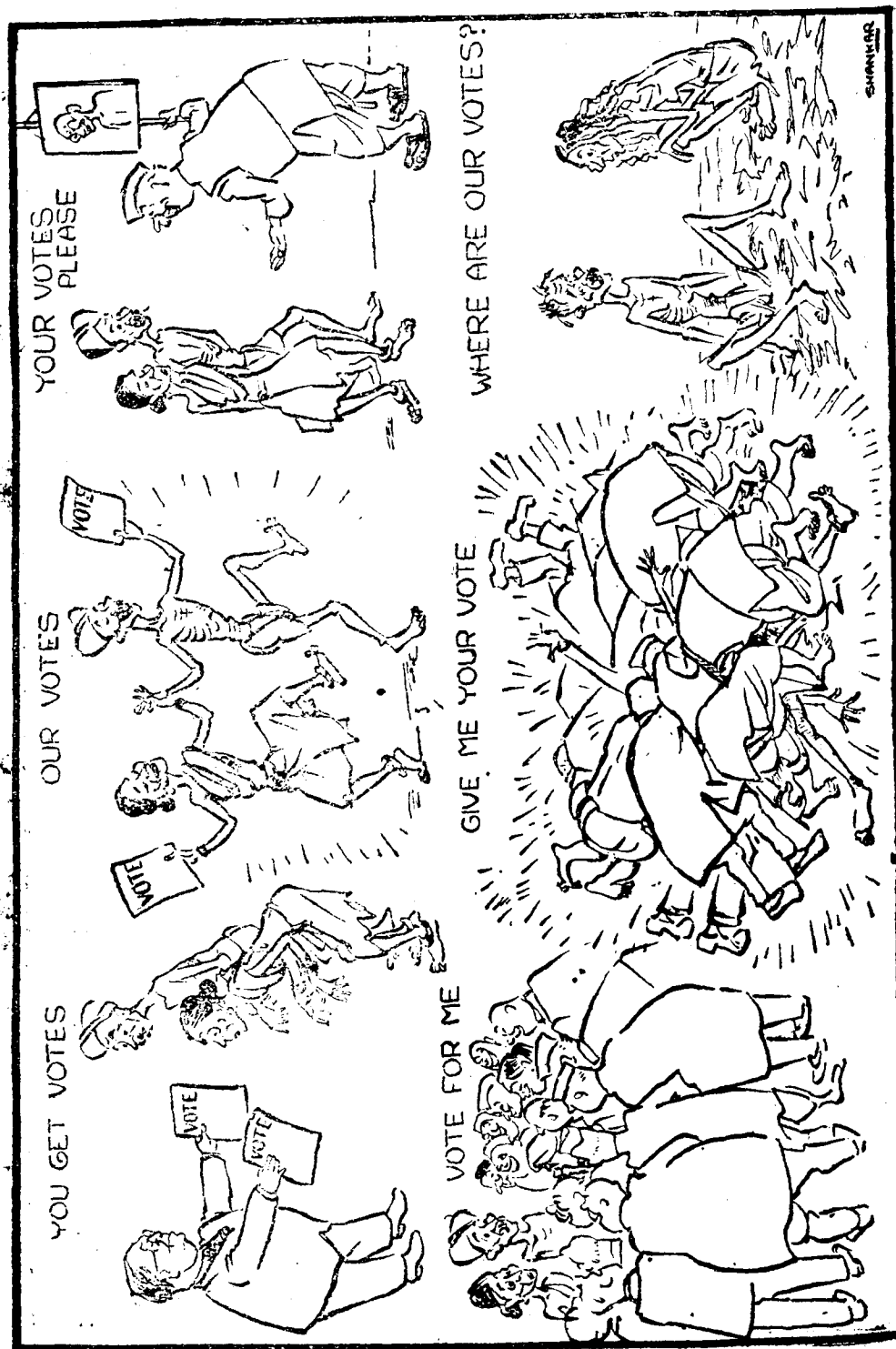
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1950

CONTENTS

PAGE

On The Cover—Mr. C. Raja-gopalachari being greeted by the Governor on his arrival at Madras (Photo by Swatantra Staff Photographer Mr. R. Krishnan).	
Frontispice—Cartoon	5
Editorial Comment	5
Sotto Voce—By Vighneswara	7
Sidelights—By Saka	9
All India Republican Party	11
U. S. Popularity Poll—By P. G. Krishnayya	12
America's President and Press—By Anthony Leviero	13
Chinese Communists And South-East Asia—By Andrew Roth	17
Ralph E. Turner—By S. Krishniah	20
Lynchings In U. S. In 1949	21
One Week Of Hard-Court Tennis—By Our Sports Correspondent	22
Three Days At Chepauk—By N. S. Ramaswami	23
Expense And Publicity Without Benefit—By 'Peepin'	25
Agrarian Reforms—By D. V. Rama Rao	27
The Social Graces Of Nehru—By V. Subramanian	29
Indo-American Relations—By Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya	31
Our President (Azad Qalam)—By K. A. Abbas	33
Nurseries For Science—By V. P. Raman	36
New Delhi Diary	38
Kashmir—By V. Kalyanasundaram	39
A. Rama Iyer	41
India's Role In South-East Asia—By L. F. Rushbrook Williams	42
Evangelists Of Efficiency—By Bhikku	43
Letters To The Editor	46

A Kingdom for a Vote



SWATANTRA

VOL. IV
No. 52

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1950

ISSUED
WEEKLY

DEFIANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION

"FOR the reason that Fundamental Rights have been specified in the new Constitution Act, there is no need to modify the Madras Government's orders governing communal representation. The existing orders will therefore continue." This opinion is reported to have been expressed by the Chief Secretary this week. The significance of the term "therefore," in the Chief Secretary's announcement, conveying an impression of cause and effect, is not quite clear. Does it mean that the Madras Government considers itself immune from the obligation of bringing its policies and enactments into line with the injunctions of the Constitution? No other conclusion is logically possible in the light of the definite unambiguous purport of the relevant clauses in the Constitution dealing with the duty of the State to avoid discrimination and communal considerations in its treatment of citizens. Article 15(1) specifically prohibits the State from indulging in communalism. *"The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them."* The same idea is further emphasised in Article 16 of the Constitution.

"(1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State."

"(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State."

A subsequent sub-section of Article 16 (sub-section (4)) provides an exception to the absolute prohibition of communalism. For it lays down that "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State." The sub-section allows discrimination in favour of specified backward classes for the sake of removing the inadequate representation of such classes in the services of the State, but the Madras type of communalism does not seem to fall within the limits of the indulgence permitted. The speciality of the communal orders of the Madras Government is discrimination against Brahmins. The very reverse of specification of a class is indicated in the heading "Non-Brahmins," which applies not to any class, but to all Hindus that do not belong to one particular caste. If advantage is to be taken of sub-section (4) of Article 16 for the legalisation of communalism, the orders of the Madras Government will have to be revised so as to exclude the heading "Non-Brahmin" from the category of favoured classes, and include in its place one or more specified classes fit to be described as backward. Discrimination on the basis of non-specification in positive terms of backward classes sought to be lifted out of their backwardness, such as the Madras Government has specialised in and is apparently bent on continuing, is not provided for in the Constitution.

illegal and unconstitutional, and will no doubt be declared as such if a proper appeal by aggrieved parties is made to the Supreme Court.

In view of the vast powers vested in the Supreme Court, it is not to be expected that the crude communalism of the Madras Government will be permitted free play without constitutional challenge. But that a Government should exist, capable of delighting in communal discrimination opposed to the spirit and letter of the Constitution to be exorcised out of it with heavy correctives from the nation's topmost court, is a phenomenon that calls for grave concern. The degeneracy reflected in it presents a problem to our national leaders which they can ill afford to ignore unless they wish to see the disintegration of sound administration under the infection of the plague of communalism in the land. The tradition of the Congress as a political organisation was wholly non-communal, and in Madras in particular, old-time giants of the Congress like the late Sri S. Srinivasa Iyengar beat down the communalist Justice Party in repeated elections; but in the moment of office and power, persons who became Ministers in the name of the Congress, adopted the creed of the defeated Justice Party and betrayed the Congress tradition. While Pandit Nehru has been denouncing communalism, some of the Madras Ministers have been advocating communalism as a necessity of the changed situation that had brought them to power. These Ministers into whom the soul of the Justice Party entered after its demise, are not Congressmen at all except in name, and they should have been expelled from the Congress orga-

nisation for unfaithfulness to its basic principles. The rampant corruption under Congress rule and the swift decline in public esteem of the Congress, are traceable to the retention in responsible Congress positions of treacherous men that had turned disloyal to the most essential of Congress objectives. We owe to them the predominance of the ugly demon of communalism which now looms before the new Republic as the most dangerous of the forces threatening its safety.

Under the demoralising influence of communalism justice has departed from the administration. There is no longer a search for fit men to fill responsible posts. Recognition and reward in the public services have ceased to be related to merit. Research institutions are being packed with incompatible mediocres incapable of utilising their opportunities. Institutions of the highest potential worth are deliberately cold-shouldered. As a tragic instance of this, we may cite the deplorable attitude of the Congress leaders in power in the province to the Madras Institute of Technology. Despite Pandit Nehru's repeated pleadings for the utmost possible assistance and encouragement, the attitude of the Madras Government to the Institute continues to be one of indifference and even obstructive thwarting. In the soil fertilized by Mahatma's inspiring lead, the successors to the power of the British whom he impelled to quit, are sowing seeds of ill will. Much wastage and little good goes on in the name of government in the provinces, notwithstanding the great leaders at the Centre and the glamour that surrounds Nehru as the Prime Minister.

There was loose talk of Ministers and officials being corrupt, but who was not corrupt? Everyone in every walk of life was corrupt.

—Finance Minister B. GOPALA REDDI.

Sotto Voce

Blind-man's-buff.



I had an "18th of Adi" feeling when I came upon the following item of news in *The Times*. The inhabitants of Pfaffendorf, a suburb of Coblenz, were told that food rationing was to end by March 1. But being a wary folk who knew the ways of officialdom, they were not taking any chances. Chanting dirges and singing ballads they set out in procession by night under the light of flares carrying with them all their ration cards and consigned them, "supported by many pairs of scissors and bottles of paste," to the swift waters of the Rhine. How often had we, in our care-free youth, joyously celebrated the same rite, making an offering of old cadjan-leaf family accounts to the first freshes in the Kaveri!

The good citizens of Pfaffendorf, having given the controls a Viking funeral, repaired with a clear conscience "to a funeral feast off the ration." I can almost see the saliva racing down the gills of my readers. But, alas!, if we should ever screw ourselves up to such a holocaust the laugh will be not against the ration officials but us. If the Germans cast away the insignia of controls with such *sang froid*, they knew that the baker and the butcher and the grocer had not only plenty of stocks but also the vestiges of a conscience.

For a contrast look at our sugar queues. They stand huddled at the narrow entrance of the co-operative stores in the pitiless sun. The Jack in office unconcernedly munches betel, spits leisurely, and seeing a crony at the outer fringe of the crowd hails him, takes his card and with calm insouciance places it on top. The

others grumble under their breath, but hope doesn't dry up till suddenly the guillotine falls and they are told the day's supply is over. They shuffle homeward, once more to drink bitter coffee—but not more bitter than their thoughts.

If our bureaucracy were to be confronted by such a *coup* as the Germans brought off they are quite capable of saying, "Well, if you have thrown away your ration cards, so much the worse for you. You will get nothing from the shops, even if the corn chests bulge. And any shopkeeper who shows misplaced sympathy for law-breakers will find himself in quod." You can hardly blame them, as they are only following their betters. Here is the Government of India loftily declaring that Madras will have to do with three million tons, though she asks for nine. And yet we used to slang the U. N. for telling us just that.

It would be hard to decide between the Central and Provincial Governments which was the more ardent believer in Coueism. "Self-sufficiency by 1951!" shouts the one, more stridently if with less conviction as the hands of the clock move inexorably towards zero hour. Our local bosses, not to be outdone in pep talk, bravely maintained that the cyclone in Andhra and the drought in the south would make no difference. "Who said the kuruval crop in Tanjore was thirty-three per cent short? It is only 20 per cent less than normal—and that in spots." They spoke with the quiet conviction of one who had counted the grains in every ear of corn! And here they are, barely

three months later, talking of famine.

At the time of the Palmash settlement a hundred odd years ago, the Settlement Officer came to a village owned by a prosperous mirasidar. The village accountant, who had not been getting his mamool, began painting in the presence of the owner a too rosy picture of the land and its wealth. "Six thousand fat acres," he chanted, "and the rice stalks so high and strong that you could tie up elephants with them." The landlord looked up in alarm and, unobserved by the officer, shook his ring-bejewelled finger at the knave who, rightly interpreting the gesture of mingled bribery and threat, promptly sang to a different tune. "But, alas," he groaned, "when you

gather in the crop the haystacks are just a man's height and you can carry the harvest under your arm-pit."

With exigent statistics and limitless self-confidence this immemorial bureaucracy has brewed a queer Molony's mixture of statutorily rationed areas, informally rationed areas and unrationed areas. The endless anomalies which result have however long ceased to surprise. The essence of rationing is that all share and share out alike; and in a civilised State every man must get a bare minimum of food whether he has cash to pay for it or not. But in Madras we turn the blind eye on beggary and enforce rationing justice by denying the man rice who will not take his quota of rotten wheat. This is not justice but blind-man's-buff.

VIGNESWARA

Judging from the activities of the Government, I am convinced that the vested interests all over the country are to be protected, and the people who want to grow into a democracy are to be suppressed in every way.

I see the discontent all over the country against the ruling party, and the way things are being run, we are heading for a disaster.
—SARANG DHAR DAS.



The Premier, Chief Secretary, Maharaja of Bhavnagar and the Maharani on Republic Day.

SIDELIGHTS :

My philosophy, if I can be said to have any, excludes the possibility of harm to one's cause by outside agencies. The harm comes deservedly and only when the cause itself is bad or, being good, its champions are untrue, faint-hearted or unclean.—MAHATMA GANDHI.

THE formation of the All India Republican Party is a sign of the times. Truth is God, said the Mahatma. There is in truth a power more powerful than any that can be pitted against it. The manifesto of the Republican Party contains an element of truth against which it will be futile for the Congress, which the new party plans to fight, to defend itself with any method of propaganda. As an illustration of truth which all will recognise as such, and which it is simply waste of energy to seek to disprove, the following passages from the Republican Party Manifesto are worth quoting:

Congress party rule is sustained by the glamour of the name of Gandhiji whom Congressmen sanctify in word and falsify in deed every day.

All the former resolutions of the Congress promising the advent of the millennium on the Congress assumption of power have been ignored during the two and a half years of Congress rule which has given a further lease of life to outworn feudalism and corrupt bureaucracy.

In the absence of effective parliamentary opposition, the Congress is developing all the ugly features of totalitarianism.

The asset side of the Congress has not been stated in the manifesto, but that too needs to be taken into account. It is impossible to ignore the fact that in Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, the Congress has two able leaders of matchless power not to be outdone by any competitor in the matter of gaining public support. People will listen to them, and will continue to do so for some time, but not for ever if present conditions last.

The great prestige of the Pandit and the Sardar is being daily undermined by bosses of provincial Congress organisations who have become by-words in their respective areas for small-minded unpatriotic behaviour. There are three provincial organisations included within the administrative territory of Madras Province. The head of one of the three, Sri Kelappan, has resigned in disgust at the corruption prevailing. The other two that continue are symbolic of just the evil against which honest Kelappan felt bound in duty to revolt. Professor Ranga, head of the Andhra P.C.C., has no conception of his responsibility other than fastening chelas of his own in key positions. On one occasion he used his influence to send to an international conference an ignorant person of no aptitude whatever who should have been sent to the secondary school. A regular spirit of gangsterdom has been imported into the Congress organisation in Andhra under the Ranga regime. The peace of the districts is torn by fights between the Ranga faction and groups organised to defend themselves against its tyrannies and manifold injustices.

Not one constructive idea for the public good has been contributed by the head of the Tamil Nadu P.C.C. ever since he emerged as leader. It has not been a leadership of ideas but of tactics. He has rendered the worst service to the nation by abusing his power to pack the provincial legislature and the Delhi Parliament with absolutely unsuitable persons who are either unknown in their localities or known to have precious little of good to their credit. All sovereign power is vested in the legislatures, but the bosses of the Congress in Andhra and Tamil Nadu have become notorious for their consistent sponsoring of inferior candidates as legislators. All the corruption from the Ministries springs from the fountain-source of wrong selection of Congress candidates for the legislatures, and if any

good is to come out of freedom and the Constitution, the power of selection should be taken out of the present untrustworthy hands and transferred to others capable of acting more responsibly and with less selfishness and unscrupulousness.

In the lower rungs the Congress has proved unfaithful to the great principles that brought it to power. But for Nehru and Patel, it would have been thrown into the wilderness by now. Is it their part as leaders to

maintain with their prestige a discredited organisation that has ceased to command respect from the people? After the advent of the Congress Ministries, too long have self-seekers been allowed to pull the Congress down in public estimation. Unless Nehru and Patel act swiftly to pick out true Congressmen from the false, and ensure the return of worthy men to the legislatures, parties like the Republican will be the sole refuge of the disillusioned and the public-spirited.—SAKA.

Two sisters—apparently all in all to each other—had lived together for many years. Then, when the one was 98 and the other 96, the elder died, the relative who undertook the task of breaking the painful news to the survivor, feared the shock would be fatal to her. But the old lady bore up wonderfully. "Ah, well," she replied. "Now I suppose I shall be able to have my tea made as I like it."

The precocious infant had just returned from his first day at school, registering intense ennui. The anxious family gathered around.

"Darling, what did you learn today?"

"Nothing."

"What, nothing at all?"

"Nope; there was a woman there who wanted to know how to spell 'cat,' so I told her. That's all."

THE VANGUARD INSURANCE CO., LTD.

**THE VANGUARD FIRE AND
GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.**

Head Office: MADRAS.

Transacts

**LIFE
ACCIDENT
MARINE**

**FIRE
WORKMEN'S
COMPENSATION**

**MOTOR
MISCELLANEOUS,
ETC., ETC.**

Liberal Policy Conditions, Moderate Premiums and Low Expense Ratio have carried VANGUARD POLICIES to every place.

Branches & Agencies:—ALL OVER INDIA, CEYLON & F. M. S.

**H. D. RAJAH,
General Manager.**

ALL INDIA REPUBLICAN PARTY

FORMED ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

THE All-India Republican Party was formed at a meeting of promoters held in the residence of Mr. H. D. Rajah in T'Nagar, Madras, on Independence Day. The Manifesto of the Party signed by Mr. Rajah (provisional President), Mr. S. Ramanathan (Secretary) and Messrs. V. S. Krishnaswami, Sami Chidambaram, C. T. Palaniappan, Narana Doraikannan and C. G. Krishnaswamy states:

On the occasion of the formal inauguration of the Independent Republic of India, the undersigned strongly feel that the great expectation for freedom and prosperity entertained by the masses of this country on this historic occasion cannot be realised by the continuance of the Congress Party in power.

The Congress was not a party. It was the spearhead of the national struggle for liberation. The historic role of the Congress was ended with the attainment of Swaraj which was its only declared objective. To use its name now for party purposes is a fraud on the people of India. The Congress party rule is sustained by the glamour of the name of Gandhiji whom congressmen sanctify in word and falsify in deed every day. By refusing to walk out of the British Commonwealth, the Congress Party has merely stepped into the shoes of the former British exploiters. All the former resolutions of the Congress promising the advent of the millennium on the Congress assumption of power have been ignored during the two and a half years of Congress rule which has given a further lease of life to outworn feudalism and corrupt bureaucracy. In the absence of effective Parliamentary opposition, the Congress is developing all the ugly features of totalitarianism smothering the civil liberties of the citizen.

The groups that seek to offer the country an alternative leadership to the Congress have not the stamina to grow into real opposition parties. The Communists not only act on the presumption that Soviet Russia is their

fatherland but they have recently gone into the wilderness of anarchist violence which will for ever disable them from growing into a constitutional opposition. The Socialists are half-congress and half-communist. They wear khaddar and mouth Marxist slogans. They have nothing to attract the people with. They just fish in the troubled waters of Indian politics. All other parties are either communal or have merely parochial interests and cannot grow into all India dimensions.

To save the country at this time of crisis, a new political party has to be born which will be free from the shibboleths of empty slogans and outworn formalisms and will go directly to the help of the people who are ground down by oppressive controls which accentuate their inherent poverty and helplessness. The signatories hereby pledge themselves to strive for the rapid progress of agricultural and industrial production and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. The Republican Party will function as a constitutional opposition to the Congress seeking the support of the people through the ballot box.

The All India Republican Party stands for:

- (1) The severance of the link with the British Commonwealth.
- (2) A foreign policy free from allegiance to either of the two power blocs of Capitalism and Communism but supporting the evolution of a World Government.
- (3) Abolition of the princely order and all vestiges of feudalism.
- (4) Separation of Religion and State.
- (5) Giving up of Prohibition.
- (6) Lifting the controls and freeing the people from bureaucratic harassment.
- (7) Disavowal of the primitive ideal of charka and village self-sufficiency and the rapid building up, by a series of five year plans, of Industry and Agriculture based on modern Science and Technology.

(8) Lightening of the burden of taxation and lessening the cost of administration.

(9) Increasing the amenities to labour—industrial, agricultural and intellectual—and providing for minimum wages and insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age etc.

(10) Reshaping the constitution of India by abolishing its present bureaucratic centralism and instituting federalism of autonomous units.

(All communications in respect of this party may be addressed to the Secretary, All-India Republican Party, 9, Broadway, Madras.)

U. S. POPULARITY POLL TOP HONOURS FOR TRUMAN

THE two men who are being most widely talked about as rival candidates for the Presidency in 1952—Harry S. Truman and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower—top the list of the ten men living anywhere in the world whom American voters most admire. The American Institute of Public Opinion's 1949 Annual Admiration Derby shows Winston Churchill, Britain's former Prime Minister, ranking third and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, fourth. Herbert Hoover's name also ranks high in the leading mentions and there are three newcomers to the top ten: Bernard Baruch, elder statesman and adviser to Presidents; Vice-President Alben Barkley, 1949's most famous bridegroom, and Senator Robert A. Taft, who has been actively campaigning for re-election in Ohio and is prominently mentioned as a possible Republican Presidential nominee for 1952. Here are the results. Voters were asked: "What man, living today in any part of the world that you have heard or read about do you admire the most?" The top ten in order of frequency of mention were these: (1) President Harry S. Truman; (2) Gen. Dwight Eisenhower; (3) Winston Churchill; (4) Gen. Douglas MacArthur; (5) Herbert Hoover; (6) Pope Pius XII; (7) Senator Robert A. Taft; (8) Bernard Baruch; (9) Alben W. Barkley; (10) Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

Last year also President Truman led the list. The 1948 survey was conducted a month after his triumphant re-election. Gen. Eisenhower was second, Gen. MacArthur, third and Mr. Churchill, fourth. The others were George Marshall, then Secretary of State, Mr. Hoover, Governor Dewey,

Pope Pius, Harold E. Stassen and Albert Einstein. An interesting sidelight of the survey is that statesmen and generals comprise most of the top ten. Although ours is an age of science and inventions, no men who have earned their spurs in science turn up among the leading ten mentioned, although Albert Einstein does receive a good many votes. Nor are any men now active in business or industry rated in the top group by the public. In addition to the top ten, the following men in various professions were mentioned: **POLITICS:** Henry A. Wallace, Marshall Tito, Dr. Ralph Bunche, former Secretary of State George Marshall, Harold Stassen, James Byrnes and many others. **MILITARY:** Gen. Jonathan Wainwright, Gen. Omar Bradley, Gen. James Doolittle, Admiral Louis Denfeld, Gen. Claire Chennault, Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery, Gen. Mark Clark. **THEOLOGIANS:** Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Magr. Fulton J. Sheen, E. Stanley Jones and many others. **SCIENCE:** J. Robert Oppenheimer, Vannevar Bush, Karl Compton, Harold Urey. **AUTHORS:** George Bernard Shaw, Will Durant, John Steinbeck, John Gunther, Pierre Van Passen. **LABOUR:** John L. Lewis, Phillip Murray and Walter Reuther. **RADIO:** Walter Winchell, Lowell Thomas, Drew Pearson, Milton Berle, Gabriel Heatter, Fulton Lewis Jr. and others. **MOVIES:** Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, Clark Gable, Roy Rogers, Lew Ayres, John Wayne. **SPORTS:** Joe Louis, Joe Dimaggs, Ted Williams, Lou Beudreau, Connie Mack, Kacki Robinson, Jack Dempsey. **BUSINESS:** Henry Ford II, Winthrop Rockefeller, Charles Kettering.—P. G. Krishnappa.

AMERICA'S PRESIDENT AND PRESS

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

The weekly conference of the President of the United States and the members of the Press is an exercise in democracy as well as a prime source of news.

ONCE a week the President of the United States faces the free press and endures a barrage of questions. It is the biggest show in Washington. It is also a great institution, uniquely American. It has become a factor in the checks-and-balances system of American government.

There, before a large assembly of newspaper correspondents, foreign as well as American, sits the Chief Executive of a great nation, subjecting himself to completely free questioning. All the correspondents have the privilege of questioning him about pretty nearly any subject under the sun, and they often do. At his 193d conference recently they asked Mr. Truman 42 questions covering 16 topics in a 20-minute mass interview.

President Truman answered every question, the touchy and unbarbed alike, with a varying mood and demeanor—wit, laughter, firm "no comment," or challenge—and all with composure and courtesy.

Some have tried to compare this practice in the Oval Room of the White House (official residence of the President of the United States) with the question period in the British House of Commons. But how can a formal Parliamentary proceeding be compared with this give-and-take affair of the press and the President? Members of the British Parliament submit questions in writing. They get their answers orally a week or two later, from Parliamentary secretaries and Ministers. Where is the resemblance when it is neither the press that asks nor the head of the nation that answers?

The White House sessions have—despite their informality—a most serious background. Mr. Truman feels a deep sense of obligation toward his face-to-face relationship with the press, and prepares himself earnestly for the encounter. When he

stands before the reporters he is really giving a repeat performance. He has already gone through a dress rehearsal of the drama of question and answer with his staff.

Three-quarters of an hour before the newsmen are admitted to the Oval Room, the members of the President's staff gather round to help the President prepare for his appearance before the greatest sounding board in the world. If some great national or international problem is likely to call for comment, the White House staff is augmented by an official of the State, Defence, or other pertinent department. In the group one specialist or another has data that will bring Mr. Truman up to date on such a problem.

The members of the staff question their chief sharply, and try to cover the range of current affairs, world and domestic, which the correspondents are apt to touch on. Charles G. Ross, the President's press secretary, who is an eminent newsmen himself—a Pulitzer Prize winner (annual journalism award established by Joseph Pulitzer, American journalist and publisher) and for a long time chief of the Washington Bureau of *The St. Louis Post-Dispatch*—plays a leading role in trying to anticipate what questions will be asked.

Harry S. Truman, the man, gives the answers to his staff as they occur to him. He draws on his great knowledge of affairs, made possible by the continual flow of reports across his desk. Harry S. Truman, as President, then considers with his staff whether those answers should be uttered before the world. The problem of what to say is often secondary. Should it be said at all, and if so, should it be said now or at some more propitious moment? Timing, statesmanship, diplomacy, and political strategy are intermixed factors, and wise is

the man who makes the right decision.

Mr. Truman himself usually decides. He has a ready capacity for making up his mind. He listens to advice, yet often differs with his aides, explains why and announces what he will do.

Neither in the briefing nor in the news conference itself does Mr. Truman show signs of tension or nervousness. The reporter, more than Mr. Truman, is likely to regard the press conference as an ordeal. The public, however, has invested it with a certain amount of glamour. As in most public affairs, the participants hardly savor the glamour. The press conference is hard work—for Mr. Truman as well as for most of the reporters.

Altogether 550 men and women are accredited to attend the weekly press conference, including a small number of U. S. Government press officers. But, unless great events are pending, usually between 100 and 200 are on hand. This corps will include reporters; nationally known news and radio commentators; columnists; chiefs of Washington bureaus of metropolitan dailies and of wire services that girdle the world; overseas newsmen, includ-

ing a couple of correspondents of *Tass* the official Soviet news agency, and the small group of White House correspondents proper who follow the President and what he does, day in, day out, no matter where he is.

It is a Thursday morning, say, and about 125 correspondents are on hand. Some, perhaps, have told Mr. Ross of a question or so they intend to raise, and, as they gather in the spacious lobby of the White House executive offices, they chat informally about issues on which comment is likely to come from the President. But that is about as far as they go. There is no collaboration, no agreement beforehand to pursue a particular line of questioning.

At 10.30 o'clock (one week the conference is held in the morning, the next week at 4 in the afternoon to give afternoon and morning papers, respectively, an equal chance on the news) a White House guard opens the door to the Oval Room and the correspondents troop in. When all are there the door is closed, secret service men take their stations about the room, and the President greets the newsmen.



President Truman at a recent Press conference

There is no "rank" here; the reporter on a small paper has as much standing with his question on an irrigation project in his district as the representative of a big newspaper chain, who is eager to know from Mr. Truman's answers what the next Big Four conference may be expected to bring.

However, a comparatively few reporters do the questioning. The others are content to listen and write. The main reason for this is the fact that it is hard to keep up with the fast pace of question and answer. Mr. Truman is a rapid talker, and the reporters must scribble madly to catch not only what he says but also the question that started him talking, and the nuance and tone of his reply.

If Mr. Truman has some news to give out he usually does not wait for a question. Thus at the conference which developed into a 42-question affair, Mr. Truman started off with the announcement that he (1) had sent a letter of thanks (copies available as the newsmen left the conference) to General Dwight D. Eisenhower for his services as presiding officer of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and (2) that he had appointed General Omar Bradley chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and renamed Admiral Louis Denfeld Chief of Naval Operations for another two years.

This in itself gave the conference a good news content. But the correspondents had many topics on their minds, and their ensuing questions demonstrated at once how closely they must follow world and domestic events, and how their questions leap from subject to subject like a grasshopper in a field.

When the questioning slows down, Merriman Smith of The United Press, the senior wire-service man, says, "Thank you, Mr. President." If the conference has been particularly rich Mr. Smith puts stress on the "you." The moment it is uttered Mr. Smith and three other wire-service men rush out, and Mr. Truman, standing behind his desk, chuckles, as he watches them go. Through it all, with all the hard work, the news conference is by no means a grim affair. It is frequently punctuated with laughter. There are quips from both sides. The atmosphere is informal,

yet a certain propriety toward the Chief Executive is observed. Rarely does the questioning get offensive, although it has happened that some indignant columnist has tried to be sharp with Mr. Truman.

Mr. Truman is usually affable and the soul of courtesy. Even on the infrequent occasions when he tends to get testy he never humiliates a reporter.

The Presidential mass interview was essentially self-starting, although President Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1908) should be credited as its original sponsor. He let some reporters interview him while he was shaving. More important, he gave them a room to get them in out of the rain one nasty day, and they have been entrenched in the White House executive offices ever since.

President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1920) put the formal news conference on a regular weekly basis as it is today. His successors continued it in a mediocre way until President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) used it artfully for partisan, philosophical or statesmanlike expression.

Mr. Truman is carrying it forward conscientiously and with goodwill. He has told editors he does not care much what they say about him on the editorial page so long as they keep the news columns accurate. Or as Mr. Ross put it recently: "The news conference is a necessary institution in America's form of government and Mr. Truman feels the same way about it. It is not conducive to an orderly giving out of news. But it is a typically democratic institution, with all the virtues and the faults of our democracy. You see them reflected there."

Yet the value of the news conference has been questioned. Some correspondents feel that some more efficient, more comfortable means of interviewing the President should be worked out. Perhaps the most serious criticism heard is that in the rapid give-and-take of a press conference the President—any President—is likely to make mistakes that may have unfortunate repercussions at home and abroad. For this reason, some say it should be abolished.

It is true that many conferences produce little news and amount

chiefly to exchanges of pleasantries and "no-comment" sparring. But even if this is all that comes from a session, reporters there have performed one valuable service to democracy. They have seen the President personally and can tell how he looks—healthy and cheerful or tired and worried, even ailing.

It should be borne in mind, too, that the continual flow of White House press releases of the President's messages to the U. S. Congress and statements on numerous issues obviate a lot of questioning that otherwise would make the news conferences seem more productive. On May 9, 1949, when he had been in office a little over four years, Mr. Truman's releases numbered an even 2,000. Mr. Roosevelt had been in office eight years and five months before he had issued that many.

It might be said that the mass interview suffers from bigness, an American characteristic. It should also be said, then, that this bigness is its strength, for no qualified Washington correspondent is barred. This

is freedom of the press. In a time of deep conflict, with repressions multiplying abroad, such a uniquely free American institution is worth preserving for possible emulation elsewhere. It is a credit to the newsmen who kept siege at the White House gates in the old days, and a credit to the Presidents who have realized its value to them and to the electorate to which they are responsible.

It is, we have seen, a young institution. But it is in the long tradition of a free press. Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, the sublime protagonist of this tradition, could contemplate only one form of censorship. He wrote to George Washington, the Nation's first President, that no government should be free of censorship by a free press. The White House news conference is censorship of government at its source. Once a week it admits the essence of the body politic into the Oval Room to demand of its chosen man: "Mr. President, how is the state of the Union?"—From *The New York Times Magazine* through U.S.I.S.

CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA—I

By ANDREW ROTH

What are the intentions of the Chinese Communists towards South-east Asia? In a series of two articles of which this is the first, Andrew Roth analyses the present situation in South-east Asia and the policy of the Chinese Communists in that region.

A question is haunting South-east Asia. The same anxious query is put by reserved British officials in refugee-crowded Hongkong and guerilla-speckled Malaya. It even occupies the thoughts of prominent Filipino politicians strutting around in their immaculate sharkskin suits. Harassed Indonesian officials cogitate on it amidst the maze of problems arising out of taking over power. It is a sobering influence on the thinking of the usually cocky Burmese officials. *It was largely this same question that led to the calling of the Commonwealth Conference in Colombo.*

The question is: "What will the Chinese Communists do in South-east Asia"? It is a poser that has been put with mounting insistence since the fall of Mukden in 1948 and is now the question of the hour as Chinese Communist regulars appear on the borders of Indo-China (Viet Nam) and Burma.

The answer to this question has repercussions far beyond South-east Asia. The rice exports of Burma and Siam make up the considerable deficit of India, Ceylon and East Pakistan and their absence would have a very unsteady influence. Malaya, Borneo and Indonesia have been the "dollar arsenals" of Britain and Holland which have depended on this area's exports of rubber, tin and other products to the United States for a considerable portion of their dollar credits. The disappearance of these dollar credits would further undermine the already precarious economy of Western Europe.

The military loss of South-east Asia would be comparable in its strategic importance to the opening of the Mediterranean to Soviet power. The entrance of the Communists at even one point on the Indian Ocean would

cause a radical shift in the strategic picture of all South Asia. The further shift in the balance of world forces would be almost as great as that caused by the Communist victory in China.

If the Communists do not penetrate South-east Asia, it will not be for want of either opportunities or allies. In virtually every country of South-east Asia there are opportunities galore for Communist pressure or infiltration. In each country the Chinese Communists have two very important instruments of leverage: the Chinese minorities and the local national Communists.

Throughout South-east Asia there are considerable minorities of Chinese, who comprise fully ten million of the one hundred sixty millions in the area. Not only do they constitute one out of sixteen persons in the area, but they are centered in the strategic artisan, professional and petty capitalist classes there. These Chinese are comparatively prosperous and many are not of the type one would ordinarily expect to be good material for Communist agitators. But they have strong sentimental ties with China and as they become convinced that the Chinese Communists will make of China a world power they are certain to climb on the Communist bandwagon in large numbers. That this process is already beginning is evident from the number of Chinese-language papers in South-east Asia which have changed their line. A leftist editor in Singapore told me in October with a rueful smile that his chief opposition, a conservative merchant's paper had already swung further to the left than his own paper.

The Chinese Communists will also have the support of the local Communist parties in South-east Asia. The

QUALITY PRODUCTS:

Mysore Sandal Soap

Cleanse and beautify!

Recommended for use on the most sensitive skins.

Mysore Silks

Real Oriental Silk—

in art shades and several qualities.

Mysore Sandalwood Oil

has won world-wide reputation

for its purity and fragrance.

MYSORE MAKES MANY PRODUCTS BUT ONLY THE BEST OF EACH.

Communist parties of South-east Asia are comparatively small and weak. Actually in most countries they are weaker in popular support than they were two years ago. They are beginning, however, to make a comeback because of the reflected glory of the Communist victories in China.

The ability of these Chinese and Communist minorities in South-east Asia to win friends and influence people is enhanced by the area's considerable instability. There is scarcely a country which has the basic elements of stability and full national control: a popular, deeply-rooted Government, a functioning administration, a nation-wide transportation system and a capable army.

Burma stands out as the country most vulnerable to Chinese Communist pressure. The Burmese Government is able to control only isolated areas comprising at most 50% of Burma's area and 25% of its population and has only 20,000 half-trained troops. Against this the Communists have almost 10,000 troops which have "liberated" an area of some 40,000 square miles. In addition, the militant rightist Karen minority has a better-trained army of almost 10,000 troops which controls over 50,000 square miles. Despite ten months of negotiations, the Commonwealth has not succeeded in substantially strengthening the Government or persuading it to unite with the Karens against the Communists. Faced with these major insurrections the Government cannot possibly protect adequately its 1,000-mile border with China.

Viet Nam appears to be the country in which the Chinese Communist victories can influence a South-east Asian country most effectively without internal intervention. The Government and armed forces of Ho Chi Minh have steadily been increasing in effectiveness and now control over three-quarters of the countryside. The widely-touted efforts of the French to palm off Bao Dai as Viet Nam's "national leader" and "transfer power" to him behind a screen of French bayonets have apparently scarcely dented the overwhelming support for the Coalition Government of Ho Chi Minh. What Ho's troops have always lacked has been siege equipment like artillery and heavy

mortars which would enable them to take on—without the help of Chinese troops—the French and French puppets who are entrenched in the cities and fortified large towns. Although Ho Chi Minh denied last summer that he had negotiated with the Chinese Communists for a supply of offensive arms, when I asked him by radio whether he would accept them if the Communists offered them he whimsically replied: "What would your friendly advice be on this matter?"

Despite occasional sensational news stories to the contrary, placid, rice-rich Siam gives a surface indication of comparative stability. This is largely because the overwhelming majority of Siam's 18 million people are neither hungry nor are they involved in the political life of the country. Until now its minority of three million Chinese—despite some three thousand Communists in its midst—has also remained aloof from Siamese politics. However, the country has been plagued by Latin-American-style clique politics which have produced four coups and attempted counter-coups in the last three years. These have arisen out of the conflict between the ruling Army-backed clique of Marshal Pibul Songgram and the contending Navy-backed clique of former Premier and war-time anti-Japanese leader, Pridi Phanomyong. Despite propagandist allegations to the contrary, until now there has been no evidence of external intervention. However what frightens British and American diplomats is that the Chinese Communists have an ideal opportunity to intervene by throwing their support to the socialist, part-Chinese Pridi against the rightist, anti-Chinese Pibul.

Although the British authorities have set a total clean-out of the overwhelmingly Chinese Communist guerrillas as the objective of their January 1950 campaign in the Malayan jungles, there is slight chance of any but limited successes. During the previous eighteen months the combined efforts of some 60,000 military and police and the expenditure of fully £20 million could only weaken but not destroy the jungle-shrouded guerrillas. The authorities are still citing the guerilla total as 3500-5000, the same

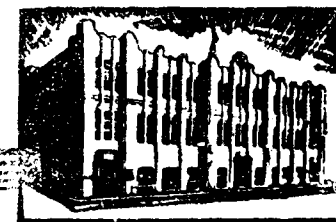
figure used eighteen months ago. Although some scores have recently surrendered in response to an extensive leaflet campaign, those that remain must inevitably be heartened by the news of the tremendous victories of the Communists in China and their leaders' promises that help is not far off. In addition to this small minority of hard-bitten jungle bands, the authorities have to contend with the fact that fully 43% of the people of Malaya and Singapore are of Chinese origin and most of them feel they have been treated as second-class citizens in Malaya. The Chinese Communists have indicated their appreciation of the Malayan situation by naming a prominent Malayan Chinese, Ten Ka-kee, to a high post in their councils in Peking.

Indonesian leaders, with their hands full of the tremendous problems of organizing a new nation out in the war-torn, widely-spread archipelago, look fearfully over their shoulders toward Communist China. They fear that Indonesian Communists, who lost many of their leaders and much of their following through

the premature insurrection of September 1948 may make a comeback.

In the Philippines a superficial elegance and a surfeit of consumers goods obscure a fundamentally unstable condition. The Philippine economy is a colonial economy, almost completely dependent upon selling its staples of sugar, copra and Manila hemp in the American market. Already copra, in particular, is feeling the squeeze of devaluation in Indonesia and, should there be any substantial recession of business in the U. S., the Philippine economy would be hit a staggering blow. The discontent of the tenant farmers in Central Luzon has provided enough support for Communist leader Luis Taruc to keep between five and ten thousand Humbalahap guerillas in the field despite intensive efforts by the Philippine Constabulary. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the Quirino regime's corruption, its slavish attitude toward the U. S. and its lack of interest in attacking basic problems like agrarian reform.—(Copyright).

(ESTD:



1907)

*Branches and Sub-Offices in all the important places
in the Madras Presidency and in Bombay.*

Issued & Subscribed Capital	Rs. 72,00,000
Reserve Fund	" 62,00,000
Paid-up Capital	" 53,00,000

ALL KINDS OF BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED
N. GOPALA IYER,
Secretary.

THE INDIAN BANK LTD.
HEAD OFFICE: INDIAN BANK BUILDINGS,
NORTH BEACH ROAD, MADRAS.

RALPH E. TURNER

By S. KRISHNIAH

It is unfortunate that sufficient publicity has not been given in the Indian Press to the visit of Mr. Ralph E. Turner, Durfee Professor of History, Yale University. I had



Mr. Ralph Turner (Centre)

the privilege of spending a whole day with him when I took him to attend a Toda funeral in the Nilgiris and later at his invitation spent many hours one night discussing the cultural problems of India. He also addressed the members of the Culture Centre of the Indian Union Club, Ootacamund on the basic problems of South-East Asia.

Prof. Turner is a charming man and a type of American that an Indian seldom has a chance to meet. Although a cultural historian he almost apotheosizes progress and takes to heart the backwardness which characterises South-East Asia and India.

In his lecture in Ootacamund (16th January, 1950) Prof. Turner said that all the countries of South-East Asia are tackling the problem of modernisation. A lot of these countries have new Governments at the helm of affairs except Siam whose monarchy

is tottering and Malaya which the British propose to hand over to the Malaysians in course of time. It is incumbent on these Governments to create a labour force adequate in every respect in order to modernise their countries. But creating a labour force is not in any way simple. The dull drab existence of the inhabitants whose expectation of life is never more than 37 is not conducive to increased output. They suffer from malnutrition from their very birth and are further emasculated by tuberculosis, malaria and other wasting diseases. On this fecund soil 'killers' like cholera, dysentery and typhus fever operate, giving no quarter to the laudable intentions of those who clamour for more and more production as the only means of raising the standard of living.

The economic system also, according to Prof. Turner, is a stumbling block to modernisation. The entrepreneurs are mainly foreigners—mostly Chinese—exercising a deleterious effect on the economic life of the nation. Further there is no system whereby the small savings of the middle and lower classes can be pooled and canalised to provide capital for the establishment of large industries or for improving and modernising existing ones.

It was only in a private conversation that I was able to draw out and make Prof. Turner talk about India. It is his firm belief, cultural historian that he is, that the main drawback in the national life of India is our tradition and spirituality. We are far too prone to boast about our 6,000 years of tradition and the glory that was India rather than tackle those problems which rear their grisly heads at us. Spirituality has emasculated us to an extent as to make us accept the existing order of things uncomplainingly. What have our ancient tradition and culture brought us? With what has our spirituality endowed us? We wore the shackles of British imperialism for over a hundred years. Our independence

has not proved to be a panacea for all the evils that infest our national life. In a fit of escapism we prate about our ancient culture and glorious past. We pat ourselves on the back and call the West materialistic in a deriding tone.

It was put to Prof. Turner that it was only our spirituality that made us survive the years of British domination and ultimately triumph over it. Other races under domination have resisted it so determinedly that they disintegrated in the end. Some others have merged with the conquerors. But it has not been the case with India. We accepted British domination until we were able to attain our freedom and then emerged from it a well-knit nation.

But Prof. Turner seemed to consider this a fallacy and said that he would call the dark period of our history a result of our so-called spirituality rather than say that it was the factor which made us survive it.

With Communism knocking at our door it is time we think of these things. Does our spirituality mean that we are tied to a religious outlook which makes us accept the progression of events and attribute them to a power supernatural? If so, is not our passive spirituality a vice and is not the West, which we call materialistic, of a more genuinely spiritual turn of mind? Or do we still want to talk about Asoka and Vikramaditya in a pathetic attempt to turn away from the unblinking eyes of hard, cold reality?

LYNCHINGS IN U. S. IN 1949

THREE lynchings were recorded during 1949 by President F. D. Patterson of Tuskegee Institute. All three of the victims were Negroes. Only one of the three had been charged with an offence. At Irwinton, Georgia, a 23 year old Negro was arrested for creating disturbance and was said to have resisted arrest. He was later taken from the jail in which he was lodged and beaten to death. The other two lynchings were casual, wanton murders that could have occurred only in a poisoned atmosphere. A 45 year old Negro tenant farmer of near Mouston, was reported to have hogged the road and to have been slow in moving his wagon over so that a group of white men in an automobile could pass. The men in the automobile stopped and took time out for murder. The farmer was beaten to death. A prosperous Negro tenant farmer who lived near Bainbridge, Georgia, objected to white men fishing in his pond without permission. One day he had an argument with some white trespassers. Later he was found with a number of bullet holes in his body. No one was

punished for these crimes. Two men were arrested in one case but were later freed for lack of evidence.

It is none the less encouraging to note that in at least fourteen cases in 1949 lynchings were prevented. One victim escaped from a mob. In the thirteen other cases officers of the law gave protection. The lynching record is still an American disgrace. In the five year period from 1945-49 there were thirteen lynchings. In 1947 there was only one and there was the prospect of a year of grace ahead. But there were two lynchings in 1948. The lynching scourge may certainly be said to be subsiding with the retreat of illiteracy. But it has taken more than public schools and libraries to create a social abhorrence of the crime. The press, the church, political leaders, writers and dramatists have all enlisted in the crusade against it. The day may not be far distant when it will become a vanished nightmare. It will not arrive until the climate of violence in which murder finds a motive even in blind racial prejudice is everywhere substituted by a climate of tolerance.

ONE WEEK OF HARD-COURT TENNIS

(From Our Sports Correspondent)

THE Egmore Tennis Stadium, which for long was bleak and unpopulated, had lately been the scene of much activity. The All-India Hardcourt Tennis Championship was by itself enough to draw crowds; but news of the participation of many foreign stars sent a thrill through the many tennis fans starving for a game of some standard. Practically all nations playing tennis were represented. The best from each country could not possibly make the trip, yet all the visiting players were either once holders of titles, or are now among the top few in their own area. In Madras, it was perhaps too foreign an affair, as Sumant Misra was the sole Indian ranked player to take part save our own provincial hero, P. S. Seshadri. The fame of Ampon, the glamour of "Gussie" Moran, and the presence of other Wimbledon men, made many students develop "suddenly" a shooting pain in the stomach that precluded attendance at college!

All the eight days were productive of tennis of a high class, though some matches proved too tame to be exciting. The elimination of the short Filipino Ampon in the semi-finals was unexpected, but he lost to a better player in P. Washer who later trounced Deyro to win the Men's Singles event. It might be that Ampon was off-colour, but that cannot excuse his tactics, which did not befit one so famed as he for court-craft. With Washer, it is fatal to lob frequently. When once he gets near the net, nothing in the world can save the opponent. Keep Washer on the baseline, and there is some chance, and this is the lesson Ampon must have learnt. Weiss of Argentina sprang a surprise when he accounted for Sumant Misra. Critics opine that a slip-and-fall on the court can sap the confidence of a player, however experienced he might be. Sumant did slip. The southern half of the centre court was slippery throughout the tournament, as all the players must have

realised to their cost. Among the other visitors, Masip of Spain was quite a character. A touch of the humour-



Philip Washer

rist in him endeared him to the stands. Bearing a resemblance to Groucho Marx, this gallant Spaniard was vanquished by Deyro. He is believed to have objected to the smiles of Deyro who grinned during rallies! Miss G. Moran played with our press reporters contradicting herself with amazing regularity. In the morning she tells somebody she is engaged to P. Washer, later in the afternoon comes the news of her engagement with one Davenport, and sometime in the night a press reporter is told the engagement was called off! Despite all the efforts of the A.I.T.F. to make their stay happy, it is doubtful if any of them will play again in the city. Interviewed shortly before their departure from here, some of them openly expressed disgust at the behaviour of the Madras crowds. The following are short accounts of some of

the players and their comments on tennis in India. I am grateful to Mr. Bharat Indu for these interviews which are exclusive to *Swatantra*:

Felicissimo Ampon (Philippines) is 30, and works in a bank in Manila, to which place he returns after the Indian tour. His hobby is photography, but he finds it too costly for him. Ampon thinks that the best tennis in India is to be had at Calcutta, and recommends constant practice as the only way to improve.

Philip Washer (Belgium) is 25, and not having to bother about a living, is concentrating on tennis. His other favourite is golf, which he plays in his spare time. He intends playing tennis for the rest of this year and will enter for the Mixed Doubles at Wimbledon with Miss Moran. In his opinion, Madras crowds have not yet learnt to behave at tennis matches. Apart from their ill-timed applause during rallies, they also made much noise impairing the concentration of the players. Such excited behaviour would be alright during exhibition games, but not in competitive matches. His favourite stroke is the fore-hand cross-court volley, but his best one is the overhead smash, the fierceness of which even the finesse of Ampon failed to counter.

V. Cernik is a self-exiled Czech, and wears a countenance most sorrowful. He will be returning to Europe after a long tennis tour, and does not know anything of his future. He is one of the world's best Doubles players, and his combination with his countryman Drobny is a truly awe-inspiring one.

He agreed with Washer about the behaviour of our crowds. The standard of tennis in India is good, according to Cernik, who also considers Sumant Misra a fine sporting player.

Geoffrey Paish, the bespectacled Englishman, is one of the most experienced players in the world, and his service aces are things to be seen and enjoyed. Like Ampon, Paish sees the need for our players to practise more, and wishes to have more tennis courts in the land. He thinks much good will come out of the appointment of coaches to put youngsters in the way.

Mrs. Patricia Todd (U.S.A.) is 28 and the mother of one child. She hails from La Jolla, California. She likes swimming, but fear of sharks kept her away from the Madras beach. The standard of tennis among women in India was very low, said Mrs. Todd, who shares with "Gussie," and Washer, a poor opinion of Madras spectators. Her favourite stroke is the back-hand drive, which she executes with a vigour almost masculine.

Gertrude Moran (U.S.A.) is 26 and comes from Santa Monica, California. She writes the fashion column for the American Lawn Tennis Magazine, and designs her own clothes. She intends helping her mother in running a clothes store. She is very temperamental, and has taken a fancy to the Indian saree and Gandhi cap, a specimen of each of which she takes back with her. She loves swimming. Her favourite stroke is the volley, and her service leaves little to be desired. She was coached by Bill Tilden.

THREE DAYS AT CHEPAUK

By N. S. RAMASWAMI

LAST week the native returned to Chepauk for the first time this season to find that the passage of one year since the West Indies annihilated India had made no sensible changes. Expectations of the approaching "Test" had taken possession of the minds of the spectators as much as the prospects of the actual match between Madras and Hyderabad. Most of them perhaps, watched the cricket with only half a mind.

Swaminathan and Chakravarthi exercised the exaggerated caution expected of opening batsmen against genuine or putative swing. They religiously abstained from strokes, contenting themselves with deflections and pushes either by intention or percussion. But Chakravarthi so far forgot the rules of his trade union as to make a splendid cover-drive for a four, a Tower Hill stroke. For the rest the two batsmen were obligingly

anonymous, doing good to their side by stealth.

The match was notable for a gigantic piece of deception practised on the entire Madras side by Bharat Chand, who over after over bowled the going-away ball on or outside the off-stump without being chastised by the drive of the cut. The batsmen dutifully struck attitudes of caution and wariness just outside the off-stump. They carried it to such an excess that, when one or two of them tentatively went through the motions of a drive, they were greedily caught in the slips or behind the wicket.

Bobjee commenced his innings speculatively. He was beaten first ball, but escaped the umpire's dreadful benediction. He continued to be ill at ease against spin and break. But, when his innings was sicklied over with the pale cast of thought, he (to change the metaphor) decided to cleave his way out of the enveloping jungle. He was fortunate in that two of his vehement swipes did not go to hand. But the third sailed merrily over the boundary to the accompaniment of jubilation and mutual congratulation among the spectators. There is nothing like a six to create new friends and reconcile estranged ones.

For the rest the batsmen obeyed the dictates of the bowlers, especially the eternal Bharat Chand. When he was prested for a brief period, it appeared to be a suspension of the laws of nature. Among the trophies of Chempauk there assuredly must be a painting depicting Bharat Chand bowling a leg-break outside the off-stump, the batsman padding up to it and the wicket-keeper receiving it with extreme boredom.

Only two batsmen did not distrust their own capacity with the drive. When Mardi took his feet across to the pitch of the ball and propelled it to cover or extra-cover, there was an air of defiance about it that such a slight man should dare to handle the bowler so roughly. But Mardi has always exuded defiance. His innings was as notable a feature of the match as the bowling of Bharat Chand or Rangachari. His art was batsmanship; that of most others was mere obstructiveness, almost deserving to be fined Rs. 10 in a magistrate's court.

When Gopalan, whose main glory is, of course, the drive, added some more examples to the rubric of our memory, it was only in the nature of things. The quintessence of Chempauk is perhaps a thunderous drive to the mid-off by this favourite of the crowd, their vehement acclamations following the ball as it careers away to the boundary, pursued in vain by a panting fieldsman. As he emerges from the pavilion, the popular expectation rises into a crescendo of cheering. The sound passes across the stands in a ripple as of a wave. It takes its origin in the chairs nearest the pavilion on the left-hand side, where the patricians signify their approbation of his entry. The approval is taken up further along the massed crowd, where it is translated into cheers. But, as the batsman approaches the wicket nearer and nearer and thus presents himself to the adoring view of the "popular" stands, the ground is shaken with thundering volleys. The great batsman has arrived.

Last week he was seldom at his masterful. A stroke or two revived grateful memories. But, in the main, he was a shadow of himself. But even this shadow was more substantial than the entire bodily presence of many of his colleagues. As long as he was at the wicket, there was the certainty that batsmanship of pedigree would be provided. An innings by him is out of the game's Debrett.

Hyderabad were comprehensively routed by the slow bowlers. Their ineptitude against spin was truly astonishing in batsmen of such repute. With fatally monotonous regularity, they contrived to put their legs in front of the straight ball when it arrived as a variation to the breaks. When Aibara was caught, to the savage exultation of the concourse, they gave up the ghost. It was left to the tireless Bharat Chand, with the aid of an optimistic Bhoopathi, to avert the follow-on.

It was at 10 minutes to 1 on the third day that the first stroke of Madras' second innings occurred, when Mardi drove Bharat Chand to cover like a leaping lion. The earlier batsmen got themselves tangled in a net of their own weaving. They were so cautious that they could not bring

themselves to do anything more vehement than drive the half-volley dutifully back to the astonished and grateful bowler. Unintended strokes, mainly through the slips, were prodigious in number. Even the merely placid and unimaginative captaincy of Aibara imposed on Madras the air of batting in the fourth winnings on a worn wicket against a total of 700 runs. The art of defensive batsmanship is a necessary ingredient of cricket. The defender has his victories no less than the player of gracious

strokes. But the obstructiveness of the Madras batsmen on the third day was vastly inappropriate. It was unimaginative dreariness rather than noble-hearted fortitude.

When Hyderabad entered upon their second innings, Quaraishi delighted the crowd with a few genuine strokes. Here, it seems to us, is a batsman worth encouragement. But he could not avert the defeat which had hung over his side since the second day of the match. For the details of this catastrophe, refer to the newspapers.

EXPENSE AND PUBLICITY WITHOUT BENEFIT

By 'PEEPIN'

OUT of the seven hundred stalls in the All-India Khadi and Swadeshi exhibition in Madras over three hundred are Government stalls. In the colourful lighting that we had in the City on Republic Day the general impression that most of us who went round got was that mainly Government offices and institutions were illuminated well and grandly. Well, is it not a welcome thing to see the Government spending so much both on the dissemination of knowledge by their exhibition stalls and on gala appearance by decoration and illumination on a happy day which will not come again in the country's history? It is, would be the first answer. On second thoughts one feels like asking 'Is it or is it not?'

And the mind settles down to feel that it is not. Why? Because this governmental prosperity does not reflect the prosperity of the people, which should be the case: because the people find themselves much poorer than they should be, while they find seeming prosperity in governmental schemes and governmental doings. Not merely that: they find that every such show of apparent prosperity by the Government is at a severe cost to one and all in society. The Government has been steadily expanding its activities and spreading jobs all over. It is done out of new money? No. It is done by taking away much of the

hard-earned money of a large number of people who are by no means so well off. And that is why one poses the question 'Can we afford it?'

Talking with practical men one gets the feeling that many have the hunch that in the past two years we have tried to tackle too many things at the same time and so have not made headway in anything. The point however is whether we could at least now stop this kind of loose handling.

That Prohibition is for the ultimate good of society is the general belief of most people. But we do not start throwing away the leaky roof of a house in the rainy season even before we find the wherewithal to make a new roof. We hear that Prohibition crimes are on the increase. Then we hear that the staff is being increased daily for more and more jobs. Well, if crimes are on the increase, what is the use of this spending after taxing everyone to the utmost? Everyone in the street finds that he gets more taxes nowadays. He would be consoled if at least his additional payment has led to better welfare. The result on the positive side is pretty little. Naturally he 'refuses' to believe all the fanfare of publicity about Prohibition being useful or helpful.

Much was said about lighting of railway stations, the engines whistling, etc., on Republic Day. These should normally touch our hearts

with a pleasant feeling. But then it did not. We find railway travel is not any better. And even worse: for now they are withdrawing coaches from the regular services to cope up with Kumbha Mela traffic. Publicity can only help push things which are there and which are for the public good. By mere publicity alone no one can achieve anything for a long time. This is a thing that our administrators should take note of.

Lack of discipline is another malady which is now attributed to various causes. If a Minister in the Centre says one thing, and the same is contradicted by a Minister in the provinces immediately, the same sort of indiscipline continues all through. Once we do not hold our own work in high esteem nothing useful can be done. Even if the provincial Minister sees that the Central Minister is wrong, he should not rush into publicity. He should see that the Central Minister is correctly apprised, so that he may himself correct the error in public. When people in authority thus own up mistakes publicly the regard and esteem for them will rise. This way lies public goodwill: not in merely boosting things up through the press or the radio.

The dread of Communism is being fought with various weapons. We hear only of the atrocities done by the 'Reds' in this country and the police action against them. Such drastic steps are necessary for peace in the country. But that is only the negative side. On the positive side we are giving room for more and more discontent. The increasing amount of interference with industries, the undue and impracticable methods of patting labour on their back beyond limits of profitable industrial management, the imposition of taxes to keep ideological schemes going, are all

having a serious effect in increasing distress and dissatisfaction among people, and the Communists are trying to fan it. This is the danger we have to cope with.

Officers, it would appear, have been circularised to be on the lookout for place names to be changed to their old ones of country origin. Things like these are not required immediately. They can wait. The mischief this misplaced enthusiasm causes is not easily understood. People see no material benefit from changing the names, they only feel that confusion is caused in postal and telegraphic communications. We read of money spent on well sinking, Prohibition propagandists, firka development, cinema slides, and such things. In a more progressive state these things may be useful or beneficial, but they are not more important than food and employment. By creating more Government jobs we do not add to the prosperity of the country, because most Government jobs are only for administration and regulation and control, not for production. We should aim at giving freedom of enterprise so that there may be more production and more employment under private auspices. Then the extra returns can be taxed to have amenities for the State. Today there are obstacles in the way of increasing production on one side; on the other side Government have inflated jobs under their auspices. These jobs are to be paid for by the public. Without the private person producing and earning more, how can this expenditure be maintained? We cannot afford to be complacent: let us throw prestige and ideologies away for the time being, and first try to live within our means and prove that underneath every line of Government publicity there is some truth. Mere publicity cannot any longer sustain the administration.

"Leander swam the Hellespont every night to see Hero. That is the strongest proof of love we have," said the teacher.

"I know a better," spoke up one of the pupils.

"What is that?"

"Our maid loves the postman, so she writes a letter to herself every night to make sure he will come the next day."

AGRARIAN REFORMS

By D. V. RAMA RAU

THE Kumarappa Committee Report on Agrarian Reforms contains some far-reaching recommendations which deserve careful attention. Nevertheless the Committee's approach to the land problem seems to be amateurish and doctrinaire rather than practical and realistic. Let us briefly examine the salient features of the Recommendations:

1. Fixation of optimum holding at three times the economic holding: What exactly constitutes an economic holding is, however, not clear, although the authors say that it must afford a reasonable standard of living to the cultivator and that it should provide full employment to a family of normal size and at least a pair of bullocks. It may be noted that, in the conditions obtaining in India, full employment to a family through agricultural occupation alone is not possible whatever may be the extent of the holding. It may also be noted that many a peasant maintains a pair of bullocks not only for agricultural purposes but quite often for subsidiary earnings by plying a bullock cart for hire. The Committee says that low ceilings on the ownership of land are necessary on the grounds of distributive justice but the authors themselves seem to be somewhat apologetic since they admit that the imposition of such ceilings to ownership in one sector of national economy might create anomalies in other spheres and are content with the hope that the same principle of distributive justice might be ushered into other spheres too.

2. Conferring of occupancy rights on tenants who have continuously held a holding for six years: The object may be good but it may not only involve practical difficulties but lead to a good deal of litigation.

3. Insistence on land owners putting in a minimum amount of physical labour and participating in actual agricultural occupations: Such an insistence might lead to farcical possibilities like the famous Khadi qualification for Congress membership.

Indeed, one might add, tragic possibilities too.

4. Removal of all intermediaries between the actual tiller and the State: This sounds more like a slogan than a practical solution, nor is it so simple as it looks, for, firstly, the term "intermediary" requires to be clearly defined; and secondly, it should not be forgotten that "intermediaries" are inevitable in any sphere in certain conditions, for instance, when there is keen competition for land due to pressure of population which has no alternative means of occupation; and it would be folly to remove intermediaries artificially because they are likely to appear in some other guise.

5. Compulsory scaling down of agricultural indebtedness and complete wiping out of debts as regards agricultural labourers: Agricultural indebtedness, no doubt, requires to be relieved but it should be done in such a way as not to encourage litigation and hit unfairly small middleclass creditors who, in many cases, are more deserving of relief than their debtors as has been evidenced by the experience of the various Provincial Debt Relief Acts. Further, after the (Madras) Debt Relief Act had been in operation for a decade, it has been found agricultural indebtedness was higher than ever. It is evident, therefore, that the remedy lies in the extension of easy credit facilities on a moderate rate of interest and provision of subsidiary occupations to augment earnings but not merely in a periodic scaling down of debts.

6. All tenants, to whichever class they may belong, must be protected from rack renting and illegal exactions: It should be noted that the highest rentals obtain not among big Zamindars but among the owners of small holdings and on the part of Zamindari tenants who sublet their holdings sometimes on eight to nine times the rentals they actually pay the Zamindar. It should also be noted that even under the prevalent rate of rentals, if a tenant has a sufficiently large holding, he can have a fair margin of earnings. But in most

cases the holdings are so small that even if they are rent-free they would not fetch decent living wages.

The recommendations for a scheme of crop insurance and for maintaining parity between prices of agricultural and industrial commodities and for proper maintenance of agricultural statistics to facilitate sound policies of agricultural planning are important; equally important are the recommendations for constituting a Central Land Commission with the primary object of evolving an all-India scheme of crop planning and allocating scarce resources according to priorities and for the creation of a rural economic civil service for the execution of the Provincial Land Commission's work. Care should be taken, however, to see that too much beaurocratic spoon-feeding is avoided.

The main defect of the Report, however, lies in giving undue importance to a mere change of tenures. Changes especially with a view to securing uniformity of tenure and fair returns to tenants are necessary but it should not be forgotten that after all, in a country like India where the cultivated land works out at less than an acre per head or about five acres for an agricultural family, neither the utmost distributive justice nor the fairest fixation of tenures can bring about any substantial increase in agricultural incomes. It may be noted that in America where about 25 per cent depend on farming the per capita land for a farmer is at least fifteen times that available in India and a forty acre farm is viewed as a small scale farm and a hundred and eighty acre farm as a medium sized one. In India such a state of things is impossible and Mahatma Gandhi rightly realised that what was good economy for a country like America need not necessarily be good economy for a country like India. It may also be noted that though Gandhiji never countenanced parasitism of any sort in any sphere, he, however, never attached much importance either to zamindari abolition or mere changes in land tenures. On the other hand, he always stressed the need for developing cottage industries so as to assure subsidiary incomes to the vast majority of villagers who, in the conditions obtaining in India,

can never be assured of full occupational work or sufficient income exclusively from land merely by a change of tenures.

One need not be biased against machinery or sentimentally disposed towards cottage industries to understand the importance Gandhiji gave to cottage industries in our country's economy. The total number of workers engaged in factories and workshops is about two millions and even if our industries could be increased fourfold and a good number absorbed in extended public utility services, pressure on land cannot be appreciably relieved. Moreover, such large-scale industrial expansion must necessarily be spread over some years, if not decades, and should proceed on a definite and carefully drawn plan if new problems are to be avoided. No doubt, industrial expansion can be planned, as far as possible, on a decentralised basis and both medium and small-scale industries best suited to particular localities started amidst groups of villages but, situated as we are, whatever industrial plan we might decide upon, it appears, we would have to take recourse to cottage industries too if all the available artisan power, largely running to waste at present, were to be absorbed in healthy and beneficial productive activity. The great automobile builder and industrial genius, Henry Ford was said to have envisaged the future possibility of industrial planning on lines where an industrial worker could be a farmer also. In India, where the role of artisan cum farmer has been in existence from time immemorial, the economy best suited to our needs seems to lie not in dividing villages into strictly cultivating and non-cultivating sections but in lessening the pressure on land mainly by providing subsidiary occupations so that the majority of villagers might depend less exclusively on purely agricultural incomes.

Further, most people when they talk of elimination of intermediaries seem to think that what is termed as absentee landlordism (in fact every investor whether on lands, houses, company shares, Government bonds or bank deposits belongs essentially to the same category) is confined to a

few big zamindars while actually a large number of middleclass people, for varied reasons, have come to own lands without being tillers. In a healthy and well-planned society parasitism of any kind will largely disappear automatically but a superficial elimination of intermediaries and a mere change of tenures might not go a long way in bringing about conditions of enduring prosperity. Moreover, changes involving large-scale displacement of middleclass people, who are the hardest hit at present and to whom a tie with the land is largely of the nature of an

insurance, unless accompanied by a proper plan affording alternate means of livelihood, would create new problems; whereas a properly planned development of cottage and centralised industries and extension of public utility services into the countryside would not only provide opportunities for subsidiary earnings to peasants but would also facilitate the absorption of middleclass people without too suddenly disturbing them from their ancestral village moorings and possibly help lessen the existing gulf between villagers and town dwellers.—(Copyright).

THE SOCIAL GRACES OF NEHRU

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

NO living statesman is greeted in foreign capitals by politicians as well as publicists, by ladies as well as gentlemen, by children as much as the grown-ups, with the same effusiveness, as Pandit Nehru. As he himself summed up in his autobiography, it has become a fashion to refer to his absolute sincerity and incorruptibility even for his opponents. He is an aristocrat beloved of the crowd and a democrat beloved of the aristocracy. He has the largest number of friends in opposite camps, be they imperialists or reactionaries. Colossal mistakes, political as well as social, are condoned in him—mistakes that would have cost any other statesman his place, for Nehru is above political controversy at home and abroad. What is the secret of his unique social success?

The answer lies in that one all-embracing phrase, 'social grace.' It covers a thousand minor and major traits of his public manners that go to make him the most popular figure he is. They can only be detailed but are difficult of analysis.

A smiling face is, according to Dale Carnegie, the first key to social success. But the world has become well nigh tired of insincere smiles from statesmen. Robert Lynd said once that the newspapers are nowadays full of smiling statesmen, smiling cricketers and smiling generals, with the Prince of

Wales (now Duke of Windsor) smiling on the world from West to East and the Crown Prince of Japan smiling from East to West. But Nehru's smile has a distinction all its own. Set against the background of a most handsome rosy countenance, it illustrates concretely the Indian Poet's simile of a freshly-flowered lotus smiling at the sun. Nehru's smile is the physical effervescence of his intense humanism and transparent sincerity. The dimples that have made a permanent lodgment on his cheeks, that have refused to age with time, are the landmarks of the victory of his humanism over the exacting cares and worries of diplomacy. The crowds which cheer him may not understand a word of his disquisitions on the international situation but they still find in his broad smile a reassuring charm that seems almost angelic. The cunning diplomats that look askance at his speeches and methods dare not resist the magnetic attraction of that smile that assures them of complete frankness on his side, and challenges for a similar return from theirs. Sincerity in a small man is a strong enough force but in one who combines nobility and knowledge, it is almost an elemental force.

Statesmen are most of them what Shakespeare described them to be—strutting about the stage for a brief

hour and playing pranks that would make the angels weep. Nehru is deeply conscious of the strict limitations of a man in office as well as of his infinite possibilities. An ardent student of world history and science, his feet are not stuck deep in the quagmire of the present and his immediate surroundings. He can see far back and far into the future, and the futility of power politics and blundering diplomacy are quite evident to him. All this make him a superb historian and literary artist. Besides, Nehru is a connoisseur of music and painting, in fact, all the fine arts. The culture of his mind confers on him all the social graces, without the least strain of affectation. Statesmen fondle him, for he is not there to deceive them and inveigle them into commitments. Artists and authors are all over him, for they find a kindred soul, which, they think, has mistaken its vocation. Children are drawn towards his smiling face, which is so deceptively childlike.

Chivalry as a virtue is in a dubious position today, what with the rise of the he-woman and the new proletariat. Sympathy from superior heights is spurned as an inverted form of hatred. But Nehru is chivalrous in the pristine sense of the word. His chivalry is not a superior's sympathy for the lowly-placed and a fashionable fad of the dandy for the well-dressed young woman. It is a spontaneous outburst of an active mind, which considers all humanity as its own. There is no taint of complacent superiority or exhibitionist dandyism about it. Numerous instances have been cited of how he sprang away from processions and platforms to rescue a besieged woman or child that

caught his eye—none of which ever got into print because of the Pandit's shyness and wish to avoid publicity. Chivalry to him is the duty which every man owes to another, not a thing to be showered from Olympian heights upon the low and struggling below.

Love of nature and love of beauty have made Nehru an inveterate traveller. Kashmir invites him whenever he has a few days of leisure. On his important diplomatic trips abroad, he steals time to visit natural beauties and historic monuments. On his trip to Ceylon ten years ago, he suddenly got down in the middle of the road and stood drinking in the scenery and had to be coaxed back to his seat. On his recent trip to Europe, he could not help standing spell-bound for hours looking at the Alps, when he might have been making a speech or eating a diplomatic dinner. A leisure of fifteen minutes in Cairo could not be wasted in silent rest without a trip to the Pyramids. Who could help liking a man that has not lost the child's curiosity?

Nehru is a statesman of the new age where the emptiness of power politics and behind the scenes diplomacy has been made patent. It is a great asset to the world and India that he is no tight-lipped philosopher or a cloistered thinker but the world's greatest social success. The diplomats and the crowd will listen to him not with fear nor with forced attention but with a tender love that will make conviction easier. Provided he arrives at the right decisions, he is the most fitted to make them attractive in their execution and explanation. His personality is to tangled diplomacy what a lubricant is to a complicated machine.

The teacher was escorting her class of young ones through the city zoo. Pausing before the cage wherein were kept the deer, the teacher asked,

"Jimmy, what sort of an animal is that?"

Jimmy, who knew little of such things, replied that he didn't know.

"Well, Jimmy, what does your Mother call your Father?"

Jimmy gasped. "Don't tell me that's a baboon!"

INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA

PANDIT Nehru's visit to America and the Indo-American Conference which followed it have served to highlight the new relationship between India and the United States. Among the contributory factors which serve to build up this relationship are:

1. A growing realisation in America that it is closely tied to other countries, chiefly as its vastly expanded industrial potential accelerated during the war might undergo a sudden and dangerous shrinkage unless outlets are found abroad. Out of this arose Marshal Aid Plan and all other schemes including Point 4 of the Truman Programme. Explaining this item, President Truman said, "Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically."

2. The rise of a Communist regime in China, which has compelled America to review its policy in Asia, particularly in the South Eastern region. Once it was realised that China no longer offered a bulwark against Communist advance on the Asian mainland, America had naturally to cast around for other possible support, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, India.

The main weakness in the U. S. foreign policy is its overwhelming preoccupation with Europe, which has resulted in a certain amount of indecisiveness towards Asia. For the U. S.—Atlantic pattern cannot fit in here. Although Asia has no bias towards Russia and Communism, it is at the same time very suspicious of the West. World War II had marked the close of an era in Asia. What the present situation called for was the establishment of new States and new social structures, not reconstruction. The collapse in China eventually left America's Asian policy floundering, for China had been its focal point. It is no use minimising the repercussions of a new and Communist China. It is against this background that the problem of Indo-American relations has to be studied.

Obviously quite a few American interests hope to salvage something out of the China debacle. But America also realises—witness the lavish welcome to Nehru—that India is the next best winner in the race against Communism. India has a comparatively stable Government animated by Western ideas of administration, a growing army and large, though untapped, industrial potential. Moreover the Nehru Government is trying to put down the Communists and frowns on the Socialists—it has become a happy hunting ground for Indian capitalists. In short it has most of the requisites America would look for in an ally. India's economic difficulties are many. It needs food, industrial equipment, technical aid, all of which the U. S. can make good; and as the "Nation" of America suggested, it might be made a chief demonstration centre for Point Four. But—well, there is a but—in return. India would have to pay dividends not merely in checking Communism internally but allying itself with the U. S. now in the cold war and when the occasion comes, in the hot one. Today no such proof is forthcoming from India. On the contrary India still talks of neutrality. In the meantime, India is hopefully looking around for foreign investments. Enlightened Indian opinion today generally favours investments through loans advanced via international agencies, preferably of the United Nations. It even feels that where the funds come from any member-country such as the U. S. A. it should be through a U. N. body and not directly. Such a procedure would mitigate suspicion and prevent propaganda that India has become an American colony. The present wide gap between the highly developed and under-developed areas precludes the possibility of lasting peace and prosperity for the world. As peace and freedom are indivisible, so is security. It is not possible to have security in one part of the globe and insecurity in another. For the latter would be bound to menace the former.

OUR PRESIDENT

But apparently all these ideas have not made any impression on American investors. They gave very frank expression to their terms for loosening their purse-strings, at the Indo-American Conference. The American administration has made it clear that until private capital resources were exhausted, the State was not likely to step in. As for private enterprise, it calls for conditions that would entail encroachment on India's internal policies. The American financiers' case is this: U. S. capital now insists on majority control over all its investments abroad. It will not stand for control and is definitely put off by talk of nationalisation for there is ample scope for investment in the home country itself; it is therefore too much to expect American investors to export capital to countries where it is hedged in by numerous restrictions.

We glibly say history repeats itself. The truth is that the lessons of history are completely lost on those whom they may most concern. If China has one lesson to teach the West it is that one of the main factors contributing to the present situation was—ironical though it may sound—American intervention and Russian non-intervention in China. For American aid included undisguised participation in Chinese internal policies. In the significant words of Owen Lattimore, one of the greatest authorities on China: "A major effort in world policy by the most powerful country in the world has been defeated, without detectable effort, by a country whose industrial rating is about one fifth to one fourth that of the United States.... Russian non-intervention has wiped the floor with American intervention—the result can only be described as subsidised turpitude, moral, political and military." It is equally interesting to note that as far back as 1944, John Davies stated: "The Communists are

in China to stay And China's destiny is not Chiang's, but theirs."

But if current trends are any indication, the moral of this is still to be understood by the American Congress and some of its top politicians. The basic fact still to be realised is that if Asia is to grow into a healthy democracy it must be allowed to remain independent and left uninterrupted to put through its social and economic changes in its own way. Logically, therefore, the Indian Government must be left free to carry out its programme not as an economic satellite of the U. S. but as an independent power. For once the Government betrays its loss of initiative and its subordination to an alien power, however subtle that might be, it is bound to lose face with its people and ultimately forfeit their confidence.

It is equally important for India to keep away from power blocs. If India is to act as a stabilising as well as a progressive force, she has necessity to keep away from entanglements in which she is not in a position to operate effectively. As Walter Lippman put it: "We must not ask more of Pandit Nehru than Canning was content to accept from President Monroe." India and her neighbours must get the time and opportunity to promote their economic and social development. Lippman summed up his commentary on U. S. policy towards India and Pakistan as follows: "We should not think of them as factors in the world alignment of military powers. We should think of them rather as a community of countries, which must devote their energies to their own affairs, preserving their own freedom."

It is this understanding and approach that are needed. As China is a fact, so is India a fact. If harmonious relations are to be established between America and India it must be by a mutual realisation of comradeship and common effort—(Copyright).

Brevity is the soul of modern journalism. A budding journalist was told never to use two words where one would do. He carried out this advice in his report of a fatal accident in the following manner:

"John Jones struck a match to see if there was any gasoline in his tank. There was. Age, sixty-five."

THE belief (or the illusion?) that every boy, be he son of a plumber, a boot-black, or a millionaire, has an equal chance to grow up to be the President, is one of the axioms of the "American way of life"—and the basic principle of republicanism!

Now that India is a full-fledged Republic, with its only constituted Parliament and President, every boy (or girl) in the land has an equal theoretical chance to grow up to be the First Citizen of India.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The first President of U.S.A.—General George Washington—was elected in 1789.

Since then, millions of American boys have dreamt of being President. But actually the dice is heavily loaded against the boy of plebian origin. In the early years of the U.S.A. a lanky lawyer called Lincoln did make the journey "from log cabin to White House," but even then it was the backing of the Rich and the Powerful, not merely the votes of the People, that got him in.

Today, of course, the boot-black's son would not be able to afford to stand even for the Mayoralty of a small town, much less for Presidentship of the U. S. A.—unless, of course, Wall Street backers of the Democratic or the Republican Party backed him for their own ends and purposes.

It is a sobering thought that in the U.S.A., during 160 years of democracy,

No Negro has been President,

No Catholic has been President,

No Jew has been President, and

No Woman has been President!

Indeed, during my visit to the United States ten years ago, I was solemnly told by more than one American that it was inconceivable for a Negro, Jew, Catholic or a woman to be elected President of United States.

Now that we are self-consciously walking in the footsteps of America, will it likewise be inconceivable for a Harijan, a Muslim, an atheist or a woman to be President of the Indian Re-

public?

Was it not Gandhiji who dreamt of having a poor Harijan girl as the first President of free, democratic India?

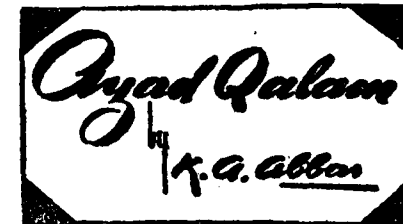
AMERICA AND INDIA

On this occasion, it is edifying to refer to the striking parallel of the birth of the American Republic. The Convention which drew up the great American Constitution (which has served as a model for our own drafters) has been thus described by W. E. Woodward in his "A New American History":—

"The fifty-five delegates all came from the higher social and financial classes. They were men of substance—merchants, planters, ship-owners, lawyers, capitalists.... Many of the delegates owned large tracts of land....

"Patrick Henry (the revolutionary who gave the rousing slogan, 'Give me liberty or give me death') was not there. They asked him to serve, but he would have nothing to do with it. Nor was Samuel Adams, the revolutionary fire-eater. Nor was Christopher Gadsden, organiser of mechanics and labouring men. Their day had passed; the moving spirits of the Convention did not want any organizers of rebellion, or leaders of the populace. Thomas Jefferson, idealist and democrat, was in France....

"The record shows that there was among the delegates a striking unanimity of opinion on fundamental issues. Their provincial jealousies were fused in the chemistry of a common fear.... The motivating spirit of the Convention, not expressed but clearly understood—was to make the nation safe from democracy. The intention is unmistakable.... 'The people', said Roger Sherman, 'should have as little to do as may be with the government'.... (But) if the Convention had produced a document in which wealth and land were flatly given a dominant position in national affairs it would have been rejected by every state.... that being the case, cleverness was necessary—and the American Constitution is one of the cleverest state papers in the world's history. From first to last the convention stood for the protection of private interests; a stronger central authority a



stabilised monetary system—and for a republican form of government but not for an unlimited democracy.”

Has history repeated itself after 160 years?

FROM WASHINGTON TO RAJEN BABU

George Washington, the first American President, after his election, came to New York which was then the temporary capital, “through the resounding din of ovations. As he passed through the towns and villages flags waved, bands blared, cannons boomed, and swarms of young girls presented bouquets.”

Close to Washington were three other remarkable men—John Adams, the Vice-President, who “secretly hoped to be first President,” who hated democracy, and has been described as “addled and gnawed by a contempt” for other people, the reactionary Hamilton, “the father of American high finance,” who was Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State, who is described thus by Woodward:

“Jefferson’s personality was a remarkable compound of qualities that are not often found side by side in the same individual. His millions of Democratic followers like to think of him as a philosophic idealist, simple in manner, tastes, and frank in speech. The truth is that though he was a humanitarian and a sincere believer in democracy, his idealism was combined with a shrewd political sense. He knew every subtle trick of vote-getting.... His intellectual curiosity was great; he would go to any expense of time or money to acquire knowledge....”

If Rajen Babu is our Washington, who are our Adams, Hamilton and Jefferson?

GENTLEMEN, THE PRESIDENT!

Yusuf Meherally, in a thumb-nail sketch in his *Leaders of India*, writes:

“When Rajen Babu left his practice to join the Non-Co-operation Movement in 1920, he had exactly Rs. 15 left in his bank account. At the Patna High Court he was known to have been making several thousands every year.. But what he earned as a legal practitioner, he spent freely. Very little was spent on himself, for he has always been a man of simple habits and very few needs. His earnings were spent in financing expenses of public life or in assisting needy students to complete their education.”

Since then, Rajen Babu has remained much the same—a self-sacrificing patriot, an unassuming philanthropist and a man of simple habits, a typical lower middle class idealist, with neither the intellectual subtlety of Rajaji nor the aristocratic graces of Jawaharlal, but with a great deal of Gandhian integrity. Loyalty, kindness and service, rather than brilliance and imagination, are his chief virtues. As an author (of many books including the monumental treatise on Pakistan, *India Divided*) he is painstaking and encyclopaedic rather than original or profound. He has been described as the ‘Perfect Gentleman in Indian politics.’ But his humanism is conditioned by his sympathy for the owning classes, even as his rationalism and progressivism are diluted by his somewhat orthodox religious outlook (as revealed by his views on the Hindu Code Bill). His pacifism will now have to be reconciled with his new position as the Supreme Commander of the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force!

With all his eminence, Rajen Babu is essentially “small townish” and would be ill at home in a drawing room full of fashionable and sophisticated socialites. Though he achieved every possible distinction in his academic career in India, he lacks the suave veneer and polish of “foreign education.” He has been out of India only once, and that for a brief period, in connection with a Privy Council case, at the age of 44. The “Babu” in his name proclaims the *petite bourgeoisie*, neither the *de classe* proletariat nor the born aristocrat. The Westernised Indian “Society” (used to courtseying and bending the gartered knee before British Viceroy) which adores the Harrow-and-Cambridge accents of Jawaharlal and was prepared to be entertained and intrigued by the witty parables of Rajaji, will not be very thrilled at the prospect of doing *namaskar* to President Rajendra Prasad.

Rajen Babu’s elevation to Presidency, among other things, also signified at least a formal, continuity of the link with the Gandhian tradition. For, among all the front-rank Congress leaders, he is almost the only one (with the possible exception of Acharya Kripalani, whose Gandh-

ism has always been coloured by his dynamic, irrepressible and sometimes irresponsible Kripalanism) who has been ever faithful to the Master’s ideals. Jawaharlal, as he confessed in his *Autobiography*, has always had mental reservations about his acceptance of the Gandhian gospel. Sardar Patel is known to have developed serious differences with the Mahatma towards the end of the latter’s life. Rajaji had broken away from the band of the faithful as early as 1941. Rajen Babu alone was faithful unto the last, ever since he came under the spell of the Mahatma during the Champaran campaign in 1917 about which Gandhiji has recorded in his *Experiments with Truth*. “Brij-kishore Babu and Rajen Babu were a matchless pair. Their devotion made it impossible for me to take a single step without their help.” Of all the leaders serving today, Rajen Babu was the first to join the Gandhian camp and never deserted it, though now, as the head of a state which professes only formal allegiance to Gandhism without practising it in any important respect, he will find it increasingly difficult to reconcile the ideal with the reality.

THE MAN AND THE MACHINE

With due respect to Rajen Babu, one is led to doubt if he has been elevated to this high position only because of his undoubted integrity of character and his matchless record of national service. The Congress ‘Party Machine’ has had to be used for his unanimous election, and factors other than progressive idealism played their part in his election as the Party candidate—much in the same way as the Republican Party chose Lincoln in 1861, or the Democratic Party chose Roosevelt in 1932, for Party purposes!

The Hindi versus Non-Hindi, the North versus South, the Hindu Code Bill and the orthodox’s opposition to it—these and other such issues have had something to do with Rajen Babu’s election.

But now that he is President, he is beyond and above Party politics and social controversy. He is at once the Head and the symbol of the Republic. Though it is true that (like the King of England) he shall reign and not rule, the manner in which he uses his

high office to uphold the principles of democratic government (as against party rule) will determine whether the Republic shall become truly republican or degenerate into a One-Party Oligarchy which shall be a republic only in name. The President shall have to contend with the Party, the man with the Machine!

Meanwhile, the dream of the humble-born, under-privileged Indian boy to be President of the Indian Republic will remain—a dream!

ANOTHER PRESIDENT

Talking about Presidents, we have had a distinguished visitor during our Republic Day celebrations—Doctor Soekarno, President of the United States of Indonesia, a sister republic in the birth and recognition of which India has been vitally interested.

Among the leading figures who control or guide the destinies of the New Asia, Soekarno is the youngest, being only 49, as against Nehru’s 60 and Mao Tse-tung’s 57.

Born at Soerabaya in East Java in 1901, Soekarno graduated with the degree of an Engineer—and is called Doctor only by courtesy. He has been an ardent Nationalist since his student days and the abiding passion of his life has been to see his country free. He has always had Socialistic leanings and once was close even to the Communists. The socialist content of his programme has been mellowed or watered down today. But there is no doubt that he has made the greatest contribution to the cause of Indonesian freedom.

He was in a Dutch prison when the Japanese invaded Java and released Soekarno. He has been accused by the Dutch of being a “collaborator” and “Quisling” (much in the same way that Netaji was slandered by the British) but it is significant that Sultan Sjahir, the leader of the anti-Fascist Indonesians, has always been a faithful follower of Soekarno. The fact is that Soekarno shrewdly used the historic opportunity provided by the Japanese invasion and Dutch capitulation to free Indonesia from imperialist shackles. By virtue of his pre-eminent position as the leader of the nationalist movement, when the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on August 19, 1945, Soekarno was elected its first President.

Soekarno is a Muslim and was brought up by an orthodox and even fanatical leader of the *Saraket Islam*, the Muslim party of Indonesia. But his nationalism has never been conditioned by religious considerations and he has always kept the Indonesian national movement truly secular. When he administered a cold douche to Pakistan by declaring that though the majority of Indonesians were Muslims, Indonesia was in no sense a Muslim state, he was giving expression to a historic fact, not uttering a pious platitude.

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

WASHINGTON: The United States has signed agreements with the leading Western European Powers for the rearmament of the North Atlantic area. The agreement will govern the flow of 1,000 million dollars worth of American arms.—P.T.I.

NEW DELHI: "A fresh tragedy is being enacted in a part of Eastern Pakistan where indeed, something like a miniature Noakhali is being reproduc-

ed," says Mr. Lahiry, Chairman of the Hindu Mahasabha Parliamentary Board.

KARACHI: The Government of Pakistan have protested to the Government of India against the move of the Provincial Government of Assam to force a mass expulsion of Muslims from Assam.—News items appearing on same day.

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

KANPUR: Sugar merchants here have invoked divine aid in a last bid to remove sugar control by holding an eleven-day non-stop "Sat Chandi Maha Yagna" to please the goddess Shakti. Pandits, chanting hymns, are hoping that sugar control will be removed by the goddess Chandi's power.

BOMBAY: A beauty contest for air hostesses of Indian airlines will be held along with an Airways ball at a local hotel on February 15.

CALCUTTA: A lunatic beating his wife stirred up a riot in the Barrackpore locality.

NURSERIES FOR SCIENCE

By V. P. RAMAN

WHETHER or not this year will be remembered for its twentieth-sixth of January, is a matter for individual opinion; but no such doubt exists in the minds of our scientists who see a New Era before them—what with a Scientists' Conference and the opening of two National Science Laboratories, all within the space of three weeks. Our Prime Minister who declared open the National Chemical Laboratory at Poona, made as polite a reference as he could, to the greater importance of scientific work over the erection of beautiful and monumental buildings. "If necessary, we should start our work even in huts and sheds" said Pandit Nehru, in one of those emotional moments of his, and he is usually right when he is emotional, for then frankness triumphs over diplomacy. Appealing as his words are to the overburdened tax-payer, it is doubtful whether they sounded so sweet in the scientific ears of Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar. Sir

Shanti Swarup who moved heaven and earth to create the two Science Laboratories, seems to believe staunchly in the "Tools Make the Man" creed. Large, spacious houses, equipped with the latest and most complicated apparatus, are more in the line of India's scientific administrator, than the huts and sheds recommended by Pandit Nehru for scientific work. Anyway, who was thinking of work! Adding as they do to the beauty of the landscape, such prepossessing structures as the N.C.L., have not been the birthplaces of really great discoveries in the History of Science. Had the Curies, so well known for their struggling experiments in the dingiest of Paris dungeons, waited for so lavish a workplace as the one at Poona, the world might never have known Radium. Posterity alone can judge whether our enormous expenditure on the Science Laboratories is a profitable investment. One cannot but entertain a fear that Sir Shanti

Swarup's buildings will prove to be more of lab-oratories than labor-atories!

We cannot feel too grateful to those who so arranged the dates of the Science Congress and the opening of the N.C.L. that a double expenditure was avoided. To get together all the manometer-men and the test-tube-wallahs from the distant parts of India, and a few too from abroad, is no joke and a sizable amount is involved in the procedure. The conference went off well, as these conferences usually do, and the delegates have gone away impressed by the potentiality of our scientific men—as they usually do. Foreign scientists bearing names so famous as Sir Robert Robinson, Madame Irene-Joliot Curie, and Dr. Bernal were there at Poona; and also an Englehardt from Moscow who "having spent four sleepless days and nights" came in time for the national anthem, forthwith went to snooze with a vengeance, and will soon disappear once more behind the Iron Curtain! What use was made of these eminent people while they were in India? What scientific papers were read out to the erudite gathering for their helpful remarks? How was the knowledge of the foreign scientists utilised to aid our own gropings in the scientific field? These are interrogations that come inconveniently to the conveners of the scientists' meet. Obviously, we dragged these learned men of science all the way from London and Paris, merely to hear them praise us, and our hospitality. We understand that next year, arrangements would be made more with a view to learning and discussing with the scientific visitors in private, than sitting so meretriciously on a platform before a gazing public and imbibing cold tea with calculating industrialists. Could not that wisdom have dawned earlier?

During the course of his speech, Sir S-S-B. is reported to have said that over thirty wonderful processes of his, that is, of the laboratory, remain to be applied on a large scale in industry. An industrialist was heard to retort, audibly, "Where are the processes? I know of not one of them." No number of national labo-

ratories will serve any useful purpose if the experiments made there lack of industrial applicability. Pure science has its place, no doubt; but the Bangalore Institute can take care of that. We can rejoice over the opening of the Laboratories, along with Sir Shanti Swarup only if something accrues from the researches of the scientists at work. While we certainly deplore the practice of non-scientific men leading scientists by their noses, we must at the same time guard against these latter pottering about with their gadgets, aimless and blind to the practical side of their experimentation.

Another feature about these "national" institutions is their essentially ultra-national character. Manned mostly by British or American scientists, fitted with foreign apparatus, and filled with chemicals, by no means native, there is nothing *swadeshi* about them, save perhaps the bricks used in building them. We can have nothing to complain about, if this is only a temporary feature, if the foreign directors are to be gradually replaced by our men, trained under them; if the equipment will ere long be made in India. If, however, the National Laboratories are to be permanently used for others to carry on their work, without our boys benefitting by their presence, we cannot congratulate Sir Shanti Swarup on his venture.

There appears to be a North-South feeling running scientifically in the bodies of the controlling scientists. A notion that there is "no scientific interest" down South seems to prevail. Its absurdity is apparent. Whoever lugged this politics into the Indian scientific world has done it no service. We might gently point out that the Ramans and Krishnans of the South are the ones known internationally, not Bhatnagar and his bevy of assistants. Of course, the latter are well-known, but—not as men of science. The earlier such vile propaganda stops, the better for science, for if local quarrels begin, there are the McBains and Robinsons ready to work in the new laboratories and walk away with the prizes each time.

NEW DELHI DIARY



CELEBRATIONS connected with the inauguration of the Indian Republic being over, New Delhi is settling down to work the new Constitution. There is a general feeling that India will make great progress in the economic and political spheres under the new Constitution and under the able leadership of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. For the first time in hundreds of years, the country emerges as a strong political unit with a Centre vested with powers strong enough to maintain that unity. India's prestige abroad is high and her international status has been considerably enhanced by the Republican Constitution which has come into force from January 26. Tributes and praises from all parts of the world are still pouring into New Delhi.

The leaders of the country, however, are in no mood of exultation. They are conscious of the new responsibilities facing them. They are aware of the economic problems to be solved to raise the standard of living of the masses which alone can make the poorest in the land feel the change. Even as the Indian Army was giving a brilliant exhibition of its discipline and efficiency at the big parade held at the Irwin Stadium on the 26th of January, Pandit Nehru's mind was full of thoughts on economic problems and the need to serve the villager and the peasant. Ultimately, the utility of the new Constitution will be judged by the flexible character it develops in serving the requirements of the village communities. The next elections will be on adult suffrage and every adult who is 21 will have the right to vote. The formation of one strong united India, therefore, offers vast opportunities to canalise the energies of three hundred million people towards better economic standards.

The political consolidation of the country has also resulted in the con-

solidation of the Judiciary. On Saturday the Supreme Court was inaugurated in New Delhi by the Chief Justice, Shri H. L. Kania. The Princes' Chamber Hall in the Council House, which was being utilised by the Federal Court, will now be the centre of Supreme Court sittings till the Court is housed in a separate new building. The Supreme Court will be the highest court of civil and criminal appeal from 18 High Courts or Chief Courts in States and Provinces, not only in matters involving the interpretation of the Constitution, but in civil matters and in certain specified criminal matters. Moreover, the Court will have the power to interpret the Constitution in respect of fundamental rights and will have powers to issue orders or writs in that direction.

Already, the area, extent and the nature of the Supreme Court's jurisdiction have attracted a number of eminent lawyers, especially from Madras, to New Delhi. Many hope to establish themselves in the capital of India. Some prominent lawyers of England, who have been arguing cases before the Privy Council, intend setting up offices in Delhi to make their services available to Indian clients. Meanwhile, language difficulty is confronting some of the High Courts in India. For instance, High Courts in Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat have all along accepted Hindi as the Court language, while the Constitution provides for the use of English for another 15 years. The Hyderabad High Court has Urdu as the language of the Court and the Court records have also been maintained in Urdu. The Chief Justice of Hyderabad has discussed this matter with other Judges in Delhi. The Law Ministry is considering the problem and a directive is shortly expected to be issued allowing the use of either English or Hindi in the Court as the official language.—A. S. R.

KASHMIR

By V. KALYANASUNDARAM

ANY one looking at the map of India would find Kashmir resting like a silver crown set with emeralds and rubies. The fame of this mountain stronghold pierced the world through the snowclad Himalayan ranges that surround it not so much by its culture as by its celebrated shawls, embroidery and carpets. Its summer capital, the Naples of India, the vineyards and the numerous orchards of apples, pears, oranges and apricots with which this valley is studded and the various pleasure resorts in it, to which throng the epicureans of the world, had acquired for it the proud title "Garden of Eden." It is shut out by the Karakoram Range from Tibet, by the Pir Panjal and Himalayan ranges from the South, the Hindukush and Karakoram mountain ranges from Afghanistan and Russia.

This charming little country is deeply imbedded in the valleys of Jhelum, Indus and Shyok and would have remained unknown to the world had its resources been self-sufficient. Though it is the biggest of native States in India in point of area stretching over 84,471 Sq. miles, nearly four-fifth of it is subject to Arctic conditions over most part of the year, barren and very thinly peopled. It is bounded on the east by the Chinese provinces of Sinkiang and Tibet, on the south by the 2 Punjabs, on the west by the N.W.F. Province and Afghanistan and on the north by Afghanistan and Soviet Russia, though in all these directions it is more or less fortified by natural barriers. Its contacts with the outside world were usually maintained through the time-honoured caravan routes which pierced, one through the Karakoram into Lhasa, another through the northern ranges into Central Asia and yet a third through the Poonch valley into the N.W.F. Province.

Administratively, the present State of Jammu and Kashmir is divided into three divisions: (1) Jammu including the Poonch and Chenari jagirs; (2) Ladakh including Astore and the Frontier district; and (3) the Gilgit

area in the north upto Hanza and Nagir. Originally the principality of Gulab Singh, the ancestor of the present Maharajah, a branch of the Dogra Rajputs, it was confined to the present Jammu State. For his loyalty to Queen Victoria during the Sikh wars, the British Crown made a reward of Kashmir to him at the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846 after it was ceded by the Punjab Sikhs as war indemnity. It may, however, be noted that thereafter the rulers of Kashmir found it easy to extend their nominal sovereignty over the endless snow bound wastes from Kashmir northwards upto the Russian borders as the land was literally a no man's land in which there was practically no one either to challenge or to submit to the suzerainty of anyone. It would have remained at that through ages and would have claimed no place in history but for certain erratic movements of some political forces.

The total population of Jammu and Kashmir according to the census of 1941 is a little over four million of whom more than 77 per cent are Muslims, about 20 per cent Hindus, 1.6 per cent Sikhs, 1 per cent Buddhists, and the rest (about 4,000) of diverse stock. But of this, while the Ladakh and Gilgit area covering more than three-fourths of the entire area of the State is inhabited by a bare three lakh population, the remaining thirty seven lakhs are to be found in Kashmir and Jammu provinces living in about 39 towns and 8,740 villages. It is only when the curious tourist starts on his inquiry into the economic wealth and resources of this country that he will have the greatest surprise. He will wonder why man has ever chosen this valley for his habitation. The country is poor and the resources meagre. Barely a tenth of the total area is tapped for any productive operation. It is only in the Jhelum valley, about 9,000 sq. miles in extent, that we find any agricultural pursuits or any cottage industries or crafts. In this land of "floating fields" and "floating islands", no doubt some food crops are raised, but

the yield is so little that the State depends entirely upon imports for practically all necessities of life. The population itself though hardy by virtue of the terrain and the climate, has not been known for its warlike character. But for a brief spell during the period of Lalitaditya (who lived on the border land of history), Kashmir had always been under the heel of invaders from outside. Kashmiris are of Aryan stock principally and even the languages spoken in Kashmir are closely allied to one or other of the Aryan families in India, Sanskrit being also Kashmir's classical language. It is very probable that the earliest settlers in the valley were either emigrants from India or one of the tribes that branched off from the N. W.F. into Kashmir in prehistoric times.

Culturally, historically and politically, Kashmir had always been associated rather intimately with India. In Sanskrit or in the other early languages of India, there is scarcely a literary work of importance in which there is no reference of some glorious association with Kashmir. Great religious reformers like Asoka and Sankara were not satisfied unless they covered Kashmir also. All the great cultural, religious and political upheavals from time to time in India had their distant echoes in Kashmir. Like any other part of Northern India, it was by turns under the Mauryas, Guptas, Moghuls, Sikhs, British, and till the 15th August 1947, it had been subject to British paramountcy. It will, however, be interesting to note that in all its external relations, Kashmir had always been more a liability than an asset. Kashmir had always been too poor to attract the covetous eyes of any but the vain-glorious conqueror. Thus it will be seen that either during the Moghul or British period, while Kashmir profited much by its contacts with India, what it was giving by way of recognition of India's suzerainty was the present of a few shawls and such other things annually. And the fact that while all early invasions of India in prehistoric and medieval ages had come through the North-Western Frontier and in modern times crores upon crores of rupees had been spent for its defence against possible incur-

sions from that direction, not a single enemy or invader had descended through the Kashmir valley into India, clearly establishes that Kashmir has little or no strategic value. It is indeed in view of this that while the pre-independence Government of India concentrated all its armed forces eternally on the North-Western Frontier, it was satisfied with the handful of the Kashmir chieftains' followers to guard the Russian borders of India. It will, however, be seen that all contacts between India and Kashmir had always been through the road running from Rawalpindi, viz. Abbottabad to Srinagar and the road running from Sialkot to Jammu. Hence it is that in the historical sequence any North-Indian power that came to extend its rule over Punjab and N. W.F. naturally came into contact with Kashmir and found it a willing feudatory. The mountain track running from East Punjab (Pathankot) into Jammu was so little in use and so hazardous to negotiate in the early stages of Kashmir operations that most of the supplies had to be flown by air. The terrain also is so treacherous that it was said that a road which was laid at a huge cost for military operations was washed down with the first rains. It is only in one event that Kashmir can assume any strategic importance. Kashmir has a common frontier in the Gilgit area with Russia over a distance of about 100 miles. Russia being one of the two most powerful States in the world, if India is to be attacked by any colonial power strong at sea, India can avoid encirclement and can also get supplies from Russia if this area is under her care. Conversely, if any power is at war with Russia, it can not only stab Russia in the back from Gilgit, but also drive a wedge between Russia and its most powerful ally China as the boundary line between China and Russia also converges on the northern boundary of Gilgit. Kashmir's Northern Frontier near the Districts of Hunza and Nagir is also of great strategic importance to any power that intends to encircle China and attack it from Sinkiang. No one supposes that India either as principal or as accessory is in for any of these adventures.

(To be continued)

SRI A. RAMA IYER,

Principal and Professor, National College, Trichinopoly.

WHEN, in the summer months of the year 1918, the noble exertions of the late Justice T. V. Seshagiri Iyer and Sir T. Desikachariar bore fruit, and the National High School, Trichinopoly, became a college, the authorities of the institution picked and chose the staff. For the high and responsible office of Principal they invited the late K. Ramanujachariar who, as Professor of History in a renowned metropolitan college, enjoyed a wide reputation. This veteran educationist was assisted by a band of young men all of whom had brilliant qualifications and had already won laurels as lecturers. Foremost in this team was the late V. Saranatha Iyengar who started as a Professor of English, became Principal in a couple of years, and continued in that office for the unprecedented term of twenty-five years. He was the main and the most brilliant architect of the flourishing temple which is now the National College, Trichinopoly. Next only to this gifted and valiant son of South India, and in completely happy and permanent combination with him must be mentioned Sri A. Rama Iyer who also entered service at the very inception of the college, began as a Lecturer in English and became afterwards Vice-Principal and Head of the English department. When in January 1947 Mr. Saranatha Iyengar retired from the Principalship he was happily and appropriately succeeded by his lifelong friend and colleague Mr. Rama Iyer. Considering their well-known intimacy and their long and devoted labours for the progress and prestige of the National College they may well be described as the Dioscuri of the institution.

Mr. Rama Iyer completes his fifty fifth year in a few days, and he is to retire from the Principalship. His career at the National College and his services to it have been epitomised above. But it must be remembered that he has always been an important figure in the wide world of South Indian education. For several years he has been one of the great guides, friends, and champions of teachers of

all grades in the Presidency. He has presided over many educational conferences, and his addresses were always mines of thought. He has been in all the bodies of the Madras University. The Registered Graduates showed their great regard for him by returning him in election after election to the Senate. Last year the Academic Council honoured itself by choosing him as a representative on that select and powerful body, the Syndicate. Finally Mr. Rama Iyer has always been an ardent patriot, and a great admirer and follower of the Father of the Nation. He has done much to popularise in the Tamil Nad the language which is destined to become the common tongue of our country.

Mr. Rama Iyer is the very pattern of excellence in several respects. He is a model scholar. He is not only a lover of books but what is rarer, a buyer of them; he cherishes them with a care which borders upon reverence. He reads English as well as Tamil masterpieces; he enjoys Sanskrit as well as Hindi classics; and he is not unfamiliar with Latin and French. Like Gibbon he would not exchange his "invincible love of reading" for the treasures of India. Not only in his devotion to the immortals of literature but in his exquisite accuracy of knowledge and pronunciation does he deserve to be called a scholar. As a Professor he has the rare gift of communicating to his students his love of learning and his passion for books of all time.

He is a gentleman in every sense of that comprehensive word. His apparel and appearance are flawless; his manners are refined and genial; and his sincerity unquestionable. It is difficult for him to inflict pain even when he is convinced that duty requires him to do so.

During his career of over thirty years thousands of students have studied under him and have been inspired by his virtues of conduct and character. Hundreds of teachers have mingled with him intimately. All alike will ever treasure him in their memories with affection, regard and great reverence.

INDIA'S ROLE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS

Author of a number of books on India, Rushbrook Williams was Professor of Modern Indian History at Allahabad University from 1914 to 1919, and was for some time Director of Public Information to the Government of India. He is a former Director of the B. B. C.'s Eastern Service and is now on the editorial staff of "The Times" (London).

A writer has recently reminded us that almost until yesterday, much of South-East Asia was commonly known as Further India. There is justice in the term, since India has contributed much to building up the part of the world stretching from Arakan to Cathay and Himalayas to the islands of the Indies.

Throughout the Middle Ages, her seamen, her merchants, her missionaries and her scholars carried overseas many of those characteristic features of her culture which may still be discerned "from Ayuthia and Angkor to Borobudur and Bali." Without her help, the national heritage of many South-East Asian countries would have lacked much of the rich texture which impresses observers today.

There is no evidence that she ever sought political domination; her cultural leadership was the more potent because it was exercised exclusively by means of the arts of peace. In this way she set an example which has been all too rarely followed by the rest of the world. But the historian will note that few of the Asian countries which profited by her culture were content to adopt her methods.

The history of South-East Asia through the centuries has been one of dynastic rivalries, internecine feuds, and perpetual warfare, all of which paved the way for the intervention of the Western Powers whose domination eventually stimulated the growth of the new national movements which have today changed the political outlook of a large portion of the human race. It may be doubted, none the less, whether these movements could have attained their present strength unless they had been nurtured in the peaceful conditions which the colonizing Powers, in their

own interests, maintained and enforced.

POLITICAL EQUILIBRIUM

For many years, the burden of maintaining peace throughout South-East Asia was borne by Britain. Her task was made possible because she exercised a strong, and, on the whole, stable administration over India, which thus, even under foreign rule, became a balancing factor in the political equilibrium of the whole area. India's manpower and natural resources, supplemented by Western technique and material equipment, left her without a rival among Asian countries. China, which alone could be compared with India in national potential, was weakened by internal strife and obsolete traditions.

Moreover, as Britain's control over India weakened before the advance of Indian nationalism, the spirit which inspired India's own struggle for freedom powerfully influenced the growth of national movements in the smaller countries of South-East Asia, whose leaders began to look to her for example and encouragement.

It is, therefore, clear that in her dealings with South-East Asia, the new Independent India is heir to dual traditions. On the one side stands her historic cultural influence over the entire area, now reinforced by her successful struggle in the van of Asian freedom; on the other side is the stabilizing function long performed by Britain.

But if the testimony of the past forms any guide to the future, India is likely to shoulder her responsibilities by moral suasion and moral leadership, rather than by any resort to physical force. It must not, however, be assumed by those whose ears are closed to moral appeal that she would stand aside from a conflict in

which, to use the striking phrases recently employed by Pandit Nehru in the course of his historic visit to the United States, "freedom is endangered, or justice threatened, or aggression takes place."

RESPONSIBILITIES OF LEADERSHIP

As the greatest free power in South-East Asia, India cannot, save by an act of abnegation unworthy of her own historic past, disclaim the responsibilities of a leadership which inevitably falls to her, even though she may be the last deliberately to invite its recognition. The smaller and weaker nations of the region are already looking to her for help and guidance; she cannot reject their appeal, unless she is ready to renounce the principles of freedom and justice on which she has founded her own policy. Her consistent respect for these principles, and her recognition of their universal validity has already been vindicated in her policy towards Indonesia and Burma.

One of the most significant features of India's policy towards South-East Asia up to the present time is the broad outlook which directs it. Although she has shown a sober and realistic sense of her obligation to assist Asian peoples in their struggle for political freedom as well as to help them preserve that freedom when they have won it, she has consistently refused to take a narrowly Asian view of her own task. It is true that under the leadership of her great statesman, Pandit Nehru, she has never ceased to impress on the western world the supreme importance of the "awakening of Asia"; she has become, indeed, the interpreter, *par excellence* of the needs and aspirations of the Asian peoples in language which the West can understand.

INDIA'S GREAT AIM

But it is also true—and no less significant—that she has become the

interpreter of the Western world to Asian peoples; that her aim is to bring East and West together in common brotherhood which will ignore racial differences and stand firmly in support of the ideals of democracy and free institutions, as against oligarchy and regimentation. This breadth of vision, this refusal to be obsessed by racial considerations even at the moment when Asia is rejecting the domination of Europe and asserting its right to determine its own destiny, now characteristic of the statesmen of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, will be acclaimed by future historians among the most striking of the many substantial contributions which the spiritual heirs of Mahatma Gandhi have made to the evolution of a better world.

India's methods of putting into effect her policy in South-East Asia are those of team-work: India does not dominate; she persuades. Her powers of leadership are displayed in initiative; she never attempts to monopolise execution. Her belief in the power of team-work has been shown in her consistent support of the United Nations, where her influence is great. It has been shown, even more strikingly perhaps, in her decision to accept in the Commonwealth the special position that her sister nations have agreed to make for her.

It seems likely that destiny has reserved for India the main share in converting the peoples of South-East Asia to her own conviction that team-work, both for regional purposes and for the wider ends of promoting a brotherhood between East and West, is the only way of making the satisfaction of their national aspirations a foundation-stone of the great structure of international security which all men of good will are now labouring to erect.

EVANGELISTS OF EFFICIENCY

By BHIKKU

IN a resume of his observations and inferences, Dr. Turner of the history chair of the Yale University of America, who has been touring the South-East Asian countries recently,

said in a lecture about a week back that these regions are woefully underdeveloped because of 3 causes: (1) The labour output of these people is markedly below the economic level

necessary for industrial productivity, due to want of sufficient and proper nourishment. (ii) The capital necessary for large-scale enterprises cannot be accumulated as the productivity of the people who are mostly agriculturists is so low that they can put by little as saving. They are all consumers of goods so under-provided that any excess of income in an occasional affluent year goes merely into more spending on consumption. (iii) The entrepreneur class who are aware of the know-how have hitherto been mostly foreigners whose interests were alien and international with little of the affinity necessary for reploughing and fertilising the land with the profits made by them. What the different degrees of independence that have accrued to these countries in the second post-war world has done is merely to enthrone a vocal political class whose first concern has been to manoeuvre for vantage points for power and self aggrandisement, as their position lacking popular support is precarious. On such a mass of people, who are actually aware of their wants but do not yet know how to get them, the Communist with his glib patter on profits of capital in contrast with the chronic insufficiency in which labour has to strive and starve, has an explosive appeal. The United Nations is somewhat conscious of these problems but has no means of implementing any scheme to counteract the situation. The United States which to a certain extent is capable of meeting them, is without sufficient knowledge of the problems, and the time factor, meanwhile, works entirely in favour of Communism, which is singleminded in outlook and uninhibited by qualms of any kind in its means for gleaning and cornering power.

In the public lecture the professor was presumably restrained by convention and confined his theme to the general sociological background on which the politics of these regions are in transit. But in the expansiveness of private talks he let himself loose on many more forcible ideas and panaceas for the ills which India in particular was suffering. Some of these gems are: Life has been crushed in the blood of infants and of early-dying adults by the so called spiritu-

ality of India. If Indians survive today it is in spite of such a stultifying heritage of faiths and beliefs. The thing was so simple: Strength of body and health are basic to any kind of efficiency. Meat food and especially beef is fundamental for developing the thews and sinews of any nation. (This flow of healthy American ignorance, could not be stemmed by such trifling facts as that less than 1% of Indians are vegetarians by volition, that quite a large section of the people are beef eaters and that a moiety not merely eat beef but every available animal food ranging from rats to snakes!) They (the Americans) have no use for fool sentiments like religion and Christ all of which ideas belong to the last generation. People who waste time on 'spiritual' things have themselves to blame for their poverty and low expectation of life. The so called 'spirituality' of India was in any case a myth as was plain from the following illuminating instances culled from a week of sojourn in the South: The Brahmin priest in the Mysore temple was all the time after his 'rupee', 'rupee'. The Toda in the hill, so particular about the funeral ceremonies of his clan asked to be taken to America, ignoring in a holocaust of heresy, his mounds, his gods and his rituals. The hotel waiter at the next table had no scruples to pocket the rupee offered him gratuitously when this lordly dispenser of Rockfellerian dollars proffered it by way of a test—a clear manifestation of cupidity totally devoid of any moral backbone.

Apparently this 'cultural' historian was looking out everywhere either for a superlative form of sanctity and austerity uncorroded by any earthly consideration or was only gathering sedulously unsavoury bits of evidence in support of preconceived notions of the uselessness of any aspect of humanity which does not conform to the go-getter American standard in the true Miss Mayo style.

Not that we in India are unaware of our woeful lack of nourishment. As a matter of fact we have been crying ourselves hoarse on all the pinnacles of the world about it, while America and its kind have been trying only to fleece further our hard pressed purse in our extremity. Any but the

wilfully blind can also make out that in our cry for food it is only economy and availability and not any 'spiritual' consideration that play any part. But to such rule of thumb simplifications of the globe trotter brand of zealous purveyors of knowledge, such a plumbing of the under layers of problems when they relate to the unshod and bare backed nations is too, too much trouble.

Apparently it is not an accident that there is an influx of American visitors to these parts of Asia recently, for the Red conquest of China seems to have thrilled that country to a galvanised concern over a region which hitherto has been no more than geographical lumber in the map of the world. In the fight of giant against giant, these small nations have become precious pawns overnight. The national expectation of life of 30 years odd and a fifth of the babies born dying within the first year of age, the chronic undernourishment and subhuman life all of which have been there for a number of generations, made little noise so long as an allied nation overlorded and kept discontent and tight belts strictly under leash by whatever means it chose, but now that these prisoners are pushing aside their jailors and there is a possibility of their joining the enemy's camp, interest is getting keen on calories and mortalities. Whilst the Communist lizard has his quick alert movements and sticky shooting tongue to lap up the moths, the American spider, a bit slower perhaps, has his cobweb of gold to enthrall and entangle the insect and neither any ethical humanism for the well being of such undeveloped nations nor for their emotional content as expressed by their culture and tradition are worth a tuppence to either. That a third and an independent course is possible away both from Russia and America if it occurs at all to these latter day evangelists, is totally discounted as merely a theory. But so far this pumping of gold into Eastern coffers has been done only in China where it has been a signal failure. There is the impracticability of the American Dives having any live and direct contact with the Eastern Lazaruses and such intelligentia of the East as are chosen to act as bridge

across the chasm are only Americanised versions who turn out to be worthless. This visitor sees no solidity or reality in nations being guided by 'naked fakirs.' Smug in the complacency born of repletion and equating equilibrium only with a specific gravity centred low in the anatomy of human nature these exponents of physical science and material well-being cannot find anything worthwhile in a mere continuity of tradition or cast of thought though it has outlasted the fierce onslaught of a millennium thro' Huns and Tartars, through Changiz Khans and Tamerlanes and the latter day adventurers from Europe. Bestriding the world with the atomic bomb and the dollar, they cannot see that the world of science has become very insecure by its very conquest and that India with its Asokan Dharma Chakra may yet establish her patient and long suffering way both against the gold and beef brand of American detractors and the blood and bomb cult of Communist vandels.

An unusually lively and human touch climaxed the usual flat narration of the depressing events of the world in the B.B.C. of the 15th instant: the archaeological discovery of a mud tablet somewhere near Ur of the Chaldees, whereon the naughtiness of a little school boy of 5,000 years ago, who did not learn up his lessons, who played truant and who was punished with 9 stripes is all inscribed. This little urchin in the tablet of his misdeeds stretches out a hand of fellowship to us in his foibles, hopes and needs across a chasm of time marked in history by the megalomania of conquerors and their concubines, of blood-thirsty and vengeful gods, Baal and Ashtoreth, Jehovah and Zeus. Children played and learnt up their lessons well or ill even then, were moulded into shape by school masters to suit the social and political set-up of the world around them, grew up, lusted and brought forth children, who in their turn went to school and played truant. This little one says 'Hope on,' for human nature and things of the spirit based on human aspirations will survive when Communism and Americanism will have gone the way of Jamshyd and of Behram.

Letters To The Editor

This section is offered to readers for free discussion on subjects of interest to them. Letters should be brief and typewritten.

Second-Best vs. The Best

Saka's comment in "Sidelights" on second-best men getting the better of the best, was a brilliant exposition of the limitations of democracy. Democracy is rule by the majority; it more often happens also to be the rule by mediocrity. Men of superior intellectual calibre are generally viewed with suspicion and they fail to command the confidence of the majority who dispense power. Therefore, in a democracy, second-raters make better careerists than persons of better quality.

Rule by mediocres by itself is not productive of much harm, provided they possess character and integrity. For, men of character are not only the conscience of society, but in every well-governed State, they are its best motive power.

While instancing his initial observation, Saka has paid a handsome tribute to the retired Governor-General, the language of which cannot be improved. C. R.'s untimely exit is in keeping with the decimation of talent concomitant to democracy.

To those who tried to compromise with the void created by his departure from Delhi, expressing their hope that his mature counsels would still be made available to them in the affairs of the Government, Rajaji expostulated bluntly and with a slight flavour of sarcasm, on the inadvisability of giving and taking advice from a distance, especially on problems of day to day administration. This wise and fitting reply would have satisfied the admirers of Rajaji who are sore over what has happened. The ultimate result is that his administrative talents may remain unemployed hereafter.

P. N. SAMPATH.

Nellore.

Music in Madras

Your leading article on "Art and Artifice" in SWATANTRA of 17th December, '49 was not just a piece of fastidious hyper-criticism or criticism for criticism's sake. One may complain of the exuberance of the negative sentiments expressed therein but not of the underlying truth thereof. The greed of the music sabhas in general, the idiosyncracies of the bestowers of titles, the non-recognition of real merit, are facts which have to be faced. You have deplored that musicians of the calibre of Chittoor Subramania Pillai, Chembai and Chowdiah have

not yet been honoured with the coveted "Kalanidhi" title. But I would rather take the omission in good part. After all, titles are to be considered as supererogatory qualifications, ornamental, but not essential. In this connection, your expressed disapproval of the choice of Sri Mudikondan Venkatarama Iyer as Kalanidhi of the year, is, to say the least, unfair. One who had learnt his art at the feet of the reputed Konerirajapuram Vaidyanathaier, is fit enough for the honour. It may be that his reputation is not equal to his merits, simply because his music remains untainted by the sophistications of the day. Instead of incontinently consigning such old stagers to the limbo of oblivion, it is all honour to the Music Academy that they are discovered and duly honoured. Music sabhas which are ever keen on turning a good income into a better, do not usually take risks with musicians of the old school like Mudikondan and Palghat Rama Bhagavathar, whose box-office attraction is very limited. Therefore, instead of giving them performances, the Sabhas console them with yearly titles. To protest even against this is indecorous indeed.

Your remark that persons with no more music in them than babes unborn are sometimes chosen to preside or open music conferences and festivals is based on facts. Personalities whose connection with music is remote, and whose ignorance of the art is as patent as their influence on it is fatal, have their fingers in the music pie. Long and tiresome speeches swathed in the cottonwool of conventional phrases, were inflicted on the public. Such lecturing has ceased to be a mere custom and has become a ritual as well.

While the money-mindedness of the caterers of music has been an incidental evil, we must be thankful to them for providing us with a fine series of performances by top-rankers. It is significant that the increasing demand for Bharatha Natyam by the public, has been recognized and duly provided for. Every encouragement is being given to Bharatha Natyam. But we cannot say the same thing of your vidwans, knocking at the door of eminence. As pointed out in your editorial, they are looked down upon by sabha secretaries, on account of their indefinite gate-appeal. In the interests of music and of music sabhas, deserving young vidwans must be picked out and specially encouraged. With the passing of time, elder vidwans of today

are bound to become shells of their present selves.

The sabhas have their favourites and prejudices. Some artists are excluded from particular sabhas even though their gate-appeal is appreciable, on account of the assumption of superiority by those sabhas. They would rather have Hindusthani music by artists brought all the way from the distant North, than give certain local artists their due.

The periodical discussions on ragas and connected things, among the practitioners, theorists and critics of music, have been instructive and beneficial. Even there, rivalries and unnecessary controversies are rampant. The known critics of music are so full of their own importance that they resent any criticism from lay quarters, however well-intentioned and well-authenticated that may be. We have the instance of that eminent connoisseur Sri C. S. Ayyar's ire on what had appeared in SWATANTRA.

Nellore.

Hospet Choultry

There is a municipal choultry in Hospet. It consists of only four portions. The

municipal authorities have rented out these rooms to local officers for months together. (According to the Board Rules the choultry should be rented for 3 days only to an individual.) On account of this, persons who come from outside are being disappointed. I request the local Board to look into the matter and do the needful for public convenience.

K. R. RAJAGOPALA RAO

Hospet.

The Rayalaseemites

Andhra culture had originated in the Ceded Districts. Poets like Bhakta Potana, who contributed a substantial amount of literary wealth to Andhra literature, had their birth in Rayalaseema. Poet Srinadha who wrote so many Prabhams hailed from the Ceded Districts. The Andhras of Rayalaseema who are thus entwined with the Coastal Andhras in the matter of language, culture, etc., now want to sever their age-long connection, being carried away by the false promises of some sections of non-Telugu speaking people, who do not want to see the union of all the Andhras as a whole. The propagandists have a sinister intention behind, which the Raya-

SWATANTRA SUBSCRIPTION RATES

ENGLISH
Rs. Twenty
Rs. Ten
Annas Six

Yearly
Half Yearly
Single Copy.

TELUGU
Rs. Twelve
Rs. Six
Annas Four

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

THE RATES APPLY BOTH TO ENGLISH & TELUGU

	Full page	Half page	Quarter page
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Casual	80	45	25
Contract (24 insertions and above for a year)	80	35	20

For further details, apply to:

MANAGER, SWATANTRA,
160, Lloyds Road, Madras-14.

laseemites are not able to sense at this stage.

The Rayalaseemites fear that the several projects for which the blue-prints are just ready may be once for all given up by the economically deficient Andhras. This fear is baseless. The so-called economic deficiency of the proposed Andhra is mainly due to the introduction of Prohibition and other recent enactments. If the Government of Andhra goes slow with Prohibition in consonance with the repeated advice of the Central Government for a period of at least five years, Andhra can have sufficient revenue. Therefore, if Andhra may not be able to prosecute these projects immediately, it may pursue them after a reasonable period. But it will do so in all certainty. But what guarantee is there for the Rayalaseemites that the Residuary Madras Province, which had hitherto shown only a step-motherly feeling towards the Andhras in general, would finance and accomplish these colossal projects immediately. Had the Madras Government been sincere and financed these Andhra projects, Rayalaseema would have already got beautiful projects like the Pykara, Mettur, Papanasam, etc. But it did not want to do so till now, in spite of severe agitation from Rayalaseemites, who were suffering from famine conditions. How can the people of the Ceded Districts now hope that the attitude of the extreme South would be changed overnight? The people of Rayalaseema can safely rely on their own Coastal Andhra brethren, whom they can

question with every right, if the latter show any subsequent indifference.

If the Rayalaseemites get into the Residuary Madras Province, they will in the long run find themselves bamboozled and exploited. The economic misery that they are facing already would be aggravated and not alleviated by remaining aloof from their own fold of well-wishers.

K. VENKATESWARA RAO.

Bombay.

"Rice Rationing In Vizag"

With reference to the letter under the caption "Rice rationing in Vizag" published in SWATANTRA dated 9th January 1950, we have received from Sri M. A. Kuttalalingam Pillai, Secretary to Government, Food and Agriculture Department, a copy of the reply sent to the writer of the letter, Sri K. Y. Krishnamurthi.

The reply is as follows:

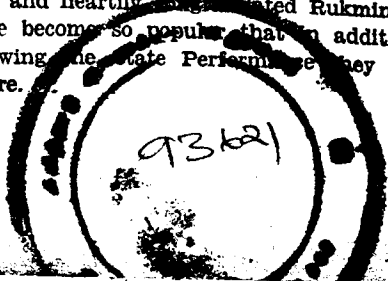
"I am directed to inform you that the sample rice sent by you is not deteriorated; but it belongs to a red variety, whose appearance is not, therefore, attractive. While Government try to supply each district the kind of rice it is accustomed to, it is not always possible to do so particularly at the fag end. I may assure you, however, that the Government are always anxious to see that as far as possible good quality of rice is supplied to the ration shop. Instructions have also been issued that where necessary the rice should also be cleaned before issue."

RUKMINI DEVI AT DELHI

In connection with the Inauguration of the Indian Republic a special performance of Bharata Natya was given by Srimati Rukmini Devi and the artists of Kalakshetra of Madras, by invitation.

The Regal Theatre was filled with 600 invitees of the Government. Amongst those present were the new President of the Republic Dr. Rajendra Prasad, The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, The Ministers, Srimathi Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Sheikh Abdullah, The President of the Indonesian Republic Mr. Soekarno and his wife and many others.

After the performance of the Kumarasambhavam, which was much appreciated, the Prime Minister, the President of the Indonesian Republic, Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary for Education and others came on the stage and heartily congratulated Rukmini Devi and her company who have become so popular that in addition to 2 public performances following the State Performance they have also been asked to give 2 more.



MAKE THE MOST OF YOUR VISIT TO THE U.K.



with the **HILLMAN MINX MAGNIFICENT**

Persons proceeding on leave or Indian business men visiting the U. K. find it most advantageous.

Driving Licence, petrol coupons, A. A. Membership and delivery in London or any other place in U. K. arranged. Refund of Purchase Tax, shipment to final destination and all other facilities gladly given by our London Associates:

Wallace Cartwright & Co., Ltd.,
14, WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON S. W. 1.

SEE SIMPSONS AND SIMPLIFY YOUR
LEAVE CAR PROBLEMS

Simpson
& COMPANY LIMITED.
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

BRANCHES: BANGALORE, TRICHINOPOLY
& OOTACAMUND.

Distributors: HUMBER, HILLMAN
& SUNBEAM TALBOT CARS.



CHZ 8.

laseemites are not able to sense at this question with every right. if the latter

Registered No. M. 4714.

SWATANTRA, Madras.



the
pub-
Janu-
M. A.
Gov-
part-
the
hna-

that
not
red
ore-
try
rice
pos-
fag
that
s to
lity
aop.
that
be

DIAMONDS
SURAJMAL'S

Jewellers,

313, Esplanade, ::

MADRAS