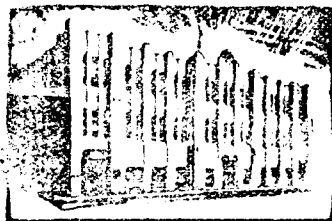


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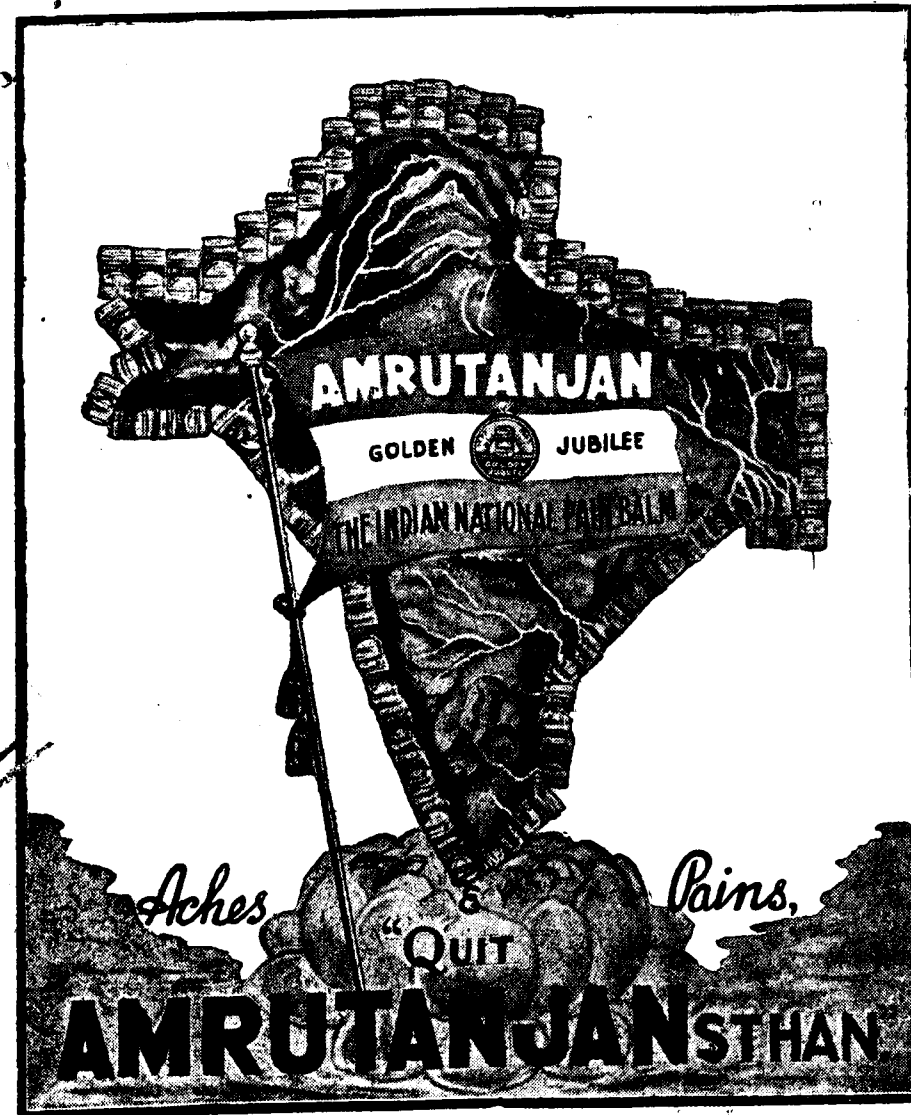
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7 - MAR 1950

SWATANTRA

VOL. V, NO. 4.

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1950

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SWATANTRA

VOL. V
No. 4

SATURDAY, MARCH 4, 1950

ISSUED
WEEKLY

EAST BENGAL

THE most correct diagnosis of the trouble in East Bengal that has yet been offered is Acharya Kripalani's. The two-nation theory is axiomatic with Pakistan. And it is the maulvis and the mullas who determine the cultural and political pattern of the country. The non-Muslims have only minority status. And it is notorious that cultural and religious minorities which are not admitted to political equality find it increasingly hard everywhere to retain their integrity against the ceaseless pressures to which they are subjected. In Western Pakistan these pressures have solved the minority problem by practically eliminating the once-flourishing Hindu population. In East Pakistan this is not so easy to do because of the large numbers involved. But the anti-Hindu feeling is always there just beneath the surface. And every now and then it is brought to the boil by designing trouble-makers. Little "incidents" break out mysteriously like forest fires and lead to swift pogroms which are put down by authority with an elaborate show of force after hundreds of lives have been destroyed and loot and arson have struck terror into the hearts of those who survive. Then for some time there is uneasy calm, to be followed by a repetition of the old story.

The latest eruption in East Bengal had its origin in disturbances in Khulna of which it has been impossible for anybody in India to obtain correct information because of the iron curtain. A large stream of panic-stricken refugees flowed into Calcutta

from the Khulna area. Their tales and their plight roused popular feeling to such a pitch that there were sporadic attacks against Muslims in Calcutta. But the West Bengal authorities put down the disturbances with promptness and vigour. Meanwhile the Pakistan press indulged in such hysterical rabble-rousing that anti-Hindu frenzy broke out again on a large scale in East Bengal, while its Government, which should have anticipated this, did nothing to check the madness, till hundreds had been killed, thousands driven off from their homes to be herded like cattle in miserable camps and property destroyed on a large scale.

It has been pleaded that as the disturbances in East Bengal took place in rural areas it has not been possible for the Government to give prompt and full news of the happenings. All the more reason why the Governments of East Bengal and Pakistan should have readily agreed to Mr. Nehru's proposal that a fact-finding commission should tour the affected areas. Their refusal inevitably gives the impression that there might be a lot to hide. But Mr. Liaquat Ali, who is an old hand at creating diversions, professes to see in Mr. Nehru's recent statement a "threat" and talks of Pakistan being prepared for any eventuality. If he means that whatever happens to the Hindus in Pakistan is no concern of India's, he will have to be disabused. If Pakistan insists on treating non-Muslims as minorities and shows itself at the same time unable or unwilling to give them effective protection India must



intervene not only on broad humanitarian grounds but even more because of the likely repercussions within her own borders.

When Mr. Nehru pointed this out he was merely stating a fact. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his understandable anxiety to reassure his fellow-Muslims took it upon himself rather officiously to snub his Chief for such talk. But nothing is gained by burking facts or indulging in wishful thinking. It is clear that the Hindus of East Bengal are coming to feel that they will not have a fair deal there. Mass exodus, unplanned and with all the circumstances of panic, would be disastrous, as we know from past experience. An orderly transfer of population would be far better. There can of course be no question, so far as India is concerned, of a compulsory exchange of population. If East Pakistan seeks to get rid of its minority or makes it impossible for the Hindus to remain in their ancestral home with security and self-respect, and at the same time there is no substantial migration of Muslims from India, the resulting pressure of population on this already overcrowded country can be solved only by Pakistan being made to cede adequate territory to India. The Muslim League and the Press of Pakistan are trying to forestall such a demand by making a tactical counter-claim. But Pakistan cannot hope for all time to exploit the ignorance of the outside world.

Mr. Attlee's Second Term

THIS time the pollsters were right. They showed in the weeks before the British Election that votes between Labour and the Conservatives were pretty evenly divided and as the great day drew near, the main parties were running neck and neck. The result was a nasty jolt to the leaders

of both parties but more particularly to the men in Transport House. Reporters may say that the rural vote was swinging back to the Conservatives, that housewives were fed up with rationing, that the upper middle class resented the levelling-up of the working class and so on, but the chain of causation is so complex that all elections have something mysterious about them, except when they are "fixed" as in totalitarian countries. After the war, Mr. Churchill's brilliant record as the architect of victory did not save him from catastrophe at the poll. Now after four years of dramatic legislation putting into effect the Socialist dreams of half a century the voters have put up a warning signal. Mr. Attlee is back but with so slim a majority that every Labour M. P. will have to be in his seat if a controversial issue is raised in the Commons. The newspapers are already suggesting a dissolution or a coalition but neither of these is likely for at least a year. Nor will the Tories wish to defeat the Government on a minor issue; they will wait for an issue that the whole country feels strongly about. Meanwhile, Mr. Attlee's toughest problem involves his own party men. The left-wingers, led by Aneurin Bevan and Shinwell, will not cease to press for a measure like the nationalisation of steel, but Labour can scarcely claim that their re-election really means popular support for that measure.

It has been remarked that a democratic system operates best in a two-party system in which the Government has only a narrow majority. It is only then that an Opposition will be taken seriously and the two points of view reconciled in compromise. It will therefore be interesting to watch the new Parliament in action and to see how much the Labour programme will be trimmed to suit the altered circumstances.

Sotto Voce

Happy Myopia



WE do not always know our own good fortune. Milton grumbled about the exaction of day-labour, light denied; though he confessed that his genius visited him in the witching hour of midnight. But Mrs. Winifred Graham, the prolific author of best-sellers who died the other day, wooed darkness like a bridegroom. Being firmly persuaded that her best inspiration came to her in the dark, she blindfolded herself before going into action. As she sat with face carefully averted to avoid the least streak of interloping light, a copious stream of anti-Mormon "thrillers" and tales of psychic adventure poured forth, to be caught up into the fat notebooks of the secretary.

If Mrs. Graham rejoiced in what others might have felt a burden, the young lady from Andhra who not long ago solemnly renounced the right to see was made of even sterner stuff. She said she was so disgusted with the miserable spectacle of life that she proposed forthwith to draw the blinds permanently on the twin windows of her soul. Her resolution must be stronger far than the chaste Gandhari's, since she seeks no adventitious aids to keep her eyes tight shut. Is it a small thing to have so successfully inhibited that fatal curiosity of Eve's which brought us all our woe?

I have neither inspiration nor resolution. But my eyes are beginning to play me strange tricks. It is rather humiliating that a faculty which one had so completely taken for granted and upon which one had unscrupulously put such burdens should suddenly desert one, like an old friend tired of one's tantrums. The born

myope is blessed because he doesn't know what he has missed; he has seen the world always in a half-light. But it is passing hard to have to peer at a face not a yard away, remembering all the time how you had once prided yourself on your ability to spot a woman at a mile's distance by the colour of her sari.

With the optician's makeshifts you may fumble through what remains of the maze of life after a fashion. And of course you have your memories. The chiselled perfection of the margosa leaf fluttering against the clear sky, the fluffy wisps of cloud romping along the floor of Heaven, children's gay looks and the coy intimacies of the wind among the rushes—how far they seem removed from this grey blur void of all outline in which you now habitually live. But I have discovered with a melancholy pleasure that myopia may be a powerful stimulus to the fancy. When a friendly face seen through the door takes on the appearance of a mask, with knobby protuberances where the nose should be and the eyes yawning like little pits of darkness, you murmur with a new understanding, "Alas, poor Yorick!"

I don't know whether Turgenev wore thick glasses and felt helpless without them. But he has left a macabre prose poem describing a scene of gay cavaliers and fashionable ladies feasting; suddenly the scales fall from the onlooker's eyes and he sees only grinning skulls in which two balls flit helplessly behind the empty sockets and little red snakes ceaselessly turn and twist. Though I am no poet, I see visions no less awful, thanks to my unco-ordi-

nating eyes. But it would be churlish to deny that I see also pleasant phantasies, gorgeous improvements on the wealth of Nature. Of yore I delighted in the half-moon. Now, when it looks like a full-blown lotus—to others it probably looks like an over-ripe cheese,—I find a new delight in it.

The intelligent reader will bridle at the suggestion that purblindness has its pleasures. He will slate these my speculations as immoral trifling. But I will ask him in all humility whether the astronomer who scans interstellar space through the giant telescope on Mount Palomar or the nuclear scientist who pries into the infinitesimal with the electron microscope has greater excuse for beguiling himself with visions than I on whom the visions are forced. The scientist pretends that he has, by

means of these contrivances, added to his knowledge of Nature. But I have stumbled on the far more profound truth that things are nothing in themselves but very much what the seeing eye makes them.

The mole has his vision and so has the angel. And each is content with what he sees, unlike man who is consumed with overvaulting ambition. We wish with our intellect to share the experience of all created beings from the amoeba to the star, but the myopia of the grasping self is corrected by no glass known to ophthalmology. The phenomenal world is beautifully proportioned to the seeing eye. And there are as many worlds as there are eyes to see. But there is only one Reality and there the seer and the seen are one.

VIGHNESWARA

Error of opinion may be tolerated when reason is left free to combat it.—Jefferson.

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THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION

By R. BHASKARAN

FIVE million more votes were cast at the elections held last week than in July 1945 with twenty-nine million voters going to the polls out of the thirty-four millions on the register. Eighty-five voters out of every hundred have declared their preferences and the Labour Party has now 315 members in a House diminished from 640 to 625 by the Representatives of the People Act of 1948. That Act deprived the universities of their twelve representatives because plural voting is not proper in a democracy and one man should have no more than one vote and one vote shall have only one value. From 1603 to 1945 the universities had sent representatives to the House of Commons, men like Bacon and Milton, Peel and Gladstone, Sir John Lubbock and John Buchan, William Pitt and Ramsay MacDonald, Lord Hugh Cecil and Sir John Boyd Orr, Sir Alan Herbert and Sir Arthur Salter. The new House of Commons will have no university member. The City too lost its special position by the abolition of the business premises franchise and the consequent redistribution of seats.

Labour had governed Britain with a big majority for four years and six months when the electors were asked to give their verdict and they have given a verdict whose meaning is not plain enough for practical use. The Labour Party has escaped the formal defeat suffered by the Labour parties of Australia and New Zealand. But it has not been given a clear mandate to pursue its policies. The British electorate has not swung to the right or to the left since 1945; only the division of seats between the two major parties is more in accord with the total votes polled by them.

		votes	seats
Labour	1945	11,967,985	393
	1950	13,248,957	315
Conservatives	1945	9,087,238	197
	1950	12,450,403	296
Liberal	1945	2,227,400	11
	1950	2,634,482	9

Twelve million votes in 1945 gave the Labour Party 393 seats while 9 million voters could get in only 197 Conservatives. Now 13 million Labour votes get 315 seats and 12 million Conservative votes account for 296 seats. The electoral system which ensures a seat for nearly the same number of votes for either party has worked fairly. It is true that in practice such arithmetical fairness would embarrass the government whose majority is very narrow. Still it should be noted that the Liberals with over 2 1/2 million votes have only nine members, an outcome not to be regretted in the context of a two-party system of constitutional government. The Liberals set up more than 400 candidates and polling not very many more votes than last time have managed to get fewer members into the House. They have helped to demonstrate that the two-party system is safe for a long time to come. The Communist Party has now no M.P.; its national vote has fallen from 102,780 (1945) to 91,746. It is foolish to discover here any new attitude to the extreme left; the British voter has no more faith in Communism than he had five years ago.

Twenty-four parties contested the election and there were three times as many candidates as there were seats. The statutory control of election expenditure (£450 per candidate plus 2d per county elector or 1d per borough elector), provision of pay and pension for M.P.s, and equal electoral constituencies have brought parliamentary contests within reach of more people than ever before. The participation of the parties and the people in the democratic game was full and enthusiastic. The outcome is so fair and democratic that every politician wishes it had been different.

The British politician needs a comfortable majority for effective government. Too great a majority would depress the Opposition and de-

moralise the government. But a narrow or precarious majority would paralyse the government. A safe majority lies between these two points and is rarely attained. The following table shows party positions since 1922:

	Labour	Conservative	Others
1922	142	405	64
1923	191	258	166
1924	151	412	49
1929	287	260	68
1931	52	521	42
1935	156	419	40
1945	394	216	30
1950	315	296	13

The Labour and the Conservative parties have steadily divided the House between themselves squeezing out the 'others.' The two parties have triumphed over the rest and the rout of the Labour rebels shows how well 'official' Labour is organized. The Labour Party has successfully graduated in the school of British party politics. The swing of the pendulum will be more regular hereafter.

It has been said that Labour has come back to office but not to power and the *Manchester Guardian* has suggested that Mr. Attlee should again go to the country 'after a decent interval.' But are the two parties so deeply divided that a fresh appeal for a clear mandate is imminent? We in India are rightly impressed by the record of Mr. Attlee's government in the field of Commonwealth Affairs; but that has long been a field outside party politics. The major decisions there had the support of the opposition. In the more arduous and to the British voter the more serious business of promoting industry and trade and accelerating revival the Labour government has done much that is non-controversial. The levelling of incomes and rationing of commodities must have been done by any government. Even for the American loan and the entanglements arising from it down to the recent devaluation Labour is not solely responsible; the Conservatives are aware that they could not have acted differently. As for the social services now in opera-

tion no one in Britain suggests their curtailment. In foreign policy too the performance of Mr. Bevin is not inferior to the promises of Mr. Churchill. Therefore it must be that the voter when he made up his mind was largely moved by the issue of nationalization. During the debates on the Iron and Steel Nationalization Bill the pace and range of socialization was the great issue. Labour pledged to socialism further curbed the power of the Lords and yet finally accepted a compromise by which nationalization of iron and steel would begin in 1951 and not 1950. The Opposition wanted 'Nationalization' to become a clear-cut election issue, and Labour acquiesced. So the General Election has occurred at a very interesting stage in the development of British socialism.

The fifty-two by-elections that took place during the life of the last Parliament did not indicate much change of public opinion. Labour losses were slight, but the fall in its majorities was steady. The General Election has confirmed that trend. The verdict of the people is unmistakably in favour of the existing order and equally definitely against any further extension of nationalization without the consent of the affected parties.

Labour need not enter into a coalition unless the election has the strange result of breaking the party. The party cannot have forgotten the lessons of 1929 and 1931 and it is unlikely to split. It is perhaps not unprofitable to the nation if the party governing it is more obliged than in the past to take into account the wishes of the Opposition. By and large most British governments have never been literally party governments. A much reduced majority is not the triumph of the opposition; it is only a signal for greater caution and greater collaboration with His Majesty's Opposition. With a people so politically mature as the British it is conceivable that the verdict of the recent election may modify old ideas of party government, diminish party animosities and start new conventions of orderly democratic government.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

THE Preventive Detention Bill, 1950 which was introduced in Parliament by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and similar laws likewise rushed through provincial legislatures, induce one to recall their origin in the imperialist-dominated past.

Indeed, the provisions of this Bill bear a striking resemblance to those notorious pieces of legislation like the Bengal Regulation III, Defence of India Act, Public Safety Bill and the numerous ordinances issued, from time to time, by British Governors-General to suppress liberty of speech, thought and action. It is both interesting and edifying to recapitulate the series of such freedom-denying laws and the reactions of the people and the political parties.

132 YEARS AGO

The roots of the Preventive Detention Bill, 1950 go back as far as 1818 when the East India Company was trying, by fair means or foul, to push the frontiers of the British empire in India and Lord Hastings despotically enforced the law which came to be known as the "Bengal Regulation III of 1818" arming the executive with unlimited powers for the purpose of suppressing the slightest stirrings of "native revolt." As a historian has observed, the Marquess of Hastings (who had come to India after suffering a crushing military defeat at the hands of the American revolutionaries) was determined that "the absolute supremacy of the British power throughout India must be maintained" through "the establishment of a well-meant despotism."

A hundred years later the same obsolete Regulation was invoked to arrest and deport leaders of the freedom movement like Lokmanya Tilak.

Regulations, notifications and ordinances continued to be issued every now and then by the British Governors-General to curb the liberties of the people. In 1878 Lord Lytton gagged the Indian Press by his Vernacular Press Act which was repealed later at the instance of Gladstone.

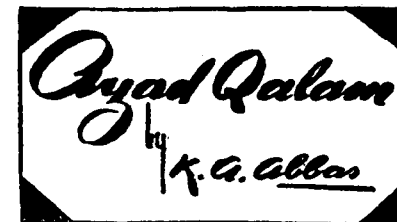
In 1891, however, the Government re-imposed the Press gags by a notification, which evoked strong protests from the newly-started Indian National Congress. Then came the all-embracing Press Act of 1908 which authorized the Government to demand securities from printing presses and newspapers. In his History of the Congress, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya called it a "reactionary measure," not knowing how many similarly reactionary measures his own party under his presidentship would be passing when it came to power!

The agitation against the Partition of Bengal was sought to be suppressed by the British Government with a fresh series of "emergency" laws. The Seditious Meetings Act of 1908, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1910 along with the Press Act of 1908, combined to strike at the very roots of popular liberties. Nor can one forget

the notorious G. O. 559 promulgated by Lord Pentland prohibiting students from taking part in politics.

DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

The first World War, of course, provided a convenient "emergency" and brought with it a fresh crop of repressive legislation. The Defence of India Act was enforced to sanction arrests, detentions and deportations with or without trial. A resolution passed at the Lucknow session of the Congress (1916) "viewed with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and the Bengal Regulation III of 1818". The official historian of the Congress records that "the movers and supporters of this resolution pointed out how extensive use had been made of the drastic provisions of the emergency measures and how the belief was honestly held that many innocent young men with bright prospects in life had been ruined by the application of the Act. It was said that in Bengal above 479 persons had been interned and more than sixty persons detained under Regulation III of 1818. The rigorous



enforcement of the Defence of India Act and the old Regulations had thus begun to be deeply resented by the people." How inexorably does history repeat itself!

The next year, in 1917, at Calcutta, the Congress again had occasion to protest against and "express alarm at the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818, and in view of the widespread discontent on account of the indiscriminate operations of the Act asked for a general amnesty of all political prisoners."

The Defence of India Act ("which could call upon anyone in the country to do anything or to refrain from doing anything") was responsible for the arrests and internments of such leaders as the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mrs. Besant and the internment, in Bengal alone, of over three thousand young men.

"WEEP AND BE LOOTED"

The Rowlatt Bill was once translated, with sarcastic humour, as "*Ro, loot our bill men ghooos*" (Weep, be looted and be confined to a rat-hole). It was not an inapt description of the notorious "lawless law" which caused so much suffering all over the country in the form of arrests, imprisonments, lathi charges and firings. It was an earlier and different version of the Churchillian phrase: *Sweat, tears and blood*.

In 1918 the Government had appointed a Committee of which Sir Sidney Rowlatt was President, "to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement, to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them." The Committee had enquired and submitted a Report suggesting repressive legislation which was subsequently introduced into the Imperial Council and led to wide-spread protest all over the country. Edifying, indeed, to recall that the Congress condemned the Rowlatt Bill as it "would interfere with the fundamental rights of the Indian people and impede the healthy growth of public opinion."

MAHATMA'S PLEDGE

It was as a protest against the Rowlatt Act that Mahatma Gandhi launched his historic Non-Co-operation Movement of 1919—the first experiment in mass Satyagraha.

The pledge that Gandhiji published and which was taken by him and by millions all over the country at public meetings, as a prelude to the Satyagraha campaign, reads even today as the gospel of civil liberty and may well be adapted and adopted by the Socialists in their protest campaign against the 1950 version of the "*Ro, loot aur bill men ghooos*" laws:—

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bill known as the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Bill No. 1 of 1919 and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill, No. 2 of 1919, are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of the individual on which the safety of India as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming Law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as the Committee, hereafter to be appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

"Most people," writes Dr. Pattabhi, "did not understand why he (Gandhiji) should have chosen the petty and collateral issue of the Rowlatt Bills for the inauguration of the Satyagraha, although there was before India the mammoth issue of Self-Government."

The answer is simple: because the Mahatma attached no importance to Self-Government unless it meant, and was accompanied by, Civil Liberty. It was for this very ideal that thousands gave their lives in the firing in Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar and at other places.

PUBLIC SAFETY BILL

Whenever the Bureaucracy struck at Civil Liberty, and under whatever guise it did so, the Nationalist leaders and every section of progressive public opinion strongly protested against it and, on many occasions,

defied such orders. When the Public Safety Bill was introduced in 1928, it was ostensibly directed against foreign communists and labour agitators but every one knew that it was meant to smash not only the "working class movement but every expression of radical public opinion. The Congress Party in the Assembly offered stout opposition to it. Speaking on this Bill, the lion-hearted Lala Lajpat Rai roared:

"I will break no bones by stating that this is not a measure really intended against foreign Communists only. It is only the thin end of the wedge. It is really directed against Indians themselves, Nationalists as well as Labourites.... If this house accepts the principle of this Bill, that acceptance could at any time be utilised for the purpose of persecuting nationalists and others who want Indian economic and political freedom. This is really the motive behind this legislation...."

When the Bill was voted upon there was a tie and it was dropped due to the casting vote of the President, Vithalbhai Patel. Despite the determined opposition of the Congress Party, the Bill was re-introduced in 1929 but the President disallowed it on the ground that the basis of the Bill was virtually the same as of the Meerut Conspiracy Case (then going on) and, therefore, involved issues that were *sub-judice*, giving the Government the alternative of withdrawing the case or the Bill! Next day the Viceroy issued an ordinance giving the executive all the powers that were asked for in the Bill.

Since then "Ordinance Raj" has come to be a synonym for all encroachments on Civil Liberty made by arbitrary executive decisions. A series of ordinances were issued by the Central as well as provincial governments almost wholly superseding the common processes of law such as arrests with warrants, open trials, the right of the accused to defend himself, etc. Special courts with special powers, special legal (or illegal?) procedure, new offences and special punishments were the order of the day. There was an Emergency Powers Ordinance, the Unlawful Investigation Ordinance, the Unlawful

Association Ordinance and others. The Congress and, with it, practically the whole country protested against this Ordinance Raj. But the Secretary of State for India justified the Ordinances on the ground that "*the Government, with the full knowledge at their disposal sincerely believe that they are threatened with an attack on the whole basis of Government and that the Ordinances are essential if India is to be prevented from drifting into anarchy.*"

At that time this argument was dismissed as ludicrous by every Congress leader. It is being quoted here again because after 20 years those very leaders are repeating the same argument in defence of similar attacks on Civil Liberty that are being made by their party and their government!

FROM HASTINGS TO PATEL

In 1942 the Government made the fullest use of the special "laws" and its ordinance-making powers. Not only lathis and bullets but the Defence of India Rules, the Penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance, the Special Criminal Courts Ordinance and the Collective Fines Ordinance were used to suppress the Quit India movement and to break the spirit of the people. In defence of the Governmental actions and the country-wide suppression of civil liberties, Sir Reginald Maxwell, then Home Member, stated: "One thing is quite plain, that with an enemy at our gates and another within them the prime duty of the Government is to put the country in a state of defence against them both."

And now comes The Preventive Detention Bill 1950, piloted by Sardar Patel. Once again the Government of the day seeks powers to suppress civil liberty and to supersede the civilised processes of law, to arm the executive and police with the power to arrest and detain without trial. Once again the excuse given is the state of "emergency", the "Communist menace", the danger to public peace, the threat to "law and order".

It is the old, old story—all the way from the Marquess of Hastings and his Bengal Regulation III of 1818 to the Sardar of Bardoli and his Preventive Detention Bill 1950!

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

WASHINGTON: A member of the Senate Atomic Committee has proposed that immediate steps be taken to choose an alternate seat for the U. S. Government, perhaps underground, as a defence measure because a single atomic bomb strategically exploded by an enemy power in Washington would "paralyse the nerve centre of our nation".

The American Government has made "vigorous representations" to Britain against the Hong Kong Supreme Court decision assigning 71 former Nationalist aircraft to the Chinese Communist Government.... The State Department maintained that American General Claire Chennault, pro-Nationalist airline owner in China, had bought them.

George F. Kennau, Counsellor of the U. S. State Department and director of its policy planning staff, writes in a magazine that war between Soviet

Russia and the Western powers is improbable at the present time.

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

BOMBAY: The Bombay University Senate disallowed a member from speaking in Hindi....

BELLARY: A "Sahasra Chandika Maha Yagnam" for the preservation of world peace and for the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of freedom in India will be performed by His Holiness Srimadjagatguru Walukeswara Bharati Swamiji of Sringeri at Harpanahalli....

HARDWAR: The railway authorities are spending Rs. 12 to 13 lakhs for providing quick and convenient travel to pilgrims coming to attend the Kumbh Mela.... The mela is expected to be inaugurated by a Minister of the Indian cabinet.... Latrines with 40,000 seats are being put up. Six miles of barbed wire are being fixed all round the area to prevent people from dirtying the surrounding hills and thus causing infection....

IS HARRY TRUMAN A SOCIALIST?

By Dr. P. G. KRISHNAYYA

IS Harry Truman a Socialist? He likes to be called a Socialist because he feels the charge is so absurd. He feels the Republicans have put themselves over a barrel by declaring the major domestic issue today as Liberty against Socialism. The slogan failed against Roosevelt. Therefore it will against Truman. There is little doubt that he is right politically. Mr. Truman is not a Socialist. But neither was Lincoln an Abolitionist. Nor Jefferson a Democrat. In a free society, progress is often made marching backward to the future, with one's face set resolutely to the past. The followers of Jefferson called themselves Republicans because the French Revolution had made democracy synonymous with the guillotine. Lincoln, a wily politician, was always careful to dissociate himself from the Abolitionists.

Nevertheless the ideas launched by the Jeffersonians ended by replacing

cultivated Virginia aristocrats whose devotion to equality was more theoretical than real with the backwood politicians and budding Tammanyites whose boots muddled up the White House at the Jackson Inaugural. As for Mr. Lincoln, he finally backed into the Emancipation Proclamation proclaiming all the while that his real concern was with the Union, not slavery.

Mr. Truman is not a Socialist. Neither was Mr. Roosevelt. But the leaders of popular parties cannot prevent themselves from being pushed forward by the forces on which they rise to power. The desire for greater social security, which New Deal and Fair Deal exploits, cannot be achieved without constant modification of capitalism in the direction of Socialism. The modifications may at the same time extend the life of capitalism and protect private property by restricting its abuses. Franklin D. Roosevelt always felt that he had

saved American capitalism but he had to do so against its will. Mr. Hoover's belief that force, a la MacArthur's attack on the bonus marchers, was the way to deal with hunger, would have cost his supporters dearly. That did not keep them from grumbling. They hated Roosevelt as George II hated the Whig opposition, though without their restraint he might have ended like Louis XVI.

Restrictions on royal power have indeed ended by slowly turning the British crown into a symbol, the king into a figurehead. It is likewise true that everywhere in the world the equivalent of New Deals and Fair Deals have steadily restricted the rights of property and increased the power of the state. They all tend toward Socialism as Whiggery ultimately tended toward Republicanism. The choice for capital is the same as was the choice for kings. The choice is to lose power slowly and peacefully or to destroy itself by trying to fight the inevitable. The great counter-revolutionary movement of our time, Fascism, which sold its services as a protector of big capital also ended in Germany and Italy and Japan by vastly increasing the power of the state over the economy and enlarging social services in a desperate effort to keep the masses content. It protected business the way Al Capone protected saloons. The remedy proved as bad as the disease.

Mr. Truman is not a Socialist in theory but the aspirations he serves lead to socialism in fact. The Welfare State, expanded social services and the demand for full employment are not inconsistent with the maintenance of a considerable measure of free enterprise. But they reflect its shortcomings. They embody the growing conviction of the need for increased action by the state to protect the individual from the anarchism of the open market, and the market itself from the abuses and excesses which inevitably accompany



Gerard Swope, Chairman of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, who is now on a tour of Asia. He arrived in Bombay on Feb. 23 and intends to stay in India for about a month.

free enterprise, especially when free enterprise is only a cover-up for private monopolies which prevent the economy from operating at full capacity.

The Liberty League crowd Mr. Truman thinks he is fighting, sees a chance to do via foreign policy what they no longer can do in domestic. They hope to divert social welfare spending to war in the hope thereby of blocking Socialism at home and abroad. If given their way, they will only destroy American capitalism long before its historic and appointed end, but lack of vision has made Mr. Truman their tool.

The Truman Doctrine at home is the Franklin D. Roosevelt Doctrine, to subordinate the preservation of free enterprise to public welfare. The Truman Doctrine abroad is the Liberty League Doctrine to subordinate peace to the preservation of free enterprise. The fears which cluster about the word Socialism are leading Americans to fight in vain abroad what they themselves demand at home.

Mercy is not for them that sin and fear not, but for them that fear and sin not.—T. Watson.

Love is deeper than at first it can be thought. It never ceases but in endless things.—Thomas Traherne.



Finance Minister N. B. Sarkar told the W. Bengal Assembly that what they needed was not only sympathy but something more in a concrete form.

—Courtesy Shankar's Weekly.

THE BATTLING POLICE STATES OF KOREA

By ANDREW ROTH

BOTH the South and North Korean regimes claim to be democracies. The Soviet-sponsored North Koreans call themselves a "people's democracy" battling against the "puppet dictatorship" in the South. The U. S.-sponsored South Koreans proclaim themselves a "representative democracy" battling on "the ramparts of freedom" against the "Red totalitarianism" of North Korea.

In actual fact North Korean "democracy" strongly resembles that of Bulgaria. And there is about as much "freedom" in South Korea as in Franco Spain though it is somewhat better than North Korea in that it permits the entrance of some critical reporters.

However, in Seoul I learned that the police were very much concerned about my arrival there. Almost every day a new set of policemen would turn up at my hotel, allegedly at the request of the Foreign Minister and badger the hotel employees to find out whom I had been seeing. "Mr. Roth is an extreme liberal," a policeman was heard shouting at one of the employees, "and he can do great harm to (South) Korea's cause abroad. As a patriotic Korean, you must tell the police whom he has been seeing!" There were always police stationed outside of the hotel—which also housed the United Nations Commission—and any Korean entering had to give his name, and particulars about whom he wanted to see and why.

However, this reporter felt he was lucky he was not a Korean newspaperman. In reading through back files of the *Seoul Times* this item stood out: "Park Il-ba, reporter of the *Tokrip Shinmun* (Independent News), died...last Thursday...Park was arrested a few days ago by the Chong Ro police for undisclosed reasons but (was) released as his health condition became fatal during investigation..." This is the manner in which Korean newspapers convey to their readers

that a man was tortured and beaten to death by the police.

The government has clearly warned newspapers in a confidential memorandum that they might not print anything "inconsistent with the national principles and policy of the Government" or "injurious to the Government" or anything that might "impede diplomatic relations with friendly nations or hurt the national prestige" or "inspire or disturb public sentiment or exert a bad influence upon public morals...." An editor remarked: "About all we can do now is print government handouts and watch our circulation drop."

Education Minister Ahn Ho-sang, a graduate of the University of Jena, is energetically purging the school system of anyone who has what he describes as "dangerous thoughts." A colleague described this as "teachers who are Communists, or are inclined to the Left, or who do not make their political beliefs clear." Over two thousand teachers have been purged, and several dozen teachers and several hundred students have been jailed. A professor of mathematics in Seoul University has been tortured to obtain a confession. In house searches of students in Seoul, detectives confiscated a copy of Adam Smith's classic *The Wealth of Nations*—sometimes described as the "Bible of capitalism"—on the grounds that it was "Communist literature."

Dr. Ahn has been equally enthusiastic about the recent establishment of the Students National Guard, a Korean replica of the "Hitler Youth," which he heads, under Dr. Rhee's supervision. At one time there was a lot of leftist thought among the students and this organization, which hopes to reach three million members, has "purification of thought" as one of its major objectives. It is clearly para-military with a military instructor attached to each middle-school unit.

I asked one man who was complaining whether police interference

isn't much like under the Japanese. "Much worse," he retorted, "any person they don't like they accuse of being a Communist and put in jail." Statistics seem to bear him out. There are more policemen now than in Japanese times and the thirty thousand prisoners who crowd South Korea's jails (with additional thousands in camps) are several times the jail population in Japanese times. Arrests are frequently purely arbitrary. No *habeas corpus* exists in Korea.

Torturing a suspect is standard operating procedure with the South Korean police. Papers constantly refer to arrested persons being "severely examined." "Severe examination" consists of applying the torture technique which won the Japanese *kempeitai* its notoriety. A journalistic colleague saw, but did not recognise the bloated, sickly face of a labour leader he had interviewed less than a year before. In the interim he had been imprisoned for seven months without trial, had undergone two months of steady torture. Many, to avoid such torture, will readily confess to anything, implicating completely innocent people.

Sometimes police actions have a tragic-comic aspect. Last year, when a Korean-language version of "Faust" was presented in Seoul, the police complained that the costume of Mephistopheles was too red!

Not many National Assemblymen dare criticize the police-state aspects of the South Korean regime, particularly after the arrest in last May of three critical Assemblymen, charged with having been in contact with a representative of North Korea. One of them admitted to me that he was contacted by a man who said he was a North Korean representative but whom he now feels was an agent provocateur. It is significant that the arrested men were the leaders of the government's opposition in the National Assembly. They had criticised the government for its reluctance to introduce agrarian reform and local elections and sparked a resolution to have American troops withdrawn and peaceful unification between North and South Korea realized. A mo-

tion in the National Assembly protesting against these arrests was defeated by 95 to 88, with the dominant Democratic Nationalist Party violently in opposition. Those who voted to free the Assemblymen were warned they would be considered Communists.

The Communist regime in North Korea seems, from all reports, to be at least as intolerant. No organised opposition to basic policy is permitted in North Korea. The election there last August was the familiar one-ticket election of Eastern Europe. One balanced moderate rightist who has been in both the zones says that repression in North Korea is more extensive and efficient and not as "spasmodic" as in South Korea.

Most democratic foreign observers abhor the police-state tactics of South Korea but some excuse them on the ground that South Korea is menaced by internal revolts instigated by North Korea and hence has to use draconian measures. They point to the large-scale Yosu and Cheju uprisings as well as dozens of other flare-ups which have occurred during the past year. But there is considerable evidence to indicate, however, that the South Korean police manufacture at least as many Communists as they catch.

The police manufacture rebels in Seoul as well. An American colonel told me of how a Korean friend of his, whom the police had arrested and beaten by mistake, came to see him filled with the resolve to kill a certain police official. "After an hour or so I talked him out of it. But not everybody in his position can obtain good advice."

Paul Hoffman has referred to South Korea as a "bastion of democracy" and President Truman has referred to it as "a beacon to the people of Northern Asia." But a Korean friend had another approach. "For a democrat or a liberal in South Korea," he said, "there are only two choices. You can either become a Communist or a drunkard." Perhaps this explains why one sees more drunkards in South Korea than anywhere else in the East.

THE DESHMUKH AWARD

By BISWANATH DAS

(Member, Parliament of India)

THE distribution of responsibility and sources of income have to go together in the interest of an all-round harmonious growth of the nation. It is a well-recognised fact that during British Rule all nation-building activities were assigned to provinces with sources of income which could hardly suffice, while expanding sources of revenue were all kept for the centre. A welcome departure to an extent was brought about by the Government of India Act of 1935 in assigning to Provinces a net half of the proceeds of Income-tax. The benefits of this are neutralised in its allocation to provinces out of the total pool. In the Constitution of Independent India, important changes have been brought about in assigning certain elastic and expanding sources to the provinces. The Constitution has very rightly rejected the notion of an award, to which we are so well accustomed in the course of these twelve years, one succeeding another—the Niemeyer award, the Government of India award and the Deshmukh award. In its place it lays down a permanent commission to determine the respective shares of provinces out of the divisible pools for provinces. In the interest of uniformity of taxation, the Constitution framers have also devised a new method in which the responsibility of assessment and collection of certain provincial sources of revenue are vested in the Union. Allocations out of this pool have been left to the financial commission.

The Niemeyer award fell through as a result of the partition of India, leaving aside the shares of East and West Pakistan which accounted for 17% of the total as per that award. After partition, the Government of India made a rough and ready allocation in the Government of India Distribution of Revenue Order of 17th March, 1948 to take effect from the 15th August, 1947. West Bengal, however, received further grants in view of her difficulties. On protests from provinces, the Central Govern-

ment invited Shri Chintaman Deshmukh, former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, "to have the question examined and decided by an expert and impartial inquiry." The matter concerned here was the allocation of income-tax. It was further stated by the Union Government that "his decision will be in the nature of a binding award and will remain in force till the Finance Commission... decide the matter." The Government communique is thus clear that Shri Chintaman is to conduct:—(1) an expert and impartial enquiry; (2) that he should give an award after such enquiry; and (3) that this award shall be binding on the States and the Union till the decision of the Finance Commission under the Constitution.

Shri Chintaman agreed to undertake this enquiry but soon the so-called expert enquiry was given up. Redistribution, Shri Chintaman said, could not be comprehended within the scope of this enquiry and the results of such an enquiry could not be expected before the end of January, 1950. Neither he nor the Government of India explained the sanctity of these dates. Why this impartial enquiry could not be taken up earlier if the award was so necessary and urgent and why the Government wanted the results by the end of January, 1950, when their own distribution order was passed on the 17th March 1948 (though partition was effected on the 15th August 1947 necessitating a new budget with rough and ready allocations) it is difficult to understand. The second ground on which this is justified is that "such re-allocation might conceivably lead to extensive alterations in the share of the provinces and cause serious fiscal embarrassment to some provinces."

Thus Shri Chintaman merely allocated the lapsed quota of East and West Pakistan of 17% of the provincial share of income-tax amongst the four provinces of Madras, W. Bengal, E. Punjab and Bihar. The following

table shows the distribution of the provincial share of income-tax in the three awards:—

Province	Niemeyar award	Govt. of India award	Desh-mukh award
Madras	15%	18%	17.5%
Bombay	20%	21%	21%
United Bengal	20%	12%	13.5%
U. P.	15%	19%	18%
United Punjab	8%	5%	5.5%
Bihar	10%	13%	12.5%
C. P. & Berar	5%	6%	6%
Assam	2%	3%	3%
Orissa	2%	3%	3%

Thus the idea of an expert impartial enquiry is being abandoned. Allocation of 60% out of the net income-tax realisations has also been given a go-bye. Equally has he given up the determination of basic principles of allocation or of the respective shares of provinces in any acceptable basis. Equally has he rejected the basis of allocation recommended by the Sarcar Committee which was practically approved and accepted by the Constituent Assembly. His award, under the circumstances, cannot, in any sense be of a binding nature on the provinces.

In arriving at a just basis of allocation of the share of income-tax among different states, various principles are enunciated: (1) The principle of residence or collection as a basis (2) Allocation on basis of population of each state and (3) Allocation on basis of necessity.

There have been four enquiries of this account. The 1st was undertaken by the Percy Committee in 1932 commonly called Federal Finance Committee. The committee offer weighty reasons for rejecting the plea of 3 Presidencies to accept realisation as basis. The Committee saw "no reason why, merely because of the accident that income is assessed or tax collected there, these provinces should benefit at the cost of others in which the income accrues or the tax-payer

resides." With the full agreement of the then Central Board of Revenue, the Percy Committee ruled out this basis as unjust to the rest of India. The Committee accepted population as the basis of allocation though they observed that this is equally unscientific. Curiously enough, Sir Otto Niemeyar in his enquiry in 1936 discarded the findings of the Committee as also of the Central Board of Revenue and followed practically the basis of collection. His scale of allocation was mainly on the basis of residence and very little on basis of population. Awards as different from recommendations of Committees mainly represent the whims and prejudices of individuals. The Government of India Distribution of Revenue Order of 1948 is thus an award backed by its authority rather than reasons for its justification.

The President of the Constituent Assembly appointed the Sarcar Committee to go into the question. This Committee recommended 60% of the net proceeds to be assigned to provinces. Out of this pool, distribution among provinces was to be made: (1) On Basis of population—20% (2) On Basis of collection—35% and (3) for adjustments—5%, to be retained by the Centre.

This gave a slice more than Sir Otto Niemeyar's award to the provinces other than the three Presidencies.

All these enquiries with the exception of the Percy Committee have practically followed Sir Otto Niemeyar without acknowledging the same. The Government of India had, in 1946, deputed Prof. Adarkar and Mr. Nehru to study the Australian Financial system as is worked out between the states and the Commonwealth. Their report was a glowing tribute to the working of the Financial Commission of the Commonwealth.

No system of allocation among Provinces could be acceptable even for these two years unless it is based either on the principle of population or on the principle of necessity. Different considerations are now called for to give India the benefits of a uniform progress.

THE NEW PHASE IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

By V. G. RAMACHANDRAN

VERILY Indian Independence has heralded the rebirth of a New India which is now at long last occupying its rightful place in the comity of Nations as a resplendant Eastern Star which can no longer be ignored as a slave nation. The East that was the birth-place of all the world's great founders of religion as Sankara, Christ and Mohammad, the India that could count in its pages of history glorious chapters of Dharmic Kingdoms and Empires such as of Chandragupta, Asoka, Akbar etc., this India went into a sort of slumber in the last century, but revitalized itself with the advent on the scene of Mahatma Gandhi. The message of Truth, Sacrifice, Ahimsa and Non-violence which Mahatma Gandhi preached bore fruit in the attainment of our Independence in a 'bloodless war' with the imperialism of the west. This verily led to the emancipation of the eastern hemisphere from the thralldom of the imperialistic and materialistic west. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, C. Rajagopalachari and other leaders have made history by consolidating the emancipated India into the Republic of to-day. Nehru's stature is the measure of India's ancient heritage and India's voice has become a factor to be reckoned with in the United Nations Assembly. India championed Indonesia to its rightful freedom and all the oppressed peoples of the globe in South Africa and elsewhere look to Gandhi's India for guidance.

This picture of India is indeed great and noble. But if only Pakistan sees the wisdom in demonstrating true comradeship with India and the Kashmir tangle is thereby solved, if all the internal forces in India pull round Nehru in a high idealistic as well as a practical plane, if communist propaganda is given a decent burial in India, if those in power in India emergently bestow all their attention to making the lot of the common man happy and economically sound, if in every part of India values are kept

aloft in all planes spiritual, social, economic, cultural, educational, Governmental, public service etc; if the New India concentrates in building up big industries and becomes self-sufficient in food, cloth, and other essential commodities, if New India builds up her Navy, Army, Airforce to a high standard of modern efficiency, if the masses of India become more educated and public spirited—then and only then can India be confident of retaining her hard-won Independence. Therefore the slogan must be consolidation, not disintegration, high moral values, not petty low ideas, assimilation, not deterioration and lastly progress and more progress on all fronts. Only a spiritual resurrection will annihilate power politics, racial and communal bias, greed and selfishness.

Civilization is indeed passing through one of its periodic crises all over the world. The world is casting off its old garments and the old order is changing giving place to new. The world has had enough of materialism and of power politics, of race differences and communal prejudices. True religion enjoins a life of duty, love and self-denial. Man's selfishness and spiritual lassitude has for some time past tried to escape and evade this issue. Gandhiji's Ram Rajiya was one of duty, service to humanity and faith in God. The Gandhites took easily to the Gandhi cap but not to the spirit of the Gandhian precept. Verily Khaddar and the Gandhi cap have been used as a passport to power. It is distressing that many congressmen rarely attend prayer halls or temples of their various faiths. Many a congressman pompously led Harijans into temples but thereafter he or his followers rarely joined bhajans, prayers or worship at any public place. Egoism and atheism are becoming fashions to which the high and low are succumbing. Blackmarketing, corruption, nepotism and jerrymandering are the order of the day, condemned from

time to time by such honest persons as Babu Rajendra Prasad and others. But the degeneracy continues. The rank and file of the Congress have slowly turned the organization into a veritable 'Aegean stables' which in the long run may prove difficult to 'cleanse' even by our national stalwarts.

With the new phase in India's Republican era, should we not try to erase these blots in our national life? As Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar set out in his recent address at the All-India Political Science Congress, it is betimes the public created enough robust public opinion so as to see that healthy rivalry exists in public life, so as to mobilise all good forces and to destroy the autocratic-minded shallow 'one-party' flats. If the Congress has to function as a party in the political field there must be other rival parties to checkmate all the impurities and irregularities in it. Acharya Kirpalani stated the crux of the problem when he said that our present democracy lacks in adequate leadership. A Nehru or a Patel cannot emancipate the whole of India. For Nehru to hold aloft his head in America or Europe he must be proud of every countryman of his, of you and me and everyone else. First-rate men of approved capacity, character and vision must lead the masses not only at Delhi but also in the provinces, nay, in every district and taluk in all corners of India. The present leadership of the Congress in the various parts of India must be reshaped towards this end. Its parliamentary Boards must be manned by men of high probity and capacity who could be relied upon to put up proper men of character, capacity and merit for the elections under the new constitution. The present craze of third-rate men to usurp power especially in the provinces must be put an end to. *Adult suffrage is only a great mirage in India where as yet the masses are ignorant and incapable of proper discrimination.* Unscrupulous men can easily confuse the masses now. And it cannot even be said that the major political party, the Congress, is manned by men of vision, ability and uprightness in the various districts though the masses are yet under the hypnotic

spell of the sacrifices of the old Congress pioneers, and have not yet seen how that good organization is in many places manned and marred by adventurers and worthless men who merely exploit the mass reverence for 'the yellow box,' to elevate themselves to positions of power and authority and influence. As Bernard Shaw put it "where electors are fools, legislators are rascals." The future of India is in the hands of the uneducated, ignorant, prejudice-ridden masses.

It therefore behoves every Indian to rise to the occasion, realize his responsibility and exercise his franchise in a rational way for the best of the country and choose men of integrity and capacity irrespective of whichever party they belong to. It is even better to vote for a man of rectitude and good faith belonging to an unpopular party than to vote for ineffectual and incompetent men of doubtful character belonging to a very popular party. The test must be more the *individual* than the party to which he belongs. This again depends upon whether our masses will and can rise from their stupor of indifference and moral apathy. We have had enough of negative virtue, irresponsible public conduct, and the cowardly desire to escape responsibility on the part of the people. They must bestir themselves now or else—

The attitude of the youth of contemporary India, their defiance, their rebellions against established tradition, their circumventing of the path of duty and productive work; the deplorable tendency of our feminine enthusiast to neglect her 'Home' the natural sphere of motherhood, preoccupied with exaggerated notions of playing a part in public life which she terms as asserting "equality with men"—these tendencies spell disaster. The Middle-class is experiencing a spiritual and moral upheaval because of economic conditions. New India must dig up its old ethical values from the embers of the civilization of the past and forge into it a new synthesis on the lines of the present urge for social justice and equality. Our heritage from the Vedas and Upanishads and the illuminating expositions of Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhwa, along with the Bhakti cult

of our numerous saints, must be preserved. But bigotry, hatred, false formalism—these must be got rid of. Nehru's visualization of the Bhagavat Gita as a 'Poem of Crisis'—of political and social crisis—must be applied to modern India. Inaction must be condemned. Virtue must be *practised*, not merely preached as *Yagnavalkya* said of old. New India needs sincere patriots, high-souled intellectuals, hard workers and nation builders. The fetish of modern organizations, inclusive of the Congress, to disown all intellectuals and men of honour and loyalty and to choose to disrupt itself through the agency of doubtful 'Cromwells' must be destroyed.

For this, our moral stature must re-assert itself. There is again a fallacy current, which must be erased, that a man of God is necessarily a man of inaction and of no use to the world, in fact, a stumbling block to so-called 'progress.' No greater refutation of this statement is needed than Nehru's own tribute to Adi Sankara in his *Discovery of India*. Nehru ascribes to Sankara the vision for the first time in history of a united India. Sankara laid stress on the essential oneness of India. He was not only an intellectual and spiritual giant, a great philosopher, scholar, saint, but an able organizer and a man of amazing vitality. He toured India indefatigably spreading his message and exhorted all men to lead a life of intense action. True men of religion are ever that—men of action, men imbued with a sense of duty and responsibility. In South India we are fortunate in having spiritual giants as Kamakoti Sankaracharya, Ramana Rishi and Aurobindo, while North India is sanctified by such seers as Saint Sivananda and His Holiness Karapathri Swamiji. It would perhaps not be inappropriate to recall

the message of Kamakoti Sankaracharya on the 1948 Independence Day. "There is only one Supreme God. He is the goal of all religions. The rulers and the ruled must realise that the same soul pervades all bodies. So persons at the helm of State should be well versed in *Atma Vidya*. And they alone can rule well." Sri Aurobindo echoed similar sentiments when he said: "The coming of the Dawn is inevitable after all the material and moral crisis humanity has been passing through." Swami Sivananda stated: "Religion must be one of the heart drawing the best instincts in men." Ramana Rishi enjoins introspection and self-realization and the effacement of the 'Ego' in men. Now many of our public leaders and all of us stand in dire need of such advice. If *Rama Rajya* is to be established in our *Bharatha Varsha* we must rise to the full glory and strength of our being spiritually and morally, achieving inevitably by the way material economic emancipation. We cannot afford any longer to ignore the best among us—the best of workmen, the best of labourers, the best of intellectuals, the best of our religious men, the best of our administrators, the best of our engineers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, businessmen etc. All are required for the betterment of the country. All men of pronounced worth must be nurtured, fostered, used and emulated. Our hearts must be stout, our vision broad and our action righteous. In conclusion, we may restate the ancient Chinese proverb:

"If there is righteousness in the heart there will be beauty in character. If there is beauty in character there will be harmony in the home. If there be harmony in the home there will be order in the nation. When there is order in the nation, there will be peace in the world."

"As a thinking being man is destined to see God and to form some conception of life. And since the invisible God cannot be conceived and since life is always more than any idea, behold, from the human conception of God and of life, a great deal of necessity is left out. And this God whom we have left out and this life that we have shut out from our living, must in the end, turn against us and rend us. It is our destiny.—D. H. Lawrence.

I PLAY WITH CHAMPIONS

By E. WILLIAMSON

LALITH and I were walking down the college corridor, walled in on one side by Indian art, and on the other by reproductions of Botticelli, Raphael and Turner, when our vision was blocked by one of the Great Masters, not of art, but of tennis—one of those stars that shoot from side to side on the courts every evening from three o'clock to six. His name was Arvind, and his fame fell about him as a conscious cloak.

"You know me," he said—we nodded with deference—"I want you to play tennis with me this evening."

I think if we were carrying books, we would have dropped them in our astonishment. I thought someone had spread a false rumour about Lalith's tennis, and I looked up anxiously to see what she would say. Her expression of horror could have been equalled only by Lot's wife, when she saw her toes were becoming salt. It was then I realized that Arvind had meant me. I was staggered! My self-opinion floats on par with the clouds, but even I could not see myself as anything but waste matter on a tennis court, a positive mushroom, in fact, straying from its village green.

"I'm sorry," I said, "but I can't play tennis."

Arvind raised an austere eyebrow, impatient of this fuss.

"Why d'you think I asked you?" he remarked quietly. "You see, they told me I couldn't play in the college Mixed Doubles Tournament, unless I partnered somebody whose game was absolutely rotten, so I came to you. I hope you don't mind?"

"Mind?" I giggled weakly, but the shock restored me, and my power of speech returned in full force.

"You couldn't put it more tactfully?" I murmured. "After all, this does need some tactical skill. If I were to call you out at dawn to shoot you for that insult, it's possible I might have more luck with a rifle than a racquet. And no pretence from you of skill at the net will make me change my weapon to a broad-

sword, so that you could be a retiarius."

"Retiarius? Is he the new Swedish tennis champion?" he asked. "I think I've heard of him."

Lalith and I looked at each other, and our laughter rang out and split the corridor.

"Not a Swede," I said, "but a Roman, an ancient Roman, who ran around the arena trying to kill gladiators with a net and a trident."

When we laughed again, he joined with us, and seeing the protective garment of his reputation was fraying at the edges and giving at the seams he cast it aside, and with its rent fragments on the floor, we were put at our ease. He made appropriately appreciative sounds at "the spirit of sportsmanship" I revealed, and mid a general display of pretty speeches, the three of us were friends.

We arranged to meet at the courts that evening after college, as the matches were beginning right away.

Lalith was to play with Prasad, another person whose name warranted headlines in any newspaper.

We played that evening. We lost two matches.

At the end of two hours' tennis, Arvind wrapped his damp and shrunken form in a green-brown khaddar coat. He picked off his glasses to remove the steam from them and eyed me severely. "Tomorrow," he said, "have you class in the afternoon?"

"No." I was curious.

He replaced the glasses. "Tomorrow," he said, "I have class in the afternoon, but I'll give it a bye. You assemble here for tennis practice, and I'll teach you which end of the racquet to hold. At two o'clock."

I gasped. "But... two o'clock? The sun will be fierce!"

"Really good of you to think of me," he said, startled. "But I don't mind the sun—really I don't." Then he caught a glimpse of my face. "Ohhh!" It dawned on him. "What!" he

exclaimed, "no altruism? Are you forgetting I've lost fifteen pounds these past hours on the court while you stood decoratively just outside the extreme line? By the time I've done with you to-morrow, you won't have even fifteen pounds left with which to stagger home."

"You are being kind," I said, "But you must know that to an article there should be two assets—the one beautiful the other useful. Now, you and I are sure that I fulfil the 'beautiful' requirement in this partnership, but are you sure you could be termed 'useful'? Each time, our opponents were negligible, their combined merit was a straw which could easily have paled into a broomstick and then vanished quite, if you were half as powerful as you set up to be."

He stroked his nose thoughtfully. "Could be," he ruminated. "Quite. But what do you set up to be? From what I noticed of your play, you were ostensibly a gardener. Your fore-hand drives would serve as instruction to any beginner in hoeing. As for the pits you dug in the court!—it looked as if the very ground were gaping at your temerity in agreeing to be my partner."

"Gaping, did you say?" I rallied. I was stung. "Is that why you caught your toe in them seven times, and each time when you could've saved the game? I suppose then your mind was soaring so loftily with imagined victory, that gapes and gashes were as slits to you, and game-points negligible?"

"Well," he returned with dignity, "If you threw holes in my path so assiduously, I had to take some notice of the offerings of a devotee."

He paused to let it sink. It did. I almost sank with it. Anyway, he was alarmed.

"I say," he said, "I think you need sustenance, something to prop up your fainting spirit. Was the game too much for you? I know a spot with the most ravishing ice-cream. Wouldn't you like some?"

"I wouldn't like," I replied. "It's good of you; but you'd insist on flavoured the ice-cream with hot chocolate sauce—to wit, your wit. And give me no chance of a word. I'm not used to it. Neither am I used to

seeing courts of any sort at two in the afternoon, and I'm scared the sight of one may unnerve me. And that, my psychiatrist tells me would be very bad for me—I'd suffer from a sporadic nervous twitch ever after. Think how embarrassing that would be! Well, good-bye then. See you tomorrow at the match."

I bore down upon Lalith who was having a more interesting conversation with Prasad on services, stances, grips, and cover-drives (being drives of such force and aim that your opponents run for shelter. The idea is borrowed from cricket). I thought Lalith was showing definite signs of mental wear, so I swept her away homeward. On the way I remarked casually, "I like that Arvind, don't you? His conceit is really all pretence, you know."

"I couldn't say," said Lalith absently.

The next evening when we played Prasad and Lalith, she was very nervous. "Arvind is good", she said.

"Don't worry", Prasad soothed. "We're three against one. We have his partner (that's me) on our side too".

I heard him, but kept a dignified upper lip. The umpire heard him too. His reaction was simple. The first game, he announced, went to "Miss Lalith and partner"; the next was Arvind's service, and we won it after a short struggle. "Game", said the umpire, "to Arvind."

As we changed courts, Arvind said to me, "Prasad is very good at the net, so you'd better stand near it—he won't dare hit the ball straight at you."

"Are you sure?" I asked apprehensively.

"What are you frightened about, anyway?" he said. "Normally, a straight hit from Prasad would make a person lose his head, but you've nothing in that line to lose."

"I might lose my life," I said haughtily. "Would you find me another?"

"No", he said. "Why should anyone try to replace anything of so little use, and no sentimental value? It would be finders, weepers; losers, reapers, of good luck."

BEGGARS AND CHOOSERS

By PADMASANI

He was met with a piercing squeal from me. I had, almost, met the ball coming over, with my eye, and having shrieked, I dived under the net to the other side. Arvind retrieved me, and placed me in a safe position, breathing hard words the while, that would have put Macbeth to shame. Indignation spurred his efforts, and we were on our way to winning the match. He was, I mean. I just executed a neat side-step when Prasad attacked me, and allowed Arvind to pick up the remains. I mused that he really could be good when his will was in the game, and then I wondered if he were any good at class, so I threw a question at him conversationally, "Hi, Arvind! What are you doing?"

He turned. "Playing tennis", he said. "What are you doing?"

"I meant—what's your subject?"

"Politics. My object—to win this match. Your conversation is edifying, but any bright remarks you think of from now on, suppose you get them off you at the close of play?"

So I was silent, *very* silent. Even good play on his part brought no "Well done, partner!" from me. I hoped he would be discouraged and plead for my encouraging voice to pour like healing balsam over his soul, but he just played the game as if it were singles, and in deadly earnest. He won the match. Possibly it was his curiosity to hear my *bon mots* which

sped him to success, but as yet he has not confessed to it.

From then on, we won every match, but missed the cup by inches. Lalith and Prasad—who had lost only one match—keep it now mid their treasured possessions. But I have a token as good—a clipping from a leading newspaper wherein my name shone for a brief moment with a borrowed brilliance. I have stored it carefully away. Someday, I'll show it to my grandchildren.

Just now, I use it to edge me out of difficult corners. Yesterday while I was sedately watching my father play in a very provincial tennis-court, a long and very lean young man approached me with the request that I play a game with him.

"Why?" said I. "Are you very good?"

"Oh, no!" he said, shocked. "I'm just a beginner."

"In that case," I concluded, "I'm sorry, but I cannot play. You see, I wouldn't want to embarrass you on the court. You do agree that, to play together our standards must be more or less on a level. The people I play with are now competing in tournaments all over India—I suppose you read the papers? I can play only with champions."

He withdrew, abashed, the poor chap. If he twisted these truthful words, to mean something entirely different, am I to blame?

ON THE MARTYRDOM OF MAHATMA GANDHI

The assassin's bullet finished his life,
and now the devoted herds
Can buy for a small sum of two annas,
a book of his golden words.—Manjeri S. Isvaran.

POPE AND POETRY

Even as a boy Alexander Pope is reputed to have indulged in rhymes in conversations. His vexed father gave him a good beating and ordered: "Don't make poetry." But the incurable son sobbed out:

"Papa, papa, pity take,
Poetry shall I never make!"

"Those who are truly strong are aware that among the forces that oppose their schemes, there are some that they know not; but against such as they do, they fight on as bravely as though no others existed; and these men will often be victorious."—Maeterlinck.

OH, these beggars—a variety of them—whole constellations of them—I have visitations—I am persecuted by them—I am afraid of them, these beggars and their ways, for they exhaust my cash and increase my bile—and if they *must* beg.... but, ah, *must* they?

There are beggars and beggars and beggars. Some are born beggars, lineally descended from beggars since the morning of beginning and they will stretch out the line of beggary, from father to son, son to grandson, grand-daughter to great-grand-daughter, to the very crack of doom. There is variety in their beggary, yet their beggary is all of a piece. The same old hypocrisies and the same old stupidities, repeated singly or in cycles, and daybreak finds them where we found them twentyfour hours ago.

The "born" beggars often dilute, or flavour, their beggary with doses of other occupations. With roguery, for instance. Here is one such limned for us memorably:

I know this man well: he hath been since an ape-bearer; then a process-server, a bailiff; then he compassed a motion of the Prodigal Son, and married a tinker's wife within a mile where my land and living lies; and having flown over many knavish professions, he settled only in rogue: some call him Autolycus.

Autolycus, like Rumour and scandal, is everywhere; he haunts wakes, fairs, exhibitions; he is at bus-stands, vegetable markets, station platforms; he is shamming sleep under your seat in a Third Class compartment, or he regales you with a song in denunciation of the capitalist or the decay of philanthropy in the metropolis; he moves with agility from door to door on a moving train and relieves with ease a sleeping passenger of his handbag or hat. The formula of his autobiography was forged in Eden and confirmed in Bohemia:

My father named me Autolycus; who being, as I am, littered under Mercury, was likewise a snapper-up

of unconsidered trifles. With die and drab I purchased this caparison, and my revenue is the silly cheat.

Beggar and rogue, athlete and actor, vagabond and ventriloquist, while he gaily pursues his ancient calling, he is very up-to-date in his methods and manners. He moves with the times. He neither regrets the past, nor fears the future.

If some are born beggars, some—a singular set of people—voluntarily seize the beggar's bowl. It can be good business, as Conan Doyle shows in one of his Sherlock Holmes stories. Trade has its ups and downs, its booms and slumps, but the beggar's trade is no worse in this respect than the grocer's or the florist's or the soap-maker's. If anything it is less affected by fluctuations, war clouds, budget revelations or sterling devaluations. The beggar who makes a perpetual pilgrimage to Benares or Tirupati, the beggar whose daughter—a grown-up girl, of course, and a dear one and lovely—must be married and would you please donate your mite; the beggar who has, alas, a dead body every day on his doorstep which must be suitably cremated, musn't it; the beggar whose house is daily burnt down and shouldn't one extend a helping hand to one so unfortunate, yet so honest, a man . . . age does not wither his tale of woe nor daily reiteration stale its perennial plausibility.

There is, then, the gentlemanly beggar, shoddily suited and booted, whose capacity for improvisation is without limit. There is his female counterpart also, the lady-like beggar, a little bit faded, it is true, but with a whole quiverful of wiles and wan smiles ever ready for action. A compelling story is pressed into service, told with an easy naturalness which produces a funny feeling in the pit of your stomach; perhaps he or she produces a typewritten or printed appeal with a few fictitious signatures indicating generous donations, and you are confronted with a look which seems to your insecure

human self to say—do you imagine it or does your conscience whisper it to you?—*I am what you might have been but for luck or one day might yet be, who knows . . .* you wriggle uncomfortably, you look at him surreptitiously . . . “I am not used to beggary, Madam”, the hatted and booted beggar pleads, “I am a gentleman. I am an engineer, with a diploma from the Connecticut Institute of Technology. But within a week they’ve discharged me because they have found someone who would agree to everything they said and did. Of course, I am stranded. There is my mother, my two children, and my missis, poor darling, she has the fever. They are on the station platform waiting for me to scrape some money together and take them home . . .” Who is to check up his statements? And suppose they were true! You would feel like giving more than you would now—well, dismiss the fellow with a rupee, that’s the best way out of the difficulty. He is profuse in his thanks. He now knows why the sun rises every morning, why even in these degenerate days good ultimately triumphs; charity is a heavenly thing, Madam, He will reward you for ever and always!

If gentlemen prefer blondes, lady-beggars prefer gentlemen. Poor gentlemen! They don’t know where to look or what to do. Meanwhile she tells her story in a piping, insinuating voice, with a pathetic regard in her eyes, and a pensive pallor in her whole aspect: ‘Babu, babu, don’t turn away like that—*please*. Do I like to beg? Was I born to beg? My mother had great dreams about me, and put me in a convent, the famous Convent of the Sacred Heart at Darjeeling. I could sing, I could dance. I made a good match. But he took to evil ways. He gambled, he drank, he beat me, he beat the poor children. And he has disappeared. What am I to do, Babu? Where am I to go? I have some relations in Bengal, but it is a far place to go. I am on my way, but I have to beg my way to my native place. Look at me, Babu, do I look like a woman born to beg, do I look like a liar . . .’ The Babu steals a look at her, he dares not look at her again; he wisely and promptly sends her away with a

crisp two-rupee note. Her rhythmic steps, her oplate accents, slowly die away, and the Babu recovers his composure and returns to his work, feeling humble with goodness and at the same time nagged by a cowardly fear that he had been duped.

There are again, the beggar-epidemics. There has been, lately, an earth-quake in Quetta or in Bihar; or there has been a famine in Bengal or in Bijapur; or a cyclone has devastated Andhra; or, say, refugees have lately been pouring into India from Burma or from East Bengal or from the Punjab. What then? Every hour, every minute, you run the risk of being bombarded by a supposed victim of the earth-quake or the cyclone, by a professed evacuee or refugee. The stories are always heart-rending. The gestures are apt and telling. And there is even an aggressiveness and peremptoriness about the appeals which rather assume the menacing aspect of demands. “You big-big people, you won’t give a copper, you’re heartless, you’ll get it with interest and then you’ll know, know what misery is, and who will pity you then? Live a grand life, big-big people, no heart, no pity, vulture-hearted, stone-hearted, big-big people, beeg-beeg bittles . . .” It is wiser far to pay even if you pauperize yourself in the process, for the alternative is not to be thought of.

There are, besides, the institutional beggars, the beggars who promote lost causes; there are the beggars by preference and the beggars under compulsion; there are those harmless folk who have beggary thrust upon them, and there are those restless busy-bodies who must wear in public the beggar’s crown. Beware of Sundays, for they are the favourite hunting-day of these many species of the genus *beggare*. If you cannot make yourself scarce of a Sunday, very well, march to your doom; have your cheque-book ready, check up your bank balance; and let your pen have a barrelful of ink. Of course, even if you dodge them today, it matters little; they catch you sooner or later, on Sunday or Monday, at home or abroad; you can no more avoid them than you can avoid fate.

You hear a sinister purring—your instinct begins to ring a bell in your

head—and a new Ford pulls up under the portico. Who can it possibly be? Sure, a languid lady, cat-like in her movements, leonine in her beauty. Her handbag carelessly held under her arm, she glides into the parlour. You are self-conscious—but not *she*! It is as though *she* is in her own house, and *you* are the stranger. “I’m Mrs. Jillibug,” she says, as if she is conferring an honour upon you by the revelation of her name. *Mrs. Jillibug!*—not the wife of Dr. Jillibug, the Government of India Rodent Expert! But why not? Airily with a dignity not unworthy of an Empress, Mrs. Jillibug tells you that she is organizing a Fund to build a free Dancing School for poor fisherfolk’s children, and would you contribute your share? Her Highness of Titibu will lay the Foundation Stone on Sunday week. A most worthy enterprise. Poor fisherfolk. Poor children. The joy of life. *Noblesse oblige*. Mute inglorious Pavlovas and Diaghlieffs wasting undiscovered. A chance for them. The subscription for a patron is only Rs. 100. Nation-building in the best sense. After Mahatma Gandhi’s heart. Would have gladdened the heart of Sarojini Naidu and Annie Besant. Of course, Rs. 10 is the minimum subscription that could be accepted. Couldn’t go lower than that. Surely you could be a patron? No? Such a high-hearted venture. Not even Rs. 25, the Vice-Patron’s fee? Such a pity, such a *pity*! Only ten rupees!—well, thanks all the same—bye, bye. Mrs. Jillibug has darted back to her cushioned seat with your cheque slipped into her bag. You look foolish in the extreme, and wonder why you allowed yourself to

be fleeced by this vampire done to a turn by Elizabeth Arden and her own ingenuity.

You hear the hoot of a motor horn . . . another? . . . so soon? You are helpless. You try to think of something quick. You are not at home. You are ill. You are dead—*anything* you please. But no, no, there is no escape. There the ogre is advancing towards you . . . there are two of them . . . three! You cower before them. The most sumptuous of the three says: “I am the President of the Lakshminagar Ladies’ Literary League.—L.L.L.L. for short. These are my secretaries, Miss Vichitra and Miss Gausudeo. Our aim is to secure living conditions for women writers. We have defined the minimum as Five Hundred rupees a month and a free flat. The Government should subsidise a select number—say two hundred in all India—of promising women-writers. The idea was Virginia Woolf’s who is, alas, no more. We want to press this case before Government, and naturally publicity, propaganda, and agitation are necessary. The future of Indian literature is at stake. Women’s future is at stake. You’re a writer yourself? Oh yes, you might stand to benefit under the scheme—no distinction of caste or creed or colour. A most worthy cause. A deserving cause . . .” And, in short, you write out another cheque for ten rupees.

Who says that beggars don’t know how to beg? What a travesty of the truth! They are the expertest of men, the cunningest of women. They wail or whimper, they preach or plead, they lie or sigh, but they get their way all right . . .

HUMAN IMAGINATION

Indeed it is the divine attribute of the imagination to be irrepressible, unconfined, that when the whole world is shut out it can create a world for itself and with necromantic powers can conjure up glorious shapes and forms and brilliant visions to make solitude populous and irradiate the gloom of the dungeon.—Washington Irving.

When a woman marries again, it is because she detested her first husband; when a man marries again, it is because he adored his first wife. Women try their luck; men risk theirs.—Oscar Wilde.

SARAT BABU

By G. S. BHARGAVA

IN September 1945, Sarat Babu had come down to Bombay to attend the A.I.C.C.—the first session after "Quit India". At a gathering of journalists, Mr. Cole, Chief of the *Reuter* Newsagency, introduced him as the "elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose". Till his death Sarat remained that, "elder brother of Subhas". That was the tragedy of his otherwise eventful and hectic career. We mourn his demise because a stalwart has been snatched from our midst before he blossomed into independent importance, before he ceased to be a mere "elder brother" of someone. To surpass the eminence and dynamism of Subhas was not an easy thing, it is admitted, but given a decade more, the coming decade of change, he would have undoubtedly established himself.

Born in 1889 at Cuttack, the third (Subhas was immediately after him) of the six sons of Janakinath Bose, a leading lawyer, Sarat had a brilliant educational career in Cuttack, Calcutta and London. Belonging to a well-to-do upper middle-class family, he never felt any want. After taking his M.A. and law degrees from the Calcutta University, he practised for a year at the place of his birth and then set sail for England to become a barrister. At the age of 24, he was called to the bar and very soon grew up to one of Calcutta's leading barristers, with a roaring practice to command.

While Subhas gate-crashed active politics straight from Cambridge, Sarat put in a lot of spade work in public life before taking to politics. It was perhaps this ballast that mellowed his approach to problems. In 1924, when C. R. Das was elected the Mayor of Calcutta, Sarat became its Alderman, which post he held for eight successive years, notwithstanding intermittent incarcerations during that period. In 1928, when the Congress session was held in Calcutta, Sarat Chandra was the treasurer of the reception committee and Young Subhas was the G.O.C. of the Congress volunteer corps.

In accordance with the programme of the Swaraj Party, with which he was then in unison, Sarat contested the election in 1927 and was returned to the Provincial Assembly by a thumping majority. The 1930 civil disobedience movement did not, however, rope in Sarat Babu. Though Subhas was jailed in that connection, Sarat kept himself, at least outwardly, aloof from the movement. But bureaucracy was only waiting for a pretext to imprison him. The Provincial authorities knew full well that Sarat was a shrewd lawyer and were only biding their time. So, suddenly in 1932, they detained him under Regulation III of 1818, lesser laws having seemed inadequate to hold him. The charge was that he was "deeply involved in terrorist activities", which were then raging in Bengal. But the real reason was the wounded pride of the bureaucrats. Sarat was the managing director of *Forward*, the English daily founded by C. R. Das. Subhas was its Manager. In 1930, there occurred a gruesome "accident" on the East Indian Railway, as a result of which several lives were lost. Sarat Babu's *Forward* carried a report giving the inside story of the "accident", which incensed the English bosses of the E. I. Railway. They sued *Forward* for defamation to the tune of two lakhs of rupees and ultimately won it. But overnight, *Forward* and its overseas offices, were changed to *New Forward*. The Railway company argued that it was the same paper which had only changed its name to avoid payment of the money and succeeded in getting a new decree against *New Forward* also. But Sarat was not to be defeated so easily. *New Forward* again changed its name to *Liberty*. The Railway company found itself helpless and could not do anything this time. Consequently Sarat Babu was detained under the Bengal Regulation of 1818. For three and a half years, he was in prison and was released late in 1935.

In 1933, the Congress came round to parliamentary programme. Sarat

was then put up as the Congress candidate for the Central Assembly from the Calcutta general constituency. Though under detention, he was elected by a wide margin. But the authorities refused to release him. He was kept in detention and not allowed to attend the Assembly sittings. At that time, Mr. Jinnah was the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature and even he severely denounced the Government policy of preventing an elected member from participating in the proceedings of the house.

Sarat was released in 1935 in time to contest the elections under the 1935 Act, in which the Congress participated. Inside the Provincial Legislature he was the leader of the Opposition and gave a tough time to the Fazlul Huq Ministry. Meanwhile came the difference with the Congress High Command and in 1939, after the Tripuri Session of the Congress, he, along with Subhas and others, had to leave the Congress. The Forward Bloc was formed afterwards and Sarat joined it.

But his detention in 1941 when Bengal expected to see him as the Premier of a coalition government in the province, was the most dramatic incident of his political career. As the leader of the dissident Congress group in the Bengal Assembly, Sarat was at that time carrying on negotiations with the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and other parliamentary parties with the intention of forming an all-party coalition to replace the hated Section 93 regime. He was fairly successful and a ministry under him would have materialised. But suddenly the government arrested him without any warrant except the "apprehension" that he was in contact with the

Japanese, and detained him in South India. It is significant that in 1932 as well as in 1941, he was detained under Regulation (III) of 1818, on charges which were never substantiated in a court of law.

1945 saw the *rapprochement* between Sarat and the Congress High Command. During the A.I.C.C. session in Bombay in 1945, Sardar Patel and Sarat embraced each other on the dais. Observers said the prodigal had returned and that only the fatted calf remained to be killed. Perhaps the rub lay here.

There were such sharp shifts during the last five years of his life that it is difficult to find a common thread running through them. In 1946, he was included in the Congress Working Committee by Nehru who had held the presidency for a while then. At that time, Sarat was a trenchant critic of Nehru and a staunch supporter of Sardar Patel, an attitude which continued even after his secession from the Congress. For a Leftist, the irony actually lay here.

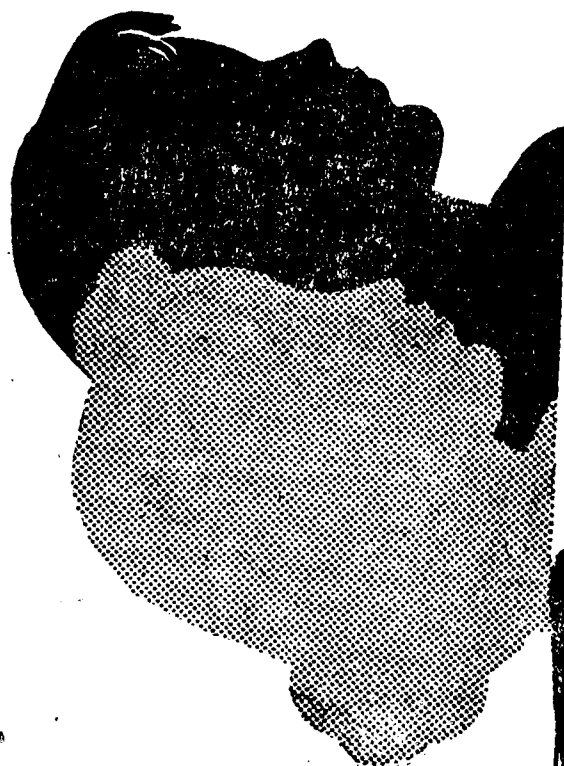
Sarat was in the Interim Central Government formed that year. But, soon he had to make room for the Muslim Leaguers who came in and then he completely severed all his connections with the Congress Party.

Notwithstanding his political acumen, Sarat remained till his death a personality without an adequate philosophy. In fact, his whole public life can be summed up as an incessant struggle to make up for the paucity of philosophy by his dominant personality. He might not have been able to convince others but he could always captivate them. Today, with the disappearance of his compelling personality, his followers will be confronted with a vacuum which it is not easy to fill.

I think I can turn and live with animals.
They are so placid and self-contained.
I stand and look at them long and long.
They do not sweat and whine about their condition;
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one kneels to another nor to his kind that lived thousands
of years ago,
Not one is demented with the mania of owning things.

—Walt Whitman.

Have you saved for them ?



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AC 38

COMMUNISM

By "LEELA"

✓ THE prime desire of man is the desire to live. Living, in practical terms, means sufficient food, shelter and clothing. As long as man fails to get these, or gets them only insufficiently, he will struggle and fight against the forces that deny these to him and keep him at bay. This struggle will continue to be there as long as there are parts of the world which are poor and due to backwardness in technical progress or other causes. All the ideologies which abound in the world today are built fundamentally upon this struggle of man to live. The one that has appealed most to poverty-stricken peoples in the backward areas of the world is communism and it is gaining momentum by leaps and bounds. It is the sworn enemy of capitalism and its goal is the complete annihilation of capitalism. Soviet Russia professes to be the champion of Communism, while the United States may be said to typify capitalism. So politics apart, it is quite clear how illogical it is to expect that peace can ever be preserved between the two spheres of such utter disharmony into which the world is at present cleft. ✓

The Communist derives his inspiration from what may rightly be called the Gospel of Marx. Karl Marx appeared on the eve of a civilization when the Industrial Revolution had firmly established itself all over Europe and the present-day set up of a capitalist-labour economy had emerged. Huge wealth was pouring into the coffers of the industrialised countries which were galloping ahead to more and more prosperity. The captains of industry were lavish in their praises of private enterprise which they said, "can turn sand into gold." The nineteenth century was an age of advance. The shell which till then was enclosing the world, quivered cracked and burst and the world, waking up from a long slumber, rushed ahead with gigantic strides in all directions. It was the age of capitalism. Politics, Economics, Science—in short almost all spheres of human activity were just to the capitalist

mill. Capitalism was bolstered up to dizzy heights and revelled in its hour of glory.

It was left to Karl Marx to tear aside the veil from the face of capitalism and expose the greedy, leering monster to the world, with the blood of labour dripping from its fangs. The rapacious acquisitiveness of capitalism in denying labour of its legitimate share in the shape of profits, was the chief target of Marx's attack and he railed against the parasitic nature of capitalist exploitation in letters of fire and fury. He also pointed out the glaring inadequacies of capitalism itself by drawing attention to its total helplessness in the face of recurring crises. Capitalism contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The class cleavages and the social tension which capitalism generates will exist until the entire capitalist class is abolished and a classless society established.

Marx's writings struck a resonant cord in the hearts of millions living a gruelling life in factories and fields, men and women who had sacrificed their individuality to the monster of the capitalist machine. They suddenly discovered in themselves a dynamic force which could blast the system that kept them in chains and would remake society as they pleased. They hailed Marx as the ideal spokesman of the proletarian cause, an apostle of a new order and a new civilization. The tussle between capitalism and communism had begun.

The Communists were infused with the same evangelical, crusading zeal that characterized the medieval religious reformers. The hearts of the unprivileged and the underprivileged who constituted the rank and file of the labouring and the agricultural classes were taken by storm by the vision of the El Dorado of a classless society which the Communists promised them. The Communist doctrine of the end justifying the means gave them a "carte blanche" to indulge in all kinds of subversive activities to overthrow the 'bourgeois'

regime and encouraged them to run contrary to many of the recognized standards of morality which they sneered at as bourgeois codes of honour. They sought to deal blow after blow at the staggering edifice of capitalism which showed signs of tottering and finally the Russian Revolution of 1917 saw the consummation of Communist endeavour in Russia where they firmly established themselves and began to direct their offensives against capitalism in other countries.

More than thirty years have passed since the Russian Revolution and a world war has been waged in the meanwhile. The Communists have consolidated themselves in Russia and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is in full swing. One cannot of course be blind to the tremendous improvement made in the economic sphere after the overthrow of the Czarist regime. The cost of this has been the destruction of individual liberties and the imposition of an omnipotent dictatorship. We are yet to witness the stage when the dictatorship of the proletariat will cease to exist and "the state would wither away", as Communism assures us. Till that stage is reached (if ever it is going to be), we are to reconcile ourselves with the essentiality of the dictatorship of Marshal Stalin, who, for all intents and purposes, is behaving like another Czar.

Soviet Russia's formidable rival in the political and economic spheres is the United States of America, which is the stronghold of capitalism. America owes her immense wealth to over two hundred years of private enterprise and "laissez-faire" which are anathema to the Communists. It was Capitalism that transformed the New World into a wonderland of plenty. America has risen to the pinnacle of her glory without sacrificing any of the fundamental principles of democracy. So she will have no truck with a creed that seeks to blow the blast of doom on all civil liberties under the pretext of achieving what it calls an "economic democracy". So to her, Communism is a hideous nightmare to compromise with which is to compromise with the devil.

All dispassionate students of Communism will not fail to be struck and

attracted by the essentially humanitarian outlook of the ideology. We can even say that it is an attempt to consummate the principle of achieving the happiness of the greatest number. One can even reconcile oneself to the highly questionable practices of Communists to attain their ends. But is the Soviet representation of Communism, the perfect and the ideal one? The Communists proclaim that they are waging war against Capitalism and Imperialism, which they point out is only an expansion of state capitalism in decay. But it is becoming increasingly clear in recent years that Soviet Communism is itself adopting a different kind of imperialism. The virtual incorporation of the East European countries into the Iron Curtain, and the continuous widening of the sphere of Soviet influence in Asia, by the sowing of seeds of dissension and hatred against existing governments, all these can mean only one thing, and that is, that the era of imperialism is continuing and Soviet Russia is now practising it under the guise of Communism.

It must be said to the credit of the United States that she is much nearer to the desired goal of a "classless society" than Russia herself. Despite the many ugly facets of American Capitalism, such as the existence of trusts and monopolies, the one praiseworthy feature of American economy is the absence of any remarkable difference between the earnings of different classes of people and the maintenance at the same time of a higher standard of living than Russia—which in itself is a characteristic of economic justice.

But at the same time it would be difficult to exaggerate the evils of capitalism and all fair-minded thinkers will agree to this. Capitalism can be perfectly consistent with democracy as long as its principles and privileges are not called into question. When once this happens, then Capitalism is gripped by fear and there can be no saying where this complex of fear can lead to. It was indirectly responsible for the coming to power of Hitler and his dictatorship.

Yet Soviet Communism has little to distinguish it from Fascism in its practices, despite the fact that the

Soviets are loudest in their denunciation of Fascism and their proclaimed end of achieving a classless society. The methods of the Gestapo and the concentration camp are observed by the Soviets to stifle opposition. The Soviet attempt to strengthen the bonds of International Communism under the leadership of Russia and under the over-all command of the Kremlin smacks strongly of Hitler's idealisation of the German State. Communism as we understand it through the example of Soviet Russia, like Fascism, only secures the strangulation of democracy.

The centre of international political gravity has now shifted from Europe to Asia. More than half of Asia has become Communist or is in the process of becoming so, and the United States is becoming frantic about stemming the tide of Communist advance in the remaining areas. President Truman is sanctioning bills for extending financial and military aid to South East Asia, a reaction based on thinking along traditional, negative and typically western lines.

Pandit Nehru has repeatedly made it clear that the approach to Communism must be positive. That consists not in extending military aid to tottering governments but in effecting a rapid improvement in the economic conditions of the people concerned. The resistance to Communism must come from the people and it will not come as long as they are half-starved

ed with Communism promising to wave the magic wand and turn the world into a paradise of plenty. The United States which is keen on rooting out Communism can succeed only if it extends ungrudging economic aid to the people of these backward areas of South East Asia.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the sympathies of the peoples of most of the Asian countries are definitely with Soviet Russia because for over a century they have been trodden under the heels of British, French and Dutch imperialists, and Soviet Russia which is at loggerheads with these powers, is naturally their friend. These countries are poverty-stricken. Wherever there is not enough to go round there is the happy hunting ground of Communism. The United States has failed to take cognizance of this and the reluctance of American capital to move to backward areas with its insistence upon privileges and safeguards can only be interpreted to mean that the United States is unable to shed its vestiges of imperialism. For this very reason, it is very slow-moving and without realising this, President Truman feels that the challenge to Communism can be met by extending the mailed fist to the Communists. Unless the United States reverses this negative policy of extension of military aid to and the recognition of puppet governments, her combat against Communism is doomed to failure.

THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT

By K. G. SIVASWAMY

THE Preventive Detention Bill has been passed by the Parliament on 25th February at New Delhi. The reason that has been adduced for this exceptional legislation is the grave danger that exists to the State by the action of certain groups and persons who, in the name of civil liberty, are asking for criminal licence. We feel no less profoundly a concern for national security than civil liberty. We recognise that both are social matters of highest value and that a proper balance must be struck between the respective claims of these interests. While we should fight the

tendency to regard the individual as nothing and the State as everything, we should be ready to concede in ungrudging measure what is legitimately due to public order and the security of the State. The question is not that of putting down violence and disorder. The question is whether the criminal law of the land is not sufficient to put down crimes and where preventive detention is found to be necessary, it should not be restricted just to those areas where an emergency may be declared to exist. But some rights are assured to us under Article 22 of the Constitution. According to Article 22,

a review of the Advisory Board is mandatory when a person is detained for a longer period than three months. But the Parliament is permitted to prescribe in regard to certain class of cases and under certain circumstances detention for a period longer than three months, without obtaining the opinion of an Advisory Board. The spirit of the article is that detention for longer periods should be exceptional under certain defined circumstances and for certain defined classes of cases. Such detentions are provided for during a war emergency as Regulation XVIII-B of the Defence Regulations of England 1939 in respect of persons and organisations subject to foreign influence or control and who might act prejudicially to public safety and the safety of the realm. Under the new Bill that was passed by the Parliament yesterday, this provision for exceptional cases is practically made the general rule, thereby enabling the Government to detain almost all persons up to a period of one year without obtaining the opinion of an Advisory Board. The grounds for a person to be detained are, that he should not act prejudicially to the defence of India, the relation of India with foreign powers or the security of India or the security of the State or the maintenance of public order. There is nothing that is left out under these heads. On the other hand, freedom of opinion or freedom of thought is controlled by including the subject of the relation of India with foreign powers as one of the grounds on which a person who prejudicially acts may be detained. It will be a breach of the provisions relating to Fundamental Rights if no differentiation were made between persons who should be detained only after a review by an Advisory Board and other causes in which no such review is necessary. In order just to satisfy the law, those who act prejudicially to the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community have been divided into a separate class in respect of whom the provision of the Advisory Board will continue.

Under the new Act, power is given to exercise preventive detention even to Sub-Divisional Magistrates. Detenus may be removed to any place, even outside the Province. While

there is a specific provision that all the facts need not be communicated to the detenus in the public interest, there is no provision that the Advisory Board should be in possession of all materials which the Government has in its possession. Courts are specifically excluded from examining the grounds of detention. The detenus cannot appear before the Advisory Board either in person or through a lawyer. According to Regulation 18-B in England, the Chairman of the Board is the authority to decide the particulars that should be given to the detenu to enable him to present his case. The Board there is entitled to every bit of information which is in possession of the Government. The detenus can personally appear before the Advisory Board. Personal liberty to-day here is at the mercy of the Parliament. At the most it would be reasonable to ask for power of preventive detention in certain areas where emergency may be declared, but there is justification to make a law of this character applicable to the whole country.

Mr. M. C. Setalvad, the present Attorney-General, had made the following statement in his book, *War on Civil Liberties*, about the powers of the Advisory Board in times of emergency:

"Such power should be entrusted to the highest authority and most responsible officers.... The tribunal should be entitled to have all the information submitted to it and should further have power to inform the person detained of the allegations against and give him an opportunity of being heard after he has been furnished with such information. The functions of these tribunals should not merely be advisory, but its decision should be made binding on the Executive. The Legislature should also provide for the persons detained for a certain length of time to be brought up for trial before the ordinary courts, except in cases when a judicial tribunal considers this course undesirable in the public interest."

It is a puzzle that Mr. M. C. Setalvad holding such views should now be in the present position of supporting this retrograde Bill.

EXPERIENCE

By "BOBBY"

I shall have lived a thousand years

Before tomorrow—

Bitten and torn by worrying fears,

In this my sorrow.

This morn I woke in quiet joy

Unto the daylight,

Pulsed and felt that life's alloy

Would ever stay bright.

This day I told a tale of hours

In constant rapture:

Reckoned and culled the time as flowers

Of fragrant capture.

This eve to the vanishing sun I'd sung

Of hushed contentment:

Doubted not—knew—I'd be ever young

To Time's resentment.

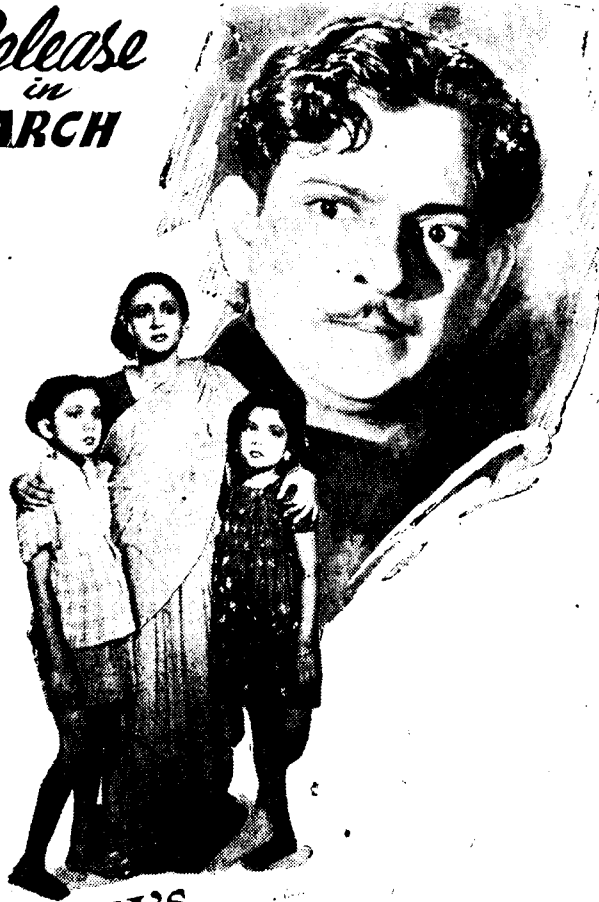
I shall have lived a thousand years

Before tomorrow—

But, undying, ageless, my unshed tears,

And this my sorrow.

*Release
in
MARCH*



RAGINI'S

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SASTRY...MANAKAM...RAMAMURTHY...
Baby MALLIKA & SUMITRA**

Director P. PULLAIAH, B.A.

EMPHASIS ON THE INDIVIDUAL

By S. SUBRAMANYA IYAR

THE innate urge in man "for freedom and full expression of life" is fulfilling itself steadily, step by step, guided by creative thinkers, from time to time. The historic process "cause and effect," "action and reaction" has brought him so far that he now asserts for both economic justice and personal liberty as indicated in the time-spirit.

Capitalism with its chaotic and unbalanced economy fails to provide peace and economic security to the individual and the common man at this complex stage in living. Communism, while promising to eradicate this defect, reduces the individual to a nut or a screw in a vast political machine, severely regiments his outlook and curbs his personality. Communism is a direct reaction to the growing evil of capitalism—the historic force—the logical outcome of it. It is bound to go out of the picture in its present crude form as individuals assert themselves and resist the overmuch of state in everything.

No static ideology endures the changing times. What is needed is not a *written* ideology but a rational approach to problems, a moving with the times, an adjusting and adapting to conditions and circumstances which our growing knowledge demands in tune with evolutionary trends.

We have reached a complicated stage in evolution with advance in scientific technology, growing industrialisation and complex living, that we cannot escape giving ourselves a planned, organized, scientific economy and extending and harmonizing it on a co-operative international basis. America, highly developed as it already is, with its vast resources adequate for even a greater population, can afford to postpone the change for some time to come but not so the other countries. Conditions even in the U. S. A. are not similar throughout.

The State has to take up the responsibility of providing honest labour to every individual and thus the basic

needs common to all. Extra wants may be met by extra work. The State should not interfere with other aspects of life. Its function is limited to physical factors with a social code. Values of life cannot be laid down as law.

Diversity is a natural phenomenon that has to be recognized and respected. Diversity is potential in the unity of the seed itself and develops in a thousand complex ways and permutations and combinations. "Cause of all causes and end of all ends" is still the subject of one's faith. So long as ends differ, life and its values will differ. A rational understanding of the common end in 'spiritual evolution' alone can harmonize and bring about 'unity in diversity.' In the recognition of this fundamental reality in human nature lies our peace and progress. Respect to this knowledge paves the way for mutual toleration and sympathetic understanding and improves our social relationships. The personality of the individual could and should never be sacrificed to an abstract entity-state. The individual alone is the real sovereign and the State is no more than a faithful service-dog of the individual.

In the light of what is said above, it is felt that diplomacy which is nothing but polished hypocrisy has to be abandoned in politics and a rational, open, co-operative approach must be sought. Suspicion, jealousy and prestige between nations should give way to faith, trust and mutual respect. This is not merely a humanitarian appeal. It is a sheer necessity, and simple commonsense suggests that we shall not risk another war where there will be neither victor nor vanquished. The advent of atom warfare is a warning which not even fools can ignore. If we do our only consolation will be that in death as in life we will be together.

Peace is indivisible. So is annihilation.

THE BRITISH TRIUMVIRATE

By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

THE British Labour Party has been voted to continue in power. It was said of the Presidential election in America last year that many people voted for Harry Truman because he was such an unassuming, quiet man, "one of us" in fact. Perhaps it may be said of some of the British also now that they voted for Attlee because his is an unobtrusive, modest personality, no airs or graces about him, and all of a sudden, somehow, the spectacular and the loud and the voluble has begun to frighten people. If the Americans have chosen well, the British certainly have chosen wisely. They have put their faith again in Attlee not merely because he is a quiet, retiring kind of gentleman who could be trusted with their future, but because, they argued to themselves for this reason, that and another, that he was the *right* man for the job again. It has been proved over and over that the British as a nation can be neither led by the nose nor duped by an appeal to their emotions to the overshadowing of their reason. They are politically a mature people, people who behave sometimes without imagination or enterprise, perhaps, people who do not change easily, but whose powers of reasoning, especially where their politics are concerned, are absolutely incorruptible.

The British election was both a matter of personalities and policies. And since the major preoccupation of people all over the world has been, since 1945, how to avoid another war, naturally, to a great extent, political leaders whose policy is unaggressive and adaptable have found favour with the masses. A conciliatory outlook has become a qualification for leadership. It may be said that Mr. Churchill has to some degree forfeited the trust of the people in him because they are afraid that unwittingly perhaps, inadvertently perhaps, he might do or say something which will involve Britain in another war. His magic personality enchants them still and he yet retains a warm corner in their hearts because, stub-

born, dogmatic, sometimes irresponsible, boyishly bragging, vain and pompous that he is he is still one of them, the typical Britisher. But they are not carried away by that feeling of admiration. They will give him, as they would give their adored child or their lovable grand-father, anything he wants—except power. That they would be wary of, at least till they have *safely*, even if slowly and by the hard way, lifted themselves out of the mire of fear and want and moral confusion they, like others all over the world, are facing. So they have now chosen a man who would not, to as far an extent as any man could, as far as is consistent with honour and justice, avoid imposing another war on them. His policy and programme are right for them. They have weighed up and found nothing wanting not only in Attlee but in the other Labour stalwarts, Ernest Bevin and Sir Stafford Cripps and others, their achievement at home and abroad, their capacity for fulfilling promises, their tenacity of purpose, their inflexible determination, their unquestionable devotion to the interests of the people, their love of peace.

Twentieth Century, it has been said, is the century of the common man. It is the century also of the commonsense man and nowhere perhaps is this clearer than in the people's choice of their leaders in democratic countries.

CLEMENT RICHARD ATTLEE

It is a widespread fallacy that a Labour leader is a man who has elevated himself from the working class by sheer hard work, by shouting and demanding and fighting for his right, a man of little learning and less sophistication, uneducated and boorish and endowed only with a vast store of hard sense and zeal. To those who labour under this illusion, Mr. Attlee will come as a pleasant shock. For Mr. Attlee comes from an upper middle-class family of respectable solicitors and is an Oxford graduate. He practised law for some time in his twenties and though he is

not a scholar himself he is a man who, as Roy Jenkins his biographer, says, "applies and comprehends the standards of true scholarship and wishes so to be considered." Clement Attlee was not born leader. As a boy he was a frail, shy youngster, conservative, church-going. In fact, till his work brought him into actual contact with the East End of London, he airily called himself a Tory-Imperialist. He had little interest in politics as such. Even today, Socialism is not politics to him. He said in 1937: "Socialism to me is not just a piece of machinery or an economic system, but a living faith translated into action. I desire the classless society and the substitution of the motive of service for that of competition." This desire for a socially untiered society came first to him when he moved with working class people in the East End where he was conducting the Hailebury's Boy's Club. Mr. Roy Jenkins calls the chapter in which he treats of this first awakening of the young Attlee to social and economic discrepancies in the capitalist system, "The Road to Damascus." It took Attlee two years to come to the end of that road and by the time he had traversed that distance, he was a confirmed socialist. But his conversion was more in the nature of a mental change, a rational protest against capitalism, than an emotional upheaval. It may be said he graduated into socialism via Ruskin and William Morris and the Webbs, with a brief syndicalist period thrown in somewhere, not to mention a short lectureship in the London School of Economics. His was a thoughtful, logical, intellectual approach to the problem. He had no sympathy with Liberalism. "The Liberals of the type of Asquith, Runciman and Mc Kenna were always distasteful to me. The violent Nonconformist made no appeal. The gentlemanly party was to me far preferable." On the other hand, he has no illusions about the Labour Party. He knows its strength and is aware of its weakness. He even had the courage to break from it when it set up the Popular Front in the 'thirties. For Attlee admits no compromise in principle. His clear thinking and precise judgment and unprejudiced and dispassionate outlook

have made him one of the most indispensable of the planners behind socialist Britain.

Even Attlee's ascent to power, like his conversion to socialism, was a gradual process. It was not a spectacular, brilliant rising. In 1922 he was elected to Parliament and by 1935 had established himself as the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party. During the Second World War he, with Morrison and Bevin, was in the Coalition Cabinet headed by Churchill. Just as, the British being what they are, the coming to power of Labour after the war was inevitable, so was Attlee's quiet, unassuming succession to the *gadi* so dramatically adorned by that redoubtable Conservative leader, Churchill, during the years of trial. Though many people were doubtful of Attlee's ability to steer war-ravaged Britain through the unavoidable and expected post-victory crises, in the mind of Attlee himself, there was neither doubt nor indecision. He knew just exactly what he was going to do, more important perhaps, what he was *not* going to do. His programme was clear-cut, prepared, ready to be implemented. In fact it had been ready since 1937. In his book *The Labour Party in Perspective* written that year he had laid down his plans. He has, since he became Prime Minister, carried them out categorically. Of India and Burma he had said: "only their people themselves can work out their own salvation. The sooner they have the full opportunity to do so the better."—an avowal of faith and a promise duly fulfilled in 1947. He has put through his nationalisation Bills in face of severe and unequivocal conservative opposition and at the risk of delaying the solution of immediate economic problems. For Attlee felt that a foundation of a planned national economy had to be laid before other post-war questions could be tackled. His Premiership has not been one triumphal success after another. On the contrary, his solution of Indian independence as also the devaluation of sterling and the loosening of Commonwealth bonds, have earned for him every epithet from inefficient to bungling and cowardly. But his defence lies in that he never at any time either made

impossible promises or painted rosy pictures of a future of plenty and prosperity. His tone has always been sombre. He has never tried to gloss over difficulties or conceal uncertainties. Nor, however, has he ever given anyone the impression of an unsureness regarding his programme. What he was doing, he said, was the only thing to do and it was not an easy thing to do. And throughout his term of office he has gone about his work with a tenacity of principle and a moral courage which have roused the respect and admiration even of those whose political views vary from his own. He has never lost his temper in the House, a code of behaviour in contrast with the bluster and the histrionic rages of that intrepid virtuoso, Winston Churchill.

This is a grave crisis that Britain is passing through. With Attlee's re-election it might almost be said that Britain has cut her bonds with the old order. The affection for the old school tie has passed out of fashion. For values in Britain as values everywhere else, are fast changing. Her promise of recovery is ahead of her and if she wants a place for herself in the new world that is emerging from out of the debris of the old she has to accept the socialist gospel of the equality of man and dignity of labour, a doctrine neither revolutionary nor reactionary, but a safe, adaptable course towards progress through peace.

ERNEST BEVIN

If Clement Attlee is the man of reason in the Labour Party, Ernest Bevin, sixty-nine, greying, fat, rugged, is the man of magic. Born of a Somersetshire farmer and orphaned before seven, Ernest was left to nature to fulfil himself. He has been a dishwasher, a buggy driver, a maker of mineral waters and for a time has even walked the streets unemployed and stolen for a living. His early background was one of drab, graceless poverty and it took him twenty years of hard struggle and defeat and bitterness and humiliation to become a national trade union leader. It was not an easy progress. And it was during these dark days of strain and stress that Ernest Bevin learnt to talk, to bully, to bargain, to strike at the right time, to be patient, to smell

danger, to suspect a trap, to size up the strength of an opponent, and to bluff. When Mr. Churchill, in obser-



vance of tradition, introduced his war-time coalition colleagues to the King. His Majesty turned to Mr. Bevin and enquired politely where he had gathered his great knowledge of public affairs. "It was gathered from the hedgerows of experience," replied Ernest Bevin quietly. These hedgerows were there on the docks, in the slums; the experience was gained during hungry, cold days of despair and hopelessness. But no man, unusually enough, has less pent-up bitterness in him than Bevin. The years of trial have left no mar on him. They have only widened his sympathy, made him unafraid, frank and cautious and uncompromising. He is not afraid to hit when occasion needs it, as when he trounced Lansbury at the Brighton Labour Conference in 1935. His respect for the law as a rigid barrier is little. "I will never starve if work is refused me," he has declared. "Neither God nor nature demands it of us, and if man demands it, then I will violate the social laws he has made." He has not had a formal education but when he stands on a platform and speaks, crowds listen spell-bound and the most ordinary words become floodlit with the blaze of his unquestionable sincerity and earnestness. They applaud him thunderously, cheer him

wildly. He has the magic of mass appeal that Keir Hardie had and Lloyd George. He hates class distinctions, and has even a little secret contempt for the pure impractical intellectual. He has no pose about him, he strikes no attitudes, he makes no pretensions. He is blunt, outspoken, shrewd, jolly and can be ferocious, cunning, and hard-hitting when his instincts are aroused. He is a strong contrast physically as well as mentally, to the quiet, gentlemanly, restrained Attlee and the crystal-sharp, highly intellectual Cripps. But he holds his own in the Cabinet, albeit a little bluntly and massively. He is neither spruce nor dainty in manner, and has a natural wholesomeness about him which captivates everyone even on a first meeting. The story is told of how during the Paris conferences in 1946 he invited a round two dozen or so of the members of his delegation to dine with him; everybody from the senior adviser to the junior clerk was there. After dinner the irrepressible Bevin invited them to sing, himself lustily leading the music. And so the evening passed noisily and heartily, while the *maitre d' hotel* sat wringing his hands in embarrassed despair.

Between the two world wars, he achieved the stupendous task of fusing together thirty-seven separate trade union bodies into the powerful Transport and General Workers Union. His first dramatic and public victory as a trade union worker came when, just after the First World War, he led and won the dockers' case in London in the first public wage arbitration award. He appeared before the tribunal with a brown paper parcel under his arm which he deliberately and, completely aware of the mounting curiosity around him, slowly unwrapped and took from within, a bottle of milk, a loaf of bread and a few slices of meat. These, he said with a dramatic quietness, were the miserable rations which the dock worker had to content himself with. The forlorn-looking parcel on the table did more to help the case than any mass of statistics could have done. And as a Labour champion he was one of the campaigners for the three-party partnership of labour-management-state. There stands in

Eastville Park in London a "Bevin's Lake", a memento to his sincere affection for the working class.

Equal only to his achievements in the trade union field, has been his successful handling of Britain's foreign affairs. His work has been undramatic, efficient, shrewd. He has rarely missed an opportunity or bungled one. There has been no flourish about his foreign policy but very few false steps have been taken. He pounced upon the vague promise of Mr. Marshall at Harvard the fulfilment of which can be seen in the new buildings, the smoking factory chimneys, and the busy markets of Western Europe. He had a hand in the Brussels Pact, the Council of Europe and the Atlantic Treaty, to mention only a few outstanding achievements.

His work, of course, has not been entirely without flaws. From his record of foreign relations work, it can be seen that wherever there has not been any need for actual negotiation, there Bevin has floundered. His tackling of purely administrative jobs has been neither completely sound nor thorough. In dealing with the Palestine question and the German problem, he has been tactless and unsure of himself. Of sophistications of speech, and the delicacy and daintiness of diplomacy, he is notoriously lacking. He called the French Foreign Minister a "dear little man," a gallantry which that friendly personage took a long time to get over; and he has called the Americans crudely as "money-lenders." These are only two of the minor *faux pas* which he goes scattering about whenever he opens his mouth in public. "They say," he said once, "that Gladstone was at the British Treasury from 1860 to about 1930. They'll say that Bevin was at the Ministry of Labour from 1940 to 1990". Coming as it does from a man in his sixties, this is not so much a boast, as a piece of impudent bluff. Anyway, he has achieved ten years of the term of office he has given himself.

He was given the portfolio of Foreign Affairs at a time when the people were down-hearted, the country bankrupt and exhausted, in fact when Britain was down and out. On him fell the task of infusing confi-

dence in the people who, now that the war was over, were deceiving themselves into thinking peace and prosperity were just around the corner. That illusion had to be pricked and prick it Bevin did, not bluntly as one would have thought, but with a gentleness not customary to him. He had to make the people hope again but not hope too much. It was a tricky assignment and it is a measure of the British people's confidence in Mr. Bevin that in three years they have learnt to look at things in the proper perspective, neither broken by disillusion nor floating in unreality buoyed up by excess of hope.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

It is rather difficult to write about Sir Stafford Cripps. There is something so austere, so forbiddingly intellectual about him that one's imagination seems to freeze in the icy lambent glow which surrounds him, and words appear inadequate. Too many words have been written about him, but not enough. He still remains aloof, a personality, not a person. It is so difficult to love him, and from all accounts, he is a man eminently deserving of the love and admiration of all thinking and good people.

What is the secret of his unapproachability? He is unemotional by nature, a devout Christian, a vegetarian and an ascetic, a man with a wide humanitarian outlook but a detachment which seems to his colleagues sometimes, a little less than human.

His family background is more aristocratic than that of Bevin or Attlee. His father, three uncles, a grand uncle, two great-grandfathers and his great-great-grandfather had been members of Parliament. His mother was a Potter, a wealthy Manchester family of shipowners and bankers. It was from his mother that Sir Stafford inherited the unconventional trend in his nature which took him into the Labour camp. Beatrice Potter was an indefatigable questioner. She wanted to know the why and how of poverty in England, the reasons for social ills and the nature of the inadequacies of social reform. She worked in the East End of London to find the answers to her

questions, much to the chagrin of both the Potter and the Cripps side of the family, a period of apprenticeship



which produced her first book *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*. The boy Stafford evinced such bright intellectual promise that he was sent to a special preparatory school in Sussex. Later, at Winchester, he specialised in Science and was invited by Sir William Ramsay to work in his research department in the London University. But he switched over from Science to Law and took up the family tradition at the Bar, and while still in his thirties was making round about £10,000 a year. But as he stood in court and argued his cases, there used to creep into his mind insidiously thoughts of his fellow brethren living in slums, in drabness and poverty, people with empty stomachs standing for hours in the hot sun outside Employment Exchanges. Thereafter his association with the Labour Party was inevitable.

His part in the socialist movement has not been untouched by trouble and embarrassment. In the 'thirties, when the Conservatives were fighting for power they branded Cripps as a revolutionary. "Sir Stafford Cripps" said the *Morning Post* sarcastically, "known abroad as Sir Scappys, among friends as Scrappy, among his opponents as Stiffy, and among the ungrateful proletariat as Cripes, is an embryo-dictator of whom, when his

hour strikes, England will, I feel sure, be proud." Even the *Manchester Guardian* was persuaded to say that, "Sir Stafford Cripps, if he continues, is more likely to be the architect of a British Fascism, based on the fears of a frightened middle class, than Sir Oswald Mosely." And this about a man who, less than ten years later, was to be a stout advocate of the granting, unconditionally, of Indian freedom. During the prelude to the Second World War while Hitler was hatching a plot against Austria, and the whole world knew it, Cripps carried on a tirade against the lack in the British Government of any "constructive policy for peace." This led to his expulsion in January 25, 1939, from the Labour Party.

At about this time began a new phase in his life, the happiest perhaps, in which came his mission to India and his remarkable successes at the Board of Trade. He has now been Britain's bank manager for two years, two of the most difficult years in Britain's economic life.

The interesting thing about Sir Stafford is his approach to Socialism. It is entirely untinged by emotion.

Britain's social and economic chaos was, I think, to Sir Stafford a mathematical problem which he solved by a process of reasoning entirely his own. The answer was—Socialism. Many people, especially outside Britain, think of him as a machine, a machine that is installed in the British Treasury house, a machine which never gets out of order even when a few of its bolts are rusty; a machine which can be completely relied upon to do its work without pause or fault till an Act of God interferes with its working. For, of any great affection for the poor and the downtrodden there does not seem to be much in Sir Stafford. Or at least much demonstrably. Is it shyness or reserve or does this feeling of detachment extend to his outlook on life itself? The latter does not seem improbable for even his private life appears to be austere, unostentatious and entirely without show. Unpopularity does not daunt him nor responsibility frighten. "Here comes a future Prime Minister", said Stanley Baldwin of him seventeen years ago. Perhaps that prophecy may yet be fulfilled.



American Ambassador-at-Large Philip C. Jessup (right) at a reception to the Maharajah of Nepal at New Delhi

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.

Unoccupied Houses In Gandhi Nagar, Adyar

In Gandhi Nagar, out of the 192 houses completely constructed by now, 76 only are occupied (by members or their tenants). And at the General Body Meeting of the Madras Co-operative House Construction Society on 28-1-50, two measures were passed with the object of stimulating the occupation of the unoccupied houses. They will take effect when approved by the Registrar; and they will apply not only to Gandhi Nagar but to all the other areas in which the Society has planned to construct houses.

One of the two measures is unexceptionable. It was carried as a non-official resolution. It provides that "within 40 days from the date on which the Society posts to the last address given by a member a registered intimation that the house on the site allotted to him is ready for being let out on hire purchase, he shall execute the prescribed hire purchase indenture, failing which it shall be competent to the Board of Directors to allot the site and the house to others; and the loss (if any)

that may be sustained by the Society on account of his default will be recouped from out of his share-capital as provided by by-law 44, without prejudice to the Society's recourse against other assets of his".

But the other measure, which empowers the Board of Directors to waive payment of initial deposit (1/5 of the house-cost) where a member puts up permanent extra structures, is fraught with ill effects; and the topic requires a pretty close examination.

The full cost of the site allotted to a member is paid by him to the Society in the shape of his share-capital. And under by-law 39 as it stood till 28-1-50, a member, before occupying the house allotted to him, shall put in an initial deposit with the Society of 1/5 of the house-cost (which in Gandhi Nagar is limited to 1/5 of the originally estimated cost, as the revised cost there is 50 to 80 per cent in excess of the originally estimated cost.) Now under the amended by-law passed by the General Body on 28-1-50, a member putting up extra structures of a permanent character

(over and above the type-designs) can claim that the payment of the initial deposit due by him must be waived in full or part to the extent of the actual cost of such structures put up by him before or at the time of occupying the house. The bylaw is made retrospective with effect from 1-6-49 subject to the proviso that when a member had put up extra structures and had also paid the initial deposit, he cannot have cash-refund of the initial deposit but he will have refixation of the hire purchase instalment as if no initial deposit had been paid, and he will have adjustment of the monthly instalments from out of the initial deposit paid by him.

The Board of Directors, acting in anticipation of the General Body's approval, have been waiving initial deposit payments (to the extent of the cost of the extra structures) on and from 7-10-49; and the amendment of bylaw proposed by the Board to this end, was passed by the General Body, who substituted the date 1-6-49 for the date 7-10-49.

The initial deposit moneys, as and when they are paid by members, go forthwith to reduce the Society's indebtedness to Government (by-law 38-II); and the Society cannot waive this prima-facie condition of the Society's well-being, unless there be sound reason to the contrary. The main object of the Co-operative Societies Act (as declared by S. 4) is the promotion of the economic interest of the members in accordance with co-operative principles, and surely not to promote comparative luxuries of particular members by waiving a necessary condition of the Society's well being?

The idea that the actual cost of the extra structures is enough security and justification for waiver of initial deposit to a corresponding amount, is open to criticism on the following grounds:—

(i). Para 14 (b) of the G.O. relating to the grant of State loans to Co-operative Building Societies, prescribes that the member's borrowing power is not to exceed five times his paid up share-capital. And under by-law 39 of the M.C.H.C. Society the share-capital, which is equal to the cost of the site allotted to the member, can be adjusted towards the value of the site only after 10 years and at the time of the conveyance (of the site and the house) by the Society to the member, and further subject to the financial safeguards in favour of the Government and of the Co-operative Society specified in by-law 9.

(ii) On the settled principles governing sufficiency of security, only 2/3 of the cost but not the full cost of the extra structures can be set off against the initial deposit; for, the site value already paid by the member must be treated as a reserve against the downward trend of house-values and the

other financial contingencies mentioned in para 14 (c) of the above cited G. O. and in the Society's bylaws 9 and 44.

(iii) If the idea of sufficient security for waiver of initial deposit be carried to its logical limit, it must justify refund or readjustment of the initial deposit even where the member puts up the extra structures 10 or 15 years after his entry into the house, but during the currency of his hire-purchase tenure.

(iv) The Society will stand in better financial credit with the Government and can borrow more money on easier terms for the construction of houses in other areas, if the members putting up extra structures are left to their own resources unaided by the waiver of initial deposit.

The Government's opinion that Gandhi Nagar is largely an upper middle class colony appears to be based on the fact that 50 per cent of the houses are of A. class (the cost of the A. class type-design-houses with sites ranging from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000); and Government's reluctance to extend any aid or concession to Gandhi Nagar may increase, if the waiver of initial deposit on the basis of extra structures be given legal effect; that way, the resultant losses to all the citizens of Gandhi Nagar would very much outweigh the seeming gains to some of them.

The scope of this new by-law is not limited to Gandhi Nagar; and the wider the scope, the greater the harm.

K. C. GOPALAN.

90, Gandhi Nagar,
Adyar.

E. S. L. C. Examinations

The Educational Authorities have recently passed orders allowing private pupils to sit for the VIII Standard E.S.L.C. Public Examination, and have given them an opportunity to study for Examinations for which the E.S.L.C. is a minimum qualification. But these students are not allowed to sit for the Optional English Examination and qualify themselves for admission into the IV Form of High Schools. There is, therefore, no scope for such students to continue their studies in High Schools, although they are in all other subjects as well informed as other students passing the III Form or the E.S.L.C. Examination with English as an Optional Subject.

Will the Educational Authorities kindly consider the desirability of creating facilities to these private students to prosecute their studies in High Schools, by allowing them to sit for the optional English Examination also? It will be of great help to the young pupils in villages and to poorer students who have no facilities to study in Higher Elementary or other schools in their villages.

Chirala. AVVARI SUBBARAO.



The Prime Minister prepares for a spin on the Merry-go-Round at the fair. New Delhi recently.

Training for Chartered Accountants

It is an irony of fate that, although the organisation of the Accountancy Profession in India has passed from the direct control of the Government of India to an autonomous body, viz., the Institute of Chartered Accountants controlled by the profession itself, the outworn and anomalous rules framed by the Government of India are still being continued.

Rule 31 (a) (i) of the Chartered Accountants' Regulations 1949, provides, inter alia, that in the case of a graduate who has secured a minimum of 60% of the total marks in the Degree Examination (i.e. who has secured a First Class), the period of articles is 3 years, while in the case of graduates who have not secured a First Class, the period of articles is 4 years. This rule which was originally framed by the Government of India, obviously ignores the different Degree courses and the schemes of Examinations in Arts and Science obtaining in different Universities. Thus, a Science graduate who, for his Degree Examination, has only the Science subject, and gets a First Class in it, is given the concession of a shorter period of Articles, while an Arts Graduate who has secured a First Class in his Special Subject (e.g. Mathematics) is not given this concession unless he has got a First Class in the other two Parts of the Arts Degree examination (viz., English Language and Literature, and Second Language). It is obvious to everyone that a First Class graduate in Mathematics is in no way inferior to a First Class graduate in Science, and it is a pity that the extra qualification obtained by the former in having passed in two other parts (English and Second Language) should be considered as a disqualification for the purpose of the period of articles for the profession of accountancy.

It is hoped that the Council of the Institute of Chartered Accountants will give immediate attention to this matter and remove this anomaly which results in an invidious, unjust and unwarranted distinction between B.A.'s and B.Sc.'s, particularly of the Madras University.

B. G. BALAKRISHNAN.

Procurement Through Co-operatives

The country is now facing an acute food problem in addition to so many other problems like sugar, cloth, etc. To solve the food problem, production should be increased both by extensive and intensive cultivation. The available supply of food grains should be fairly distributed. Distribution is as difficult a problem as production itself. Co-operatives have to play a great part in solving the food problem facing the country today. Three things should be done by co-operatives: (i) co-operative farming; (ii) procurement and (iii) distribution. The

Madras Premier's address inaugurating the 27th Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference is very welcome.

The producers-cum-consumer co-operative societies were started with a sound principle and the Government granted them procurement licences which were subsequently cancelled in some places. In this Central Delta the P.C.C.C. societies have worked very successfully during the short period in which they were allowed to function. They earned profits to the tune of thousands. They did all possible service to people. About 20 societies were liquidated in this Central Delta very recently. There was absolutely no necessity for liquidating them. The Government have preferred millers and granted them procurement licences. People are suffering badly in the matter of purchasing their requirements from millers who are hopeless black-marketeers. The Government have erred grievously in cancelling the procurement licences of the P.C.C.C. societies. The highest principles of co-operation are thus deplorably insulted by the Madras Government.

The Premier in his speech at the Co-operative Conference said: "I may assure you that Government for their part will be prepared to extend their measure of support for every form of co-operative enterprise which is calculated to promote the well-being of the community." The P.C.C.C. societies were registered to promote the well-being of the community. The Government have recorded no specific reasons to doubt the co-operative character of the societies while liquidating them.

The ways that the millers have adopted for procurement are far from fair. The controlled price is completely ignored by them and they are purchasing paddy at exorbitant prices. They are making their profits openly in the black-market. Today a rice bag is sold at Rs. 60 in this fertile Delta area. Who is responsible for this? Is it not the miller and the Government who granted him the coveted licence?

"I may tell you that procurement is as much the people's job as that of Government and when the people want procurement to be undertaken by co-operatives in any area, the work is entrusted to them" said the Premier in the course of his speech at the 27th Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference. In this area people want procurement and distribution to be done by P.C.C.C. societies and several appeals have also been made towards this end.

People will be saved from a lot of misery if these societies are revived immediately. I request the Premier to act independently in this behalf and live up to the speech he made at the recent conference.

M. R. KRISHNA.



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SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, MARCH 11, 1950

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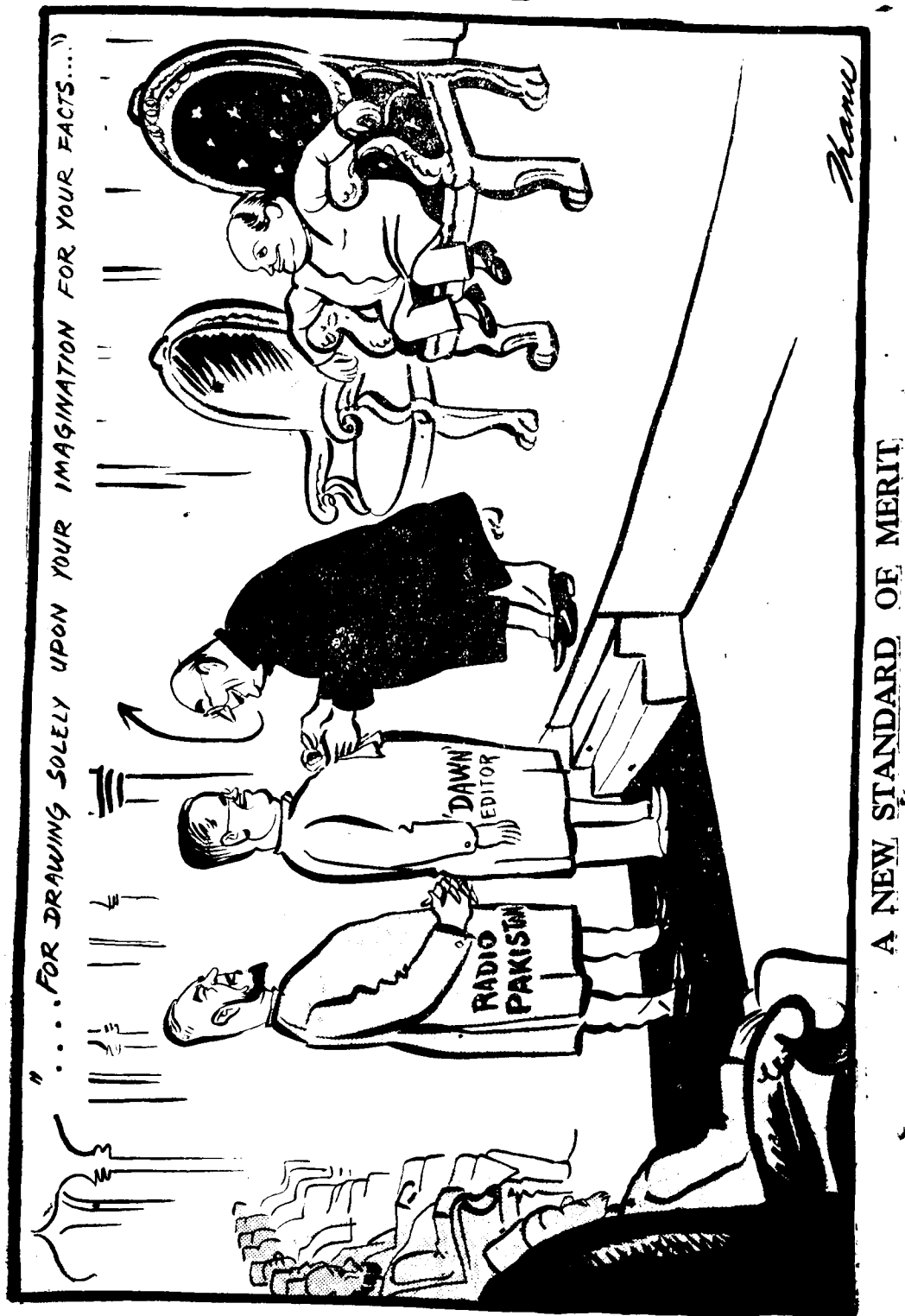
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SWATANTRA

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ISSUED
WEEKLY

FINANCES OF THE REPUBLIC

DR. MATTHAI'S first Budget of Republican India has been hailed as a "just budget," a "sensible budget" and so on. So far as the man in the street—and that includes everyone with an income of less than Rs. 10,000 a year—is concerned the Budget will make little difference. He will continue to pay the same taxes as before, whether it be direct taxes on his income, if he happens to come within a taxable group, or the myriad indirect taxes on imports and indigenous goods on which excise duties are levied. If he happens to live in any of the bigger towns he will have to pay less on the letters he may write to local friends and his telegrams will cost him an anna less. But beyond these, Dr. Matthai's reliefs in taxation have been scrupulously limited to Big or small Business and to people in the higher income groups. The reason for this extreme partiality for businessmen and the rich is to be found in the fact that the investment market in the country has been in a state of paralysis since 1947, the Government have found it progressively difficult to raise loans, and the business community is obsessed with the feeling that the high rates of taxation of profits and income are sapping initiative and discouraging the accumulation of savings and their investment in new business. Dr. Matthai, who in 1947 supported Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's taxation measures on the ground that this would be anti-inflationary in effect, now feels that the fight against inflation calls for reduction in taxation and incentives

for increased production and investment.

The truth is that Indian business has been in a state of jitters for nearly three years and no amount of verbal assurances could infuse any confidence or inspire it to action. Dr. Matthai's proposals are designed to convince Indian businessmen that the Government are not antagonistic to them and that they may expect a square deal from the Government. The lapsing of the Dividend Limitation Act and the abolition of the Business Profits Tax will, without costing the Exchequer much, improve the climate for new investment by removing what has all along been a psychological incubus. The reduction in income-tax for companies as well as individuals will cost a net loss of Rs. 15 crores in revenue, of which the Centre's share is a little over 7 crores. The States bear the other half of the loss, but they are unlikely to grouse about it because despite the reduction in incometax rates, the total amount in the divisible pool next year is expected to be larger than the current year's figure. Whether a net aggregate reduction in taxation of about Rs. 20 crores—Rs. 15 crores under income tax and Rs. 5 crores under Business Profits Tax—will radically alter the factors accounting for capital accumulation and new investment may be debatable. But to the extent the malaise which afflicted Indian economy during the past three years was due to psychological causes a real improvement may be expected. It is true that the stock markets had largely

anticipated the Finance Minister's proposals and the prices of leading scrips, after an initial spurt, have receded to nearly pre-Budget levels. But with dividend limitation and the B. P. T. gone the markets may be expected to operate on a more healthy basis in future, reflecting genuine economic trends in the country.

Dr. Matthai spoke with confidence about the economic outlook before the country. Production in key industries has been on the up grade and devaluation has on the whole proved beneficial, despite the impasse in the trade with Pakistan. There is every hope, thanks to the tightening of import controls, that the balance of payments problem will be mastered. These are doubtless encouraging signs, but against these must be set down several uncertain factors in the situation. The Defence Budget continues to absorb one half of the Union's revenue and far from there being any prospect of its coming down in the near future, there seems every likelihood of its

going up in view of the uneasy relations with Pakistan. Rehabilitation of refugees, the expenditure on which is expected to go down in 1950-51, may become a formidable problem again if the developing tragedy in East Bengal leads to an inflow of refugees on the scale of the Punjab exodus of 1947. So long as these major issues remain unsolved it is idle to hope for large-scale reliefs in taxation or much larger expenditure on nation-building schemes. The third year of Independence sees the country administratively unified and economically and politically integrated. But there is still no evidence that the Union Government have mastered the menace of inflation or acquired a grip over the economy of the country. There is still too much drift and improvisation and waiting on events. It remains to be seen whether, with the establishment of the Planning Commission, the coming year will see the beginning of that planning for prosperity and social justice for which India's millions have waited so long.

Sotto Voce

The Informer



THE trial and conviction of Dr. Emil Fuchs for betraying atomic secrets to Soviet Russia is by no means the first of its kind. Communists the world over have an extra-territorial loyalty to Russia and have often been caught doing dirty work in the cause of this new super-patriotism. Dr. Alan Nunn May, a cent per cent Briton, was sent to jail a year or two ago for a similar crime in Ottawa. But the Fuchs case has

created unprecedented sensation, not only because of the seriousness of the leakage involved but even more because of the startling evidence it offers of the dehumanisation that Communism employs as an instrument for effecting its will.

Dr. Fuchs was already a Communist when, as a refugee from Nazi persecution, he fled from Germany at the age of twenty-one. In due course he

came to England, studied there and was soon acknowledged to be one of the foremost theoretical physicists living. Because of his extraordinary gifts he was offered a responsible position on the atomic energy project at Harwell in 1942. And when he applied for naturalisation as a British subject a few months later his application was accepted, in spite of his known Communism, because he was indispensable.

With the amusing naivete which is the traditional monopoly of the British Judiciary the Lord Chief Justice expressed himself shocked at the discovery that in spite of the naturalisation Fuchs' allegiance to Communism should have remained supreme. The hard-headed officials, who employed Fuchs at Harwell and later enrolled him as a British subject must have fully known the risks they were running. But Fuchs had incomparably the best brains to be found for the work at which Hitlerite Germany might beat them at any moment. And the British, however they might rationalise it, have always been opportunists.

Almost from the moment he joined the Harwell project Fuchs got into touch with Russian agents and passed on valuable information. And he successfully kept it up for nearly six years, including two in the United States, where he must have tapped many of the top atomic secrets. He did it *con amore*, not for money. He just took £100 on one occasion from Soviet agents, but looked upon it only as "a token payment, signifying his subservience to the cause." In a confessional statement he gives us a remarkable insight into his mental make-up! The genuineness of the confession is attested, not by the rather self-conscious repudiation by the British authorities of any intention or attempt to influence him, but by their patent failure to understand its full implications.

Fuchs laboured under three impulses, each pulling him a different way. There was, first, his attachment to his scientific work. There was, again, the personal ties of friendship and regard that grew up between him and his

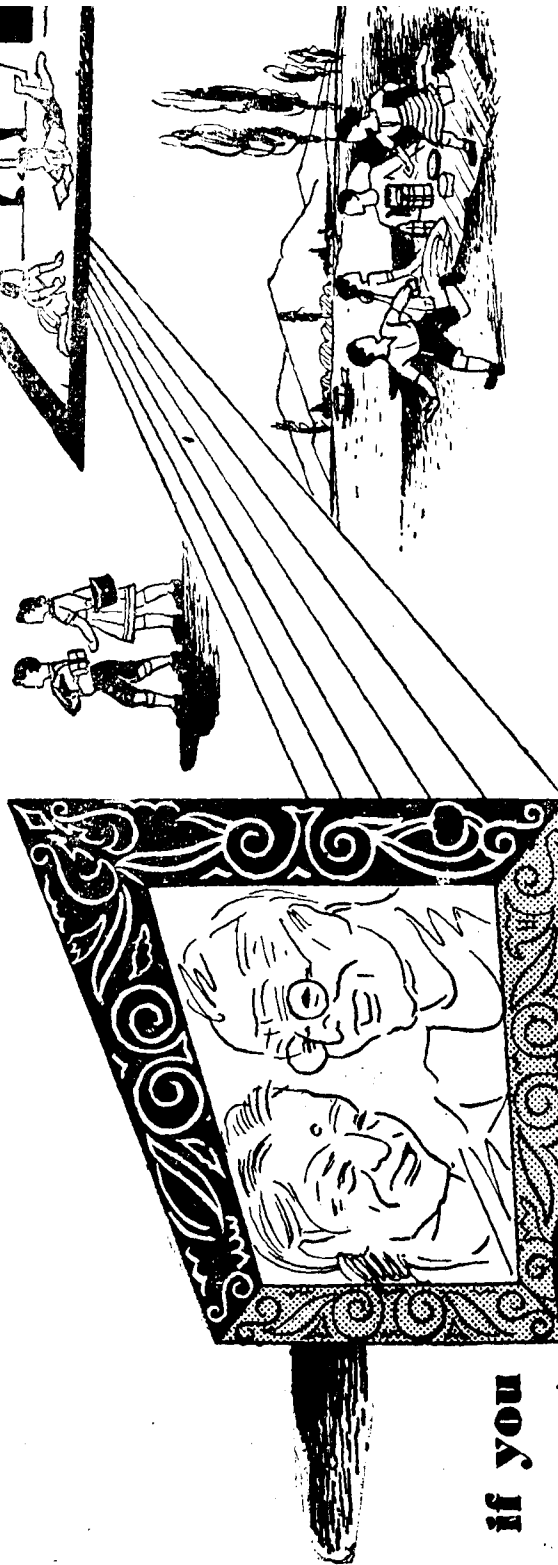
colleagues at Harwell, causing him considerable uneasiness by the thought that, when he was betraying to Russia the results of their work as well as his, he might be subjecting them to suspicion and serious risk. Above all there was his allegiance to Communism. He frequently changed his opinion as to the rightness of the policies or courses pursued by "the party." But he usually came round to the conclusion that the party had been right and he wrong.

He was fully aware of this internal conflict and set himself to reconcile it after the pattern approved of the Marxian philosophy. He established, he says, in his mind "two separate compartments"; in one of which he allowed himself to have friendships and personal relationships. "I could be therefore, and was quite happy with other people without fear of disclosing myself because I knew the other compartment would step in before I reached the danger point." He flattered himself that he had become a free man "because I had succeeded, in the other compartment, in establishing myself completely independent of the surrounding forces of society." But not, let it be noted, of "the party."

Looking back he recognises that state of mind as controlled schizophrenia. (The thing is not new though the name may be, as all predatory heroes of history and legend have been tarred with that brush.) When, at last, suspicion turned on him and he felt he must leave the work he had loved and the friends he had deceived, moral qualms assailed him. But the breaking of his oath of fealty and the deception of his friends, though bad enough, were as nothing compared to the sin of equating "the party" with humanity and according supreme allegiance to an idol with feet of clay. Man ascends the evolutionary ladder by discovering higher truths and cultivating wider loyalties. It is a transcendence that braces. He who strives towards perfection is not asked to deny his humanity; he is *sarva-bhoota-suhrit*, the friend of all things that are. Any creed that wilfully breaks up man's integrity cannot but degrade him.

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BAD, MAD AND SAD

By S. PARTHASARATHY

“HOW about the happenings in the country?” asked Swami Anuananda, as soon as we were seated under the shade of his favourite tree. “Bad, mad and sad,” I said, pleased with myself at having discovered an epigrammatic expression. “What are the bad, mad and sad happenings?” asked the Swami. “Well,” I drawled, feeling rather important, “the drought in South India, the situation in Bengal, the maladministrations in some of the Provinces and States, and the Communist troubles are the bad things;” I continued, “the mad things are the talk about ministerial charges, about place names, about ‘Hindi-ising’ the President and his household, about reforming the Hindu Religious Endowments; about top men being labelled Birla’s or Dalmia’s men: the sad thing is that at this moment when a crisis threatens both the peace and the economy of the country, we should still hesitate to put the best men in charge of high offices and retain instead men who have proved themselves incompetent to discharge their responsibilities; to appoint a Planning Commission with a harassed and overworked chairman and with members whose experiences have never travelled beyond the westernised landscapes of a few urban areas, and then under cover of the Budget to introduce a change in the policy of befriending the poor to befriending the rich.” “If what you say is true, all is not well with the country,” observed the Swami. “So long as there is no improvement in the moral character of the common man, no good can result from any measure, however well-conceived, of the Government,” commented Raman. “I must protest against your statement,” said the Swami. “You are probably repeating something which every politician and official is saying in defence of the charges made against them. I can appreciate a confession of helplessness on the part of these men: but I cannot condemn too strongly this calumny so calmly and so callously made against a whole

nation.” “What is your experience of the uneducated poor man, of whom this country is full—I mean regarding his character?” asked the Swami turning to me. I took a little time to answer and then began cautiously: “I don’t think that his character is any worse or any better than what it was two decades ago. As far as my experiences go, it remains much the same. My servants, in spite of the temptations placed before them, are still tolerably honest; If I leave my car in a busy street and unattended, with parcels strewn on the seats, they are still there when I return after my shopping. The carpenters and the masons do their work as conscientiously as before. If I leave money with the poor man, he accounts for it correctly at the end of the transaction; the gardener, despite the adverse weather, still strives to get the best out of the land. There is perhaps one thing which I may say is different from what it used to be. The poor people whom I meet don’t talk to me as effusively and courteously as they used to. But even here, I find that when once I show my human side they become quickly sympathetic and polite. But the moral character of the educated man is . . .”—here the Swami interrupted me saying, “I was not asking about the educated man.” Then turning to Raman, the Swami asked, “you still maintain that the moral character of the common man is responsible for the sad state of things in the country?” Raman would not yield so readily, and he maintained, “when I talked about the character of the people, I was thinking of the section of the population that matter. The educated man is the man entrusted with the Government of the country and with the dispensation of the services designed for the welfare of the people. The uneducated poor, though they are the majority, do not matter and will not matter even if adult franchise becomes operative.” “Why this difference in character between the educated man and the common man?” I asked the Swami.

"You are provoking me to say the same thing which I have been saying so often—which is that your education is just so must *Avidya*. The education that you receive at present in this country develops your intellect enabling it to discriminate between man and man, and thing and thing. You are often fond of complimenting a man as a man with a fine sense of discrimination. If by 'discrimination' is meant an ability to perceive the good in every thing, it would be all right. But, in the world in which you live, this discrimination means sorting out the people according to their peculiarities. You proudly say, 'from his talk I could gather that he is a communist or that he is a rabid non-brahmin or that he is an anglophyl.' What you fail to perceive is the underlying goodness which is inherent in every man. This habit of the educated, of making distinctions between man and man and thing and thing has resulted in the formation of political parties, castes, groups, sects, and creeds. Every untoward happening in this country is traced to the fault of this or that party or person. On the other hand, take the

uneducated man: he does not blame any party or person for the misfortunes which he has to suffer in common with others. If it does not rain and if the prices go up, he consoles himself with the thought that God is testing the endurance of man and his faith. If he is harassed by officials or the police, he similarly consoles himself with the thought that he is paying for his past sins. In no other country in the world does the poor uneducated man take the same tolerant and understanding view of life as in India. His standards of right and wrong are, what we cynically call, of the copy-book type. But they are still the fundamental inheritance and sustenance of humanity. If every politician and educated man will always allow every action of his to be guided by that inspired message of Sri Aurobindo: "It is no longer towards division and difference that we should turn our minds but to unity, union, even oneness, necessary for the pursuit and realisation of a common ideal," the description of the country as 'bad, mad and sad' will cease to be true.

MINISTERS' CONDUCT

By V. VENKATA RAO

THE publication of charges long ago against the Madras Ministers and the present move to constitute a Select Committee to go into them reminds one of the 'Marconi Episode'. In 1912, grave and scandalous charges were made against the honour of the members of His Majesty's Government. The Imperial Conference held in June, 1911, had passed a resolution in favour of the establishment of a chain of state-owned wireless telegraph stations within the Empire. The Marconi Company, which had already applied for licences to construct some stations, were invited to tender. Their tender was accepted by the Postmaster-General, Mr. Herbert Samuel. As soon as the terms of the contract were known, serious allegations were made; that certain ministers had corruptly favoured the Marconi Company in obtaining the contract because the Managing Director, Mr. Godfrey Isaacs was the brother of the Attorney-General, Sir Rufus Isaacs; that certain ministers, making use of the knowledge which they had acquired as ministers had dealt on the Stock Exchange in the shares of the favoured company and thereby made considerable profits for themselves. In a newspaper it was shortly stated as follows:

"Isaac's brother is chairman of the Marconi Company. It has, therefore, been secretly arranged between Isaacs and Samuel that the British people shall give the Marconi Company a very large sum of money through the agency of the said Samuel and for the benefit of the said Isaacs."

On the basis of these allegations, motions were put upon the paper of the House for rejection of the contract. On October 11, 1912, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee "to investigate the circumstances connected with the negotiations and completion of the Marconi contract". The committee issued its report on June 13, 1913. The Report acquitted the ministers concerned of all charges which had led to the appointment of the committee. A few

days after the publication of the Report a vote of censure on the ministers concerned was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. Cave on behalf of the Opposition. This was rejected on a division by 346 to 268.

The Marconi episode clearly establishes the fact that the main qualification which a minister should possess is honesty and incorruptibility. It is, however, necessary not only that he should possess this qualification but also that he should appear to possess it. And this fact received greater importance when the days of democracy brought forward ministers who had no inherited means to rely upon when they were out of office and the country was endeavouring to subsist without their services.

An honest and incorruptible minister should observe certain rules of conduct. Firstly, he should not be a director of a commercial concern; secondly, he should not interest himself in speculative investments with the help of the knowledge which he can acquire as a minister; finally, he should not contribute to the Press on subjects of public policy and make money out of it. All these rules of obligations have been formulated at several periods in the political history of England and each one of them has an interesting historical background.

Palmerston, though he laid down the rule that ministers should not accept presents, did not object to ministers "retaining other employment, provided that employment can be carried on without prejudice to the Queen's service". Consequently, Mr. Childers remained director of the London and County Bank, while he was Civil Lord of the Admiralty but resigned when he was appointed Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The Law Officers were similarly allowed to engage in private practice until the briefing of the Attorney-General for *The Times* in the famous Parnell enquiry. On October 27, 1892, however, the Gladstone Government decided that "the Law Officers should surrender (with specified exceptions)

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their private practice". As regards the holding of directorships and the like, more or less lucrative, by ministers, the Gladstone Government was "of opinion that such appointments ought to stand suspended, both as to emoluments and attendance during the tenure of office; but they postponed until some *early day* the consideration of the exact terms in which such a resolution ought to be embodied". So nothing was done till 1906. On March 20, 1906, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman laid down the rule "that all directorships held by ministers must be resigned except in the case of honorary directorships in connection with philanthropic undertakings and directorships in private companies". The object of this rule was to "secure the Government Bench from the danger of becoming a sty for guinea pigs". In 1924, the Labour Government applied the rule to Trade Union Officials. In 1926, Mr. Baldwin asserted that the above rule had become the practice and added, "It has always been the practice so far as I know, in all Cabinets before, with which I have had acquaintance, and I believe in Cabinets before I had the honour of serving, that whenever the question of private interest comes in, the minister always makes a declaration to that effect and sometimes does not take part in discussion or, if he does, it is with the full knowledge of his colleagues". The rule was temporarily relaxed in the first National Government of 1931. The ministers retained their directorships but did not take fees. Otherwise the rule has been followed by all the Governments since 1906 and is still in force in England.

In the Dominions, however, the practice varies from place to place. Canada and India followed the British example. Australia and New Zealand left the matter to the individual judgment of ministers. In Pakistan and Ceylon the policy is not yet crystallised. In South Africa, ministers in office held commercial positions. For instance, Mr. N. C. Havenga, the Minister for Finance (1949) continued to be the chairman of the "Afrikaans Press", an old established company, responsible for the publication of a daily newspaper, *Die Vaderland*, and weekly and

monthly periodicals. Recently this company offered the 5 sh shares in the *Afrikaans Press* to the public at par. And the capital was over-subscribed ten times. Commenting on the success of the new issue of capital, *Die Vaderland* said, "This remarkable reaction of the public . . . can be regarded as a clear indication of the trust financial circles have in the leadership of Mr. N. C. Havenga, who is the chairman of the board of *Die Afrikaanse Pers Beberk*. . . . Responsible opinion sees once again a confirmation of the trust that the world in general has in a person such as Mr. Havenga when he stands at the head of the treasury of a company". In our 'State' according to the Chief Minister (Mr. Kumaraswamy Raja), at first ministers retained their directorships. Subsequently, however, at the suggestion of the Governor, they resigned their directorships. At present no minister holds any commercial position.

As regards the question of shareholding, it was first raised in the Marconi debate. The allegation was that acting upon the inside knowledge to which they had access as colleagues of Mr. Herbert Samuel, Sir Rufus Isaacs and his two colleagues, Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of Exchequer and the Master of Elibank who had been the Chief Whip, had bought blocks of shares in the Marconi Company and thereby made considerable profits for themselves. According to Asquith, there was not the slightest foundation for this allegation. While defending his colleagues Mr. Asquith laid down that the ministers ought not to enter into any transaction whereby private pecuniary interest might even conceivably come into conflict with their public duty; that no minister should use official information, information that has come to him as a minister, for his own private profit or for that of his friends; that he ought not to put or allow himself to be put into a position to be tempted to use his official influence in support of any scheme or in furtherance of any contract in regard to which he had an undisclosed interest; that he must not accept any kind of favour from persons seeking to enter into contractual relations or pecuniary or pro-

prietary relations with the state; that he should scrupulously avoid speculative investments in securities as to which, from his special means of early or confidential information he may have an advantage over other people in anticipating market changes.

As regards contributions to the Press by ministers on matters of public policy, no rule was formulated till 1925. As a consequence, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India (1925) was in the habit of writing articles at high rates of pay on many subjects except India his official charge. The Baldwin Government in 1925 considered the matter and decided "that a minister of the Crown, while holding office, should refrain from writing articles for publication in any way connected with matters of public policy". Lord Birkenhead agreed to write no more articles as soon as his existing contract expired. In 1927, this rule was reconsidered. Mr. Baldwin then said that though rules precluded the practice by ministers of journalism in any form, this inhibition did not extend to authorship or to writings of literary, historical, philosophic or scientific or romantic character. But ministers were warned that confidential matters acquired during the tenure of office should not be published without the consent of the Government of the day. Mr. Baldwin, however, considered that this rule did not apply to Mr. Churchill's book on *The World Crisis* and to the articles contributed by Lord Birkenhead which were intended for publication in book form on a future date. Similarly, the publication of extracts from *Haig* by

Mr. Duff Cooper, the Secretary of State for War, was also exempted from the operation of this rule. In 1933, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald further held that the rule did not apply to defences by ministers of their own policy in *The News Letter* for which no payment was made on the ground that it was not professional journalism and that the publication was 'an organ of a party in the state'.

From the review of the several obligations which the ministers should observe, it is clear that the primary qualification which a minister should possess is honesty and incorruptibility. A close analysis of the several charges made against the Madras ministers reveals the fact that they are grave. But the public is not aware of the facts, particularly the several opinions expressed by all concerned and the extent of responsibility which each one of the ministers concerned should bear. In the absence of these facts it is difficult for any one to give any judgment. But as has already been said, a minister should not only be honest and incorruptible but he should also appear to possess this qualification. Now that the honour of some of the ministers is attacked in public the most obvious way by which public concern may be allayed is the appointment of a Select Committee of both the Houses to go into the charges. The Select Committee should consist of the Speaker as chairman and the leaders of the opposition as members. The secretary of the committee should be an experienced civil servant. Members of the Congress Party, for valid reasons, should have no place in it.

In many small garages, the service men identify cars by the names of their owners. When repairs are needed, or special services required—other than storage—this practice leads to some interesting notes in the day-book of orders. To wit:

Mrs. Ellis won't start.

Give Miss Jackson some alcohol. Two quarts ought to hold her. Something wrong with old man Pitt's wiring.

Mrs. Wyndham's fenders bumped. Not responsible.

Wash Miss Jenkins.

—Ford Times.

The Premier of Finland recently declared that speeches in parliament were getting too long, and suggested, in order to shorten them that members stand on one leg while speaking.—Western Producer.

MEMORABLE MILESTONE

IN the case of a versatile personality like Mahatma Gandhi who lived an exciting, eventful and many-sided life different events and episodes appeal to different people. No doubt each of us has his favourite picture of Gandhi—Gandhi bravely defying European lynchers in South Africa; Gandhi bringing a message of hope to the exploited workers of Champaran; Gandhi, sweeping the streets and cleaning latrines to break the caste taboos against the so-called 'untouchables'; Gandhi plying the charkha, Gandhi at a prayer meeting, Gandhi addressing a crowd in his inimitably informal, intimate and unvarnished style, and Gandhi on his Day of Silence.

The picture of the Mahatma, however, which has always fascinated me is that of a frail little man, half naked with staff in hand, leading his 79 followers on the Dandi March. The gesture was characteristic, even as the occasion was truly historic. There was something elemental and symbolic, at once simple and heroic, timely as well as timeless, about the epic march that had the sacred aspect of a pilgrimage, the pilgrimage that had the disciplined and defiant character of a martial march! It was the story of Moses leading his people to the Promised Land all over again.

NON-VIOLENT ARMY MARCHES

Tomorrow is the 20th anniversary of that memorable drama. It was on March 12, 1930, that the Mahatma began the March which, for him and many others led towards the prisons via the salt pans on the Dandi sea-beach. Inevitably our thoughts turn back to the characteristically non-violent gesture of defiance—how absurdly simple and how potently far-reaching in its consequences!—which shook an empire to its roots and, to put it differently (as cartoonist Low depicted it) applied salt to the tail of the British lion. It was a

unique phenomenon but by no means was it the first time that the Mahatma was on the march! The first time the frail little idealist led a march was seventeen years earlier, in 1913, when Indians in South Africa, under his leadership, offered civil resistance to vindicate their self-respect and to assert their rights as citizens.

It was on October 28, 1913, that a motley and strange non-violent army set out from Newcastle in Natal for Gandhiji's first satyagraha ashram called *Tolstoy Farm* in Transvaal, near Cape Town. The marching column consisted of as many as 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children—including their 'commander', clad in shirts and trousers. Here were Indian labourers from the Natal mines, out to protest against their inhuman conditions of work, specially the £3 tax levied on their freedom. Here were Indian women, for the first time invited to join a satyagraha, to protest against the action of the Cape Supreme Court nullifying all marriages not celebrated according to Christian rites or not registered by the Registrar of Marriages, thus affecting the status of Indian wives. Here were Indians—men, women and children—who had been treated as inferior citizens in South Africa, launching a unique experiment in the history of social protest.

The programme was to march at the rate of 25 miles a day until either the men were all arrested or *Tolstoy Farm* was reached. Gandhiji then was 44 years old and had trained himself for such marches. (Earlier, in one day, he had walked 55 miles!) On November 6, Gandhiji was arrested and tried for breach of the Immigration Act but bail was granted and he re-joined the march. Twice again he was arrested during the march and on the third occasion all the marchers were arrested with him. On January 21, the satyagraha was

called off, following a provisional agreement with the Government which undertook to repeal many of the anti-Indian laws.

During this march, the name of Gandhiji was mentioned for the first time in the proceedings of the Indian National Congress when the Karachi session passed a resolution expressing admiration "for the heroic endeavours of Gandhi and his followers in South Africa."

EPIC OF DANDI

"If you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the eleventh day of this month I shall proceed with such co-workers of the ashram as I can take to disregard the provisions of the Salt Laws."

It was in these words that Gandhiji enunciated the programme of his Dandi March, in a letter that he addressed to the Viceroy. The Viceroy's reply was curt and negative. Said the Mahatma: "On bended knees I asked for bread and received stone instead." And so the die was cast. On March 11, 1930, he gave his farewell message to the inmates of the Sabarmati ashram and the people of Ahmedabad: "Our case is strong, our means the purest and God is with us. There is no defeat for the satyagrahis till they give up the truth. I pray for the success of the battle which begins."

And so, early next morning, the Mahatma was once again on the march, along with his 79 chosen followers, and the non-violent "battle" had begun. This time he did not allow women satyagrahis to march with him. "I must be considerate to the opponent. If we put women in front, the Government may hesitate to inflict on us all the penalty that they might otherwise inflict. A delicate sense of chivalry is what decides me against including women in the first batch." The chosen 79 who marched behind their frail but indomitable commander represented a cross-section of the country including "khadi students, graduates of the Gujarat Vidyapith, untouchable weavers, a former postman from Burma, a dairy expert, a dyeing teacher, an editor, a Sanskrit scholar in charge of

the ashram tannery." The youngest was a boy only 16 years old, the oldest was 61—Gandhiji himself!

That 200-mile march to the sea-coast to defy the Salt Laws not only awoke the whole country but focussed world attention on India. Reporters, special correspondents, press photographers and newsreelmen 'covered' the march and, day after day, the news was flashed all round the world. The idea of an unarmed army of 79 defying the authority of the mightiest empire in human history stirred the imagination of everyone who read or heard about it. A German doctor sent a letter assuring the Mahatma that "in far-off Germany, a humble fellow pilgrim is praying for you and your work every morning and evening." From America came a cable: "God guard you," from John Haynes Holmes, the New York pastor who has ever since been a friend of India and the cause of Indian freedom. Pandit Motilal declared that "like the historic march of Ramachandra to Lanka the march of Dandi would be memorable." And P. C. Ray compared it to "the exodus of Israelites under Moses."

That march to the coast across the dusty, hot plain of Gujarat epitomised not only the life and work of Gandhiji—always on the march to seek truth and justice—but also represented in eloquent miniature the whole history of the Indian freedom struggle. It was the starting point of the great movement which was to reach a climax in the "Quit India" call of 1942. Dandi will live for ever, not only as a mile-stone on the road to Indian freedom, but as a shining example of the spirit of Man defying the might of emperors and kings, a perennial source of inspiration to all those who refuse to bend their knee before autocracy and injustice.

It was during the Dandi march that Gandhiji, hearing of Governmental repression, wrote an article under the heading, "Goonda Raj" parts of which sound ominously relevant even today:

"Even Dyerism pales into insignificance. The duty before the people is clear. They must answer this organized hooliganism (of the Government) with great suffering."

CELEBRATING HOLI!

Evidently, the Holi festival can be celebrated either by splashing coloured water—or shedding blood! In Aligarh, Pilibhit (U. P.), Gwalior and Katni (C. P.), the festival was marred by clashes and killings, resulting in several deaths and many injured. It is terrible to find that in Aligarh alone five persons were killed and 40 injured, that there were many cases of loot and arson, that houses and shops were set fire to, and two railway passengers were killed in cold blood. In Pilibhit there was rioting, exchange of brickbats, arson and looting. In Katni one person was killed, several injured and a number of shops looted and burnt. And in each case the trouble is reported to have started with the throwing and splashing of coloured water on pedestrians!

Whatever way you look at it, it is a shame and a disgrace that we are not able to celebrate a gay festival without breaking each other's heads.

Why does 'Holi,' of all festivals, provoke communal riots? I think it is due as much to a general lack of a sense of humour as to the provocative propaganda of communal fanatics in both the communities.

It passes one's understanding why the innocent prank of throwing coloured water should be so violently resented by anyone so much as to provoke communal rioting. It is awkward, no doubt, for an unwary pedestrian suddenly to get his immaculate dress drenched with coloured water. But then, why not exercise your sense of humour and laugh at your own predicament and, if possible, throw a bucketful of coloured water in retaliation? After all, weren't we all doing that sort of thing in our school and college days? Playing about with dye powder and coloured water seems to me to be an excellent way not only of establishing cordial relations with one's fellow-citizens but also of recapturing one's lost youth.

Conversely, it is also difficult to understand the insistence of Holi-celebrators to rag those very super-sensitive individuals who are foolish or fanatical enough to resent it.

Let such stupid kill-joys alone, don't kill them, along with the joy and fun of the festival! The Holi colours are 'kacha' and can be washed away in no time, but blood stains are grimly sticky.

While Aligarh, Pilibhit, Kanni and Gwalior demonstrated the fatal stupidity of the Muslim and Hindu residents of these places, Jammu showed the way to another and better way of celebrating Holi. According to a report, "clad in half-shirts and pyjamas, with buckets of multi-coloured water and long syringes in hand, members of the Kashmir Cabinet (most of whom are Muslims) headed by the Deputy Chief Minister Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed went round the main streets of Jammu splashing the people with coloured water". One can easily understand how such a lead given by the Ministers must have inspired both Muslims and Hindus to celebrate Holi in a jolly, friendly manner. No wonder Jammu had the liveliest Holi in the whole of India.

Nearer home, I saw a group of writers and film artistes—including several Muslims—playing Holi with great gusto around Shivaji Park and Matunga. No heads were broken, no houses looted, no shops burnt and if you saw a red stain on someone's face you could be sure it was *not* blood but only a non-violent mixture of perspiration and red dye!

A sense of humour is a wonderful thing. I saw a pretty film star not so cheerfully allowing her face to be smeared with a technicolour combination of green, blue, red and yellow dyes. Someone suggested to her to have a look in the mirror. She did, and burst out laughing at her comical appearance. It was only then she appreciated the humour of the situation. And when the revellers departed she said with a smile, "Thank you all. You have really brought Spring to our house."

If only we learnt thus to look at ourselves in a mirror, to smile and laugh (even at ourselves) and be less serious and grim and fanatical, wouldn't this country be a better and safer place to live in, with every day a lively Holi and every night a bright Diwali?

IN AND AROUND PAKISTAN

(By A Special Correspondent)

THE cold war between India and Pakistan is becoming hot. Perhaps at no time in their short but eventful history, relations between the two dominions have been worse—not even when India and Pakistan were actually engaged in an undeclared war in Kashmir, the tension had reached such a pitch. There is hardly anything on which the two dominions appear to agree. The Kashmir *impasse*, mutual retaliation in respect of evacuee property, continued difference on the question of canal waters, the alteration in the rupee ratio, cessation of all inter-dominion trade, have brought about a complete deadlock.

This deadlock has recently resulted in dangerous symptoms in Pakistan. Moving about in some of the important towns and cities in West Pakistan, I found the same atmosphere prevailing in political and official circles which marked Nazi Germany before Hitler's march into Czechoslovakia and Poland. And strangely enough the technique followed is also the same. The initial hymn of hate which resulted in the birth of Pakistan has been gradually worked up by leaders in Pakistan to a feeling of enmity whose only result can be an armed conflict. Whereas India and her people generally accepted the partition of the country as the final solution of the problem, the Muslims in Pakistan have been led to believe during the past two and a half years that a "truncated and moth-eaten" Pakistan was in no way an end in itself. Over and over again the Muslim masses have been told that their co-religionists across the border are harassed, maltreated and oppressed; they are reminded of their religious duty to defend and fight for forty million sons of Islam in India. Raising the cry of failure of India to protect the life and property of her Muslim subjects, the Muslim League circles have during the past few days put forth a new demand of a re-partition of the country. In India one may dismiss it as fanatical nonsense but my talks with some of the

leaders of this school of thought both at Lahore and Karachi have convinced me that an important section of political opinion regards it quite seriously.

Their argument also follows the Hitlerian line. The partition of India, they contend, was the result of the acceptance of the two-nation theory, which took it for granted that all the Muslims living in pre-partitioned India were a single nation and the Radcliffe award has in no way affected that basic fact. If the Muslim nationals in India are not treated well, if their rights and their honour are not protected by the Indian Government, it becomes the duty of their co-nationals in Pakistan to do so. Blaming Hindus first of cultural genocide of Muslims living in India and now of actual genocide in West Bengal, this school of thought argues that it has become impossible for the vast Muslim minority in India to live in security and honour. As a result of it, say the League leaders, large numbers of Muslims are migrating to East Bengal and lakhs of others are awaiting expulsion from Assam under the Undesirable Persons Act recently passed by the Indian Parliament. Pakistan has no place for this ever-increasing stream of migrants and India must part with some of her territory for their accommodation in Pakistan. The League leaders further support their demand by saying that whereas the ratio between Muslim and Hindu population at the time of partition was only 1 to 2.17, the Hindus were given territory six times bigger than that which fell to the share of Pakistan. From the cry of Muslim minority in danger, has developed the demand for living space for oppressed Muslims. The Punjab Muslim League, perhaps acting under the inspiration of Ch. Khaliz-ul-Zaman has already moved in the matter and asked the United Nations to decide the issue and effect territorial redistribution on a population basis, so that forty million Indian Muslims may have a living space

under the sun. Comparing it to the Nazi strategy—of first drawing attention to German minorities being in danger, pointing to the duty of the Germans to defend their co-nationals in other countries, demanding living space for the oppressed German minority culminating finally in the march of the German troops into her neighbouring countries—one wonders if Pakistan will not follow the technique to its logical conclusion. Persistent propaganda and feverish activity have been going on in Pakistan during the last two and a half years. During all this period, no efforts have been spared to keep alive in the Muslim memory the communal massacres, the spearings, the slaughters and the abductions of their women by “Sikh drunkards.”

Hatred against India and Hindus was fanned into a spirit of “Intiqam” (revenge) by Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani and though he is dead, his followers have added fuel to the fire by constantly harping on the atrocities committed on the Muslims by Hindus and Sikhs. Leaving apart the daily press which prospers on self-created sensational stories of cruelties suffered by the sons of Islam (in utter violation of the Inter-Dominion agreement) the most popular books of the time are those which openly preach war against India. I have been reading during the last few days a voluminous publication *Khak Aur Khoon* (Dust and Blood) by Nazim Hajazi, in which the author exhorts the Pakistani Muslims not to rest “till they have fully avenged the happenings in East Punjab and till the newly built temple of Somnath is broken to pieces by the hands of Mahmud Ghazanvis from Pakistan.” Openly preaching war, the author says, “past history points to us that Hindus understand no other language except that of the sword.”

These irresponsible writings are supported by fanatical utterances by political leaders. Whenever the Kashmir question comes up for discussion before the Security Council, the Pakistan leaders say and do things which further incite the growing anti-Indian hysteria among their people. Their objective perhaps is to make an impression on the members of the Security Council but their

declarations invariably work up war feelings in their country. I can say without much fear of contradiction that today the average Pakistani has been made to feel and think that there is no possible solution to the Kashmir question except war. Most of the newspapers have been repeatedly calling upon the Pakistan Government “to force a decision in Kashmir by force of arms.”

This mounting war hysteria manifests itself in feverish military preparations which have been going on in the country for the last two and a half years. Increasing expenditure on defence, large purchase of war materials in foreign countries, widespread A. R. P. and civil defence exercises and the military training of the Muslim National Guards—are all symptoms of a dangerous malady, which might at any time plunge the country into an armed conflict with its neighbour.

Another disquieting development in the economic sphere is the increasing unemployment among all classes of people specially among industrial workers and landless labourers in Pakistan. In a recent interview at Lahore, the General Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League pointed out that “unemployment in the Punjab, following the almost complete collapse of business in various trades in important commercial centres, is assuming menacing proportions.” In the absence of a statistical machinery it is difficult to give exact figures of the growing army of men without work; it can, however, be safely asserted that economy in Governmental expenditure and indifference towards some of the once prosperous industries have considerably swelled the ranks of the unemployed. The Punjab Government's recent decision to cut down its expenditure on the Food department to one-tenth of the last year's budget would affect at least 1,500 Government servants. In Lahore, about 1,000 unemployed people staged a demonstration. And the trouble is not confined only to Government departments. It has been reported that the rich timber business in Jhelum, the steel industry in Wazirabad, the sports industry in Sialkot have all been hit hard on

account of lack of sufficient aid and proper protection. Correspondingly, there has been an increasing pressure on land in the rural areas. In certain parts of the Punjab, the feudal landlords have already started ejecting their tenants. Fragmentation of holdings in Sialkot and Gujranwala districts and the problem of water-logging in Lyallpur, Jhang and Sheikhpura districts are seriously affecting the rural economy of the Province.

In the adjoining province of Sind, growing unemployment is seriously

threatening the economic life. A recent report, said to be based on reliable statistics of the last two years, says that out of 13 lakhs of adults living in upper Sind about 9,60,000 are without any work. As a result of this increasing unemployment, public criticism of Government's industrial and agrarian policy has become more vocal. But perhaps the greatest source of danger are the workless themselves, who have begun to think that their salvation lies in war with India.

THE GENERAL ELECTION AND AFTER

By ERNEST ATKINSON

OTHER countries' Parliaments have more experience in dealing with the kind of situation that the General Election has produced in the United Kingdom. The fine balance between the two great Parties would seem to suggest to many logical political minds that they should begin some process of bargaining and Party arrangement. Yet it is most unlikely that anything that other legislatures might have to teach on this matter will serve the Mother of Parliaments now.

For whereas certain Continental and other systems are based on the conception of the continuity for regular terms of the legislature itself, the British system is intended to produce an assured and sufficiently strong Government based on a working majority in the House of Commons whose confidence the Government of the day must retain. If the Government does not retain that confidence it must resign.

The Leader of the Opposition would then be called upon to form a Government. If he, too, cannot command the continuous support of the House, he must resign. Failing a third party—and the British electorate has just shown a decisive view on third parties—the issue must be put to the electors.

So now if Mr. Attlee and his Government were shown at some stage of Parliament's career not to

command a majority in the Commons, authority would pass to Mr. Churchill, who would have to show that he could command a majority, or else go to the country to ask for more Conservatives and their allies to be elected to enable him to carry out the policies he proposed.

In all this no question need arise of any bargain or arrangement between Parties. It is not inconceivable. It is, however, unlikely; and the system does not call for it. The responsibility lies with the Government of the day to propose measures that will commend themselves to the House of Commons. Until the point comes when it wishes to force an issue, or the Opposition chooses to say that the time is ripe for a change and enforce its view with a vote in the House, that Government can continue in office.

The somewhat unpredictable workings of the simple British voting system have produced this time a logical result. The percentages of popular support for the two major Parties are not greatly different. For once, the balance of opinion in the country has produced almost exactly a balance of Party membership in the Commons. It will provide during the next few months some interesting developments in the current stage of the history of Parliamentary procedure. This will be, too, a Parliament of personalities. Most of the

important figures on both sides are back. The Conservative leaders who have been for five years deprived even of the satisfaction of giving leadership to an Opposition in the Commons are here again encouraged by the hope of office.

The two-Party system is in for some new experiences of its working. There was almost an exact balance between the Liberals and Conservatives in 1910, but there were other Parties in the House who supported the Liberals. The nearest parallels were in 1847, when the Liberals with a majority of two remained in office for five years, and in 1852 when the Conservatives began five years of office with a majority of eight. Conditions of political life were, however, somewhat different then, and the House of Lords counted for more in current legislation.

Political interest will centre now on what the Government judges it can persuade the House of Commons to accept. The common and reasonable assumption is that more controversial matters will be included at the beginning only if the Government wants to go to the country soon. There must, in any case, be a Budget by about the middle of April and certain

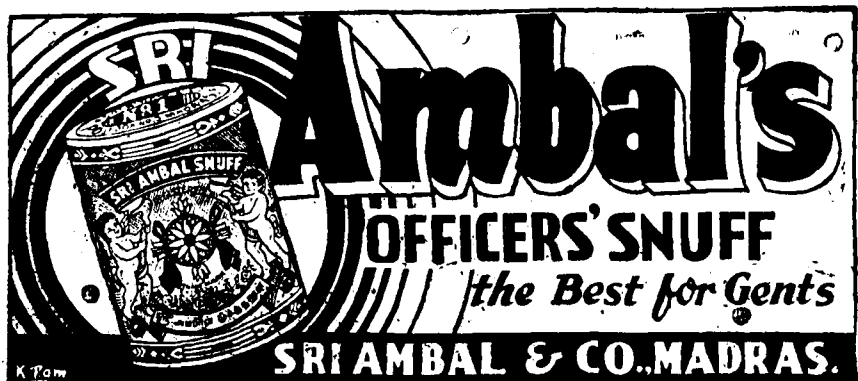
regular measures must be passed. The Budget could be controversial. The other Bills are not immediately necessary.

To run, however, with any certainty that it could not be defeated save by the defection of its own followers the Government would have to have a majority of anything up to 50, instead of the seven or thereabouts it has secured. Some margin is necessary because members, from Ministers down, cannot all be present within 10 minutes' call of the division lobbies all the time. Ministers in particular have their legitimate reasons for absence whether in their offices or on missions abroad or in the country.

Politics and Government in Britain these next few months will offer a fascinating study. The political sagacity of the British people and especially of their elected representatives will be put to some new tests and Ministers and Parliament will have to develop and display in their day-to-day work their capacity for distinguishing between the unimportant and the fundamental. Democracy's servants will have all the opportunities they could hope for to show that they know the difference between Party politics and statesmanship.

EXTRAVAGANT BUT EFFECTIVE

Fear in Russia finds many expressions. One of interest is that which pervades the senior corridors of the Kremlin. High officials living in the fashionable dormitory area of Moscow travel to and from their work in large black saloon cars, shuttered and easily identifiable. To overcome the risk of assassination the cars run continuously to and fro, sometimes empty, sometimes containing persons of high rank. Police will escort an empty car as convincingly as one bearing Stalin himself—so that no one knows for certain that any particular individual is in any particular car at any particular moment.—*Time and Tide.*



THE BRITISH ELECTION RIDDLE

By G. S. BHARGAVA

THOUGH Labour continues in government as a result of the recent British General Elections, its overall majority in Parliament has fallen from 180 to 10. What are the circumstances which led to such a depletion in Labour strength? How far is Labour itself responsible for them? What is Labour's record in office? Answers to these questions will help to explain the election riddle.

It is agreed on all hands that the last Labour Government in Britain was perhaps the only government to redeem its election pledges nearly fully. Though in certain respects, such as housing and fair shares, the targets still remain to be reached, Labour's overall record in government is undoubtedly and indisputably brilliant. It has done more in four and a half years than any previous government (including its own). It has improved the lot of workers and their families, of children, of old folk, the sick and the ailing, and service pensioners. Record-low figures for infant and maternal mortality have been reached. Its new National Health Service is rightly the envy of the world.

It has done away with grinding poverty, mass unemployment and the old "distressed areas." In 1938, one year before the war, one in every seven of the workers was unemployed and wages were on a basis of physical health. In contrast, today only one in a hundred of the workers is jobless and wages everywhere are at the standard trade union rate. Add to these improvements in work and wages, the children's allowances, the security provisions against accidents, old age and sickness and the free medical service. The standard of the average working class family has risen by 10 per cent.

Nationalised industries are another feather in Labour's cap. In 1945, a critical time when output was falling and manpower was short, Labour had promised to bring under public ownership the coal, gas and electricity

industries, the railways, inland waterways, road transport and airways, the Bank of England and iron and steel. The Labour Government has nationalised all the above except iron and steel. In the case of iron and steel, the necessary legislation has been completed; only its enforcement remains, which has now been deferred. But for nationalisation, these vital industries would have been unable to stand competition and their employees exposed to hardship and hunger. Coal is an outstanding example. In 1948, the output of deep mined coal was 15 million tons—or 8 per cent—more than in 1946. Labour disputes have almost disappeared, wages of workers have gone up and the industry, which was on the verge of collapse under private enterprise, is once again flourishing. The electricity nationalisation has now made it possible for Labour to promise in the next five years, electrification of the rural areas and agricultural industry.

These achievements of Labour will be still better appreciated if they are viewed against the background of postwar conditions in other countries. The rise in the cost of living is admittedly the least in Britain, compared to any other European country. In the first quarter of 1949, it was less than 144 (after devaluation it has so far risen by 3 per cent). In the same period, it was 383 in Belgium, 4983 in Italy and 163 in Switzerland. The index of wholesale prices was also the most stable in Britain. In the first quarter of 1949, it fluctuated by only 1 point in Britain whereas the fluctuation was by 12 points in Belgium, 152 points in Italy and 3 points in Switzerland. The unemployment figures are no less revealing. In Britain, the percentage of unemployment (first quarter of 1949) was under 2, in Belgium it was 12, in Switzerland 2.6. In Italy the number of unemployed exceeded 2 million. In the matter of industrial production also, Labour Britain was lead-

ing the rest of Western Europe. For the first quarter of 1949, the index in Britain was 116, Belgium 98 and Italy 94. Though the American tariff walls had compelled Cripps to devalue the pound, the import-export position of Britain was undoubtedly better than that of the other countries.

Why then did Labour suffer a decline in popularity? Firstly, the post-war conditions were so bad that a measure of unpopularity was inevitable for any government. Secondly, in a long drawn-out process of social change, a section of the population, the middle classes in the case of Britain, are exposed to hardships and difficulties. For the middle-class the social and health services were no special boon. Previously also they were having benefits by paying for them out of their untaxed incomes and profits. Labour's heavy taxation has cut down their standard of living by 20 per cent and has brought them closer to the working class. Rationing of food, cloth, petrol etc., proved irksome to the middle class housewife who, for once, agreed with Churchill when he called Labour Britain a "queue-topia". The Labour Government's Direction of Labour Law whereby every citizen could be directed to work proved unpalatable to that section of the middle class which wanted to live comfortably on its profits.

Another term for Labour wherein the pace of social change could be accelerated and the earlier gains consolidated would undoubtedly lessen the burden on the middle class. But even in Britain, it is too much to expect the electorate to be so farsighted and progressive. It must be remembered that in 1945 it was the vote of the disgruntled middle classes, who suffered under the Tory Government's war-time rule, that swelled the Labour majority; in the recent election, this middle class vote went to the Tories or Liberals and brought down Labour's majority. This is the most important clue to the British election riddle.

Last but not least are the Conservative election tactics. As an election measure they had shifted from extreme Right to the Centre—a strategic move which the Conservatives in New Zealand and Australia

had made with favourable results. The Conservatives promised to abandon further nationalisation and to repeal the Iron and Steel Act which had not yet come into force but did not offer to de-nationalise the coal and other industries. Their criticism was concentrated on "mismanagement" and "bureaucratisation" of the nationalised industries and not on the principle of nationalisation as such. They took particular aspects of Labour administration such as Strachey's groundnut scheme to task but did not extend it into a fight on policy. They also did not have any quarrel with the welfare state which could be as much capitalist as Socialist. Notwithstanding their earlier opposition in the Parliament to the National Health Service Bill, during both the 2nd and 3rd readings, they promised to maintain the national health services. Though they had earlier called Labour "hasty" in increasing old-age pensions and paying family allowances, they did not say they would stop them. After devaluation, the Tories openly demanded drastic cuts in food subsidies and social services, but still they did not express any opposition to the same in the electioneering campaign.

Their formula to reduce substantially both direct and indirect taxation worked wonders with the middle classes groaning under heavy taxation. Then Mr. Churchill, with his characteristic opportunism made petrol rationing also an election issue. In Australia, it was one of the points which weighed heavily against Labour and Mr. Churchill, like the Conservatives in Australia promised to end petrol rationing if he was put back in power. Add to these the proposal to meet Stalin for talks over atomic control, which though it might not have cut much ice with the electorate did undoubtedly put Labour on the defensive.

Just as the Tories swung to the Centre, Labour had also moved to the Right. Its programme for the next five years did not promise any substantial progress towards the ideal; it only talked of maintaining the earlier reforms, which even the Tories promised to do. If Labour had not diluted its nationalisation programme with the compensation clause and

had not restricted it to losing industries, it would have had funds enough to give relief to the middle classes. If Labour had nationalised land and the cement industry, its housing programme would not have proved inadequate and one of the sorest election issues could have been eliminated.

Labour has still a chance to regain its lost position in the next general election which is inevitable before the close of the year. If, before that time, it enforces iron and steel nationalisation, cuts deeper into private profits, imposes better and more stringent control on the non-nationalised sector of industry and diverts

the extra income accruing out of these measures for the benefit of the middle and lower classes, it will put an end to conservatism in England for ever. If, on the other hand, it reads into the Communist rout, unpopularity of Leftism with the electorate and moves further to the Right, it will not only not win back the middle class vote but will also lose the allegiance of a goodly section of the working class to its own Left wing which is steadily gaining ground. On the Right, it cannot compete either with the Liberals or with the Conservatives but on the Left, it can always make itself felt.

THE TREE OF NEW KNOWLEDGE

A garden where every tree and plant gives off invisible radiations is growing in the United States. It constitutes one of the newest laboratories of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. Here, scientists are keeping close count of all radiations given off by the growing plants and trees, carefully checking the processes by which radioactive elements from the soil or atmosphere are transformed into plant tissues, leaves, flowers, and fruits.

These radioactive plants and fruits are then fed to laboratory animals. Medical scientists trace the progress of the same radioactive elements as they are broken down by acids in the animal's stomach and then recombined in new forms to make blood and bone and fleshy tissue.

The scientists hope to find out exactly how essential organic chemicals and minerals are used to make up plant and animal bodies. Their goal is to find a way to make more food for mankind and a way to combat disease and the degenerative processes that shorten man's life.

Among the medicinal plants growing in the garden are the opium poppy, used to make radioactive morphine; manila hemp, from which is produced radioactive marijuana; fox-

glove, from which radiodigitalis, a powerful heart stimulant, is extracted; and belladonna, a source of radioactive atropine, useful in spasms and heart failure.

Common plants, such as tobacco, alfalfa, sugar beet, and buckwheat, sugar beet also grow in the garden. From the tobacco, medical scientists extract radioactive nicotine, with which they are studying the effects of excessive smoking. From the buckwheat, they extract radioactive rutin, a new drug found to be effective in preventing hemorrhages.

The radioactive drugs thus produced will be fed to test animals to discover how these drugs conquer disease in the body.

The garden is at the radiological experiment station of the Argonne National Laboratory, operated by the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission near the city of Chicago. "In this atomic garden of Argonne every tree is at the same time a tree of knowledge and a tree of life," says the *New York Times*. "Every one of the radioactive fruits... is designed to shed the invisible light of its powerful radiations on some specific natural processes in the complicated labyrinth of life, hitherto barred to the probings of man."

When a girl is whistled at, it may be a turning point in her life.
—Franklin Jones.

IN AN ARAB CAFE

By VIVIAN COLE

A big, bare room,
Stretching away almost into the middle distance,
With a ceiling far too lofty for even such vastness,
Empty of everything
But a sprinkling of low, shaky old stools
Of discoloured wickerwork,
Scattered about here and there
In casual disorder,
On which, robed and impassive,
Sit a number of grave Orientals
With quick-glancing eyes,
Solemnly smoking,
With occasional, long, rumbling puffs,
Their long, cool snakes of water-pipes.
The lighting is dim and dismal,
A sort of artificial twilight;
The walls are drab:
No vulgar conversation disturbs
The handful of smokers.

Beside each, on the floor of broken tiles,
Stands a thimble-sized cup
Of poisonous, black, sirupy coffee,
Of which, at long, long intervals,
Each gravely immobile smoker in turn
Bestirring himself, takes a long and noisy sip
With fierce relish
As of some thirsting wild creature.

The spacious gloom,
The melancholy emptiness
Of the big, bare room
Is unutterably peaceful
And soothing
To nerves tired of rush and bustle,
Of fuss and pother,
Of duty, and punctuality,
And money-getting, and career-making,
And all the rest of the hollow excitements
That delight Occidentals
And drive them to distraction
And early death.

We forget for a time our vain, Western dignity,
And seat ourselves with the solemnly smoking robed ones:
The dim and distant rumble of traffic
In this remote corner of the city
Makes us think of dim and distant and half forgotten things;
The sad and dreary atmosphere
Plucks at our heart-strings
With sentimental persuasiveness,
Till we remember our sad, sweet childhood
In other such quietly tucked away
Corners of Asia
And are ready to weep
For the joy of voluptuous loneliness,
Of ineffably solitary wanderings
In the world of the spirit.

We call to mind other such big, bare and unkempt rooms,
So typical of the delightfully casual East,
Where the daily routine of life
Proceeds with the stateliness of a minuet,

And our heart is sorely grieved
At the unhappy lot of man
In the dizzy and dreadful
Whirlpool of the western world.

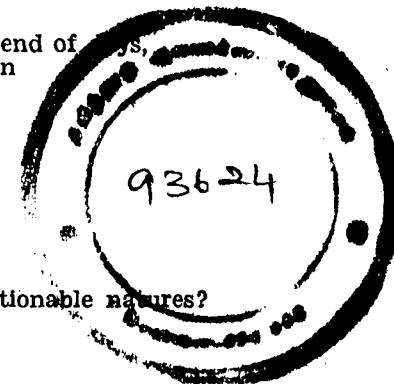
We pine for we know not what,
And yearn after unformulated desires:
Only a crow against the sapphire sky,
On the flat roof of the shabby building
Across the deserted street,
Answers us
With a solitary, hoarse croak.

We sit relaxed, and immobile
As a carven image,
But some deeply buried part of the soul
Strains desperately to extract a meaning
From this reply.

At last it seems to come to us—
Do we interpret it aright,
Do we make ourselves intelligible
To ourselves,
Or has it slipped away again
Out of our grasp
Into the realm of far off, inaccessible things?
Is it true that Asia is happy at heart
Because in all things she lives and moves slowly,
Is it true that the efficiency
Of gleaming machines
And a rigid code of etiquette and puritan morals
And organised power and knowledge
Are all worth nothing
Unless we allow ourselves time
To be truly human,
To foster the growth of the soul
With the fresh and sparkling dew
Of loving-kindness
And that supernal gift of charity
Without which the desert of life
Remains barren of everything but the devouring lion
Of the ego?

Shall the West and the East meet in the end of
Shall the mind and the heart unite again
In the fulness of time
To cure the ailing soul of humanity,
Shall we see the beatific vision
Of man,
Grown to be higher than the angels,
Colonising space
In ships of light,
Or shall we leave our worn-out bodies,
To inherit others more bestial,
More in accord with our mixed and questionable natures?

We know not,
We fail to achieve
The evasive solution;
Our jet-plumed informant
Has left us:
We too rise gravely and go,
Emerging strong and revitalised
From our long and quiet plunge
Into the calm, deep lake
Of profound (if somewhat aimless) meditation
On death and destiny
And the divine.



PRISON-AT YOUR CONVENIENCE

By BRENDA DAWSON

"WHEN would you like to serve your sentence?"

That, in effect, is the question that we are beginning to hear asked of convicted offenders in British courts. The first instance was when a Coventry miner was recently sentenced to five days' imprisonment. He was allowed to postpone the sentence until his holidays, so that he would avoid losing any wages.

Although it was suggested in 1939 by a stipendiary magistrate—Mr. F. Bancroft Turner, of Salford (Lancs.)—this idea of allowing offenders to serve their sentences on the dates most convenient to themselves has really come to Britain from the U.S.A. In that country it has been a regular practice for several years.

New York was the first State to adopt it on any large scale. Because welfare officers thought that giving an offender the choice of "gaol dates" might save his employment which the term of imprisonment would otherwise cause him to forfeit, a law was passed in 1937 allowing sentences of up to sixty days to be served in convenient instalments. One judge who made use of the new law said that it "enabled the first-offender who might otherwise lose his job to serve 'time' without harm to his dependents." Concern for the prisoner's dependents, in fact, has been the keynote of this experiment.

When a married couple were convicted of fraud in Philadelphia recently, the court arranged to "stagger" their sentences so that their children would not be left alone. Both parents were ordered to spend two days each week in gaol, the wife for a period of six months, and her husband for three months.

Even more considerate was the decision of a Brooklyn (N. Y.) court. Hearing that two rationing inspectors sentenced to six months' imprison-

ment for accepting bribes were both fathers of large families, the judge allowed them to serve their sentences at different times. He arranged that the one at liberty should support the family of his colleague in gaol.

This flexibility of the American law on gaol-committals enabled many courts during the war years to make sentences suit the convenience of offenders engaged in productive work. Courts in the corn districts of the Middle West, for instance, often used it to allow farmers to complete essential work before going to gaol. When two Kansas men were sentenced to imprisonment for liquor offences in 1944, they were permitted to postpone their gaol trip until they had finished harvesting. A Chicago motorist convicted of drunken driving served a sentence of ninety days' imprisonment during his holidays and at week-ends so as not to interrupt his war work. Another war-worker, sentenced to sixty days by a Detroit court for failing to stop after an accident, was allowed to "spread" the whole sentence over thirty week-ends. Three parents in crime, who were also partners in a Chicago firm on war production, were told to arrange their sentences—each of one month—so that two of them might carry on the business during their colleague's absence.

As in these war-time cases, it is not always compassion for the offender's families which moves an American court to "stagger" or postpone prison sentences. Take the case of the two New York directors convicted this year of income-tax evasion. The court agreed that they should take turns going to gaol, otherwise their business might have to close down.

A humane decision? It was certainly not intended to be one. The judge simply thought this was the best way to ensure that there was enough money to pay the fine!

Short Story

THE VOICE OF THE DEAD

By Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury

IT was midnight. I was buried in great depths of silence. The kerosene lamp reflected its dim glow on the book I was reading. The clock struck twelve. I was disturbed. Each stroke resounded with an uncanny note of wearing away. Yes, I could feel the effects of the grinding wheels of time, its incessant motion and the noiseless drifting of things that were being carried away in the current.

I do not know if it was the lateness of the hour or the loneliness of the place which brought thoughts of Lalita into my mind. This was exactly the hour she had passed away a year ago. With thoughts of Lalitha came thoughts of Jatin. He had committed suicide... was that warranted? One question kept obtruding again and again into my mind. Was I responsible for all that mess?

It is a long story...

She was not the usual kind of girl, I mean she was rather different from her set, a firm believer in personal freedom, any suggestion of violation of which brought her up like a tigress. I remember the days when she used to come to my place to spend her holidays. They were holidays stolen from her college. She had no intention to proceed further with her academical career after she graduated.

Rural uplift appeared to her to be the most fascinating occupation since it was the kind of work, surrender to which could most easily be construed as sacrifice. She chose my residence as her headquarters. I could not possibly object to it as she found the place very congenial for her work and her company had a stimulating effect on me, I do not know why. Her people, strangely enough, evinced confidence in me as a *loco parentis*.

Jatin soon got scent of my attractive visitor. He was always on the look out for her. And, of course, she brazenly flirted with him. He took Lalita's flirtation seriously and was

soon making open love to her. A love affair, like a pregnancy, cannot be hidden long and soon the whole village was talking about them. The most untidy thing about the whole affair was that Jatin bungled my good name with his infamous reputation.

My trend of thought was depressing indeed. Some sort of diversion was necessary for relief. I stretched my hand for the cigarette I had left on the ash tray. I inhaled a lungful of smoke gratefully and suddenly discovered that the flavour of the cigarette had mysteriously changed. Why! it was actually that of a *Three Castles* the indispensable favourite of Jatin. How had it happened? While I was trying to find a clue for the mystery, I heard a gentle knock at the door followed by a familiar voice. It was Jatin! I knew that voice only too well. *It was the voice of dead Jatin calling to me.*

Fear, a great onrush of it, flooded me. I tried to steady my trembling in vain. And as I sat paralysed the bolted door began to open slowly of its own accord, closed in similar manner, and the action repeated three times.

I felt I would swoon if I allowed my fear to grow unchecked. I got up unsteadily to investigate. An examination of the door revealed that the bolt had not been touched. Whatever this thing was that was outside it could not come in. That was certain. I paused for a while to consider whether to leave things as they were. A few moments passed by in dead silence as I frantically tried to make up my mind. My trembling abated somewhat and I recovered enough to think that all that had happened was merely a physical reflection of a trend of thought. This conclusion arrived at, things slowly began to take on their normal shape again. I decided to come back to my seat when all of a sudden the door opened violently as if pushed by a

strong gale. There, on the verandah outside, I saw Jatin standing, his figure silhouetted against the background of a pale moonlit night. The upper cloth or *anga vastram* he wore was flowing from shoulder to knee in Roman toga fashion, and the ghost—it could be nothing else—of the fastidious dandy was rearranging the displaced folds. Sartorial smartness was the only occupation Jatin had taken to seriously next to women, I remembered. Any special attention to his dress invariably meant a new romance had come into his life. The case of Lalita was perhaps the only failure in his life. Perhaps to an extent, I was responsible for it. Could it be, he had come to avenge this one blot on an otherwise perfect career?

The idea shattered my nerves, I dared not stand face to face with the dead. I tried to retreat and take shelter somewhere beyond his reach. But I realised I was not able to stir. My legs were pinned to the ground. Unable to move, I called to my servant, who was sleeping in the verandah.

There was no response. I pitched my voice on a higher note. It was loud enough, I thought, to be heard even from a great distance. The result however, was the same as before. I made another effort, but no sound came; my throat was choked. I stood there petrified, not knowing what would happen next.

Jatin moved a step forward towards me and then grinned a ghastly grin. It resembled the fixed smile of an Egyptian mummy. To my utter surprise I noticed Jatin's countenance had suffered a terrible change. The flesh had shrunk to bare skin, which stuck to the bones of the skull. The eyes looked out from pools of blackness. They seemed to penetrate my very soul as I stood there helpless before him. All of me lay bared before him. There was no screen which could shield anything. I was caught and my guilt was there plain to see. My life with Lalita lost its privacy under that fixed stare. Knowing what I deserved, I kept myself ready to receive whatever might come. At this moment, I heard suddenly a low whisper immediately behind Jatin. He turned back to listen and the door banged simul-

taneously on my face. Hardly had the sound died down when I heard a scratching on the shutters of the window. And—horror of horrors!—there was a pair of hands trying to find an entrance into the room. The palms were jet black and compressed flat like well ironed gloves. They were boneless, fleshless, yet the fingers were crawling like the legs of a venomous scorpion. They moved desperately to get a grip on the glass surface but made no progress. The struggle continued for some time. At last, they lay still one over the other in an impossible position. There was a lull for a while, and then again, things began to happen. The sound that had started as a whisper outside had now developed into a loud talk. I could not mistake the voices. *Lalita was conversing with Jatin.* I had heard their voices so often together in the past it was impossible I could be mistaken. The words exchanged had a touch of excitement. I could guess what it was all about. Quite likely, I was the topic of their heated debate. Curiosity suddenly assailed my terror-stricken self. It may appear queer to read of it, if not absurd, but there was nothing astonishing about it. I was engulfed in fear, my senses practically paralysed. More precisely, I stood there as a dumb co-actor in a play, a play that was being staged by persons who had ceased to exist, who had no being.

Now, to my utter surprise, I found that I was not standing, but sitting in the chair where Jatin used to sit. I have no idea when and how I managed to take that seat. But even this little sense of coming back to a material world gave me a feeling of security. I hoped I would be spared further hallucinations. Nay, that was not to be. The almirah now began to oscillate. It contained the stock of folk art collected by Lalita. There were Terra-cotta dolls, pictures and many other such specimens of cultural heritage. I heard a rattling sound within, as if the dolls were breaking. They were rare specimens of folk art. I did not like them to be damaged. Before I could collect the key from my desk to open the door of the almirah, my intention was fulfilled. There was a creaking sound of rusty hinges. The sound seemed

to convey a message, what it was my soul could not grasp. The panel opened and revealed, not broken dolls or shattered pictures but a complete human skeleton dangling in air! It was clothed in Lalita's saree. I had seen her flesh hanged in a noose of her own making, and now I was seeing her skeleton of bones hanging, rattling together with every gust of wind. And all of a sudden, before my witched eyes the bones grew flesh which shaped itself into gorgeous curves of hip and arm and bosom, into a beauty which even saints could not have resisted. I was dazed at the sight. My astonishment was deepened by the discovery that the clothes which had covered the skeleton had disappeared and the body was clad in nothing but its own loveliness. Its magnetic power was irresistible. I was overwhelmed. My fright left me. In me was only desire, a desire so powerful and urgent, to touch her again, to feel her beauty, that I forgot the phantasy of it and tried to move forward. But I could not. I was ordered to stay where I was. The command was not expressed in words, it was an order communicated by feeling.

And then Lalita began to speak: "You have come too late to gratify your desire. The beauty that you see now perished long ago, frozen to death by your cold conventions. You live for an ideal which has yet to be achieved by man, the supreme animal. You kept your eyes shut to facts of reality. Negation of life was your goal, wasn't it? You adhered to these fallacies and turned into a successful traitor to yourself. Are

you not sorry, ashamed? You believed in the gossip which was not true. Jatin was not the father of the child that was to have been born. How could you have not known it? He was incapable of giving me the love that I desired. And so he committed suicide when he came to know that I was an expectant mother. Needless to add, he suspected you, his trusted friend. I cannot tell who was responsible for the accident. Why need that be told? You made me desperate and I paid for the consequence. It was not my fault but a misfortune thrust upon me by the law of nature. I longed to be a mother and chose you for husband. I indulged my honest desire in my own way when you, outraged, hugged your conventions to your bosom. But that did not prevent you from playing with my love as a cat plays with a mouse, did it? You derived a perverse pleasure from that, didn't you? And now what have I to offer? Nothing. *Nothing.* Not even flesh. I am dead but my love for you still torments me. Can I help haunting you then?"

There was a silence. And then punctuating it, like unseen tappings from behind a screen, came the question repeated over and over, *Can I help haunting you?* until at last it merged in the sound of the clock striking five. I came back to reality with that sound ringing in my ears. No, I was not asleep. My eyes were open. I was as wide awake as I was when the clock had struck the hour of midnight. My ghostly visitors were as real and undeniable as the light of the dawn that had now entered my room.

THE WAY OF MANKIND

The way of mankind has always been hard, and in all human probability will always be hard; only by strenuous and well-directed work can our problems ever be solved; we cannot foresee the difficulties and dangers we shall meet but we can train ourselves to meet them with courage, intelligence, and an unconquerable faith that we can overcome them. Science and technology are necessary in this modern world, but not enough: there must be a driving force and a conscious purpose for which to strive; but given all these I am convinced that man can conquer his difficulties as they arise. But, I repeat, the task will always be hard: the old commandment will always hold true: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.' The consolation is that in facing and overcoming difficulties men rise to their highest stature.

—Sir John Russell.

ESSENTIALS OF PEACE

By WARREN R. AUSTIN

(Permanent U. S. Delegate to the United Nations)

NO debate that has heretofore occurred in the United Nations compares in candour with that which took place in the fourth session of the General Assembly on two resolutions dealing with the urgent problem of world peace.

The two proposals were debated first in the Political and Security Committee, and afterward in a plenary session of the General Assembly. The vote of the delegates was one of unprecedented decisiveness.

The resolution on "Essentials of Peace", proposed by the United States and the United Kingdom, was approved by 53 of the 59 member states of the United Nations. Yugoslavia abstained from the voting on the resolution as a whole, but voted with the majority on several of its paragraphs. The Soviet Union, together with Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Ukraine, voted "No."

The Soviet Union had sponsored the other proposal under consideration. It was a three-part resolution entitled "Condemnation of the Preparations for a New War, and Conclusion of a Five-Power Pact for the Strengthening of Peace". It began by slandering the United States, the United Kingdom and other states unnamed, proposed with deceptive innocence to outlaw the atomic bomb and suggested finally a new five-power peace pact that would include the very countries it had most scurrilously attacked and exclude the 54 other members of the United Nations. It was decisively rejected in a paragraph-by-paragraph vote in the General Assembly.

The debate that preceded the vote on the two resolutions was an exhaustive review of the tensions and fears that exist in the world today and their causes. It was marked by the obvious determination of each of the 53 free nations of the world to seek diligently for an answer to the problems of peace. In the course of the debate, the writings, speeches and statements of Marx, Lenin and Stalin,

as well as those of Andrei Vishinsky and other Communist theoreticians were reviewed in great detail. Soviet policies at Yalta, Potsdam and the Paris Peace Conference, in the Allied Control Council and the Council of Foreign Ministers, in the Security Council, the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations, were analyzed. Soviet actions against Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Iran, Korea, China and the Allied forces in Berlin were recounted. The facts were recorded with accuracy and without unnecessary accusation or condemnation.

The text of the resolution runs thus:

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

DECLARES that the Charter of the United Nations, the most solemn pact of peace in history, lays down basic principles necessary for an enduring peace; that disregard of these principles is primarily responsible for the continuance of international tension; and that it is urgently necessary for all members to act in accordance with these principles in the spirit of co-operation on which the United Nations was founded:

CALLS UPON every nation

TO REFRAIN from threatening or using force contrary to the Charter;

TO REFRAIN from any threats or acts, direct or indirect, aimed at impairing the freedom, independence, or integrity of any state, or at fomenting civil strife and subverting the will of the people in any state;

TO CARRY OUT in good faith its international agreements;

TO AFFORD all United Nations bodies full co-operation and free access in the performance of the tasks assigned to them under the Charter;

TO PROMOTE, in recognition of the paramount importance of preserving the dignity and worth of the human person, full freedom for the peaceful expression of political opposition, full

opportunity for the exercise of religious freedom, and full respect for all the other fundamental rights expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

TO PROMOTE nationally and through international co-operation efforts to achieve and sustain higher standards of living for all peoples;

TO REMOVE the barriers which deny to peoples the free exchange of information and ideas essential to international understanding and peace;

CALLS UPON every member to participate fully in the work of the United Nations;

CALLS UPON the five permanent members of the Security Council to broaden progressively their co-operation and to exercise restraint in the use of the veto in order to make the Security Council a more effective instrument for maintaining peace;

CALLS UPON every nation

TO SETTLE international disputes by peaceful means and to cooperate in supporting United Nations efforts to resolve outstanding problems;

TO CO-OPERATE to attain the effective international regulation of conventional armaments; and

TO AGREE to the exercise of national sovereignty jointly with other nations to the extent necessary to attain international control of atomic energy which would make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons and assure the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

Out of this record came the conviction on the part of the free world that the tension and fears that prevail today have arisen solely from the policies and actions of the Soviet Union. Out of this conviction came the decisive vote on "Essentials of Peace."

Will the Soviet Government accept the judgment of the United Nations? Will the Soviet Government accept the assurance of 53 other nations that the suspicions which darken its approach to the rest of the world have no foundation?

If this debate has led the Soviet Government toward such conclusions, then a great advance has been made toward understanding and toward peace.

We can disagree on many things, but we cannot disagree on the necessity of preventing differences from leading to conflict. We believe the United Nations Charter contains within it the code of conduct that should enable peoples of different ways of life to live together in peace. Our duty is to promote mutual understanding of that code. Our task is to find the best methods of promoting confidence in which divergent views can be harmonized.

Making peace prevail in the hearts of men is a slow process, which involves not only exciting good emotions for the moment, but in convincing the mind that men must really seek to settle their controversies and disputes without the use of force.

The United Nations has stimulated the process of consultation and we have reason now to believe that the broad perspective may be one of harmony. We have a greater appreciation of individual and national characteristics, keener regard for sensibilities, better understanding of individual and collective responsibilities, and deeper wisdom respecting the relationships between large and small nations than we had four years ago. The Soviet Union's agreements to continue consultations in advance of important votes in the Security Council are hopeful signs. This has much to do with the substance of peace, with the strength of our unity, and harmony.

The resolution on "Essentials of Peace" is a measure of the concern felt by those who drafted and supported it to avail themselves of every opportunity to work in the cause of peace. The courses of action recommended in it are those which every nation which assumed the obligations of the United Nations ought to follow. They do not embrace all the principles of the Charter but they do embody the practical steps which should be taken at the points of friction in the world today if the United Nations is to be made a living instrument for maintaining peace.

Peace through faith and works was the primary objective of the resolution that prevailed. Convincing mankind that the accusations of aggression and war-mongering in the

Soviet resolution were false was a secondary objective. As the active representative of one of the sponsors of "Essentials of Peace," I believe that the character of the debate and the decisiveness of the vote contributed materially to the maintenance of peace.

The path of peace was charted in San Francisco where the United Nations was born. Some of the guide posts have been knocked askew by

the events of the past four years, but they can be set straight and the United Nations can go forward again toward its goal.

Allegiance by 53 out of 59 nations to the "Essentials of Peace" gives powerful impetus to that effort. It means that 53 nations are united. Our hope is that 59 may become united. The hand of co-operation is outstretched to those few who as yet remain aloof.

THE CENTRAL BUDGET

By M. S. P.

DR. John Matthai, who has presented Republican India's first budget and the first surplus budget for several years, is to be congratulated more on having maintained the current year's deficit within manageable proportions than on having managed to present a surplus budget for the next year. Despite the fact that the coming year's budget shows a surplus of over one crore of rupees, one cannot but have the feeling that this surplus may after all prove to be as elusive as the one forecast for the current year when the budget was at first presented. Dr. Matthai deserves commendation for the simple fact that this year's revised budget estimates show only a deficit of about Rs. 3 crores while many forecast a deficit of Rs. 30 or even 40 crores, though we do not as yet know how this feat has been achieved. There is also some justification for the Finance Minister having gone wrong in calculating the current year's expenditure. For, the Government of India have been compelled to meet so many unforeseen items of expenditure due to changed internal and external conditions, which could not have been foreseen and provided for by anyone.

But in painting a rosy picture of the economic outlook for the country when presenting the budget for the current year, Dr. Matthai was not only completely wrong; he led many into believing his statements, which later turned out to be thoroughly contrary to facts and entirely un-

called for. He made many people expect an improvement in the economic situation, while in reality no such change was probable—and all these hopes he gave to the people without he himself taking or proposing any steps to solve the economic problem.

If one bears these facts in mind, one cannot but suspect that "the definite turn for the better" which Dr. Matthai is able to see in the present economic situation, which is described as economic chaos by almost every economist in the country, is as mythical as his former forecast. One would have expected Dr. Matthai to have taken a saner view of the whole picture knowing how his former prediction had gone awry. Be he seems to be one endowed with an extraordinary ability for seeing good where everybody else can see only ill.

Leaving alone his review of the current year's economic trends, let us see whether there is any justification for his optimistic view of the future. A first glance at the budget makes us suppose that there is some reason, unlike last year, for Dr. Matthai to evince a "cautious optimism." He has granted several concessions to businessmen in the form of reductions in the rates of Income-tax and Super-tax, and the abolition of the Business Profits Tax altogether. The distinction between earned and unearned incomes for levying the Super-tax has also been abolished, and, most important of all, the Dividend Limitation Act is not

to be renewed. It is only natural for Dr. Matthai to expect that these concessions will bring in its train an increase in business activity, and that investment will revive and industrial production will increase. But the important question is, "Will these expectations be realised?" Dr. Matthai attempts to cajole capital out of its hiding by solemnly declaring that, after careful analysis, he had come to the conclusion that capital was not on "strike." Be his opinion what it may, it is extremely doubtful whether businessmen will feel satisfied with the concessions granted to them, and the "strike" of capital will be called off. They may perhaps feel that another year of industrial depression may enable them to wring from Government more concessions! The reaction of businessmen, to satisfy whom the budget has been purposefully framed, is rather unpredictable in terms of real improvement in the economic situation.

While there have been a large number of concessions in direct taxation, no changes have been made in the field of indirect taxation. And it is indeed difficult to defend the Finance Minister against the charge that he has framed a "capitalist budget." But, as a matter of fact, it is immaterial for the present whether the budget is capitalistic or socialistic. What we want is an improvement in the present economic situation and the betterment of the lot of the common

man. If the budget that has been presented is successful in achieving the ends the Finance Minister has in view, it would have served its purpose. For, if there is any improvement in the economic condition as a result of the concessions granted to businessmen, the common man will also benefit.

The capital budget has been cut down to the minimum, and this is really a wise step. For, a period of inflation when prices are high is not the most opportune moment for the execution of huge schemes. The proper time for putting through such projects is a period of depression, when prices will be low and unemployment rampant, or normal times when the economy of the country would not be seriously harmed by large-scale spending by Government.

Another feature of the budget for which Dr. Matthai deserves full praise is the discontinuance of the protective duty on sugar imports, which has been converted into a revenue duty. Probably the Finance Minister was influenced in his decision by the public reaction against the sugar magnates following the "sugar muddle." But this action is to be welcomed for more than one reason, the most important one being that this should serve as a warning to all capitalists that they would not be allowed to exploit consumers by taking advantage of the protection given to them.

PARLIAMENTARY LANGUAGE.

On one occasion Mr. Churchill began: "I hesitate to cast pearls before—" and paused.

Anticipating the end of the quotation, Labour Members started a terrific uproar. Mr. Churchill waited patiently, until it had subsided enough for his voice to be heard, and then continued: "As I was saying, I hesitate to cast pearls (pause) before those who can't appreciate them!"

Members laughed long and loudly.

It was a Cabinet Minister who was told once by a heckler that he was nothing but an idiot. Quickly the Minister replied: "Then I'm just the man to represent you!"

Sometimes even the most experienced orator pauses in the wrong place. Sir William Jowitt once began a speech with the words: "We are fully alive—" and paused. He got no further. The House hooted with laughter.

Then there was the historic occasion when the late Lord Baldwin started a speech by saying, "I am partly conscious—" and a delighted roar from the opposition drowned the rest of the sentence.

The use of the wrong word in the wrong place is another source of laughter. So Mr. Buchanan found when he apologised for "having hurled epitaphs across the floor."—S. B. in Answers.

JOHN MATHAI

THE SUPER-REALIST SPHINX

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

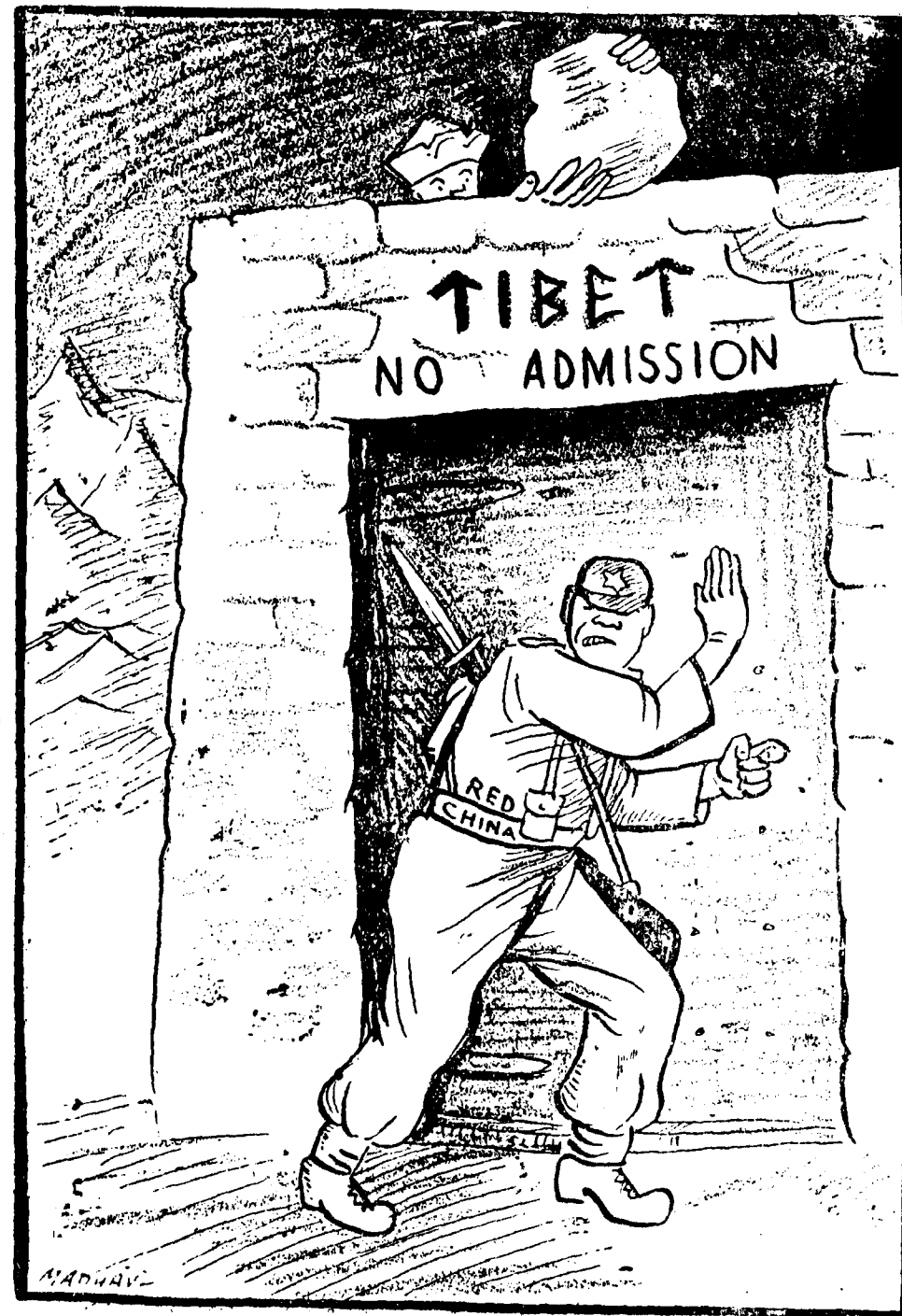
THERE are two many idealists in our legislatures as well as outside it who are never tired of plucking the crown of Asian leadership for India; too many dreamers who pour forth advice to the outside world to follow India's moral leadership; and too many who talk of industrialising India overnight by mere faith and will power. But to worry about such clamant realities, like our food deficits, budget deficits and deficits in export trade is the lot of our unspectacular Finance Minister John Mathai. No better man could have been chosen for the task; not merely does ability unquestioned and long experience of high finance fit him for these arduous tasks, but by nature a silent man, given to cold calculation, he is the best surgeon to get rid of our soaring smoky idealism and bring us down to earth to grapple with realities.

Change is the law of nature, and August 15th, 1947 certainly witnessed tremendous changes in the labels as well as the professions of most men. Revolutionaries became overnight sober liberals, ex-Diwans and title-holders became worshippers at the shrine of democracy and the steel frame of British imperialism became the foundation of a free India. But Mathai never lost his sobriety and never was known to have altered a bit in his habits or utterances. Students who studied under him in the Madras Presidency College decades ago could recognise their silent, shy and cloistered professor easily in his new role as the Finance Minister of India. The Sphinx has not changed all these ages from the time of the Pharaohs to that of Faruq; nor has Mathai, the living Sphinx shed his ingrained silence and sobriety. He is still the same super-realist, still the same old Sphinx.

Born in a middle class Syrian Christian family of Travancore State, Mathai had a brilliant academic

career in India, as well as in the London School of Economics, where he took his doctorate. After a few months in Britain, Mathai started his career as a Professor of Economics in Presidency College. Students came to know him as one of the greatest and most lucid exponents of economics. They knew him equally well as incapable of approach for any favour and even incapable of being persuaded to attend the usual run of social functions.

But Mathai contracted the greatest friendship of his life with Professor Kandeth in the Presidency College. Kandeth and Mathai were really human antipodes. No two men with such exactly opposite characters were ever united in such close friendship. Professor Kandeth was the greatest social success of his time in Madras. A man approachable by anybody and almost incapable of any anger, Kandeth was beloved of his students and colleagues alike. Like Krishna who appeared to each gopi as her most devoted lover, Kandeth had made such a fine art of friendship that to each of his friends he appeared as his closest friend. He could keep all sorts of people spellbound by his endless stream of conversation, from small talk to philosophical profundities, a gift which so much impressed the late Gurudev Tagore that he called Kandeth the greatest conversationalist of Asia. Mathai was the exact opposite of all this. Outside of his classroom lectures, he was always to be found buried in books in the library of the college or his house. His icy silence froze those officious and even well-meaning people who wanted to bring him out of his seclusion. At those unavoidable college functions, Mathai always took refuge in the company of Kandeth and depended on him entirely to see him through what appeared to him an inevitable nuisance.



"OPEN AND BE LIBERATED!"

But his mantle of forbidding silence has served him in good stead in keeping away not only the officious and the foolish but those who wanted to inveigle him into granting favours. Incurruptibility is another name for Mathai. It is not simple incurruptibility of being above temptation but a cultivated or inborn unapproachability, which makes scandal wither and wilt in the scorching heat of his reserve. A good Finance Minister must not only be incurruptible himself but also the source of incurruptibility in others charged with financial administration. Mathai forbids all lapses from integrity with a mere look and a grunt. His closest friends are terrified about approaching him even for small favours for deserving people. Here is concrete evidence of it from a letter of his great friend Kandeth to a student who asked him to put in a word about him to Mathai who was then on the Tariff Board:

"To come to the point, I am afraid it is not possible to write to Dr. Mathai. He is a man with very delicate scruples in these matters, and I know from the experience of others that he much dislikes making use of his official position as Member of the Tariff Board, to press on any one connected with any industry under enquiry, the claims of any individual for office. Knowing Dr. Mathai as well as I do, it will not be possible for me to do what I am convinced will in no way advance your cause. . . . I write this not to get away from the trouble of writing to him, which is easy enough, but because I am convinced that it will be against your own interest. I hope you will be so good as to take what looks like a refusal in the spirit in which it is meant. I know Dr. Mathai. I know his views on questions of this sort; and what is more, I know what happened to those who approached him in the way you want me to do".

They were discussing feminine rights at a dinner table at which sat Yvonne Printemps. "All that argumentation seems useless to me," said her neighbour, "Which woman would not rather be beautiful than intelligent?"

"That's true," replied Yvonne, "But do you know why? Because most men are dull; but very few are blind."—March, Paris.

If what happened was enough to deter Kandeth, Mathai's closest friend, no wonder others dared not think of it!

Mathai, who has denied himself the luxuries of social intercourse, reserves the warmth of his affections for facts and figures. They are his unfailing companions, true guides and closest friends. He revels in blue books and delights to read and digest statistics and statements as if they were *Tristram Shandy* or *Robinson Crusoe*. But his eagle eye detects easily the smallest fallacy in argument or a gap in statistics for he is no theatrical economist but a practical financier. His love of facts and figures has made him an uncompromising critic of idealists, who are prone to forget them, or to pay them scant attention. His incurruptibility is not simply immunity from the lures of money and office but from even the ridicule of the populace and the wrath of well-meaning friends. Did he not say, as a Member of the Liberal Federation's Committee to report on Pakistan, that Pakistan was financially feasible, when pious Congressmen were forecasting its economic ruin? Have not facts proved that our sister dominion cannot go down like a house of cards, simply because of lack of finance. Is not his recent speech on the necessity of devaluation a damning piece of evidence against Commonwealth connections, a speech which only Mathai, who loves facts more than office, could have made?

Our Government is fortunate in having a Mathai to look after its pennies when there are only too many who talk about the coming paradise, a paradise which is always coming but rarely approaches within our handgrasps. Mathai is enough compensatory ballast for all political Alnaschars in India, for he is a super-realist, who will not leave his facts and figures for any other love, and a Sphinx who will not scatter words except when occasion demands.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

By V. S. RAMAKRISHNAN

THE decline of university education's influence on Indian life and the serious dearth of technical skill when it is most needed are some of our grave problems in a free India. According to statistical information available from time to time literacy in India is below 20%. This should bewilder anyone with the capacity to understand what potential danger it means to the country in its orderly progress to a better and higher standard of efficiency.

Since the present Government came into being various plans have been drawn up to spread literacy in India. The Government have also in their hands the report of the Universities Commission appointed by them in 1947. These steps are, however, essentially long-term ones designed to attain the desired results at least not before 7 or 8 years. It is proposed to open more schools and colleges for imparting education to a greater number of youths, besides schools for adult education. All this is good. Nevertheless, there is no escaping from the fact that to alleviate the numerous discrepancies in the educational field, short-term measures are also necessary. Firstly, ways and means should be devised by which a proper marketing of the country's educational turnover is made. It is well known that the country as a whole is in dire need of the proper type of trained personnel to play the role of helmsmen in the various industries. Facilities for making available to the youths of this country specialised and higher education are being arranged. But, curiously enough, hundreds of holders of degrees in the field of Engineering and allied technical fields are turned out every year and yet no proper, well-thought-out plan seems to have been made to absorb these youths into the proper sources. It is not an uncommon sight to see B.Sc.s., M.A.s., M.Sc.s. and other, high technical degree holders queuing up with matriculates before Employment Exchanges and Government Offices to occupy the ageless, creaking chairs of

Lower or Upper Division Clerks. Why should it happen? Is it that the proper kind of employment is not available to these youths, or is the situation of their own making?

In this connection, reference must be made to the practice in vogue at present, of sending youths to England, America and other countries for acquiring higher and specialised knowledge in the various technical lines. Many have come back after receiving such training. But, it is worth finding out whether these youths with all their specialised knowledge will form the quantum to meet the country's dire need for men with the technical knowhow. Only a few students who "can afford" foreign education go out for their studies and invariably they are the children of parents owning industrial concerns or private employers who go with the exclusive object of making use of such higher knowledge for the particular industry in which they are interested. Leaving aside the question of whether foreign-acquired education is always better or of a higher standard than that acquired in our own universities, we may also ask why the legitimate claims of poor graduates for overseas study trips are often either not taken cognisance of, or are brushed aside to give preference to the applications of youths whose only qualification is a private income or the dubious privilege of being acquainted with big shots and wire pullers.

Think on the other hand of the economy of a policy whereby two professors from each University in India are sent to foreign countries for higher studies, who could make available the results of their study on their return to their students here. This method of sending University Professors to foreign countries can also be clubbed with a supplementary scheme aiming at visits by foreign Professors to India and arrangements for lectures by them to Indian students. Of course visits by University students from abroad to India and vice versa are of immense value in fostering better relations between

the countries concerned, but this step will be most beneficial when such visits are in the nature of cultural or goodwill missions.

Coming to students again, there is a deep-rooted weakness in them and in their parents to believe that their home province is the heaven and earth for them, and even if a Chemistry Graduate gets a Lower Division Clerk's post for a few tens of rupees a month, there is satisfaction all round. This is a very regrettable thing and a radical change in this parochial outlook is very necessary indeed. Our youths should think in terms of the country and not in terms of a district or province or state and be glad to get themselves absorbed in a post which needs their particular qualifications most, in whatever part of the country that source is situated. Parents also should co-operate in encouraging young people to leave home and make their career and fortune away from home-grown superstitions and prejudices and narrowmindedness. To create, therefore, the right atmosphere for the resettlement of our technical personnel in scientific institutions, chemical factories, industrial concerns, and firms, the various interests concerned—the Universities, the Manufacturing Firms, the Government and the Parents—should co-operate. A scheme of distribution of qualified hands must also be drawn up.

The Universities would do well to create a special department to keep a record of the activities of the various manufacturing firms in the country and to arrange for absorption of their students in such industries either for direct service or for apprenticeship so that the student can go directly from the University to a firm or institution or association either to train himself or to start his career as the case may be, without

loss of any appreciable time. We come across many high degree holders, who do not know whether a particular chemical is manufactured in India and if so, by which firm, whether provisions and facilities exist for production and assemblage of, say, radio receivers, to what extent the indigenous automobile firms are able to use Indian-made spare parts and so on and so forth. It is exactly to play the role of a corrective to this unhappy situation that the above suggestion is put forth.

Secondly, the Manufacturing Firms should draw their technical manpower from these Universities direct and make use of them after a little training, rather than get what I may call "one firm a year" men. They should keep themselves in regular touch with the Universities and try to utilise and improve the educational productivity of the country.

Thirdly, the Government wherever possible should not hesitate to legislate for better standards of education, resettlement and exploitation of the vast unlimited educational reserves of the country.

In conclusion, Education, like Defence, should be solely a central subject and not left to the whims and fancies of Provincial Ministries. The dangerous effects of Provincial autonomy are already being felt gradually and the fanatic rash experiments in education carried on by some of the Provincial Education ministers have already proved a menace to the proper growth of education in the country. Let not the education of the growing generation—which is to uphold the status of the country in the days to come—be left to inexperienced hands in the Provinces. Negligence in doing so can only result in a serious retarding of the national growth.

Into La Guardia's office strode three smooth-shaven, carefully shorn, well-manicured Russian purchasing agents wearing formal morning attire correct down to the last stripe in their trousers. In unison they bowed politely to the Mayor of New York. He rose at their entrance, but was caught off balance by the splendour of his guests. He looked down sheepishly at his usual old baggy-trousered suit with the fraying cuffs. But the contrast didn't floor Fiorello. He extended his hand in welcome. "Gentlemen," he said solemnly, "I represent the proletariat!"—James G. Coniff.

THE NEED OF THE TIMES

By D. V. RAJA RAO

BEFORE the advent of Gandhiji the Congress was more or less the political hobby of the patriotic rich. Gandhiji made it a dynamic power in the country. The first Non-violent Non-Cooperation movement was a movement of the educated middle class. This educated middle class though small in number were the most vocal and they formed the core of public opinion. Gandhiji caught the imagination of this class by his philosophy and programme. This class consisted mostly of lawyers, doctors, students and petty officials. This class was mostly dominated by Brahmins for various reasons. The British in their shrewdness anticipated trouble from this class and they tried to meet it by creating and encouraging communal jealousies and antagonisms. In South India, the result of this British policy was the Justice Party. This party came into power under British patronage purely on the principle of communal difference and policy of communal discrimination. The educated minority amongst the upper-class non-Brahmins who were feeling the competition with Brahmins in services and public life, rather hard, formed the core and strength of this party. The Congress was then keeping aloof from parliamentary politics and so the Justice Party had a free field for over ten years. They held all the ministries under the Montague-Chelmsford reforms. But their outlook being confined to the betterment of a few educated upper-class non-Brahmins in the services and in public life, they failed to do any substantial good to the masses in general even in the limited autonomy they enjoyed.

In the meantime the Congress forged ahead with its constructive programme and increasingly gained the confidence and support of the masses. The second struggle for independence was based on an economic issue which appealed to the masses and the Salt Satyagraha was a resounding success as a mass movement. The outcome of that movement was the 1935 Act. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress,

averse as they were to be side-tracked by parliamentary preoccupations accepted to work the provincial autonomy of the 1935 Act under certain conditions. The interest of the Congress in that programme was limited to the extent they could take advantage of the Act to paralyse British Imperialism in India. The Congress was fully aware of the distraction parliamentary programme could cause from the main struggle for freedom and also of the demoralisation that power could bring about. Naturally, the pick of the Congress kept aloof from the parliamentary programme and the parliamentarians were subjected to the strict supervision and control of the Congress High Command. The sweeping success of the Congress at the polls not only demonstrated the mass strength of the Congress but also the utter failure of the British to disrupt the Hindu community by encouraging communal factions. The stalwarts of the Justice Party occupying high positions in the Government, were literally swept off their feet by mere non-entities in the Congress. Those elections made it clear to everybody that it was only a question of time before the Congress achieved its objective of an Independent India.

The communalists of the Justice Party quickly learnt their lesson. The far-sighted and the intelligent amongst them soon began to infiltrate into the Congress. The Congress in its anxiety to take every Indian into its organisation and make itself completely representative of the country, received them with open arms. But their motives were not patriotic. They were self-seekers from the first to the last. They entered Congress only in anticipation of the Congress coming into power in an Independent India. The 1942 movement and the long suppression of the Congress afterwards, during the war, gave these communalists in the Congress a golden opportunity to consolidate their position in it. Their communal ideology was infectious and many a power-seeking Congress-

man joined them. The strength of the communalists in the Congress in South India was first demonstrated when Sri Rajagopalachari was more or less driven out of the body politic in South India inspite of the support he had from Gandhiji and the High Command. However, Sri Prakasam was popular enough in the composite province of Madras to come into leadership inspite of the communalists and the High Command. Even then it was openly being said that Mr. Prakasam's leadership would not last a year. It was very unfortunate that the High Command, directly or indirectly helped the communalists to oust Mr. Prakasam from the leadership. The result of all those happenings is that we have now a communal-biased Government and administration in our province. The ministers are formed on a communal basis, administration is run on a communal basis, jobs are given on a communal basis, and even education is imparted on a communal basis. Little attention is paid to efficiency or integrity. An administration run in the interests of certain communities and individuals, is in its very nature bound to be inefficient and corrupt and not in the real interests of the people in general.

Before Independence was achieved the Congress was asking for support from everybody and claiming that till Independence was achieved, there was no room for other issues and other parties. That was true enough and every patriot got into the Congress. Only anti-national, anti-social and selfish loyalist (to the British Government) elements and passive citizens were outside the Congress. These enjoyed British patronage but not the confidence of the people. With the departure of their British patrons they have lost their position in our public and political life. So that we are left with only the leadership of the Congress with no alternative to choose. Unfortunately, the Socialists that came out of the Congress are neither strong nor do they have a convincing policy or programme. The Congress, like all unchallenged power, is getting demoralised and corrupt and in South India it is mostly due to the communal-minded and selfish people that crept into it. It

is often argued that the better elements among the public should join the Congress and reform and strengthen it. But the Congress Constitution and the unscrupulous power-seekers that already dominate it, make it impossible. The unseemly and corrupt practices that these power-seekers—ministerialists and non-ministerialists alike—are adopting to dominate the Congress bodies, in anticipation of the next elections, are so repugnant to any decent mind that self-respecting and honest people feel reluctant to enter into that degrading race.

Now that we are free there is no point in insisting on strengthening the Congress and discouraging opposition to it. There may not be much opposition to the Congress policies in general. But there is certainly a lot of opposition to inefficient and corrupt day to day government. Congress, particularly in South India, has allowed itself to be dominated by communalists and unscrupulous self-seekers. It is more or less impossible to disturb them from their positions of vantage. It is high time that the more patriotic and principled elements in the Congress who put public good above selfish and narrow interests come out of the Congress and join issue with similar elements outside it and destroy these cankers of communalism and corruption which are weakening the nation, disrupting society and making life insecure and intolerable. Their hesitation to stand against their mother organisation is misplaced loyalty. A strong opposition is the only democratic means of correcting demoralisation in authority. Unless the strength and security that these unrighteous are feeling in the protection of the Congress, is shaken, they will not get out of their complacent disregard of public opinion. Unless the better citizens of India stand against these corrupt elements in the Congress there is neither hope of reforming the Congress nor of having a good and efficient government in the near future. If they cannot do it from within, they will have to come out and work for it. Is the citizen of India bold enough and courageous enough to do it?

WANTED—A RELIGION

By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

“DO you suppose this generation really wants a religion, Swamiji, or needs it?”

“Of course. Everybody needs a religion,” said Swami Prabhavananda, Head of the Ramakrishna Mission in Hollywood, who was on a visit to the city.

“I think what we, I am speaking personally of course, want is a way of life, not a religion as it is usually meant.”

“Religion is a way of life.”

“I meant what we want is a *workable* everyday formula for safeguarding our souls from drifting into chaos.”

“Why?”

“Because we have neither the time nor the energy for God. God like Art, asks the whole person. And, moreover, our reason won't permit us to give ourselves wholly to something we neither see nor hear nor feel.”

“Why not? Or you afraid then of coming face to face with your True Self?”

“What is my True Self?”

“The God within you. The Great Permanence.”

“I don't understand you.”

“It is the Inner You which is Real, which is Everlasting, Imperishable. All else is Unreal, *Maya*.”

I took a deep breath.

“Swamiji,” I said, “What I want to ask you is this. Must Religion necessarily involve a God, something divine and supreme and all-powerful? I have no time for formal religion as you know it. I am not able honestly to believe in lighting lamps before clay images or breaking coconuts. What is the matter with me, with all of us?”

“You don't believe in something more than man?”

“No.”

“Why did you come here?”

“I told you. I am a journalist.”

“But it was not mere work which

brought you here. Nor mere curiosity. Wasn't there something else?”

Was there? I am still trying to answer that question without being hypocritical, embarrassed or ashamed.

I admit most people like me, by which I mean you and you and you, are from time to time plagued by doubts about fundamental things which we, at our less bewildered moments, take for granted. There comes to us from nowhere a troubled question which trembles on the rim of our understanding till distraction drowns it. A time, a place, a situation, a simple everyday query or a mood brings it up again and suddenly all shape and form, all concrete evidence of reality as we know it, seems to disintegrate before our eyes and only the question remains blocking our very blood-stream. *Why? Why* did such and such a thing happen? The answer also, we often feel, is deep within our own consciousness but we are afraid, reluctant, to fish it out. And so we stop wondering why. For if we continue to wonder we would come by a logical process to the next *why* which would lead to a third and so forth on and on like a row of houses leading to a dead-end. There is a friend of mine who in such moments of introspection goes for a walk and sweats it out of his system. There is another who visits the nearest temple and peers long and earnestly at the image in the half-lighted darkness of the adytum trying to find his answer there. I think most of us have these moods and the fortunate thing about them is that they are only moods and needs must pass after a time. This brief passionate collision with the wall at the dead-end constitutes, I suppose, our transitory, intermittently alive, religion. I dare say that is what Swami Prabhavananda meant, that asking questions is the beginning of faith.

I often wonder what has happened to us which did not happen to the last generation. They were able to “stretch lame hands of faith” and “faintly trust the larger hope.” We

do not use our hands now. We use that shining, precise, brittle mechanism that we call the brain-box and that takes no cognisance of the indefinable anonymity which our parents called God. "Once a person has faith he has achieved anything," said Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. We now disown that faith in a higher power, we are ashamed almost to possess it, because dragged to the bar of Reason which we have learnt to swear by, it dissolves like mist under the sun. And so we call ourselves atheists, skeptics and non-believers. God is a word which is fast getting out of fashion. Huxley in his *Brave New World* prophesied a time when the word *Mother* would be thought an obscenity used only out of a vulgar desire to shock people. The word God has reached that stage of evolution. But because we renounce God it does not necessarily follow we deny the need for Religion.

So first let us ask ourselves the question, what exactly do we *mean* by religion? Dr. Percy Dearmen calls it "the synthesis of ultimate values." Webster calls it "practical piety." A. S. Neill explains it as being closely related to happiness. And all orthodox religions recommend surrender of the self as a signpost to salvation. Surrender. Acceptance. An unquestioning suppression of self. If that is religion then we are not lost at all. For though we are reluctant to accept the God which our grandfathers bequeathed to us, we have found a number of remarkably satisfying substitutes for it which we have gladly accepted, like Country, Humanity, Service. In other words, we are making our own religion now, a religion no less powerful, no less gratifying and no less absorbing than what we have had for so long. But it has no Heaven in it nor Hell. It has only Peace and Death. We live and die for a cause, in an adventure, by order of government. It amounts to this, that we are no less religious than our fathers; our gods are different, that is all. The patriot who surrenders his body and soul and life for his country, deserves of heaven as unquestionably as the monk who, renouncing the world, throws himself upon the mercy of an unseen power in the silent wilderness. The crux of the matter

lies in whether our new-found religion can give us *complete* spiritual satisfaction, whether when the garlands wither on our brow, there is not an emptiness, an inner vacuum, an unfilled pocket of feeling.

But the tragedy is that not all of us have even this all-absorbing interest which demands and takes our whole person. Even the consolation of a material god is denied to most of us. And it is these drifting fragments of humanity who are constantly nagged by this everlasting question: *Is there really a God?* The temptation to believe there is a God is irresistible. Everything around us proclaims His being. Our reason might not suffice to comprehend it but the instincts of our soul which are going down and down under the heavy weight of newer and newer knowledge, secretly accept the belief. And, moreover, it makes everything so much simpler. The dead-end becomes a Royal high-way and in the distance twinkle the lights of Heaven. But to acquire this belief without acquiring alongside with it the sustaining moral power of a tradition of superstition and formalism, is difficult indeed. For acceptance of a mythical deity of unknown power naturally involves acceptance of the myth itself, the legends, the wonders of orthodox religion, its worship, penance, sacrifice and its denials. The downright heretic is not so much to be pitied as such of our indeterminate fellow creatures who have neither the consolation of a material refuge nor the strength of soul to refuse to accept the gods of the Faithful.

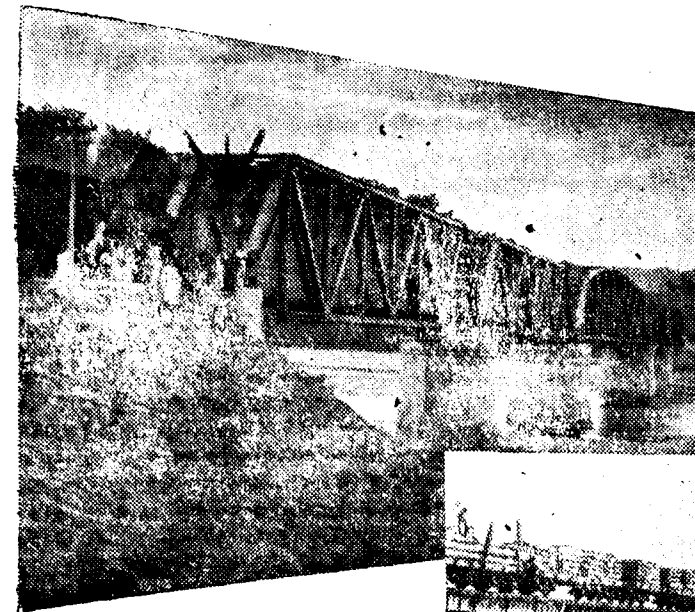
*"What will be there to remember
Of us in the days to be?
Whose faith was a trodden ember,
And even our doubt not free?"*

It is the theme-song of the spiritual wilderness in which we, escaped, brain-mad animals wander as lost souls damned in the fire of our own doubt.

I am not writing in defence of this generation or of this time because as I see it there is nothing to defend. It is a stage in human evolution, it is as simple as that. If some of us are on the way to destroying ourselves, well, there will be others to carry on in their place and a new

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Swami Prabhavananda with some of his American disciples.

life will rise again. The mind, the intellect, the thoughts of people all over the world are growing and changing and developing at a pace never known before. We have begun to think like machines and have learnt to make machines which think like us. Life in many of its aspects has become a face of infinite and entrancing vulgarity. But the soul has remained a constant factor, changeless, perpetual, inviolate. And feeding this elusive, troublesome, fixed part of our changing physical being has become our one big problem. And since we are unable any longer to accept established religious codes and systems, we are for ever on the quest for a new creed, a new doctrine. The spiritual satisfaction we derive from country or service to humanity or devotion to science is not, I am convinced, by itself *complete*. It is to some extent external, it is outside of us. We want something for our inside, something personal, a belief or a thing of adaptable beauty, a source of strength and solace.

No, Swamiji, what we want is not profound platitudes and clever cliches and talks about You and I and of Vision and *Maya* and *Avidya*, True Self, Sin and Salvation. These words find no echo in our hearts. And even

the faint desire in us to believe in these mysterious-sounding words is for ever being thwarted by the corruption and lack of integrity and common decency even in the circles of men professionally dedicated to God. Temples are being built, incense burnt, a never-ending barter carried on with a clay image, but an awful thought comes to us that Jesus of Nazareth walked among the humble and the lowly and spoke to them under an open sky about the simple things of living. He spoke of love and tolerance and forgiveness and gave us the assurance that the Kingdom of God is within us. How can we accept the short-cut to salvation which self-appointed 'sky-pilots' offer us or even be beguiled by entrancing words like Self and Permanence or talk of the Vedanta and Purana schools of religious thought? Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa bid us renounce the unrighteous among us. He said: "God undoubtedly dwells in the hearts of all—holy and unholy, righteous and unrighteous; but a man should not have dealings with the unholy, the wicked, the impure. He must not be intimate with them. With some of them he may exchange words, but with others he shouldn't go even that far. He should



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keep aloof from such people." Apart from the moral acceptability or otherwise of such an injunction, the advice is not practicable. How do I judge who is good and who is wicked? But firstly, how *dare* I judge? Is there any one of us who is completely good or completely wicked? Even granting a man is completely wicked, what is to happen to him if all the good people shun him and refuse him guidance? Virtue which is so frail and corruptible that it dares not bring itself into contact with vice for fear of breaking itself is not virtue at all. Again, the Master has advised us to "go into solitude now and then and think of God." Which God? And where is the solitude which is to shelter us? The Bible, said the Master, talked about "nothing but sin.... He who says day and night, 'I am a sinner, I am a sinner' verily becomes a sinner." That pale Galilean who died on the cross spoke of forgiveness and his bosom was warm enough and wide enough and deep enough to shelter the sick, the humble and the wicked. To be constantly humiliated by the thought of one's own shortcomings is the first step

in man's attempt to get rid of them. Realisation precedes Repentance.

I have answered my question without embarrassment, after all. It was not my work alone which took me to the Swamiji from Hollywood. It was to find out something. It was to consult him about my soul. It has been giving a little trouble lately, it is restless, irritable, discontented. I looked at his handsome countenance and the halo round him which comes with years of clean, healthy living. I looked at his tender pretty feet and his fine complexion. I saw the devotees come marching in a line to make him obeisance, and the baskets of fruits and offerings placed on the table for his acceptance. I thought: Here is a man who is not entirely of the other world, he can tell me what I want to know. But I don't think he understood what I wanted. He spoke like all the rest a language which sounded to me like the language of a book written many, many years ago. What I wanted was a religion, not of God, but of Man; not of Heaven but of the good, warm Earth; not of Fear but of Hope and Freedom. Are there no such gods, Swamiji?

OPERATION S.

Someone once remarked about Ernest Bevin: "He murders the English language but mirrors the souls of millions of English people."

When this large, lumbbersome trade union leader, with a face as rugged as an Epstein sculpture, was made Foreign Secretary in 1945 he went to Potsdam and inquired sharply of the Civil Servants present: "What is going to be done about S?" A note was circulated through the Foreign Office: "What about S?"

"And who the hell is S?" expostulated an official in exasperation. The mystery was finally solved—Bevin was referring to Rudolph Hess. —Virginia Cowles.

WORDS, WOMEN AND WISDOM

The best time to end an argument is before she starts.

—A. A. Lattimer.

A man who doesn't have a will of his own always can marry one. The man who claims to understand women probably means only this his hearing is good.—Kenneth L. Krichbaum.

Things have almost reached the point where marriage is considered sufficient ground for divorce.—Kay Ingram.

No modern girl will bother to knit socks for a fellow unless she expects to take over the job of darning them too.—The Post.

Radio will never be wholly satisfactory to the listener until he can turn off unpopular programmes with a click that will be heard in the studio.—Radiobladet.

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.

Darimila Inams

The long awaited legislation viz., the Zamindari Abolition Act has at last come into force. As is usual with all other enactments in this Act also new and unexpected difficulties have cropped up when the Act is put into operation. One of such is the position of the darimila inamdar.

What is a darimila inam? How are they created? What is their present position under the Zamindari Abolition Act?

Ever so many acts and regulations have been passed since the Permanent Settlement Regulation XXV of 1802 but curiously enough the term 'darimila inam' has remained undefined. In a decision of the Madras High Court reported in I.L.R. 50 Mad. 961 a darimila inam has been defined as an inam granted by the Zamindar subsequent to the Permanent Settlement as opposed to inams granted prior to the Permanent Settlement and excluded from the assets of the Permanently settled estates and afterwards enfranchised by the inam rules.

These darimila inams are considerable in number. These have been granted by the Zamindars subsequent to the Permanent Settlement to persons either out of regard or for past services rendered.

The position of the darimila inamdar under the Abolition Act appears to be undefined. Some are of opinion that the darimila inams also stand abolished along with the Zamindaris and yet some others view that the abolition act would not apply to darimila inams.

It has been clearly stated in the Permanent Settlement Regulation XXV of 1802 that no part of an estate permanently assessed can be exempted from bearing its portion of public tax. Sec. 12 of Regulation XXV of 1802 runs thus:—"It shall not be competent to proprietors of land to appropriate any part of the estate permanently assessed to religious or charitable or to any other purposes by which it may be intended to exempt such lands from bearing their portion of the public tax...."

However, landholders of permanently settled estates have made various grants of portions of land in Zamindari villages without getting such portions separately registered or separately assessed to Government revenue. All along the landholder has been paying the peishkush

payable on the lands granted as inams by him subsequent to the Permanent Settlement. At the time of the inam commission the darimila inams were not enfranchised because the inam commission was concerned only with regard to inams, the income from which was excluded at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

The Zamindar under the Permanent Settlement is not better than a collection agent. The Government had the first charge over the proprietary interest of the zamindar for their peishkush. The Government did not recognise the subsequent grants made by the zamindar and hence mention of it was not made in the subsequent acts. Taking advantage of this some are of the opinion that since a darimila inam does not come under the definition of an estate: Sec. 3 (2) of the M.E.L. Act, the abolition act would not apply to darimila inams. When the Government have not recognised darimila inams how can we find a place for them in the enactments passed by the Government from time to time? It is improper to conclude thereby that the abolition act does not apply to darimila inams which form part and parcel of the permanently settled estates. When permanently settled estates are affected there is no possibility for portions of such permanently settled estates to remain unaffected.

It has been clearly pointed out by the Prakasam Committee in their report in 1938 that the darimila inams will stand abolished by virtue of the abolition of Zamindaris since these inams were carved out in contravention of Sec. 12 of the Permanent Settlement Regulation XXV of 1802. The Prakasam Committee pointed out that the decisions given by the Privy Council in 45 Mad. 586 and the Full Bench of the Madras High Court in 40 Mad. 1012 have been wrongly pronounced as the court's attention was not drawn to Sec. 12 of Regulation XXV of 1802.

Even in Act XXVI of 1948 (i.e. the Zamindari Abolition Act) the term 'darimila inam' has not been defined. But a darimila inamdar has been defined as a landholder in Sec. 2 (8) (ii). Even according to Sec. 12 of the Act which deals with the grant of pattas to landholders, the darimila inamdar cannot claim a ryotwari patta in respect of his lands.

Then, is the darimila inamdar entitled to any portion of the compensation? Ac-

cording to Sec. 42 (1) the Darimila inamdar is entitled to apply for a portion of the compensation as he is a landholder within the meaning of Sec. 2(8) (ii). But the Zamindar may object to the claims put forth by the darimila inamdars. Perhaps he is right in doing so. The Zamindar granted darimila inams on the payment of a favourable rent—kattubadi, and has been all along paying the proportionate peishkush thereon, possibly far in excess of the kattubadi to the Government. So we cannot expect the Zamindar to be liberal and generous when his own purse is being affected.

In the result the Abolition Act hits hard the darimila inamdars. As the act stands at present no relief can be given to the darimila inamdar. However it is equitable if the interests of the Darimila inamdars are safeguarded. It could only be done by the Government amending the act so as to suit the darimila inamdar by exercising the right reserved in Sec. 68 of the Abolition Act.

K. NAGESWARA RAO.

Vizianagaram.

Doctors and the Prohibition Act

It seems the Government has by a recent Gazette notification added certain drugs to the list of prohibited spirituous preparations. Among them is Tincture Cardamon Co., a drug that is universally used by doctors. The department has not circularised the members of the Medical profession about it. Naturally some of them especially those in isolated areas have been ignorant of the notification. Pharmaceutical firms continue to sell the product to doctors.

During the past few weeks several medical practitioners—to my knowledge—have been arrested, harassed and subjected to indignities by the subordinate prohibition staff, merely for the possession of the drug, that used to go into almost every routine mixture.

The Government should hasten to issue instructions to the subordinate prohibition staff to use discretion in dealing with respectable citizens. Their behaviour is fast creating bitterness among doctors here.

I wonder why the local prohibition Sub-Inspector could not have warned the handful of doctors within his jurisdiction about the impending operation of this new section. We expect the servants of a Peoples' Government to be helpful to the public and not to harass them under the cloak of law and authority.

S. CHERIYAN.

Srivaikuntam.

Justice Denied!

The Madras Ministers have been officially exonerated. The report of Sri Rajendra Prasad on the Madras Ministerial affairs has stunned the public of the Madras Province as such a judgment was never expected from him. Sri Prasad was evidently influenced by some people from behind. Any man from any corner of this Province who has really been suffering all these years together due to the mal-administration of the Madras Ministers can vouchsafe for the truth of the charges made against them.

We see discontentment everywhere among the people towards Congress Governments. And now for the sake of a group in the Congress the Madras Ministers have been acquitted by the Congress tribunal. This particular group headed by Sardar Patel and others have been making every attempt to own power permanently in India. That is why justice is found nowhere in the Congress administration of today.

I hope Sri Prasad who, I think, has unintentionally, because of pressure from partymen, associated himself with this "heartless, inhuman and undemocratic assassination of justice," would try rightly to understand and feel the disappointment of the people of Madras and liberate himself from bonds with unhealthy groups within the Congress.

M. R. KRISHNA.

Amalapuram.

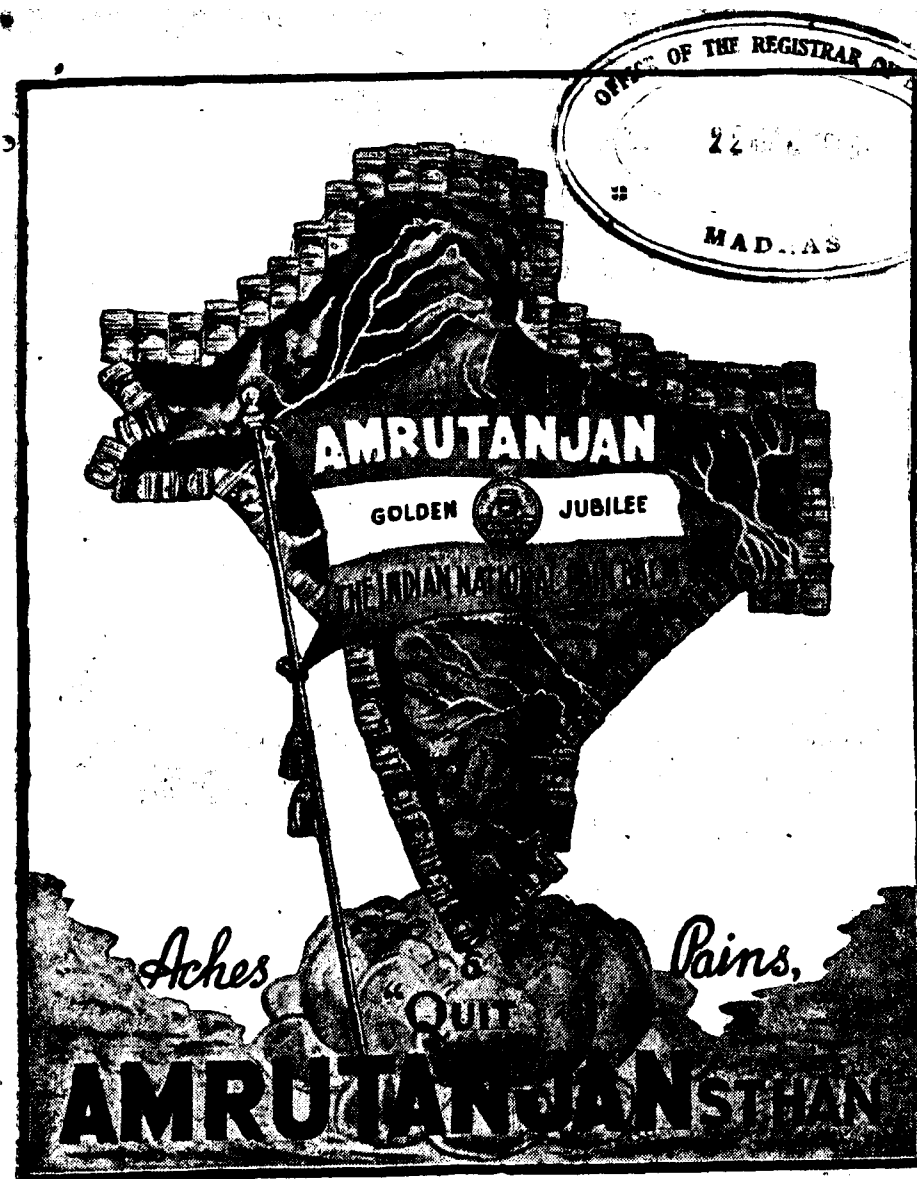
A Call to the Andhras

A question was put by Dr. John in the Madras Legislature on 27th February regarding the formation of Andhra Province, namely, "whether it was a fact to say that the question of Andhra Province was dead and buried." The reply given by the Leader of the House, Dr. Rajan, that, "if it was dead they would first arrange for the funeral," is a great insult to the whole of Andhra Desa and it shows the position of the Andhras in a free India and the treatment that is meted out to them. The Andhra leaders must protest against such a treatment and they must prove that Andhras are neither blind nor dumb, and that they also have a voice in free India. The leaders must be prepared to conduct even a satyagraha campaign to keep up the respect of the Andhra community.

I appeal to our great Andhra leaders to keep up the prestige of the Andhras in a free India. People must remember that they also were responsible to some extent for the achievement of freedom.

Y. V. KRISHNA RAO.

Kakinada.



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THE KHAMA CASE

SEROWE is a small place in Africa but it bids fair to become as celebrated as Bardoli in India. For Serowe is the capital of the Bamangwato reserve in the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland and the Bamangwato tribe has resolved not to pay taxes to the Government till their chief, Seretse Khama, is allowed to resume his chieftainship over the tribe. The Khama case has already caused no small embarrassment to the Labour Government and unless the wrong done to Seretse is righted, its reputation as the upholder of progressive racial policies and democratic rights, will suffer irreparable damage. The facts of the case are simple: Seretse Khama, chief-designate of the Bamangwato tribe, married a London typist in September, 1948, during his stay in England for studies. The marriage was disapproved by the tribal assembly at the beginning, but in June 1949, the tribe expressed itself unmistakably in favour of Seretse and his white wife. This was followed by the voluntary exile of Seretse's uncle, Tshekedi, who was the Regent during Seretse's minority, and some leading men of the tribe. A judicial enquiry was held into the question of succession, but its report has not been made public despite persistent demand from M. P.s. in the House of Commons. On the basis of the report and in consultation with the High Commissioner for the Protectorate, who is also the High Commissioner in South Africa, the Government decided to keep Seretse out of his Gadl. Seretse was invited to London in the middle of last month and attempts were made to "persuade"

him to renounce voluntarily his claim to the succession. On his refusal to oblige, he was told that the High Commissioner would be instructed to withhold recognition of Seretse's succession as chief of his tribe and that he would have to reside outside the Protectorate for a period of five years at the end of which the question would be reconsidered. When the matter was raised in the Commons, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Gordon-Walker, denied that the Government had been influenced either by the South African Union Government's opposition to mixed marriages or that they had tricked Seretse Khama into coming over to London only to be told that he had been exiled from his native country. The Government's only concern, he said, was the unity and well-being of the tribe. If that is so, it is clear from the tribe's complete boycott of the "Kgotla" (tribal assembly) called by the High Commissioner to announce the ban on Seretse, and their decision to stop paying taxes that the Bamangwato have different ideas as to how their well-being should be promoted. This is not the first time that the British Government, in dealing with a subject people, have taken a decision in the name of maintaining law and order which has led to serious disorders. The Government have professedly no objection to mixed marriages; but the only thing that stands in the way of Seretse succeeding as chief is his English wife. The inference is irresistible that the British Government were influenced by their High Commissioner, who was well aware of the Malan Government's un-



IN BLACK AND WHITE

manoeuvred in it. The unfortunate farmer raves at the watchman and he blames it all on Raman, the village wastrel, for letting loose "that she-devil, his crop-tailed cow" every night. But Raman snaps his finger at outraged property, blandly maintaining that the *talayari* must have dreamt it in his drunken sleep.

Predatory cattle have a rich sense of humour. If the hapless *talayari*, seeing Raman's darling grazing demurely on the village common, should in his simplicity stalk her in the hope of revenging himself with a mighty thwack on her sleek and shining flank, he will look foolish sawing the air with his cudgel. She waits till he is just behind her; and then throwing up her hindlegs in a mighty leap, away she goes, her tail high in the air and an unmistakable grin on her long face. To add to the poor man's chagrin, Raman's little urchins, who are supposed to be keeping an eye upon her, stand in the wings and applaud.

They are in fact the little snag in Mr. Patil's otherwise excellent plan of punishing Raman instead of impounding his mischievous cow. Not only Raman but his wife, children, and toothless grandmother are all in it. If the good housewife had not the crop-tailed cow to defend in public, to instigate in private, to provide her with an unfailing occasion for a grand slanging match with the other village women she would find time hanging heavily on her. And the children would lose a very valuable part of their training for a life which holds that you must best your neighbour or your neighbour will best you. It would, I fancy, be rather difficult to frame an indictment against a

whole household over a rogue cow.

There is of course respectable precedent for making a man responsible if his dependants misbehave. But, unlike the timorous Government servants who once upon a time found themselves in hot water because of their non-cooperating sons, the Ramans would hardly blench at the thought of a term in prison, especially under the present ration regime. And then their crop-tailed cows will have the freedom of the fields as never before. True, we might employ policemen to guard the crops. But policemen have so many other things to do nowadays—tracking the booze merchant, imploring rowdy young men not to gate-crash at fancy bazaars kept by lively young ladies, lining the streets for Ministerial parades—that they have no time for apprehending the law-breaker.

Those who have the misfortune to live in houses with a bit of garden attached find themselves fighting a constant rear-guard action against the street gamins who fuel themselves by rifling the casuarina fence. They give you the lip if you shout at them. And if you mount guard, they squat down comfortably for a long wait. You know in your heart of hearts that they will beat you. And you go in the moment you can decently do so without losing face. Sure as anything the fence shows a yawning gap ten minutes later. The police advise you helpfully to catch the offender and give him a good hiding and they promise not to interfere. The levity of the sansculotte laughs at legislation, Mr. Patil!

VIGNESWARA.

NORMALCY!

When I consider, pro and con
What things my love is built upon—
A curly mouth; a sinewed wrist;
A questioning brow, a pretty twist
Of words as old and tried as sin;
A pointed ear, a cloven chin;
Long, tapered limbs; and slanted eyes
Not cold nor kind, nor darkly wise—
When so I ponder, here apart
What shallow boons suffice my heart,
What dust-bound trivia capture me—
I marvel at my normalcy.—Dorothy Parker.

WHITHER, CAPITALIST?

By M. P. RAM

*The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find; another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.*

—Shelley.

(PERHAPS a correction, in the light of existing conditions of living, is necessary: "The arms ye forge, ye bear".)

Poverty amidst plenty is the most arresting phenomenon of modern society. While prophets of woe still sermonise over the Malthusian notion of overpopulation outstripping natural resources, the discerning thinker can diagnose the age-old malady that has been eating into the vitals of modern civilisation. The spectre of Communism that is haunting the world today must be viewed in the context of the birth-pangs of the new society that is rising out of the ruins of moribund Capitalism. Capitalist democracy, which is a contradiction in terms, constitutes a stumbling block in the way of human progress. Peace and progress are inextricably intertwined with social justice that is being delayed and denied to millions of people the world over, resulting in the paradox of progress and poverty.

Capitalist development has reached a stage at which capitalism is no longer able to organize the productive forces of the country but results only in intermittent crises, recurrent wars, stagnation and decay. The alternative is not the chants of birth control as the solution of poverty, but the social organization of production in the interests of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The world population is increasing by twenty millions a year, but the international statistician, Sir George Knibbs, has estimated that the earth could easily sustain four times the present population with the existing resources and technique. Mr. Leverhulme estimated that one hour's work per week of all citizens would provide the necessities of life for all if the existing productivity were properly organized. "With the means that Science has already placed at our dis-

posal, we might provide all the wants of each of us in food, shelter and clothing by one hour's work per week for each of us from school age to dotage". The cant of overpopulation can no longer be accepted in the face of such revelations. The fact of the matter is that productive power has outstripped the capacity of capitalism to organize it.

Capitalism is a system in which the ownership of the means of production is in the hands of a class which forms a small minority of the population. The overwhelming majority of the people have perforce to sell their labour power in order to eke out their livelihood. The workers in the factories and fields are driven to work at a mere subsistence wage, constantly pressed by hunger, poverty and unemployment. The most dominant driving force and incentive of capitalist production is profitability, not social utility. The owners of factories, fields and mines in the present *laissez faire* economy can hold the community to ransom in times of crises, because of this unplanned and anarchic production for profit. Luxuries and armaments are given priority in the order of production, when the necessities of life are in woeful short supply. The social character of production is vitiated by individual appropriation. In other words a microscopic minority expropriate the fruits of the labour of the vast majority. By keeping down wages and salaries, and hence the purchasing power of the masses, capitalism is periodically confronted by social evils like unemployment and starvation. These conditions have proved to be detrimental to the prosperity and progress of mankind.

The contradictions between poverty and restricted purchasing power of the masses, and the growth of productive forces on a tremendous scale, is the major crisis in which capitalism is struggling for its existence. Confronted by recurring crises as these, capitalist countries like England, France, Germany and Belgium had earlier resorted to imperial ex-

pansions when they no longer secured the same high rate of profit at home. The same process inevitably led to the replacement of free trade by protection, the domination of industry by monopolies and the growth of the finance capital, the frantic scramble for Africa in the eighties of the last century and the partition of China into spheres of influence. Between 1870 and 1900 Britain grabbed nearly five million square miles of territory enslaving ninety million people; France annexed three and a half million square miles with nearly forty million people; Germany, one million square miles with 17 million people; and Belgium nearly one million square miles with thirty million people. Nine-tenths of Africa was divided up by the capitalist countries in their search for new markets as a way out of the "crisis of over-production." In such "advanced countries", as Lenin has pointed out, the surplus capital is never utilised "for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses, for this would mean a decline of profit for the capitalists; it will be used for the purpose of increasing those profits by exporting capital abroad to backward countries."

By the beginning of the First World War, most of the earth's surface was divided up among the capitalist powers; and the raising of high tariff walls heightened international rivalry. The rate of the growth of the Iron and Steel Industry generally indicates the industrial progress of a given nation. In this respect, on the eve of the second World War, Germany left other Western European nations far behind in the race. And hence the imperialist expansion of Fascist Germany into backward Eastern Europe and Africa, and the great conflict with rival imperialist powers. The two World Wars that have shaken the foundations of capitalism were the direct result of desire for the re-division of the world, for war is after all "the continuation of politics by other and more violent means" (Claus-vitz). While the Capitalist states were realising that they could not solve their problem by means of wars, the awakened people with heroic determination and armed with a socialistic ideology solved the problem by revolutionary reconstruction of society

in Russia after the First War and China and Eastern Europe after the Second World War, thus bringing about the emancipation of half the population of the world from exploitation by the small minority of monopoly holders.

The organised destruction of wealth and of productive forces is another abominable feature of the present stage of capitalist economy. In the midst of mass starvation and poverty millions of bags of coffee or tons of grain have been destroyed under the direct supervision of capitalist governments. Upto the end of 1933, in Brazil, no less than 22,000,000 bags of coffee had been burnt or dumped in the sea. The United States Department of Agriculture succeeded in securing the ploughing in or mowing down of 11 million acres out of a total of 40 millions of cotton cultivation by paying bounties to farmers for the destruction of the cotton crop in 1933. It is a tragic irony that millions should be suffering the tortures of hunger while precious food is wantonly destroyed for keeping up the prices and the profits of monopolists.

The great economic depression of the thirties which rocked world capitalist economy and revealed its glaring contradictions as never before, spread mass unemployment which reached the figure of 50 millions in 1933 at the height of the crisis. There were fourteen million unemployed in the U.S.A.; eight million in Germany and two and a half millions in Britain. But the Socialist economy of the Soviet Union was not at all affected by this world-wide depression. While industrial production in the Soviet Union increased by 65 percent between 1929 and 1932, it recorded a decrease of 37 percent in the capitalist world. The expression of "technological unemployment" found wide currency, and utterances of pessimism became universal. There was an instantaneous reaction against the machine itself.

Capitalism, we now see, is incompatible with progress and democracy. It leads to the destruction of material and human forces through wars and crises. It is no far step from super-tariffs and debt-enslavement of whole states to burning food-stuffs and de-

vastating plantations; from dismantling machinery to throwing millions on the scrap heap of starvation; from buying machinery to destroy to spending millions to produce armaments. It condemns millions of human beings—workers, peasants, intellectuals—to unemployment and finally annihilates them by the bomb, gas or chemical which they themselves had produced earlier.

THE MADRAS BUDGET

By SEARCH-LIGHT

OUR Finance Minister loses no opportunity to appeal to the people that they should be willing to pay more taxes to help the Government to implement Development schemes; and in support thereof he has showed a deficit budget. Evidently he seems to be labouring under the impression that notwithstanding the soaring high prices and the increasing cost of living, people will still be able to bear additional burdens of taxation. In holding this view he has apparently forgotten that the great majority of the people are agriculturists already subject to heavy burdens in the shape of land revenue and cesses, which amount nearly to 60% of their average net income, and that their income from land is rapidly falling due to gradual deterioration of the soil, labour troubles, indiscreet and hasty proposals for ending big and absentee landlordism and other reasons which have all deterred the existing landholders from improving the land or financing the cultivation which the tillers are unable to do themselves. What the government should do, on the other hand, is to abandon all ideas of fresh taxation and find out ways and means not only of balancing the budget but also of creating a surplus. The following suggestions are put forth for consideration:

(1) Reduction in the number of ministers and their scales of salary. It should be noted that the work now being done by a dozen or more ministers was being performed by two or three Executive Councillors during the late British and Advisory Regimes.

Socialisation of the productive forces for the benefit of the entire society, for the enormous raising of the material basis of society and the destruction of poverty, ignorance and disease and of class and national separations is necessary, in fact, is inevitable. The dream of a third alternative through 'planned capitalism' and 'mixed economy' are neither workable nor feasible.

(2) Curtailment of unnecessary tours, such as for opening an elementary school or village reading room or unveiling the portrait of a person whom the public had not previously known or even heard of. These functions can very well be left to be performed as before by Departmental District Heads or local representatives of legislatures or any public worker commanding the esteem of the people of the locality. This will not only relieve the villagers of the trouble and cost of entertaining ministers and a large number of uninvited guests assembling on such occasions but also allow the ministers more time and energy to sit down and attend to their official work.

(3) Abolition of the posts of Private Secretaries for Chief or other Ministers. These appointments which are believed to be more or less berths for partymen are quite unnecessary, as there are experienced and veteran secretaries to help ministers with notes and suggestions. It may be noted that the previous Executive Councillors were for a long time managing their work, perhaps with greater efficiency and expedition, with a single secretary and without Deputy or Assistant Secretaries.

(4) Abolition of all departments and posts creating during the war period or for other special purposes which are being continued even though the necessity therefor had ceased long ago.

(5) Abolition of posts of Deputies or other intermediaries between District Heads and Presidency Heads

such as Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Deputy Director of Agriculture and Industries, Divisional Inspector of Schools, Deputy Superintendent of Police etc. who are believed to function as mere post offices, retard quick disposal of work and prevent Presidency heads from coming into closer touch with the District Heads.

(6) Abandonment of food control and its large establishment. Madras is normally not a deficit province. If exports of cereals are prohibited and free inter-district movements of food-grains permitted and hoarding, black-marketing and sale over ceiling prices (which must be fixed with reference to actual cost of production in consultation with the Agricultural Department) are strictly penalised, the needs of deficit areas can be left to be met through ordinary trade channels long in vogue in the country.

(7) Curtailment of provision for big house-building schemes. In the present state of finances our housing congestion, which is after all limited only to some cities and towns can, to a great extent, be relieved by shifting to less congested centres, as was done during the War period, some of the big offices including those that have no territorial jurisdiction such as the Ramnad District Offices in Madura and the Chingleput District Offices in Madras and by improving and extending the several century-old buildings in disrepair within the present residential areas already possessing all the amenities of roads, drainage, water supply, lighting etc., instead of wasting enormous sums for the erection of new buildings for rich people on lands to be newly acquired in far off places and providing them with the required amenities at considerable expenditure such as the Gandhi Nagar Project beyond Adyar in Madras.

(8) Transfer from the revenue and other departments of all public works requiring technical knowledge and skill, such as minor irrigation etc. to the Public Works Department. There is an impression that work done by any other than the Public Works Department is generally ill done and is not even half as good. The change proposed will not only conduce to effici-

ency and economy but also to reduction of the number of checking and over-checking officers in some departments.

(9) Abolition of the Firka Development Scheme. If, as alleged, the Firka Development Scheme has proved a success, works to be done under it may well be transferred to village Panchayats to be created under the new Panchayat Act, giving them some subsidy, when and where necessary.

(10) Abandonment of the new proposal to appoint 450 Prohibition Inspectors. Prohibition having come to stay as a necessary and desirable reform there is no meaning in continuing to split hairs over it. The Rs. 17 crores of Government revenue lost by its introduction have almost been made up by Sales and other taxes. The Provision of Rs. 3 crores made for enforcing Prohibition could be considerably curtailed if responsibility for the detection of prohibition offences viz. unauthorised tapping of trees, illicit manufacture of arrack and other intoxicants etc. is placed upon the village Munsiff and the Karnam, who are in a better position to know and report to the Police of breaches of Prohibition laws than prohibition officers who are in charge of several villages. The village officers who are entrusted with more important duties can be trusted to do this work willingly and satisfactorily with an offer of some reward for detections made by them. The services of village panchayats to be newly created may also be utilized for the purpose.

(11) Abandonment of appointments of committees and commissions for investigation of all and sundry proposals, which have no immediate or near prospect of implementation on financial or other grounds. The Government have already got in their archives reports of several committees on important questions many of which, including the several on Land Revenue Reform, have yet to see the light of day. There is an impression that the appointment of a committee is one of the ways of shelving an inconvenient question raised in the legislature and that it generally serves no useful purpose beyond giving the members an opportunity to visit various important places and places of interest at Government expense.

THE TWO ISMS

By M. S. P.

EVEN in these days of high political consciousness, many of us confuse socialism with communism and vice versa. For instance, some time ago, Mr. James Byrnes, former U. S. Secretary of State, in one of his speeches, characterised Socialism and Communism as identical dangers threatening the existence of democracy. Had this view of Mr. Byrnes influenced the foreign policy-makers of the U. S., to whom he addressed it as a "warning," the tragic consequences that would have followed from it could well be imagined. It would appear to be the view of Mr. Byrnes that Socialists are opposed to democracy, while in reality they are no less interested than any democrats in preventing the overthrow of democracy by the Communists. For Socialists are as much democrats as capitalists and non-Socialist liberals. And it is this acceptance of democratic principles which not only distinguishes Socialism from Communism, but also sets the one against the other.

Closely connected with this distinction are the methods by which Socialists and Communists seek to attain power. In no country of the world have the Socialists ever captured power by unlawful means. They have always been elected to office by the free vote of the people at a democratic election. Contrast with this the methods employed by the Communists to seize power in all the countries in which they now rule. Either armed coups or violent revolutions have been employed as the means to their end. Or, if these methods have not been completely successful in establishing them as the rulers, they have cajoled other parties into entering a coalition with them, and slowly ousted the other party or parties by capturing important portfolios, like the Interior, Police and Defence. The method of purges comes in handy to them in such instances, and opposition parties and parties which had entered into coalition with them are slowly liquidated. Thus, while the Socialists use demo-

cratic methods for capturing power, the Communists depend for their success on the weapon of violence.

But it is not only in the methods they employ to attain power that the Socialists and Communists differ. They differ much more radically in another very important matter. The Socialists not only seek to come to power through democratic means; they guarantee the continuance of democratic processes even afterwards and do not hold, once they are elected, that the country had voted itself for Socialism for ever! They respect and obey the constitutional laws of the country and hold free elections when due. Thus the adoption of Socialism by a country is not permanently binding and irrevocable. The people may, if they are fed up with Socialism, vote the Socialist party out of power at the next elections. Such an escape is not open once Communism has been "adopted" by a country. Thus, if once the Communist party captures power there is no question of Communism being repudiated by the country. It can never hope to throw out the Communists by peaceful means. The only way open to the people in such circumstances is to adopt the very methods used by the Communists for capturing power.

It must also be mentioned that Socialist governments have perhaps been the bitterest opponents of Russia and other Communist governments. Also Socialist parties in almost all countries have violently condemned the activities and methods of the Communists. And this antipathy is not one-sided. If the Socialists dislike the Communists, the Communists hate the Socialists much more than they hate even the Fascists and capitalists. This is a patent fact. Thus it is not towards the capitalists and the capitalist nations that the most venomous propaganda of the Communists is directed. They are clearly the well-known opponents of Communism who can be fought at leisure. The fire of Communist attack is reserved for the Socialists. This is

because the Communists are frankly afraid that the presence and activities of Socialists weaken the Communist party and the Communist thesis. They are afraid that the Socialists will wean away from them workers and others oppressed by capitalism. For Socialism seeks to speak on behalf of those whose cause the Communists profess to champion. It is an alternative to Communism which thinking men would prefer. Thus, while the Socialists want to stimulate thinking and right choice, the Communists are afraid that this will undermine their influence. And rightly do they fear the Socialists. For, in France, in Germany and in Italy, it is the Socialists who have prevented and are preventing the Communists from capturing power. What is more, in these countries it is the Socialists who have carried on ceaseless propaganda against the Communists. In reality, it is the Socialists who have done most, and can do most, towards preventing the annihilation of democracy by Communism. For they can prevent those people whom the Com-

munist seek to mislead from being misled.

This mutual hatred between the Communists and the Socialists has often caused the gravest danger to Socialists in countries which have fallen to the Communists. Thus the Socialist parties in all East European countries were probably the first to be liquidated along with their leaders many of whom had to flee their countries.

In short, Socialism deals with those problems that Communism claims to solve, in a democratic way. It advances a democratic solution to all the problems that Communists want to tackle by undemocratic means. It is a democratic way of life just as any other, and is perfectly compatible with democracy, and is opposed to totalitarianism. And it would be a tragic mistake to treat Socialism and Communism as identical perils to the democratic way of life in the teeth of historical evidence to the contrary. For, the cause of democracy cannot be defended against the onslaughts of Communism without the support of Socialists the world over.

REPLY TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

IN the cool and placid atmosphere of the Upper Chamber, the Madras Vice-Chancellor has with a freedom vouchsafed to few of his forbears or contemporaries in office and in language remarkable in some places for lack of restraint, delivered a most terrific onslaught on what he regarded as a "serious threat" to "democratic government." The immediate occasion (or provocation) has obviously been Sri T. Prakasam's reported move to bring up the issues arising out of his complaint against certain Madras Ministers in the legislative Assembly. One would have thought that such a step was long overdue and was about the most appropriate thing to be done in the circumstances; but yet, Dr. Lakshmanaswami regards it as a "serious insult to the Assembly," a threat to democratic forms of government, which will ruin the foundations of democracy.

Complaints against Ministers, by no means an unusual phenomena in democracies, are best dealt with either by means of a Judicial enquiry or discussion in Parliament, although of course the former is certainly the better method. It is so in England and obtains even in Pakistan; in fact in 1936, the Congress High Command too adopted it in the case of a C.P. Minister. But for some reasons not easily discernible, in the present instance, a judicial enquiry was tabooed, and that, as the sequel proved, was a Himalayan blunder. There had to be eventually at least three enquiries, spread over a period of nearly two years, much to the annoyance of both the complaining and the complained. And the report that has finally emerged out of these deliberations, has raised certain issues which are best debated upon in the legislature, which is the ultimate deciding entity. There has hitherto been nothing like an open discussion of all these vitally important matters. No one has ventured to take it up inside the chamber and the few attempts that were made,

were not encouraging. For instance, the 'Sudarsan Mills' affair figured as an unstarred question, which consequently could not be interpellated upon. And recently, when it was asked as to whether there were meetings of the Directors of the Royala Seema and Adoni Mills, the answer was that it was not in the public interest to give the information.

The enquiry itself bore no resemblance to a judicial enquiry. The complaint was preferred in April 1948 and the then congress President could do naught but receive explanations from the concerned ministers. Afterwards, matters were left in cold storage, but there was no mistaking the undesirable publicity that was aroused—Dr. Mudaliar has said that it was the most talked of thing in the Indian Embassies across the seas. Meanwhile, one Minister concerned in the enquiry died and there was a reshuffle of the cabinet. Nor was this all. Both the parties to the controversy were of the same political persuasion and some of them had worked together in the same team, but as it developed by reason of the allegations and counter allegations, it was pretty evident that their relationship was beginning to bear striking resemblance to that which subsisted between the Congress and the Muslim League halves of Lord Wavell's first Interim Cabinet. Hence the utmost caution was needed, but it must be confessed that never were so grave issues left to be dealt with so leisurely and perfunctorily. Typical was the Sri Deo Enquiry which raised more problems than it purported to solve. No opportunity was afforded to the complainant, which was opposed to what Dr. Mudaliar has recently referred to as the "canons of judicial procedure." The High Command had to interfere, and refer the matter to the Chief Minister, who gave the necessary facilities to Sri Prakasam and sent up his fact-finding report soon afterwards. And then after considering the entire matter, the



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three-man committee gave their verdict or, to be more accurate, their opinion. Now the principal feature, also the defect, of all these enquiries, was the thick veil of secrecy amounting almost to an iron curtain, which was drawn round them. Only a few knew all that had happened, what the allegations were, the counter-allegations and the explanation therefor and the evidence which was tendered or was available. But the public were favoured only with the comments which again were not of the same sort. For example, Mr. B. Gopala Reddi told the Assembly the other day that the allegations were all "frivolous", but an ex-Minister, Mr. K. R. Karanth, described them as "serious". Sri Shankar Rao Deo has opined that their general trend was "grave and serious". And then Rajen Babu observed that though at the first blush they seemed to be serious, they were capable of explanation and extenuation.

The report of the committee is, however, indecisive in many instances. It does not in so many terms say that the allegations are frivolous, false or vexatious, except perhaps the counter allegation against Sri T. Prakasam. Regarding the purchase of the Italian buses, the committee have felt some misgivings but say that as the concerned Minister has died, nothing more could be done. The requisitioning of the Bosotto Buildings was not against the normal procedure and had been assented to by the then Premier and the Governor. About the granting of State aid and permits to the concerns started by the relations of Ministers, the Committee could not say more than that in future the Minister should inform the cabinet and the Chief Minister beforehand; and the committee were obviously impressed by the argument that relations of ministers ought not to suffer under special disabilities. But the proper thing which should have been done by the ministers themselves was to relinquish their portfolios until the Enquiry Committee had proved the charges unwarranted. This has been done in the case of an infinitesimally less important job as the membership of a local Board or city Corporation. The rule is that no candidate who is interested in a sub-

sisting contract with the local body either individually or as a director, can stand for election.

If, however, it should happen that he comes to acquire such interest subsequent to his election, then he should forthwith resign his membership.

Taking a realistic view of the situation, it seems highly essential to bring up the whole matter before the legislature and afford the members as a whole their long-denied right and opportunity to express their views. This is in perfect consonance with democratic principles and Dr. Lakshmanaswami was not at all justified in characterising it as a "serious insult to the Assembly" by "some who had not imbibed the principles of democracy," or infringing upon the "dignity of the House." There is here no question of running counter to the verdict of "three of the noblest leaders that India could produce," and the right of the Assembly to discuss the report, even as it did the draft constitution sometime ago, cannot be withheld. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that we in Madras have hitherto honoured more in the breach than in the observance, many of the advices, warnings and recommendations of these same three eminent men; and in 1946 we declined to listen to the words of Gandhiji himself for the choice of the party leader.

There is even less justification for Dr. Mudaliar's diatribe against certain judges for making "extra-judicial pronouncements". He has not specified the occasion or the author or the subject matter and he has not also indicated to us how such pronouncements have affected the administration of justice in any way. Judges, especially of the High Court, are independent of the executive and that is a fundamental tenet of democracy. On the other hand, the Vice-Chancellor of the University in the Madras area, is, since the 1923 Act, a wholetime public servant, who is appointed by the local government, and may not function either as an unofficial leader of the opposition or as the government's spokesman because, as Dr. Mudaliar himself points out, every profession has got its own limitations, and a vice-Chancellor cannot aspire to be a politician.

GLOVES OFF IN MALAYA

By MATTHEW HALTON

(From the Jungles of Malaya comes this Matthew Halton story of the terror which grips the peninsula as Communists and bandits continue their war against the British. The author, European correspondent for the C. R. C., acquired his on-the-spot information during a visit to Malaya, one of many spots on his recent Far Eastern tour.)

MY Asian journey took me to Singapore; but after only a day on that rich and bustling little island I flew up the Malaya peninsula to Kuala Lumpur, the British nerve centre in the fierce, vicious little war now raging against Communists and bandits. Below us as we flew lay the Malay states—Johore, Pehang, Malacca, Selangor and the rest. Below lay the rubber plantations in patterned rows of trees, and the *kamongs*—the Malay villages built on stilts. Below, writhed the muddy, serpentine rivers and the jungle—the thick, matted jungle which alone makes it possible for the Communists and their desperadoes to fight on.

"Let us turn towards Asia," said Lenin 25 years ago. "Communism will reach the west via the east" China has gone and the rest of the east is threatened; and there is open war in Malaya and Indo-China.

A year and a half ago the Communist guerrillas set out to terrorize Malaya, to bring its economic activities to a standstill by murder and sabotage and to drive the British out. The British, for their part, have stated publicly that they mean to exterminate the Communists, "like vermin." It is war with gloves off, as can be seen from some of the leaflets distributed throughout the colony:

"Communist bandits will be rewarded—with a chestful of lead."

"Malayans, don't be duped by the windy Communist tall talk. The Communists' so-called People's Army is a disease. It will be cut out with the hot knife."

But the disease is far from cut out. The British have 12,000 soldiers in action. They have a police force of 72,200 men. And there are only about 5,000 Communists and bandits. Yet the fight goes on.

There are three main reasons for the enemy's survival even after a year and a half of ruthless war. First,

the jungle. It is one of the worst jungles in the world—a matted wilderness. Armies cannot operate in formation. The biggest group that can work in the jungle is a patrol of 10 or a dozen men. Second, most of the 72,000 police, brave and loyal Malays, are needed to protect the villages and the plantations. The Communists are few but ubiquitous, and every tin dredge and rubber estate, even those near the main cities, must have armed guards. Third, the terror. The Malay villagers and the Chinese squatters are often afraid to give the police the information they need. Too many of them have been tortured and murdered.

But, above all, it is the huge, trackless jungle that enables the enemy to survive. When I returned from the east my son asked me if the jungle were really "as thick and romantic" as it is described and if it were "full of tigers and snakes." The answer is that tigers and snakes are no problem, and that the jungle is not romantic but certainly "thick." Lieutenant John Lindesay-Bethune, a young Scots Guards officer, described it to me in these terms: "Jungle, jungle everywhere! Thick as night. It is hopeless. The enemy is a needle in two haystacks. Insects, mosquitoes in millions everywhere, all the time. Leeches, rain, lack of sleep, all the time. Mountains that you never come to the top of, and rivers everywhere. Five rivers, in fact, where the map shows only three. And, incidentally, bandits—when you find them. How would you like to be the leading man in a jungle patrol?"

"The regiment establishes a base of about 60 men somewhere in the jungle, and the patrols start from there. Ten men perhaps, including three soldiers, some Chinese and Malays as interpreters and guides, and a Dyak tracker. You've been told that bandits have been reported at a certain

point, and off you go. Pack animals are useless in that growth, and you carry everything yourself—food, arms and ammunition. There's torrential rain for an hour or two every day and you never get dry. The insects are maddening. And on you go in single file—dying for a fight but scared of an ambush all the time. Generally you find nothing, just rain and rivers and insects—and jungle."

The Dyak trackers, incidentally, are aborigines from Sarawak, brought to Malaya because they can follow a trail like blood-hounds. "They can follow a week-old track in the dark," I was told. According to Communist propaganda they are cannibals brought in by the British to scalp and eat the villagers.

Nine-tenths of the guerrillas in Malaya are Chinese and three-quarters of these are aliens from China. Only one-third of the total are genuine Communists. Another third are simply bandits and thugs. Communists and bandits work closely together because each needs the other. The remaining one-third, in the words of a police officer at Kuala Lumpur, "are shep. They are persuaded either by bribes or terror to join forces with the Communists."

"Many of the bandits are just boys," said another police officer. "Young gunmen and robbers, some of them as young as 10 years. Boys who might have been good citizens except for the Japanese occupation. Take the gang called The Green Dragon Tiger Tamers society—16 youngsters who had been members of the resistance movement against the Japanese. The war taught them the thrills of the lawless life, and after the war they started operating as gangsters near Kuala Lumpur. Their game was murder, robbery, extortion and kidnapping. They were well armed and well organised, skilful and intelligent—and very cruel. They thought nothing of torturing for information. They got over \$50,000 from kidnapping alone, and terrorized whole areas. Their victims would not give us information because they were afraid of reprisals. *That's* our biggest problem."

"At last, however, we did get a break. A local Chinese mine-owner

with lots of courage was approached by the gang with a demand for \$5,000. He asked them for time to pay, and they agreed. Then he reported quietly to the police. A trap was laid, and for several nights detectives lay in ambush at the mine. One night two of the gang came to the mine to collect the money. They were met by detectives and a gun-battle followed. Both the gangsters collected, but it was a final payment, and it was in the shape of lead, not money. Later, another of the gang tried to save his own skin by informing the rest, and eventually we got them all. Two were hanged, one committed suicide in his cell."

Both Communists and bandits demand protection money from the owners of tin mines and rubber estates, and from businessmen and villagers, in return for a promise of safety. There are some villages where every shop-keeper pays a regular levy. And such extortion is not new in Malaya. Fifty years ago, Chinese merchants in the colony were paying protection money to Chinese secret societies. Today, the Communists have seized on the old racket as a means of financing themselves, and most of their victims are still afraid to go to the police.

The bandits and Communists—it is hard to define where bandit ends and Communist begins—exploit and terrorize also the half-million Chinese squatters in Malaya. These squatters, mostly immigrants from China, are small farmers growing vegetables and rice. They settle on unoccupied land along the edge of the jungle, and most of them want only to be left alone to work, but they are terrorized unless they provide the Communists and bandits with food, money and hiding places. A typical squatters' area is Sungei Siput in the centre of the rich mining district of Perak. The area is a maze of jungle tracks bordering on many tin mines and the railway. During the Japanese occupation it was the main centre of guerilla resistance. The Japanese never managed to clean it up. The British have done so only by removing the squatters to an area 50 miles away.

The next big problem is the protection of the rubber estates and

plantations. There are 2,300 rubber estates in Malaya, many as large as 10,000 acres, and 350,000 small holdings of less than 100 acres. Nearly all the estates border on dense jungle and, until a large force of police was organized to protect them, they were continually subject to hit-and-run raids. They are now guarded by 31,000 special police.

Defeat, complete and thorough, for the Communists and their bandit allies is the only end to this jungle war. But it will take another year. And the important thing, after the jungle itself, is still that of persuading the frightened villager to provide the information needed by the police. That is the main theme of the leaflets distributed to the people. "If there are any Communist murderers among you, tell the police. Collect the reward and live in peace." The rewards go as high as \$4,000. And the police guarantee to protect the informer. Unfortunately, they have sometimes failed, in this and have been retarded in their work for months by loss of confidence. "The Communist so-called People's Army," runs another leaflet, "owes allegiance to alien masters and is run by murderers, thugs and extortionists. Reveal them, and live in peace." And another: "Communists, you are doomed. Surrender and you will be dealt with justly. Hide your arms and ammunition, and surrender."

Some of the leaflets carry pictures of dead desperadoes killed by the

police, with words like this: "Chan Ah Wah and two other bandit murderers, guilty of the grenade outrage in Sheum, have been shot to death by the security forces." Last year 400 Communists and bandits were captured and 1,000 killed. The enemy have killed and wounded about 1,000 civilians and 500 police.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the Malaysians, whether Malay, Chinese, Tamil, or Indian, are strongly anti-Communist. The British record there is good. In Singapore and in Malaya, as in the Indian sub-continent, empire is being transformed into commonwealth. The poor are being fed. Schools and hospitals are being built. And the people are being taught citizenship. They have been assured that the ultimate purpose of British rule is, in the words of Malcolm MacDonald, British Commissioner for South-east Asia: "Government of the people of Malaya, for the people of Malaya, by the people of Malaya." And when I asked a village school teacher if he believed the British promise, he replied: "Yes. I look at India and see the proof."

If the Communists in Malaya do not increase in number, they will be eradicated within a year. But there is now the possibility that large numbers of recruits will be sent from China to their support. If this happens, the savage but little war in the Malayan jungle might become savage and big.

NEGROES IN THE U. S. A.

By DEENABANDHU DAS

THE number, distribution, social and economic condition of the Negroes in the United States form an interesting study.

In 1940 Negroes in the United States of America numbered about one crore and 29 lakhs and formed 9.3 per cent of a total population of over 13 crores. In 1870, after the Civil War which freed them from slavery, Negroes in the United States numbered 54 lakhs which is less than half of to-day. This gain in number, of 130 per cent

within 70 years, is chiefly the result of natural increase, that is, excess of births over deaths. At no time since 1870 did the number of foreign-born Negroes in the United States of America exceed 1 lakh.

This large natural increase in the Negro population would have resulted in a bigger numerical proportion of Negroes in relation to Whites had it not been for the very large and continuous stream of White immigration into the United States from abroad.

In 1940 foreign-born Whites in the United States of America numbered 1 crore and 14 lakhs, of whom over 13 lakhs were yet of the "immigrant" status.

Of the Negro population in 1940, 40 per cent resided in 315 urban centres each with a Negro population of 2,500 or more. In these places the proportion of Negroes in the total population ranged from 0.8 per cent to 72.2 per cent. Of these again, 237 urban centres each had a 10 per cent or more of Negro population.

Of the four largest cities of the United States, according to 1940 census figures, New York had a Negro proportion of 6.1 per cent, Chicago 8.2 per cent, Philadelphia 13.0 per cent, and Washington 28.2 per cent. The capital of the United States of America is a between one-third and one-fourth Negro city.

Between 1930 and 1940 Negro population in urban centres increased from 51,93,913 to 62,53,588, that is by over 10½ lakhs or 20.4 per cent.

In 1940 there were 180 counties in the United States in which Negroes outnumbered Whites and others. In 1900 there were 286 such counties. In 1900 the 286 Negro-majority counties together had a Negro population of 40,57,619 or 45 per cent of all Negroes in the United States. The 180 Negro-majority counties in 1940 had 26,42,808 or 20.5 per cent of all the Negroes.

In other words during the last few decades there has been a large dispersion as well as urbanisation of the Negro population of the United States. This trend has been accentuated during World War II, as a result of which large numbers of Negroes from the South took up employment in shipyards, airplane factories and other war activities in the great industrial points of the West as well as of the North such as Detroit, Norfolk, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

A study of ten congested production areas in 1944 shows that the increase in Negro population from

1940 to 1944 (49 per cent) was substantially above the rise in the total population of these areas (19 per cent).

In 1870, 81.4 per cent of all Negroes 10 years old and over were illiterate. In 1900 less than 40 per cent were so. In 1930, the last year for which data are available, the proportion of illiterates among Negroes had already declined to about 12.3 per cent.

In 1940 Negroes gainfully employed numbered in all 44,79,068 men and women (excluding those on public emergency work). Sixty-one per cent of these were unskilled workers, less than 3 per cent "skilled and foremen," and 2.6 per cent professional persons. The rest were semi-skilled workers, farm-tenants and the like.

The spread of education and the growth of a professional class, however small, among the Negroes—there are as yet not many independent businessmen among them—have brought the Negroes more and more in conflict with the White Americans. Social, economic and political discrimination against Negroes—in written and unwritten laws—has become the greatest stigma of White American society whose prestige as the advocate and leader of "unadulterated" democracy would seem to be otherwise pretty securely established.

Another noteworthy fact is that a surprisingly large number among the so-called "Negroes" in the United States of America are not pure-bred Negroes but of mixed White and Negro origin.

A vigorous indictment of White American oppression of the Negro citizens of the United States is contained in the appeal presented in October 1947 to the United Nations by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. This appeal emphasises the discriminatory treatment of Negroes in the U.S.A. and their comparatively wretched conditions in respect of health, housing, education and employment.

I am impressed with the fact that the greatest thing a human soul ever does in the world is to see something.... Hundreds of people can talk for one who can think, but thousands can think for one who can see.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

SHOULD INDIA JOIN A PACIFIC UNION?

By V. S. SETHURAM

THERE is nothing quite unexpected about the much-talked-of proposal to form a Union of Pacific nations on the basis of a 'Pacific pact'. Intelligent observers knew only too well that such a proposal would follow in the wake of the North Atlantic Pact, even though the Foreign Departments of the U.S.A. and Great Britain persistently denied knowledge of any such scheme.

It demands all our credulity to believe that the boastful little nation of the Philippines is the original source of this grand idea. This small nation is not yet so completely free from American domination as it pretends to be. It is economically and militarily subservient to the United States, its industry and trade as well as its air and naval bases being in the hands of the Americans. Besides, the formula for a Pacific combination was worked out by President Quirino of the Philippines in consultation with Marshall Chiang-Kai-shek, the leader of Kuomintang China, and it received immediately the blessings of Dr. Syngman Rhee, the head of the South Korean Republic. The extent of American influence in these regions and with these statesmen is only too well known to be ignored.

The world knows that America and Britain—more especially America—have taken up the responsibility of organising regional Defence systems in order to meet the challenge of communism. The North Atlantic Pact and the consolidation of western Europe is the first step in this direction. The other steps will follow in time. The East cannot be ignored since the triumph of communism in China is well-nigh complete and there are disturbing flare-ups already in South-East Asia. That was why, when the Commonwealth Premiers met at London, Bevin spoke of "the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean for a hundred years to come."

Hence, in this Anglo-American scheme of things, the East finds an

important place and India is considered to be the main plank in the eastern defence system. Colossal efforts are being made to drag India into the vortex of the world struggle between communism and democratic capitalism, decidedly in favour of the latter. All the powerful weapons of diplomacy, ranging from pure cajolery and flattery to mild political and economic pressure are being applied in an endeavour to bring India onto the Anglo-American side, thus balancing the power of anti-Communist and Communist power blocs.

The real danger about the proposed Pacific Union is that it will bring about a radical change in our relationship with China. The Union will certainly bolster up the wave of anti-communism in the east, and widen the gulf between the vast northern regions of Asia and the south. From many points of view, it will be an unfortunate situation for Asia. Our historic friendship with the great nation of China will have to be broken.

We can foil their strategy if only we do not make a fetish of our ideological differences with the new China. Let us remember that Churchill and Stalin found it possible to join their forces in their war against Nazi tyranny. Even at the present moment, the Americans are striving hard to get a foothold in the Balkans by making an alliance with Tito, who is as firm a believer in the communist way of life as any of the Cominform leaders. We may find a parallel to this in the recent attempts of the Labour Government to gain diplomatic contact with Mao Tse Tung in order to save Hongkong. How much easier should it be for us, with all our ancient ties of friendship with China, to renew our contacts with that great nation?

Besides spoiling Indo-Chinese cordiality, the proposed scheme is capable of further mischief. There is every probability that the Pacific Pact will

be just an Appendix to the North Atlantic Pact, because some of the signatories to the latter will be parties to the new agreement as well. France, Britain and Holland, by virtue of their colonial possessions in the south-east of Asia, cannot be excluded from the Pacific Union. Hence, it might even come to be that any incident occurring in the regions defined under the North Atlantic Pact may be interpreted as sufficient cause for "collective action" in the East as well.

Mr. Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, explained Article 4 of the Atlantic Pact, which provides for common consultation between the parties, as that "there is no geographical limitation to the area in which a threat to the security of one of the powers may take place in terms of Article 4." Thus, any frontier incident on the Rhine or Elbe may lead to a world-wide conflagration. India, as a prominent member of the Pacific Union, may thus get involved in the affairs of Europe.

One more aspect of the proposal is worth considering. Mr. Acheson, interpreting Article 6 of the North Atlantic Pact, declared that the term "armed attack" included "any revolutionary activity (inside a country) assisted from outside." This interpretation is bound to have far-reaching effects, as even internal quarrels and civil strife will come under the purview of the Pact. When

the Pacific Union takes shape on the model of the North Atlantic organisation, India may be placed in the ridiculous position of being an ally of Bao Dai and the French as against Ho Chi Minh, whom French propaganda styles a communist! We may be helping the very Imperialism which we are denouncing so whole-heartedly every now and then.

The Government of India must consider these implications of the proposed Pacific Union, on behalf of which Gen. Romulo of the Philippines has made a powerful appeal to Nehruji and India. We should steer clear of the power blocs in accordance with our avowed policy of neutrality. This does not mean that India should remain in isolation; for the door is quite open for friendly neighbours like Burma and Indonesia to come closer to neutral India. Probably this may form the nucleus of a third bloc, which may emerge as a new force in international politics and keep the balance between the two giant blocs in the interests of world peace.

Whether this is eschewed as the fond dream of an idealist, or accepted as practical politics, it makes no difference to the fundamental question of India's relationship to the two blocs. India would be happier in neutrality with its disadvantages than in the dangerous position of a glorified satellite to Britain and the United States of America.

FORCED LABOUR—RUSSIAN LIABILITY

By WALTER TAPLIN

(Assistant Editor of the Spectator, London.)

THE commonest reaction of civilised people to the phenomenon of forced labour in the Soviet Union is one of horror and moral indignation. Those few western observers who saw with their own eyes, during and immediately after the war, something of what this essential element of the Soviet system meant in human terms have in many cases found it impossible to forget the hideousness of the spectacle.

Preoccupation with the horrible

sight of a few miserable and utterly exhausted men and women being "expended," without reward and without hope, on work for which machines are considered too valuable, may conceal the central fact that the number of persons so employed within the Soviet Union may be 10,000,000 or more. Undue concentration on what has been seen in European Russia may obscure the fact that worse scenes are being enacted on a much larger scale in

Siberia and the Far East. In fact, forced labour, on the colossal scale on which it is practised within the Soviet Union, is almost impossible to conceal. It towers above the Iron Curtain; and the Soviet authorities must know that in the eyes of the world it is an object of abhorrence—a standing warning to all countries and individuals who are threatened by the expansion of the Communist system.

The labour of these millions of toiling men and women is not a Russian asset. It is a liability. It completely outweighs any alleged attractions of Communism to discontented people. It more than cancels out any Communist attempts to criticise social conditions in Colonial territories outside the Soviet Union. Yet it cannot be concealed.

This fundamental fact has been demonstrated in periodic British statements to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. So deeply does the system of forced labour penetrate into every part of Soviet life that any information which gets through the Iron Curtain on any subject—and there is no need to emphasise the fact that such information is very restricted in quantity and very thoroughly shifted before it is released—will be likely to add to the indictment.

By this means, among others, a large body of evidence has been built up, the validity of which cannot be damaged by any Russian assertion. Such unlikely items as the circulation of free copies of newspapers in "places of detention" can provide the minimum figure of the number of people in those places. The Corrective Labour Codex can and does reveal the plain facts that people may be condemned to forced labour without trial; that holding political

opinions contrary to those of the Government are sufficient grounds for condemnation; and that labour camps provide a supply of cheap labour to State enterprises.

The body of evidence now accumulated is overwhelming and its effect is damning; yet the most powerful security organisation in the world has been unable to prevent it from flowing out in a steady stream from the Soviet Union.

What is more, the chances are that evidence will accumulate even more rapidly in the future than in the past. It is a characteristic of liabilities of this kind that they grow and spread. Once they have been started it becomes increasingly difficult to reverse the trend. Recent attacks by *Pravda* and M. Andreev, a member of the politburo, illustrate the case. It is no secret that there are forced labour camps in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. They are also found in the Soviet Zone of Germany—a position so exposed that a show had to be made of closing them down.

The Czech delegate, like the Russian delegate, has found it necessary to stay away from the meetings of the Economic and Social Council at which the subject of forced labour is discussed. Silence is, however, no answer to this offence against humanity—an offence visible to the whole world. The only conceivable answer would be agreement by the Soviet authorities to admit a United Nations Commission of Investigation, with proper powers of inspection. That answer is unlikely to be given, and even if it were it could not wipe out the reproach of millions who have died in labour camps. Nothing can free the Russians from the terrible liability which they have deliberately undertaken and now are unable to control.

The Englishman will interfere in the administration of the world, he will have his finger in every trade pie, he will collect countries as he collects junk, but he cannot bear to see things chivvied about, and he will not tolerate being chivvied himself. Leave the situation alone, don't let's have a revolution; it will probably work itself out to its own natural solution. Keep our domestic policy non-catastrophic; leave things alone. We, who are the least racial of all nations, who care least about folk-customs, are the most attached to tradition and old laws. Don't chivvy things. I know only one constant exception to the rule against chivvying. The English people have always, incessantly and unmercifully, chivvied their governments...."—Dorothy L. Sayers.

CEYLON'S CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT BILL

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

MANY readers might have been intrigued by a recent news item that a bill is now under discussion in the Ceylon Parliament under the above name which has not been able to get a two-thirds majority in spite of all the efforts of the government.

According to the Donoughmore constitution and also the later Soulbury report, all British subjects were entitled to be voters and members of Parliament in Ceylon and it was on that status that the present seven candidates of the Ceylon Indian Congress (in short, the C.I.C.) held their seats in the Parliament of Ceylon. But according to this bill, only citizens of Ceylon would be entitled to be voters and members of Parliament but those who are not so but who have permanent interests in the country could be nominated by the Government. The bill must secure a two-thirds majority to be passed but so far in the two readings it has not secured it. That is the gist of what appears in the Indian press. Much more however is behind this move and I would give a brief resume of what Sri K. Rajalingam, President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, told me about it.

According to the previous electoral law any person who has served a term of imprisonment under an offence punishable in law by a minimum penalty of three months and a maximum penalty of seven years within a prescribed number of years before the election, was not entitled to be a voter or a member of the house. Under this law an elected leftist member, Goonawardane, who had served a term of three months for a political offence recently was disqualified to sit in the Parliament (his wife stood for the seat during the re-election and won it!) Ostensibly to right this injustice in the electoral law an amendment was sought to be introduced to the relevant part of the constitution and thereby probably to win the sympathy of the leftist members also. Of course the relevant amendment to

that restriction is in this bill. But as it has been proved to be later, that was only the thin end of an apparently harmless wedge. As worded at present, the main provisions of the bill are those which make Ceylonese citizenship the ultimate qualification for membership of Parliament and which confer certain rights of nomination on the Government. Mr. K. Rajalingam expressed surprise at the ingenuity of the Ceylon government which utilized any opening to enact anti-Indian legislation.

Once again the real purpose of the act is hidden by another clause which confers on the Government the right of nomination of some members to represent certain "interests" in Ceylon. This is to get the planter's representatives nominated and naturally the leftists won't have any truck with it. The relevant clause also carries a self-important sub-clause that this privilege is to be extended only to nationals of those countries which afford reciprocal rights to Ceylon nationals by nomination. Under the operation of this clause, India which does not confer any such rights on Ceylon nationals at present cannot claim for the Indians settled in Ceylon any such favour. But this is purely a piece of quibbling, for the number of Ceylon nationals in India is negligible and any day India may just nominate a Ceylonese resident in India without making any stir in the body politic. The position of Indians in Ceylon is entirely different not only because of their large numbers but in many other ways.

Thus, though the ostensible purpose of the act is to give some nominated seats to Englishmen here, the main purpose seems to be to throw out the present Indian Congress members out of the Parliament. They are not as yet Ceylon citizens and under the present humiliating conditions of the Ceylon India-Pakistan Citizenship Act they do not propose to acquire it either. When once this bill is passed and put into the statute book, the

present Indian Congress members automatically cease to be members. But the methods by which the present Ceylon government are trying to hook them into supporting the bill constitute a study in party diplomacy from which even the members of the Madras Assembly could learn a thing or two.

The clause which admits for membership even those who have served a term of imprisonment and which was in the beginning the main clause of this bill, is there to win the leftist votes. The Government have also given vague promises that if the C.I.C. members vote with the government they will all be nominated for the life term of this Parliament. Fortunately, neither the C.I.C. members nor the leftists are so gullible or credulous as to be taken in by such a vague promise, and they have combined to oppose this bill and thus deny it the requisite 2/3rd majority. The leftists are first of all dead against the nomination of vested interests and, secondly, the unfair throwing out of the C.I.C. members. In spite of vague assurances the C.I.C. members are not willing to tighten the noose round their necks by voting for the bill. Firstly, Mr. K. Rajalingam pointed out to me that this nomination is essentially for what are called 'interests' while the Indian residents of Ceylon on account of their large numbers and long residence come under the classification of "territorials." Secondly, the so-called Indian members are there by right representing eight lakhs of Indians in Ceylon. They do not want to sit in Parliament even for a day as nominees of the Government. Mr. S. Thondaman, the leader of the C.I.C. group in Parliament, told the Government in a recent speech on this suggestion of nomination, that what he and his people wanted were their bare rights and not favours from the Government. The Government, however, have been very assiduous in canvassing their support in all ways. Mr. Rajalingam recounted what had happened at an after dinner meeting held in honour of Mr. R. K. Shanmukam Chetty. A speaker had paid a tribute to the 'charms' of the Speaker of Ceylon's Parliament, Sir Francis Molamure, (he has been more than once

to jail as is well known) and said that as a Speaker he was unable to do anything with the parties in Parliament but if he were free there would have been no Ceylon-Indian problem. In replying, Mr. Molamure was thankful that the Speaker had desisted from raking up his past for instances of his charms, but coolly and openly asked the C.I.C. members to vote for the present bill. Mr. Rajalingam resented this keenly, that the Speaker who ought to have been neutral had gone out of his way to canvass votes for a Government bill. It is almost certain that even with all assurances the C.I.C. members would not vote for the bill, for this simple reason, namely, they do not want to have by sufferance what they are entitled to by right.

Vague talks of the C.I.C. members co-operating with the Government are both unfounded as well as mischievous being directed towards disrupting the present combined opposition to the bill. Mr. Rajalingam told me that all moves from the Government side were in effect to hoodwink the press outside Ceylon but the Government were not prepared to move an inch from their old position but instead wanted the C.I.C. to fall into their net and become weak and discredited in consequence. The C.I.C. were prepared to co-operate only if there was a genuine change of heart and some real concessions from the other side.

At present, of course there are two alternatives for the Government. If the present bill does not secure the 2/3rd majority, which it may not under the present conditions, they can either proclaim a bill to similar effect passed some time ago. (There are two types of bills, one coming under the main orders in Council which require 2/3rd majority normally, and another type under subsidiary orders in Council which require only a simple majority). To the latter class belongs the bill making only Ceylon citizens, voters, which has been passed with the Government majority but has not been proclaimed. The C. I. C. members fear another possible alternative, namely, that the Speaker as a last resort might rule that the present bill required only a simple majority.

SIRDAR BHAGAT SINGH

By BEJOY KUMAR SINHA

(In this brief article penned on the occasion of the anniversary of Sirdar Bhagat Singh's execution, falling on the 23rd March, the author writes of the revolutionary ideal that inspired the great martyr, and made him lay down his life for the cause of socialist revolution. Mr. Bejoy Kumar Sinha speaks with authority as the intimate colleague of Bhagat Singh, sentenced along with him in the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1929, to transportation for life.)

"REVOLUTION is the inalienable right of mankind.... Under the seeming stillness of the sea of Indian humanity a veritable storm is about to break. The present order of things which is based on manifest injustice must change.... Workers and peasants in spite of being the most necessary elements of society are robbed of the fruit of their labour.... And, on the other hand, capitalist exploiters, parasites of society, squander millions on their whims. This state of affairs cannot last.... It is the duty of those who realise it to re-organise society on a socialist basis...."

These were the stirring words of Sirdar Bhagat Singh uttered in the course of his historic statement in the Assembly Bomb Case. Bhagat Singh's death anniversary is being celebrated this week in some parts of the country, notably in the Punjab. There is no country-wide celebration and that only proves that as a nation, we have not yet advanced sufficiently to accept as our goal, Socialism, in which alone, modern history has proved beyond doubt, lies the salvation of the mass of suffering humanity. For when we begin to forget Bhagat Singh, we also forget, the great socialist cause for which Sirdar laid down his life.

Bhagat Singh was above all a crusader in the socialist cause. When he met his death in a British prison, it was not as a fighter against a people who happened to belong to an alien race, but as against a hated imperialist system that cruelly exploited his countrymen. It would be wrong to recognise him only as a great patriot, for he was greater still, as the ideal representative of a new era in our national struggle—an era that ushered in new ideals and ideas

in our political movement. His eventful revolutionary life dramatically symbolised the rising temper of the fighting Indian people, and of their going forward, gropingly though, towards adoption of mass revolutionary methods in their liberation struggle. It also mirrored the emergence of socialistic ideas in the formulation of the ultimate national goal.

Nothing proves this fact better than the remarkable manner in which the whole country took up with amazing rapidity the slogan of *Inquilab Zindabad* that Bhagat Singh gave to the nation. For the first time in the country, he raised this slogan from inside the Central Assembly Hall, where he and his brave colleague Sri Batu Keshwar Dutt threw the bomb in 1929. Till then *Bande Mataram* was the popular national slogan that had originated in the revolutionary movement in the Bengal of 1905 Partition days. Bhagat Singh's new slogan caught the imagination of the people as a better expression of their determination to fight without compromise, and of their hope to establish a new social order banishing poverty and misery for ever. When the battle cry was echoed and re-echoed by the people outside the Assembly Hall, in the days following immediately, the Government came forward with its Sec. 144 and banned it. But with the inspiration that people had drawn from Bhagat Singh, no one was in a mood to submit. All over the Punjab, men and women in their thousands organised processions and raised the slogan in defiance. The Government resorted to repression but had to yield ultimately before the rising tide of revolutionary passion; the slogan was adopted by the entire country. Yet there were individuals who expressed disagreement. The late

Babu Ramananda Chatterji, the erudite editor of the *Modern Review*, comment adversely on it and observed that to wish long life to 'Revolution' was anti-social. The Sirdar in a lengthy reply that was published in the *Review* columns, refuted the arguments and cited world history showing how since the beginning humanity had progressed through great revolutions, and how the very process of social advancement was through revolutions alternating with long periods of preparatory evolution.

Bhagat Singh had raised this new slogan, not as a mere expression of emotional fervour but as a matter of definite principle. He firmly believed in the methods and the ideal of revolution as the only effective means of solving the great social problem of the times—the problem of bringing economic and political freedom to the mass of people. His *Inquilab* was of well defined ideas, and in ringing terms he elaborated them in his historic, long statement in the Assembly Bomb Case, on the eve of his life sentence. In moving words he referred to the toiling masses who were being crushed under poverty, in an unjust social system that was propagated up on Imperialist bayonets. He pointed out how a mighty peoples' revolution would usher in a happy new era of human relationship, of a new social order, in which it would be no more possible for a few to riot in luxury while the many remained half starved and half naked. Exploitation of man by man would cease. All men would be free, with equal opportunities to attain the physical and spiritual needs of life. In prophetic words, the Sirdar concluded his statement saying that he heard the rumblings of the coming revolution and saw on the horizon the dawn of the new era.

Such was his conception of the revolution, and as propagated through his great sacrifice, it had profound influence in shaping and strengthening the socialistic revolutionary trend that was just in its embryonic stage in our national movement. It was during 1929-30. The second non-co-operation movement had just been launched. Sirdar's ideas and actions heightened the militancy of the struggle for freedom and convinced

people that for success a relentless fight was inevitable. Thousands of Congress volunteers entered the jail gates and faced police bullets with resounding cries of *Bhagat Singh Zindabad*. Naujawan Bharat Sabhas sprang up over the whole country, and spirited youths in large numbers joined its ranks to work on socialist lines. It is little known that many of the recognised leftist leaders of today, began their radical political career in those stormy days as workers in this Sabha.

During this period, the mounting popularity of Bhagat Singh in the country, became a challenge to the rigid doctrine of non-violence. In the midst of the controversy that was raised, Sirdar making his own stand clear, declared before the Lahore High Court that revolutionaries did not love sanguinary warfare. But the choice of weapon was not in their hands. It was forced on them by their enemies who ruled by sheer brute force. To fight and defeat the oppressors, it was perfectly moral to resort to any weapon that proved speedy and effective, violent or non-violent. People who were enslaved could not afford to have the luxury of introducing rigid ethical considerations of their everyday individual lives, in the choice of their weapons for political struggle. In the existing world conditions revolutionary use of violence was moral and necessary to reach the goal, he concluded.

History has proved that Sirdar was right. Who can deny that the great revolutionary mass upheavals of 1942 and the glorious military achievements of the I.N.A. heroes have been major factors, contributing to the exit of British Imperialism from our country? Nearer still in time, do we not find the forces of feudal reaction in Hyderabad and Kashmir being liquidated through openly violent measures? And again in the world arena, in one single decade, have not the Chinese people, the Indonesians, the Burmese, the East European people, crores of suffering millions, overthrown the feudal-imperialist regimes that had kept them in chains?

In private life, Sirdar was noted for his lovable nature. He had the temperament of an artist. He was an intellectual and it was his deep intel-

lect that blended with his extremely sensitive nature, to make him one of the finest specimens of India's revolutionary youth.

As for the spirit of self-sacrifice he had that in abundance. He was ever ready to die for the cause of the revolutionary movement. When he was going to throw the bomb in the Assembly, there was a suggestion that he should escape. But he stoutly opposed the idea. He insisted that he should get himself arrested and convicted so that he could preach his socialist ideas more effectively. At the time of the Saunders murder, the party did not want him to participate. But he was so keen on taking the risk that he could not be dissuaded. After getting a life sentence in the Assembly Bomb Case, he started the famous hunger-strike for the status of political prisoners, and it was a sheer miracle that his life was saved even after a strike lasting over three months. When the Lahore Conspiracy Case trial had started, he decided along with some of his other case-mates boldly to admit all the political charges against them and mount the gallows; but he did not get such an opportunity as the case was, in the last stages, conducted

under the Lahore Conspiracy Case Ordinance, in the absence of the accused. When on one of these later days, his father tried to suggest in a press statement that Sirdar was not guilty, Bhagat Singh wrote him a strong letter saying that he did not expect to be stabbed in the back by his own people. When in the end he was executed, he left behind him the moving letter written a few hours before to his brother: "...Like a flame of candle in the morning, I disappear before the light of the dawn. Our faith and our ideas will stir the whole world like a spark of lightning. What harm if this handful of dust is destroyed."

No grave or shrine yet marks the spot where Sirdar gave up his life for his country. But let us not mourn that no national monument in stone has been erected to his memory till today. Let us rather remember him, in his call to struggle—to ceaseless struggle—for a new social order based on justice and equality. In our own country and abroad the people—the oppressed millions of yesterday—are advancing with hope and faith. Let us join their ranks and march step by step, to build a New India and a New World.

THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN OF HATE

By W. N. EWER.

(Diplomatic Correspondent of the Daily Herald, London.)

THE sentences on Mr. Edgar Sanders and Mr. Vogler in the Budapest "Spy Trial", the Hungarian Notes to London and Washington which followed the trial, the speech a few days later of President Gottwald of Czechoslovakia, all have one meaning. The Soviet Government's drive to force a complete rupture of every relationship between the East European satellite states and the Western world is being intensified.

Notice has, in effect, been served on all "Western" private citizens that to live or work in a "People's Democracy" is to be liable at any moment not merely to deportation but to a long term of imprisonment. Only the staffs of diplomatic missions will now be safe. Suggestions are already be-

ing made that their numbers should be reduced. At the same time, the work of the missions is being made almost impossible.

Ambassadors and Ministers are treated with studied discourtesy, and their staffs are restricted in their movements, and followed by police agents. Telephones are tapped. Little official business can be done, for contacts made are rare and delay interminable. The clear purpose is to make the position of the missions so absurd and so intolerable that the Western Powers will withdraw them—as the United States already has in the case of Bulgaria. And so long as they remain they will be more and more isolated.

At the same time, the citizens of the 'People's Democracies' are being warned that any contact with foreigners is dangerous. Any business connection can bring a charge of connivance at economic espionage, for which the penalty may be death. Any personal acquaintance, any personal correspondence, even an interest in Western affairs or Western culture, is sufficient to bring down suspicion; and it is dangerous to be even mildly suspect.

There also exists an intense propaganda attempt to stir up prejudice and even blind hatred of everything Western. President Gottwald's recent speech is significant. The Czechoslovakian people are told (though they may not, of course, believe it) that their country is full of 'spies, diversionists, terrorists, murderers, robbers and similar outcasts' who have been "sent from abroad" to sabotage reconstruction and prepare for a new "imperialist war". Clearly, the Czechs are invited to look for these "human dregs" not only among the few foreigners who remain but among those of their own countrymen who lived, worked and fought in the West during war.

This anti-Western campaign is not new. However, it has now reached a new level of intensity. Why?

The main purpose is, of course, to insulate the satellite States from every kind of Western influence so as to make them more and more subject to Russian influence and Russian control. They are to be "de-Westernised" in order that they may be "Russianised". That is obvious enough, but it does not account for the almost hysterical level of the present campaign.

One has the impression that the Soviet leaders, and the Communist leaders in the satellite States, are genuinely alarmed: that they do believe in their own fantastic story of a vast Western conspiracy of sabotage and subversive propaganda. That is not improbable for the Russian mind and the Communist mind grasps eagerly and instinctively at some such explanation when anything goes wrong. In Russia itself any failure or any trouble is, and has been for 20 years, quickly attributed to "sabotage".

It is a disease of dogmatism. Marx-

ist dogma has laid down the way in which things must develop. If they do not develop in the pre-ordered way, then some explanation must be found, some disturbing factor detected.

For one thing, Marxist doctrine requires that the transition from a Capitalist to a Socialist system shall at once bring about a vast increase in production. The revolution comes about precisely because the institutions of Capitalism have become "fetters upon the productive forces". In the revolution "the integument is burst asunder." Vast productive forces are "liberated".

If that has not happened, if the production of the Soviet countries has not, as confidently anticipated, leapt ahead of and far outstripped that of the Capitalist countries then something must be wrong and it cannot be the sacred texts. The Communist Governments look desperately for ways and means of compelling the expected miracle to happen. Hence the brutal disciplining and speeding up of the workers. At the same time—in genuine bewilderment—they look for an explanation and find it in the wicked machinations of the "remnants of the Capitalist order" and of the "imperialist Powers".

That is one factor. It is, however, not only production which has gone wrong. By Leninist-Stalinist theory all the "broad masses" of the satellite States should have rallied enthusiastically to the New Order. They should spontaneously be filled with feelings of loyalty to the great Soviet Union and its great Communist Party, and with personal devotion to the "great leader and teacher, Josef Stalin". When that, too, does not happen, an explanation must be found. Again the same explanation comes most easily to conspiratorial minds. It is the wicked machinations of the "remnants" and "imperialists".

So the very intensity of the present campaign is an index of the anxiety of the Governments. They turn to terror because of their own alarms and their own frustrations. Spy trials and the rest of it are the clearest indication we can have of the economic failure and of the existing popular unrest in these countries beyond the "Iron Curtain".

MIDDLE CLASS HABITS OF MIND

By N. RAGHUNATHAN

THE middle class, as a social division, is as unmistakable as it is difficult to define. It is easier to say what it is not than what it is. Shakespeare's Hotspur who declared

An if we live we live to tread on kings;

If die, brave death, when princes die with us!

is an apt symbol of the fast disappearing upper class. But Falstaff, who merely counterfeited death at an awkward moment, is undoubtedly middle class for all that he was "Sir John to the rest of Europe." And so was Falstaff's creator, though he dearly loved a lord and wasted no sympathy on "mechanic slaves with greasy aprons, rules and hammers."

Two broad sub-divisions of the middle class are ordinarily distinguished, the upper and the lower; but there are infinite gradations in between. In a striking survey of the present plight of the English middle classes, Roy Lewis and Angus Maude estimate that forty per cent of the population of Great Britain falls in this category. There are many rough and ready ways of distinguishing them from the working classes. They may be regarded as predominantly brain-workers and salary-earners, whereas the others are mostly hand-workers and wage-earners. The middle classes include the professions, businessmen and managers above the grade of foremen as well as the majority of farmers and shop-keepers and a substantial number of clerks and independent craftsmen. Their incomes range from £400 to £1000 per annum, though this is a very rough approximation and income is a much less dependable criterion of class than occupation. In heredity, education and environment, again, there are wide differences within the class, but in such matters as dress and speech a conscious attempt is made by new entrants to conform to the conventional standard.

Parodying the Cartesian dictum, "I think, therefore I am," the would-be climber might in fact claim, "I think I am middle class, therefore I am middle class." And if he were sufficiently strong-minded he could in time hope to make good his claim, if not for himself at least for his children. Those who some time ago carried out an enquiry into the family budgets of middle class employees of the Government of India were confronted with a demand from a large body of clerical workers earning as low a basic salary as Rs. 30 that they too should be included in the middle class. It would be wrong to dismiss this as mere snobbery. The clerk of today, who is John Company's creation, has always prided himself on being a black-coated worker. Many of the thirty-rupee brigade have probably put in a year or two at the University, even if they have not taken a degree. Though caught up in soul-deadening routine they tend to look down upon the manual worker who may earn in wages and overtime twice as much as they do. And all of them, except the congenitally lazy and improvident, are determined that their children at least shall make good. They go through incredible hardships in order to give their boys a good education. If a boy is intelligent and hard-working and passes out into one of the superior Government services through a stiff competitive examination his fortune is made. He marries as a matter of course into an old-established or moneyed family and his children are born into the middle class. If they prefer not to know their father's family the old grandparents in their distant village home will not be the less proud of their success.

European sociologists claim the virtue of elasticity for the class division and contrast this with the rigidities of hereditary caste. In India class has always existed side by side with caste. And caste restrictions and

taboos have often served to moderate class antagonisms. Rules of ceremonial purity, for instance, precluded the Brahman from following certain occupations and to that extent lessened the rigours of competition in those fields. And long after hereditary callings ceased to be the rule social disapproval had to be faced by those who engaged in services which were thought demeaning, not because they involved hard or dirty work, but because they were believed to breed callousness towards the sufferings of others or to make a profit out of basic human needs. Otherwise all castes were normally at liberty to follow a large number of common occupations.

To say that a man had "enough for food and clothing" was the traditional way of indicating middle class status irrespective of caste. And ownership of land, much or little, has been fundamental to that status, whereas in England it is the aristocracy that has been associated with land-owning since feudal times. Even today the middle class Indian, though he may work in towns and at very different occupations, has still his roots largely in the village. The joint family is not wholly a thing of the past. And the struggle to keep the ancestral parcel of land intact involves much hardship and privation cheerfully borne.

The *avant garde* regards with faint disapproval those virtues which are described as typically middle class—prudence, thrift, the habit of paying one's debts, maintaining a decent reserve about one's private affairs, and so on. The world is in a pretty bad way precisely because two generations have grown up carefully indoctrinated in the faith that middle class morality is all bunkum. If one marriage out of three in America ends in divorce, if in the name of women's emancipation the struggle for life has been enormously intensified while the graces have all but vanished, the prophets of Progress profess to find in these ugly manifestations but the growing pains of a new civilisation. But the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb hold out no promise of a future for mankind, let alone of a new flowering. And this parade of violence, naked and unashamed, is the direct result

of the repudiation of those middle class ideals which have for at least twenty centuries ruled the world. If mankind is not to be wholly submerged in the flood of totalitarian tyranny some of these ideals will have to be rehabilitated and faithfully followed by large numbers of purposive men and women in every country.

It may be that the middle class has hankered too much after security. But it cannot be denied that it has also been the principal bulwark of the people's liberties against the encroachments of the State. It is the security and independence that go with the possession of property which have enabled it to stand up to the aggressor. Property, where it has meant excessive concentration of wealth in a small minority, has undoubtedly bred popular discontent and given rise to such slogans as that "property is theft." But what propagandists of revolution overlook is that there are infinite degrees of property. The middle classes, as Roy Lewis and Angus Maude acutely observe, have been so powerful a stabilising factor in society because they contain both employers of labour and the employees of other men and the State. "Thus there will always be strong influences at work to resist unreasonable demands by capital, by labour or by the State". And it is this rich diversity of interests and preoccupations that has enabled these classes to play a creative role in the past. To quote the same writers, "Their wealth has enabled them to reward and encourage those whom the State ignores or dislikes; to find employment for those whom the State rejects; to patronise those whom the masses repudiate; to prosecute enterprises which are ahead of their time, or behind it; to back the individual against the Committee; to organise for purposes not yet acceptable to the official mind; to carry a law case to the House of Lords or a shipload of dissenting citizens to the New World."

The middle classes today are having a hard time of it everywhere thanks to inflation and high prices. It may be that they have lost heart because it is being constantly dinned into their ears that it is their incompetence or worse that plunged the world into two catastrophic wars

within a generation. They have a hunted look about them. The number of professional and other openings for talent and enterprise, which are free from the control direct and indirect of the State, are becoming dangerously few. The man who is *persona non grata* with authority and the group which is an unpopular minority can, it is becoming more and more obvious, be easily squeezed out on some more or less plausible pretext. Steep taxation too has had its share in pulling down the middle classes in the interests of levelling up the labouring classes. But even in the welfare states the process has not altogether eliminated class antagonisms. However much you might level up, establishment of anything like absolute equality seems impossible to achieve, and doctrinaires will not be content with less. Meanwhile they discreetly avert their eyes from the curious spectacle which the spiritual fatherland of Communism offers of the growth of a privileged managerial class and gross disparities of income.

It is not to be denied that the middle classes have grave defects and shortcomings. A century ago Matthew Arnold denounced their smugness and philistinism. Keeping up with the Joneses has with far too many of them been the mainspring of action. And in the days of their supremacy a gross insensitiveness and lack of imagination rather than calculated heartlessness led them to impose on the labouring poor all the horrors associated with the Industrial Revolution. They have as a class had a vested interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* and often fought unscrupulously to defend it. But it must be remembered, too, that the middle classes have had no more merciless critics than those sprung

from their own loins. Most of the great thinkers, reformers and humanitarians, the satirists who have lashed middle class complacency with a whip of scorpions and the poets who have quickened men's minds with their revolutionary fervour have come from this class. That reveals a power of self-criticism and self-correction which does not suggest that the day of the middle class is done, however much appearances might belie this.

Human nature being what it is, it seems utopian to hope for the complete elimination of the competitive spirit which is at the bottom of class consciousness. And middle class incentive has done so much for the world that we should be distinctly the poorer for its total loss. It might be far better for mankind if the middle classes could come purged out of their present ordeal by one of those efforts at spiritual regeneration which they have made from time to time and by which they have maintained their vitality. "The middle classes depend somewhat heavily upon material things to ensure a dignified retirement", say the sympathetic critics whom I have already quoted more than once. Man does not live by bread alone; and it is a familiar gibe against the hectic civilisation that has us all by the throat that we are so obsessed with the furniture of living that we have forgot the art of life. The real treason of the clerk, the man of learning, lies in his having succumbed to the silver yardstick. Looking upon a university degree as a passport to a job, he inevitably comes to assess jobs according to their money value. Culture must be redeemed from the octopus-grip of money if civilised values are to survive.

—By courtesy of All-India Radio.

BUBBLE BABBLE

After a lifetime of sin, a Harlem dowager decided to join the church. When the deacons plunged her into the icy river the first time she gasped: "I believe." After the second ducking she chattered: "I believe." A third time, gulping for air, she sputtered again: "I believe."

One of the elders asked her eagerly: "What do you believe sister?"

She gave him a murderous look and declared: "I believe you stinkers are trying to drown me."—Bennett Cerf.

THE COLONEL FROM AMERICA

IN March 1945, while inaugurating the Associated Press of America's news services in India, Harry S. Truman (then Vice-President of the U. S. A.) said:

"This unbiased impartial news service should help bridge the broad geographical gap between 130,000,000 Americans and 390,000,000 Indians, and promote better understanding."

Since then not only the A.P.A. but also the U.P.A. and a dozen or so special correspondents have been trying to bridge the "broad geographical gap" and supplying news of India to the American press. But they do not seem to have achieved any satisfactory results, for after five years of the inauguration of "this unbiased impartial news service," the publisher of one of America's leading daily newspapers has publicly confessed that he knows nothing about the issues involved in the Indo-Pakistan conflict over Kashmir.

Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick, the 70-year old, six-foot-four publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, described as one of the Big Three of American newspaper business, recently passed through Bombay on a flying trip. Talking to correspondents, he confessed that "before twenty-four hours I never knew there was such a problem as the Kashmir problem." He told the astonished pressmen that he was utterly ignorant of the facts of the dispute between India and Pakistan before his arrival in Bombay.

The Colonel who calls his *Chicago Tribune*, the "World's Greatest Newspaper" did not apologise for his ignorance about an issue which has been before the United Nations for nearly two years, which has been the subject of intervention, mediation and arbitration by the U. S. State Department, and which has been front-page news ever since October 1947! He seemed to regard his ignorance as quite normal, seemed even proud of it.

He admitted that the average American was not interested in Indian affairs or in the Indo-Pakistan dispute. When an astounded journalist criticised "this attitude of no interest in affairs far from home", the Colonel retorted, "What do you know about Alaska?"

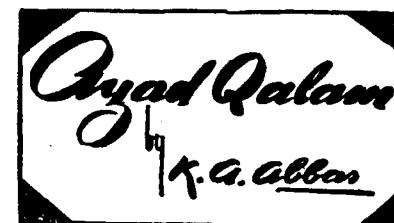
He must have felt that he had given a crushing retort. Actually, we do know something about Alaska—much more, at any rate, than the publisher of the "World's Greatest Newspaper" knows about Kashmir, even though Alaska has not been under the international and U.N. spotlight as Kashmir has been! For instance, we know that two days before the Colonel spoke in Bombay, the House of Representatives in Washington passed a Bill to grant statehood to Alaska and that when the Senate approves and President

Truman signs the legislation, Alaska would become the 49th state of the United States. We also know of the Alaskan gold-rush from Charlie Chaplin's film and Jack London's stories and novels. We know

that the U.S.A.'s (and Colonel McCormick's) interest in Alaska stems not only from the vast store of Alaskan timber and Alaskan fish, but also from the strategic position of Alaska as a vital air-base—for commercial flying to the Orient (the Chicago-Minneapolis-Edmonton-Anchorage-Tokyo route), and as a base for bombers in the event of a war against Soviet Russia. Does the Colonel want to know more about Alaska?

Or, may be, the Colonel would like to test our general knowledge further. May be, he would like to ask what we know about him. We do know something—and it is not very complimentary!

The Bombay newspapermen were also astonished to find this suave and urbane old man uttering the strangest nonsense and racial mumbo-jumbo about the Negro problem in the U.S.A. When asked about the



chances for the passage, in the present Congress, of President Truman's Civil Rights Programme—the "New Deal" for American Negroes—the Colonel said that "it is a vicious programme" and went on to defend the uncivilized practice of racial discrimination against Negroes by arguing: "I do not see why any man should not have the right to employ the man he likes". But he was only being consistent with his life-long record as a Negro-hater and reactionary. The Colonel would not like to be reminded of his pro-Nazi, pro-Fascist, pro-Japanese-imperialist past. No wonder the Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith once drew up a "Roll of Fame" with the Colonel first on the list. During the war, the German and the Japanese press and radio revealed a soft corner for the Colonel's papers. Radio Tokyo said: "There is no doubt that Robert McCormick is an extremely charming character. America needs more characters like this Chicago veteran."

As to the type of journalism the Colonel's "World's Greatest Newspaper" practices, here is but one example, quoted in John Gunther's *Inside U.S.A.* On the historic day during the war when the American army crossed the Rhine, the banner headline in the *Chicago Tribune* was given to a local sex-murder story: **KILLS WOMAN, BURNS BODY**, while a small heading announced: "Report Yanks Cross Rhine".

It is pertinent to recall the unsavoury record of this ignorant and arrogant publisher from Chicago because we, in this country, have a tendency to lionise any visiting foreigner, without caring to find out his (or her) antecedents.

There was the classic fraud of Miss Nancy de Scaffa, the South American girl, for instance, who hoodwinked the socialites of Bombay and quite a few newspaper columnists into believing that she was the World's Beauty Queen—Miss Universe, as she was called. In spite of the expressed scepticism of a few newspapers, the rest fell for her most unpalatable story and gave her a ballyhoo which will now be remembered as the biggest joke of the year.

But the statements of Colonel McCormick raise issues far more vital

than the vain pretensions of Miss Nancy de Scaffa. If prominent American publishers claim complete ignorance of so important an issue as India's stand on Kashmir, which has been before the U.N.O. and on which the Americans are offering to arbitrate, what kind of justice—or even understanding—can we expect from the American public and politicians?

It is difficult to give the American publisher credit for such naive ignorance, in view of the more-than-normal interest that the American statesmen have been recently taking in Kashmir. On the same day that Colonel McCormick was pleading his ignorance about Kashmir in Bombay, another American—Dr. Phillip Jessup, the U.S. Roving Ambassador—was telling a *jirgah* of the Afridi tribesmen at Jamrud (Khyber Pass) that his Government were in earnest about a "just and peaceful" solution of the Kashmir dispute. He referred to the fact that the U.S. representative in the Security Council had fully endorsed the latest joint resolution calling for the demilitarisation of the Kashmir areas within five months and promised that on his return to Washington, he would convey to his Government the feelings of the tribal people on the Kashmir issue. In other words, he agreed to act as a messenger to carry Pakistani propaganda to his Government.

That certainly indicates neither ignorance nor neutrality. It only confirms what has been long suspected, that the Anglo-Americans have made up their minds to back Pakistan against India. That was exactly the impression of an Indian diplomat who recently returned from Lake Success "with complete distrust of the Anglo-American motives" and a conviction that India can never expect justice or fairplay from them.

Indeed, every one seems to share this "open secret"—except our naive Government which is still tied to the apron-strings of the Commonwealth and through Britain, to the shoe-strings of the U.S.A.!

I don't think Colonel McCormick was really so uninformed on Kashmir as he claimed to be. It is more probable that, like Nelson, he was turning the blind eye to the glaring fact of Pakistan's aggression against India.

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

KARACHI: The British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee has invited the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan for informal talks in London on the Kashmir problem, according to a usually reliable source.

LONDON: Britain will spend millions more sterling in the coming year to modernise her naval fighting equipment and develop counter-measures against high speed attack by jet air-craft missiles and submarines. Naval estimates published yesterday showed production and research would cost nearly £73 millions, £19 million more than in 1949-50."

M. Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet

Deputy Premier and former Foreign Minister, declared yesterday that "the imperialists" had no hope of success in trying to "frighten us now by the so-called hydrogen bomb." In an electoral speech reported by Moscow Radio, he added, "this blackmail springing from the assumption that they have the monopoly of the atomic bomb is in vain because we know very well the secrets of atomic weapons."

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

MADRAS: Scarcity of drinking water is felt in Ramnad and Coimbatore districts—Mr. H. Sitarama Reddi, Revenue Minister, stated in the Legislative Assembly."

THE FORGOTTEN FRONTIER

By R. MUTHUKRISHNA BHARATHI

THIS article does not refer to the North-west Frontier of India, thrown into oblivion owing to the partition of our country, but to our Eastern Frontier which has been forgotten for long. Assam, our Eastern border state, has been placed in a very vulnerable position owing to two factors—the partition of Bengal and the independence of Burma. Added to this is the recent communist domination of China, our north-east neighbour.

The ancient kingdom of *Kamarupa* formed part of India from time immemorial. During the confused state of India after the fall of the Moghul Empire, Assam was annexed by the Burmese Emperor. It was ceded to the British six decades ago after the First Burmese War. For a long time Assam, along with some portions of Western Burma, continued to be administered by the government at Fort William. The province is rightly called "the child of Bengal," and Bengali influence is predominant all over the state even today. Assam owes to Bengal what Wales owes to England. For centuries together the sons of Bengal had considered Assam as their second home.

In 1916 Assam was constituted into a separate province. The Hindus and Muslims in Assam were more or less equal in number, and so the province became a good hunting ground for

those whose policy was *divide et impera*. By a hair's breadth she was spared the gruesome fate of her sister, the North-West Frontier Province. But though her head was saved, her foot was amputated—she lost Sylhet.

With Japan's dramatic entry into the War, our forgotten frontier came prominently into the picture. Sappers and miners from the far South were busy constructing the famous Ledo Road from here, and the tiny province became a regular bee-hive of activity. Offensive as well as defensive operations were feverishly carried on against the Azad Hind Forces. But, after the independence of Burma and the partition of India, Assam again became an isolated province.

Assam is a land of plenty. Her famous oil-wells, the extensive tea-gardens, the vast and fertile rice-fields and the dense tropical forests, all go to make her one of the richest among India's states. The very heavy rainfall year by year swells the waters of her mighty rivers which thus have vast potentialities for the development of power. All these are strong reasons why Assam should be a neglected frontier no longer. Assam would be the first casualty in any danger which might approach India from the east. It is high time that our Eastern outpost is not only guarded against such peril, but taken closer to our hearts.

PURAN CHANDRA JOSHI

By G. S. BHARGAVA

*"Had I but served my God with half
the zeal*

*"I served my king, he would not in
mine age*

"Have left me naked to mine enemies".

lamented old Wolsey when he became
a victim of royal whims. The whir-



lig of time in its revolution has done
away with monarchs and their eccen-
tricities but Wolseys have not ceased
to exist.

To have spent thirty summers of
one's life in building an organisation,
to have identified oneself with it, stak-
ed one's all, faced privations and, more
than all, compromised one's own indi-

viduality for its sake and then to be
discarded as "a squeezed lemon", what
an experience it is! To be slandered,
called names, and accused of commit-
ting "crimes" which were before ac-
claimed and glorified as models of
revolutionary action, what maddening
effect will it have on a human mind!
Communists when they are in the good
books of the Church of Moscow con-
sider all this as "damned petty
bourgeois sentimentalism". But when
the tables are turned against them,
when they are "purged", accused of
all sorts of things under the sun, they
turn cynics and mental wrecks. This
is the case throughout the world.

In the case of Puran Chandra
Joshi, who is the real architect of the
Indian Communist Party, and who
has been recently expelled, it is too
early to say what effects it will have.
Perhaps he has not yet lost faith
in the Holy of Holies, or he may
be able to bide his time till the next
shift in the Kremlin line takes place
and puts him on the top again. Or
he may even not have passed the
stage of "self-criticism" and re-
sanctification.

Puran Chandra or "P. C." as he is
known among his friends, is a Maha-
rashtrian. His father was a teacher
and later a headmaster in a govern-
ment high school there. His was a
well-to-do upper middle-class family,
his forefathers—the Joshis—being
recipients of hereditary dewanship
from the Moghul rulers of North
India. There were only two child-
ren in the house—Puran and his
younger sister, who were naturally
brought up with great care and
attention. The death of their mother
when "P. C." was still a boy further
endeared the children to their father.
"P. C." had his elementary and second-
ary education at Almora and
Etawah, where his father was later
transferred. A studious and quiet
student, "P. C." used to top the class.
His serious temperament and reserved
nature kept him away from the gener-
al frivolities that youth usually

indulges in. He also kept aloof from
politics and other extra-curricular
activities.

Allahabad brought about a revolu-
tionary change in "P. C." As soon
as he joined college, he became inter-
ested in student and youth activi-
ties. That was a hectic period in the
country's history: Jallianwalabagh,
anti-Rowlatt Law agitation, Non-co-
operation Movement, all came in
quick succession and electrified the
country. "P. C." could not remain
aloof from the political current. But
significantly enough, at that time he
was a Gandhite in the sense that he
believed in satyagraha as a weapon
of national liberation. Even after he
became the General Secretary of the
Communist Party, "P. C." was not
totally free of this earlier regard for
Gandhiji. In 1945, after the release
of the Congress leaders, when the
A.I.C.C. set out to investigate the
charges of collaboration with the
Government against the Communists
and asked Dr. Ashraf and other Com-
munist members of the A.I.C.C. to
explain their stand, "P. C." tried to
convince Gandhiji of the correctness
of their attitude. Any other Commu-
nist would not have done it.

"P. C." started taking an active
part in the youth movement which,
in U. P., was initiated by Jawaharlal
Nehru. At this time, along with
Bharadwaj, the U. P. Communist leader
who died in jail last year, he
came into contact with Pandit Nehru.
Mutual regard and warmth character-
ised their relationship. "P. C." to
this day is soft-hearted, sensitive and
humane and readily reciprocates
goodwill and friendship. Perhaps he
is the only Communist of that stature
to have several non-Communist or
even anti-Communist friends. Perhaps
this personal attachment to Nehru
was one of the factors responsible for
the Communist decision, immediately
after August 15, 1947, to support the
Nehru Government. One of the
charges brought forward against
Puran and his leadership of the C.P.I.
by the Ranadive Group in March 1948
was exactly this. It read: "in the
riots of 1946 and 1947 there was a
tendency to line up behind Gandhi
and Nehru instead of exposing their
policy which was itself playing into
the hands of the imperialist-feudal

riot-mongers and often even directly
inciting riots. There was a servile
throwing of bouquets to the bourgeois
leaders like Gandhi and Nehru in the
name of fighting communal re-
action!"

By the end of 1928, Philip Spratt
had inaugurated the Workers' and
Peasants' Party in U. P. and though
still a student at the university,
"P. C." soon became its life and soul.
He proved himself a highly capable
and energetic general secretary and
though his personal inclinations and
age made him concentrate on spread-
ing the Communist theory among the
intelligentsia, he was a worthy pilot
of the class organisation. He insti-
tuted and maintained a system of
study circles as a means of providing
"a recruiting ground for future Party
workers"; he also started a weekly
journal in Hindustani called the
Karantikari for purposes of propa-
ganda and education. An omnivorous
reader, he assimilated volumes of
Marxist theory and Stalinist dogma.
He was also maintaining a considera-
ble correspondence with Spratt and
Muzaffar Ahmad on organisational
and other matters, which correspond-
ence was cited against him in the
Meerut Conspiracy Case. While still
a student, "P. C." found a place on
the National Executive of the All-
India Workers' and Peasants' Party
at its Calcutta session. Sohan Singh
"Josh" was the President.

In March 1929, "P. C." along with
thirty other Leftists, was arrested
and brought to trial at Meerut, in
what is now famous as the Meerut
Conspiracy Case. Among the seven-
teen charges levelled against them
were such as forming a "Communist
Party of India and four Workers' and
Peasants' parties in Bombay, Bengal,
the Punjab and U. P. and receiving
financial aid and policy dictation
from Moscow, directly and via Eng-
land and the Continent through com-
munications conducted in a secret
and conspiratorial manner." A vast
mass of documentary evidence "the
like of which has probably never been
handled in a single case in the whole
history of Indian legal practice," in-
cluding "Communist books and
papers, leaflets and other literature,
letters couched in cryptic terms or
written in invisible ink, plans of cam-

paign and codes and ciphers for use in communication with agencies in foreign lands" was seized and exhibited in the Court.

After a two year and ten month trial, judgment was delivered on January 16, 1933, sentencing all but four of the 31 to varying terms of rigorous imprisonment or transportation. Dr. G. M. Adhikari and P. C. Joshi were awarded five years' transportation. As a prisoner at Meerut, "P. C." appeared for both his M. A. and LL. B. examinations and secured a first class in the latter examination. In the course of his lengthy and able defence statement before the court, Joshi listed the three successive stages of political movement thus: "any serious and uncompromising movement for liberation ought to provide and prepare for these successive stages—mass demonstrations, non-violent, disciplined direct mass action and, finally, armed mass rising."

While "P. C." was in prison his father died. Mother and sister having died earlier, the loss of the father meant the snapping of all family links and responsibilities for him. He was then free to do whatever he liked. This was one of the factors which facilitated his plunge into the Communist Party.

After serving his term of imprisonment (reduced on appeal) "P. C." spent a few months in U. P. and finally migrated to Bombay as a full-fledged member of the Communist Party. By untiring work and unflagging devotion, he very soon made "P. C." his sobriquet, synonymous with C. P., the Communist Party. Together with Adhikari and Ajay Ghosh he built up the Party and spread it to every nook and corner. Being ideologically Right-opportunist, he felt very much at home with the "Popular Front" policy then in vogue. He was also editing an English weekly called the *National Front* then, from Bombay. It was mostly due to Joshi's organisational capacity that the Communists could in the name of joint action rob the Congress Socialist Party of a goodly part of its members.

In 1939, the *National Front* was banned and was supplanted by the *Red Army*, also edited by P. C. Joshi. During the War "P. C." was under-

ground till June 1942 when the Imperialist War overnight became the People's War at the bidding of Stalin, Harry Pollit and Co. The Party was legalised and the most propitious period in its life opened. "P. C." came out and worked the new policy with a vengeance, thanks again to his Right-opportunist leanings! Every conceivable alliance against the national movement and popular struggle was forged, class battles of peasants and workers were brazen-facedly betrayed and the solidarity of the country was sought to be paralysed by supporting the Muslim League cry for Pakistan. The Ranadive clique in the Party ingeniously tried to turn the tables against "P. C." at the Party Congress at Calcutta in 1948. Their indictment said: "The mistaken theory that imperialism was a prisoner in the people's camp made us forget the fact that imperialism continued to function in India even in the period of the anti-Fascist people's war, strengthening at every step the imperialist-feudal economy and its own role, even at the cost of sabotaging the war."

Simultaneously with the legalisation of the Party, the *Peoples' War* was started and "P. C." was its editor till it changed its name to *People's Age* in 1945. It was during this period that Puran married handsome Kalpana Dutt who figured in the Chittagong Armoury Case. Kalpana, born of a Zamindar family of Chittagong, was a terrorist and was awarded a life sentence in 1932. Both Rabin-dranath Tagore and Denabandhu Andrews appealed for clemency in her case. She was released in 1939 and later joined the Communist Party. Luckily for "P. C.", "purge" from the party has not affected his domestic bliss. Kalpana Joshi is now reported to be one with him ideologically also.

There seems to be a misconception widely current that "P. C." is the Tito of India. Far from that, the differences, whether ideological or power-political, are between him and Ranadive. He has no quarrel with the Cominform though the present Ranadive line is dictated from above. On the other hand, "P. C." is reported to have been frantically appealing to the Cominform to veto the Ranadive

group. He is now said to be busy preparing a lengthy memorandum to be circulated among the party rank and file. That is why he does not want to form another party but will only bide his time to come on the top again. He also seems to be banking on the possibility of an Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* and a consequent shift

in the Kremlin line in his favour. This is exactly the policy which M. N. Roy followed as late as 1935. When his appeals to Moscow failed to pierce the stone walls of the Kremlin, he turned a cynic, a Congressman, a radical democrat, a humanist and what not! It is to be seen how "P. C." will react if such a thing takes place.

THE "ASOKA CHAKRA" MOVEMENT

By V. S. RAMAKRISHNAN

ON March 1, 1950, simultaneously at Madras, Bangalore and New Delhi, the "Asoka Chakra" Movement was inaugurated. Mr. Jinarajadasa, President of the Theosophical Society, who is the sponsor of the Movement, declared while inaugurating the movement at Madras that the "Asoka Chakra" will be a non-political organisation with the object of "setting in motion again in the life of the Indian people the great and ethical principles of *dharma* and morality," adding that when a traveller from outside comes to India, he must feel that India is a land of mystery and that there is a kind of light in the people here.

It can be safely said the sponsors could not have selected a more propitious time for the inauguration of the movement, since there has recently been an alarming deterioration in the values attached to moral and spiritual principles and the very concept and sanctity of religion are sought to be belittled. Lack of civic conscience is abnormally high: it starts right down from indiscriminate spitting or throwing of banana skins on pavements and streets. Long years of foreign rule have made the people indolent and lethargic. A sort of "leave-it-to-the-Government" attitude has come to stay deeply embedded in the people with an unwillingness to give in return what is expected of them. For the last three centuries nearly, anything aimed at propagation of this country's past ideals was not given sufficient scope and lime-light and, as such, our own *dharma* and culture did not develop as we would have wished it to develop.

These conditions are equally applicable to the universe. Man has strived for the development of industrialism which has resulted in making the already rare Love and Charity, rarer. Man's seeking to extend the frontiers of politics and economics with the aid of destructive science, is proof of his placing less and less faith in the Divinity of things and the Universality of human values. We have already seen enough of destructive forces and now, we are told, more are yet to come.

In the midst of this din and buzzle, at a time when materialism and spiritualism are being balanced against each other everywhere, we have got back the status we enjoyed three centuries ago. It therefore seems essential that people should know the greatness of this country's past, so that they may hold the balance properly and judge wisely. Many may not be aware that the Rig Veda contains the earliest conception of Democracy anywhere in the world. Evidences to show that there was full scope in this country for the development and expression of the best ideals of the best men, are abundant in our old texts. It is said that the disintegrating forces of political revolutions were not able to touch India's culture and art till as late as the eighteenth century—which only goes to show the virility of the civilization that was ours of old.

So it is that the efforts of the sponsors of the "Asoka Chakra" organisation to revive the spiritual greatness of this country should receive popular support in an ample measure, and more so at present, when the

need for promotion of dharma, as conceived and sought to be preserved during all these centuries, is all the more great. The sponsors of the Movement will have to struggle hard to implement their proposed objectives. But, provided a systematic well-regulated campaign is conducted, there is no reason why they should fail. A nation-wide link has got to be established and all appeals will have to be garbed in a most attractive language, setting forth the past glories of this country, the need for dharma, as propagated by Asoka, Buddha and a line of great men—and, more recently, Gandhiji.

A nation is what its people make of it and India's true greatness can be brought back to its old level from out of the deep mire in which it is submerged at present only if we—each one of us with a will and determination—extend our unfailing support to organisations like the "Asoka Chakra." Today, the United Nations Organisation is the only hope for world peace, but its best efforts cannot work miracles unless regional organisations are set up in all countries to carry the message of peace and love to every nook and corner of the world, and it is here that organisations like the "Asoka Chakra" can do their best work.

What is needed today is work—

hard and honest work—on the part of everyone to produce more to live and let others live. Let us not fritter away our energies in petty quarrels and mutual recriminations. Let us live the life that our ancestors lived, firstly to preserve our own homogeneity, and secondly to promote a life of equal opportunities for all. Both these are deplorably lacking today in the country and can be made possible of achievement only by the observance of democratic principles as enunciated in our Constitution, since the political supremacy that we have achieved and the economic supremacy we are striving hard to achieve will both be of no use or significance to us without cultural supremacy. India, with all her ancient glories and achievements, has much to offer to the rest of the world—much more than what she needs to take from them; and, however much one may say that merely harking upon the past will take us nowhere, it cannot be denied that it is only the glories and greatness of the past that should, and do, as a matter of fact, inspire us to greater and greater efforts in the future, aiming at the creation of the Utopian "Welfare State." Let not posterity say that we proved ourselves unworthy of the responsibilities and status that followed in the wake of independence.

In my twenties the critics said I was brutal, in my thirties they said I was flippant, in my forties they said I was cynical, in my fifties they said I was competent, and now in my sixties they say I am superficial. I have gone my way, following the course I had mapped out for myself, and trying with my works to fill out the pattern I looked for. I think authors are unwise who do not read criticisms. It is salutary to train oneself to be no more affected by censure than by praise; for of course it is easy to shrug one's shoulders when one finds oneself described as a genius, but not so easy to be unconcerned when one is treated as a mincompoop. The history of criticism is there to show that contemporary criticism is fallible.—W. Somerset Maugham.

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She: How about giving me a diamond bracelet?"

He: "My dear, extenuating circumstances force me to preclude you from such a bauble of extravagance."

She: "I don't get it."

He: "That's what I just said!"

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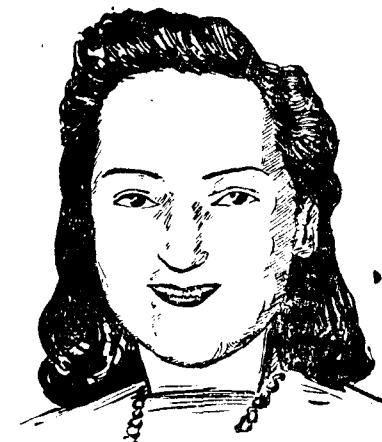
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"I'm going out to buy a book."

"A book?"

"Yes, my husband bought me the most adorable reading-lamp yesterday."—Windsor Star.

IN BLACK AND WHITE



By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

THE Labour Government of Britain is in the throes of her first crisis since its re-election three weeks ago. The defeat of the amendment to the King's speech tabled by the conservatives last week has proved a deceptively auspicious beginning for there is such a furore in England over what has come to be labelled as the Seretse Khama affair that it almost seems as if the Government has overnight fallen sharply in popular favour. The attitude of the Government of Britain in the racial question involved in this business, comes as a shock to all of us not merely because it is a Socialist Government sworn to a recognition of the brotherhood of man and the equality of peoples and so on and so forth, but because its tackling of the 'native' question of India has been on such an enlightened and informed level. Opinion is almost unanimous even in Britain that the Government has not conducted itself with dignity or courage in the Khama affair. It would have been far less unexpected if a Conservative government had acted in this fashion, for the Conservatives, considering themselves as they do, by tradition and heritage rulers of the earth, believe in the Empire and in the "White Man's Burden".

The whole story began when Seretse

Khama, the heir-apparent of Tshekedi Khama, Regent of the Bamaqwato tribe in Bechuanaland, who was staying in London in 1948 studying for his law exams, wrote to his uncle from 10, Campden Hill-Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, that he was thinking of getting married. "The matter will not please you" added the letter, "and the tribe will not like it because the person I am marrying is a white woman. Her name is Ruth Williams." The marriage which took place shortly after is now the talk of every town and village, kraal and trading post in Africa south of the Equator. So loud and voluble was the reaction to it that the matter had to be taken up by 10, Downing Street. For Britain has been for the last six decades and more the Protector of Bechuanaland (a territory in Cape Province), ever since, in fact, the great Chief Khama appealed to Queen Victoria for help to withstand Cecil Rhodes' advance into his country with intent to annex. Khama had an excellent army but the Boers were too strong for him. The tribal chiefs of Bechuanaland had to pay a price for British protection, which they did gladly, but they have somehow never completely relied upon this extra-territorial fortification for their safety and security. They lost the southern

part of Bechuanaland to the South African Union. And years later, Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes together tried to tamper with the freedom of the natives but the plan was fortunately frustrated by Rhodes becoming *persona non grata* in British political circles. The tribal chiefs were allowed to retain their land rights but Khama had to surrender a strip of territory in Bechuanaland to the South Africa Charter company. Now a railway line runs through that strip connecting Cape Province with Southern Rhodesia.

The question of chieftainship of the tribes was regulated by a Proclamation of the British Crown issued in 1943. Native customs and laws were to be preserved but the final selection of the chief-designate had to be approved by the High Commissioner of the Protectorate and the approval confirmed by no less a person than the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. There was provision in the Proclamation for an official inquiry to be held in case there was any difference of opinion between the tribal chiefs and the British authority.

The chieftainship of a tribe is not a position in which tyrannical powers can be assumed. In fact it may be said to be more democratic in practice than many modern systems of government. To the Bamangwato tribesman his chief is a personal concern, and his loyalty to his ruler is above all other issues. But it is he and men like him who have an immediate voice in the selection of the leader. Once the leader is chosen, he is given unquestioning obedience, but he is all the time aware, by the traditional sanctity of unwritten laws, that he could never take upon himself dictatorial powers.

Ruth Khama nee Williams has let loose a veritable storm in this little protectorate. Marriage of a white woman with a tribesman is a thing unheard of in that territory though less than five hundred miles away in the Gold coast and in Nigeria cases of miscegenation are not rare. The immediate reaction to Seretse Khama's marriage was one of violent protest and sympathy swung sharply towards Regent Tshekedi Khama, who opposed his nephew's claims to

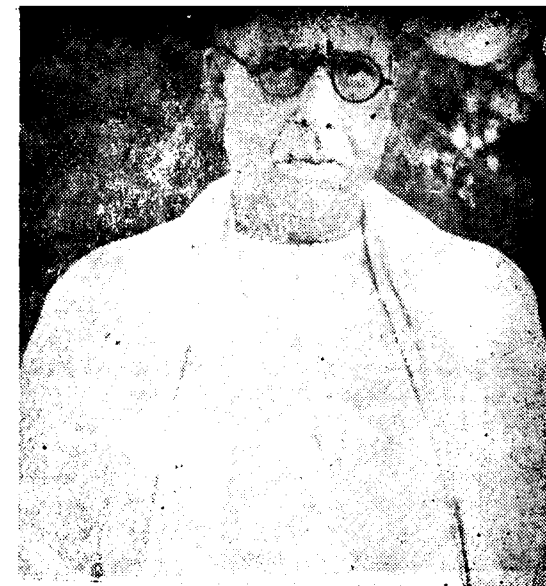
the chieftainship unless young Khama promised not to bring his wife to Africa. The tribal chiefs were with him in his decision.

Regent Tshekedi is reputed to be a wise and able ruler, a good Christian and an educated and studied person. He has built up his tribe as a well-organised and happy and prosperous people. But his wariness in regard to Ruth was the result of having been bitten once in his relations with the British authorities. In 1933 he tried and convicted a white trader named Phineas McIntosh before his tribal court for selling liquor to Bamangwato boys and girls. For, there exists the strictest prohibition among these tribes and drunkenness is considered a pretty serious offence. But Tshekedi paid dearly for his principle. The then British High Commissioner, Admiral Evans, marched into his territory and arbitrarily removed him from his seat of power. He was, however, later reinstated on an apology. It was precisely so that tribal customs might not again come into conflict with British laws, that the tribal council sent Seretse Khama in 1945 to England to study Britain's legal procedures. Tshekedi's objection to Ruth was based entirely on an unwillingness to break tribal tradition and cause a division among his people at a time when they needed all their combined strength and courage to withstand the threat of annexation from the Union Government. He entered into a voluntary exile. "I don't wish to divide the tribe" he said in a farewell message.

Meanwhile, the Kgotla (tribal assembly) which had twice rejected in 1948 Seretse's claim to chieftainship because of his marriage with a white woman, decided in June 1949 to accept him and Ruth as their Ruler and Queen, by which decision they are now standing steadfastly and loyally. Because of the first two rejections, however, the British Government last year appointed under the Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Administration Proclamation of 1943, a Commission of Judicial Inquiry under Sir Walter Haragin to consider the circumstances arising from the designation of Seretse Khama as chief of the Bamangwato tribe. To this Commission Tshekedi sent a statement

which said: "This trouble has arisen through Seretse's marriage to a white woman contrary to tribal law. We do not challenge Seretse's position as heir-apparent, but we do question the legality of the steps Seretse has taken to proclaim himself Chief and Ruth Queen." The Report of the Commission was ready in December last year and last month Seretse accepted the British Government's invitation to come to London for discussions consequent upon the Report of the Commission. And on March 8, Mr. Patrick Gordon-Walker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, announced in the House of Commons that recognition of Seretse as Chief was to be withheld for a period of five years at the end of which time the position would again be reviewed. During this time Seretse was to reside outside the Protectorate and was to be given a "suitable allowance". He also let it be known that Tshekedi, the Regent, was to consider his Regency to have come to an end, the second ban in a rule which has lasted nearly a quarter century. And while the rulers stayed in exile the District Commissioner and a Council of "leading and suitable persons" would carry on the administration.

This decision has brought down a battery of criticism on the government's head, a protest from even Conservative Mr. Churchill himself who unashamedly tried to exploit the situation to some extent. The general consensus of opinion, to do the Socialist Government justice, is that the secret of the Government decision lies in the motives which were behind it. It is not merely a question of the Government being against mixed marriages as such though even this cannot be considered to have had no influence at all on the minds of the authorities. British conservative tendencies like its imperialistic habits of thought die hard and the thought of a white girl—even if she be just a typist—marrying a black man may not seem an entirely agreeable prospect to all. But what, unanimously asks the English Press, was in the report which the Inquiry Commission had submitted? Clearly it had contained something of so malignant a nature that the government was withholding it. "To condemn a man"



Dr. C. Kunhan Raja who is shortly going to Teheran as Visiting Professor of Sanskrit in that University.

said the *Daily Mail*, "upon evidence hidden in a secret document is utterly opposed to the best traditions of British Justice." From other quarters are heard wails of moral indignation that the government should have had the heart to interfere between a man and his wife. "Only those with hearts of stone" comes the cry, "will fail to feel profound sympathy for this young couple." Why, ask some others, was not the matter dealt with earlier, before Seretse married Ruth? There is no doubt strong sympathy is being felt for Seretse Khama who is now consulting lawyers in London as to what further action is to be taken, punctuated by statements to the Press that somehow or other he was going to get back to Ruth even if it be by the underground wherever that mysterious passage is which must run right under the Atlantic. And Nature has helped the wave of sympathy along. Ruth Khama, in the last stages of pregnancy, is alone in the Protectorate.

The secret, as the British Press has rightly guessed, seems to lie in the Report of the Inquiry Commission. It is not difficult either generally to surmise what could have been said in that Report to weigh so heavily with the

British government. Bechuanaland is adjacent to a territory which Britain is finding it difficult to ignore. Dr. Malan, that rabid racist, has already spoken of the incorporation of the Bantu Protectorates in the Union of South Africa. Bechuanaland is administered from Mafeking which is in South African territory. The marriage of Ruth is a violation of the most sacred of the taboos he has perpetrated in his territory. A White chieftainness in a neighbouring territory is the last thing he would like. The Mixed Marriages Bill which was enacted in the South African Parliament last year quite clearly says that a marriage between a European and a non-European may not be solemnised, and any such marriage solemnised in contravention of the provisions of this section shall be void and of no effect. A man with such decided and aggressive views as Dr. Malan would only see in the agitation in Bechuanaland Protectorate a heaven-directed opportunity to annex the territory on the plea of putting down disturbances and maintaining peace. Southern Rhodesia is another neighbour which has long directed an avaricious eye towards the rich mineral wealth of Northern Bechuanaland. These considerations are obviously the "present circumstances" that Mr. Gordon-Walker twice referred to in his address to the House.

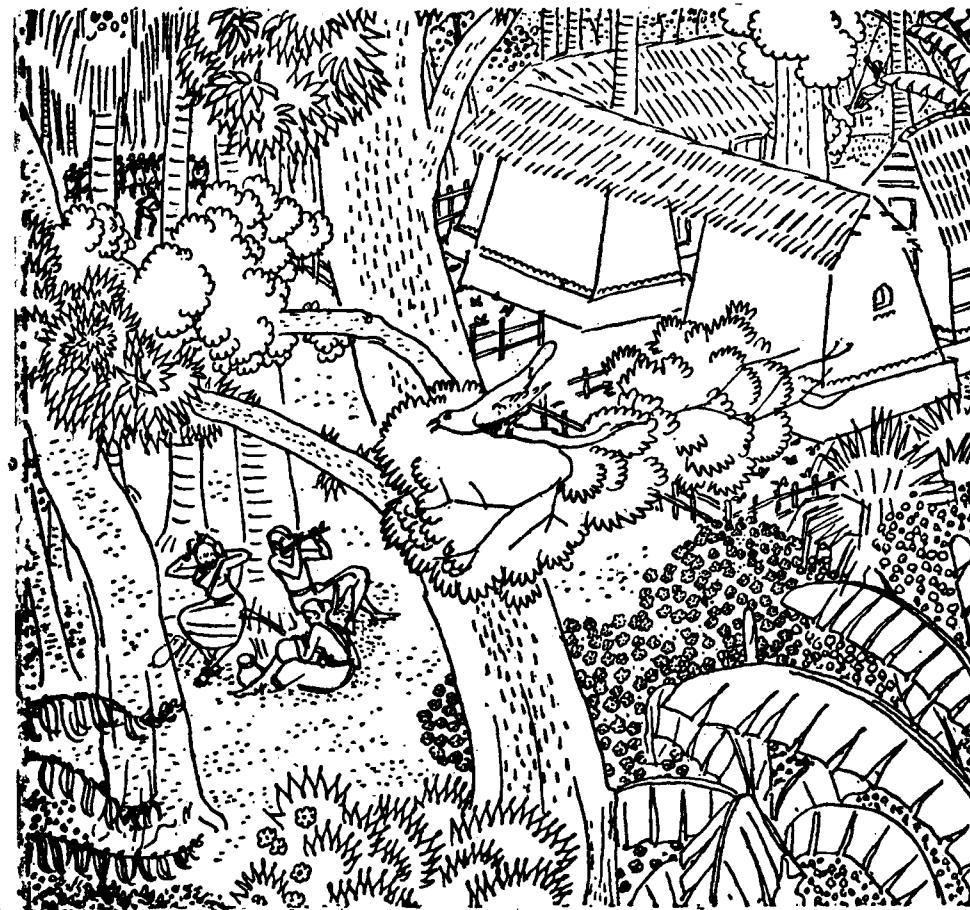
As such they seem certainly to have tipped the scales against Seretse Khama. Leaving alone the moral consideration that a government should be so lost to its own prestige and honour and independence as to bow it head to the warped and racial obsessions of a dictator who has been steadily gaining power these last few years, it looks as if in its cautious and fearful desire not to step on Dr. Malan's corns, the British government is going to release forces in Bechuanaland which it might not be able to control later. Police are already pouring into that territory from other Protectorates in apprehension of violence. The tribal leaders have decided to boycott the administration and refuse to pay the taxes. And since taxes are assessed according to the number of cattle that each tribe possesses, all that the tribal

chiefs will have to do is to drive their livestock far out into the bushes and not all the king's soldiers and all the king's men can find them. And since Seretse has almost all his tribesmen behind him, he could answer Dr. Malan's ban on his entry into the Union by refusing native labour from Bechuanaland for work in the Union's gold mines, thus precipitating a difference with Dr. Malan and simultaneously depriving the British Treasury of the small fortune they have been periodically collecting on the loan of Bechuanaland native labour to the Union.

In England, public opinion in the matter is decidedly against the Government. A Seretse Khama Fighting Committee has been formed of representatives of all coloured people living in Britain. Seretse Khama himself has formally applied to the Commonwealth Relations Office for permission to go home. The Government in its answer to his appeal has to take into consideration his lawsuit over his property which is scheduled to be heard at Lobotsi next month. But it is most probable that the British Government will soon reconsider the matter and permit Seretse to go back to his territory on condition that he keeps peace among his tribes.

What, therefore, the Government should do is to buck up the courage of its convictions. The cynics might even point out that whether the British Government is on the side of Seretse Khama or against him, the chances of their losing Bechuanaland to Dr. Malan are pretty high. By denying Seretse the right to go back and rule his people and causing agitation in his native territory, the Government is only hastening the day of annexation and turning the tribes against White Administration. If some sort of check is to be given to Malan's unrestrained and headlong progress to the position of unquestioned dictator of Africa, it must come now from Bechuanaland. The *Daily Mail* put it succinctly when it said that "The Thing is Bad" for by their "stupidity," the British Government "may inflame Bechuanaland and turn even those simple and trusting people against them".

The Thing is Bad indeed.



Spring

The air is heavy with the scent of flowers. The dull grass grows more green and is strewn with early blossoms from the mango trees. The earth stirs to fresh fertility and the day seems gay and charged with promise. Life is infused with a new meaning. In the gladness of this mood, tea is a cheerful and sustaining companion—it is the cup that refreshes the body and keeps the mind in tune with the spirit of the season.

Tea

Any Time is Tea Time

INSERTED BY THE CENTRAL TEA BOARD

C.R.B.

FILM fare

Film Reviews:

THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL

FOR sheer ranting and grimacing, and for a plot ridiculous even at the juvenile level, there is no film to beat the *Inspector General*. Playing the role of a man mistaken for the Inspector-General whose visit is dreaded by the corrupt Mayor and his satellites, Denny Kaye gets ample scope for playing the fool, but his facial and other antics are neither funny nor even pathetic in a dumb animal sort of way to invoke pity and something bordering on sympathy. He rolls and barks like a dog; makes faces like a rabbit with an artificially-induced St. Vitus's dance; outdoes the proverbial raven at the dinner-table, and, finally, notwithstanding his thin, scraggy figure, socks a six-footer, and elopes with a cook. The last is indeed a miracle, and yet the impression he leaves on the mind is one of hysteria. And hysterical acting, like hysterical writing, requires a genius which Danny Kaye decidedly does not possess. In incredible contrast to him is the quiet and charming cook who falls in love with him, but the cause of her infatuation is, in the traditional film pattern, a closely-guarded psychological mystery. I have heard it said that all art now is escapist in content and purpose. If *The Inspector General* is art, then this seems to be escape into idiocy, not congenital, but induced and cultivated.—A. A. H.

THE STRATTON STORY

A foreword to this M.G.M. picture says that the Stratton story is a

true story. If it is, truth is indeed far lovelier and more pleasant than fiction.

Monty Stratton (James Stewart), a farm boy with a baseball for a heart, lives with his mother, one of those plain women of few words who conceal beneath a stern exterior a heart of pure gold. The day Monty pitches a ball into a railway carriage parked near his playground, he symbolically pitches himself into history as one of America's baseball heroes. His way up, of course, is not all a bed of roses, one of his temporary obstacles being pretty Ethel (June Allyson). But right when he is at the top, tragedy overtakes him in the shape of an accidental gun-wound in his thigh because of which one of his legs is amputated. Recovery is a hard, bitter, angry struggle with Ethel up against a wall all the time and the mother becoming more reticent and stern even than before. But Monty learns to pitch again and enters, crippled as he is, the big game to become for the second time its No. 1 hero.

If there is one word that can be used to describe the quality of the performances of both James Stewart and June Allyson, it is *easy*. It is effortless and warm and undramatically effective. June Allyson as Ethel may indeed be said to have done even better than Jimmy. She, like Jimmy, has a natural flair for acting and a face most expressive though verging on the plain. Agnes Moorhead and Frank Morgan give a good account of themselves.

It is one of those mild, pleasant, simple tales which might be yours or mine or anyone's story except, of

course, that it is specially Mark Stratton's.

EDWARD, MY SON

ALL dramatic productions may roughly be divided into two kinds; those which carry the players and those which the players carry. The M. G. M. film, *Edward, my son*, starring Spencer Tracy and Deborah Kerr, belongs clearly to the latter kind. If the stars had not carried the plot so efficiently and competently, the film would have flopped down deadlier than a door-mat.

It is the story of Arnold Bolt's love for his son which destroys first him, then his wife and lastly the boy himself. It is a hackneyed theme really and as old as sex but what the producers evidently considered a clever touch has proved, in my opinion, the film's undoing. Edward, the son, does not appear on the screen even once. This, while giving scope for both Spencer Tracy and Deborah Kerr to do—and extraordinarily well they do it, believe me—quite a good bit of acting, makes the production

somehow aseptic, if I may use that term. The human touch is lacking. The film gives the impression of being the dramatisation of an idea. And an idea, however marvellous, has no heart.

The role of Arnold Bolt, the money-maker who early in his life sells his soul for the life of his only son, hardly suits Spencer Tracy. It is not merely that we have become so accustomed to see him do only 'good' parts. Not at all. There is something about his eyes and mouth which bring into our mind the words Upright and Incorruptible. But he plays his role with the remarkable naturalness which shows him for the consummate actor he is. Deborah Kerr is even better if you can imagine such a comparison. In the supporting cast Felix Aylmer is just right as the doctor friend of the family. Whatever is right or wrong about any other thing in Hollywood, its casting is absolutely perfect.

There is something not quite sound about the story of this picture. But if you want to see some extremely good bits of acting, do go.



One of the most dramatic scenes in EDWARD, MY SON.

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Suryaprabha	—	Prabhakar
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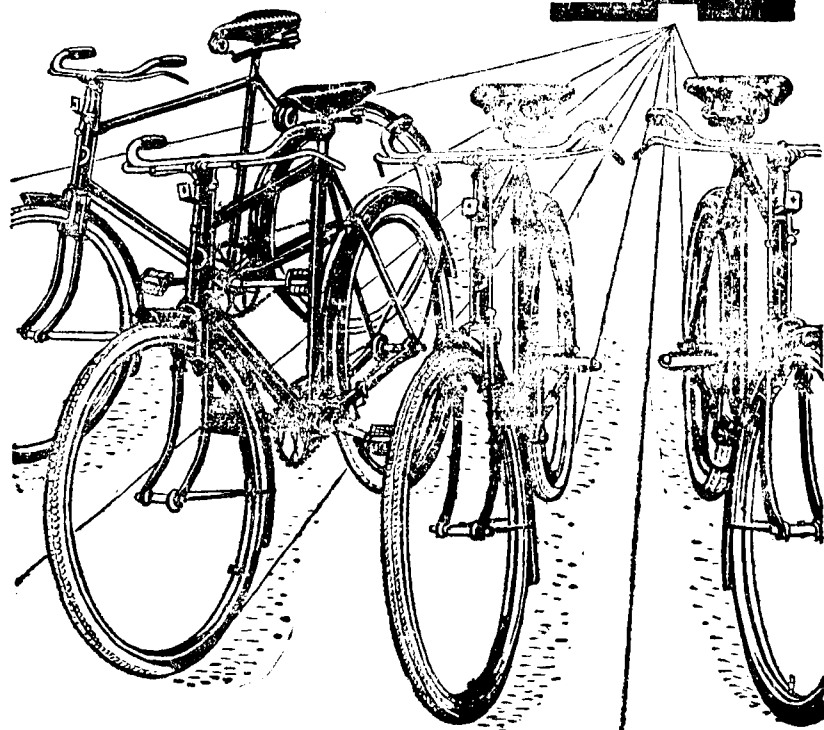
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SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1950

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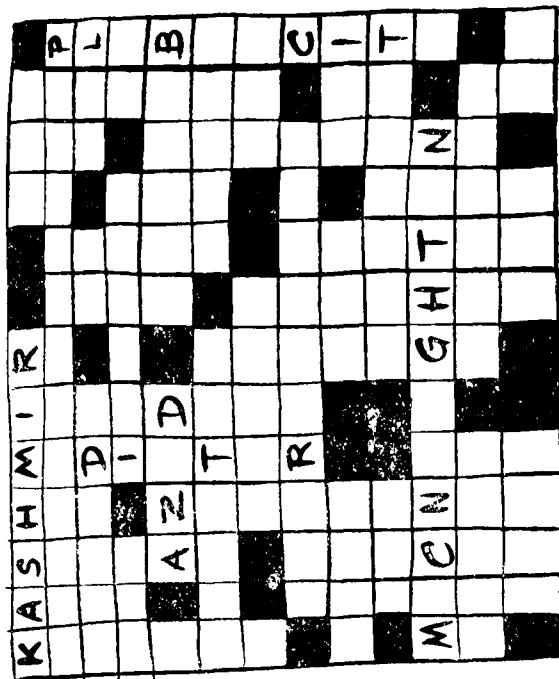
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No. 7

SATURDAY, MARCH 25, 1950

ISSUED
WEEKLY

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

IT has long been known to students of foreign affairs that the British and American press have been uniformly taking sides against India in the unfortunate disputes that exist between this country and Pakistan. The reasons are not far to seek. Apart from the fact that the Anglo-Saxon has always felt drawn more towards the Muslim than towards the Hindu, the creation of Pakistan was itself largely due to a desire on the part of the Western Powers to secure for themselves a vantage point on the Indian sub-continent from which they could continue to protect and further, as occasion might serve, their interests in Asia. They were probably influenced in their calculations by the oft-repeated declaration of Mr. Jinnah that, if only Britain would help him to carve out for the Muslims a separate Dominion, they would be only too glad to throw in their lot with the Empire. Since the Kashmir controversy began Pakistan has been sedulously propagating the myth that Britain was unjustly supporting India. This was just propaganda on its part, propaganda of the kind that the founders of Pakistan had earlier found so effective. It was Pakistan's way of forestalling India's legitimate complaint that the dice was being loaded against her by the Anglo-American group in every dispute that was taken to the U.N. It was partly the extraordinary incompetence of our external propaganda and partly the courtesy and self-restraint of our leaders that have been responsible for misleading world opinion in this respect. But our patience has worn

thin. Mr. Nehru sometime ago and his Deputy Mr. Keshkar the other day expressed themselves rather bluntly against the badgering and baiting that has been going on all the time. And one English newspaper, albeit it be the Communists' organ, has now endorsed their complaint.

We are not so naive as to suppose that this will lead either to a new candour on the part of those in charge of the Western Powers' publicity or to a more friendly attitude towards India on the part of those Powers themselves. But it would be certainly a good thing if our Government could, having broken the ice of a convention which nobody but they have respected, make it a point of telling all whom it may concern, that it would be unwise on their part to take India's goodwill for granted and go on putting an intolerable strain upon it. From this point of view Mr. Nehru's declaration that "we cannot tolerate a foreign invasion from any foreign country in any part of the Indian sub-continent" is to be welcomed. Though made in the context of Nepal it has a much wider application, and it should have a sobering effect on those who might have hoped that they could make a convenience of Pakistan whether with or without the latter's active assent, and that India would feel herself precluded from interfering. Thus, with regard to Kashmir, it has been argued by partisans of Pakistan like Lord Wavell that it is indispensable for Pakistan's defence whereas India does not need it. They forget that this argument is not easy to reconcile with the point, to which they pretend they attach

the greatest importance, that Kashmir must not be made a pawn in the political game but must be allowed to determine her own destiny. India on the other hand has not only affirmed her resolve that the Kashmiris shall settle their own future. Her Prime Minister, by declaring that the defence of the sub-continent is one

and indivisible, blows up the sophistry which with the Wavells does duty for reason. India in her own interests cannot allow the defence of Pakistan to be imperilled either by the devious designs of international diplomacy or by the unfortunate disposition on the part of the present leaders of Pakistan to cut the nose to spite the face.

Sotto Voce

The Play's The Thing

I was sixteen before I saw my first play. And that was a mystery staged by the Catholic boarders of a college to which I had escaped from the saints at home. The delightful Irish padre who read Shakespeare with us might have been a superb actor if the Church had not claimed him. He had a way of making the scenes live, and he never allowed you to forget that plays were written not to be read but to be acted. It was not till some years later that Parameswaran in *Kovalan*, with his elemental passion, took my puritanism by storm. And I have ever since remained a willing slave of the footlights.

My case was fairly typical of my generation, though there were enterprising youths like my good friend G. who braved the parental wrath and regaled us with nostalgic recollections of Rangasami Iyengar in *Nalla Thangal* and the never-to-be-forgotten music of Todi Sundara Rao. We had the worst of both worlds. From our villages came from time to time distant echoes of the resounding exploits of some new genius of the *therukoothu*. But we who perspired towards the far-off goal of matriculation in the market-town not twenty miles away were taught

to believe for our souls' sake that all rural entertainments were unimaginable boorishness. While the "Parsi" drama at the Royal Theatre next door, with its scenic magnificence and exotic music, was the sink of iniquity.

It is this philistinism bred by a bourgeois education that has repressed the Tamil's natural love of the stage. My old Principal, Arthur Davis of the Law College, himself a notable character actor, used to say that the Madrasi was a born mime. The rhetorical division of Literature into Iyal, Isai and Natakam goes back to the Sangam Age. Starting here, as elsewhere, as part of temple ritual, the drama has not even today wholly ceased to be a miracle play. The Bhagavata Mela Natakas of Melattore, Uthukadu and Soolamangalam in the Tanjore District offer striking testimony to the continuity of the tradition as well as the variety and richness of the influences that have gone to swell the stream.

Unfortunately the deep fissure that troubles our national consciousness is reflected in the divorce between the amateur and the profes-

sional. The amateur, repelled by the vulgarity and low morals of the professional, aimed at the genteel and merely achieved the trivial. Those who went on the stage to make money, not because they were born into families which had the drama in their blood, but because of some fortunate accident—an attractive front, a pleasing voice or the gift of the gab—considered that their whole duty lay in tickling the groundlings for their tuppence. With the result that the amateurs remained incurably amateurish and the professionals prurient, and the cinema has engulfed them both impartially.

There are distinguished exceptions in both camps, of course, and let us hope that the efforts being currently made to revive the drama will succeed in effecting a happy confluence of the two. But excessive optimism is ruled out when one remembers that while we have loudly lamented over the decay of the drama for at least three decades now, precious little has been done to stop the rot. I am not forgetting that the drama is making heavy weather everywhere. The incursion of the cinema is a particular illustration of the truth that art tends to degenerate into entertainment when patronage goes into the hands of an uncultured majority. But this phenomenon has not been allowed in other countries to extinguish interest in serious drama.

"The play's the thing." An Aeschylus or a Kalidasa is the gift of Heaven. But playwrights like wheelwrights are made. And the times we live in are full of inspiration for men who by studious labour learn to hold the mirror up to Nature. Let us remember that while it threw up a Shakespeare, a Marlowe and a Webster the Elizabethan stage also spawned hundreds of dramatists who are forgotten and deservedly, but who helped to mulch the soil for genius. The past decade has produced an epidemic of short stories in Tamil of which a dozen may survive. If a new dramatic revival yields the same dividend we may be well content.

In spite of the general poverty of the professional stage we have had great actors in the past. Kalyanarama Iyer and Anantanarayanan in the Tamil country, Varadachari in Mysore and Raghavachari in Andhra and marvellous exponents of folk drama like Govindasami—these head a shining procession. What we have lacked is an intelligent audience that could differentiate between drama and spectacle and feel the solemn thrill which only a hieratic art could communicate. Of the acting of Munden Elia said in an inspired tribute, "He stands wondering amid the commonplace materials of life, like primeval man with the sun and stars about him." O for the starry-eyed children of Melpomene!

VIGNNESWARA

Belief in a personal God determines what we think about Man. You and I would differ, in detail, about these moral judgments of ours; we might not agree about whether it is ever right to commit suicide. But we should agree in principle; we should disapprove of the man who poisons his aunt to get a legacy, even if he intends to use the money better than his aunt would have. This moral law which you and I cannot alter or escape must, I believe, be the expression of Somebody's Will. Whose Will, if not God's? I cannot believe that there is one power imposing its Will on the world about us, and another power trying to impose its Will on ourselves.—Ronald Knox.

Padrewski told the story of the professor at an unusually cosmopolitan university who had to set a thesis for his class: he chose as the general subject, "The Elephant."

The English student at once headed his essay, *The Elephant and How to Hunt him*. The Frenchman produced a sparkling disquisition under the title, *The Love Life of the Elephant*. The German considered the *Gastronomical Possibilities of the Elephant*. The Russian, after smoking several hundred cigarettes, produced the startling caption, *The Elephant—Does it Exist?*

And the Pole headed his thesis: *The Elephant and the Polish Question*.—Bernard Newman in "Pedalling Poland."

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THE "PROGRESSIVES" OF THE U. S. A.

By MARCELLE HITSCHMANN

THE second convention of the American Progressive Party has recently ended. It lasted from February 24 to 26, and was attended by 1,116 delegates, which is a lot for a "Third Party" in the U.S., particularly in winter in windy Chicago. Wallace's address and the policy statement which followed indicate that the Progressives are reaching maturity and at last are not afraid of facing reality. This may provoke in the future some interesting results in America's political life.

Wallace's enemies call him a dreamer, but he is in fact an idealist, if belief in justice and the Bill of Rights constitutes idealism; a realist, who devoted most of his life to the creation of a hybrid variety of corn, the production of a new variety of hens which can lay 30% more eggs than the current types and the promotion of policies which would give more jobs to the American people. He is hopelessly shy and incapable of political manoeuvring, but he inspires amazing enthusiasm and devotion in his followers. He thinks in global terms, and cannot separate problems. People are people everywhere, he says, and they all need food, clothes and a better standard of living. He wants world-wide TVAs that would bring prosperity to the inhabitants of the Nile, Euphrates, Indus or Amazon regions, world-wide trade that would promote understanding and material happiness among Americans as well as non-Americans. And these are not just dreams, for Wallace is widely travelled and knows what troubles our world.

Wallace did a lot of thinking since Truman's re-election, out in South Salem, where things look clearer than in Washington or New York. And despite the fact that Truman's victory has discouraged many Progressives and the young impatient Americans who believe a party can be built in a year and win, the political situa-

tion in the world today proves Wallace was right. Truman's policies are criticized at present by his best supporters. There have been more cries for an end to the cold war in the past month than in the past two years.

Ideas which Wallace promoted since the end of World War II are today offered as spectacular evidence of the political greatness of Winston Churchill or Senator Brien McMahon. Naturally, everybody carefully avoided to mention Wallace's suggestions. The man was still referred to as a dupe and a "prisoner" of the Communists. His speeches still get a minimum of space in the press. Thus the impression is being created that Wallace's party is washed-out, as all "third parties" should be.

But suddenly the second Progressive Party Convention took place and the fact could not be ignored. Reporters saw it through their respective political lenses, but even those who were quite hostile to the movement couldn't do this time the mean job they did when the founding Convention was held in Philadelphia in 1948.

The Philadelphia gathering saw thousands and thousands of young people—and many of them were Negroes—who had come from all over the country with very little money, equipped with a fervour which at moments was upsetting. It was hard to draw the line between enthusiasm and fanaticism and Wallace's opponents seized upon this fact to create the legend that the Progressive Party was a "Communist front" organization. And although it is true that the Red smear is applied in this country with dangerous generosity, one must admit that in the higher echelons of the Progressive hierarchy there were too many zealots who spent more time in praising the Soviet Union than in dealing with American problems.

These zealots were mostly people who felt very close to the Communist Party but never had the courage

SLAVERY IN INDIA AND CHINA

By V. G. NAIR

to join it and felt guilty about it. They tried to calm their conscience by pushing the Progressive Party into a position too radical and too narrow for its aim. Wallace's goal was the creation of a wide left-of-centre popular front, including Rooseveltian Democrats disappointed by Truman's leanings to the right, as well as Socialists and Communists. But the rigidity of many Party organizers coupled with the disappointment which followed Truman's electoral victory reduced the Party's effectiveness and numerical strength. However, Progressive groups did not disband, and worked actively in big and small towns across the country.

A few days before the Convention columnists began to hint that Wallace would pull out of the Party, that the Party was split at the seams, that violent fights would occur on the floor between Communists and non-Communists.

What happened is that the delegates were extraordinarily serious and co-operative. There were none of the youthful antics of Philadelphia. Leaders from each state listened to Wallace's challenging words: "..... Enemies of progress have therefore stigmatized us as being apologists for Russia and for Communism. We inadvertently gave these enemies ammunition to shoot at us when the Progressive Party turned the Vermont Resolution at our Founding Convention. That resolution stated: 'Although we are critical of the present foreign policy of the United States, it is not our intention to give blanket endorsement to the foreign policy of any nation.' I know everybody in this hall really believes in this resolution and is willing to see the sense of it adopted in our statement of foreign policy. We must not allow anyone the slightest, legitimate reason for believing that any working member of our party puts Rome, Moscow or London ahead of the United States. We are neither nationalist, racist, nor chauvinist—we stand before the American people as being Americans first, last and all the time... The Communists have their party. We have ours!" Wallace then

discussed the cold-war policy and how today even "such stalwarts of the cold war as Senators McMahon and Tydings question the policy of force and urge an alternative". Force breeds force, he observed, and that led him to the hardest portion of his address: "The United States and Russia stand out today as the two big brutes of the world. Each in its own eyes rests on high moral principles—but each in the eye of other nations is guided by force, and force alone. We of the Progressive Party declare that the day of force is over."

That was a bitter pill to swallow for some delegates, but there was relatively little kicking when later the policy statement was drafted.

The "controversial" paragraph said: "The Progressive Party recognizes that while the United States and the Soviet Union both made mistakes in foreign policy, these two great countries can rise above their respective shortcomings to work together fruitfully for international peace and co-operation. We are not apologists for Russia, but in so saying we want it to be understood that our supreme objective is a world at peace, and to that end it is essential that an understanding be reached between the United States and the Soviet Union."

While the other aspects of the policy statement attracted little attention despite their importance, this paragraph was snappily dismissed as a "whitewashing manoeuvre" which shouldn't fool anybody, in the major newspapers. Radio commentators practically ignored the Convention. Abstract analysts are calling Wallace a weakling in their columns, regretting this "weakening" just when political events prove Wallace was right.

"Our time is at hand" was the belief of nearly all delegates who attended the Chicago meeting. Without being too optimistic, one must admit that when respectable Democratic and Republican politicians begin to promote Wallace's idea, even without giving him credit, something is changing in the United States.

IT might be said now that conditions in China under the Nationalist regime were similar to those of India under British rule. India is now free from foreign domination but all is not well with her yet. Both the countries are now undergoing revolutionary changes in the political, social and economic spheres of life. Freedom from oppression, social injustice, poverty and ignorance is still an utopian ideal for India and China. It may be that in the coming two decades, provided we enjoy international peace, freedom with all its blessings of social justice, economic prosperity, peace and plenty will be an accomplished fact in both these countries.

Let us now take a look at the existing social conditions in China and India. In China, eighty per cent of the population live on agriculture alone. But the land is actually held by a microscopic minority of landlords. Most of them are absentee landlords who never worked on their lands. They held the land by hereditary rights of tenure under the backward economy of a feudal agrarian system. The peasants played the role of hewers of wood and drawers of water to the landed aristocracy. It is unfortunate that the Communist Government has postponed the introduction in China of agrarian reform on which they had waxed eloquent all these years. Incidentally a striking similarity exists between the feudal agrarian systems prevailing in Yunnan, Tibet, Sikiang and certain parts of India like Rajasthan. This feudal agrarian system has impeded the social and economic progress of both India and China. The Great Russian Revolution changed the situation in that country, and according to Soviet structure, all land now belongs to the State in which every citizen has an equal share.

Remnants of a slave society still exists in India and China despite our so-called freedom from political and

capitalistic domination. In Rajasthan the land is held by Jagirdars, the hereditary chieftains. Their ancestors came into possession of big estates from feudal princes in recognition of military service rendered to the State. The present generation of Jagirdars is enjoying these big estates in permanent and hereditary tenure of office. The peasants must serve these Jagirdars under a system of forced labour. The Jagirdars send their own tax collectors—the *kamdars*—directly to the peasants for collecting the taxes. The Panchayat or village Council of five elders functions more nominally than actually. Tax is collected despite famines, droughts and pestilence. The tragedies of famine, oppression and fever are ever present in the lives of these peasants. Steeped in superstitious religious beliefs and customs, these peasants live in utter penury amidst filth surrounded by Brahmin priests, money-lenders and *kamdars*. During my recent visit to Rajasthan, I had the opportunity of coming into contact with some of these unfortunate peasants. Sometimes these peasants must pay special taxes to fill up the entertainment funds of the Jagirdars. Those who made defaults were liable for punishments with the whip of the *kamdar*. How a poor peasant family in rich Rajasthan had to undergo several misfortunes for want of a well and had to suffer chastisement at the ruthless hands of the *kamdar* for failure to pay land tax during a famine has been pathetically described by Hilda Wernher in her remarkable novel, *The Land and the Well*. A perusal of this interesting book will make the reader realise the miseries of peasants in this land of princes.

Slavery is not only prevalent in Rajasthan but it also exists in many parts of India. According to the Census Report of 1921, in Rajasthan and Central India alone there were in all 160,735 slaves of the *Chakar* and

Daroga classes. Forced labour for services rendered with no remuneration other than food is the regular rule even today in these parts of free India. Sri P. L. Chudgar thus writes in his *Indian Princes and British Rule*:

"The system of what is known as *Veth* and *Begar* (meaning forced labour) prevails in almost all the Indian States; and all classes of labourers, workmen and artisans are compelled to work for the Prince and their officials, in many cases the only remuneration being the barest necessity of food. These subjects are compelled to work at any time and for any period that the State may require. Even the women, young and old, married or widowed, are not exempt. If any of these people, men and women, are infirm and cannot work properly, they are flogged or otherwise tortured."

Slavery is even today prevalent in Kerala, the *dharमारajyam* described by Swami Vivekananda as the "lunatic asylum of India". The *Cherumars*, a peaceful peasant community who are solely engaged in the cultivation of rice fields and plantations are treated like slaves by the *Jenmis* of Malabar. These *Cherumars* are doomed to hereditary bondage. The *Nayadees* and *Pulayars* are the other slave communities who do not know the blessings of social freedom even today. According to F. H. Faber, in Kerala alone, there are more than two lakhs of slaves. Despite Harijan emancipation, the fetters that bind them have not been completely cut off. Their very appearance is a correct index of their wretchedness. No words are more realistic than the observations of Faber. "The *Cherumars* are small in stature with spare arms and legs and with large stomachs; in fact they looked more like baboons than men" said Faber as quoted by D. R. Bangi in his *Slavery in British India*.

No doubt, India is now in the process of tremendous agrarian and social changes under Congress rule. Thanks to the Nehru Government, the Zamindari Abolition Bill and Village Panchayat Bills have been passed by a number of Provincial and State Governments. Let us hope that im-

plementing the provisions of these Bills will inaugurate a new era of social progress in India.

Land in Yunan, Tibet and Sikiang is owned by top-ranking Chinese officials in permanent land-holding and hereditary tenure of office. Forced labour is mercilessly extracted from the peasants. The lot of *Kamba* peasants, the Tibetans of Sikiang and the *Paiyi* peasants of Yunan is worse than that of peasants in Rajasthan. Labour rent and *corvee*, the powerful *Ula* system of forced labour dominate all of Sikiang and Tibet. As subjects and tenants, the cultivators have to meet this constant demand with no real compensation. There are no less than ten kinds of *Ula* in China, mostly prevalent in Tibet, Sikiang and Yunan. Often women are required in the absence of men to carry out this *Ula* labour. Failure is always met with severe punishment. Prof. Chen Han-Seng, in his *Frontier Land Systems in Southernmost China* gives a vivid picture of the miseries of Chinese peasants under the feudalistic agrarian system prevailing in that country.

Landlordism is the greatest blot on Indian culture and civilization. The Imperialism of Landlordism as Dr. Kumarappa has described existing conditions in India, should be eradicated without delay. Land should be vested in the community and distributed among the tillers of the soil. To uproot the evil of landlordism from the Indian soil, the Government should, first of all, take the power out of the hands of Jagirdars, Mirasdars and Jenmis. Private ownership of land and the system of forced labour should be legally abolished. In the villages, the Government should immediately establish a broad democratic administration. Without the abolition of landlordism, talk of economic prosperity for India is all bunkum. Poverty cannot be eliminated unless land is made the common property of the people. In free India, no memorial would be more fitting to the memory of Gandhiji than the immediate abolition of vested rights and capitalistic exploitation of the people. Let us do it by all peaceful means.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE CENTURY

By K. S. VENKATARAMANI

WHEN this century was born I was but nine, full of the roaming ecstasy of youth. I recollect vaguely its early years of peace and plenty, and the smiles of Victorian complacency based on disciplined work, and the harvest it always brings, in an ordered society.

But this disciplined work meant for my youth the rigours of a primary school, the excellence of whose headmaster lay in his clear ability to imprint his finger-nails, well trimmed and reared for the purpose, on the tender and sensitive ears, cheeks and nostrils of young boys; the handsomer the boy, greater the peril. With the dawn of the century, I emerged from this prison-house of a primary school though in a well-planned ancient village, a live Vaishnava centre with song and rhythm in every footfall, the birth-place of the great Ramanuja. Then I had a change of place to my own district, for my secondary school in a small township, as ancient as the other and equally famous as the birth-place of Gnana-Sambandhar. But what great names? When I entered the class room, with a beating heart and an anxious look, I saw the class-teacher, a stately stalwart affair nourished on cold rice in non-ration days, vigorously applying his cane on the head, ears and back and then the legs of a boy. I rolled my eyes in pity and terror at the victim but the teacher smiled me a welcome with the cane, and pointed out the last seat in the bench as mine. I began the century with this shower of cane-blows and no wonder the century proved to be a century of showers of bullets and bombs!

But one escape I enjoyed from the "hostel" in which I lived and the school in which I "studied", was the sight of trains in motion with whistling engines and powerful piston-strokes setting mighty wheels in motion, at the nearby railway station. The glory of motion always enthalls me. I vividly remember the train-loads of Boer War priso-

ners on their way to the Trichinopoly Concentration camps—The Boer War, the first fight for freedom against the British Imperialism which ended only the other day, happily and wisely, with "Quit India."

And luck came to me again by a change of place and environment, through failure to get a class promotion for want of one mark in arithmetic; I was sent to the Municipal High School at Mayavaram on the banks of the Cauveri. I am a thrall to that eddy-eyed river ever since. I expiated the prison-hours in school by roaming, reverie and bath in the rolling river. And there was a further intimate change also, from hostel to home life. My grandmother's sister was running an opulent house, for the benefit of two elder cousins of mine, and she agreed to affiliate me after a careful scrutiny. My eldest cousin—he was also in the High School—was a born politician and a rebel, though aged but 15, and he was a regular subscriber to *Bande Mataram* then edited by Sri Aurobindo. We threw the text-books into the dust-bin, and roared in frenzy over the virile rhythmic prose and the endless courage of Sri Aurobindo. Our Headmaster was a rare Catholic genius, who saw the many-sidedness of life, and yet kept discipline in his own way, with a smile and an angry look well-combined! Thus through *Bande Mataram* I was ushered into world-politics and became a close friend and observer of the century and the travail and agonies of Renascent India, after the first partition of Bengal in 1908. I could speak confidently from *swa-anubhava* of the first half of the 20th century and distil from its tears the crystals of salt that should serve to sweeten the second half of the century, and realise in a fair measure its increasing purpose and innate longings. Therefore let us fully explore the real work and achievements of the first half of the century, in order to interpret and

plan the second half. Truly, 1950 is a focal point for such a wise and fruitful survey initiated by A.I.R. "to look backwards and forwards from as many diverse approaches as possible."

II.

Viewed from one broad humanitarian ideal view-point, the first half is a colossal waste of men and material, perhaps necessary in evolution for a big leap, the like of which history has not witnessed these 2,000 years. The toll of human lives directly destroyed in the two world wars, and the immense destruction of property and basic constructive work, the intense agony and suffering involved in the air raids and bombing, and the sinking of innumerable cargo-ships and battleships in mid-ocean beat the record of wanton destruction in all the wars of the world put together. And a third global war is threatening us with atom bombs and Hydrogen bombs behind the puppet show of the United Nations! What are the true causes of this great tubercular malady of the nations?

Let us plunge a little into the cold stream of Geo-Politics. Europe less Russia is but a peninsula of the vast land mass of Asia, greatly fragmented and irregular by two predatory seas, the Mediterranean and the Baltic and it is deficit in the vital needs of man—food, clothing, and shelter. And add to it the further misfortune of its being peopled not by a docile but by a virile and militant race in a bracing sub-temperate climate who, under the egoistic inspiration of an aggressive nationalism with implied racial and cultural superiority of each, have further fragmented their destiny. The Machine Age with its concentrated throb of power, has heightened only the throb of pain and conflicts, and a peculiar organisational capacity to exploit other sections of the world, especially Asia, and make their own small national affairs a world problem, drawing others into their own eddies, and thus heightening the momentum of their own fall!

This unhealthy and malarial condition of the Geo-Politics of Europe, coupled with the rapid industrialisation due to the galloping gains of Science—not a scientific and balanced industrialisation based on locally

available raw materials and agricultural products—led to a rapid and aggressive centralisation of political, economic and monetary functions in each sovereign state, however small, creating tension and conflict. The Anglo-Saxon gained the leadership in this adventure and arrangement by the excellence of his social and civic virtues, and created the British Empire and Imperialism against which I had the privilege of seeing the first struggle for freedom in the Boer War, which has happily almost ended in the wise decision to "Quit India." In one sense, the first half of this century is predominantly British.

Let us enquire into the nature of this centralisation of human life and happiness. I hold the view that organisation is death of all higher values though a minimum amount of organisation is required to keep up the physical needs of *homo sapiens*. This centralisation creates an egoistic and aggressive conception of national sovereignty and saturates the directing mind in power-politics and misdirects everything, the gains of science, the energy and intellect of man, and the throb of the machine, and perverts the primary values of life for the intoxication and "advancement" of a few. It works in a vicious circle. Centralisation breeds war, and war for its victories requires centralisation!!

So, it is clear that any industrialisation not based on a natural use of the raw products of the local area, grown by the labour of their own people, is bound to create conflicts. Any standard of living based on the incidental profits of predatory industrialism, higher than what nature could yield, even to the sweated labour of man, even with the help of the machine, is unnatural, and is by itself the greatest combustible. No wonder, wars breed in this atmosphere like mosquitoes in swamps! Instead of Europe's fate being a warning to the U.S.A.—a country fit to be the ideal abode of international peace, according to the basic conceptions of Geo-Politics—the U.S.A. led by its dollar-ridden industrialists, is going the same wrong way. The U.S.S.R. also, in spite of its doctrinaire ideals, led by its dictators of the Politbureau is treading the same wrong

track of explosion, hastening the third global war, with atom and hydrogen bombs on either side! So much so, the question seems to me often, whither? Whether the future civilisation of Earth will be *with or without Men*?

In this momentous context, Free India though just born, has a stupendous moral duty by virtue of her *dharma*s and great traditions, to guide the world and the second half of the century by doing her duty in the loftiest spirit of detachment and service in the cause of world peace.

III.

Then, what are the genuine longings and the increasing purpose of the second half of the century? In evolution the waste of so many leaves for growth, should imply a bud, and a blossom, at least, in the long run. I shall itemise them without further rhetoric or waste of words.

(1) One world government based on complete decentralisation in Politics, and Economics, and one currency with free trade—the genuine surplus of each producing unit, treated as the Trust Property of God, for the benefit of humanity, and not as material for commerce and gain and refrigeration in Banks.

Rural and urban units and zones should be created according to a new plan with self-sufficiency in food, clothing and shelter as the primary ideal, aided by regional zones, with key industries necessary for agricultural production and welfare, and approved necessary industries.

(2) Complete military disarmament of every nation except for the minimum police force required for law and order.

(3) Planned scientific emigration all over the world, irrespective of racial and skin-colour considerations. Movement of men, and *not* of goods is the final and only solution to our problems of Hunger and Happiness.

(4) Plain living and high thinking must become the universal motto in action, and in daily life. An Austerity Plan rich in food, clothing and shelter, but poor in vanity decorations and wasteful allurements, is the need of the hour, to prevent the atom and hydrogen bombs.

(5) A true system of Education where vocational, literary and cultural

educations are harmoniously devised for the development of the Body, Mind and Soul.

(6) Religion and Science, according to the Sovereign doctrine of *Advaita*, have only one end and aim—the Divinising of man. Therefore, Science must be used as a *Kalpaka Vriksha*, a cocoanut tree for its divine fruits, but not to be tapped by avaricious and perverted politicians, for the intoxicating drink of power-politics and explosives it gives. The gains of Science must be exclusively used with rigour, constructively for peace, production and human welfare; and the conquered leisure for man through Science, must be used creatively and meditatively, for the enrichment and widening of his own consciousness, which would take him nearer the footstool of God.

To implement all these grand designs and ideals a new system of democracy, a new pattern of Government which harmonises the conflicts of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., Political Democracy and Economic Democracy, should be evolved. India is ordained to do this job in my humble judgment—that was why the gods gave her Freedom so suddenly!—a government, a democracy based on *Dharma* and *not* on groups and coteries and parties. In essence, the new type is bound to be a non-party government which derives its sanction from *Dharma*, an impersonal evaluation of a primary code of values, that underlie *Evolution*, and thus make the U.S.A., U.K., and U.S.S.R. shake hands in utter comradeship. The subjugation and then the sublimation of the arid politician by the thinker, seer and saint is the next step in evolution for realisation of our higher ideals. And, India, till recent years, had immense experience in this difficult line of alchemy.

Pandit Nehru, as the successor of Gandhiji, now in power, has today an urgent, sacred and special mission in this world crisis. He must, courageously and with faith in god, summon a Peace Conference of Ten, at the highest level, on the sacred banks of the Ganga, in between Benares and Saranath, and thus achieve the immediate highest longings of man and the century.

(Courtesy All India Radio.)

THE CEYLON INDIAN PROBLEM

By V. SUBRAMANIAM

"WE, Tamils, came to Ceylon as conquerors" I told my friend, Pandit Khemananda, a learned Buddhist bhikku. "And later the Tamils came here as coolies" he retorted at once and added that saint or layman the Sinhalese cannot control their tongues and tempers. We then both of us laughed it away and turned to another subject.

But my remark and his retort remind one of an important aspect of the Ceylon Indian problem, namely, the historical aspect.

The contacts between India and Ceylon are as old as these countries. Ceylon absorbed her religion, culture and in fact her chief occupants, the Sinhalese, from India. Later in history, during the golden age of the Cholas in Tamil history, Ceylon was conquered by the Tamils who slowly colonised the northern parts of Ceylon. The present native Tamils of Ceylon in these parts (as different from the Indian coolies who later came to work in the plantations) are a result of those invasions and colonization. These Tamils who form about 10% of the population are a recognized minority in the island. Though they have their grievances and problems, that is a part of the political problems of Ceylon itself. But their kinship with India, and especially with Tamil, is quite deep. These Tamils of Ceylon have fought for the rights of Tamil labourers who came to Ceylon in this century.

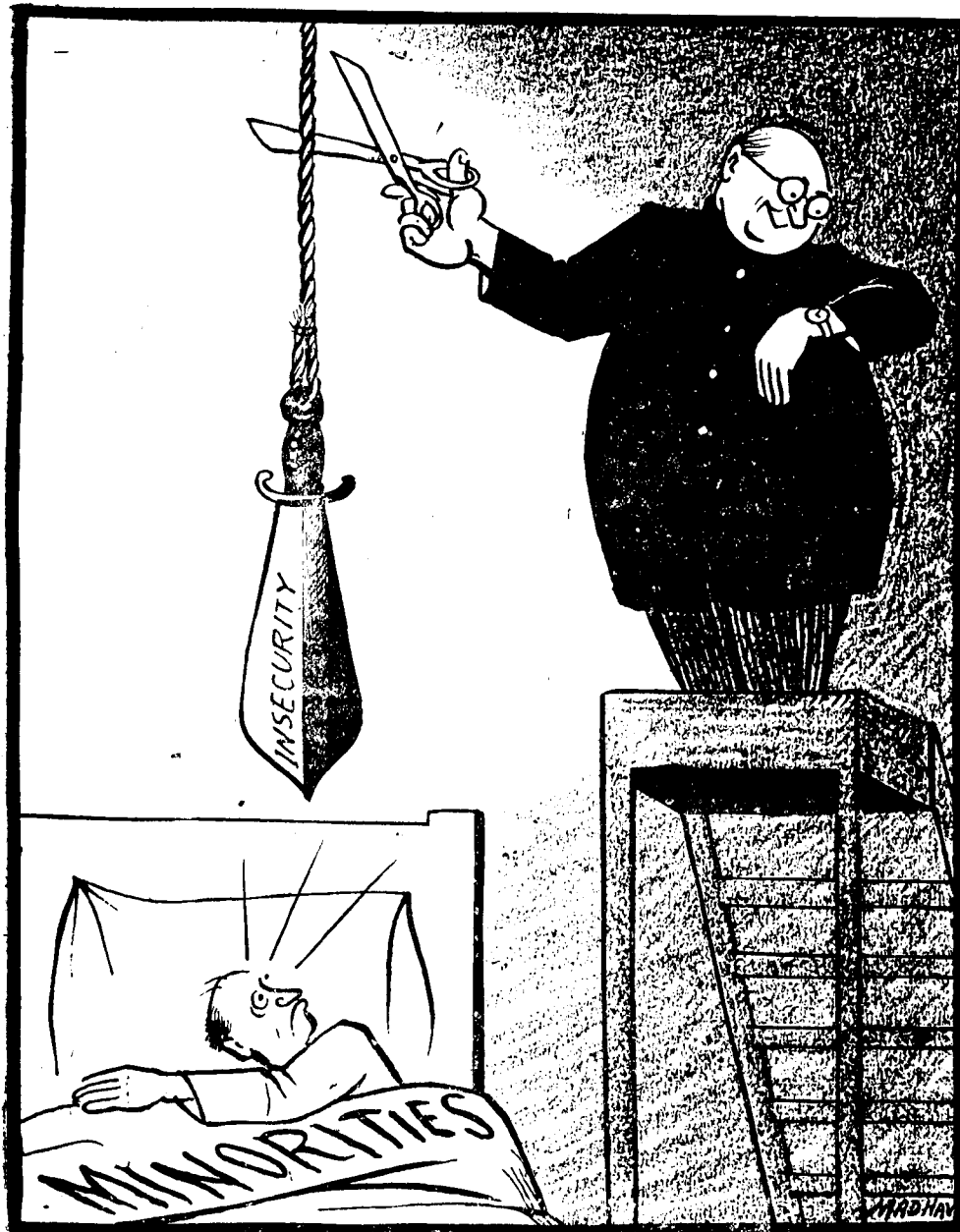
The so-called Ceylon-Indian problem has not much to do directly with these facts of past history nor has it much direct relation with the fear of India as a big and powerful neighbour in the minds of Ceylon politicians. But they deeply affect the mental background of all those connected with the issue.

After the Tamil invasions were over, there was migration on a small scale from Tamilnad but the migrants were in such small numbers that they were completely absorbed in the native population. Most of them

adopted the religion and language of their neighbours though their family-names remain to tell us of their origin. For example, the present Mayor of Colombo, Kumaran Ratnam, is one such Tamil and Saravanamuttu who was previously Mayor of Colombo and later in charge of the Singapore area under the Japanese in 1942 was another. These are examples of the capacity of the present Indian (Tamil) population to be absorbed in the island, under the right conditions.

The emigration of Indian labourers (who constitute the present Ceylon-Indian problem) started as early as 1837. From the very beginning of these emigrations, two things are clear, namely, that Ceylon was treated on a basis separate from that of other countries to which Indian labour emigrated, and secondly, in the case of labourers emigrating to Ceylon, it was accepted on both sides that the Indian labourers who had emigrated to Ceylon will enjoy the same rights as the Ceylon natives. These two are made clear in a number of instances. The Indian Government in 1847 placed some restrictions on Indian labour going to other countries, since they were not treated well there, but in the case of Ceylon this law did not apply. In fact the relevant law of the Government of India in 1847 states that Indians in Ceylon should not enter into contracts for labour elsewhere, and there is a similar law in the Statute Book of the Ceylon Government.

The second condition that Indian labourers in Ceylon should enjoy citizenship rights if and when they complete their contracts and settle down in Ceylon, was also implicitly accepted by both Governments. When the system of indentured labour was in operation prior to 1921, the various British authorities like Lord Salisbury made it clear in their despatches that, once an Indian labourer completed his indenture-term, he was free to settle down as an equal citizen in the colony. When the indenture system of labour



was discontinued by the Government of India under Lord Hardinge in 1921, there was passed the act for the control of emigration. Though the sponsors of the act did not mean to include Ceylon under the operation of this act, it was included actually under the wording of this act. The Ceylon Government then sent Sir James Peiris to plead for a lifting of the ban on labour emigration to Ceylon. He gave the necessary undertakings regarding wages and citizenship rights of these labourers in Ceylon, and it was only on the basis of these promises that the India Government permitted the emigration of Indian labour to Ceylon.

An attempt is now made to make it appear that these were not exactly undertakings, but just information passed on by the Ceylon Government to the Indian Government. But that they were really undertakings at Government level and so understood on both sides is clear from the yearly reports of the Commissioner of Labour, Ceylon, where mention is made of the political rights enjoyed by the Indians in Ceylon. These attractive conditions were also printed in pamphlets distributed in India by the Ceylon Government to encourage emigration to Ceylon. Two quotations from the statements of responsible statesmen in Ceylon can also be added here to clinch the points. Sir Andrew Caldecott, a former Governor of Ceylon, once said: "To maintain that the replies (of the Ceylon Government) were mere statements of contemporary circumstances, and not undertakings as to the conditions which emigrants would enjoy here, is to stultify both question and answer and to ignore the purpose of the Indian Emigration Act itself." Then again Wodeman, Secretary, Ceylon Government, said in 1941 during a debate on the subject: "I think I have said enough to make clear to any impartial student of the history of this question that it is only after the Government of India had been given the assurance that Indians in Ceylon enjoyed the same political rights as other classes of His Majesty's subjects that they approved the notification of 1923 permitting emigration to Ceylon."

The question of Indian labour in

Ceylon was viewed sympathetically by the once premier political organisation of Ceylon, (i.e.) the Ceylon National Congress. All the great Sinhalese leaders of the past were equally enthusiastic about ameliorating labour conditions as about fighting for Ceylon's freedom. Even after the anti-Indian bias caught the Sinhalese politicians by the throat by about 1935, they still were loud in their professions to accord equal citizenship rights to the Indian labourers settled in Ceylon. I clearly remember a meeting in Tilakghat, Madras, which Pandit Nehru addressed in 1938, after he visited Ceylon on behalf of the Congress, to discuss the Ceylon-Indian problem. Nehru was then, as now, quite emphatic that in view of long residence and their interest in the country, the Indian labourers in Ceylon were entitled to free and equal rights as the natives of the country. The present Premier of Ceylon has times out of number said that he was prepared to grant citizenship rights to Indians in Ceylon who have permanent interests in the country. Said he in the course of the debate in the state council on the Donoughmore Commission proposals: "We want the Indians in Ceylon to be Ceylonese, to be domiciled here.... We do not deny them citizenship... We would welcome the Indians as Ceylonese but if they have no permanent interests in Ceylon, then let them be Indians."

In fact the question of the political rights of Indians in Ceylon was one of the most important points which were taken up by the Donoughmore Commission in 1928, and later by the Soulbury Commission in 1946 and 1947. Both the Commissions in their reports, not only recommended full citizenship rights to the Indian labourers settled in Ceylon but also stipulated very easy and generous conditions for proof of domicile. Said the Donoughmore Commission in this report: "We would hesitate before recommending the imposition of any qualification which would deny to these humble people the political status of their more fortunate fellows... We believe that with the change in the franchise, recommended in an earlier part of this chapter even where there is a necessary five

year's residential qualification, a considerable number of these people will become entitled to a voice in the election of a territorial representative...." The Soulbury Commission also said: "In view of the ban on emigration imposed by the Government of India in 1939, few of the Indian unskilled workers now in Ceylon have been resident in the island for less than five years. A large number have been born there and under the new constitution, if our recommendation is accepted, it will be within the power of the Government of Ceylon to regulate further admissions. Consequently, the Government of Ceylon will have the ability, as we feel sure it already has the desire, to assimilate the Indian

Community and to make it part and parcel of a single nation."

Under the Soulbury and the previous Donoughmore Commission reports and the Constitution of Ceylon, based upon them, the qualification to be a voter in Ceylon is that one must be a British Subject with five years' continuous residence in Ceylon. It is under this provision that a decent part of the Indian labourers are having a sort of franchise, and there are seven members of the Ceylon Indian Congress in the Ceylon Parliament. But already even this limited facility to air grievances publicly, has been undermined by the passing of the Ceylon-Indian-Pakistani Citizenship Act, and the present Constitution Amendment Bill under discussion.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS OF COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

By A. KUMAR

MODERN sophistication has not affected the sacramental character of the marriage institution in India, where the marital ties among Hindus have been considered indissoluble through the ages. The diverse marriage customs in our country which emphasize sanctity of wedlock make fascinating reading.

Among some Hindus of the Punjab the bridegroom, on entering the bridal chamber, finds a sieve hanging on the door post. It is put there by the parents of the bride as a warning to the bridegroom not to take her unless he chooses, as she has as many faults as there are holes in the sieve. But, the bridegroom carries an iron weapon with which to drive away the evil spirits which haunt him, especially at the marriage ceremony, and with this he cuts down the sieve and throws it away, indicating thereby that he is willing to take the bride with all her faults.

Another custom, though now extinct among the educated classes is that, before the marriage takes place, the mother of the bridegroom goes to a well and sits there with her legs hanging down into it. It signifies that as

her son is going to get a wife, she, as mother, will be deprived of authority in the house. She, therefore, makes a pretence of throwing herself into the well to escape the humiliation, whereupon the son comes up to her and begs her not to do it, promising that she would still be allowed to retain the same position in the house that she has had before the marriage. The mother then accompanies the party to the bride's house.

Among aboriginal tribes, the boys and girls frequently dance at night, sometimes until morning, during the festivals of their tribes. At these dances, it frequently happens that a young man, suddenly seizing the hand of the maid of his choice, disappears with her for two or three days. The escape is no secret to the parents of the eloping couple, but on hearing of it the parents of the girl visit the boy's parents and the marriage dowry is satisfactorily arranged.

Yet another form of marriage among the hill-tribes is for the young man to enter a forest where a bevy of maidens have collected and to carry off a girl, usually the one he has already chosen, to be his partner.

A hue and cry is raised, but the elopement can surely be no secret. The other maidens return to the village and report that a tiger has carried off one of their number and urge the young men to go to her rescue. A search party is then organised, which after going to the spot and seeing no signs of the runaways, returns with loud shouts to the parents of the boy and demands his blood for daring to carry off one of the village maids. The parents admit that an offence has been committed, but unless the union is allowed, they refuse to pay blood money.

The custom of kicking the bride is quite common among the Balmiks. After the marriage party arrives at the bride's house, the guests are seated in the verandah while the bridegroom is drawn into an innerroom by means of a pair of trousers twisted round his neck. Inside he is given a good hiding, until he cries for help and is then allowed to go out. A little later he is made to walk seven times round the bride and the bride seven times round him after which he kicks her on the back. The others follow suit. The bride then seizes the shawl or pagree and fastens it tightly round his neck, meaning by this that he is captured for life, and then the bride and groom sing together. The bride then unties the turban, but the others tie it to the bride's shawl, to show that bride and groom are now one.

A Hindu cannot be married for the third time. If he wishes to take a third wife, he is first married to the 'kikkar' (babul tree), or to an oak, so that the one he marries subsequently is his fourth wife. The evil of marrying a third wife is thus avoided. This custom is common even among high-class Hindus.

Teasing the bridegroom is a common custom among many classes in India. In some cases, when the bridegroom on horseback enters the street on his way to the bride's residence he is beaten by young women who line both sides of the street with sticks in their hands. Although it does not hurt

much, he often meets with a mishap if his horse is unruly. Should his turban fall off, it is considered a very bad omen.

In the bridal chamber some of the female relations of the bride sit behind the bridegroom and constantly hit him on the back or prick him with needles. Others have a quantity of yarn with them, which they wind round and round his head. Sometimes old shoes are wrapped in a red cloth and placed in a recess. When the ceremony is over, the bridegroom is asked 'to kiss the holy book,' and when he does so, the shoes are exposed and he is ridiculed.

Among the Odds (a criminal tribe), a woman about to give away her eldest daughter in marriage, is made to undergo the amputation of the joints of the third and fourth fingers of her right hand. The amputation is performed by the blacksmith of the village who performs the operation with a chisel. If the bride is motherless, the mother of the bridegroom must suffer the ordeal unless of course she has already done so.

Imprinting a mystic stamp on the bride's arm, in order to purify her, is also common among many people, especially the Hindus. This generally takes place about a week before the wedding at the residence of the *guru* or that of the devotee if the latter can afford to invite home the august personage. The *guru* has a stock of *mudras* or stamps which are carved in a very artistic manner. He warms one or two gently and makes the mark on the bride's arms.

Polyandry is largely practised among the aboriginal tribes of the Nilgiri hills; but it is not generally known that the custom is also prevalent among the 'paharis', those simple hill-folks of the north-western sub-Himalayas whom visitors to Simla, Mussorie and Chakrata know well. There it is not uncommon for a wife to be shared by as many as four or five brothers—but only members of one family. And it is also economical, they argue.

"A SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC"

By V. VENKATA RAO

ON December 13, 1946, Pandit Nehru moved a resolution in the Constituent Assembly, proclaiming India 'a Sovereign Independent Republic'. On November 26, 1949, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, signed the Constitution of India which declared India 'a Sovereign Democratic Republic'. This declaration has historical significance. Historians like Dr. Jayaswal inform us that during the post-Vedic period and prior to 550 A.C., a republican form of government prevailed in various places. The Buddha was born in a republican age. The republics mentioned in Buddhist literature covered the land to the east of the kingdoms of Kosala and Kausambi (from the districts of Gorakhpur and Ballia to the districts of Bhagalpur), to the north of Maghada and the south of the Himalayas. But with the rise of the Gupta Empire the republics began to disappear. Though the Guptas rose to imperial position by their alliance with the republican Lichhavis, which had survived the Maurya and Sunga times, it was the Gupta Empire that first started the republican system in Rajaputana. By the end of the 6th century A.C. republican form of government disappeared from Hindu India. The old Lichhavis quit the political scene. The Pushyamitras vanished into thin air. "From 550 A.C. onwards Hindu history melts into brilliant biographies—isolated gems without a common string of national and common life". The community ceased to breathe freedom. The period after 700 A.C. is a period of darkness and disruption. Popular institutions decayed and Hindu tradition dwindled and this state of affairs continued wellnigh into the 20th century. Though some sort of representative institutions were established in the present century, they were certainly not republican in character. The establishment of a republican form of government in 1950—fourteen centuries after such a system had disappeared—is a notable

political event in the history of India.

The declaration that India would be "a Sovereign Democratic Republic" gave rise to a controversy, whether India, as a republic, could continue to be a member of the British Commonwealth. For, it was argued, that Article 315 in the Draft Constitution repealed the Indian Independence Act of 1947, apparently under the powers given by section 6 (2) of the Act. Should the Constituent Assembly, it was said, adopt the preamble and Article 315 as it existed in the Draft Constitution, it would bring about an automatic and instantaneous severance of India's connection with the British Commonwealth of Nations. It was, therefore, proposed by Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, that the word 'Republic' should be replaced by a neutral term 'state'. His contention was that as "the allegiance to a common King is the only link that holds the members of the Commonwealth together, the state of a 'Republic' which is incompatible with the allegiance to a King has, therefore, the effect of terminating straightaway India's membership of the Commonwealth".

Though the Constituent Assembly declared that India would be a republic, Congress, at its annual session held at Jaipur, desired India to continue her membership of the Commonwealth "for the common weal and for the promotion of world peace". To consider this question, a conference of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries was held in London in the last week of April, 1949. India attended the conference with two clear intentions. Firstly, she was firmly resolved to give herself a republican constitution in which there would be no place, even symbolic, for the Crown; secondly, she desired to retain association with the other nations of the British Commonwealth on terms as intimate as before. The question to be decided was whether

WOLF WAIL

If you don't kiss 'em, they wonder if you're a man or a mouse.
If you do, they call you a rat.—Earl Wilson.

these two intentions could be reconciled with one another. The declaration, issued at the end of the conference, ruled that they could. This declaration contains four paras. In the first para, the existing constitutional position is explained and refers to the fact that the people in the Commonwealth owed a common allegiance to the Crown; in the next para, it is stated that the Government of India had informed the Governments of other Commonwealth countries that India was going to be a republic; further, that she desired to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations accepting the King as the symbol of that free association; the third para says that the other Commonwealth countries accepted this; finally, it ends by saying that all these countries would remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth. Thus it will be seen that in the first para the words "British Commonwealth of Nations" occur while in the subsequent paras it is referred to only as the "Commonwealth of Nations". Further, in the first para the question of allegiance to the Crown has been mentioned. In the subsequent paras, this has not been referred to at all because India would become a republic and thereby go out of the Crown area completely. It is true there is a reference to the Crown as "the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as the head of the Commonwealth". But the King would have no functions to perform in India. In the ultimate analysis, the republic of India, completely sovereign and owing no allegiance to the King as the other Commonwealth countries do owe, would nevertheless be a full member of the Commonwealth.

Unlike the constitution of the United States of America, the Indian Constitution asserts that the new state would be a republic. In the American constitution, the word 'republic' does not at all occur. It is true that the Federal Constitution does guarantee to each state a republican form of Government. But what is meant by this term is nowhere explained in the constitution. The word was no doubt used in some of the official papers, but the official

style or title of the country continues to be 'The United States of America'. Speaking strictly, no law of the land officially declared the United States of America a republic. Though the word republic was not used in the constitution, the framers of the constitution were most of them republicans. The authors of the 'Federalist' acknowledged that the axioms of republicanism were the accepted postulates of the constitution. And the word republic was used to characterise the system of American Government. It may be asked, then, why the framers of the American constitution fought shy of the word 'republic.' The explanation is that had the framers of the constitution declared that "We the people, do ordain and establish this constitution for the Republic of the United States," they would have frightened the advocates of the states' rights with the spectre of consolidation. They thought that with the march of time, the peoples of the several states would come together and think of their country as a republic, one and indivisible.

Again, another significant omission in the American constitution is the word 'democratic.' While the Indian constitution declares that the republic would be democratic, the American constitution does not say anything about the nature of their constitution. At first the word 'democratic' was not used in the resolution on "Objects and Aims" moved by Pandit Nehru. He used the words 'Sovereign Independent Republic.' But the Drafting Committee thought that the substitution of the word 'independent' by 'democratic' would be proper in describing the nature of the state. In the American constitution the word 'democratic' does not at all occur because this word was much hated and feared by the American people at the time when their constitution was being framed. It was, therefore, not used in the 'Declaration of Independence' or in any of the great state papers of the 'Revolution'. It was not used even by Thomas Jefferson. Until the beginning of the 19th century, the word was repeatedly used to smear opponents of all kinds. Though Lincoln occasionally used the word, and often expressed his faith in a

government of the people, the word does not appear in his great pronouncements. So, nothing like an official sanction was given to the idea that the United States of America was first and foremost a democracy until the accession of Wilson to the presidency.

The use of the word 'democratic' in the Indian constitution is significant. It means that the existing form of government, which was a super-imposed one without roots among the people, would be thrown out and that a new form of government would be set up; that this new government would derive its power from the people; further, it also means, that laws would be made by agents chosen by the people; that at fixed periods all the chief agents of the republic would either retire or if they desire continuance in power, would submit themselves and their actions to a popular review at the poll; that in this process, all the voters would be equal, each one, without regard to intellectual, moral or economic qualifications, would have

one vote and no more and as a rule the candidate who would receive the largest number of votes would be placed in office.

This democracy, says the constitution, would be a constitutional one. That is, it would not be simply a rule by majority. For, the framers of the constitution imagined that a crowd could be as brutal as any individual tyrant and trample down the rights of minorities. They, therefore, included an elaborate list of human rights in the constitution and placed them beyond the reach of ordinary majorities.

From the above, it must be evident that the Indian constitution does not postulate the establishment of a fixed government or an elective despotism. Although it rules out the change of government for light and transient causes, it concedes the right of rebellion when any government evinces a design to place Indians under absolute despotism. In other words it postulates the establishment of 'a Sovereign Democratic Republic.'

THE FUTURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

By N. KRISHNA SASTRY

"A nation therefore cannot choose its form of Government. The mere details and practical organisation, it may choose, but the essence of the whole, the seat of the supreme power, is determined for it by social circumstances."—J. S. Mill—"Representative Government."

TWO pertinent and very profound questions were raised in the Constituent Assembly, when Dr. Ambedkar, while presenting the Indian constitution, asked if India would keep up her independence and, what is more important, work her constitution in an atmosphere of democracy. Our constitution-makers sought to give us a constitution which can be described as democratic. Par-

liamentary democracy established by letter of the constitution remains to be achieved by the millions of this sub-continent.

Perfect democracy does not exist anywhere and is the most shameful thing, if it exists, as Burke has pointed out. Nor do written constitutions ensure democracy when the people are not properly educated for the task. It is a matter of contemporary political experience that social democracy died a very inglorious death three decades ago in Central Europe. In a world torn between two clearly split ideological camps, the one providing for parliamentary democracy but not guaranteeing the right to work to its subjects, and the other setting up a totalitarian antheap structure of society, it is quite

natural that the common man should be prone to be satisfied with government for the people rather than government of the people and by the people. The scheme of our political values is to-day in a melting pot, and the principles of its refashioning have not been determined yet.

Political pundits would describe parliamentary democracy as a game of 'ins' and 'outs' and envisage its working as some sort of a perpetual and imminent Trojan war with Priam inside the walls and Menalus outside and with the sweets of office as the modern Helen. The modern state with a single dominant political party as such, or multifarious groups and too many parties contending for power, not one of them capable of enjoying the absolute confidence of the electorate, is unsafe for democracy. Another and the real threat to liberalism and constitutionalism comes from those minority parties, the members of which, thinking in terms of their blood and clan, resort to violent tactics and sway public opinion by basing their claims on religious ideologies.

The Indian National Congress has grown to such a gigantic, titanic stature that in the absence of an effective opposition there is every danger of India becoming a one-party state. Its name, closely associated with the history of India's struggle for independence, has a magical ring for the masses of this sub-continent. The Leftist parties are hopelessly divided among themselves and no one of them by itself is in a position to play effectively the role of 'outs' in the game of politics. The Communists, if given a hold, would ultimately wreck parliamentary democracy.

A remarkable feature of the Indian constitution is the 'Directive principles of State Policy,' (pages 13 to 15 and Articles 28 to 40 in the draft) the incorporation of which into our constitution shows that our constitution-makers are not blind to some of these dangers. At a cursory glance they look more like political sermons

and moral precepts, their proper place being a party's manifesto and not a written constitution. It is not contended that the 'Directive principles' by themselves are capable of working the constitution and ensuring democracy but that they do have some educative value and moral force behind them. They are reminiscent of the Instruments of Instructions under the British rule that the Sovereign issued to the Governor-General and the Governors. Though they are not enforceable by any court, they remain as guides and injunctions in law-making, especially in matters of social and economic legislation. Some of the modern constitutions, as those of Spain and Eire, provide for such guiding principles of State policy.

It is a stupendous task that lies ahead of the nation. As Mill has rightly remarked, "In politics as in mechanics, the power which is to keep the engine going must be sought from outside the machinery and if it is not forthcoming or is insufficient to surmount the obstacles which may reasonably be expected, the contrivance will fail."

India, perhaps, does not lack democratic traditions. In the early dawn of India's history, there flourished in the Gangetic plain, republican kingdoms governed by powerful, able and humanitarian oligarchies. That was as early as the 5th century B. C. Coming to more recent times, under the British Government there arose an intelligent and enlightened middle class educated in schools and universities and trained for self-government. We have besides a philosophy that teaches tolerance of opposition and that means of noble achievement should of themselves be noble—two fundamental principles cardinal to democratic constitutionalism. We may, I think, hope that "the power which is to keep the engine going" would be forthcoming and that it would be sufficient "to surmount the obstacles which may reasonably be expected."

PROCESSION

By VIVIAN COLE

The tiny cymbals clink, the big drums pound,
And shrill pipes wailing fill the street with sound;
A clotted mass of sweating humans, clad
In brilliant hues, their grinning faces glad
With deep-felt joy, like some great serpent crawls
Through slum and market: voice to hoarse voice calls
In urgent greeting lewd or gay, while high
Upborne in state against a monsoon sky
Upon the shoulders of a central band
The gods ride forth to purify the land.
Ganesh, he of the elephant head, is there,
With others whom no infidel may dare
To name in mood profane: from their high perch
Their painted golden faces seem to search
The boisterous throng—and fail to find the truths
Embodied that they seek: in front the youths
Dance with supple ease an ancient measure,
As effortless as though they take their leisure ;
Lithe and lissom leaps from side to side
They give, and smile at one another; pride
Of skill and grace is theirs as, worshipping,
They lead the joyous festival and bring
The gods to all. How long ago the time
Young David danced before the Lord in prime
Of strength? Or was it only yesterday
That Hermes, Dagon, Isis, Thor, held sway
And rode the shoulders of the prayerful throngs,
Granting forgiveness of our human wrongs!
And so in every age our own creations
Rule the hearts and mould the minds of nations
Who look to the impassive sky in vain
As, faced with questions that torment the brain,
They call on the Madonna and the saints
To give them courage when their courage faints.
The music swells, the people chant and sway
In Ashdod, Athens, Babylon, Bombay;
Through gulfs of time the culture pattern holds,
Diverting human thought from worthier goals,
For only when the gods are laid to rest
Shall man start upon his holy quest.



It cannot be denied that in dealings with the public just a little touch of humbug is immensely effective, but it is not necessary.
—Sir William Osler.

THE INSURANCE LAW REFORM

By M. VENKATESWARLU

THE new Insurance (Amendment) Act, 1949 is a blessing in disguise to the policy-holder in as much as it aims at drastic and radical changes in the realm of insurance administration. Designing financiers can no longer get control of insurance companies or use the insurance funds for unhealthy or speculative purposes. They have all to be invested in "approved" securities. Everything has been tightened up in the matter of investing companies' funds and nothing is left to the whims and fancies of the capitalist who usually dominates the entire administration. This change gives confidence to the investing public and policy-holders who are thereby assured that their monies are safe and that there is no danger of the company fearing liquidation. There is also a possibility of a substantial increase in the insurance business as more and more people are likely to come forward to insure their lives.

Secondly, the new bill aims at preventing interlocking of interests between insurance companies and banks. The funds of the one cannot be utilised for the betterment of the other.

In the matter of limitation of over-all expenses, a statutorily recognised association of insurers is proposed to be formed with two executive committees—one for life business and the other for general business. These committees determine annually the reasonable limits for expenses of insurers, having regard to all circumstances relevant thereto during the year. This provision is likely to cause some hardship to small companies. However, it is also a sound and healthy provision which is long overdue. Of late, almost all insurance companies have been frantically pursuing business by offering abnormal rates of commission. The expenses of management mounted enormously high. This state of affairs leaves no margin practically either to build up good reserves or to settle claims satisfactorily. So, it is imperative that this unhealthy competition should be put

an end to and more scientific methods of procuring business are established.

Immediately after the new act comes into operation, the existing non-official associations for general departments, viz. the Fire, Accident and the Marine associations are likely to be displaced by the statutory association and its regional councils. The General insurance council is given power even to regulate rates of insurance. But the rate of commission for general departments provided in the new bill appear to be so low that it may not be possible to procure business successfully with their help. The maximum rates of commission fixed by the Fire, Accident and Marine associations and the new bill are as follows:—

According to the existing associations.

	Ordinary Agent	Chief agent.
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Fire and Accident	15%	30%
Marine	10%	
According to the new bill:		
Fire and Accident	15%	20%
Marine	10%	15%

The rates of commission fixed by the Fire, Accident and Marine associations now existing, seem to be very reasonable but it was found to be very difficult by almost all the companies to procure business within those limits. But according to the new rates of commission provided in the bill, it becomes still more difficult to get business. The select committee should revise these rates suitably and make matters easier.

Provisions have also been included in the Bill to strengthen government's control over insurers by inspection of the insurers' books whenever required, to liberalise the conditions of service of agents and to enable the conversion of proprietary joint stock companies into mutual companies. These are some of the very many salient features of the new bill. From all these, we can easily conclude that though the agitation for complete nationalisation of insurance is not met with *intoto*, it has been satisfied half-way.

VEENA DORAISWAMI IYENGAR OF MYSORE

By "RAJASREE"

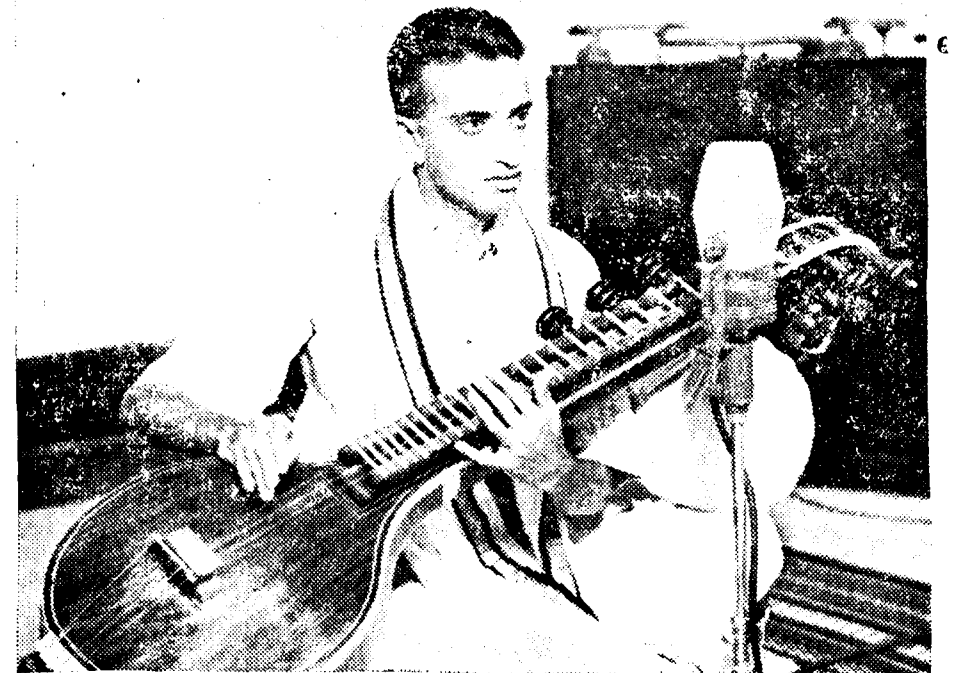
"The fish in the water is silent, the animal on the earth is noisy, the bird in the air is singing. But man has in him the silence of the sea, the noise of the earth and the music of the air," Tagore.

THE names of the late Veena Seshanna of Mysore, and the late Veena Dhanammal of Madras will live in the history of Indian Music as long as memory lives. Seshanna's command and control over the instrument was so complete and perfect that it seemed as if the instrument was a tool in his hands and it obeyed him and allowed him to deal with it as he pleased. In fact it was due to Seshanna that Mysore earned the pride of place in Veena. Happily, today, Mysore continues to occupy the first place and the person who is solely responsible for this is Sri V. Doraiswamy Iyengar of Mysore, the disciple of Vainika Pravina Sri V. Venkatagiri-

appa, who was himself a disciple of the redoubtable Seshanna.

Born in 1920 in the city of Mysore, Doraiswamy was musically inclined even as a boy. His father Sri M. Venkatesa Iyengar, a musician attached to the court of the Maharaja of Mysore who is himself a very good Veena player in addition to being an able flutist, imparted the rudiments of music to Doraiswamy at the age of 7. After some time, he became the disciple of Sri V. Venkatagiriappa, who was at the top of the musical ladder at that time. Fortunately for Doraiswamy, the veteran Seshanna was still alive at that time and this helped Doraiswamy to learn a good deal by merely watching that grand old man draw heavenly music from the veena.

Doraiswamy made rapid progress. His master gave him intensive training and because the boy was very



intelligent and had a remarkable capacity to grasp things even at a first attempt, Doraiswamy was able to attain proficiency in music very fast. In his 14th year, the boy had the extreme good-fortune to play before the late Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar the then ruler of Mysore who was himself a Veena player of outstanding ability. The ruler was very much impressed by the boy and predicted a great future for him. Doraiswamy started giving small public music performances at about the same time.

But his first big chance came in 1943 when he appeared on the platform of the Bangalore *Gayana Samaja*. It was a rare treat and those who heard him that day expressed great wonder and some even said that "the spirit of Seshanna was alive". Early in 1945 he gave a performance at the *Rasika Ranjani Sabha*, Madras, which sent the audience into raptures. In March the same year he was invited to Hyderabad for the Thyagaraja festival. This was followed by his successful northern Indian tour in November and in December that year he impressed the elite gathering of Madras by his performance under the auspices of that august body,

the Madras Music Academy. Since then he has been in constant demand.

Doraiswamy is a veena player of exceptional ability. His rendering of *raga* is a delight to hear. He can handle any *raga* with ease, particularly *Bhairavi*, *Kambhoji*, and *Natakuranji*. His *thanam* and *swara* rendering are equally brilliant. The speed which he exhibits while rendering the *swaras* is yet to be surpassed by any and his *swarakalpna* bears the stamp of genius. His *thana* playing is also delightful and charming. There is, however, a feeling that his rendering of *keerthanas* is not as picturesque and brilliant as his *raga* or *swara* playing.

Tall, slim and ever smiling Doraiswamy Iyengar is an artist with very pleasant manners, modest and unassuming in spite of a University degree to his credit. He is still very young and has a very bright future. Some years ago at the end of a performance a critic among the audience said that "at half the age of Seshanna, he would be the pride of Mysore." That prediction is in the process of coming true.

CHANGE IN RUSSIAN DIPLOMACY

By W. N. EWER

ALTHOUGH no definite arrangements have been made, it is now taken for granted that the American, British and French Foreign Ministers will meet during the next few weeks—probably in London in April.

The meeting has no implication of urgency or of anything in the nature of a crisis. Nor is it to be called to discuss any particular problem or to take any special decision. Such meetings are, indeed, likely to be periodic. This informal council of three has, in a way, taken over the functions of the Council of Foreign Ministers since the attitude of the Soviet Government to the other three Powers deprived that body of all utility.

Like the Council of Foreign Ministers it has a double purpose. First

of all, it is a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the three Governments which are now jointly responsible for Western Germany. Secondly, it gives an opportunity for informal discussion and exchange of views on all other questions of common concern to the three "World Powers" of the Western system.

The meeting in Paris in November was devoted almost entirely to German problems; and it was then decided in principle to hold another meeting in the spring, also with Germany as the chief subject for discussion. Since November, however, there have been other developments which may require a considerable modification of the expected agenda.

During these months there has come about a fundamental change in

the international structure of the world. The Soviet Union and its associates have withdrawn from all participation in the organs of the United Nations. That may only be temporary. The immediate reason for it is an unwillingness to take part in any work or in any organisation with the representatives of the Chinese Nationalist Government.

There are, however, some indications that it is intended to be the prelude to a permanent withdrawal; and—permanent or temporary—Soviet secession is a fact. It means that, at the present time, the United Nations Organisation has ceased to be of any use for the settlement or even discussion of any matters at issue between the "Soviet Camp" and the West.

Nor is this all. Even the "ordinary diplomatic channels" between the two "camps" are very nearly closed. The Western diplomatic missions in Eastern Europe are isolated and almost boycotted. The Governments to which they are accredited constantly denounce them as "nests of espionage and sabotage." Their official contacts are formal and restricted. The Dutch Minister in Prague, going the other day to the Czechoslovak Foreign Office to deliver a Note, was curtly informed by a policeman that no one could receive him and that no foreigners were admitted to the building.

The new regime in China has not yet, for any practical purpose, established diplomatic relations either with the United Kingdom or with any other non-Communist Government which has recognised it. It has

no effective relations with the outside world.

With Russia itself, diplomatic relations are very tenuous. Western diplomats in Moscow are kept frigidly at arms' length. Soviet diplomats in the West "keep themselves to themselves." There is hardly any intercourse except in the form of written communications, usually of a more or less unpleasant character.

In fact, within the past few months the segregation of the "two camps" from each other has—by the deliberate actions of the Soviet Government and its associates—become far more definite and complete. A situation is being created which has no parallel in modern history.

It is against this background that the three Foreign Ministers have to consider world problems. Public opinion has been stirred by the sudden realisation that all efforts to reach agreement with Russia on the control of atomic energy have been suspended. Public men rather vaguely call for some "new approach." That, however, is only one part of a far wider problem. It is almost true to say that there seems, at the moment, neither the opportunity nor the machinery for reaching any agreement about anything, either with the Soviet Union or with any member of its group.

That sombre fact is bound to condition all discussion on all international problems—whether it be atomic bombs, or Germany, or the defences of Western Europe, or the pacifying of South-East Asia, or all the complex of world economics.

A young surgeon received a telephone call from a colleague who invited him to make a fourth at bridge.

"Going out, dear?" asked his wife suspiciously.

"I'm afraid so," was the brave reply. "It's a very important case. There are three doctors there already."

—News Chronicle.

Judy was born on her parents' second wedding anniversary, so her birthday and her parents' anniversary have always been celebrated together. When a neighbour asked Judy when her birthday was, she replied: "I was born on my mamma's wedding day."

A reporter button-holed a hurrying politician and asked what he thought about a certain international problem. "Don't bother me now," snapped the politician, "I must make a speech. This is no time to think."—Courthouse News.

HOLIDAYS IN BRITAIN

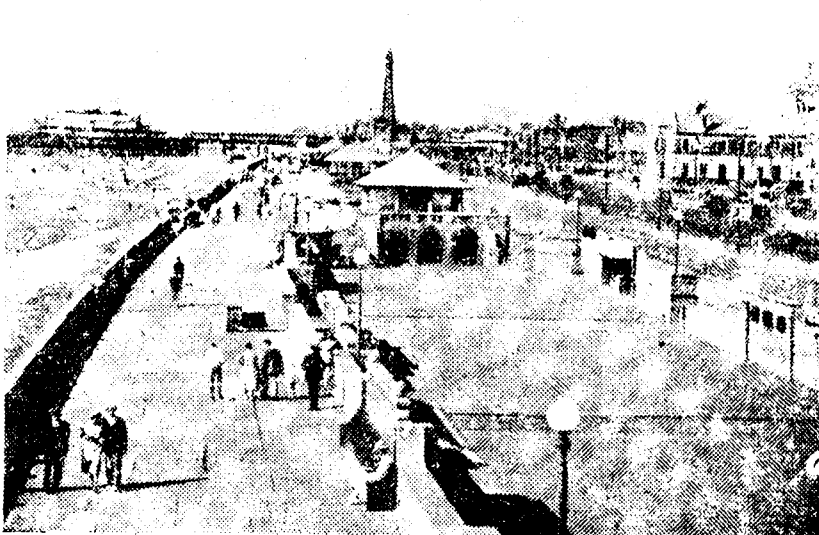
By HARRY HEAP

WHEN I am in England, I live at Blackpool. Blackpool is a seaside town in Lancashire. It has a population of about one and a quarter lakhs. The main industry of the town is holidays. Everything is provided that holiday-makers might require. To begin with there is the sea, which washes the seven-mile stretch of sands twice every day. The tide goes out and leaves about a mile of beach from the sea-wall. When the tide is in, it often dashes against the sea-wall and sends spray over the people who are walking along the Promenade. Incidentally, along the whole length of this promenade, which is in places built in three tiers, there are free seats. In addition to these natural amenities, the sea and the beach, Blackpool provides theatres, cinemas, ballrooms, a Tower over 500 feet high, a Pleasure Beach and, in the autumn, Illuminations along the whole length of the Promenade. The Illuminations will cost about nine and three quarter lakhs of rupees this year. And Blackpool is only one, though the biggest, of scores of holiday places around the coast of Britain. It caters for up to two and

a half lakhs of staying visitors a week at its peak period each year.

All these coastal holiday resorts in Britain are within easy reach of the main industrial areas of the country. Blackpool is not fifty miles from the Manchester area; it is only seventeen miles from the busy town of Preston and only a few miles further away are Blackburn and Bolton. Skegness, in Lincolnshire, and the North Wales resorts, are the lungs of the Midlands, Sheffield, Birmingham, the Potteries. Southend, Brighton, Ramsgate and Margate are soon reached by Londoners. In addition to seaside resorts, even closer to the towns there are stretches of lively countryside, moorland, mountains, rolling downs or just the pleasant country lanes. For example, Glasgow citizens are very near some of the loveliest lake and mountain scenery one could wish to see.

A holiday, to most people in Britain, means a week or a fortnight away from work and away from their usual surroundings. They take their holidays in the summer between May and September. This means that the larger holiday resorts are faced with



Blackpool



A Bathing Beauty contest at a Holiday Camp.

the problem of catering for a large number of people in the space of a few months. In the North of England, in order to make the situation easier, various towns arrange to take their holidays at different times so that if one walks along the sea front at any of the main holiday places in the North, one can hear the accents of people from the same area during the same week, "Wakes" week, as it is called.

Some people do not like the large and busy holiday town. They prefer the quiet of a small country or seaside town. Others like to set off with a rucksack on their back and take a walking holiday. For such as these, and for cyclists, there are the Youth Hostels. These are something similar to the Dak bungalows of India. They are situated within a day's walk of each other. To be a member of the Youth Hostels Association one pays an annual subscription ranging from Rs. 1-5 for juveniles to Rs. 6-10 for seniors. The standard charge for a night in a Youth Hostel is Re. 1 for those over 16 years of age and As. 8 for those under 16. Each Hostel has a warden and provides good plain

accommodation including bed, pillow and blankets. Cooking facilities are provided for those who want to cook their own meals and every one is expected to share in the chores before setting off again next morning. There is always some communal gathering in the evening when these young travellers talk or join in games or community singing.

It is not necessary to stay in these hostels. There is plenty of alternative accommodation. My wife and I once set off from home for a fortnight's holiday not knowing even in which direction we would go. After going to the railway and bus stations, we chose a bus leaving for the Lake District and, after leaving the bus at a small town called Ambleside, we spent the next ten days or so walking from place to place, carrying some food and clothes in our rucksacks, staying the night at whichever village or town we happened to reach. We stayed in hotels, inns and boarding houses. We could have stayed in Youth Hostels if we had prepared our itinerary beforehand. We knew that in all these holiday areas there would be places where we would find food

and accommodation. Of course, it would be unwise to go on such a holiday in the busiest part of the holiday season without making some arrangements in advance.

There are many people who like to have their holiday arranged for them down to the last detail. For them, there are the Holiday Camps situated on the coast. These camps are self-contained holiday units with their own theatre and cinema, ballroom, swimming pool, restaurant and chalets for sleeping. There are men and women specially appointed to organise competitions and games and to see that the visitor thoroughly enjoys himself during his stay.

School children on holiday are often taken, with a teacher, to do light work on a farm. Only those who want to, of course, and those who go always enjoy this change of life. Students from colleges and universities sometimes take on temporary jobs during the long vacation, both for experience and also to earn a little money.

It is true to say that no matter what kind of a holiday one wants in England, it is possible to find the

desired place and conditions. And the British people are given every chance to take advantage of these facilities. Special trains and buses are run from the industrial areas to the holiday places during the holiday season. Over five million workers in Britain enjoy holidays with pay. All workers in Britain have their one week or fortnight holiday away from their work.

In addition to these annual holidays, the British people look forward to their weekends. Thanks to the close proximity of seaside or country to the big cities, it is possible for the workers to get their fresh air, exercise and change of surroundings at the weekends at little or no expense. In the summer the weekends are often spent in the garden or on the allotment by those who do not want to go away from home. Father digging the garden, mother tending the flowers, this is one of the domestic scenes of a week-end in Britain when the weather permits.

The British do not keep all these good things to themselves. For those who visit Britain from overseas, all these facilities for holiday and tour-

ing in Britain are available. The Travel Association advises and helps all visitors from overseas who want such guidance.

There is no doubt that the people of Britain are having to work hard these days and it is just as well that

they have the means available to them for relaxation. A holiday in Britain does not mean a change of climate, it means a complete change of outlook, an entirely different background. It is recreation in every sense of the word.

RELIGION ZOOMS UP IN AMERICA

By Dr. P. G. KRISHNAYYA

RELIGION is enjoying the biggest boom it has ever had in America. Church membership is at an all-time peak and embraces a larger share of the population than ever before. Hundreds of newspapers have run serialized versions of religious books and played them like spot news stories. An evangelistic, revivalist spirit has spread widely. Right now 38 Protestant denominations are engaged in a 15 months' drive to "win America for Christ." Upwards of 1,000,000 church laymen are ringing doorbells in a down-to earth effort to draw every good prospect into the fold. Religious campaigns are getting to be big business. In the most recent "Religion in American Life" program a while back, four national radio networks were enlisted to help. The highly expert Advertising Council lent a hand, and 5,000 religious posters sprouted on billboards.

Milwaukee people, troubled over what they thought was the excessive commercializing of Christmas, plunged eagerly into a pre-holiday campaign to "Put Christ Back in Christmas." They pasted up 1,200 posters bearing the slogan. It was carried on hotel and theatre marquees, 160 billboards, auto-stickers. In the last month or so, some American colleges have been caught up in the rolling tide. Marathon campus revival meetings have occurred here and there. The growth of U.S. population coupled with this general upsurge of religious interest actually has put church building programs far in arrears. Yet this is one of the great building periods in U.S. church history. Protestant denominations alone have \$1,000,000,000 in new construction

planned or under way. The Catholics backlog also is big.

But what is stirring this remarkable interest in religion? Some say: "It happens after every war." But older heads quickly point out that the surge of religious fervour after World War I was mild compared to this one. Possibly the most common belief in and out of church circles is that, plagued by the twin fears of atomic warfare and economic insecurity, people are grasping desperately for rock-like certainty. A few who have studied the trends, however, believe the upsurge is a sign people are reaching for deeper values than they have found in their industrial way of life. Some of the figures support this view, for religion's hold on the American people has been increasing steadily for a long time.

The church is still growing faster than the U.S. population as it has been for decades and it now claims an impressive 80,000,000 members. In 1948, the last year for which full figures are available, church membership rose 2,190,164 or about 2.8 per cent while the population was climbing 1.7 per cent. But church membership gains have been outrunning population advances since 1880. Then it represented 20 per cent of the population. By 1920 it amounted to 40 per cent and today around 55 per cent of the people belong to religious bodies. Attendance would be a better gauge of interest than membership, but churches do not keep accurate account of who actually comes regularly. It is the big denominations that are growing most. The Catholics are the only non-Protestant group to show mark-



The "Red-coats" go to work at a Holiday Camp.

ed gains. They picked up 807,500 in 1948 for a total of 26, 075,700.

The long-range figures make plain religion's increasing hold on the people is not strictly a post-war affair. They lend weight to the idea that a search for deeper spiritual values to balance the material-mindedness of our industrial society may be a sizable factor in the religious boom.

The church's part in its own success story is manifold. It is trying to make basic religious services more meaningful. Church prayers are more down to earth. Preachers are doing a better job. They are getting more money too, according to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Back in 1940 about 90 per cent of the clergy, including partime pastors drew less than \$2,500 a year. Only 1.2 per cent had salaries of \$5,000 or more. Some churchmen think many have now doubled their 1940 incomes.

Protestant preachers are handicapped by the existence of so many splinter denominations. There are 222. And though 29 have merged since 1900 into 13 larger groups, 76 new ones have sprung up. This means many clergymen do not have enough church members to give them a man-sized job. There is often ruinous competition for congregations and for well-trained pastors. Nine years ago no more than 3,000 churches used films to help guide their members and workers. Now perhaps 50,000 employ such audio-visual aids. In these films as in virtually all its auxiliary work outside the basic ritual, the church today is tackling every vital phase of human relations. It is beginning to weave religion and psychiatry together. Through all this intensified labor the church is seeking not only to serve people better but to enlist them in serving each other. And this broadened base of participation in church work may give the religious boom a solid foundation for still greater expansion. The publishers have never seen anything like it. Religion in books and newspapers

is selling like magic. Nation-wide three of the top five non-fiction best sellers are religious books. A recent check of best seller lists in two prominent newspapers showed seven religious titles among the 15 leading books.

The big splurge is being made by inspirational books beamed toward the popular reader. But the buyers' whirlwind that has swept through the nation's book stores has engulfed many a standard work that has been moving off counters at a slow pace for years. In the inspirational field one well-known title has sold 875,000 copies, another 500,000 another 320,000. But even though the sales leap since 1940 is spectacular, many publishers carefully point out that religious books have been finding a wider and wider market for the past two or three decades. * The big boom in popular titles is primarily a post-war affair. Unquestionably the people's appetite for this kind of reading is partly a response to the baffling uncertainties of the atomic age. Sensing both the popular need and religion's broadening appeal newspaper publishers have climbed on the bandwagon. Tough editors have snapped up religious material as if it were hot news from the White House. Big metropolitan dailies no less than small town papers have used it. The serials have usually been published in the Easter season or similar times of religious dedication.

The church's new approach is also scoring in radio. Broadcasts are getting away from the old "sing, preach and pray" formula and now dramatize religious topics or throw them into the easy give-and-take of round table conferences. The radio programmes stress matters like mental health, marriage and divorce, juvenile delinquency, raising a family, problems of old age. Here, as elsewhere, the church is seeking more and more to establish itself as social and psychological counsellor. It seems to be winning its way back to a more purposeful place in American life.

A complete and generous education fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices of peace and war.—John Milton.

MOSCOW MOVES TOO FAST

By JAMES WHITMORE

TO harassed drivers and pedestrians in Moscow, the recent announcement that Russian factories are to produce a standard-model sports car with a top speed of over 100 m.p.h. must have seemed the last straw.

Traffic in modern Russia has always tended to go too fast, and an increasing number of accidents in Moscow are being ascribed to excessive speed driving. The appearance of these latest 54-h.p. "Zvezda 3" cars will make for even more trouble on the crowded streets.

The Russian mania for speed has been encouraged in Moscow by the city architects who have designed the boulevards and river embankments for fast-moving traffic, including trams capable of up to 60 m.p.h. It is significant that most of the serious accidents occur on these wide thoroughfares instead of in the crowded side-streets.

Every week inexperienced drivers are let loose on these broad boulevards, where they can indulge in any speed they wish. In the thrill of being at the steering-wheel of a high-powered car, many of these new drivers forget the Moscow Soviet's exhortations to think of their fellow-citizens first. Over ninety per cent of the street accidents are said to be caused by motorists who have been driving for less than a year.

Even before the war, foreign observers in Moscow noted the tendency for the production of cars and lorries to outpace the rate at which drivers could be trained. That position has been aggravated in the last two years by the unchecked stream of "Moskvich" cars crowding into the showrooms.

Nothing appears to have been done to discourage the flow of inexperienced drivers on to the roads. Foreign residents in Moscow thought at first that the price of the new "Moskvich" cars—ten thousand roubles—might act as a deterrent, for at the nominal rate of exchange this equals £435 sterling. With the depreciated value of the rouble, however, a technician or a professional man earns

this in a month; and even a semi-skilled worker can afford to buy one of these cars by putting 5 per cent of his wages into the Savings Bank for two or three years. As there is no waiting-time before delivery, a man or woman who has saved the money can purchase a car and go straight on to the road from the showroom. The new driver has only to take out a licence, and later apply for a driving-test.

Because "days-off" in most Soviet factories and offices are staggered, the new driver makes his first joyrides among heavy commercial traffic. He does not have the opportunity of driving, as in most countries, in the lighter week-end traffic but is condemned from the first to streets filled with lorries and buses.

From among these new motorists venturing into Moscow's streets several "hit and run" drivers have emerged. Angry scenes have occurred when an irresponsible motorist has tried to drive on after causing an accident and has been prevented from doing so by a hostile crowd. Even fellow-motorists show no sympathy for the accused driver on such occasions, and there is none of the "motorists must stick together" code found in other countries. Before the war, the courts in Moscow endeavoured to stamp out the "hit and run" peril by imposing ruthless penalties upon motorists who failed to stop after being involved in accidents. But as soon as new cars began to appear in 1946-47 the number of cases began to increase. To solve this problem the authorities have again resorted to heavy punishment. A motorist who drives off after injuring two pedestrians, whom he hit whilst under the influence of alcohol, was sentenced recently to five years' imprisonment. Another driver received the same sentence even though the accident he caused did not result in any personal injuries.

Like these two drivers, offending motorists and pedestrians alike get short shrift from the Moscow authorities. And infringement of a traffic

rule made by the Moscow Soviet or its officers entails one month's forced labour or a fine of one hundred roubles, and these rules are numerous.

The Soviets' answer to most traffic problems seems to be more controls. Few countries outside the U.S.S.R. have attempted such a stringent regulation of traffic, both vehicles and pedestrians; and it is difficult for a pedestrian not to commit a breach of the traffic rules in Moscow. Traffic signals apply equally to pedestrians as to motorists and cyclists, and one cannot cross the street against a light or hand-signal. Even where there are no signals, pedestrians have to cross main streets at particular crossings. It is an offence to cross a square, one has to go right round it.

The traffic militia—many of them attractive young women in smart uniforms—are very active in detecting pedestrians and motorists who violate any of these rules. Moscovites joke about the embezzler whom the police were unable to catch stealing a half-million roubles, but whom the militia arrested two years ago for not using a pedestrian-crossing!

During the rush-hours in some busy streets it is not unusual to pass a militiaman or girl entering the details

of some traffic offence in his or her report-book. Often there is a solemn discussion as to whether or not the culprit's conduct was in violation of the law, and it generally ends by the offender confessing that it was so. Unless the suspect complains to a court, the penalty for the alleged offence is usually inflicted without any formal trial. Although legal advice is virtually free, most Moscow citizens accused of traffic offences consider it too much of a nuisance to contest them.

Moscow's harassed motorists and pedestrians have only one consolation. Every year they get the opportunity of "having it out" with the police. This opportunity comes at meetings held in the various wards of the city at which the public is invited to discuss the work of the police departments. The activities of the traffic militia invariably come in for criticism, and the typist who is always late for the office is able to tell the militia-girl who holds her up each morning outside the Metro station exactly what she thinks of her leisurely handling of the traffic.

But the traffic militiamen always get the last word—on the street the next morning!

GROWING TOGETHER

One of the most interesting and complicated of all possible psychological situations arises in the case of men and women who still go on living together, bound by a thousand emotional and economic ties when the glamour of passionate love has faded. When there is no deep temperamental clash—or even when there is, and custom and self-control has bridged it over—such a couple may grow so close together as actually to come to resemble each other in certain physical ways. Sharing day by day endless little preoccupations, endless little hardships and reliefs, there is evoked on the surface of their two natures an identical crust of resistance to discomfort, an identical 'sensitive plate' of enjoyment of comfort, which at once grows more opaque as against the outer world, and sinks down deeper into the yielding substance of their separate beings, as their association continues. To the casual stranger crossing their path these Darbys and Joans, these Williams and Margarets, and Johns and Jennies seem like two branches of the same tree, two heads of the same dragon, two flames of the same hearth, two clock-figures of the same automatic time-piece and their associated identity produces in such a stranger a peculiar and special sense of pleasure, a pleasure which draws its poignance from all the obstacles to such an adjustment that he has experienced in his own life and from that curious satisfaction, half-moral and half-aesthetic, that even the most wilful and inartistic person derives when some immemorial human yearning, like the yearning after an ideal unity between men and women, has apparently, in one case at least, been fulfilled.—*The Art of Happiness—J. C. Powys.*

THE SPY SCARE IN INDIA

A by-product of the crisis in Indo-Pakistan relations caused by the East Bengal atrocities is the spy-fever that grips the whole country. Hardly a day passes when the newspapers do not report the apprehension and arrest of "Pakistan Spies". By now their total number runs into hundreds, if not thousands.

While it is quite possible and even probable that Pakistan spies must be operating in India, it is hardly likely that the Pakistani espionage has no better agents to send to India than the nondescript, illiterate amateurs whose apprehension is a daily front-page feature these days.

Most of them, it appears, are arrested for "loitering in a suspicious manner" or, in some cases, for being dressed in "Hindu garb"—which, after all, may have been an understandable precaution in these days of increasing communal tension.

Some of them at least are poor Muslims who went to Pakistan, got disillusioned in the "Islamic State" after bitter experience of unemployment and economic distress, and have returned without a permit to earn a living in India.

PAK SPIES NEED NOT BE MUSLIMS

As always, it is the poor, the homeless, the helpless who are suspected and suffer, while the rich and the influential manage to enjoy the best of both the worlds. An illiterate Muslim vendor who, perhaps, does not even know the differences between the Islamic Flag, the Muslim League Flag and the Pakistan Flag is punished and deported for hoisting the Pakistan flag on his stall, while the Nizam, whose vain royal ambitions were the mainstay of the fanatical Razakar movement, is made Rajpramukh and assured of a privy purse of 50 lakhs (free of all taxes) per year!

If Pakistan spies are operating in India, commonsense tells us that they must be functioning in the vicinity of the highest levels of social

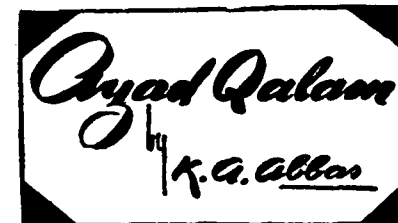
and political life in the country trying to pilfer vital state secrets. Surely they would not bother to lift a few heads of cattle or steal some bushels of paddy, petty thefts which may be left to the petty brigands of the borderland. Nor is it necessary that a Pakistan spy must be a Muslim. He may be a Non-Muslim, perhaps a European, and he may even be a Hindu!

I know, for instance, that a Hindu barrister who elected to stay behind in Lahore after the Partition and is known to be friendly with several high-ups in the West Punjab Government, managed to visit Kashmir some months after the Pakistani invasion. Having the advantage of being a Hindu it was a simple matter for him to fly from Lahore to Delhi, stay there for a few days, wangle a permit to Kashmir and fly

over to Srinagar to renew his many old acquaintances there—keeping his eyes and ears open for any "useful" information and his tongue busy uttering pro-Pakistan propaganda! I do not know whether he

was actually a Pakistan spy but I do know that the barrister did a great deal of damage to our cause by talking to the many people he met in a pro-Pakistan, anti-Indian vein, which carried greater weight because of the alleged impartiality suggested by the fact of his being a Hindu.

Eternal vigilance is, indeed, the price of Freedom, and we should naturally beware of hostile espionage. But precaution has to be tempered with reason and a sense of proportion, otherwise it will lose its very purpose. To focus suspicion on every poor, humble Muslim, who may have contravened the Indo-Pak Permit Regulations for no more diabolical reason than the desire to return to India, is not only ridiculous and unfair, it also shifts the spotlight away from the real culprits who, all this time, may be busy operating elsewhere.



SPIES, SPIES, EVERYWHERE!

The spy-scare grips not only India and Pakistan but the whole world. America, Canada and Britain all claim to have unearthed Soviet espionage. On the other hand, the Soviets allege that agents of the "Capitalist-Imperialist" powers have been busy trying to ferret out secret information from Soviet Russia. A book published in Moscow by a woman who was formerly an employee in the American Embassy in Moscow implicates the highest U. S. diplomats in espionage alleged to have been carried on under cover of the Embassy. On other occasions similar allegations have been made in other countries against the Russian Embassies which were accused of espionage and aid to disruptive elements.

The Soviet Union was, perhaps, the first great power to hold a series of trials of spies and foreign agents—some alleged to be in the pay of the Nazi-Fascists and others alleged to be the agents of the "Capitalist" powers. The accused included some of the highest officials of the Soviet government, intellectuals and industrial executives. The unique feature of the Moscow Trials, as they came to be known, was the uncanny spontaneity with which one accused after another freely confessed all his crimes, displaying almost a cheerful eagerness to get himself hanged.

The anti-Soviet Press in Britain and America immediately seized upon this circumstance and all sorts of weird "theories" were advanced to explain these confessions. These theories ranged from allegations of crude torture (which were belied by the cheerful and healthy appearance of the accused in court) to administration of exotic drugs and hypnosis. Of the theories put forward much after the trials, the most recent was "lobectomy"—a little-known operation in the course of which a weak electric current is applied to the victim which weakens his will-power and reduces him to a "yes man." Another theory is that of a mysterious drug from Tibet which, when taken (or, rather, given) compelled the victim to say anything required by the prosecutors. The U. S. Ambassador Joseph Davies, who attended these trials, however, com-

pletely discounted all such theories in his famous book, *Mission To Moscow*.

And yet the anti-Soviet press has ever been insistent upon these theories of "Oriental torture," Tibetan drugs, atropin injections, etc. as the only explanation of the Moscow confessions. The argument has been: How else, and why, should intelligent and strong-willed persons testify against themselves and confess to their crimes with such evident gusto?

THE FUCHS TRIAL

The trial, confession and imprisonment of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, one of Britain's most brilliant atomic scientists, now raises the same question.—in reverse!

Klaus Fuchs, the German-born and British-naturalized scientist, openly admitted in court that he had been supplying secret information to Russian agents. How did he come to make such a confession? Was it also induced, like the Moscow confessions, by Tibetan drugs or hypnotic treatment? And if he confessed of his own free will, couldn't the Moscow conspirators have done the same?

The Soviet Government has laconically denied that Fuchs was a Soviet spy—which, after all, may be technically true, as Fuchs might have been supplying information more as an amateur for what he regarded as "idealist" reasons rather than as a regular spy in the service of Moscow. The fact remains that the Soviet Government has claimed, more than once, that the secret of the atomic bomb is no longer an American monopoly, and if it was not Fuchs, they must have got the information through such others.

POINTS OF VIEW

No one, however, and least of all in America or Britain, need throw up his hands in horror at the "infamy" of the Soviets in adopting secret methods to get such vital military information. For, one can be sure, Britain and America are doing exactly the same. Every now and then it is stated, even publicly in press reports, that American "intelligence" has learnt this or that fact about the internal conditions of Russia or other so-called "Iron Curtain" countries. It was no less a person

than President Truman who gave the news of the successful explosion of the first Soviet-made atom bomb. How did he get this information if not through American Fuchses secretly operating in and around Russia? It is, indeed, an open secret that all "civilized" governments use espionage as a means of gaining information about enemies or potential enemies. In Upton Sinclair's *World's End* series of novels, the hero, Lanny Budd, is a "Presidential Agent" who poses as a Nazi sympathiser during the war days to get secret information from Hitler and Goering. By obvious implication, there were hundreds of such "Presidential Agents"—or, in less polite language, spies—working for the President of the U.S.A. The British Secret Agent has been glorified in hundreds of thrillers like the *Bull-dog Drummond* series by "Sapper."

Let us face the facts. Spying, like an armed force, is an instrument of offence and defence accepted and used by every "civilized" government—be it Communist Russia, Capitalist America, Secular India or Theocratic Pakistan.

It all depends on one's 'point-of-view. One's own spies are known as "intelligence," "Presidential Agents" or "secret service," but the other government's agents are known as "spies" and are to be tried, sentenced and, sometimes, shot. For, the first principle of espionage is that a spy shall not be found out. Indeed, a person becomes a "spy" only when he is discovered—and then it is too late! He is generally disowned by his own government which refuses to accept responsibility for his actions or to intercede on his behalf. He (or she) takes all the risks of a soldier at the front without any of the privileges or rights which belong to a man in uniform. The spy forfeits his life the moment he is caught.

And yet a spy (Doctor Klaus Fuchs, for instance) is a human being like any other, motivated by ideals no less than the soldiers at the front, capable of the same courage, devotion to a cause, heroism and martyrdom. He has to work alone, in secret, in constant dread of exposure and death. But he gets no medals, no recognition, no memorials are raised to glorify him.

So long as human beings are driven by greed, fanaticism, idealism, or blind subservience to their rulers' power-lust, to make war upon other human beings, there will be soldiers—and there will be spies! There were spies in the days of the *Mahabharata* and there were spies involved in the capture of Troy by the strategem of the wooden horse. Espionage is an integral, essential feature of "civilized" life and only the hypocrisy of "civilization" prevents the recognition of the fact that the phenomenon is common to them as well as us.

Only a society based on Gandhian ideals of Truth and Non-violence will be able to do away with spies. But in that society there will be neither spies nor soldiers, neither diplomats nor exploiters, neither bomb-throwers nor the C. I. D., neither atom bombs nor hydrogen bombs.

"NEW HOPE" FOR THE WORLD

Slowly, too slowly, but nevertheless perceptibly, the World Peace Front is being mobilized. While the American statesmen talk of Peace, sitting securely on their own atomic stock-piles, and the pro-Soviet Partisans of Peace condemn the Americans' possession of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb but approve of the same weapons being manufactured by the Soviets, the third session of the World Peace Committee, which met at Stockholm, has given a truly pacifist and non-partisan lead by demanding an absolute ban on atomic weapons, with international control to ensure application of the ban. "We feel that the first government to use the atomic weapon against any country would commit a crime against humanity and should be treated as a criminal."

Meanwhile, all over the world, individuals are reacting in various ways to the diabolical threat of atomic warfare. An Italian woman poured alcohol over her dress and set it afire. In hospital she said, "I want to die. I am afraid of the atomic bomb." Others have manifested a more positive attitude. People in America have begun to refuse to pay taxes to a Government which is provoking a self-destructing war with Soviet Russia. Fifty people have volunteered to form *Nova Espero*

("New Hope" in Esperanto, the international language) the first community of a movement whose ideal is to free the world from fear of war. Absence of exploitation and co-operative socialism will be the basis of each such community. Eventually, they hope, there will be enough *Nova Esperos* in every country to exert such an influence on international politics, that war will be impossible. An Anglican Vicar of Bexhill, Sussex, England, has called on all Christians to take quick action aimed at securing agreement with Russia on control of the Hydrogen Bomb. The Vicar, Reverend S. S. Waterson, who is an admirer of Gandhiji, has threatened to "scare" the British Government with a nation-wide stoppage of work and general fasting, on the lines of Gandhian passive resistance.

Theoretical idealists? Impractical visionaries? Crackpots? That's what was said about Gandhiji, too, when he first propounded his gospel of Non-violent Non-co-operation. Alas, that he is not in the world today to save it from self-destruction and to lead the forces of Peace!

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

CHICAGO: Defence Secretary Louis Johnson said that American scientists are developing terrible new weapons of war that may make all present ones obsolete.... "I assure you that we are equally alert to possibilities inherent in biological and chemical fields as well as in the radiological" he said. American scientists, he continued, are developing brand-new unprecedented devices that challenge the existence of all known weapons. "The most modern of planes, tanks, guns or submarines today may become obsolete by the introduction of more capable substitutes tomorrow." But he saw no substitute for Man himself to handle weapons.

NEW YORK: More and more Americans are likely to be hunting for jobs in the next few years. Mr. Louis Levine, U. S. employment expert, told employers and labour leaders in New York: "It seems to me that we can view the economic outlook for the next several years with relative optimism, but it has to be borne in mind that every year there are 600,000

more persons working or looking for work"... Unemployment would probably move round about the 5,100,000 mark...."

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

JODHPUR: A 106-year old betel-seller from the village of Dansa, has been registered as a voter in the ensuing elections in Rajasthan. The old man is still healthy."

BENARES: A love scene on the silver screen is said to be responsible for the insanity of a student who was admitted to a local hospital.... Returning home after seeing a film the boy burst into fitful laughter. Refusing to recognise his relations, he repeatedly referred to the picture amidst ceaseless paroxysms."

MADRAS: A suggestion for checking the growth of population by "late marriages" was made by Mr. A. B. Shetty, Agriculture Minister, Madras, in the Madras Assembly when replying to the budget debate on agriculture.... He added: "Late marriages, raising the standard of living and proper educative propaganda in the prevention of increase in population should be thought of."



Nagaswara Vidwan, Mr. G. Pydiswamy who passed away in Rajahmundry on March 7.

THE TWO SIDES TO THE BELGIAN QUESTION

By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

BELGIUM, that small territory in Europe sandwiched between France in the south and west, Germany in the east and the Netherlands in the north is right in the middle of a constitutional crisis, about the second or third of its kind since the end of the War. The people and the Parliament are trying to decide whether they want ex-King Leopold who was deported to Germany in 1944, back again to be their Constitutional sovereign. Though he has never cared to go back to his country again since his exile and in 1945 an Act was passed forbidding him to return to the throne except by common consent of both Houses, King Leopold has still got *de jure* monarchical status in his country. The referendum which was held on March 12 in Belgium was to determine majority opinion on the issue of the King's return. The result was not to be a final decision. It was merely "for information." The Cabinet had hoped it would be easier to make up its mind about their strong-willed ex-king if fortified by a knowledge of which way the wind was blowing in the country on the question of Leopold. The passing of the Referendum Bill was even possible only because of certain political changes which last year's general election had brought about. The plebiscite result has not helped them at all. In fact, it seems to have only made things slightly worse by dividing the country into two fairly equal divisions of pro-Leopoldists and anti-Leopoldists. Fifty-eight per cent of the people have voted in favour of the King's return. Leopold himself has said that unless he polled a clear majority vote of 55% he would abdicate. But though the election result fulfils that condition, it is being strongly felt in Cabinet circles especially that even 58% constitutes only a narrow majority.

The question which faced the people on March 12 was: "Are you of the opinion that King Leopold III should resume the exercise of his

constitutional powers? Yes or no?" So it was a personal question. The question of the continuance of the monarchical system of government was not before the voters. So as to remove any doubt or misunderstanding on the subject of whether anti-Leopold would mean anti-monarchical, the ballot summonses bore this brief notice: "The popular consultation solely concerns the question of King Leopold III's resumption of his constitutional powers. It concerns neither the principle of the Constitutional Monarchy, nor the nature of the King's powers, nor the continuity of the dynasty nor the Belgian Army's behaviour in 1940." For there does not seem to be much doubt of whether the Belgians want a King or not. Except perhaps the almost insignificant Communist Party, it might be said most of Belgium is united on the system of the government they want. This might cause some surprise in 1950 when even in small countries all over the world, the people have come to a sudden realisation of their own rights and duties in their government and a nationalistic spirit is the political fashion of the day. We have somehow got used to Britain having a king, but the small kingdoms of Europe wedged in between Russia in the north and France and Spain in the south, with their kings, never cease to surprise. The Belgians' desire for a continuance of monarchy might be due, to a great extent, to the example of France before them with its presidency and its rapidly revolving merry-go-round of governments. It is enough to disillusion the most ardent republican.

The election question was thus a personal question. Do the people want Leopold himself back as king? What exactly had Leopold done to forfeit the confidence of almost half his people? Mr. Henri Spaak, the former Socialist Premier of Belgium, said once: "It is he (the king) and he alone who created it (the problem).

In 1940 by his insistence on deciding his country's future on his own authority, during the war by his inexplicable accommodation to the will of the Germans, and since the war by failure to understand the wishes of his people." He argued that the king not only acted in an "unconstitutional" manner but had not said a word or done a thing since to show he was sorry for the way he had acted. The people do not like his having married in 1941 Mary Liliane Baelis, the daughter of a self-made man who had started life as a fish merchant; they do not like his resumption of the title of Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha which was renounced in 1920 by King Albert; they do not like the constant journeys to Austria he undertook during the war.

Where does this "unconstitutional" act that King Leopold has committed, start?

The story goes back to before World War I. Belgium geographically is in the unfortunate position of a buffer state between France and Germany. Even in World War I, the German march across Belgium was in breach of Belgian neutrality. The Germans then occupied the whole of that little country except a few square miles behind Yser, where King Albert stayed as leader of Free Belgians while his government withdrew to France.

In 1925, Belgium together with the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Italy signed the Locarno Agreement by which she pledged to assist Germany in the event of a French aggression and France in the event of a German aggression. Twelve years later Belgium was released from this hazardous promise of assistance by the Franco-British Declaration of 1937 which, however, maintained the undertakings of England and France to render aid to Belgium in case of attack.

So, at the beginning of this war, Belgium was, by her own assurance and by the recognition of other countries, a neutral state. But it was a precarious neutrality and King Leopold was the first to recognise it. On September 4, he issued an Order of the Day to the Army. "Today I take over the command of the Army," it stated. "I do so in the certainty that

it will, in all circumstances, show by its valour and self-sacrifice that it is worthy of the confidence which the whole nation places in it." And on November 6 the King left for The Hague with his Military Adviser, mainly, it may be said, to discuss with Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands the dark rumours of an invasion by the Germans of her territory. On December 19, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs made a short statement in the Chamber. "As far as I am concerned," he said, "and I am sure I am speaking for the whole government—I am deeply conscious of all the ties that bind Belgium and the Netherlands."

King Leopold fortified his frontiers, mobilised his army, took over command and waited. The German soldiers also waited on the other side of the frontier. The king was once even advised to seek French-British aid without waiting for actual aggression from the Germans. That he refused to do. Such a request, he firmly maintained, would be incompatible with the affirmed neutrality of the Belgians. They would not lift the first finger. If the Germans did attack them, their course was planned. Said King Leopold: "If we were attacked—and may God preserve us from that fate—in spite of the solemn and categorical undertakings given to us in 1937 and renewed just before the war, we should fight without hesitation, but with ten times the means. And this time again the whole country would be behind the army."

So far, king Leopold's attitude has been considered absolutely irreproachable.

Before dawn on May 10, 1940, the Germans swooped down on Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. The German force was overwhelming. The German Ambassador visited Mr. Spaak at the Foreign Affairs Ministry on the morning of May 10. "In order to forestall the invasion of Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg," he blandly explained, "for which Great Britain and France have been making preparations clearly aimed at Germany, the Government of the Reich is compelled to ensure the neutrality of the three countries mentioned by means of arms. For this purpose," he added,

"the Government of the Reich will bring up an armed force of the greatest size, so that resistance of any kind will be useless."

King Leopold met the situation firmly. In the course of a proclamation which he issued on the day his country was forced, he said: "The fight will be hard. Great sacrifices and deprivation will be asked of you, but there can be no doubt about the final victory. I intend to remain faithful to my constitutional oath to maintain the independence and integrity of the territory."

On May 25, Leopold sent a message to London giving an account of the great danger that Belgium stood in and of his own resolve to stand firm. It was said that the breakdown of communications with France prevented him from sending a similar message to the French government.

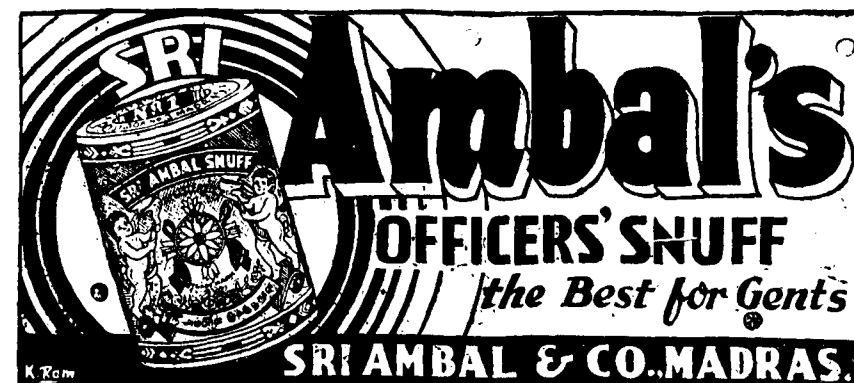
The Belgian resistance lasted exactly eighteen days. At 11 o'clock on the night of May 27, King Leopold, with the full agreement of his Chief of Staff decided to accept the German demand for unconditional surrender. He immediately issued a Proclamation to his people. "Our honour is safe," it said. "This violent fighting, these sleepless nights, cannot have been in vain. I enjoin you not to be disheartened, but to bear yourselves with dignity. Let your attitude and your discipline continue to win you the esteem of the foreigner. I shall not leave you in our misfortune, and I shall watch your future and that of your families."

On May 28, 1940, King Leopold woke up to find himself a prisoner of war

in his own country. He was interned in the royal chateau at Laeken.

When Belgium was liberated in 1944 the National Assembly chose Leopold's younger brother, Prince Charles, Count of Flanders, to be Regent and carry on the sovereign's duties until Crown Prince Albert, then in his early teens, came of age and succeeded to the throne.

Opposition to Leopold's return to the throne is based on one or two chief points, namely, his conduct at the close of Belgian resistance and later when he was a prisoner of war. It has been said that the wording of his capitulation document was a little ambiguous and seemed to suggest that he had not tried his utmost to keep the Allied Governments informed of his actions. Others have pointed out that surrender, at the time he did surrender, was a little unnecessary. Belgium's defensive resources were not completely exhausted. The last ditch had not been lost yet. Still others have said that he should have followed in the footsteps of his discreet neighbour, Queen Wilhelmina who took herself off to England and established herself as the leader of the Free Dutch; that he should have resigned his commandship of the army before capitulation and thus saved himself the ignominy of being a prisoner of war in his own country. As it was, once the Belgian Army surrendered to the Germans with Leopold at its head, the constitutional position underwent a subtle change. The Belgian state—minus the Army—continued to be at war with Germany. The king had signed



himself out of the picture but the Ministers had full authority to carry on the administration of the country. Leopold himself has explained some of his other actions which did not find favour with the people. His marriage in 1921 to Mary Liliane Baelis was a private affair. It was a morganatic marriage and had the blessing of the church. As for his visit to Hitler at Berchtesgaden, it was, he said, for the purpose of asking for better treatment to be meted out to Belgians. The ex-king is a strong-willed person.

The plebiscite which was held a fortnight ago has virtually made the old Roman road running from Cologne to Bologne via Waterloo and Dunkirk the line of political division separating the northern Flemish-speaking territory from the French-speaking Walloons in the south. It has almost deteriorated, as Mr. Spaak predicted, into a question of Flemish and Walloon relations. The quarrel is being fought out in the Press and in the Chamber of Representatives and an acrimonious note is creeping into the dispute. The Liberals who are anti-Leopold have left the Cabinet on this issue. The Cabinet has slump-

ed. The socialists had refused to join the Cabinet even months ago. The Social Christians who formed the majority party in government and who were in favour of the king's return admit that the king had done much to hurt the country but that the problem has now gone beyond the individual resulting in an important constitutional question coming to stake.

There is dissension in the government and among the people. The budget has been held up already for more than two months. And ex-King Leopold waits in Switzerland for Parliament to take a decision in the matter, refusing either to abdicate himself or to relinquish the throne in favour of his son. His stubbornness to give up his throne unless forced by the Parliament seems to have almost brought the system of monarchy into jeopardy by making of it a political platform.

Wartime Premier Hubert Pierlot wrote of him in 1947: "The King is not a traitor. We have never doubted his good intentions." The question is, does not a constitutional monarch need something more than good intentions?

Inflation, as it happened in Germany, France and other countries, was not the result of inflation itself; it was the result of national bankruptcy.—Robert C. Lee.

There is probably no hell for authors in the next world—they suffer so much from critics and publishers in this.—Boyce.

The first panacea for a mismanaged nation is inflation of the currency; the second is war. Both bring a temporary prosperity; both bring a permanent ruin. But both are the refuge of political and economic opportunists.—Ernest Hemingway.

There are three difficulties in authorship: to write anything worth the publishing; to find honest men to publish it; and to get sensible men to read it.—C. C. Colton.

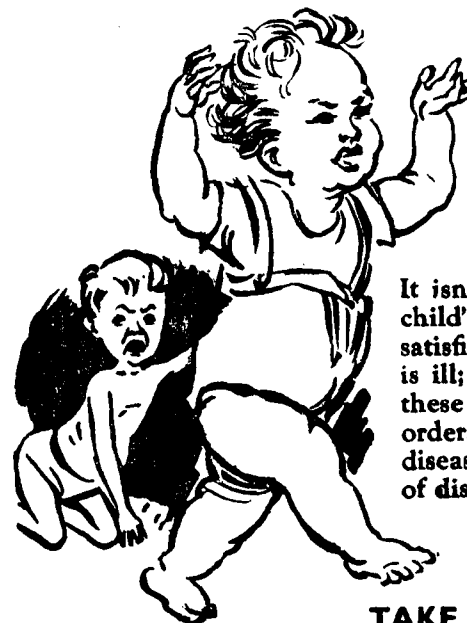
Anyone can sympathise with the sufferings of a friend, but it requires a very fine nature to sympathise with a friend's success.—Oscar Wilde.

With women the heart argues, not the mind.—Matthew Arnold.
Men have died from time to time, and worms have eaten them, but not for love.—Shakespeare.

The middle sort of historians (of which the most part are) spoil all; they will chew our meat for us.—Montaigne.

I care not if God is on my side. My constant hope and prayer is that I may be found upon God's side.—Abraham Lincoln.

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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.

Education And Employment

In the article on "Education and Employment" in the SWATANTRA of 11th March 1950, Mr. V. S. Ramakrishnan has clearly stated what is wrong with our present system of employment. Universities seem to think that their one and the only object is to produce graduates but not to bother about the sad plight of such graduates afterwards. The fact cannot be denied that almost all those who pass out of colleges with degrees do so only with the aim of obtaining decent jobs to maintain themselves and their families. They have formidable opponents also like Inflation and the Communal G. O. That Universities should work in close co-operation with industrialists and employers and limit the production of degree-holders in each subject according to the demand for such people is, indeed, a good proposition which if brought into practice, will save much of the worry about getting a decent job that many young people are haunted by. This will also undoubtedly increase the attachment between the student and the university which will stand as a true parent in relation to the student.

But the go-slow policy of the government regarding the starting of many more industries and the reluctance of privately managed industries to expand owing to the present economic position, do not infuse in the hearts of those with mediocre science or technology qualifications any hope of taking to jobs suited to the knowledge acquired.

It is a wise suggestion that the Centre should take up the question of the education of the country as a whole without leaving it to the provincial Governments in fragments. This will go a long way in achieving uniformity in all branches of education in all parts of the country. It is undoubtedly true that the present system in which Universities work, without caring for the future of the students, leaves much to be desired.

S. R. RADHAKRISHNAN.

Back To Study History!

It would have been wise on the part of Politician-cum-Historian Sardar Panickar if he had simply advised the Andhras to wait for some time more for their Province instead of indulging in irresponsible and unnecessary talk that they were never independent, that there was never an Andhra Kingdom and that

Krishnadeva Raya was not an Andhra but only a Karnataka, in his recent speech at Madras. Poor historian, perhaps he has forgotten that Krishna Deva Raya was a mighty and powerful Andhra King and was a terror to the Muslim and other kings, that he was a great Telugu scholar and wrote hundreds of Telugu books and that at his court were many illustrious Telugu poets like Tenali Ramakrishna, Srinadha etc. He should know that the Andhras ruled over Chennapatnam (Madras), Tanjore, Warangal, Pithan (Pratistan) Ajanta, Ellore, etc. and that there were many Andhra Rulers such as Kakateeya, Satavahana etc. vide page 78 of "Survey of Indian History" by Sardar K. M. Panickar which reads as follows:—

"A more important dynasty which had probably the greatest influence in the integration between the South and North was that of the Satavahanas of Pratistan (Pithan). This great Andhra dynasty whose first king was...."

and page 175 which reads as follows:—

"In Krishnadeva Raya's court were the Asta Diggajas of Telugu Literature. The Raya himself was a writer of distinction in Telugu and his "Amuktha Malyada" is considered a classic while his Laureate Peddana is still considered one of the Fathers of Telugu."

2. He should also note that the Andhras stood first in the independence movement against the British, and that the Andhras are the more independent-minded than any other linguists. That is why the Andhras want an independent province of their own.

3. He says that if linguistic provinces are required, the Hindi Province will become such a large one that it would be impossible to govern it. In that case, is it not convenient to have 2 or more provinces for one language rather than 2 or more languages in one province, having so many groups, sects, cliques etc. In C. P. there are groups of Hindi, Maharashtra and Telugu; in Hyderabad, Telugu, Maharashtra and Kannada; in Orissa, Oriya and Telugu; in Madras, Telugu, Tamil and Malayalee; in Mysore, Kannada and Telugu; in Bombay, Kannada, Maharashtra and Gujarathi and so on. Is it not convenient to change all these artificial irregular and inconvenient geophysical units into linguistic units, to avoid all the inconveniences and quarrels on language controversies? For

how many days are we to hold on without proceeding to other important national problems and improve economically socially, culturally and industrially? Is it more difficult than dividing India into Bharat and Pakistan? Is it more difficult than the integration and disintegration and unionising of all the States?

M. RAMESWARA SARMA.

Bangalore.

Tackling Corruption

It is a pity that only the names of subordinate officers and peons like constables etc., who are charged with or found guilty of corruption, appear in our dailies. It is a great blunder on the part of the Government to make it seem that the higher cadres of officers are free from this vice. I would like here to suggest that the gazetted officers are the worst sinners in this regard.

During the British regime, the high seats of office were occupied by Europeans of the utmost integrity and discipline. After the Congress came into power and the English left us, nepotism has been on the increase during the last three or four years. Our countrymen have forgotten their duty to the people and have begun to make money as if their sole vocation is to plunder the

people. High officers are easily accessible to each and every man in the street. Work is being done by direct approach. So the proportion of unearned income has decreased among lower officials and has increased among high officials. Congressmen themselves are to a great extent responsible for the ineffectiveness of the measures taken against corruption in the country.

The evil must be rooted out from the higher cadres first and it will automatically disappear from among the subordinates.

T. R. VISWANATHAM.

Ramachandrapur.

The Chombal Incident

On seeing reports in the press about assaults on Socialist workers on the 17th and 18th of last month during and after a socialist party conference at a place called Chombal, in Malabar, I came down to Malabar to make personal enquiries. My findings are as follows:—

While the public meeting was going on at Chombal on the 17th night a socialist worker was assaulted by some Congressmen and he was brought to the meeting drenched in blood. This man was later on removed by the police to the Taluk Headquarters Hospital. The police



Sriranjani (Jr.) in Vauhini's "Gunasundari Katha".

arrived on the spot only towards the close of the meeting. There were booing and stone throwing at the meeting. The people responsible for it are also Congressmen. The next morning at 7-15 when Com. P. M. Kunhiraman Nambiar, member, National Executive, and Secretary of the Malabar District Socialist Party, and two other socialists namely Com. K. Kunhirama Kurup and P. R. Kurup, were waiting at the Chombal bus-stop, a group of seven or eight Congressmen came with lathies, planks of wood and iron rods, and assaulted the Socialist workers named above. It may be noted that these socialists had taken part in the meeting the previous day. Com. K. Kunhiraman Kurup sustained injuries on the head, and Com. P. M. was beaten all over his body.

What surprises me most in this connection is the silence of the Congress leaders, especially the K.P.C.C. President and the D.C.C. (Malabar) President about the Chombal incidents. The Congress leaders have neither challenged our claim that the local Congressmen are responsible for all that has happened or condemned the hooliganism and assault who ever might have been responsible for it. This silence, I am constrained to say, is ominous.

Perhaps this silence has its roots in the attitude shown by some of the Ministers themselves towards the socialist party and the socialist workers. I am referring to a report published in *Powrasakthi* of 21-2-50 which remains still uncontradicted.

I am more than satisfied with the restraint, discipline and peacefulness shown by my party comrades in the face of such serious provocation.

I would only like to sound a word of warning here. Such an attitude on the part of the authorities is not likely to raise the Congress in public esteem. Nor is it likely to encourage faith and confidence in law and order from the people which is so necessary for a stable society.

K. B. MENON,
Member, National Executive of
the Socialist Party, Madras.

Calicut.

Economy In Railway Expenditure

While there is much talk of economy and actual retrenchment in the lower ranks of Railway personnel—clerks, peons, porters, etc.—dozens of extra posts in higher scales of pay like Assistant Personal Officers and office Superintendents created during the war for the Establishment Sections of almost all offices of all Departments of the Southern Railways (S. S. M. and S. I.) are left untouched. With the strength of the Railway staff decreasing day by day and with no special benefit

accruing from the continuance of these high-paid temporary posts, it is but time that these are surrendered. The saving will be considerable, with no change whatsoever in the efficient and satisfactory working of these offices which did better work in pre-war years without these officers.

T. S. KRISHNAMURTHY.

Ambathur.

Opium Distribution

It seems a pity that the Government offices which are now distributing Opium are adopting no definite policy. The Government officers who are entrusted with the work of opium distribution are said to be treating the addicts as the worst of criminals imagining that any inconvenience or trouble caused to them is nothing but just, legal and constitutional, and what they deserve.

The Government declared a Five year term for the total prohibition of opium. But in fact the Government agencies entrusted with the work of distribution of opium are trying to do away with it instantaneously. Permit holders are getting only 1/8 of the actual quota of 1 tola of opium once in a month. When they ask questions about the remaining quota, the Government officials say that they have no stocks. Several appeals were made by the poor permit-holders to the Revenue Divisional Officer and the Collector of the District for which no response was received. How can these opium addicts live on this wretched quota of 1/8 tola? It is time an enquiry is conducted into the present scandalous distribution policy of the Government.

On enquiry I find that the local Government offices have received instructions from higher authorities to reduce the quota to permit-holders. I have seen nothing in the Press about such an order. I further heard that one Taluk Office which requires 47 seers of Opium per month to distribute the permitted quotas to the permit-holders is now asked to manage with 3 seers of opium. I personally do not know how far this is true and hence I request the Government to publish their policy so that people may not be crushed by the vagaries of the local officials.

No scientific enquiry has been conducted by the Government into the health of opium addicts and the possible harm that may result from being refused their life-giving drug. Without opium the poor addicts are not even able to stand up. They seem to be in a state of nervous paralysis. In the interests of so many lives I suggest that a scientific enquiry be conducted by a committee of medical experts into the whole question of prohibition of opium immediately.

M. R. KRISHNA.

Amalapuram.

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