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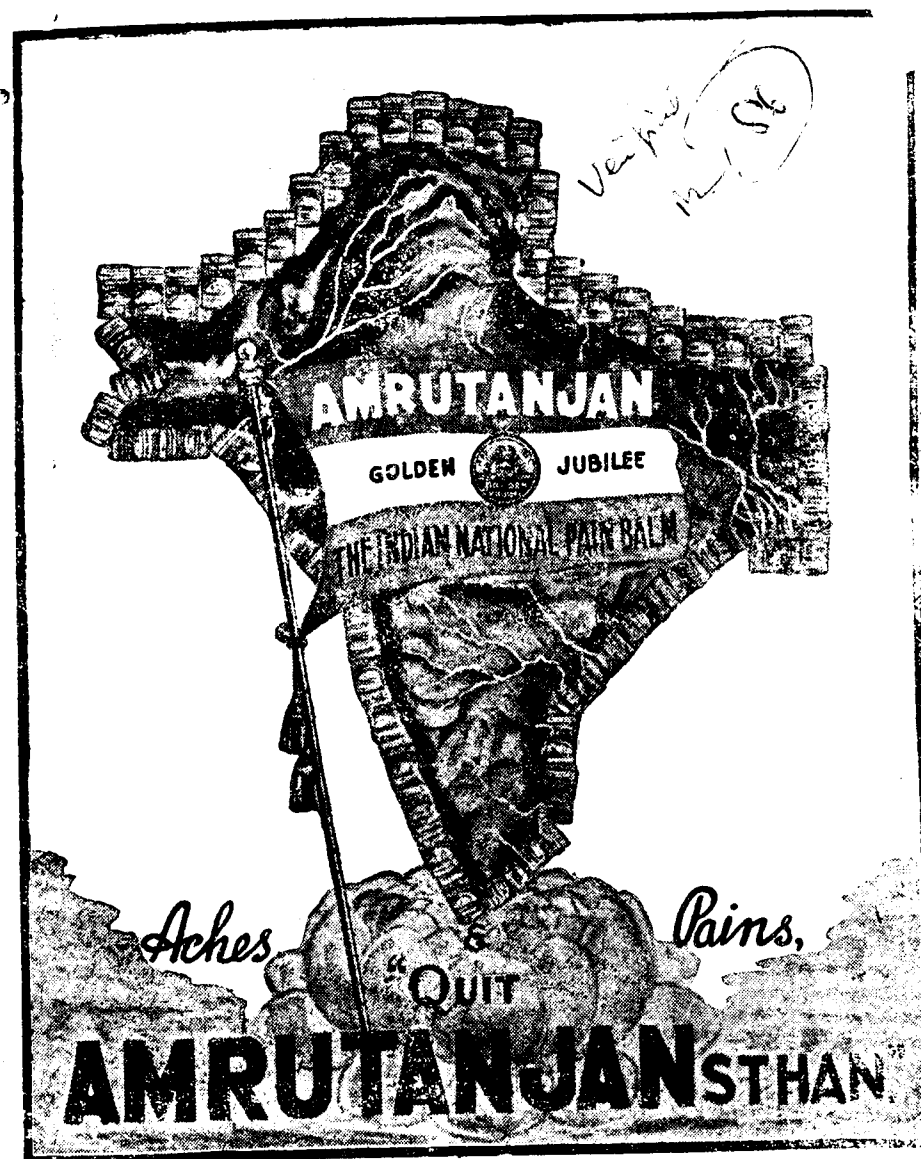
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COMMUNISTS LOOK AT LIBERTY



FRANCE: Weekly "D'Aboard" puts a cop on the pedestal



ALONGSIDE the Sphinx and the Venus de Milo, the Statue of Liberty is a late-comer. But, though not yet a century old, it is the best-known piece of sculpture in the world. The reason is that French sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi (1834-1904) conceived it not only as a monumental statue but as a monumental idea. He set out to show "Liberty En-

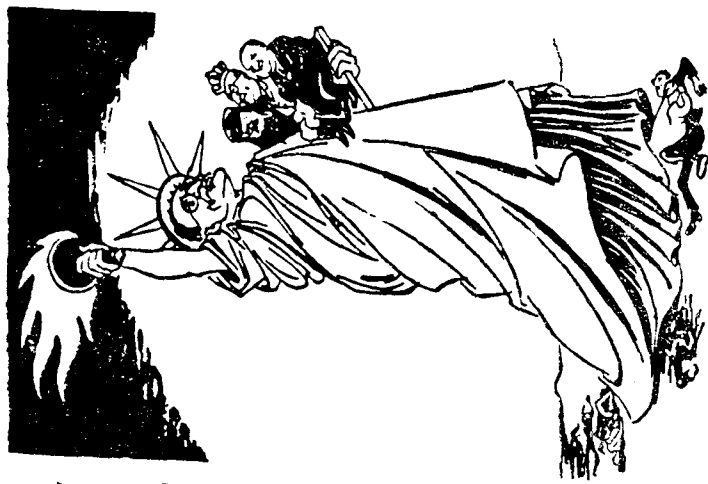
lightening the World." And he succeeded. Hardly had the Statue been erected on Bedloe's Island in 1886, when cartoonists leaped upon it gleefully. For 64 years they have been using it as a convenient pictorial symbol for freedom, justice and all that is good in America. In recent years Communist cartoonists have pointed on the Statue as a special target for anti-American diatribes. Shown here are samples from Red periodicals of several countries. If they prove anything, it is that Communists can't see Liberty as a statue or as an ideal.



GERMANY: "Taegliche Rundschau" shows Liberty in stripes daubed on by a "capitalist wormonger"



RUSSIA: Uncle Sam wields a whip in the weekly "Izvesti"



DENMARK: Newspaper "Land og Folk" used this caricature to sneer at the Truman Doctrine

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WEEKLY

THE FOOD PROBLEM

OUR Food Minister, Sri J. L. P. Roche Victoria, replying to an address presented by the Chamber of Commerce, Negapatam, on Monday, the 31st July, 1950, said that the food position in the State was critical. Speaking in Parliament, on 2nd August 1950, the Central Food Minister, Sri K. M. Munshi stated: "There is absolutely no scarcity of food in the country. In regard to Madras also, there is no case of starvation death...." Later, he repeated: "To say that the country has not got food to go round is not warranted by the facts and by the stocks in possession of the Government." Between these apparently contradictory statements, we take a few headlines from a local daily of August 3rd. "Trichy Collector informs Revenue Board rural rationing may break down.... Ramnad people's plight.... Four days' stock in Kurnool District...." and similar reports of scarcity in respect of Coimbatore Town, Udumalpet, Chittoor District, Cuddappah and Krishna. These reports from the various parts of the State are reinforced by authoritative statements to the same effect from the District Collectors and the District Supply Officers. But there is one thing about which the Food and Agriculture Minister of the Government of India was certain. That is, that the debate in Parliament was "unreal." (We presume it embraces everything that was spoken in it). He also said that the Centre did not have the power to discharge the responsibility it was expected to shoulder.

It is not as if the food problem is a new thing in the horizon. It has

been with us from the year 1942. The present Government have been in office from 1947, and have had three years to tackle the problem. A confession like that made by Sri Munshi that the Centre does not have the power to deal with the food situation in the country is tantamount to a confession that our Government has failed in its most serious responsibility to the people of the country. When Sri Daulatram was Food Minister, a resolution was adopted by the Government that India should obtain self-sufficiency in food by the end of 1951. It is apparent that the resolution did not take cognisance of the facts and its objective has merely resulted in placing a theoretical limitation on the amount of foodstuffs that should be made available in this country. We very much doubt, if even today the Ministers in charge of food and agriculture, both in the Centre and in the States, have realised the gravity of the problem or have embarked upon any practical measure which could substantially increase the food production in the country. They have rather been content to indulge in stunts like the Grow More Food, the Vana Mahotsava, Eat more Vegetables, and the Miss a Meal a Week campaigns. In the various States, the portfolios of food and agriculture are held by separate Ministers, and there does not appear to be any coordination between the two. In the Centre, happily, these two portfolios are now united in one Minister. But this does not bring us any nearer to the solution of the food problem. For the recognition has not dawned on the Governments that the food problem

is not the problem of any particular State but a problem which concerns the whole of India, and is a problem of so vital an importance to the people that it should get A-1 priority over all other problems including foreign policy. Each State has its own policy of procurement and fixation of prices. These policies are pursued with varying degrees of efficiency and differing considerations. The reluctance of a State to part with its surplus grain or to agree to a reasonable price therefor or to enforce the procurement of surplus grains by stricter measures stands in the way of an equitable distribution of the available foodstuffs in the country among the people. We see, therefore, people in some areas enjoying unlimited quantities of foodstuffs while in other areas they have hardly enough foodstuffs for two or three days in a week. On the other hand, if our administrators had given the top ranking to the food problem, they would have scrapped the separate provincial administrations and policies in respect of food and agriculture, and installed in their place an administration at the Centre to deal with the problems of food and agriculture for the country as a whole.

Unfortunately, the constitution of the Ministries, both in the Centre and in the States, has been based upon personal considerations rather than upon the interests of the country and its people. Men have been chosen as Ministers without a thought of their capacity to deal with any particular portfolio. It has always been a question of a particular portfolio being fitted to a Minister rather than of the Minister being fit to look after the portfolio. Problems like agriculture and food require a background of practical knowledge and wide experience, and if men who are unequipped with both are to be burdened with these responsibilities, it is no surprise that they are unequal to the tasks.

Moreover, our politicians have not even the mental outlook of the English politicians who would prefer

to leave it to the executive to deal with matters unfamiliar and unknown to them; but here they embark upon new-fangled ideas and policies conceived with no other purpose than that of getting their names splashed in the newspapers.

Prime Minister Nehru has rightly said, more than once, that the best defence against Communism is the improvement of the economic condition of the country. The recognition of this vital factor has however not acted as an urge on the Governmental mind to launch on any programme to improve the economic structure. Squandermania continues as unabated as before. More and more money is being spent on unremunerative ideas and faddistic schemes. In the meantime, if the Finance Minister, Sri Deshmukh, is to be believed, "India's economic situation is difficult but not desperate. A grave situation might develop largely due to factors outside our control, and grave evils might require grave remedies: but it would surely be unreasonable to deny the Government 'a little more time' in which to devise suitable corrective measures." Everybody is aware that the menace to the economic condition of the country was forecast very long ago. To plead for 'a little more time' is all right as far as the newcomer to the Finance Ministry is concerned, but not to the Government of India. We ask the Government to give up their present attitude of senile lassitude and to sit up and take note of the rapidly deteriorating conditions in the country. It is no consolation to the people for a provincial Minister for Food to blame the Central Government for not releasing enough food stocks or for the Central Minister for Food to blame the Congress Party for not arming him with necessary powers. These are statements unworthy to be made by the top men of a political party which has come into power as having the largest measure of confidence of the people. The problems of food and agriculture must be tackled in a practical and

realistic way. They should be tackled by men, irrespective of party considerations, who have the capacity and competence to deal with such problems. The Government of India should take up immediately this vital problem as a national problem and as an emergency measure. The depart-

ments of Food and Agriculture should be administered as a co-ordinated and unified department with one man responsible to answer to the Parliament and to the people. If we fail in this, the Government may have to face very soon a major crisis in this country.

Sotto Voce

POEM OF PITY



IT is not for nothing that we are the descendants of a people who employed monkeys to build bridges and bears to fight battles. The people's Government in Delhi, out to establish Rama Rajya in this Kali Age, are at once more daring and more severely practical. Bears are fallen in status, being reduced to a beggar's outfit; and monkeys, even if they could be conditioned, were too good dollar-earners to be wasted on the plough. But it seems we have more cows than we want, though fewer bullocks. With the simplicity of genius, the Government have propounded the solution: why not employ cows to do bullocks' work?

They must be aware that the sentimentalists will buzz angrily like mosquitoes in the rainy season. And you can find in the Puranas grandmother's tales to sustain the most reactionary position. We have all heard of the hot tears the divine Kamadhenu shed when she saw, from high in the heavens, a churlish ploughman ill-treating his cattle, lean and fit to drop with fatigue: her great heart was harrowed by the plight of these two lowly sons, goddess though she was and the millions of her progeny covered the face of the earth. But if she had lived on to the age of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the mother of all cows would have been shamed into silence

with the lofty rebuke, "Ignorance, madam, pure ignorance!"

For the Council has discovered that work is good for cows as it is for men. Those modern monists who follow the gospel of Marx will applaud the rigorous logic of India in extending to the entire bovine species the first injunction in the Communist Decalogue, "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." And they are likely to be reinforced by the powerful support of the New Woman. She cannot but see it as an intolerable slight upon her self-respect that any one of her sex, even if it be a mooing cow, should be content to be coddled by the mere male with contemptuous pity instead of making a career for herself.

Indeed the cow, if she is reasonable, should feel proud of her destiny. She is a Nature-designed multi-purpose project, now giving only milk and manure but capable of giving work also without prejudice to her milk yield; so the experts say and they should know. Incidentally, Nature seems to have played it low upon her sophisticated sister in skirts who, even if she produces a child in a fit of absent-mindedness, is at the mercy of the black market for the indispensable supply of Glaxo. But let that be; at this point a more serious doubt assails me. The cow, for all her

seeming placidity, may with the privilege of her sex be contrary. Suppose she stamps her cloven hoof and faces you with the ultimatum: "Work or milk—choose."

The answer is not much in doubt. After all there is the classic precedent of guns and butter. True, the guns backfired; but, the Hitlers of every generation are equally incorrigible. You may laugh at the apocryphal story of the king whose monkey-army was won over by the enemy with a liberal supply of sweet peas. But if tomorrow our industrial experts should advise that we should breed dung-beetles by the billion and utilise their traction power, be sure that our Ministers will clap their hands in joy and scrap the Chittaranjan factory.

"Who wants cow's milk anyway, when we have the soya bean?" I hear our scientists trumpeting. Well, then, let the milk go—in any case it is an unattainable luxury for most of us. But suppose the cow goes out along with the milk! You think this is merely my morbid imagination?

Read the report of the Bangalore researchers again. You will find that, while they assure you that a working cow will not yield less milk, they are mum about her capacity for calving. If work has no adverse effect on reproduction, why not place the yoke firmly on the shoulders of that gaudy fellow, the breeding bull?

Those whom the Gods destroy they first make statistics-mad. It used to be dinned into our heads that we had far too many useless cattle and the abattoir was the best friend of agriculture. Today we are assured that we haven't enough bullocks; but nobody stops to ask why, though the go-wala insults your humanity at every turn with the stuffed skins of unwanted bull-calves. That is the pass to which economics without wisdom has brought us. And now, Govinda! they would have the cow push and pull, forgetting Thee whom Surabhi herself crowned King. A great man spoke of the cow as a poem of pity; and oh, the pity of it, how they go on taking his name in vain!

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NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

PRESIDENT PRASAD was most unimpressive when he opened Parliament on Monday and regaled it with the Hindi and English versions of the same speech. Not one member cheered while the President read out his manuscript. There was no cheering even when the President came to the end of his Hindi version. There was cheering only when both the versions came to an end. Surely, the President deserves more cheering than that.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji was the only guy that was cheered loudly as he entered the House. The Prime Minister was visibly feeling fidgety when Shyama Babu was entering the House. A good many exchanges between the Prime Minister and his erstwhile colleague are expected in Parliament. Rajaji is looked upon as the person who will save the House from many an ugly situation by his ready wit and repartee.

Rajaji took third place on the Treasury Bench. The first was occupied by the P.M., and the second by the D.P.M. But if Rajaji were something like Lord President of the Council he should have taken the first place. For the Lord President of the Council is generally entrusted with the position of Leader of the House, though not of the Party. As Leader of the House, Rajaji would get endless opportunities of replying to debates. This would suit Rajaji admirably, because he is a specialist in replying to debates. He is undoubtedly the best spokesman that the Government have; they should not fight shy of using him.

The President was more impressive when he met the Argosy youth of America and Canada. This at least shows that Panditji's opposition to Rajen Babu's candidature for Presidency on the ground that foreigners could not be impressed with him was

not well-founded. When Panditji expressed himself in favour of Rajaji for the Presidency on the ground that he was very popular with the Diplomatic Corps, some members afterwards remarked... when Panditji was out of earshot—that it was not the Diplomatic Corps but the members of the Constituent Assembly that were supposed to elect the President of the Indian Union. And so it was.

It was O. K. for the President to meet the Argosy youth, and it was O. K. for the Prime Minister to meet the Argosy youth. These young men and women were members of some kind of an organisation. The President is a very accessible man; and he has very little other work indeed than meeting people. But the Prime Minister is not a very accessible man unless you are a foreigner. He wastes far too much of his time meeting all kinds of foreigners. He has therefore no time to meet his own countrymen. There is therefore a wide gulf that separates the Prime Minister and the people. He fondly thinks that he is in touch with the masses when he addresses a public meeting. At public meetings, he is heard but he hears not. What is wanted is a wise distribution of the Prime Minister's time so that he may keep in touch with people coming from various walks of life in his own country as well as in others. The emphasis should be on his own country.

We have a large number of candidates for the Presidentship of the Congress this year. All the men who have been proposed for the honour are of a calibre in no way inferior to that of Nehru and Patel. It is unfortunate that another man of the same calibre has refused to stand for election out of humility—Shri Jai Narayan Vyas. I should have thought that Shri Vyas had the best

chances for election since he comes from an Indian State. Prof. Ranga's candidature is opportune if the principle that you should strike while the iron is hot holds good in politics. For Dr. Pattabhi is the present President of the Congress, and he is an Andhra. The Andhra iron may therefore be said to be hot, and striking now may yield good results for a son of Andhra. (Even in the Communist Party, sons of Andhra are on the ascendant). Babu Purushottamdas Tandon has great chances for the Presidentship, because the *Hindustan Times* indicated last year that he should be elected this year. His independent spirit and originality of approach may do a lot of good to the organisation, although they may not please the men in power so much. Acharya Kripalani is unable to make up his mind as to what exactly he will do if he becomes President. He has no place in the Congress: but he insists on thinking that he is the only one who should be in the Congress. Einstein would probably explain that both propositions mean the same thing. Shankarrao Deo must rise to the position of Congress President by sheer force of gravity.

Babu Purushottamdas Tandon created quite a stir by presiding over the Refugees' Conference at Delhi over the week-end. One of the slogans displayed at the Conference in Urdu read: "Do not drive millions of refugees into the arms of Communism!" The unimaginative handling of the problems of refugees by the Central Government will cost the latter a great deal if and when elections come along. Unfortunately, Governments of today are guided and worried only by the possible effects of any move on the electorate.

Some have suggested that Tandonji's association with the Refugee Conference may prejudice Congress delegates against him. On the contrary, by identifying himself with the cause of the refugees, Tandonji

seems to have gained greater support than he had last year. Despite the Nehru-Liaquat Pact—and probably because of it too—there is a great deal of distrust of Pakistan in the mind of the average Indian as well as in that of the average Congressman. Those who are not in favour of Pakistan may find themselves in favour of Tandon.

There has been considerable speculation both orally and in print about the news of Stalin's reply to Nehru. Correspondents in Delhi have been good enough to credit me with the story. But I must disclaim all credit. The credit for the story goes to the other two friends in the group known as "The Three Musketeers." Each of them gives the credit for the story to the other—like Damon and Pythias.

Shri P. N. Bajpai and Shri K. N. Sharma, who scored the world scoop on Stalin's reply, were good enough to give the news to my own papers as well. But I was accused in Delhi of getting the news, when I was innocently getting drenched in the monsoon of Bombay. When I saw the news in the *National Standard* of Bombay, I thought that P. D. Sharma had done a good job of it. I understand that P. D. even got some congratulatory telegrams on scoring the world-scoop from Mr. Goenka and others. But it was another Sharma that gave the news to the *Indian News Chronicle*—which has some kind of arrangement with the *National Standard* and other newspapers in the Express Chain.

There is general appreciation of Bajpai and Sharma for their scoop on Stalin's reply, but there are isolated Correspondents who are not pleased that they did not get the scoop themselves. May I assure them that they will get a chance some other time? Every dog has his day. In the meanwhile, I must vehemently deny the report that Mr. Stalin sent me at Bombay a copy of his reply to Pandit Nehru.

A fluttery young thing was being interviewed for a bookkeeping job at a swank night club. "You understand," said the personnel man, "that we need a responsible person." "I'm very responsible," she assured him. "Why, on my last job, whenever there was something called a discrepancy, they always said I was responsible."

THE MEMORABLE MONTH OF AUGUST

IN the years to come, will the month of August come to be associated in public memory only with the formal inauguration of the independence of (partitioned) India on August 15, 1947? Or shall we remember that before that, too, this month was hallowed in the history of the Indian freedom movement?

August 1 is Tilak Day—recalling the country-wide mourning at his most untimely death in 1920.

The historic mammoth funeral procession which passed through the streets of Bombay on that day demonstrated not only the love of the people for the great Lokamanya but also their determination to march in his footsteps, with his slogan, "Swaraj is my birthright" on their lips.

END OF REFORMIST ERA

The funeral pyre at Chowpatty that reduced to ashes the mortal remains of the Lokamanya lighted the flaming torch of Gandhian revolution.

August 1 marks the end of the era of petitioning politics in India—the end of memorials and deputations to the Viceroy, the end of appeals and humble submissions, of loyalty pledges to the Empire, which until then had marked the nationalist agitation "for an increasing share in the administration of the country."

On August 1, 1920, Gandhiji formally inaugurated the scheme of the Non-Co-operation Movement. For the first time in Indian history an organization speaking in the name of the people openly challenged and defied the authority of the Empire and declared:

"This Congress is of the opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs (abolition

of Khilafat in Turkey and the atrocities in the Punjab), and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the esta-

blishment of Swaraj.

"This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, until the said wrongs are righted and Swaraj is established."

Twenty-two years later, in August 1942, this same pledge took the form of the "Quit India" resolution which was implemented five years later when the British agreed to a transfer of power. But the tree of freedom that flowered in August 1947 had its seeds sown in August 1920.

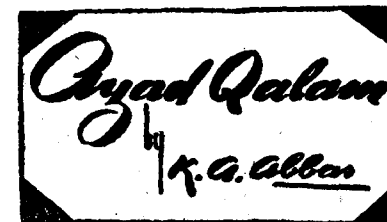
"QUIT INDIA"

During the 27 years, since the advent of the Non-Co-operation movement, there were many ideological ups and downs in the national struggle—talk of Dominion Status, of "the substance of independence" of "self-government within the Empire" and other formulas of compromise.

On August 8, 1942, however, the last surviving links of constitutionalism and compromise were snapped by the passing of the "Quit India" resolution by the All-India Congress Committee. Strange and significant that the same Mahatma Gandhi who had once so fervently believed in and pleaded for the British connection was now compelled to issue the "Quit India" call. The resolution itself was characterised by the logic of Gandhi and the challenging tones of Nehru, a significant blend of nationalism and internationalism:—

"... the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent, both for the sake of India and for the success of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrad-

ing and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.... No future promises or guarantees can affect the



present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom can now release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war...."

Reading the strident phrases of the "Quit India" resolution today, one is struck by a passage which strikes a peculiarly relevant note in the present context:

"The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries, and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling Power has become a burden and curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm. The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism."

India is free—but is Imperialism really dead in Asia and Africa? Has the United Nations organization really been transformed into the anti-imperialist agency for establishing

human equality and freedom? In the lights of these ideals of the "Quit India" resolution—which constitute a pledge on the part of Free India—what should be our attitude to Korea, to Formosa, to the continued presence of U. S. forces in Japan, to the continuance of British colonial imperialism in Malaya, to the French overlordship of Viet-Nam, to the Anglo-American, French-Dutch interference in the affairs of South-East Asia?

"Quit Asia" is the logical inevitable conclusion of the "Quit India" slogan.

THIS STORY MUST BE TOLD

The Congress leaders were arrested in the early hours of August 9 and spirited away by special train to an "unknown destination" which was known to be Ahmednagar but was "officially" revealed only 18 months later in February 1944.

The story of what happened in the country after the arrest of the leaders on August 9 has not been told. It could not be told then, because of the rigid imperialist censorship, except fragmentarily through the illegal bulletins and the secret Congress Radio. It is a thousand pities that no attempt so far has been made to record the significant and inspiring details of the "August Revolution"—the only popular, conscious, anti-imperialist upsurge that we have had in our whole history. All over the country, in small towns and in obscure villages, undismayed by the absence of their leaders, the people rose in revolt against the hated imperialists, recklessly defying the oppression and the "leonine violence" unleashed by the Government military and police. That story of the heroism as well as the suffering of the people is one of the most inspiring sagas of our freedom struggle.

It is not surprising that the Congress leadership, who seem to have inherited the imperialists' Bureaucratic attitudes and is, likewise, distrustful (and afraid?) of any manifestation of people's revolutionary temper, does not want the story of the August Revolution to be told and recorded for posterity. The Communists, of course, because of their "People's War" policy, did their best to belittle and ignore the truly revolutionary character of the happening in 1942-43. But it is strange that even the Socia-

list who actually led this Revolution should have chosen to be quiet about it. Is it that they, too, would like to forget that in a moment of revolutionary crisis the people can and, indeed, *did* take the lead in their own hands?

LESSON OF AUGUST STRUGGLE

Significant historical parallels—inconvenient to the powers-that-be—are provided in plenty by a review of the events and utterances connected with the 1942 happenings which followed in the wake of the "Quit India" revolution of August 8.

In 1942 and 1943 there were outbreaks of popular violence, terroristic acts committed by Congressmen against Police and Government officials—as in 1949-50 there were outbreaks of popular violence and terroristic acts against Police and Government officials by communists or communist-led peasants in Telangana and other parts of India affected by agrarian unrest.

Again, in 1942-43 repressive measures were carried out by the Police and the Government to crush the revolutionary movement, an official reign of terror, indiscriminate punishments and terrorisation of whole populations—as there have been all those things to suppress the communist-led agrarian revolts in Telangana and elsewhere.

And the historic words of Gandhiji in condemnation of the official "leonine violence" which provoked such popular acts of terrorism are well worth recalling today, for they show how an unpopular government, by its ruthless application of "law and order," goads the people into acts of mass violence. In his famous letter to the Viceroy, Gandhiji wrote:—

"You throw in my face the facts of murders by persons reputed to be Congressmen. I see the fact of these murders as clearly, I hope, as you do. My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence in the shape of the arrests (of leaders and workers) already referred to. That violence is not any the less so, because it is organised on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic law of tooth for tooth by that of ten thousand for one—not to mention the corollary of the Mosaic law i.e.,

of non-resistance as enunciated by Jesus Christ. I cannot interpret in any other manner the repressive measures of the all-powerful Government of India.

"Add to this tale of woe the privations of the poor millions due to the India-wide scarcity which I cannot help thinking might have been largely mitigated, if not altogether prevented, had there been a *bona fide* national government responsible to a popularly elected assembly."

Substitute the words "reputed to be Communists" for "reputed to be Congressmen," and this is a complete explanation of the excesses alleged to have been committed by the Communist-led peasants in Telangana and elsewhere. The economic distress and the consequent bitterness and resentment coupled with the provocations of the Governmental repression create a vicious circle of violence and counter-violence, terrorism and counter-terrorism that cannot be straightened by Bureaucratic appeals for "law and order." But the Government and the Congress can understand that if, while celebrating August 15, they also recall and respect the revolutionary traditions and lessons of the August struggle of 1942.

STRAWS IN THE WIND!

WASHINGTON: The American taxpayers are paying 50,000 million dollars to their Government for war preparations.... About 1,600 jet fighters are being sent to Britain and France.

LONDON: The Soviet Embassy was mobbed and stoned by angry demonstrators.... several windows were smashed....

LAHORE: There is a popular feeling against Liaquat Ali Khan's statement committing Pakistan to side with Anglo-Americans in Korea.

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

BOMBAY: It has been calculated that five lakhs sleep on the pavements in the city of Bombay.

PATNA: Cases of looting of food-grains shops are reported.... the Government has imposed collective fines on 33 villages where such looting had occurred....

POONA: Nearly a thousand persons, including a number of housewives, marched in procession to the Collectorate to demand Government action to curb profiteering and rising prices.

WILL GERMANY AND RUSSIA UNITE?

By MATTHEW HALTON

A new nightmare has arisen to haunt the haggard sleep of Europe—the nightmare of a German-Soviet pact.

The very words are like a sudden east wind on a pleasant afternoon. Germany and Russia together! Is there anything they could not do? The industrial might, the scientific genius and the military prowess of Germany allied with the vast numbers and the vast raw materials of the Soviet Union and China would, together, be a more powerful combination than the whole of the free world put together. Let Germany and Russia come together—and we are done.

You may say: "Impossible! Fantastic! They hate each other too much." But in sober fact it is not fantastic and far from impossible. The possibility of a Russo-German alliance is a real danger. The Russians are working for it skilfully and unsleepingly, and many Germans want it.

Today it is only a possibility. But it will be a probability tomorrow unless Western Germany is integrated into a Union of the West.

"World Prefer Communism"

Do not imagine that a third German-Russian pact is not being contemplated. A third arrangement is being openly discussed in the British and U. S. zones as well as in the Soviet zone. "Our two peoples" said Stalin last October, "possess the biggest potentialities in Europe for the accomplishment of great actions of world significance." The German opportunists think so, too—and there are no opportunists like the Germans. The German militarists and industrialists are still thirsting for world power. They see no hope of winning it in collaboration with the West, but they think there is a hope in collaboration with the East. Ideology is no barrier. In fact the very people who want a deal with Russia are the new nationalist and neo-Nazi parties in Western Germany.

Some of the talk about a bargain is

simply blackmail—the familiar German blackmail, designed to wring concession after concession from the West (in which they are succeeding).

Ulrich von Hassell, former German ambassador to Russia has written: "I would prefer the western orientation, but if need be I would consider an agreement with Russia."

Pick up that famous German paper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. It has an article called "Possibility of German-Russian Negotiations." It argues that "since the disunity of the former wartime allies has engulfed Germany against her will in their unending quarrel," Western Germany should approach Russia direct with an offer of industrial products in return for political concessions. "Such a policy," it adds, "gave us the best results in the '20's." Indeed it did: it enabled a beaten Germany to rearm and to train officers in Russia.

And see what the famous Pastor Niemöller said in a speech at Wiesbaden last December: "Given the alternative of a continued split in Germany or the possibility of reuniting the country under a foreign dictatorship—even that of Russia—the Germans would prefer to take the risk of Communism. They would feel that they would have more chance of surviving as a nation under those circumstances. The Russians have at least an idea to offer—an idea that appeals to millions. The West has no ideas."

Pastor Niemöller was not actually advocating a deal with Russia. But quite clearly he was thinking about it.

And an official U. S. intelligence report published this year speaks of "the overwhelming danger" of a new alliance between the German nationalists and the Soviet Union. The German nationalists, says the report, often express their opposition to Communism, but it adds that "this is not a guarantee against a compromise with Russia."

Now let us see how the Russians are using German nationalism to get

control of Germany, and how the nationalists themselves, Nazis or neo-Nazis, are coming to terms with Russia. Let us see how the National Front in the Russian zone of Germany is now in contact with the various new nationalist groups in the Western zones.

Favour Deal With Russia

When the war ended, Russia set out to completely absorb East Germany into her satellite system and to make its people thoroughly Communist. It suppressed the strong Social Democrat Party by forcing it into unity with the Communists in a kind of popular front called the Socialist Unity Party. Two years ago, however, Stalin began his new conspiracy to win Germany, west as well as east, by encouraging nationalism.

The first step was to sponsor the formation in the Soviet zone of an openly nationalist group called the National Democratic Party, allowing anyone to join from Communists to Christian Democrats to ex-Nazis. And the next step was the formation of a National Front, a new party embracing and taking the place of all the others. The National Front is already an accomplished fact. The Kremlin knew that Communism could not win over the Western Germans, but that nationalism might.

And the National Front of the Soviet zone is already in contact with the various nationalist groups which have sprung up since 1948 in the three western zones. At first there were many such groups, with meaningless names but meaningful intentions: the German National Democratic Party of the Soviet zone; the German Right Party; the German Conservative Party; and the German Popular National Party. But they have now amalgamated and call themselves the German Right Party. They advocate "a German form of democracy," and the return of Germany's lost territories. Their leader, Dr. Franz Richter, has even demanded "the establishment of a court of justice where the Germans can try Allied war criminals!" But the sinister thing is that they are in favour of a deal with Russia.

One of their leaders, Gottsleben, has said publicly: "We do not oppose Soviet policy. When it becomes

advantageous for us we will collaborate with Russia."

When Winston Churchill made his famous speech advocating the rearmament of the Germans as allies within an integrated Western Union, the strongest opposition came from the German nationalists.

Most people in the West picture the German nationalists—former Nazis, former Wehrmacht officers, the big industrialists and the old-time diplomats—as thirsting for revenge against Russia. It is an inaccurate picture in many ways. They may hate the Russians, but they would deal with the devil himself if it would help restore the power of Greater Germany.

They argue like this: "If we throw in with the West, we will never have a chance of dominating the combination. The Anglo-U. S. group is too strong. We would be merely a satellite even after our armies had helped them beat Russia. But if we throw in with the East—ah! Then we might have a chance. After winning the world with Russia we could dominate her. Victory would be ours at last!"

One of the nationalist groups, not yet formed into an official party, is the already well-known Godesberg Circle. The head of it is Dr. Rudolf Nadolny, German ambassador to Russia until 1934, who advocated a German-Russian pact five years before Hitler was ready for it. Another leader is Baron von Prittwitz and Gaffron, a one-time Nazi ambassador to Washington, who is bitterly anti-U. S. Nadolny stated recently that "if only the Western powers would accept the Russian suggestions to withdraw the occupying forces," everything would be all right in Germany. Yes—all right for Russia!

Then there is the Nauheim Circle, which includes a number of Ruhr and Rhineland industrialists. Its leader is Dr. Ulrich Noack, a man to watch. He and his colleagues advocate a "neutral" Germany, taking no part in the East-West quarrel. That appeals to many Germans but it is only camouflage, as is shown by the fact that Dr. Noack is a popular visitor and lecturer when he goes to the Soviet zone.

It is not strange that "Rapallo-ism," the idea of a German-Soviet arrangement, is popular with some German

RAILWAYS IN INDIA-IV

FINANCES AND TRAFFIC ON INDIAN RAILWAYS

IN the previous article, the financial status of the railways was judged, as that of any commercial undertaking, should be, by the standard of net profits or dividends. A full picture of the finances of the railways can only be obtained from a consideration of the gross traffic receipts, the classes of traffic from which they are derived and the total working expenses of the railways.

The following table shows the gross traffic earnings and working expenses of the India Government Railways for the war and post-war periods.

Year	[In crores of rupees]	
	Gross Traffic Receipts.	Working Expenses.
1938-39	99.62	54.01
1939-40 to 1942-43	127.74	60.73
1943-44 and 1944-45	200.90	106.72
1945-46	225.74	145.09
1946-47	203.35	156.67
1947-48	163.13	139.76
1948-49	213.10	160.41
1949-50	225.15	158.00
1950-51	215.50	156.01

The years selected are representative years. The year 1947-48 may be omitted from consideration as, due to the dislocation caused by the partition and the provisional nature of the accounts, the figures are not of much use for purposes of comparison.

The table brings out clearly the two following points. (i) The large and progressive increase in the gross traffic earnings of the railways not only in the war period but even more so in the post-war period. (ii) the substantial increase in working expenses on a scale much greater than that of gross traffic earnings.

In the post-war year, 1946-47 there was a fall in gross earnings of nearly Rs. 22

crores, compared to the previous year. Any apprehension that this was the beginning of the inevitable fall of traffic after the war has been dispelled by the trend of traffic and earnings of succeeding years. The gross earnings for 1948-49 of the Indian Union Government railways were 213.10 crores, or more than the average earnings of the later war years of the entire Government railways including those partitioned off to Pakistan. The earnings of 1949-50, the peak year of the post-war period, of the Government railways of the Republic, were only about 60 lakhs of rupees less than the gross income of the peak year of war for the Government Railways of undivided India. The budget estimate for the current year 1950-51 is 215.50 crores but it may reasonably be anticipated that, as in previous years, the earnings this year also will be above the budget estimate.

The Indian Railways are thus in the unique and fortunate position of being in receipt of growing gross revenue in the post-war period. This is so unlike the experience in other countries. In the U. S. A., Canada, France, Britain and Europe generally railways are faced with the prospect of falling traffic, particularly in passengers, and declining receipts, in spite of substantial increase in fares and freight.

The increase on Indian railways has been both under passenger and goods traffic; but the increase in the former has been much greater than in the latter.

Passenger Traffic

The passenger traffic in 1948-49 was over 2½ times that of the pre-war year 1938-39, both on the basis of number of passengers and passenger miles. (A passenger carried one mile is a passenger mile). The earnings from passenger, and other coaching traffic such as

industrialists. The industrialists always have been the most dangerous Germans after the militarists, and what a glittering prize the Russians are now holding out to them! The colossal markets of Russia and China! "There are few markets for us in the West," they argue. "The West is afraid of our competition and hamstrings us in every possible way. The U. S. does not need our goods. But Russia is a vast expanding economy, and China soon will be. China alone soon will be able to take almost all the steel we could produce."

You can find Rapallo-ism wherever there are Germans. There are strong Nazi groups even in South America who advise Germany to side with Russia. More surprising, the same advice comes from some of the German-Americans in the U. S. One of their most important papers says, in an open letter to Stalin: "We Germans always have been closely associated with the Russians....Who could resist us if both our Reichs were united....Germany and Russia together are invincible."

And so the Germans—many Germans at least—amoral as they are, are ready for National Communism to take the place of National Socialism.

But aren't the Russians afraid of this new German nationalism that they are deliberately nourishing? Are they not sowing the wind?

Apparently they do not think so.

In any event, they are going all-out to encourage German nationalism. They are, as a significant example, allowing East German papers to praise the greatness of the old German army! And a new Russian film on the battle of Stalingrad actually shows the German soldiers in a sympathetic light, and for the first time makes no reference to German brutalities in Russia.

The world has moved a long way since Stalingrad. East and West are now fighting for, rather than against, the soul and body of Germany. And whoever wins will have won the cold war.

The German nationalist movements have not however made great headway yet. Most Germans still hate Russia, most Germans still hate Communism. Many Germans are Roman Catholic, and that alone makes them strongly opposed to Rapallo-ism. Some Germans believe genuinely in democracy.

But nationalism is still the strongest force in world affairs, and the Kremlin's encouragement of German nationalism is the cleverest thing it has done.

German-Russian union is still only a possibility. Obviously it cannot happen while the Anglo-Americans still have forces in Germany. But the threat is there and it is not to be ignored.—(Copyright).

GANDHI NO SENTIMENTALIST

Gandhiji was no sentimentalist. I have rarely met a man more cruel. I know of occasions when he would not have avoided rivers of blood flowing for a cause he considered right and just, provided it was the blood of willing victims. On one occasion when a companion of his had a slight bullet wound, he wired to him saying that he would have congratulated him if the bullet had gone through his heart in the service of the nation. On another occasion when I pointed out to him the failing health of a companion to whom, at his instance, strenuous duties involving hard work and worry, were being assigned, and told him that he was thereby endangering his life, Gandhiji's reply was "What does it matter if he dies?" If then hardness is opposed to sentimentalism, Gandhiji was hard-hearted. A real reformer has to be hard-hearted. Much of pacifism that we hear of is mere sentimentality. It is the shrinking of the nerves at the sight of cruelty and blood. In Gandhiji there was no such sentimental shrinking from blood. He knew life was hard, arduous, and even cruel. He wanted to mitigate its hardship and cruelty by looking calmly and unflinchingly at its ugly visage. One can't be squeamish, if one has to undertake the task of drain-cleaning. And Gandhiji's whole active life was a prophylactic against the stinking scum that society had collected round itself through the ages. He therefore needed strong nerves which undoubtedly he had.—ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI in Vigil.

By
H. RANGACHAR, M.A.

parcels, luggage etc., are given in the following statement.

[In crores of rupees]		
Year	Passenger earnings.	Other Coaching earnings
1945-46	79.65	30.61
1946-47	81.68	19.15
1947-48	66.12	15.38
1948-49	83.83	18.83
1949-50	84.33	16.80
(Revised Estimate)		

The passenger traffic of the post-war years which is progressively increasing has been more than that of the railways of undivided India for the peak war year. There has been, however, a fall in parcels and other traffic mainly due to the decrease of military and other war traffic. This traffic may be expected to continue about the present levels.

Incidentally, it is worthy of note that the great increase in passenger traffic seems a characteristic feature of railway traffic in the large countries of Asia in the post-war period. Thus, in Japan, the passenger miles in 1947 and 1948 were 303% and 294% of the traffic of 1937; in China they were 588% and 513% respectively of that of 1937. It would appear to be a justifiable inference that, as a result of events and developments of the post-war period in the Asian countries, there is increased awakening and activity among the masses which is, to some extent, reflected in increased travel.

In India, the increase in traffic is due, apart from population movements on account of the partition and its aftermath, to a larger number of people travelling more frequently. The closer relations brought about between different parts of the country by independence and the resulting contacts, political, administrative, economic and cultural, have led to increased travel. Competition by motor transport is not yet strong enough. Air traffic has taken away a portion of the upper class traffic; but it has not vitally affected the railways so far. Thus railways enjoy at present what amounts to a virtual monopoly in passenger transport.

In fact present trends seem to indicate a likely progressive increase in passenger traffic on the Indian railways in the coming years. Firstly, the traffic between Pakistan and

India, which is almost totally restricted at present, will have to be resumed, sooner or later. Secondly, India has begun to build up her military strength for defence purposes. This would lead to increased movement of men. The development of industries should also result in more passenger traffic. Fourthly, the per capita travel in India is very poor. The average per capita railway journey in India in the pre-war years was estimated at 1.5 against 6 in the U.S.A. 16 in Japan and 30 in Britain. According to the statistics given by Mr. Natesan in his book *State Management and Control of Railways in India*, the per capita travel in miles in India was 49, while it was 240 in Japan, 139 in the U.S.A., 169 in Canada, 287 in Germany and 430 in France; per capita expenditure on travel was Rs. 0.98 in India against Rs. 7.4 in Japan, Rs. 8.3 in the U.S.A., Rs. 20.6 in Britain and 26.2 in Australia. Detailed figures are given in Sir M. Visvesvaraya's *Planned Economy for India*. Some figures are given above only as indicative of the large volume of potential traffic in India awaiting development.

On the other hand, there are certain other factors which are likely to operate towards a diminution in the volume of passenger traffic. Chief amongst these is the growth of motor transport which, as has happened in America and other countries, is capable of taking away from the railways an appreciable portion of their traffic, particularly in short distances up to about 100 to 150 miles. Measures for a co-ordinated system of transport to prevent wasteful and uneconomic competition and to avoid as much loss as possible to railways have to be taken from now. Air transport may deprive railways of some higher class passenger traffic but in the present stage of development, it is not likely to be a formidable competitor to the railways.

Goods Traffic

The earnings from goods traffic in 1948-49 were 112.26 crores of rupees. The goods earnings from the Government railways of undivided India were 72.56 crores in 1939-40 and 116.32 crores of rupees in the peak-year of war, 1945-46; compared to the pre-war year 1938-39, there was an increase of 21.5% in goods traffic in

1948-49, expressed in terms of net ton miles. Goods traffic has been also increasing, though not to the same extent as passenger traffic. The increased earnings in 1948-49 are also partly attributable to increased rates which came into force in October 1948. This increase in goods traffic is comparatively less than on the railways of some important European countries due mainly to the fact that industrial production in these has increased substantially over that of pre-war years. In India, on the other hand, production in important industries still continues to be below that of war and pre-war years, though latterly the situation has shown signs of some improvement. The bulk of goods transport, however is in coal, food grains, pulses, oil seeds and other commodities.

The most important measure necessary to remove the great poverty of the masses and increase their standard of living is rapid industrialization. Though this is one of the avowed objects of the National Government, the progress achieved in this direction has been very poor. It may be hoped that, as a result of the labours of the National Planning Commission the industrialization of the country may proceed with expedition and that, in the next few years, a large number of heavy and large-scale industries will be established all over the country. Industrialization, so indispensable for the country's prosperity and safety, will naturally mean increased traffic to railways on account of the transport of machinery, stores, raw materials and finished products. Also, the increase in agricultural production, resulting from the new irrigation works, river valley development projects, fertiliser factories etc., will also be an additional source of traffic. Again, the manufacture of the necessary armaments and other military equipment needed to build up India's defence strength will also contribute to the railways.

As against these hopeful prospects, there is the threat of competition from other means of transport, particularly motor transport and coastal steamers. The coastal steamer services are now facing difficult times with a fall in traffic and increased costs of operation. Mr. Dharmsey

M. Khatau, in his presidential speech at the last general meeting of the Scindhia Steam Navigation Co., gave some details of these difficulties, and complained of competition by railways and stressed that some coordination and allotment of bulk cargo between railways and shipping was necessary. It is undoubtedly in the interests of the country as a whole that every form of transport should be encouraged to enable it to play its due part in the country's economy and development. A complete co-ordination between these systems and provision of facilities for combined booking is very essential. The net result, however, may be that the railways will have to lose some traffic in favour of other transport agencies. Later on, rates on railways in India will have to be lowered to enable the products of the country to withstand world competition. This will also mean some reduction in the earnings from goods.

Working Expenses of Railways— Operating Ratio

The financial standing of railways not only depends on the gross earnings, but in a larger measure on the expenses for operating or working the railway. By the term ordinary working expenses is meant all expenditure incurred in the working of a railway, but not interest on capital and credits to funds. The percentage relation of working expenses to the gross earnings is termed the "Operating Ratio" which forms a useful basis for obtaining a comparative idea of the operating expenses over a series of years, relative to gross receipts. As will be seen, this is a ratio between two variables and has to be used with great care, making due allowances for factors that may affect one or the other of the variables. Subject to this, it is a convenient and ready method of ascertaining the comparative economy and efficiency in working.

For seven years from 1900 when, as we have seen, the India Government railways first began to pay, the operating ratio was between 47.85 to 49.89. From 1907 onwards to a decade it varied from 51 to 54, except for two years when it shot up to 56 and 60. In the years of World War I the ratio fell steadily till it touched 48.45 in 1918-19. The low percentage was in

a large measure due to increased war traffic and railways are an industry subject to the law of decreasing costs. Apart from this, there was a forced reduction in expenses due to the postponement of repairs and renewals of railway plant and equipment. They were in the nature of deferred expenditure. From 1921-22 the operating ratio definitely left the 50 mark and shot up to above 60. With the exception of 1921-22, when the ratio reached the high figure of 76.2 (the highest till then and for years thereafter till 1946-47), it stood above 60, oscillating between 65 and 69 during the years 1924-25 to 1929-30. In the years of depression 1930-31 to 1935-36, both inclusive, it was between 72 and 74. From 1937-38 to 1939-40 it varied from 67 to 69.

In the early war years 1941-42 to 1943-44, the ratio fell to 58 and 59 being only 53 in 1942-43. In 1944-45 and 1945-46, the last two years of war, the ratio was 66 and 71.8 respectively.

In the post war years, the ratio sprinted upwards and was in 1946-47 83.5 and 90.7 in the 7-12 months after partition in 1947-48. In 1948-49 the operating ratio was nearly 75%. The improvement was only apparent and was due to increased earnings. The revised estimates for 1949-50 show a reduction in working expenses from the 159.03 crores of rupees budgeted to 153 crores. The budgeted expenditure for 1950-51 is 156 crores or two crores less.

Expressed in terms of money, the working expenses have shot up from Rs. 54.01 crores in 1938-39, to 145.09 crores in the peak year of war and to 160.41 crores in 1948-49. Really, the expenses in post-partition period are much greater than the figures indicate as in 1948-49, the mileage of railways operated was 6,640 less and the train mileage was less by roughly 38 to 37 million, than in 1938-39 on account of sections transferred to Pakistan.

Certain special causes account partly for the great increase in working expenses. Chief amongst these are the emoluments to the staff which have gone up by nearly Rs. 32 crores

since 1945-46 and were in 1948-49 over Rs. 107.5 crores, against Rs. 35.1 crores in 1938. It is thus over three times that of pre-war years. There is also the great increase in prices of materials and stores. Making due allowance for all these factors, which are beyond the control of the railways, the working expenses are still high. The conclusion is inescapable that expenses were not rigidly controlled by strict measures of economy till very recently. There is scope for reduction in working expenses by the adoption and enforcement of strict and rigorous measures of economy and increased efficiency of operation.

In coming years, factors are discernible which point to a likely increase in the working expenses. There is heavy over-crowding of passengers at present and additional trains are not put on for want of coaches and till lately, of engines also. Many more trains will have to be run in future which must mean more expenses. The expenditure on account of salaries and allowances to staff must also go up, with the full implementation of the Pay Commission's recommendations and the Adjudicator's award. The railways of Indian States have become part of the India Government railways. A rise in the working expenses of Indian States' railways should be anticipated as the emoluments and allowances of staff on these lines have necessarily to be brought up to the same level as that of the employees of the present Government of India railways. The standards of track, rolling stock and communications have all to be improved. It is also not unlikely that the displacement of the immediate and close supervision of local administrations of these states' railways by that of the bigger systems will lead, at least in the next few years, to less strict and close control resulting in loss of revenue on these lines through greater leakage.

A substantial reduction in working expenses is most urgent and this can be achieved by reducing expenditure, increasing efficiency and economy in day to day operations, by modernising the railways, and improving the quality of their service.

FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS (4)

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

By Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA

IT has already been pointed out that multi-member constituencies are advocated by those who stand for the proportional system of representation and from this point of view the case for and against multi-member constituencies is identical with the case for and against the proportional system. The essence of the proportional system of representation is that an electoral system is fair only when (1) all the political parties existing in the country are represented in the legislature and (2) when they are represented in exact proportion to the voting strength they command in the electorate. If, for example, 40 per cent of the voters in the country vote for the Congress Party, 20 per cent for the Socialist Party, 10 per cent for the Hindu Maha Sabha, 5 per cent for the Peasants' Party and so on, the four hundred and ninety six members in the House of the People should be distributed among these parties in that particular proportion. This would mean 198 members belonging to the Congress Party, 99 to the Socialist Party, 49 to the Hindu Maha Sabha, 25 to the Peasants' Party, etc. And if there are other parties also besides these they too should get representation in the House of the People according to their strength. Even a party commanding half per cent strength in the electorate should have half per cent representation in the House which roughly comes to two members. It is argued by the advocates of proportional representation that the legislature must reflect exactly—photograph correctly—all the different shades of opinion found in the electorate. We regard that no citizen in the country should be excluded from the electorate. This is at the bottom of an advocacy of adult suffrage. We do not draw any distinction between the foolish and the wise citizen, the low-caste and the high-caste citizen, the poor and the rich citizen. Similarly, it is contended that all opinions of an organised character—organised in the only way in which they can be organised in a democracy, that is, organised through political parties—

should be regarded as of equal value and worth being represented on the legislature. This contention is at the basis of the whole case for proportional representation in its purest form. In practice however attempts are made to draw distinction between significant and non-significant opinions and representation is secured only for the former. But all such distinctions are artificial and arbitrary. If a party commanding 5 per cent strength in the electorate is given representation there is no convincing reason why one commanding 2 per cent strength should not get representation. It is true that we deny the right to vote to certain citizens on the ground of age (below 21, because their judgment is immature), or of insanity (because they are incapable of having any judgment) or of immorality (certain types of criminals) and it is only on more or less similar grounds that parties should be denied representation. But the whole difficulty will be to discover a criterion by which one can decide in an objective and impartial manner which political parties hold sound opinions and which parties hold unsound ones. Until such a standard acceptable to all is discovered there will be no justification for discriminating between one political party and another. If we are for proportional representation we must in strict logic be also for representing all political parties.

There are some democratic States which have put a ban on the Communist Party. In some of the States in India also, that party is at present under a ban. There are also proposals to ban what are known as communal parties. Of course when a party is banned there is no question of its being represented on the legislature. Short of that it is necessary in an ideal proportional system to secure proportional representation to all political parties—that is, to all groups of voters who are anxious to influence governmental policies in getting what they want.

If, irrespective of any other consideration, it is felt that a legislature is ideally constructed only when all political parties in the country are proportionately represented on it, the simplest way perhaps of bringing this about is to have no division of the country into constituencies at all and call on every voter to go to the nearest polling booth on the day of the general election, give him a ballot paper containing the names or colours of the parties standing for election and ask him to vote for one party or the other. When the ballot papers are collected and counted it will be known how many voters voted for each party and the total number of members who have to sit in the legislature will be divided proportionately among the parties and each party will send its nominees according to its quota to the legislature. The whole country will then be one constituency for electoral purposes. All the forty or fifty or the sixty parties in the country will secure their proportionate representation in the legislature. Here is a multi-member constituency electing 496 members. There is nothing fantastic about a procedure like this. This is similar to the system of voting in the election of the President of a State by all the adults in a country as was the case in Germany between 1919 and 1933. It is the only system which secures representation to every party in proportion to its strength in the electorate. This will not be possible if the country is divided into a number of multi-member constituencies each electing 3 or 5 or even 10 members. A three member constituency can at best give representation to three parties if they are of equal strength. A ten-member constituency can similarly secure representation to ten parties of equal strength and not more. But all parties are not of equal strength and therefore some parties will secure more seats out of the three or five or ten allotted to the constituency with the result that some may have to go without any seat even though they have some voters voting for them. It is only when the number of members to be elected from a constituency is considerably larger than the total number of political parties contesting the elections in the country that the objective of proportional representation can be best achieved. In Ger-

many the whole country was divided into 35 constituencies and from each of them as many as 16 were elected on an average. We are not here concerned with the methods that may be adopted to give effect to the principle of proportional representation. The point to be noted is that the larger the size of the constituency the greater are the chances of every party—however small it may be—getting its quota of representation. A sixteen-member constituency is better from this standpoint than say a ten-member constituency and a five-member constituency is better than a three-member one.

In spite of this supreme merit of the proportional system of representation it has not been adopted in all the democratic countries. England, the United States, the Dominions within the Commonwealth of Nations have not gone in for it. Some countries on the continent of Europe including present day France have adopted it but its results have not been found satisfactory. It suffers from numerous defects and is found unfair from the point of view of the electorate, the legislature and the executive. Even all the political parties are not quite satisfied with its actual working, for nowhere is it worked with a view to giving representation to all parties. Some of the smaller parties go unrepresented even under this system for the reason that except in very few cases no multi-member constituency elects more than eleven members in any of these countries.

The most serious defect with the proportional system is that it increases the number of political parties in the country. The bigger parties become disrupted, and dissatisfied elements in them are encouraged to leave them and form separate and independent parties. Where there are only two major parties and where constituencies are single-member ones there is no chance whatever of a candidate put up by a 'splinter' party getting in. Such parties will die out or become merged in the bigger parties. The proportional system guarantees representation to even small parties and therefore it prevents the formation of big national parties. And parties are formed on the basis of very narrow issues. As there is no need for any party—how-

ever small it may be—to come to compromise with any other party for securing its quota of representation the tendency is always for parties to become fanatical. Extremism of all sorts—extreme conservatism and extreme radicalism—comes to flourish. Parties also tend to become utopian and lose sight of what is practicable. Multiple parties are not necessarily the outcome only of proportional representation. Provincialism, racialism, linguism, communalism of one kind or another, acute economic differences, may all be responsible for the formation of too many political parties in a country. But proportional representation everywhere strengthens this tendency. In our country, especially, where fissiparous tendencies are very active there is a danger that proportional representation might still further strengthen them. That was what it did in Germany. It will encourage candidates to appeal to communal passions. The voter to whom democratic voting is new becomes bewildered in the face of too many parties, too many programmes and policies. In big constituencies which are inevitable under the multi-member system (without which the proportional system cannot work) there will be very little of personal contact between the voter and his representative. Votes will be won less by acting on the intellect of the voter, on his thinking capacity than by means of mass propaganda, by processions, slogans, the beating of drums and the display of colourful advertisements. When parties are formed on narrow issues they lose all claim to speak on behalf of the nation. Each party will fight for the realisation of its particular and sectional interest and very few will care to promote the common good. Above all, in a country like ours which has decided on having a cabinet form of government the proportional system of representation will work havoc. It will bring into the Parliament too many parties and no party will command a majority. The cabinet will have to be a coalition cabinet drawn from leaders belonging to different parties. It will not have any vigorous policy to carry out. Instability will become one of its features. There will practically be no government strong enough to undertake measures needed to pro-

mote social and economic welfare and this will gradually pave the way for some kind of totalitarianism either of the right or of the left. So many and so serious are the evils of the proportional system especially in the peculiar conditions of our society with its caste, communal and other differences that nothing else will be required to wreck our democratic experiment. Under the proportional system the spirit of joint electorates which we have come to look upon as the basic foundations of national unity will be broken and separate electorates will begin to function though it may be in a concealed and therefore insidious form. Multi-member constituencies with cumulative voting are sure to produce this result. It may therefore be concluded that the proportional system of representation is not at all in the interests of our country.

If we are against proportional representation we must also be against multi-member constituencies and stand for single member constituencies.

The ordinary non-proportional system of representation is not as unjust or inequitable as it is represented to be by its opponents. It is true that it doesn't give representation to parties which have only a small following. But the question is, what influence will such a party with two or three representatives exercise in the legislature even if it gets representation. It is also true that under this system the winning party—though it wins by a very slight majority—becomes the Government of the day and exercises not proportionate but dominating influence on public affairs. The answer to this objection is that this is not peculiar to the working of political institutions. It is a feature of all organised work. Although we proclaim that all men are equal and all men should have the right to vote we don't attach the same weight to the opinion of an ordinary voter as we do to the opinion of a Mahatma Gandhi or Pandit Nehru or Sardar Patel. And this is as it ought to be. Lastly, it is not only through legislatures that minority parties can exercise their influence on governmental policies. There are very many other channels of representation today. There are other

organs of consultation. Trade unions, chambers of commerce, professional associations of teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc., have no representation on the legislatures but no Government in a democratic State undertakes any important piece of legislation or administration relating to labour or business, etc., unless it consults these organisations. Besides these there are the advisory committees attached to all departments of administration on which the concerned interests are represented.

The legislature is not everything. It is of importance for certain purposes and it must be efficient for realising them. The proportional system with its multi-member constituencies reduces this efficiency. Similarly it reduces the executive government to impotence. We may therefore conclude that the benefits which are expected from that system can be obtained through other organs of governmental machinery and that it ought not form part of our electoral and voting system.

WHY WORLD WAR III?

By K. S. VENKATARAMAN

THE world is now striding very fast into World War III. At any moment, it may burst on our heads awaiting, as it does, only the time fuse for the Atom Bomb, now that Pandit Nehru has been silenced in his noble efforts to spare the peoples of the world the horrors of war, waged on a global scale. The Yellow Press of America has not scrupled to attribute to him vile motives and raise against him clouds of prejudice,—against this one bold man who when others are silent has dared to request the combatants to see the reasonableness of other methods than war for easing the tension and re-establishing peace on earth.

The only people who have a real say in this conflict are the British; Prime Minister Attlee alone can speak to both President Truman and M. Stalin, try and dissuade them from war, or at any rate, try to localize it in Korea, and prevent a world conflagration. But the British Government is balanced on the sword-point; its majority is less than ten; the Foreign Policy that Mr. Bevin has been pursuing is only the continuation of that of Messrs. Churchill and Eden. That policy has been only the application to new circumstances of that old, old balance-of-power policy which was first invented by English Wolsey about 1519 and maintained by England ever since.

The Balance In Europe

The balance-of-power policy is, that England should see to it that no

power in the continent of Europe shall be suffered to become too strong for the lesser powers there; that England shall be its enemy and the friend of its enemies. Circumstances in the continent of Europe often change but that policy remains and it is in accordance with it that England makes and breaks friends as if by instinct, with every change in Europe. In 1939 Hitler's Germany had become dominant, and just on the eve of war he had made friends with Russia. England was chagrined but bided her time.

In 1941, by their colossal blunder both Hitler and Stalin fell out to the advantage of England which was only praying for such an opportunity to come. Both Germany and Russia are bad for us, said Mr. Churchill, "but of the two Germany is worse; let us beat down Germany first with Russia's help and we can deal easily with Russia next." That was the British policy voiced by Mr. Churchill.

By 1945, Russia had sustained immense losses, what with the devastations by the enemy and her own efforts to meet him with 'scorched earth.' Thanks to her vast spaces, distances, and climate, the same fate that befell former invaders of Russia—Charles XII of Sweden (in the eighteenth century) Napoleon I (in the nineteenth century), now befell Hitler (in the twentieth century). But Russia rose equal to the strain of this war and developed in the very course of the war, her industrial strength.

forging weapons herself like the Stalins, the most formidable tanks invented till then.

Thus by May 1945, when the war against Germany ended with her surrender, Russia remained in a weak and exhausted Europe the one and only strong power without a second, stronger too, than all other European powers put together, thereby upsetting completely the old English balance of power in Europe.

Moreover, by May 1945, although the German war terminated, the Japanese war was still on. America who felt the pressure of tough-fighting Japanese wanted Russia to open hostilities against Japan. While professing neutrality to Japan, Stalin had assured Roosevelt that he would declare war against Japan after the German war came to a close. President Truman asked Russia to do so now.

That was the position of the parties when the world war was partitioned among the victors, at their Potsdam Conference in May 1945 (taken with the earlier ones at Teheran and Yalta) by open agreement (and by secret clauses which were divulged by Molotoff in 1949). It was agreed that Russia should get territorial expansion and spheres of influence from Stettin to Trieste, only Greece being excepted. The eastern half of Germany fell to Russia's share.

This was too bitter a pill for England to swallow but she rose equal to the occasion by agreeing to all the terms. There was no power among the Allies at that time to say no to any Russian request, observed the British Press.

Disappearance Of Germany And Japan

By the two Great Powers, Germany and Japan, being deleted now once and for ever not only as Great Powers but as free states in the world, a great disequilibrium has been produced in the world. There are now only three Powers outstanding—U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. with U. K. astride on top of both with her amazing diplomacy and propaganda.

Two new forces have sprung up affecting the war potential of countries—Air Power, and Atomic Energy. In both, U. S. A. is strongest; U.S.S.R. comes next; and U. K. though not so

strong in these as they, keeps always with U. S.A.

The New Forces

All these point to a fundamental re-alignment in the ordering of this modern world. Anglo-American policy is to drive Russia out of the European gains she was assured at Potsdam, to confine her to what was given her at Versailles. In Atomic Energy and Air Power they have absolute superiority. America has the monopoly of Atomic Energy secrets. She has laid by a stock pile of Atom Bombs that would suffice to blast in no time, a week or a month, all the countries which are not on the Anglo-American side. Mr. Churchill believes that Russia is a potentially great country and if given time will overtake U. S. A. in the armament-race and ever since World War II he has been urging the U. S. A. to smash war-worn Russia immediately.

The New Humanity

President Truman praises the Atom Bomb as the new saviour of humanity, as one that spared further loss of American and even Japanese lives by wiping out Hiroshima and Nagasaki. According to his way of thinking the Atom Bomb is the most merciful weapon ever yet invented by the wit of man. This is President Truman's New Deal in Humanity. While Mr. Churchill carries with him only a very small fraction of even the ruling classes of England, public opinion in America, as reflected in the Propaganda Press is solidly behind the President and thinks with him in terms of World War, World Power. It must be remembered that the the President placed before Messrs. Churchill and Attlee and Stalin at Potsdam his intention to atom-bomb Japan and obtained their approval and benediction. Europe's living fear of it today is but the Nemesis from yesterday when they threw it on Japan.

Campaign For World War III

How to take away from Russia those European countries which were signed away to Russia at Potsdam, Yalta and Teheran has been the post-war problem for America and all the subsequent combats of wit have in this context alone their meaning and purpose.

At the end of the Berlin Air-lift President Truman triumphantly de-

CHANGE IN COMMUNIST LINE

By G. S. BHARGAVA

clared that Russia's object was to take her stand on the Potsdam agreements but the context of Potsdam had changed and so should its terms change, he said.

America In Asia

Britain has vast trade interests in China, built up there in the century since the Opium Wars. America opened her eyes to the potentialities of the Chinese market; took in hand the training of Chinese youths, in the American way of life, who upon their return from U. S. A. forced upon Japan the 'Peking Incident,' 1935, with its war continuing down to the Japanese surrender in 1945. In World War II, England was too absorbed in Europe and Africa to turn East; Russia was similarly grappling on her own soil with the German invaders, resisting unaided all the might of the Germans. America was engaged in a bitter struggle with the desperate Japanese, in a war forced upon them by Roosevelt, (November 26, 1941) by a letter understood to be an ultimatum ordering them immediately to quit China and put the clock back by fifty years.

China For Chiang

For the last sixty years, hapless China, because she has been militarily weak for offence and for defence alike, has been continually the prey of European, Japanese, and American ambitions. Each nation is greedy of founding in China an empire like that of the British in India in the eighteenth century, but has been foiled by the Concert of the World. The tale of how China is bullied and victimised is a long and harrowing one. The latest phase is to re-install Chiang Kai Shek in China once more, after China, utterly sick of him, had turned to Communism and to Russia to be rid of his tyranny.

All this is not to say that Russia is right and well grounded. In her present form, she is a newcomer into the comity of nations, perhaps a bear, a Tartar in her ways, not yet learning the policy of 'live-and-let-live.' In June, Pandit Nehru asked the Imperial and Colonial Powers to take their hands off Asia. But Truman declared that the French and the

Dutch Colonial powers were under his protection; that Korea, Formosa, Philippines and Indo-China are to obey this new imperial master and their old colonial masters; that any moves against those masters will be regarded as hostile moves against America. This Truman declaration is an event of world significance for the future. It marks the perpetuation of European domination of Asia under American supremacy.

Our Part

For our part, the India Government has chosen wisely. War is abhorrent to us. We want to outlaw war altogether from the world. Secondly, we are neither militarily nor economically strong and are easily vulnerable to attack. Above all, it is impossible to think of any foreign policy independently of Pakistan. What reliance can be placed on Pakistan's assurances even where she chooses to agree with us, is displayed to all that have eyes to see in her action in South Africa. Even after the Liaquat-Nehru Pact, Mr. and Mrs. Liaquat Ali Khan have declared India as to be Pakistan's main enemy, against whom latest types of American and Canadian weapons are brought. What secret deals they have made with America are at present trump cards up their sleeves.

We cannot afford to weaken our weak defences by a single soldier. Moreover to err in good company is better than to stand alone, which is impossible in itself, as we belong to the Anglo-American system. We are under no delusions about Russian democracy.

We have no admiration for either the American or the Russian way of politics. We love dearly the British way which has moulded us in the past and which combines in a rare measure collective authority of the executive with individual liberty. It is not, however, the battle of ideas that we are heading for.

Although Anglo-America may challenge Stalin to fight, Stalin may decline fighting and agree to all their demands. In that case, says Mr. Churchill, there may be no World War III.

THE Indian Communists have officially announced a change of policy. Though in actual phraseology the new policy statement does not much differ from the Calcutta thesis of the party, in the light of the last two years' activities of the party the annotation of the new line by Mr. Dange last week reveals a sharp turn. Amidst the verbiage of *cliches* and slogans a shift in tactics is clearly discernible.

The policy announcement is as usual accompanied by a total repudiation of the past two years and a mild dose of "Bolshevik self-criticism," gingered up with a plethora of apologies to everybody wronged during that period. It is admitted that the party indulged in adventurism, ignored the importance of fighting for immediate agrarian reforms and alienated the large mass of the people.

Communists have too often repudiated their past to carry conviction with any one who has known them for a few years. During the last one decade, they have done it at least four times. In 1939, after the Stalin-Hitler Pact, they denied their past opposition to Fascism, opposed the war as an imperialist war and actually condemned England and France for starting it. In 1941, when Hitler invaded Russia, they again repudiated their solicitude for Hitler, which was but only two years old, and became crusaders of a people's war. In 1946, after the release of the Congress leaders from detention, they once again denied that they ever supported the war effort or sabotaged the national struggle and for a time paraded as the staunchest advocates of national liberation and the right of self-determination of the minorities. Two years ago, they, for the fourth time in the last decade, repudiated their past and turned the most fanatic fighters of class war and the only protectors of the oppressed humanity of the world!

But these are not mere consequences of errors in judgment but the results of abject subservience to dictation from Moscow. It is common knowledge that any change in Communist tactics anywhere in the world

is motivated by a shift in Soviet foreign policy and that Communist policy all over the world is determined not by the requirements of local conditions but by the demands of Stalin's foreign policy. Thus, for instance, Stalin was pursuing a policy of aloofness from and hostility to the Western Powers till, in 1935, Hitler came to power in Germany. So till then, Communists were asked to consider the Socialists and the Social Democrats as their real enemies and to annihilate them. Accordingly, the Communists in Germany sabotaged the struggle of Social Democrats against Hitler—in the presidential election, Communists put up a rival candidate to the Social Democrats, split the working class vote and helped Hitler to power. They were then attacking the Socialists as "Social Fascists" and as their "real enemies." This was known as the "Third Period." When Hitler grew dominant and made no secret of his intentions on the Soviet Union, Stalin changed his tactics and started wooing the Western Powers for a united front against Hitler. During this period, the Communists were asked to fraternise with all anti-Fascists, including the Socialists. This phase was known as the "Popular Front" period when even capitalists were invited by the Communists for a common front and when Daladiers and Chamberlains were acclaimed as defenders of democracy.

When Stalin could not succeed in wooing England and France into a united front against Hitler, he had to give up altogether his opposition to the Nazi dictator and sign a non-aggression pact with him; then Communists all over the world were asked to impede war against Hitler and thus help him indirectly. In France, during the days of resistance to Hitler, Communists were known to have indulged in sabotage activity. Later, when this policy failed and when Stalin had to join the Allies, Communists again made a sharp break with the policy they were till then pursuing

* Hitler was not the real enemy by implication.

and began supporting the war, even at the cost of the freedom struggle.

The latest change in the Indian Communist line is similarly motivated by the change in Soviet tactics in international politics, as can be seen from the "peace" offensive launched by them all over the world and the changes in the personnel of the Kremlin, which took place some time ago.

There are also tactical considerations behind the new shift in policy ordered by Moscow. The victory of the Chinese Communists against great odds has, like the Russian October Revolution in its initial stages, gathered a halo of glamour around it. Especially for the people of Asia, its emotional appeal is formidable. It thus became expedient for the Stalinist God (That Failed) to hitch his wagon to the star of Mao, now on the ascendant. The twists and turns that characterised international Communist policy between the years of the inception of the Comintern at the hands of the great Lenin and the signing of the treacherous, opportunist pact of alliance with Hitler by Stalin, the betrayal of the revolution in every country, the degradation of the Soviet state into a single party police state with a permanent bureaucracy in power and the subservience of the international Communist parties to the national needs and, worse still, the secret police of Stalin, have all justifiably eclipsed the glamour of Communism, notwithstanding its disruptive potentialities. Only Mao's name could recapture some of the lost prestige.

It was this consideration which made Stalin square up with Mao and accept the latter into Marx's line of legacy. During the years of the Chinese revolution Stalin did not in any appreciable way help the Chinese Communists. He also did not make a secret of his disapproval of the methods used by Mao in China; some of Stalin's true followers like Ranadive—he is now made a scapegoat of for having implemented Stalin's own policy, perhaps with a vengeance—even openly attacked Mao Tse-tung and his theory of New Democracy. But Mao's victory turned the tables. What were described as crimes of Tito, when committed by Mao, became models for the rest of the Communist world. Thus, for instance, Mao refused to liquidate the kulaks, whereas Tito only

gave it secondary importance. The latter was expelled from the Church for that crime, while Mao's example is today paraded before other Communist parties for emulation. In the industrial field also, Mao has allowed the private sector to function—something unheard of in a Communist state. On the theoretical plane, Mao amended the Marxist theory by giving the peasantry the leadership of the revolution and relegating the urban working class to a secondary position; he also propounded a new technique of alliance with the middle and rich peasantry in the countryside. Notwithstanding all these, Stalin accepted him into the international Communist hierarchy, a fact which proves the former's anxiety to befriend the Chinese revolution.

Accordingly, the Cominform journal, in the course of an editorial directive to the Asian Communist Parties, in its issue dated January 27, 1950, called on them to follow the Chinese example. Quoting from a speech of Liu Shao-chi, Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, at the Peking Trade Union Conference of the countries of Asia and Oceania, the editorial stated: "The path taken by the Chinese people... is the path that should be taken by the people of many colonial and dependent countries in their struggle for national independence and people's democracy." Amplifying the exact strategy, the directive added "The experience of the victorious national liberation struggle of the Chinese people teaches that the working class must unite with all classes, parties, groups and organisations willing to fight the (Anglo-American) imperialists and their hirelings and to form a broad, nation-wide united front...." The most important part of the instrument of instructions was as follows: "A decisive condition for the victorious outcome of the national-liberation struggle is the formation, when the necessary internal conditions allow for it, of people's liberation armies under the leadership of the Communist Party."

The above editorial is the basis of the latest shift in the Indian Communist line. But it has led to two different kinds of interpretations and it is not known which of them has prevailed with the High Command. The Andhra group led by Mr. Rajeswara

Rao, which has, as early as in April, 1949, brought forth a pro-Mao thesis, (Ranadive, the then party secretary, dismissed it as un-Marxian and suspended the executive of the Andhra branch of the party) takes the Cominform editorial to be a green signal to go ahead with the formation of people's liberation armies in the countryside, to forge alliances with all the peasantry and to shift the intensity of the insurrection from the urban areas to the rural parts and the leadership from the working class to the peasantry. In Guntur and Kistna districts of Andhra, the Communists are also reported to have been implementing this policy for the last few months and creating pockets for themselves, from which to spread out. The succession of Ranadive by Rajeswara Rao suggested that this interpretation found favour with the Cominform also and the secret circular alluded to in the Government of India press note last week corroborates this view. But the statement issued by the "Central Committee" (It is not known who constitute this "Central Committee" and how it came into being) and the annotation offered to it by Mr. Dange puts an altogether different interpretation on the writ of Moscow. Mr. Dange was reported to have explained that it was not a people's liberation army that would be established but bodies to secure the redressal of the grievances of the villagers. His emphasis on the new alliances, suggested by the Cominform journal and accepted by all sections of Communists, also indicates a soft-peddling of the class struggles in rural as well as urban areas, except in the nature of day-to-day struggles for specific purposes.

But, Mr. Dange himself in an interview immediately after his release, spoke of "armed resistance" to the powers that be and declared that they would "resort to any measure" to resist attacks by the authorities. In other words, he spoke of a "defensive insurrection" in the place of the past "offensive" one. It is difficult to reconcile these different views expressed and it is not certain that the Communists are not camouflaging their line under the pronouncements.

As for the applicability of the Chinese tactics in India, it must be realised that the agrarian pattern and dominant position of the capitalists in the Government vis-a-vis the landlords in China prompted the middle and rich peasants there to make common cause with the revolution. In India, it is not so. On the other hand, the zamindari abolition legislation of the Congress governments reveals the technique of driving a wedge in the peasant ranks and of pitting the rich ones against the poor. Also, the success of the people's liberation army in China was due to the fact that there was no centralised administration in that country and that no single, uniform army existed for the whole of China. There were a number of warring war lords, each governing a bit of territory and each possessing an armed force of his own. The writ of Chiang never ran through the length and breadth of the vast area that is China, as does the writ of Sardar Patel from Kashmir to the Cape in India. These differences in the objective situations do not, however, influence the Communist strategy. No wonder then if their successive policies meet with the same fate.

OUR MISSIONS ABROAD

The caste system of the New Delhi Secretariat is copied in the missions abroad so exactly that the tiny tot of a third secretary, fresh from the university and sometimes connubially well connected, thinks it superior diplomacy to treat the publicity man (press attache, or whatever he is called) with cavalier superiority complex. To complain of lack of co-ordination or direction seems churlish when caste is practised. Our chancelleries (to make them dignified with diplomatic usage) live on themselves, as closed communities, with little thought of contact with the foreign society in which they live, entertain or arrange excursions among themselves, but must cut out public relations men, unless they are handy men, hollow men, good palanquin-bearers.—M. C., in *National Herald*.

MARXISM AND THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY

By MORGAN PHILLIPS

Secretary of the British Labour Party

THOUGH the British Labour Party is widely known and much discussed the main source of its inspiration and its broad ethical appeal is not understood by many of our comrades in other countries.

British Socialism owes little to Karl Marx, either in theory or practice, or in its methods of organising the working class. Trotsky was not far wrong when he said that the English Revolution brought about by the Puritans was nourished on Biblical texts; the French Revolution on the abstractions of democracy; and the Russian Revolution on Marxism. "The Russian revolutionary party" (wrote Trotsky) "which was to place its stamp upon a whole epoch, sought an expression for the tasks of the revolution neither in the Bible, nor in the secularised Christianity called 'pure democracy,' but in the material relations of the social classes."

Marx, as we all know—and not merely because Lenin told us—was profoundly influenced in the development of his teaching by German philosophy, English political economy, and the social implications of the French Revolution. Marx's economics as well as his politics were challenged and finally renounced by the founders and teachers of the British Labour Party.

Theory Of Value

Fabian Socialism parted company with Marxism at the point where the controversy arose as to what constituted "value". Instead of the "labour theory" of value, the Fabians built upon the "marginal theory" of value formulated by the English economist, Jevons. Value of a thing, according to this theory, is measured not by the amount of socially necessary labour it contains, but by the utility of the thing at the margin of supply, where the "law of indifference" comes in to determine its exchange value. It is the final utility of a thing, not the identical quantity of socially necessary labour embodied in it, which determines its exchange against

another thing with money as the medium.

All this of course is elementary. But rejection by the British Socialists of the Marxist theory of value had important practical consequences in the development of the politically organised Labour movement, because of the interaction between Marx's economic thinking, and his theory of politics based upon his historical materialism and his doctrine of the class struggle.

British Socialism has pointed the way to the achievement of the rarest phenomenon in history—a revolutionary change in political control and class relations without physical conflict. It promises, moreover, the attainment of a planned economy in which proletarian exploitation is not tolerated and where the fundamental freedoms of the individual citizen, worker, and wage earner are safeguarded.

The Marxist theory of proletarian dictatorship as the prelude to Communism leads to what Trotsky called the militarisation of labour and state compulsion.

Socialism (he said) will remain an empty sound without militarisation and state compulsion of labour. "There is no way to socialise except by the authoritative regulation of economic forces and resources.... and the centralised distribution of labour in harmony with the general state plan."

Essential Point

This is the essential point of divergence between Marxian Socialism and British Socialism. It would be true to say that British Socialism has never lost its ethical inspiration. This goes back, of course, far beyond Marx. Marxian Socialism disdains any ethical or utopian interpretation. There is hardly a trace of any human emotion in Marx's writings. But the writings from which British Socialists draw their inspiration ever to the present generation are filled with such sentiments as are contained in this quotation from the

Utopia of Sir Thomas More:

"...To speak plainly my real sentiments I must freely own that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things I cannot think that any nation can be governed either justly or happily; not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among the few (and even those are not in all respects happy); the rest being left to be absolutely miserable... From whence, I am persuaded, that until property is taken away there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties."

Such is the note that rings persistently and clearly in the writings of the pre-Marxian Socialists. And nowhere more than in these writings are the evils arising out of the institution of private property, the existence of an unproductive class, the maldistribution and misuse of wealth, the domination of money, the exploitation of the poor by the rich, and even the indictment of the state as the managing committee of the rich, more emphatically exposed and condemned.

Religious Influence

British Socialists do not consider it at all a reproach or a source of weakness in their intellectual and political position that their movement has been profoundly influenced by religious thought. The very organisation of our British working class movement embodies methods we have taken over from religious institutions. It is not only the Christian Socialists of an earlier day who have left their impress upon the thought and the teaching of the British Socialists. Methods of religious organisation arising out of the evangelical revival of the 18th century were incorporated in the organisation of the radical societies, the political associations, the trade unions and the friendly societies which thrived apace in the 19th century. When Chartism revived after its defeat in 1839 its reorganisation as a national movement owed a good deal to radicals and democrats who belonged to the Methodist Church.

The National Charter Association formed at that time was in fact founded upon a system of "classes" borrowed from the Methodist form of organisation. In the later Chartist Movement under the direction of a General Council and a central executive committee, adherents and supporters of the movement were formed into "classes." Each class was composed of ten members under the supervision of a "leader" appointed by the Executive Committee. But there is a world of difference in the spirit and the purpose of this kind of class organisation and leadership and that of the Communist cell.

Democratic Ideals

It is a fact, too, that the British Labour movement, both on its trade union and its political side, drew heavily for its leadership upon the religious communities. The Methodist and other Churches carried on their work not so much by a paid ministry, but by the service of volunteer laymen who occupied the pulpits as lay preachers (local preachers, as they were called), served as officers not a church, and as teachers in table Sunday Schools.

The doctrinal basis of Methodism and the English Free Churches generally encouraged democratic ideals and sympathies, and it was a natural evolution of the laymen in these churches to assume responsibilities of leadership in the friendly societies, the trade unions, and the political associations that were the early "carriers" of the ethical ideals of Socialism before the British Socialist Societies as such were founded in the last two decades of the 19th century.

The essential point is that Marxism as a philosophy of materialism, as an economic theory, and as a form of political organisation with revolutionary intention and aim, is historically an aberrant tendency in the development of British Socialism.

Trotsky called reformist Socialism—an opprobrious phrase on his lips—as the leftward shadow of professorial liberalism. If by the reformist Socialism the reference is to British Socialism it is much more than a shadow—it is the living embodiment of an ethical inspiration and of ideas about democratic organisation and methods which contradict Marxism at almost every point.

the titular government to which our representatives are accredited is reduced from power and authority, the rule of the United States is to defer recognition of another executive in its place until it shall appear (1) that it is in possession of the machinery of the state; (2) administering the Government with the assent of the people thereof and without resistance to its authority; and (3) that it is in a position to fulfil all the international obligations and responsibilities incumbent upon a sovereign state under treaties and international law."

From the above it is evident that the practice both in England and the U. S. A. has always been to grant recognition provided the nascent state fulfils certain conditions. Now the question is whether Red China is in a position to satisfy Mr. Hull's three tests. There can be no two opinions on this issue. It should be said that Red China is not an ephemeral creation like Manchuria (1932-45), Croatia or Slovakia. (1943-45). Further she is not a satellite of another state. On the other hand she is an independent state enjoying the habitual obedience of the bulk of the Chinese people and in a position to fulfil her international obligations and responsibilities. If these are facts neither the U. S. A. nor Egypt have a right to refuse recognition. It is no doubt a fact that recognition is a discretionary function vested in the states already existing. But it should also be said that this discretion is a judicial one. It means that when-

ever the necessary factual requirements exist the granting of recognition is a matter of legal duty. In practice, however, political considerations had almost always influenced the decision of the governments. Even the lofty position assumed by the U. S. A. on the question of recognition of the Latin American Republics was not free from attempts to safeguard the particular interests of the United States. The recognition of the U. S. A. by France in 1778 was not entirely disinterested. Great Britain was prepared to recognise the *de facto* Finnish Government if the latter would obtain the release of the British subjects arrested on Finnish territory by Germans. In 1920 Poland informed the Latvian Government that she was prepared to grant immediate recognition *de jure* to Latvia provided the latter offered a 99 year's lease of a port. When the U. S. A. recognised Egypt in 1922, it was subject to the condition of maintenance of the rights of the U. S. A. "as they have hitherto existed." Thus we see that considerations of national advantage cannot always be divorced in granting recognition. From the above survey it is evident that the existing machinery for the recognition of states is unsatisfactory. It is, therefore, suggested for valid reasons that this power should be vested in the General Assembly of the United Nations. If the General Assembly admits a nascent state to statehood by a special majority of 2/3 all other members of the U. N. should automatically grant recognition.

NEED FOR AN OPPOSITION PARTY

By G. KRISHNASWAMI

THE Congress has so identified itself with the Government today that the latter is popularly known as Congress Raj. The Congress Party stands in the fortunate—or unfortunate?—position of having no rival political party which could stand in opposition to it. The Communist Party with its creed of violence has no appeal for the people. The other party which is gaining ground is the

were in the Congress quite a long time. They were obliged to leave the Congress and form a separate party as they could not see eye to eye with the Rightists. They have made a beginning to spread the Socialist ideals they have adopted. It is not enough if conferences are held and delegates drawn from Provinces to discuss academically theories and possibilities and political questions. In the eighth National Conference of the

Socialist Party held in Madras, the Socialist leaders discussed policies of national and international interest. They indicated generally the policy of the Socialist Party and their programme to contact the masses to spread Socialist ideals. They were out, they said, to enlist more members in towns and villages. If they are able to contact the masses and make them understand their policy and programme, they will be able to carry conviction and enlist the support of the electorate. But the Socialist Party has to remember that it is facing heavy odds in fighting the Congress Party which has to its credit the achievement of Indian freedom. It has been in power both at the Centre and in the Provinces ever since India was declared independent on August 15, 1947. As the party in power, it has a unique advantage over other political parties. Its success in the recent bye-elections is merely an indication of the lack of a rival party which could stand in opposition to it. Sardar Patel has declared that in the next elections "all parties will be levelled up before the Congress steamroller." It is virtually a challenge to the nation. If the Congress comes to power again without a strong opposition, the Government will once more tend to become a single-party Government which is by and large a kind of dictatorship or totalitarian Government. We have tasted this one-party rule for three years. It has created discontent in all except perhaps a few Congressmen who have been able to get the loaves and fishes of office. Even among Congressmen there is discontent and many are giving free expression to it. They are fighting among themselves for places of power and profit. The primary elections have amply demonstrated group rivalry in the Congress rank and file. Election suits in the law courts and deputations to the Congress High Command from group

leaders have become a common occurrence.

It is needless to detail further the abuse by Congressmen of their position for self-aggrandisement. Serious attempts were not made by the party leaders to eradicate this evil. Controls in their wake generated corruption and nepotism. The members of the legislatures were made members of every imaginable committee that was formed in the districts with the result that they are utilising their membership for personal or partisan ends. The group in power is getting only its partisans nominated to the committees formed for various purposes. The high ideals of the Congress Party are still there on paper, though they are observed more in the breach than in the observance. People freely say that the Congress has no chance in the coming elections, but they forget that there is no organised party to fight them effectively in the elections. The Communist Party may of course enter the field to fight the elections, changing its creed of violence temporarily. The Republican Party started in Madras, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Socialist Party will, it is hoped, soon be in the field preparing the ground for the 1951 elections. If all the parties combine they will give a good fight to the Congress and even if they are not able to win all over the country, they might succeed in preventing the Congress from having a too powerful majority in the legislatures. Organised opposition is necessary to make any form of democratic government work successfully. The success of the democratic form of government in England is largely due to the two-party system of government.

It now rests on the various political parties to organise themselves into a powerful opposition to the Congress Party and save the Republic of India from disintegrating into a one-party, totalitarian tyranny.

"The origin of Robert Louis Stevenson's 'The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde' was a dream. 'In the small hours of one morning,' said Mrs. Stevenson, 'I was awakened by cries of horror from Louis. When I awakened him, thinking he had a nightmare, he said angrily: 'Why did you wake me? I was dreaming a fine bogey tale.' I had awakened him at the first transformation scene." Stevenson's dream life played a large part in his fiction, furnishing plots, scenes and characters, even bits of dialogue, and directed to some extent the course of the story.

ARE AMERICAN NEGROES LOSING RELIGION?

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK CITY: Familiar to many American Negroes is the bitter, oft-repeated and too-true observation of Sunday stay-at-homes: "White folks got all the money and Negroes got all the religion." For generations this terse, pointed comment has been a fact. Negro neighbourhoods were distinguished for their lack of Negro-owned businesses, but a conspicuous abundance of religious edifices.

In recent years, especially since the war, Negroes have been getting more and more money and less and less religion. As economic status has risen, religious fervor seems to have lessened with consequent slackening of attendance among Negro church-goers. Except for traditional worship days which continue to be marked by standing-room-only crowds, many congregations are growing thinner each Sunday despite desperate entreaties from ministers and vigorous membership campaigns by loyal deacons.

This mass backsliding in Negro communities has not developed overnight. How long it has been going on is hard to determine but most recent figures show that among the 50,000 Negro churches in the U. S. today with an estimated enrolment of 9,000,000, few can boast of regular Sunday attendance of more than 40 per cent. This is a far cry from the picture of 20 or 30 years ago when churches drew as much as 65 per cent of their enrolment. In those days church was considered a Sunday must for every member of the family.

What has caused the increasing exodus from the church? Is the Negro becoming atheistic? Is the Negro church-goer failing to find the salvation he seeks in church? Is the decrease in emotionalism in many Negro churches keeping members away? Or is church-going just going out of fashion?

There is no single answer to the drop in Negro church attendance. Slackening religious devotion is due both to the change in the character

of the Negro and lack of change in the character of the church.

In the beginning the Negro church functioned as a social agency in many respects—a combination of school, employment agency, health clinic and social meeting place. In the South especially Negroes went to church to learn about the complex world around them and to obtain many social services provided. Where the church fell down in this respect, the congregation was provided with emotional inspiration to overcome the many, many barriers in their path. Lacking material sustenance, the colored church-goer at least was enheartened by eloquent preachments about the promised "hereafter" and could join in hearty amens each Sunday.

Today the Negro in urban areas is a changed man. With his new-found education, better-paying jobs and higher living standards, he no longer turns to the church for leadership. Instead he accepts the leadership of the unions or social clubs.

Too often in recent years religion has become a racket in the hands of greedy men with an eye on their congregation's purses rather than their souls. Too many of the big cities have become overchurched, tending towards disharmony, petty politicking and a substandard brand of church leadership. Typical is Chicago where the South Side has more than 700 churches. Three-fourths of these are store-front affairs with ridiculously small congregations and poorly-trained pastors.

But it cannot be overlooked that the unity of Negro churches, the big and small, with a goal of more service to the people, is much in order today. Less churches with better-trained, more-conscientious ministers would go a long way towards a religious revival in the Negro community. When pastors return to real old-fashioned Christianity with all of the social meanings implicit in religious leadership, Negroes will flock to church and give it again its onetime unquestioned leadership in the community.

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By V. P. SATHE

THE news of the constitution of the Central Board of Film Censors will be received with great relief by the Indian film industry which has suffered most due to the vagaries of provincial censorship during the last three years.

Strangely enough, though the rules and regulations of censorship were almost the same, every Censor Board had a different interpretation of the same. Otherwise how can you account for the ban of "Rope" and "Loves of Carmen" by the Bombay Board and certification of the same by the Bengal Board? It is equally difficult to account for the ban of Bengalee film "42" in Bengal and its exhibition in Bombay. The passing of the alleged kissing scene in "Afsar" by the Bengal Board, inspite of the objection by the Bombay Board, stresses the same point.

With the constitution of the Central Board, it is hoped that these vagaries will end and that one will be able to see the same picture in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta or Madras. There is, of course, one danger. Even if the provincial Censor Boards will cease to interfere, is there any guarantee that the State Governments will not interfere. As long as the supreme authority of the Home Department and District Magistrates prevails, the Censor Boards, whether provincial or central, cannot have the final power and as such they can never inspire confidence in the industry.

This anomaly must be removed with the functioning of the Central Board. If the District Magistrate or any provincial authorities receive any complaints or protests against a particular picture, instead of taking direct action against the picture (unless of

course it threatens civic peace), the complaints must be referred to the Censors, who must have the ultimate right of judging a picture. Only then the constitution of a Central Board would be worthwhile.

If the reports that the new Board will pursue a policy of 'cautious liberalism' is true, it is to be most heartily welcomed. Similarly if the present policy of the deletion of drinking scenes from foreign and Indian pictures is given up it will be good even for prohibition itself. For, the present ban on actual drinking scenes appears to be ridiculous. Drinking can be shown; but not the glorification of drinking—that should be the liberal attitude of the censors. The Censors should be more liberal in the matter of morality also, though they should never encourage obscenity or vulgarity in any form.

The choice of a retired High Court Judge for the chairman of the Board is really happy. For, the High Court Judges today are held in highest respect for their fair, independent and liberal judgments. Apart from the chairman, Mr. Justice Agarwal, the Board will have six members. Dr. Amarnath Jha, Mrs. Leelavati Munshi, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh are among those who are expected to join the Board.

No one will have any quarrel with the choice; but one expects that the film industry will have one of its representatives on the Board. The Board will function as an appellate body at Bombay, while regional censorship offices with an official and panel of advisors will take up the day-to-day job of censoring films. In other words the present provincial Censor Boards will function as before;

only they will act under the direction and authority of the Central Board. The producer who had to accept the verdict of the provincial Censor Board as final will thus now have one more body to appeal to. He can rightly look forward to gain better justice from the new body.

Incidentally, the new Board will be, it is hoped, in a better position to decide the controversial issue of political propaganda in foreign films. The present Censors have come in for severe criticism for passing anti-Soviet propaganda films from Hollywood and banning Soviet films like "Stalingrad." The new body must be able to give a correct and clear directive on this issue in keeping with the policy of 'liberalism' and consistent with the nation's foreign policy.

Meanwhile the film industry is still waiting for the day when the Central Board will actually begin to function.

Picture Of The Week

Director-Producer M. Sadiq is an old and tried and successful film maker. He first came into limelight as the author of "Thokar" and along with Sunny, his colleague, he joined the ranks of directors in "Namaste". He showed his first flash of craftsmanship in the first half of "Jeevan" and attained fame as the director of that fabulous box-office hit "Rattan" which directorially at least was not half as good as "Jeevan."

Since then he has directed many pictures—hits as well as flops; but out of them, I think "Sabak" which he has also produced is the most simple, straightforward and in a way successful.

Not that "Sabak" is a very great picture; it is not even unusual. The story of two lovers who cannot marry because of the enmity between their parents is at least as old as Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet," the variation of the rich Juliet and the poor Romeo is also not new with Sadiq himself having tried it in "Paras." Even the appeal of the theatrical dialogue is rather worn-out. And yet, the presentation by Sadiq is so simple that even an old-fashion melodrama appears to be plausible and somewhat interesting.

By not trying to be clever but just simple and matter of fact, and yet efficient, he has succeeded in impart-

ing richness, elegance and warmth to a story of the beaten track.

Even then, "Sabak" would never have succeeded but for the characterization of Om Prakash. In a way he has saved the picture. His character, as a simpaton whimsical lover whose heart is set on one girl, is quite amusing and pathetic. When, however, he garlands his beloved and proclaims to be her brother he almost becomes heroic and carries the audience with him to bring about the happy union of lovers.

Inspite of rather crude and clumsy conception his character emerges to be very warm and human. Inspite of a little over-acting Om Prakash succeeds in bringing it to life. The other artistes—Jagirdar, Kumar, Munawar Sultana and Karan Dewan—also do well; but it is Om Prakash who makes "Sabak" a little different from and more entertaining than other pictures.

That a picture which was obviously designed as a drama should be saved by its comedy is a paradox of "Sabak" which, it is hoped, will not be lost on Sadiq.

Star Of The Week

The only new picture to be released this week in Bombay is "Raj Mukut" which heralds the return of Veena to the screen after an absence of over three years.

Three years ago Veena was perhaps the highest paid star in Bombay; and ten years ago, she made her debut in a Punjabi picture entitled "Gowandi." Then she was a sweet girl just fresh from her college, known to her family and friends by her real name Tajwar.

Producer Chopra, who then conducted Cine-Herald in Lahore was mainly responsible for bringing her to the screen. But her Punjabi picture did not give her a break and even Pancholi did not recognize her potential talent. It was Mazhar Khan who went in search of a new face to Lahore and found Veena. He brought her to Bombay and started her in "Yaad." The picture flopped, though by that time because of her personality, her refusal to talk to others, she had created an aura of mystery about her.

Then Mehboob gave her a real break. He cast her in "Najma" and with the release of that picture, she became a star overnight. When she left Lahore she was not drawing a salary of Rs. 400, but after the release

of 'Najma' her contracts soared up by thousands and thousands and at one time she is supposed to have charged even more than a lakh of rupees for a single picture.

What was the secret of her success? Beauty? According to some she was more beautiful than Naseem; but that was hardly true. Acting? Well, she was the most immobile of our artistes, her expressions being almost monotonous. But what she lacked in beauty and acting she made up by her personality.

Like Greta Garbo, she was the 'mystery' star. The journalists seldom met her; and when they did she had a row with one of them at the muhurat of 'Ashok.' She never attended social functions. Why? Even during the shooting, she even did not talk with other artistes; she rather preferred to sit in seclusion and read a book. No wonder the critics thought she was a sphinx-like beauty not only on the screen but in real life.

There was hardly even any scandal about her. How could there be when she lived with her brother, Shabzada Iftikhar, in utter seclusion at Worli.

During 1946, with the help of her brother, she threatened to be a producer. Shabzada Iftikhar advertised one picture after another lavishly (one of them was Kamal Amrohi's 'Khwab' which has now been made as 'Mahal'). But the production plan never went a step further than publicity.

Meanwhile the riots and the partition swept the country, and many dreams were shattered to pieces. But more than external events the storm in her own life changed the destiny of Veena. The man who brought that storm in her life was Al Nasir. His fatal charm which had cast a spell on Meena and Manorama, his erstwhile wives, swept Veena off her feet. Both of them flew to Junagarh and got married; and the next we heard about them was only when they went to Pakistan.

In Karachi, they stayed for months and months doing nothing. Ultimately they made up their mind and last year they returned to Bombay to resume their careers. First they decided to work together or not to work at all. But that plan also did not fully materialize, so they started working on their own.

Marriage and motherhood have robbed Veena of her mystery. She is still aloof, inaccessible; but she is now more communicative on sets and does take interest in other artistes at least. The other day when Bakshi Gulam Mohammad, the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir, went on the sets of 'Kashmir' I saw Veena in life for the first time. Tall and elegant she still is, but I did not feel the same thrill which I had felt when I saw her in 'Najma' in 1943.

Yet she hardly talked and perhaps laughed only once, during the entire evening. But the change in her is also evident from the fact that the other day she appeared in court to give evidence in a case against her husband for rash driving. And if this change continues her acting will become more lively and human in future.

As to her career, well, she is appearing in a number of pictures including 'Rajmukut,' 'Afsana,' 'Bee-wee,' 'Dastan.' The fate of these pictures will decide her fate as well. Her old fans are, however, anxious that she should regain her old glory. But will she?

'Learning To Tap Dance'

Can you imagine for a moment that six-feet, hefty and heavy K. N. Singh or bulky rotund Om Prakash can dance? Of course, not, though Om Prakash has tried to dance in 'Meena Bazar'—but that can hardly be called dancing.

A month ago, I would have bet that Om and Singh can never do real dancing—at least not tap dancing. But today I have to revise my opinion. For in a month, thanks to the correct approach of their dance tutor Mr. Young, they have acquired the agility, the suppleness and rhythm of a dancer. And Mr. Young is now confident that they will do tap dancing quite well.

But for a month they have been exercising and rehearsing almost every morning. In the beginning their bodies used to ache, they could not even skip and the sight was so funny that had the process been picture-turized it would have been very amusing. But now their bodies have come into shape, though of course, they haven't become Fred Astaires. And they have shown remarkable patience and zeal which at their age and in their position is most praiseworthy. In

fact it reveals that they are really serious about their job.

Ordinarily one expects them to be so. But our stars generally do not want to do anything. Some of them refuse to dance, others refuse to step in the water or ride a horse. Indeed, most of them are not prepared to do anything but speak their lines and go home and as luck would have it when producers pay them fabulous amounts for not doing any work why should they bother. That is why, one admires artistes like Om and K. N. Singh who are taking so much pains to learn tap dancing for their roles in Filmkar's 'Ghungroo.'

What Price Numerology!

The superstition or science of numerology seems to be really playing havoc with the film people. Its latest victim, according to a reliable source, is the science-graduate Gyan Mukerjee, known to his colleagues and friends for his rational and scientific approach.

Ever since he wrote the screen play of 'Bandhan' and directed 'Kismet' he has been known to the industry as Gyan Mukerjee. There is nothing wrong with his name which sounds respectable and has earned such a good reputation during the last decade.

But the science of numerology has made a discovery according to which Gyan Mukerjee is an unlucky name. So henceforth, in the credit titles, instead of Gyan Mukerjee you will find only the name 'Gyan' which is considered to be lucky. So in future advertisements and posters of 'Sangram' only the name Gyan will appear as the director of the Picture.

News Of The Week

—Director O. P. Dutta and Star Kuldeep were involved in a car accident while returning to Versova after the shooting of 'Ek Nazar'. The car ran into a truck. Luckily however the occupants escaped with slight injuries.

—A charity show in aid of Bengal refugees was held last week in Bombay in which Nargis, Raj Kapoor, Meena, Premnath, Yashodhra Katju, Lata Mangeshkar, Talat Mahmood, Anil Bishwas participated. The variety programme of skits, songs and songs proved a success. The IMPPA has decided to donate one show's income on 15th August to the refugee relief fund.

—On the same day the leading film magnates had gathered at New Empire to congratulate Jayant Desai on the success of 'Har Har Mahadeo.'

—Shantaram and Jayashree returned from Calcutta and it is now learnt that Shantaram has entrusted the job of writing his next story to Dewan Sharar who is now working on the script.

—Director Heera Singh of 'Na-moona' fame launched M. T.'s "Production No. 7" starring Madhubala and Dev Anand.

—The Muhurat ceremony of Nirmal Pictures' 'Sabz Bag' written and directed by Aziz Kashmiri and starring Nimmi, Shekhar, Karan Dewan, Suraiya Chowdhary, Majnu Pran and Om Prakash was held on Sunday 30th July at 9-30 a.m. at Famous Cine Laboratories and studios. The Muhurat was performed by Raj Guru Ramkrishna Hareshwar Pandit.

—Filmkar Ltd., is producing one mythological picture entitled 'Ram' and one historical picture 'Anarkali' which will be written and directed by Kamal Amrohi, the director of 'Mahal' and the scenarist of 'Pukar' and 'Moghul-e-Azam'

—Rehana and Nasir Khan are the stars of the new picture which is being produced by Mungre and Dharmsey of 'Anokha Pyar' fame.

—Sumitra and Bharat Bhushan will form the new star-pair in producer Pratap's next picture which will go on sets in August. Madan Puri is the co-star.

—Nigar and Ajit form another new star-pair in Madhukar Pictures' 'Lokraj' which is being directed by Nanabhai Bhatt.

—Nutan, Shobhana's daughter and Nasir Khan are co-starred for the first time in Pancholi's next picture. Others in the cast are Sunder and Hiralal.

—K. M. Modi, the managing director of Western India Theatres Ltd., is reported to have sold his palatial bungalow at Malabar Hill to the younger son of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.

—Kidar Sharma is starting his own 'Shokhian', after completing Ranjit's 'Shame Gam.' 'Shokhian' features Raj Kapoor, Geeta Bali and Vijay-luxmi—all the three stars appeared in Kidar Sharma's 'Bawre Nain.'

CONFOUND THIS COMMUNAL CALUMNY

By P. N. SAMPATH

TO date no single public question has evoked so much disputation, so much heartburning and so many indignant or impassioned letters to the journals—the dailies, weeklies and monthlies of Madras Province and even outside, than the Communal G. O. of the Madras government. It is supposed to be a *modus operandi* for setting right the educational and cultural disequilibrium among the different communities, especially between the Brahmins and the rest.

Brahmin preponderance in government service is a hangover of British connections with this country. The Brahmin community was the foremost among the Indian communities who took advantage of the English education taught in the government-patronised schools and colleges, with the Anglo-Indian community a close second. The other communities lagged behind, out of lethargy, or indifference, or backwardness, or all these combined. The British administrators thus ensured for themselves a sufficient and perennial supply to man their offices. The educational institutions were a sort of manufactory for the production of clerical hands. In so doing, the British never cared that the rest of the communities got little or no education. If their aim had been country wide education to the people of India, they could have achieved it in half the time they ruled in this country. Their neglect in this respect has been one of the standing blots of British Indian rule. They knew their requirements, and found men just sufficient for their purposes.

Later on, when the British saw, much to their chagrin, that the Brahmin community was at the forefront of the struggle for independence, they did not take it lying down. Anti-Brahmin feeling was scrupulously reared and fostered. It was in keeping with their general imperialist policy of 'Divide and Rule.' The Justice party became the favoured

child. But, before the upsurge of overwhelming nationalism, the Justice party soon went down and died an ignoble death at the elections. In this connection, it must be said, in justice to the Justice Party, that while Brahmin-baiting was more or less just a creed with the Justices, it seems to be the foresworn duty of our accredited Congress zealots, who, however, still carry on wordy warfare against castes and creeds in public gatherings. If at all they did anything, the Justice party offended the Brahmins in words and not in deeds.

Apart from these later developments, the native exclusiveness, the group-consciousness, and the superiority complex of the Brahmin community were in a way responsible for the rearing up of the background of unpleasantness between them and the Non-Brahmins. It is encouraging that of late humility is fast replacing their whilom ignorance. It is not their fault that they took to English education and were absorbed into the government departments as a consequence and in virtue thereof. But, unfortunate as it was, the Non-Brahmins felt that they were being diddled out of something and reckoned that the Brahmins were in on it. There are however some real grievances. Or perhaps they are less real than apparent. But realities can never be circumvented by show of illwill or by scotching legislation. Talking of the difference will not mend it. The thing cannot be solved by argumentation in courts of law or elsewhere.

The Communal G. O. has swelled the current of retrogression. It may render justice of a sort to particular communities, but it does injustice to the State. It taboos marks and merit. It sets up a premium on inefficiency. Any social reform cannot be retrospective, but must be prospective. It should not hark back to the past but must be an augury for the future. It should be rational, not recriminatory. It should be discre-

tionary, and not discriminatory. To reconcile the rule of right with the principle of public welfare is the supreme end of social theory.

The Brahmins are not over-surfeited with brains. They appear bright, and the legend of their intellectual superiority lingers because they were the early birds at the British schools and colleges. Already, boys belonging to the Non-Brahmin and more backward communities are proving more than equal to their Brahmin counterparts. The famous British humanitarian Keir Hardie, remarked: "It is universally admitted that the Hindu capacity for learning is scarcely equalled in any part of the world." He toured this country when the percentage of literacy was lower by far than what it is to-day. So, it is all a question of opportunity. One got it and availed of it and the other let it go by, mostly through unpreparedness.

The need now is for a more liberal policy. The backward classes must be rendered all help to come up to the level. There are means and methods to achieve this. The Communal G. O. makes much fuss and is on that account the target of much criticism. After all that is said and done, the help which the backward communities will get out of it is bound to be little when compared to the more rational ways by which the same object can be achieved resulting in resounding success. More money must be found to start more and more schools and colleges. All young men must have facilities for higher education, without let or hindrance. Except for the Harijans, there need be no reservation of seats and posts. Among the rest there should be healthy com-

petition and also an approximate division of seats, taking particular care to see that no single community is left totally unrepresented or too inadequately represented. In this method there will be no talk of discrimination and no mention of community names *ad nauseum*. Merit is not the monopoly of any one community. Those who strive and try in the right spirit will realise this to their credit.

Altruism is not dead, though it is crushed well nigh to suffocation, beneath the offal of cupidity, of unworthy controversies and unworthy hates. The knowledgeable elders among the different communities must sit together, put an end to this rule of spite, and devise a method of amelioration of the aggrieved that will bridge the gulf between the communities and bring them close together in the common pursuit of knowledge and worldly well-being.

It is untrue to say that any particular community (the backward classes excepted) is distinctly advanced or disturbingly backward. The percentage of literacy among the Brahmin minority is greater than what it is in the Non-Brahmin community, it is true. But it cannot be said that backwardness is a peculiarity of the non-Brahmin community, since there are many among them as advanced as some of their brethren in the Brahmin community.

The government should revoke their Communal G. O. and should try to attain their object of levelling up backward communities through more rational means which do not involve the levelling down of communities already better off.

Journalism is the supremely individualist career. From junior reporter to newspaper owner, all who come under its spell must learn to fight alone, with the devil taking the hindmost. Although there is a superficial camaraderie among working journalists, there is probably no sphere of human effort where rivalry is so keen and competition so harsh as among the "slaves of the pen."—Tom Clarke in *Northcliffe in History*.

A very intimate practical knowledge of a subject hampers a journalist. This is no praise of ignorance. The job of the journalist is to use the expert, know where to find him, rather than to be an expert himself with a one-track mind lost in detail.—Lord Northcliffe.

BUSTAMANTE: THE PRIME MINISTER OF JAMAICA

By J. E. BELLIVEAU

William Alexander Bustamante, the Prime Minister of Jamaica is an extraordinary person. The writer compares a meeting with him to a session with the Mad Hatter of "Alice In Wonderland."

HALFWAY between representative and responsible government, the island colony of the British in the Caribbean, Jamaica, is today in a state of political and economic ferment. Its population, living in a lotus land of pure delight climatically and scenically, is far from happy, for Jamaica is a land of striking poverty studded with the lush trimmings of wealth.

The wealth is represented by tourists and their luxury resorts and by the great plantations and their owners; the poverty is almost everywhere but especially in the bustling grimy, yet fascinating city of Kingston.

Five years ago, a new constitution was granted to the island which was to be a step towards self-government, but it was not a satisfactory solution, or at least not satisfactory to a large section of the people. It was a compromise, and compromises often sit heavily on those whom they are intended to assist. When the constitution was altered one of the most extraordinary personalities of our day, William Alexander Bustamante, was elected first Prime Minister. He was elected as the head of the Labour Party to form a Government and he had the support of a large majority of the voters.

Near the turn of the present year, the first five years of semi-responsibility had been accomplished and there was another election but the great Bustamante did not emerge so well this time. He was returned to office but with a majority so slim that he is in danger of losing control.

Colourful Figure

The Labour Party took 17 seats in the 32-member House, while the upsurging new People's National Party, a Socialist movement, gained eight for a total of 13. There are two Independents. Jamaica due to the neglect

of colonial authorities and because of the economic pressure that England's current troubles have placed upon the British West Indies generally is not a stable country today. A shift here and a shift there could create for the Labour Party a delicate situation and leave it perhaps with no majority at all.

In the midst of all this stands as colourful a man as there is today in all the British Commonwealth, a man part white, part Negro, who has a hold on the masses as no man has had before him in Jamaica when he mounts a platform. And yet, Alexander Bustamante faces a powerful combination of forces concentrated in the idly brilliant Norman Washington Manley, his first cousin and leader of the Socialist Party.

In Jamaica, where life generally moves at a leisurely pace, there is more excitement in Bustamante, the Prime Minister and President "for life" of the Bustamante Industrial Trades Union than one is likely to find in half a lifetime of meeting strange situations and unusual people.

Bustamante is a light brown, flamboyant, calliope-voiced politician and union leader in a state of constant motion. Twenty hours a day, like a fire engine continually racing to a five-alarm fire, Busta roars about his island empire with the sirens wide open, the wagon going around sharp corners on two wheels.

Life In U. S. A.

To see this extraordinary man, I went one morning to No. 98 Duke Street in Kingston, an ancient and ramshackle place that had once been a large private dwelling. In front of it leaning on a battered picket fence, were scores of black men arguing, loafing and jostling. I treaded my way through them to find another crowd jamming the two-direction stairway

that led to the second floor from the street.

At the inner door a guard with a cigar in his mouth, a straw hat on his head was wearing an open, frayed shirt and tattered trousers, let me through and I went straight into the Bustamante trade union headquarters. Here with a full head of steam up-going full blast was Bustamante.

He leaped up, shook hands, made introductions to four or five persons in the room and then continued interviewing a clerk, who said he had been fired by a sugar company because he was caught reading a newspaper at work. The trades union chief heard him out, argued a moment, then dictated a letter to the president of the company. It was a hot enough document, but still reasonable. The complainant disappeared like a wraith.

Busta's secretary burst in with a Kingston business woman. A brief conversation ensued and she went out. Then a lawyer entered with a letter and some swift pleasantries, and went out, waving his hand. After that, we got down to business, with Hugh Shearer, Busta's chief assistant, the secretary, a stenographer and a visiting woman sitting.

At one time a dietitian in a New York hospital and once an orderly in a Chicago hospital, Busta left home when he was 14. He says he was "adopted by a Spanish mariner and went to live in Spain." For a while he was a time-keeper for a Panama tram company before going to the north. He has worked in Canada, and he told me he made a tidy sum in the stock market in the United States when other people were losing their shirts. At any rate he came back to Jamaica in 1934 with a substantial bank account and went into the money-lending business. It was with his own funds that he was able to organise the trade union.

He said the union voted him about Rs. 500 a week at the start and this he reduced to Rs. 250. "I cut it down later to £16 (about Rs. 200) and for three years I have not drawn a penny. I give my Prime Minister's salary of £21 (about Rs. 260) a week away in gifts." "De Chief" travels a lot and says he pays his own expenses.

Before we left, the Prime Minister made the startling disclosure, apparently for the first time, that he and

his huge, coal-black bodyguard had been poisoned during the recent election campaign. "Laid up 13 days, and that's why my majority was cut." When I asked whether he now employed a foodtaster, he whipped up the tail of his coat to disclose a big, black horse pistol.

That was the crowning touch. This was the great Busta, "De Chief" a labour leader whose party forms a Labour Government in name but not reality: a fiery orator who in his day has been interned as a menace to his country: a magnificent mountebank in a way and yet a solid British citizen who called it "a terrible disgrace to Jamaica" when Manley supporters booed the Governor and his lady at the legislature opening in January.

The Opponent

Nor is the colour and flamboyance in Bustamante all assumed. He is chock-full of natural character and effulgence, not to say charm which he improves in various ways. Though it was 85 degrees F. the day I saw him he wore his customary grey tweed suit with a vest. His hair is long and wild and white, a magnificent mane flying back from his darker gray hair at the temples. His eyebrows are as black and as massive as those of John L. Lewis.

Busta wears a white shirt and a white tie, and keeps his coat sleeves showed up to the elbow as if he were about to scrub a floor.

While the natives shout "Good old Busta," when he appears, Cousin Manley, the scholar, does not think of him in such endearing terms. Manley calls himself a moderate Socialist explaining he is moderate in his Socialism in Jamaica. His soft musical accents which, like those of all educated Jamaican Negroes make him sound as if he were a Welshman with a southern accent, become harsh when he speaks of Busta.

"The man is a Fascist" the 58-year-old Rhodes scholar said: "He would be a dictator anywhere else. He is life president of his union, has the complete power to hire and fire and to spend all the money he wants. He is in the closest possible alliance with big money."

On the other hand Bustamante says Manley wants only power and he Busta is interested only in the welfare of the people. To prove it he cites the

"not less than 100 per cent" increase in the wage rate for labour since he organised his union. This view incidentally is widely supported in the island. Jamaica is definitely a black man's country, with whites aggregating only about 13,000 in a total of approximately 1,240,000.

Because it is poor and far from independent economically, Jamaica is not ready for independence or responsible Government in Bustamante's view. Nor does he favour a federated dominion of West Indian islands because the distances are too great, the problems too varied and transportation inadequate. There is a strong movement in the island for a federation, but it does not appear to have the essence of reality.

Old as it is, Jamaica attained its present political stature only five years ago. It has an elected lower house, the House of Representatives.

Bustamante, the man who leads the lower house and attended the opening in January in a top hat and gray tail coat, but kept his white tie, is not a member of the high society that permeates Jamaica. He continues to live in a poorer district where, he says, the people earn two or four pounds a week. "It was where I lived before becoming Prime Minister, and I intend to stay there to have an understanding of the poor. To understand them you should live among them but not be poor. I don't do it for politics. I am a true labour man."

Jamaica, known to the world as a tourist paradise, is that all right, but most of the tourists never find out how the Jamaicans are living. In the interior I saw women sitting by the roadside breaking up stones with mallets to make a few cents. They live in primitive strawthatched huts. Disease is difficult to control, although the Labour Government is doing what it can to remedy the condition.

The Labour Government also has undertaken land reform, spending large amounts in recent years to buy out huge plantations and divide them into five-acre sections. These are sold to farmers on a 25-year plan. In agricultural development, progress is slow.

There is less colour prejudice in Jamaica than in most countries, although much more than in nearby Haiti, where it does not exist. Every Government Ministry member is

black, except for Bustamante, whose father was Irish and mother a mulatto. Manley is slightly darker and most members of the House are full blacks.

Born William Alexander Clarke, the 64-year-old Prime Minister adopted the name Bustamante in the U. S. His rise began in 1933. Discontent had spread through the West Indies and a serious outbreak occurred in the Frome sugar estate in Jamaica. The militia was called in by the British owned company. When Busta, then a private citizen, heard about it, he raced from his office to a swarming Kingston Street. When a crowd gathered in a square, he shouted: "I want the Governor and his Cossacks to know that Alexander Bustamante is prepared to fight and that he has 100,000 people with him."

Rise To Power

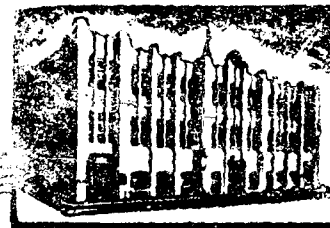
In fear, the authorities had him arrested for sedition soon afterwards. He was refused bail, but when the case was heard the most able lawyer in the island, Norman Manley, cleared Bustamante in masterly fashion. However the authorities still thought Busta a dangerous character, and had him arrested again in 1941 under the defence regulations. Manley kept the Bustamante trade union together while he was in jail, but when he got out Busta could not co-operate; there could be but one boss, so they went separate ways.

As might be expected, the incarceration made Bustamante a national hero to the workers. He formed the Bustamante Industrial Trades Union, which got its first and strongest support from the sugar workers, and it is they today who continue to give the Labour Party its best help.

Since then as an English writer has put it: "The rebel of 1933 has become the bulwark against Communism." It appears that the responsibilities of office have made Busta more conservative, and it also appears that he is no longer the stern enemy of the big interests.

Still, like a magnificent ward-heeler who keeps everybody happy he continues to pull the strings and do the favours that make the people happy. Meanwhile, he remains the most controversial figure in the Commonwealth, perhaps, and by a long shot the most entertaining and exciting personality.—Copyright.

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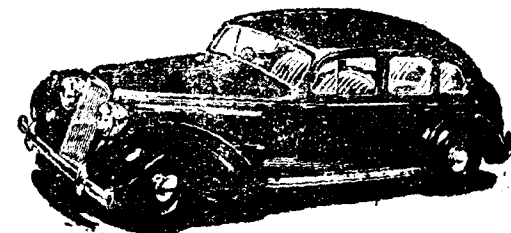
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Letters To The Editor

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

Minister Santanam's Reply

An extract from the issue of the SWATANTRA dated 1st July 1950 has been brought to my notice. As one engaged in public service, I do not resent any kind of fair criticism, but I want to inform you as a matter of fact that I have never at any time before I became a Minister or afterwards approached any Minister or official or other authority on behalf of Sri Srinivasan or anybody else.

K. SANTHANAM,
Minister of State, Transport &
Railways.

New Delhi.

Food Position Of Palnad

The food position of Palnad taluk is deteriorating day to day. There are no adequate supplies of rice from the wet taluks of the district, and consequently, the distribution of rice is most meagre and uncertain. The position of the lower middle classes is most deplorable.

Working in the slab mines is the main occupation of hundreds of families in certain places of Macheria sub-taluk and they have to toil the whole day and on the day's wages earned, have to go about the next day in quest of millets offering an exorbitant price of Re. 1 per 1½ measure. The devil of famine is enacting a frightful dance demonstration threatening to devour the poorer classes.

People are displeased with the Government of Madras for not regulating the crops to be raised and remaining dumb spectators of the suicidal action of the agriculturists in raising 85% of chillies and ground-nut crops.

Palnad is an acknowledged deficit taluk, the poorest of Guntur taluks. It relies on imports. Such being the case, what is one to think of the heartless arrangements to move stocks from this famine-infested zone? Now, 80 tons of millets are pending despatch from Macheria station.

K. P. ANJANEYULU.

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VOL V
No. 27

SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1950

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LID OFF THE LOAN

THE Finance Minister of the Madras Government has been furiously fishing for compliments and causing people to pat him on the back over the much-vaunted success of the Madras Loan. No doubt, as the first bow made by the Madras Government on the finance market after the inauguration of the New Constitution, it has been watched with special enthusiasm and interest, as is the reception to the premiere of an expensively produced movie picture. Let us however see what exactly has been achieved.

The Madras Government floated a loan of 4 crores of rupees—3 crores out of these were intended for the consumption of the urban investor and one crore was earmarked for being subscribed by the agriculturists of Tinnevely district as their contribution to the financing of the Manimuthar project. The entire four crores bear interest at 3 per cent subject to income tax and is repayable in 1960. The loan bond was issued at Rs. 99 for every Rs. 100 face value. The subscription list for the public as well as the Manimuthar part of the issue was kept open for a day (31st July 1950) and the aggregate subscriptions received for both issues were in excess of four crores. At the same time the Bombay and Madhya Pradesh States issued similar loans, for 3 crores and one crore respectively on the same terms except for the fixation of the issue price at Rs. 98-8. The lists for those loans also opened and closed on the same date, but their subscriptions were proportionately well in excess of Madras. All the three loans were underwritten by

banks and broking houses on a commission of 6 annas. A brokerage of 2 annas was also paid in addition on subscriptions allotted. The issues have been acclaimed a success by the lay and the knowing; and the Finance Minister at Delhi has not failed to express gratification on the success that had attended the efforts of the States concerned.

Let us look a little more closely at what has been done. In spite of the Madras Government's financial position being as strong as that of Bombay we have been obliged to fix our issue price 8 annas lower and even so the response has been less enthusiastic than for the Bombay issue. Besides this, we gather that the underwriters both in Bombay and Madras have been refunding to intending subscribers, particularly to institutions, an overwhelming part of their commission-cum-brokerage, namely 7 annas out of the 8 annas they get from Government, which means that subscribers pay an effective price of Rs. 98-9 for the loan and not Rs. 99. Even such bare-faced surrendering of their legitimate professional remuneration by the underwriters barely enabled the Madras State to just obtain their requirements and the underwriters who act as guarantors to barely discharge their responsibility. This rebating of their commission by underwriters is not by any means on a par with insurance agents rebating their commission to intending policyholders. In the former case, the effective reduction in the issue price caused by such refunding practices, undermines the credit of the Government; it also means some-



thing far more significant, that the underwriters are so diffident about discharging their responsibilities that they are prepared to forego 7-1/2% of their commission for being rid of the burden. Which does not certainly reflect their confidence in Government.

Much has been said and written about the agriculturists' response to the Manimuthar loan. This is a doleful tale. The agriculturists must have felt they had, in an unguarded moment, been inveigled by the shrewd, persuasive and soft-spoken Public Works Minister, Sri Bhaktavatsalam into giving an undertaking they had not the means of fulfilling, judging from the quantum of agriculturists' money that has gone to swell the subscription for the Manimuthar loan to the 1.28 crores, so proudly announced by Sri Gopal Reddi. Apart from subscriptions being accepted from local bodies like the Tuticorin Port Trust and temple trusts, the bulk of the money came from 4 or 5 banks of Madras. The agriculturists paid small margins of 5 per cent or thereabouts and made arrangements with the banks for advancing on their behalf the balance of 95%. The bank advances the money on an interest of 6-1/2 per cent whereas the agriculturist earns on the loan for which he subscribes, 21 per cent after deduction of income tax, which deduction is done at source, and thus the agriculturist pays twice the interest to the bank, when he himself earns on the loan. With the prayer that the Manimuthar project may materialise early. There are also instances where he washed his hands of the moral responsibility to subscribe by paying a small fee to the banks and requests to be relieved of his holdings of the loan in consideration of the fee so paid. This again means that the bank price for the loan, so far as the bank is concerned, stands abated by the amount paid by the Manimuthar contributory. The actual money laid out by the agriculturists of Tinnevely towards unencumbered, substantive,

subscriptions in their own right was infinitesimal. The beneficiaries under this scheme of pressure subscriptions are banks in Madras and let us hope the benefits accruing to the agriculturist from the project itself will be less illusory.

A word is necessary about the way in which the Madras Government appropriated all the subscriptions that were received, in violation of its own Loan notification. The Loan notification said that subscriptions were invited for rupees four crores and if excess subscriptions were received, proportionate allotment would be made and the balance refunded. The indecent haste and cupidity with which the Finance Minister cadged the Reserve Bank's permission for appropriating all the money received even in excess of four crores is a reflection on the standards of our financial administration. We are told that this is a breach of convention and of the finer points of the etiquette that governs public issues. If a joint stock company received subscriptions in excess of the amount specified in the prospectus and allotted such excess subscriptions, it would be violating more than one law—the Indian Companies' Act and the Capital Issues Control Order. The Madras State may claim immunity from restrictions, but we hope it is not going to claim immunity from the ordinary refinements of public finance, which they have shown themselves as presently not possessing by this act of absorbing all that was offered. It is surprising that the Reserve Bank should have acquiesced to this breach of a well-known convention and failed to advise the Madras Government against such a course. This is bound to affect the response to any subsequent issue of loans by the Madras State. Sheer enlightened self-interest should have induced Sri Gopal Reddi to conform to well-known canons of public loan issues. Originality may have its merits in the field of art, but in matters financial, it may be fraught with dangerous consequences.

Sotto Voce

BUMBLE TO THE ROPE



"WE want the Communal G. O." said the banners floating in the breeze along Mount Road, borne on the hefty shoulders of the youthful politicians of Pachayappa's. Ostentatiously constitutional, they did not display any of the careless exuberance of the young. The crude "Down with so and so" which is the recognized mode of letting off steam was replaced by the weighty adjuration, "Appeal to the Supreme Court." And the City police, duly impressed, were only too anxious to co-operate. True, the small fact that an order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. was in force had been overlooked. But obtaining a license was a mere formality. And in due course the protest found its accustomed apogee in a beach meeting.

Poor Pachayappa Mudaliar might have been shocked nevertheless. For he was an old-fashioned soul who would have had no use for flag-wagging students; and he would have found it difficult to understand the doctrine of social justice so ably propounded by Mr. Madhava Menon at the Theological High School. Having gravely rebuked the demonstrators for their lack of faith in "their leaders," the Minister went on to show how needless were their fears. "I reiterate that the G. O. is necessary in order to ensure justice, fairness and equality of opportunity to all. The granting of equality of opportunity means that those who had greater opportunities before should wait for some time." It would not have occurred to Pachayappa that equality would be promoted by shutting up the Vedapathasalas.

Even more modern is the Minister's argument for generosity on the part

of those whom he calls upon to practise a little self-denial. "If they don't gracefully refrain from pressing their claims we shall know how to make them," he assured his youthful following. After this broad hint that the butt-end was held in reserve, our Judges must feel particularly gratified that the Minister was so impressive in enjoining the utmost respect for the Judiciary. They will have hereafter no excuse for misunderstanding such administrative decisions as the Government might feel constrained to take from the compelling conviction that the Communal G. O. is just, even if the Constitution and the Judges hold it is not.

But when did it become an offence for a man to rejoice that his rights had been vindicated? The Minister calls this gloating and points in proof to a Brahman member of the legislature having referred to the High Court judgment as a charter of liberties. The Communal G. O. has been described in those identical terms by its apologists times without number, but nobody protested. Mr. Madhava Menon, however, seems to be a great believer in observing the proprieties. Did he not tell the paraders of Pachayappa's: "It may be true that without props you cannot stand up to the Brahmans. But why say so?"

To be fair to him, there are not a few Brahmans who are no less mindful of the wisdom of Polonius. I have known many reputedly wise men going about wringing their hands and uttering silent imprecations on the interfering busybodies who took this matter to the High Court. "Could they not have let us alone? Things are difficult enough as it is; why provide the scapegoat-hunters with a

fresh pretext?" But a democracy has little use either for Mr. Madhava Menon's worldly wisdom or the timorousness of these worthy folk who would prefer their existence to be forgotten.

Our Ministers have told the Brahman that he is entitled to no more than three per cent and anything extra is charity. Now the High Court comes along and tells him that it is not charity but a right which all those who have solemnly sworn to uphold the Constitution should respect. Instead the Government of Madras have chosen to interpret that judgment with a scarifying literalness. If every Brahman pupil had to get his right to admission declared by filing a separate petition the resulting Arabian Nights situation (one locust came and

took away one ear of corn....) might prove to be a masterpiece of strategy. But it could hardly promote judicial prestige.

If the Government want to appeal to the Supreme Court by all means let them. But the threat of amending the Constitution is a double-edged weapon. If the majority of today pulls up the Constitution by the roots what is there to prevent another majority tomorrow doing the same—unless indeed those in office now imagine that they would be justified in perpetuating themselves by every means in their power to avoid that catastrophic predicament? The Constitution can be a check against minority insurgency only if it has successfully withstood majority intolerance.

VIGHNESWARA.

Gama, the world famous wrestler is in penuary, according to reports in the Punjab Press. Reports say that he is living, on the verge of starvation and has been compelled to sell his gold and silver medals, souvenirs won in international bouts and live on the money realised. An appeal has been made to raise a fund to help this famous wrestler who brought fame to India in international wrestling, so that he may live peacefully in his old age, without selling any more of his medals. Gama is 63 years now and he won the world title when he was only 23.—L. P. S.

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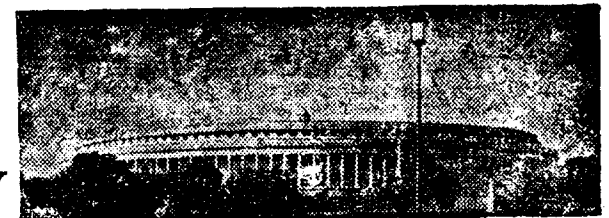
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NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

DR. SHYAMA PRASAD MUKHERJI was at his best when he spoke of the sorrowful state of Bengal in the debate on the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. He gave it right and left to the Prime Minister, who listened to Dr. Mukherji angrily. "I know the Prime Minister is angry," said Dr. Mukherji, "but let him go and see things for himself in Bengal" instead of sitting in Delhi. He expressed disappointment that Panditji and the Sardar were sitting here whereas their place was in Bengal, by the side of the refugees. He criticised the Prime Minister for not visiting the refugees in Calcutta during his last visit on his way back from Indonesia. The only function for which the Prime Minister found time was a dinner given by some Muslims. At that function Panditji was described as "Shah-en-shah."

Shyama Babu was devastating in his sarcasm, and carried the whole House with him. He was cheered by all sections of the House, whereas even Panditji was not. He disapproved of the Prime Minister's habit of describing people with whom he differed as "perverted." "I differ from him, but I do not call him perverted", said Dr. Mukherji. He advised the Prime Minister to be more tolerant of criticism. Hitting the P. M. again, Shyama Babu stated that he used to meet Mahatma Gandhi off and on. The Mahatma had bestowed his affection on him, and he always wished to discuss political and other matters with him. That was because Gandhiji was keen to know the other man's point of view. "If you differed from him," said Dr. Mukherji with a twinkle in his eye, "he never lost his temper and he never flew into a rage."

Shyama Babu described the Prime Minister as an ostrich which had hidden its head in the sand. The Prime Minister was bending his head low on the table at this stage, and he

immediately jumped and straightened his back. The P. T. I. summarised Shyama Babu somewhat ruthlessly, whereas the Prime Minister was reported almost verbatim. The stuff in Shyama Babu's speech was solid stuff.

The Prime Minister's motion on the Nehru-Liaquat Pact was more happily worded than his motion on Korea. The former said "that the Bengal situation with reference to the agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan signed on 8th April, 1950, be taken into consideration." The latter motion—which was moved a few days earlier—spoke of the approval of the House for the Government's Korea policy. It was for the Prime Minister to suggest, as is done in the British House of Commons, that the policy be taken into consideration, and for other members to move amendments which speak of "approval" and "disapproval" of his policy. Since the Prime Minister himself moved the motion for approval almost all the amendments necessarily are critical amendments. And they are framed by such indefatigable debaters as Prof. K. T. Shah, Prof. Shibbanlal Saxena, Sardar Hukum Singh, and Syamanandan Sahay.

Panditji sounded very unconvincing indeed on Korea. He was reported to have told the Congress Party meeting that Sir B. N. Rau had acted without instructions by his support of the first resolution in the U. N. Security Council. Sir Benegal was warned not to repeat that procedure—even though it was quite likely that the Government themselves would come to the same conclusion. Pandit Nehru's tribute to Sir Benegal on the floor of the House was therefore not inexplicable.

Pandit Nehru sounds very unconvincing when he speaks of the urgent

need for calmness and not losing temper. Even as he is saying this, he is generally losing his temper. In the Korean debate, he went further when he said: "At a moment of this kind, it is very dangerous for any person in a responsible position in any country to allow himself to be carried away by passion and to judge things merely in anger and hatred. Thus, he will not serve his country or the world. I say so with all humility because I am myself often carried away by anger and passion, although I try to restrain myself; but I do feel at the present moment that I would be completely unworthy of my position if I allowed myself in this context of world events to suffer my judgment to be perverted by passion or by anger and, therefore, to become unbalanced. Whether I succeed or not, I do not know; but I make at least every effort to that end."

Having said that, Panditji completely lost his temper when he described the critics of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact as insane, perverted and what-not, and their proposals as fantastic, impractical, and unworthy of being touched with a pair of tongs or a barge-pole even. Shyama Babu was, therefore, extremely effective, when he declared, "I do not call the Prime Minister perverted simply because I differ from him. He calls us perverted because we differ from him."

The newly appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University, Dr. S. N. Sen, is a mild-mannered academician—a type that is fast disappearing. He is a great improvement on Sir Maurice Gwyer who was a combination of Matthew Arnold and the Village Schoolmaster. Sir Maurice created a veritable hornet's nest before he disappeared suddenly from Delhi. Dr. Sen must have found it hard to handle the illegalities perpetrated by the former Chief Justice of India. Sir Maurice was better only than his rival aspirant for the Vice-Chancellorship, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. It was ridiculous to have appointed a Briton as Vice-Chancellor of the University in the Capital—a Briton, moreover, who was not an academic man. A man severe in aught and stern to view may be all right as the Headmaster of a Public School but he is no good for a University. Dr. Sen is not stern to

view. Despite his long association with Archives, and his researches into the records of the Mahratta period, Dr. Sen maintains a lively interest in the world around him. He is a consummate bird-watcher, and his notes on the cuckoo and other birds in the Correspondence columns of *The Statesman* came as a pleasant surprise to me.

Under the guise of maintaining academic standards, Sir Maurice Gwyer has done many things which do not redound to the credit of anybody who is supposed to possess a judicial mind and spirit. The appointment of his own Private Secretary as Administrative Officer of the University over the head of the Registrar of the University is something the like of which you expect only from Congress Ministers. This Private Secretary was an extremely capable man, and he seems to have realised the absurdity of his appointment and taken the earliest opportunity of changing his job. Any sensible man can see that a man without a University degree is a bit of a misfit in University circles. But Gwyer thought that anybody who works with him is bound to attain the University standard in half a second. This is not to say that the attainment of a degree has something hoary about it. It is quite true that a University degree has a disabling effect on most of us. If I write a play which is even half as good as *Saint Joan*, it is greater credit to me than *Saint Joan* is to Bernard Shaw. I don't think much of Bernard Shaw maintaining his genius all these ninety-four years. That is because he never went to a University. If he had been through the University, and still maintained his genius, that would have been something to write home about.

The most immediate task of Dr. Sen is to ensure that the heads of all colleges under the University are as even-tempered as himself. I have heard some very alarming stories about the unbalanced humours of some of the heads. We have in the Capital city some very bad models of ill-temper; and it is natural for heads of organisations and their secretaries everywhere to act like little Hitlers. Bad temper may be a paying proposition in politics, but it is inexcusable in educational institutions.

SRI V. SESHASAYEE

THE Shashtiabdapurthi of Mr. V. Seshasayee, the well-known industrialist of South India, falls on the 12th August, 1950, when he will be 61 years of age. A pioneer in the field of electricity, heavy chemicals



Sri V. Seshasayee

and fertilisers, he is responsible for the South Madras Electric Supply Corporation Ltd., Trichinopoly, and the electrification of nearly 12,000 sq. miles of area spread over the districts of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Ramnad. The success of the Mettur Chemical & Industrial Corporation Ltd., the only alkali plant in South India manufacturing heavy chemicals, is mainly due to the unceasing endeavours of Mr. Seshasayee. The gigantic fertiliser factory at Alwaye, The Fertilisers & Chemicals, Travancore Ltd., will always remain a standing monument to Mr. Seshasayee's farsightedness in industrial planning which must be considered a national asset of first-rate importance.

Born in Valadi, a few miles from Trichinopoly, Mr. Seshasayee was educated at E. R. High School and the St. Joseph's College. He was known to have developed a remarkable aptitude for science which even in those days elicited the admiration not

only of his professors but also of his early employers in the South India Railway Workshop at Golden Rock. During World War II, Mr. Seshasayee flew to the United States with the object of completing and finalising the fertiliser project at Alwaye which was built and brought into successful production in record time. It now fills a vital gap in the country's economy.

Mr. Seshasayee's achievements have been recognised in the electrical field by the Institute of Electrical Engineers of which he is a Companion. Our National Government has shown its appreciation of his abilities by calling on him to serve on various committees of Government, particularly on sections of the National Planning Commission and the Conference of Industrialists. Mr. Seshasayee is untiring in his labours in the industrial field, having just completed successfully the Aluminium Industries Ltd., Kundara, the first of its kind in India to manufacture aluminium cables. His affable nature, sympathetic outlook and good relations with labour and his great understanding have endeared him to many who have formed 'the Seshasayee Shashtiabdapurthi Celebration Committee' at Trichinopoly with the object of taking steps to form a Technological Institute in his name. There is no doubt that there will be a generous response from his numerous admirers and friends for this worthy object.



Orator: And I ask Mr. President, are we going to sleep over this vital issue?....

FIFTEENTH OF AUGUST (1950)— A STOCK-TAKING

By Dr. B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

VERILY three years' practice of sovereign democratic independence is fraught with more bitter lessons in life than three and thirty years of strife and storm—three years of experience against a whole generation's hopes and fears, plans and projects, bargains and battles. During a period of struggle the heat of our principles knows no tempering, the light of our ideals knows no mellowing; our standards of correctness in duty are exacting to the point of puritanism. Has an elected member of the Congress worn a collar and tie or stiff-cuffs or put on a mill cloth underwear? Woe be to his political future! Foreign cloth is thrice taboo and he who wears it or deals in it is hurled down from the halls of grace to the inferno of oblivion. Did any one look at the Khilafat askance? Drive him out of the Congress away. Has a Congressman dared to refuse to sit to dinner with a Harijan, his name was anathema to orthodox Congress circles. That was the unbendable rigidity, that was the inflexible stiffness with which we were observing the cardinal principles of the Congress. Three years of independence have drawn a thick dark line across those severe and uncompromising rules of conduct! For one thing our books are lost so that we cannot trace continuous membership. For the rest, our standards of judgment have slackened. Habitual wear of Khaddar has degenerated into a willingness to wear an addar from the day of scrutiny and detection. Khaddar itself is no longer hand-spun hand-woven cloth for which the standard wages prescribed by the A.I.S.A. for carding, spinning and weaving are paid. There is an all-round laxity. Jail-going is no longer a qualification for the bestowal of honours by the Congress. Why speak then of those who went to jails and apologised or signed security bonds to secure their release? Three years of practical government have witnessed an utter relaxation of the

earlier rules and regulations, disciplines and observances, abstentions in dress and dietary. On the contrary to-day our shirting cloth is exported to Belgium and England's is being imported to our country. Why? Because we can sell dear and buy cheap. Thus have the standards shifted from the ideals of Sevagram to the levels of the market place.

Prestige Abroad High

Yet during these three years we have achieved much outside as well as inside our country. Our Prime Minister has earned the lavish encomiums of America and England, of Indonesia and Indo-China. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was not using figurative language when he described Pandit Nehru as "one of the greatest master-builders of the twentieth century who had helped to create the freedom of other Asian countries and that, that day (Singapore, June 17, 1950) he laid the foundation of lasting friendship between East and West, upon which could be built temples of peace and goodwill." There was hardly any exaggeration in this well-measured meed of praise bestowed upon the Prime Minister who himself stated that "one of the biggest events of the century was the re-emergence of Asia as a force in world affairs." If Asia succeeds in getting rid of what remains of colonialism, India's three years of freedom will have achieved that immediate ideal which the All India Congress Committee forecast in its Bombay resolution of August 9, 1942.

Internal Integration Achieved

Inside India we have only succeeded in freeing a few enclaves, logas and also the town of Chandernagore from the bondage of the French but the toughest part of the work remains which involves delicate negotiations both with the French and the Portuguese. The grandest achievement, however, is the emancipation of the 562 states in India the last of which—Hyderabad, the biggest among them all, has at long last planted a Ministry

half of which is composed of Congress personnel. But to say that these 562 states have been liberated is not to imply that full democratic swaraj has been established therein. It is still biding its time and opportunity for its full development. After all, the disparity in political training between the people of the provinces and those of the Indian states is an undeniable fact, though it is fast vanishing under the steam hammer strokes of the new democratic forms of Government. The immediate effect of the new set-up is somewhat distasteful to the people of the states because the fruit is still *kacha*, though in due course when it shall have ripened, the fruit will have been found to be delicious.

Visible Change Of Outlook

One might ask for a catalogue of the specific reforms which the new democracy has wrought in the country. It is easy to furnish one. Year books give it in great detail. But what tells is not the items that constitute the catalogue but the spirit that pervades the country, the changes that it has worked out in the mentality of the people as a whole, in the awakening of the *have-nots* to their *rights* and of the *haves* to their *duties*, in the subordinate place assigned to wealth and property and the high esteem which man by virtue of manhood and woman of womanhood, have earned at the hands alike of the Government of the day and of the people. The vote and its value, its significance, its potentialities, negative and positive, are all understood or are being understood by the common man. Wages have risen all round. Labour is now recognised as the real capital. Wealth is brushed aside as the accumulation of superfluous luxury which does little good to the people around and less good to the person owning. The Halls of Honour are no longer reserved for the Poet, the Editor, the Novelist, the Penman and the Secretariat Officer. He who binds the sheaf and he who gathers the reef, he who throws the spindle and he who chisels and planes, he who carves and beautifies and he who dyes and prints, he who builds and he who digs—all these are given

the same priority and pre-eminence as the artist that dances, the poet that sings and the musician that plays or even the politician that begs the vote first and bosses over the country next, the officer that prays for promotion and then rides roughshod over the people—yea, the lawyer that harangues, the magistrate that hangs and the doctor that pronounces the victim dead.

Life's values have changed in a trice. They are no longer local being limited to the country, no longer artificial being fixed by a foreign Government, no longer obscure being alien in character; they are universal natural, indigenous. Such a revolutionary change effected without shedding a single drop of blood or hurting a single-hair on the head is really a marvel—capable of being brought about only by the patriarch of the Nation. It was with the aid of the moral conviction which, as a dynamic force excels the capacity of all engines—steam oil or gas, transcends in power and speed all electricity that the nation was able to turn out work of decades in years. The uplift of the Harijan rooted in the recognition of universal brotherhood is the result of a maelstrom sweeping the country from end to end and not to be measured in foot-pounds and volts. The spread of Khaddar was the pervasion of a new spirit enlivening the moribund nation and enkindling the sleeping embers of national consciousness into a mighty conflagration. The abolition of drink is not an achievement to be measured by discounts and departures from Law but from the sense of a new happiness and hope pervading all home, the sense of a new emancipation of the women of families given to the fatal vice. These three experiments of nascent nationalism have been consolidated into solid assets constituting the foundations upon which the rock of nationalism is sought to be poised. During these three years we have ensured the economic resuscitation of rural industries, the social rehabilitation of Harijans and the moral regeneration of the whole nation.

"Little Willie was undergoing, an oral quiz in arithmetic. "Oh, Willie, asked the teacher, what comes before six?"
Clever little Willie piped up, "The Milkman!"

THE DECLAMATORY CONTEST AT LAKE SUCCESS

RUSSIA'S return to the U. N. O. has certainly brightened up the news-front.

The proceedings of the U. N. O. Security Council, now meeting under the presidency of Mr. Jacob Malik, remind me irresistibly of our own college debating society. The overgrown school boys who are engaged in wordy warfare at Lake Success are up to all the petty parliamentary pranks and debating tricks that we could ever muster at Aligarh.

The exchange of invectives, tongue-pricks, sarcastic remarks and other oral ammunition between the Soviet and Anglo-American delegates would have been amusing—but for the grim reality of mounting international tension and war fever that lies behind this wordy smoke-screen. The determined efforts of the Soviet delegates, aided and abetted by India and Yugoslavia, to unseat the representative of Chiang's China (is there any such China?) and the dogged and shameless manner in which Dr. T. F. Tsiang is sticking to his Security Council seat, strikes one as a humourless game of parliamentary musical chairs played by children in long pants to the mingled tunes of "God Save The King," "Star-spangled banner" and "Internationale."

SEVEN PLUS ONE, NOT EIGHT!

The procedural hair-splitting in which both sides are indulging would have done credit to any school debating society, but would have been regarded as rather juvenile in a University Union at Oxford, Aligarh or Benares. Council President Malik's interesting but not very subtle device to dis-accredit the Chinese delegate by refusing to count his vote was but a gesture—since the voting was against the President's ruling, any way. But the later announcement that the voting was "seven plus one"—and not eight!—was really a delicious piece of parliamentary parrying. It counted the

discredited Chinese delegate's vote and still separated it from the legitimate seven votes! And, even if this phrase is a translation of his original remark in Russian, there was wonderful irony in Jacob Malik's devastating comment that "the Kuomintang group is not an *elected* government but an *ejected* government."

One can well believe that there was such a clamour for admission to the Security Council and more than 20,000 people had to be turned back for lack of space. After all it is the most dramatic, most momentous, most thrilling—and most amusing—show in the whole world today.

BETTER TO FIGHT WITH TONGUES THAN TANKS!

There must be many who are not amused but disgusted with the mock-serious proceedings at Lake Success. It is, indeed, a pity that responsible statesmen, representing great peoples and countries, should be wrangling like school-boys on grave issues that are vital to the peace of the world, and on which verily depends the fate of millions and millions of human beings. One might almost say that it is criminal to be indulging in a declamatory contest when the peace of the world is at stake. It looks like a group of Neros fiddling in disharmony while Rome burns!

And yet, perhaps, these oratorical fire-works at Lake Success are the only guarantees of Peace. Perhaps the only alternative to the Third World War is to hurl epithets at each other across the Security Council table. Even if it has achieved nothing else, the U. N. O. has provided a safety valve for letting off political steam which need not always set into motion the engines of war. With all its faults,

the Security Council has provided an arena in which representatives of governments may wrangle instead of making their peoples kill each other. Even a bad school-boy debating society is

any day better than a battle-front. And we should heave a sigh of relief that Malik and Acheson are shooting adjectives and invectives at each other, and not hurling atom bombs at each other's peoples.

It is not really a case of Nero fiddling while Rome burns. Perhaps the Rome of the modern world is actually being saved by the fiddlers at Lake Success.

"PARLIAMENT OF MAN"?

The U. N. O. has been hopefully described as the "Parliament of Man." It is supposed to extend the democratic idea to the international sphere. But does it?

No doubt the first basic principle of the U. N. O.—that "all Member States are sovereign and equal"—sounds democratic enough. Democracy ordains that the Millionaire and the Pauper, the Big Man and the Small Man, the President and the Plumber, the Baronet and the Barber should all enjoy equal political, legal and civic rights, that each of them should have the same single vote. In the context of the U. N. O. this principle of equality is extended to the comity of nations—so Honduras (Area: 59,145 sq. miles, Population: one million!), is placed on an equal footing with India (Area: 1,217,000 sq. miles, Population: over 300 millions!), and Haiti (Area: 10,714 sq. miles, Population: 3 millions) enjoys the same right as China (Area: 4,480,000 sq. miles, Population: Nearly 500 millions), while Iceland (Population: A little over a lakh) is on par with the Soviet Union (Population: A little more than 2,000 lakhs!).

But the nations, big and small, thus represented by a single vote each, are not hydra-headed monsters or gigantic centipedes, each with a thousand, a lakh or a million legs. Each of them consists of so many individual human beings—and what kind of democracy is it that gives one vote to 500 million Chinese and also one vote to less than a million Costa Ricans?

The logical consequences of this "One nation, one vote" idea can be that if the 212 millions people of Abyssinia (7 millions), Afghanistan (12 millions), Albania (One million), Australia (7 millions), Austria (7 millions), Belgium (8 millions), Bolivia (4 millions), Bulgaria (7 millions), Ceylon (7 millions), Chile (6 millions), Costa Rica (One million),

Czechoslovakia (2 millions), Denmark (4 millions), Dominican Republic (One million), Eire (3 millions), Ecuador (3 millions), Egypt (17 millions), Finland (4 millions), Guatemala (4 millions), Italy (46 millions), Mexico (22 millions), Holland (9 millions), New Zealand (2 millions), Palestine (2 millions), Paraguay (One million), Portugal (8 millions), Sweden (7 millions), Switzerland (4 millions), Uruguay (2 millions), and Venezuela (4 millions) join hands—these 212 millions (or their representatives) can outvote the combined 1190 millions of China, India, U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. The voting would be 30 against four!

"BIG" POWERS THAT ARE SMALL!

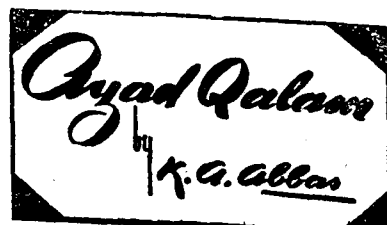
Nor is this a crazy impossibility.

Consider the "Big Five" compulsory representation on the Security Council—and the right of veto that each of them enjoys. It puts the entire world at the mercy of each of these five powers. There is danger of "Big Five" domination if and when they agree, and the danger of a deadlock and of war, when they do not or cannot agree among themselves.

Which ones are these "Big Powers"—and why? Are they the numerically biggest countries in the world? No, they are "Big" because of the historical accident of having been allies in the last world war. Otherwise, Brazil (with its 46 millions) is numerically bigger than France (40 millions), and Japan (with its 73 millions) is bigger than Great Britain (47 millions), while the population of India is larger than that of three of the "Big Five"—Britain, France and U. S. A.—combined!

The so-called "Big" Powers are "big" because of the "bigness" of their armies, navies, and air forces, the "bigness" of their tanks and guns and bombs. Even on that basis, there is little justification for the inclusion of France—numerically small, defeated, humbled, bankrupt—except for the fact that once upon a time, long ago, France was a powerful and "great" empire. And that can hardly be a legitimate reason in this age of democracy.

Actually, the only really "Big" powers among the "Big Five" are China, the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, the U. S. A. The second "biggest" power in the world—i.e., India is not recognised as a "Big"



power because she has not a big enough armed force!

COUNT HUMAN BEINGS, NOT BOMBS!

What is the present situation in the U. N. O.—this "Parliament of Man"?

The Soviet Union (over 200 millions) wants New China to be represented in the U. N. O. not by the discredited, 'rejected and ejected' clique of Chiang Kai Shek but by the Mao Tse Tung government in Peking which today truly represents the 500 million Chinese people.

India (Over 300 millions) also backs this demand.

The people of China (500 millions), of course, want to be represented by the Peking regime instead of by the Formosa rump of reactionaries.

Thus 1,000 million people of the world are on one side.

On the other side are U. S. A. (140 millions) and a horde of dollar-seeking little countries whose total population does not exceed 300 millions.

And yet the 1,000 million people have only three votes—and are thus outvoted by the forty and odd votes that the U. S. A. can always manage to muster.

The "democracy" evidenced in the U. N. O. affairs is rather a "cock-eyed" version, according to which 440 millions constitute a majority, and 1,000 millions are regarded as a minority!

The U. N. O. will never become a true "Parliament of Man" unless something is done to change its basic values, so that "bigness" of powers is measured in terms of the number of human beings and not in terms of the number of guns and planes and tanks—and atom bombs!

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

"RAIPEH (Formosa): Chinese Nationalist bombers and fighters today attacked Communist shipping concentrations off the Chinese mainland opposite Formosa.... Military circles on Formosa said the raid heralded an increased air offensive against "Communist invasion preparations."—

"STRASBOURG: A plea to include Greece and Turkey in the Atlantic Pact to plug the holes in Western defence and ensure "total peace," was made by Fuad Koprulu, Turkish Foreign Minister, in an interview here."

"NEW DELHI: Kabul radio, commenting on the Bakhtar news agency

report of alleged bombing of the Ahmedzai Tribal area of "Pakhtoonistan" by Pakistan on July 24, has given this warning: "If international justice does not come in between, there will be counter-aggression and a serious war in this region resulting in ruin and devastation."

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

"AMBALA: Police were called out this morning to prevent a breach of peace here when a crowd led by workers of the All-India Women's Conference (Ambala Branch) did not permit a bridegroom to take away the palanquin carrying his second wife. The infuriated crowd is reported to have stoned the house of the bride's parents as a protest against this bigamous marriage."

"CALCUTTA: An aged woman in Calcutta performed "sati" by committing suicide soon after her husband's death. It is stated that when her relatives were taking her husband's body to the burning ghat, the woman quietly slipped away to an adjacent room and set fire to her clothes."

"SURAT: Mr. Chottubhai B. Shah, a member of the Bulsar Rationing Advisory Committee and a member of the Taluk Congress Committee, was arrested by the Bulsar Police on a charge of drawing rations on "ghost cards."



Ram: I want you Sir, to recruit me as a soldier in the Korean battle front....

Recruiting Officer: Well, what are your qualifications?

Ram: Sir.... I have on many occasions, fought my way into the Madras city buses, during "peak" hours and successfully travelled in them.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA—(5)

OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY; STANDARD OF RAILWAYS

A PART from the question of re-organisation which has already been dealt with, the most important and urgent needs of the Indian railways are to reduce substantially the mounting working expenses, modernise their plant and equipment and improve the efficiency and standard of their service. The railway service at present is neither adequate nor satisfactory to the public. The cost of service, judged from the average of fares and freights earned in 1948-49, has gone up approximately by 42% per passenger mile and 60% per ton mile, over that of 1938-39.

Working Expenses

The statistics given in the previous article showed clearly how great has been the increase in working expenses in the war and, particularly, the post-war years. The working expenses which were 54.01 crores of rupees in the pre-war year 1938-39 and 145.09 crores in the peak year of war had shot up to 160.41 crores in 1948-49. While the gross earnings had increased by 120%, the working expenses had gone up by 197%, notwithstanding the fact that the mileage of railways worked had decreased by over 6,600 miles due to the partition of the country. The increase in working expenses has been due to several causes, the chief being the inflationary conditions which have brought about a great increase in the remuneration to the staff and in the cost of stores and materials. Due allowance should be made for all these factors for a correct appreciation of the problem.

The increase in the salaries and wages bill which is the largest single item of the working expenses may now be considered.

Staff Salaries And Wages

Salaries and wages paid to the staff on the India Government Railways were 51% of the total working expenses in 1948-49 against about 35% in 1938-39. The wages and salaries of the staff constitute 62% of

the working expenses on British railways and 50% on the U. S. A. railways.

The total number of the staff was about 8.5 lakhs in 1948-49, against 6.41 lakhs of 1938-39 on the undivided railways of the Government of India. The increase in number was thus about 32%. The total number of employees on the U. S. A. Railways in the beginning of 1948 was over 1.35 lakhs, approximately 1/3 more than in 1940. Thus the railways in the U. S. A. managed a system, nearly nine times larger than ours, with heavier traffic, with only 60% more than the number of our employees. The number of staff does not depend on the mileage alone but on several other factors, such as the volume and density of traffic, methods of operation and so on. With due allowance for all these, the number on Indian railways is comparatively much more. As is well-known, the working power and efficiency of the average Indian worker is low, compared to workmen in America and even Europe. This is due to lower physical stamina, want of education and technical training, low standard of living, lack of opportunities for advancement and their resultant effects. Remedying these evils, which is a most urgent need for nation-building, will take time. Reduction in the number of staff to the level, approximating in some measure to that of the U. S. A., is therefore a goal that cannot be attained in the near future.

The salaries and wages paid to the staff on Indian railways have risen from 35.09 crores of rupees in 1938-39 to 107.57 crores in 1948-49. While the increase in number is about 32%, the increase in wages is over 206%, showing a substantial increase in the scales of emoluments. Statistics showing

the actual increase in emoluments for the different classes of employees, correlated to man-hours, are not published here and it is therefore not possible to

By

H. RANGACHAR, M.A.

compare the rate of increase in this country with that of U. S. A. or Britain, in these unit terms. According to a statement placed before the House of Commons by the Minister for Transport in the end of May this year, as reported in the Hansard, the weekly wages of the shop and artisan staff on British Railways had gone up from £3-11-11 in 1938 to £7-6-6, in 1949 while generally for all classes of employees, they had doubled. In the U. S. A. also, the emoluments had doubled, during the period.

The salary and wages bill in India has gone up to more than three times and the rate of increase is thus greater than in the other countries mentioned. But there is not anything like approximation in the comparative scale of remuneration nor is there any substantial increase in real income. According to the figures given by our Minister for Railways in his budget speech, "the average cost of staff per head was Rs. 547 in 1938-39; it had increased to Rs. 1,265 at the end of 1948-49." The average emoluments were nearly \$3,700 in U. S. A. and £380 in Britain for artisan staff in 1948. Thus our average scale of emoluments is less than one-tenth of that of U.S.A. and one-fourth of that of Britain at present. The inflationary pressure is much greater in India than in Europe or America. In the U. S. A., the consumer price index stood at 167.9 in the last quarter of 1948 while that of money wages stood at 219.7 (1937 = 100), so that there has been improvement in real wages. In India (Bombay), the cost of living indices recorded 301 in the last two quarters of 1948. The World Economic Report of the U.N.O. 1948, from which the figures are taken observes in regard to real wages in India: "Since rationing was partial and the prices of rationed goods were not very low in relation to black-market prices, there was considerable deterioration in real wages...." "The private income per capita was lower than pre-war." Thus the increase in prices having outstripped that in emoluments, the average employee is not better off than in pre-war days. The Indian Railways are earning well, unlike railways in Europe and America. The present rates of wages cannot therefore be considered relatively high. There can therefore be no ques-

tion of any reduction in the scales of emoluments for the present, even if it be practical politics.

The average hours of work are higher in India than the weekly 40 hours of the U.S.A. and 44 of Britain.

Thus railways here cannot justifiably look forward to any economies resulting from reduction in the scales of remuneration for employees in the near future or till the cost of living goes down substantially, of which there is more wishful thinking than actual indication.

Possible Economies; Reduction In Staff

Economies under staff are thus limited to the following two alternatives:

- (i) Reduction in the number of staff.
- (ii) Increased productivity of labour.

As for (i), it is admitted that the staff now entertained is in excess of needs even after providing for the additional number required to give effect to Justice Rajadhyaksha's award, the full implementation of which in regard to hours of work, periodic rest and leave reserves is estimated to involve an addition to the staff of 100,000 men. The surplus staff at present cannot be straight-away retrenched until suitable alternative jobs are found for them. The process has to be expedited and the railways are doing whatever is possible; 4,652 employees including 9 officers have been retrenched up to end of January 1949 which was expected to result in a saving of 4.5 lakhs of rupees. The scope for further savings is however comparatively limited.

Productivity of labour: The other avenue open is to increase the productivity of labour, that is, the output per worker. The conditions in the post-war world have resulted in a fall in the productivity of labour in all countries. The World Economic Report, 1948, observes: "There seems however little doubt that output per worker at the beginning of 1948 was well below that of pre-war.... These declines were due to the effects of the war, the lack of new capital equipment and also the recruitment of new and inexperienced workers. They have also been due.... to the fact.... that in a period of rationing and high taxation important incentives to maximum production may be

lacking." This matter of increasing the workers' productivity is however receiving special attention in all countries.

As regards Indian railway labour, the Minister for Railways observed in his budget speech as follows: "Our statistical returns show, however, that productivity of railway labour measured by the yardstick of train miles, vehicle miles, gross ton-miles and traffic fell from 100 in 1938-39 to 69.38 in 1948-49." The exact method by which productivity has been measured is not clear. Productivity is also computed by a different method on the basis of net ton-miles and twice the number of passenger miles divided by the total man-hours. Measured by this yardstick, there does not seem to be such a fall in productivity, due to the great increase in traffic, particularly in passengers. Be this as it may, there is the general fall in productivity. The per capita output of the worker has to be increased by such measures as stricter supervision and control, strict check of work turned out such as job analysis in work shops and creating incentives for harder work and increased outturn.

The most important need is to take measures to secure the full and willing co-operation of the worker, to make him put forth his best. In a nationalised concern in a democratic set-up, conditions should be favourable for the worker taking a real personal interest in his work and in the organization. At present this is not the case and the happy state of affairs in which there is full and willing collaboration between employees and the administration remains a distant goal yet. The relations between railway employees as represented by the unions and the administration have been improving latterly and there is now much less friction and disagreement than was the case a year or two ago. The labour associations and leaders should pay much greater attention than they are doing at present to increasing the output and efficiency of employees as, ultimately, it is on this that the worker's advancement, progress and increased standard of living depends.

Measures should also be devised to associate staff more closely with the management and operation. This is a

very difficult problem, more so in the present backward condition of the average employee and want of adequate education, technical knowledge and ability on his part. In Great Britain, this question has been engaging special attention after the nationalisation of transport there. What is done there may be of some interest to us. The labour unions have been demanding equal rights of decision with the management. As a result of negotiations, an agreement has been reached under which the Railway Executive has undertaken (a) to give prior indication to staff of their contemplated lines of action, (b) to arrange for the discussion of such proposals with the staff representatives at appropriate levels, (c) to give careful consideration to representations of staff to such proposals and (d) to notify the staff of the decision reached by the management with explanation in any instance where it is not practicable or desirable to give effect to the representations of the staff. The Minister for Transport who announced this agreement in the House of Commons in December last observed, according to the *Modern Transport* of December 10, as follows: "In my view this constitutes a significant step forward and I should like to quote the concluding words in which the Railway Executive and the unions jointly will announce this to the staff of British Railways." They state:

"The Railway Executive and the trade unions desire the procedure agreed for consultation to be a constructive feature in the efficient operation of British railways and urge all members of the staff to enter into the scheme with full appreciation of the opportunities which it affords to their elected representatives to assist the Railway Executive to fulfil the requirements of the Transport Act by making railway transport unrivalled for speed, efficiency, economy and safety"....

It may not be possible in the present stage of development of both the railway administrations and labour unions to establish such close consultative machinery in this country. As a first step, measures may be taken to establish as close a collaboration as is possible in the several spheres of operation and management, so that it may act as an incentive to the staff

to put forth their best effort as willing workers and increase productivity.

This examination of the present position thus shows (i) that there is no scope for any savings on account of reduction in the scales of remuneration to staff, (ii) that some comparatively small savings may be effected by a reduction on the surplus staff and (iii) that economies in expenditure may be effected by a system of stricter supervision and control, stricter check on out-turn, job analysis, and closer association of the staff in management and operation.

Materials And Stores

The high prices of stores and materials also account to a large extent for the increase in working expenses. Statistics showing the exact increase and the extent to which this accounts for the enhanced working expenses are not published by our railways. In Great Britain, the increases in the prices of some materials and stores over pre-war prices are, sleepers 344%, lubricating oils 215%, metals, non-ferrous 148%, iron and steel 80%, and coal 75%. In the U. S. A., the general increase in stores and materials is estimated to be between 100 and 120%. On our railways, details of expenditure incurred to overtake the arrears of maintenance and renewals, are not separately shown. In Great Britain £20 million and £15 million were spent in 1948 and 1949 respectively in overtaking arrears of maintenance. In any event, prices of stores and materials are not susceptible to control by railways and savings, on any large scale, cannot be looked for in these unless there is a substantial fall in their prices.

Operational Efficiency And Economy

Reduction in working expenses has, in the ultimate resort, to be largely realised from improved standards of service and economic working of the railways. This can be achieved through a high degree of efficiency resulting from a fuller and more intensive utilization of railway facilities and equipment, economic handling and prompt movement of traffic, improved methods and technique of operation, avoidance of waste and economic use of stores, fuel and other materials. Increasing the technical ability of the staff and enlisting their full co-operation in a spirit of teamwork between all grades of employees

is among the other important measures needed to ensure this efficiency. This has already been dealt with. It is also necessary to develop a suitable organisation to ensure continuous striving towards increased efficiency by the adoption of improved methods and practices of operation. No less important is the improving and modernising of the railway plant and equipment to facilitate and render possible improved methods of operation.

Efficiency in railway operation can be measured by statistics and this is a great advantage. This measurement enables an intelligent scrutiny or the performance on each railway from day to day and it also enables a comparison with similar results on other railways, including those in advanced countries, which cannot but be of great assistance in improving the technique of operation. The railways in the U. S. A. have reached a high degree of efficiency in operation. Faced with formidable competition by motor transport and the loss of a large volume of passenger traffic, mounting pay rolls and increased cost of materials, they could manage to pave their way only by striving and continuing to attain higher and higher degrees of operational efficiency. It will be seen later that conditions of traffic and working in this country approximate to those of U. S. A. A careful comparative study of the operational practices and performances will therefore be of great value to us in indicating directions in which railways here could advance in efficiency. In what follows, an attempt will therefore be made to pursue this line of enquiry, selecting, for the purpose, some representative salient features of railway operation.

EFFICIENCY IN GOODS TRANSPORT: Gross Ton Miles Per Goods Train Hour

Amongst the statistics of goods traffic, gross ton miles per goods train hour is a very important one and great value is attached to it as an excellent yardstick for measuring the general efficiency of goods transport. As observed by Dr. Moulton and associates in their "American Transportation Problem," this shows "the results attained in moving freight and tare tonnage over the roadway in a given period of time and hence represents the combined result of

speed, length of train and load per car and per train." Gross ton miles per goods train hour excluding the weight of Engine and Departmental has been ranging during the ten pre-war years between 8,251 to 9,834 on the Broad Gauge and 3,400 to 4,600 on the Metre Gauge. The maximum ever attained on Broad Gauge was 11,000 and slightly over 5,000 on the Metre Gauge. There has not been any great change in the war and post war years.

In the U. S. A., on the other hand, it was 30,000 in 1937 and 31,000 in 1938. There has been great and continuous improvement in this respect in the war and post-war years, so that it stood at 42,000 in the first half of 1949, against 38,800 in 1948. The average performance in U. S. A. which was over 3-1/2 times higher than ours in the prewar years, is now about 5 times higher. While our gross ton mileage has improved during the last 25 years by about 30% only on Broad Gauge, it has increased in the U. S. A. by over 200%. The U. S. A. railways can justifiably claim as Dr. Parmelee does in his "Modern Railway" that they "have more freight per train, more freight per car and for longer distances in shorter time than any other country."

Conditions in India and U. S. A.

Mere statistics by themselves are not fool-proof yardsticks for measuring comparative efficiency. It is only when conditions are approximately similar and allowance has been made for common and varying factors that the comparative significance of statistics can be correctly evaluated. This representative composite item of statistics may therefore be analysed and conditions in each country compared in an attempt to ascertain how far approximate results can be attained here.

The average distance for which traffic is hauled is a very important component of this statistics. In India, the average distance for which goods traffic is hauled, or the lead of goods traffic, was of the order of 250 miles in pre-war years and of 270 miles in the last two post-war years. In the U. S. A. it was 337 miles in 1937 and over 420 miles in 1948. In Great Britain, the average lead is over 70 miles. The low lead of goods traffic in Britain accounts largely for the fact that the corresponding gross ton mile

figures are hardly 3 to 4% of that of U. S. A. The average lead of goods traffic in India approximates to that of the U.S.A. being of the order of 70% of the latter. In this respect conditions are favourable to a high gross ton mile figure in our country.

Speed Of Goods Trains

The average speed of goods trains on Class I railways in India was about 11 miles per hour in the pre-war years on both gauges. In the war years, there was a decrease which has continued in the post-war years also; in 1948-49 it was 10.3 miles per hour on the Broad Gauge and 9.28 on the Metre Gauge. In the U. S. A., the corresponding average speed was 16.6 miles in 1938, 15.7 in 1944 and 8% faster in 1949. Again, there has been more or less continuous progress in U. S. A. while our position has slightly deteriorated. The average British goods train speed was less than half that of U.S.A. in pre-war years. In Britain, waggons are not fitted with vacuum brake equipment and this largely accounts for the British railways being unable to accelerate goods train speeds. Distances are also comparatively short. In India, the waggons on the Broad Gauge are all vacuum braked, and there are long distances to cover. Thus there is no serious impediment to attaining much higher speed for goods trains, particularly on the Broad Gauge.

Load Of Goods Trains

Another important factor is the average net or revenue earning load of goods train. This had ranged between 380 and 390 tons per train on the Broad Gauge and 160 and 175 tons on the Metre Gauge in pre-war years; it was 470 and 175 tons respectively in 1948-49 against 460 and 185 tons in 1947-48. In the U. S. A. it was 796 tons in 1937, 1,140 during the peak year of war, 1,176 in 1948 and 1,149 in 1949. The average load in Great Britain was 125 tons in pre-war years and 156 in 1948. In a telling comparison, an article in the *Fortune* of April 1947 on British Railways observed as follows in regard to comparative speeds of British and American goods trains. "To Americans familiar with overland transportation of 4,000 tons of steel products rolling along a Lake Erie Road, 60 miles an hour behind a 6000 H. P. Niagara type engine, British goods trains seem a flash-back to the days when George

Westinghouse was still trying to convince Commodore Vanderbilt that a train can be stopped with 'Wind.' A British train weighing as much as 1,000 tons including the waggons themselves is rare enough to be an event." Though the position in India is better than in Britain, it is still much behind U.S.A. As already stated, special conditions in Britain involving short hauls, the type of waggons comparatively light and small and not fitted with vacuum brakes, account for slow speeds and gross ton out-put. Conditions in India, particularly on the Broad Gauge, are different and compare favourably

with those of the U. S. A., with the slight additional advantage of a wider gauge, on our railways.

This comparative review shows that, while conditions in respect of traffic and working are more or less similar, the performance of our railways is very poor, the gross ton miles output being so low as about 20% of that of the U. S. A. railways. It should be quite possible for Indian railways to improve substantially and attain in the near future results equalling those of the American railways. How this can be done will be considered in the next article.

PLANT NUTRITION AND CROP PRODUCTION

By R. L. N. SASTRI

THE question of improving the nutrition of a people is naturally to a very great extent bound up with that of the nutrition of the crops they grow. The latter turns mainly on two issues, the nutritional requirements of the crops in a given locality and the soil conditions of that locality. With a knowledge of the requirements of the crop we should be able to improve the soil accordingly. Successful crop production involves one more problem besides these, namely that of preventing and curing plant diseases and pests. The Rothamsted Experimental Station at Harpenden, England, is one of the biggest institutions of its kind, which is dealing with these problems and has produced during the long years of its existence, results of an outstanding character.

The Rothamsted was established in 1843 by the Late Sir J. B. Lawes and Sir J. H. Gilbert. These two pioneers were responsible for developing the station in the initial stages for nearly 60 years, the expenditure being met for many years from the pocket of Sir J. B. Lawes. In later years private philanthropy was largely responsible for moulding the station. At present, however, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agricultural Research Council contribute 90% of the funds.

The British were particularly fortunate in being able to secure the

services of a succession of eminent men in the field of science to guide and conduct the work of the station. The two pioneers Sir J. B. Lawes and Sir J. H. Gilbert were followed by Sir A. D. Hall and Sir John Russell. Sir John, the world-famous authority on plant nutrition and soil science and once President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, retired in 1943 shortly after the celebration of the centenary of the station at the end of a distinguished period of service for over 30 years as its director.

The station comprises an area of 500 acres consisting of experimental fields, laboratories and a library which is considered to be one of the finest agricultural libraries in the world. It is composed of several departments dealing with problems concerning plant nutrition and soil science the chief of which are those of Botany, Crop physiology, Statistics, Chemistry, Physics, Soil Microbiology, Plant Pathology, Entomology, Biochemistry etc. The work of the various departments is inter-related and is performed with a spirit of co-operation. What is more, several other experimental stations and research institutes also collaborate with this station. The most important of these are the Woburn Experimental Station, the Research Institute of plant physiology of the Imperial Col-

lege of Science and Technology, London, the Unit of Soil Metabolism of the Agricultural Research Council and the Imperial Bureau of soil science.

Its activities are varied. Besides doing original research work the station co-operates with the Agricultural Departments of the Commonwealth and other countries in tackling agricultural problems of common interest. It has not only been a source of new knowledge but also a centre for the dissemination of that knowledge through the publication of monographs and memoirs both for the expert and for the lay reader. It has also been the training ground to some of the experts in the agricultural sciences in the British Commonwealth and elsewhere and we see year after year young men and women emerging from this institution having gained great technical skill and field experience.

The work consists mainly of field experiments and laboratory investigations. Investigations on soil fertility are directed mainly to the manurial aspects of the various crops. The effects of fertilisers and organic manures on various crops are studied and the exact requirements of the latter are assessed in different soils. Plants require certain elements like boron, manganese, magnesium, etc., only in traces but their deficiency produces pathological symptoms which will be ultimately reflected in the yield. Sometimes an excess of these trace elements may produce toxic effects. They are now investigating the exact trace element requirements of some of the crops and the deficiency symptoms. The question of the usefulness of town refuse as manure has been studied and the results do not appear to justify the high hopes held in some quarters. Various new sources of phosphatic fertilisers have been discovered and their practical utility is being examined. Studies on soil moisture and moisture requirements of plants include experiments on the rate of evaporation from soil and rate of transpiration of short grass under controlled conditions.

Soil micro organisms also form a subject of study. Different strains of the bacteria harboured by leguminous plants in the nodules of their roots,

which are responsible for enriching the soil by fixing atmospheric nitrogen, are being investigated. It is found that there is specificity of the strains to the species of plants that are benefited by them. If the specific strain is not available fixation of atmospheric nitrogen may become ineffective and the soil may not consequently be enriched. From a study of the secretions of the nodule bacteria, the hormone-like substance now widely known as 2:4-D, has been isolated and has later been found to have differential action on the growth of plants. It is capable of inhibiting the growth of certain plants while others are not affected by small doses of it. This has now-a-days become a useful weapon in the hands of the farmer as a differential weed-killer especially in cereal crops. The growth of the weeds is inhibited while that of the crop is unaffected.

The field experiments extend over nearly 2,000 plots. What are called the classical experiments were started by Lawes and Gilbert and are still continued. There are also the modern experiments which may either extend over long periods or may be annual in duration. They are concerned with problems of cultivation like ploughing, preparing the seed bed etc. or various kinds of spraying treatments for the control of pests and diseases. All the results are statistically analysed.

The station is provided with the latest equipment for plant pathological work, like the ultracentrifuge and the electron microscope. That sub-microscopic entity that lies on the border line between the living and the non-living world, the virus,—a mystery that eludes the biologist as well as the chemist and not well-known except as a menace to crops, livestock and man—is here being subjected to a vigorous study. Studies are also being carried out on various insecticides and fungicides.

From a retrospect of the 107 years of active work done by several eminent workers at this station and the solid contributions it has made in the past to the knowledge of the scientist as well as the farmer, we have to look forward with optimism for greater advances to follow in the years to come.

LET U. N. O. NOT GO THE LEAGUE WAY

By Dr. LANKA SUNDARAM

I lived through the hectic but disastrous months in Geneva when the Japanese guns boomed over the Sun-gari river in the autumn of 1930, finalising the failure of the Lytton Commission over Manchuria, an event which precipitated the growing pains of the League of Nations in decay. Step by step, Japanese aggression in Manchuria and later on in China; Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia (1935 onwards); the fall of the Spanish Republic; the fateful summation of Hitler's grip over the carcass of Europe; and, finally, the World War II leading to the establishment of the United Nations on the ruins of the League of Nations—all these and other events bring us to the full-scale war in Korea.

This is the dismal record of the past twenty years in the history of nations. Is History, with a capital H, repeating itself? For, the events of the recent few weeks are closely reminiscent of the developments of twenty years ago almost today!

The Korean Commission of the U. N. O. sat on the dispute over the 38th parallel for an unconscionably long time, just as the Lytton Commission ended up in smoke after the usual thorough investigations which international commissions of this type customarily go through. Twenty years ago it was the Japanese guns aimed West, and today it is the North Korean guns aimed East.

The Parallels—Then And Now

When Japan went through the tedious and long process of gobbling up Manchuria, as also when Mussolini incorporated the domain of the Lion of Sheba into the Empire of XX century Rome, the League of Nations remained inert, almost dead to all energetic action. Artistic Briand, thrice Premier and over a dozen times Foreign Minister of France, lived twenty years ago, fondly nursing the visionary idea that his scheme for an international force at the disposal of the League of Nations would materialise, and that such a force would end aggression in the world. Indeed, Bri-

tain died heart-broken, very much as Arthur Henderson, Foreign Secretary of the Second British Labour Government, who literally worked himself to death as Chairman of the Disarmament Commission, which wound itself up in 1935. Today's parallel is the defeat of the Baruch Plan and the Narsing Rau Plan for the control of atomic warfare, but the reverse of the 1930 League position *vis-a-vis* the Japanese adventure in Manchuria is somewhat startling.

Truman Defends A Scrap Of Paper

If two decades ago the League of Nations did not have a single soldier to order to the rescue of Manchuria or, later on, of the Negus, today the U. N. O. nations (fifty-three in number) are pledged to support South Korea against the aggression of her Northern sister. Indeed, Douglas MacArthur is the Commander-in-Chief of the U. N. O. forces, fighting the so-called battle of the democratic nations of the world under the U. N. O. flag. In truth it must be said that the decision of the Security Council to name MacArthur the U. N. O. generalissimo was blatantly anticipated a trifle too early by President Truman, who ordered U.S.A. troops to go to the rescue of Seoul. Perhaps, this was done in defence of a scrap of paper, very much as when Hitler's onslaught on Czechoslovakia forced Britain to enter World War II, even as when she went to the aid of Belgium against Kaiser's perfidy thirty-six years ago!

U. N. O. Precipitating World War III

If the League of Nations failed for lack of field armies and unity of action on the part of its member States to deal a swift blow to aggressors, today the U. N. O. is going exactly the other way about. It has almost made a private war between the U. S. A. and her formally undeclared foe, the U. S. S. R., into what forebodes to be World War III. Only seven out of the fifty-three U. N. O. nations which pledged support to the Security Council resolutions on aid to South Korea have upto the moment of writing, placed their military

resources at the disposal of MacArthur, and Nehru is now attempting to mediate between the East and the West. Whatever the immediate developments might be, for example, Communist China's entry into the Security Council, the use of the atom bomb by the retreating Americans, a concerted attack on Marshall Tito's regime, or a dog fight for access to the Iranian oil fields by the Soviets—and any of these contingencies *might not*, after all, arise immediately—the present position of the U. N. O. is exactly the same which was faced by the League of Nations in 1930.

League Of Nations And U. N. O.—An Analysis

A closer analysis of the character and composition of the League of Nations and the United Nations offers us much food for thought. Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles setting up the League of Nations was drafted by the victorious Allies. So was the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco. But the U. S. A., whose President Wilson with his Fourteen Points was more or less responsible for its creation, had curiously enough, stood out of the League of Nations. Today, we find the U. S. S. R. and her associated powers functioning in the Security Council with the assistance of the Veto. This is not, however, to suggest that the U. S. A. and the U. K. did not exercise the Veto when it suited them. Yet, the non-participation of the U. S. A. during two decades of the existence of the League of Nations was no less disastrous than the exercise of the Veto by the Big Five, in particular the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A., in the Security Council of the U. N. O.

Vanquished Powers Barred

In the early stages of the League of Nations, apart from the defection of the U. S. A., the vanquished powers were not represented, e.g., Germany, Italy, Turkey, etc. Even the U. S. S. R., just out of the woods after Brest-Litovsk, was out of its pale to begin with. Today, Germany, Japan, and Italy (leaving alone some of the satellites of the U. S. S. R., such as Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria etc.) are not members of the U. N. O. In other words, the structural parallel between the League of Nations and the U. N. O. is complete. World peace was then, and now, based on the whims and caprices of the Victor Powers. Only

the rub in the ointment is that the Victor Powers today have fallen out even before the ink on the Potsdam Agreement was dry. There is, of course, this difference, that one by one the vanquished countries were admitted to the Geneva Club, as the years rolled by. But by the time they sought to function as honoured members of the world community, the League of Nations was stricken with paralysis and liquidated itself. The moral of this parallelism is that world peace cannot be contained or conditioned by the dictates of the Victors, but, of course, we are still too near the scene of activities of the U. N. O. to distinguish the wood from the tree!

The duplication of the machinery of the League of Nations by the U. N. O. makes one feel a fatal fascination to the unfolding repetition of History. The Permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations decreed that the Austro-German Customs Convention was *ultra vires* the Covenant. This led to the rebellion of Hitler, and eventually to World War II. The International Court of the U. N. O. has recently voted invalid the merger of South-West Africa into the Union of South Africa. Dr. Daniel Malan has rejected this ukase, but perhaps he does not require the opportunity to start a global conflict, for an almost ready-made World War III is already at his doorstep!

Kashmir And Ethiopia

The Council of the League of Nations fought numerous battles during its long and chequered career, e.g. on the Hoare-Laval Pact leading to the throwing of Ethiopia to Mussolini's wolves. We have today the Security Council passing resolutions about Kashmir and setting up machinery on lines not dissimilar to those of the League Council.

The General Assemblies of the League of Nations and of the U. N. O. are identical in their composition (only Governments were and are represented on them) and functions (long-winded resolutions covering every aspect of human endeavour).

Even otherwise, the parallelism between the League of Nations and the U. N. O. is complete. For the Narcotics Commission, the machinery for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic and obscene literature, etc., of the League of Nations, we have today

the Economic and Social Council of the U.N.O. If the League had its Permanent Mandates Commission, we have the U.N.O.'s Trusteeship Committee. If there was the Disarmament Commission fifteen years ago, we have today the Atomic Commission. In fact, the parallelism between the two organisations is such that it almost creates a disposition for fatalism in the human breast.

U. S. Mainstay Of U. N.

One distinguishing thing must, however, be noted. The League of Nations was almost an indigent body, and I vividly remember the chronic default of member States to pay their subscriptions. But the U.S.A., as a Colossus member, makes the U.N.O. a streamlined institution. Everything in the U. N. O. is of the skyscraper variety. In fact, Lake Success today, and presently the World Capital as is being conditioned on the bank of the East River in New York, are so sumptuous in their appointments and programmes of action, that one is reminded of the marvels observed once by Alice in Wonderland! For, the U.S.A. pays nearly half the total of the colossal amounts needed to sustain this gigantic international organisation. This is understandable because the U.S.A. produces nearly half of the world's goods each year!

Indeed, there is something like the swagger of the sky-scraper about the U.N.O. these days, predominantly conditioned by what the U.S.A. thinks and says, which her satellites, because of the bounty of the almighty dollar, echo to the ends of the earth. In fact, there is today a stranglehold obtained by the U.S.A. on the mechanism and functions of the U.N.O., and if this is not so McArthur could not have moved into South Korea even before the Security Council cogitated and finally passed its two resolutions, and become the U.N.O. Commander-in-Chief under the protecting wing of the first flag of nations at war!

U. N. O. Fails Undeveloped Countries

Yet, the skyscraper and streamlined approaches of the U. N. O. to world problems do not reckon with the slum atmosphere which envelopes the lives of more than half of the population of the world. The problem of underdeveloped countries has been never adequately tackled by the U. N. O., despite the mechanics of its Econo-

mic and Social Council. Colonialism still has a field-day despite the existence of the Trusteeship Council. Apart from the utter failure of the trusteeship idea (the most flagrant denial of which is supplied by South Africa's rejection of the U. N. O. ukase, and now of the International Court's judgement on South-West Africa), there is a renewed growth of New Imperialism, as evidenced by the large scale wars in Indonesia (until recently), Indo-China and Malaya of Metropolitan Holland, France and Britain respectively.

Cockpit Of International Strife

Actually, colonialism and black repression of Imperial Powers in the Dark Continent have not been touched at all by the U.N.O. agencies, while on the domestic front the U.S.A. has 15,000,000 Negroes who are second-class citizens, subject to the terrors of disfranchisement (in the Southern States), Jim Crow and the Klu Klux Klan. In fact, the attempt of the U.S.A. to contain Communism in the world through the blandishments of unbridled Capitalism is the *causa proxima* of international instability and World War III of tomorrow. In the old days Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo asked for free access to the raw materials of the world and for *lebensraum*. Today, it is the demand of the have-not nations for the right to survival, but the Havana Trade Charter, one of the accomplishments of the U. N. O. regime demands that unemployment of industrially advanced countries must not be exported, with the result that economically backward countries must remain where they are! Here is the cockpit of international strife, whether it be the conflict of Communism and Capitalism, the revolt of colonial peoples against Metropolitan Imperialism, or the onward march of Asian countries for their rightful place in the comity of nations.

U. N. Must Not Go The League Way

The U. N. O. must not go the way of the League of Nations. For it is the only hope for the preservation of peace in our time. But are there the ingredients of survival values in the U. N. O.? Dispassionate examination shows that there are not. For, its structure is vitiated by the *pogroms* of the victors; the Victors themselves are divided; capitalism (indeed, the

mighty dollar, which is more potent than the Atom Bomb) is holding the world to ransom; the colonial peoples are fighting for their liberties from metropolitan Imperialism, which has renewed its strength from out of the shambles of World War II; more than half of the population of the world, in Asia and Africa, is denied the four freedoms, particularly freedom from hunger, while foodstuffs are being burnt in the capitalist countries of the New World; World Communism is strident and is battering on the accumulated miseries of the unearned increment in the hands of the elect few of the West; and utter demoralisation rules the roost in the emotions of humanity as a whole.

Yet, what is the alternative to the U. N. O.? Surely it cannot be the much-lauded World Government, for the simple reason that, if the U. N. O. cannot strive three years of its existence, World Government cannot hope to have any innings at all. Does this mean that the world is to be pushed into the holocaust of the Atom and the Hydrogen Bombs, simply because the acquisitive instinct in man can-

not be harnessed and peace with justice maintained? Unfortunately, the answer to this question of questions must be in the affirmative. With the result that the Ascent of Man must be retarded for the time being, in the process dragging the world into the re-enacted horrors of the Dark Ages. But with this difference, that the refinements of modern science are at our service to make us believe that the ugly is not so ugly, that the nakedness of brute force is not so naked, and that man in the raw is not a wild beast. However, the thing worth remembering in our present-day anxiety is that world peace of the sepulchre based on the *status quo* of inequality among the nations of the world, is not after all the chief good for which Man can or should strive for. Until nations, big and small, are enabled to enjoy the higher decencies of life, the arbitrament of the sword seems to have no enduring alternative as an instrument in the hands of Humanity. At any rate this is the moral of History, which has the supreme knack of repeating itself at awkward movements.

THE UNITED INDIA LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, LTD.

Head Office: MADRAS-1.

HIGHLIGHTS OF TRIENNIAL VALUATION AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1949.

1. Surplus disclosed at the Valuation Rs. 28,33,362
2. BONUS TO POLICYHOLDERS: Rs. 9 per thousand per annum on Whole Life policies. Rs. 7 per thousand per annum on Endowment policies.
3. Expense-ratio for 1949: 14.6% as against 16.1% for 1948.
4. Total Assurances in force Rs. 21,01,00,000
5. Total Income for the year „ 1,12,43,000
6. Total Assets „ 5,05,92,000

ALL CLASSES OF LIFE INSURANCE TRANSACTED.

BETTER PLANNING OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

By Dr. J. C. KUMARAPPA

IN our country agriculture is a vital occupation and yet there is hardly any planning in an organised scale. Cultivation is carried on according to individual whims and naturally the net result over the whole country is in a hopeless muddle. Proper priorities are ignored and each cultivator thinks of his own private gain, the result being food shortage and lack of proper distribution.

If you are to plan this industry there are at least about eight or nine factors which have to be properly co-ordinated. Unless these factors fall into their own proper sphere and fulfil their special functions, it will not be possible to make agriculture a national industry. More than that, from time immemorial agriculture has been an occupation in which were the roots of our ancient culture and civilisation. Now with the advent of *laissez-faire* economy the whole system has been disorganised and is falling into pieces under the stress of modern exchange economy.

Land

We have always regarded land as a community asset to serve the purposes of feeding and clothing the people and even providing material for shelter. All that individual farmers had was to cultivate the land according to the needs of the community. Land should never be looked upon as an investment as it is being treated today. One can understand the desire of moneyed people to possess land which brings in under the present arrangement 50 or 60 percent gross or in some cases 75 percent of the annual produce. Is it any wonder then that hoarded money seeks to be invested in land? If land is to be looked upon as an investment it should be put on a par with fixed deposit in a secure bank and can only be responsible for 2-1 2 or 3 percent interest on capital on, say a 40 years purchase basis. This will bring down the sharing of gross income to a level where the attraction of the land will be reduced to the same level as investments in the industrial sector. All that land can

promise is to allow a person to cultivate personally in the interest of the community. Anything over and above this will lead to the exploitation in the production of the basic primary need, namely food.

Cultivators

Even when land is given out by the community for cultivation purposes it would be parcelled out in such a manner as to be adequate to support the family on a reasonable standard of living, providing not merely food, clothing and shelter but also the wherewithal for maintaining proper standards of health and hygiene and securing education to the children along with a certain amount of comforts. This will involve parcelling out the land according to its quality to the cultivators, taking into consideration their capacity to use the land in such a way that it will produce the maximum yield and ultimately be of service to the community at large.

This will involve the maintenance of the land in a fairly productive condition. The land will have to be maintained in good order. At the present time, because of their financial weakness, cultivators allow the land to deteriorate. If land is held for the benefit of the community it means that it is in the community's interest to see that this instrument of production is kept from deterioration and whatever finance is necessary must not be meted out to the cultivator personally according to his "credit-worthiness" but such aids must be forthcoming in proportion to the needs of land. The present system of financing agriculture according to the credit-worthiness of the farmer raises the finances necessary much beyond the reach of the general run of farmers. This, in the final analysis, will be tantamount to cutting the branch on which we are standing and has led to the present state of affairs in which agriculture is languishing for lack of improvements and the farmers are sinking rapidly into debt. Any finance that is given need not be in the form of money. It can be

in the shape of help rendered functionally.

Labour

In addition to the cultivators there is a host of people working on the land purely as labourers. They too are in a pitiable condition financially. A great many of them rarely get one square meal a day and some of them are working under terms which can only be called, 'Slavery.' A crude form of serfdom exists in most provinces, and what is worse, such serfdom is hereditary. This landless labour should be assured of occupation all the year round in their own villages. A great many of the absentee landlords import labour into villages from outside on terms which will suit the landlords' interests. It is necessary, therefore, to insist that land in a village must in the first instance provide adequate employment to the people of the village. Agricultural labour no less than industrial labour requires proper help and organisation to ensure proper living conditions. Even the best of the workers among the *kisans* adopt methods that have been used in labour movements in the industrial sectors. However efficient the labour union method may be in its own sphere, it is not suitable to work among *kisans*.

Industrial labour, though originally drawn from the rural parts, have had their angularities knocked out in towns. They mix freely with all kinds of people, they have become more or less a homogeneous people, they work for a single employer against whom they stand organised as a unit, they work under one roof and thus they know each other and are united in their effort. They have also greater financial reserves than their counterparts in the fields. It is, therefore, a simpler proposition to organize these to work for their common interest.

The land labour is scattered, ignored, and divided among themselves. They have no financial staying power. They work for many masters either singly or in small groups. Hence to base agrarian remedies on the proposition of uniting these heterogeneous masses into a compact body and resist through this body a powerful group of landowners is a forlorn hope. We shall be leaning on a broken reed if we attempt to do so.

We have a very effective alternative. Unlike the industrial sector we have a

third party deeply interested in the work on the fields—the general public that depends on agricultural products for its food. Workers among *kisans* will be well advised to tap this source to strengthen the *kisans*. They should keep the public aware of the grievances of the field labourers by broadcasting information and at the same time educate the *kisans*. When they feel the time is ripe, at least a year's notice should be given to the landowners that if the demands of the cultivators are not granted the land will be left uncultivated. If proper work had been done in the neighbourhood, no cultivators from the nearby villages will come forward to act as blacklegs. The Government too should be given notice and they cannot stand by quietly and allow land to lie fallow. Thus the landowners will be placed in the wrong box and public opinion and the Government will back up the *kisans*' demands when they are reasonable.

This method of work needs patient and plodding labour for a long period to bring about results, but it is the only way.

Consumers

Practically every one of us is a consumer of the products of agriculture. To this extent there is a duty enjoined on us to ensure that conditions of work are reasonably satisfactory in the occupation from which we obtain our sustenance, but due to the woeful neglect on our part landless labour and land itself suffer from privations. It is incumbent on us to take an active interest in the conditions of agriculture if we are to carry out our duty towards those who feed us. Consumers have to be educated in regard to their part in agriculture which is a very heavy one and it is today hardly ever recognised.

Government

A great many conditions and responsibilities devolve on the Government to maintain proper relationship between the general public and the supplies needed by them. Land is, as we have already pointed out, a basic instrument which is entrusted to the community for its use but the correlation between community and community on a nationwide scale can only be brought about by the Government. At the present time there are innumerable types of tenures ranging from that of a potentate to

that of an actual tiller. All these can only be altered by an adequate distribution of land amongst those who actually put in body-labour. Land must be distributed not quantitatively only nor even qualitatively but taking into consideration the various factors which will go into the set-up of good health and welfare.

Harnessing Rivers

A great many of our rivers carry their seasonal floods into the salty ocean leaving the land dry for the greater part of the year. A few of the rivers like the river Cauveri are harnessed at many stages of their career and made to fertilise the land through which they flow. At the present time the river Cauveri has hardly any water where it gets near the delta. That should be the case with every river in the country. Unfortunately the floods bring in destruction and loss of lives and leave land dry after a few weeks. This requires a considerable effort on the part of the Government in river-training. Such a programme will check erosion and a great many of the devastated lands today can be reclaimed. River-training will have to be complemented with a sound policy of afforestation.

Exchange

Even when the articles have been produced it is necessary that the commodity should be distributed to places where they are needed. In the main the country will be producing for the self-sufficiency of the various regions, but a certain measure of the surplus production of one region may have to be exchanged for other kinds of surpluses from other regions. For this purpose it is necessary to provide the mechanism by which the commodities can be sent to places where there is need for them not only without increasing but even with attempts to bring down the number of intermediaries. This can be done satisfactorily through an organisation of multi-purpose societies for various regions and stopping individual trade in prime necessities. In this manner it may be possible to tackle the modern evils of black-marketing and corruption.

Prices

At the present time agricultural commodities are priced artificially by calculating indices of industrial pro-

ducts and deriving therefrom prices of agricultural products. This is an upside down process. Looked at functionally we ought to derive industrial prices from those of agriculture, and agricultural products should be exchanged at ratios which will correlate costs of production. Such costs of production should include not only the cost of the crop on the field but also the maintenance of the cultivator and his family and his cattle throughout the twelve months of the year. It is but natural that such a process should put up the prices of agricultural products. No one who has seen the condition of the agriculturists in our villages would contend that a greater return to them from the products of their labour is not called for. It is at this stage that the exploitation of the villages can be alleviated. No amount of welfare work can make up to them for the loss they sustain by a false economy which deprives them of a large portion of their due.

The multi-purposes societies will arrange for grading, storage, exchange, transport, sales, selection of seeds, supply of manures, etc.

Cattle

Throughout our land the motive power available to the cultivator is the bullock. It is the pivot of all our economy and yet it is the most neglected object of our attention. The Government has to open cattle-breeding centres to provide animals for yielding milk as well as supplying draught power. The cow not only provides bullocks and milk but it is also a "fertiliser factory." The farm-yard manure is much more in need in a country like India where the soil has been exploited for centuries and is nearing the point of exhaustion. At a stage where the balancing between usage and recuperation of the land is closely equated it will be wrong economy to bring in stimulants like artificial manures. Chemical manures may have to be used in certain places where it is necessary to restore the healthy conditions of the soil, but it cannot form part of the normal process. Where land is in abundance, as in America or Australia, such methods may be used for exploiting the earth. But even there if we are to depend on the reports, products of agriculture suffer in quality though they may increase in quantity. It

behoves us, therefore, to be very wary about the introduction of new-fangled methods in our land.

In this connection it may be noted that tractors which plough deep and turn the soil may be definitely harmful as part of our normal cultivation processes, but they may be utilised where waste lands have to be reclaimed under governmental agencies. Where chemical manures are used it would be necessary for an adequate analysis of the soil before a prescription is made up to supply that which is lacking in the soil.

Research

It is beyond the individual farmers to carry on researches in the improvement of seeds and in a campaign against pests. These are functions that should definitely fall on the shoulders of the government, and the results of the research as are obtained should be disseminated by Government demonstration farms and other services to the innermost parts of the country. At the present time whatever researches are being made are largely in raw materials for mills and where even certain results have been obtained in the cultivation of commodities for our primary needs these have not been brought home to the farmer. These services are one of the most essential constructive part of the administrative machinery.

Balanced Cultivation

Land adequately taken care of should now be put under different types of cultivation according to the needs of the community for commodities. For instance, a land good for wheat must be utilised for growing wheat and the quantity of wheat to be grown will be indicated by the needs of the community. If there be any excess of wheat that can be exchanged with the neighbouring regions. All land within a region which is intended to be rendered self-sufficient should be analysed and surveyed and put to the best use possible in co-relation to the needs of the local community.

Such distribution of land according to the needs of the community will produce raw materials which will have to be rendered useful by processes which can, in most cases, be performed by the local community through the instrumentality of the multi-purpose society. Agro-industries, such as Gur Making, Oil Pressing, Paddy Husking, Flour Grinding, should be

undertaken locally to provide employment to those who may be displaced from a rational distribution of cultivable land. Our efforts will have to be supported by the action of the Government in reducing the competition of centralised industries in these spheres. If village industries receive the support they deserve from the Government, we have no doubt that they can hold their own against centralised industries. It is merely a matter of negligence that has brought them to the present apparently inefficient position. Unless agriculture has its complement in well-defined village industries sector it may not be possible to make agriculture to stand by itself. Our effort must be directed towards finding adequate employment to our village folks.

Organisation

All the various functions and activities we have indicated above have to be carried out by a well-planned and co-ordinated effort of the community. This can be done through the mechanism of the local Panchayats which will have its jurisdiction over a population of say 15 to 20 thousand people. Generally speaking this may cover about 20 villages. Such groups of villages, forming compact regions, should be entrusted with the administration of the locality. They should even be empowered to levy certain taxes and utilise them for local public works, such as repairing of tanks, laying down of roads, building culverts, sinking wells and organising sewage and other sanitary arrangements. The work of such Panchayats will be a training ground for responsible public work and be an educational centre for dutiful citizenship. Men and women who have had this experience will ultimately go from the Village Panchayats to District Boards and from District Boards to Provincial bodies and then to the Centre. In this way we shall have a national organisation which will bear the burden of an economic organisation of an independent nation.

An agricultural planning of this kind alone can bring about full employment to the whole population and be an educative factor in nation-building work. Without this foundation of agriculture on a planned basis it will not be possible to integrate the social and political order of the country on sound lines. It is essen-

tial, therefore, that agricultural planning should take priority over many so-called nation-building activities. We hope that the newly acquired independence of our people will be organised through such channels to consolidate what we have already got and to make for progress in the future.

A nation built up on this foundation will probably have a standard of living which may not be so complicated and

complex as that of the U. S. A. It will of necessity be simpler but it will make for higher life. Incidentally, a simple economy of this nature, well-knit from the social and political side, will form a formidable defence, if any, against the avarice and greed of foreign nations. This structure of society will ensure peace and goodwill amongst nations and thereby bring about peace in the world.—Copyright N. P. S.

LIFE WITH GRANDFATHER

By G. S. BALAKRISHNAN

MY grandfather is one of the few remaining stalwarts of the 19th century who saw the light of day when a benevolent young queen sat on the English throne. Though he has retired from the "pensionable" service of a headmaster in a Government school, he has not ceased to take interest in "the citizens of tomorrow." His advice is always available to those who seek it and many times to those who don't, on a variety of worldly matters. For instance, when after my Matriculation, I wished to apply for a job, he did not fail to dictate my letter of application. I have preserved it to this day, and being unselfish by nature, I give it below for the benefit of those similarly placed:

Dear Sir,

Having come to understand that there is a vacancy in your honour's office, I beg to offer myself as a candidate for the same. As for my qualifications, I have passed the Matriculation examination in the first class. I come from a respectable family whose members have been loyal servants of His Majesty. My father is a family man, having ten children, a widowed sister, aged mother and two she-buffaloes to support. My pecuniary circumstances do not permit me to prosecute my studies further. If your honour will be so good as to appoint me in the said capacity, I shall endeavour my level best to give entire satisfaction to my immediate superior, for which act of kindness I shall ever remain grateful. May God Almighty shower his choicest blessings on your honour.

I beg to remain,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Of course, the aged mother, the widowed sister and the two she-buffaloes were pure myth just inserted to move the appointing authorities. I somewhat hesitated to send the application in the exact form dictated by my grandfather; but he would have none of it, as he was an absolute tyrant and would not brook opposition. I believe that the appointing authority had a sense of humour and so did not give me an opportunity "to give entire satisfaction to my immediate superior." So I was forced to "prosecute" my studies further in a college despite my grandfather's pet dislike of colleges in general. For, he believes with a number of those of his generation, that the M. A.s of today cannot hold a candle to Matriculates of his days. One piece of constant advice which grandfather had to offer throughout my collegiate career was that I should read the "Vicar of Wakefield" at least half a dozen times, and in support of this, he would quote the instance of many eminent men of his days who reached dazzling heights by doing so.

In course of time, I emerged out of a college with a degree. I had a hatred for clerical jobs, but grandfather had his own strong views on the matter. He would rather have me take the job of a lower division clerk which carried a pension of ten rupees than go in for a better job on a higher pay, but with no pension. So I was driven to apply for a clerical post. The Public Services Commission asked me to appear for an interview. Grandfather was very excited and immediately proceeded to prepare me

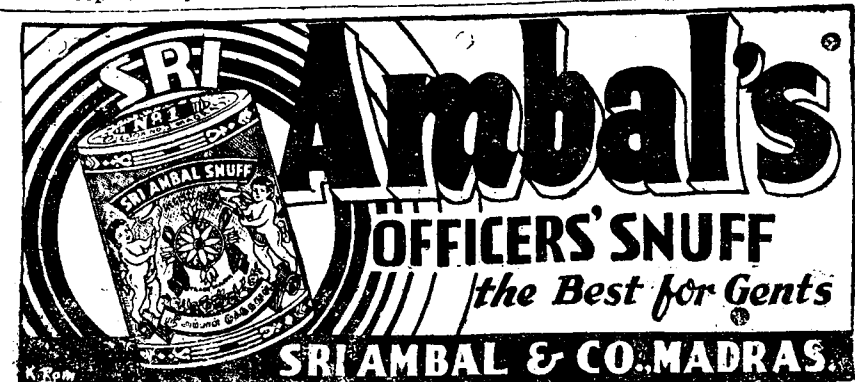
for the ordeal. I was advised not to wear coats with open collars as these proclaimed an impertinent type of young man. Grandfather was for a subdued appearance in a coat buttoned up to the neck. I was also asked to wear one of those caps which "the good boy Rama" in the infant standard reader invariably wears. Thus equipped, I appeared before the Commission, but times seemed to have changed since grandfather's days, for the Commission did not take to me kindly and I was never appointed.

Much against grandfather's wishes, I appeared for the Indian Administrative Service examination. In due course, I was summoned for an interview. By this time I had a horror of all interviews and so I sought grandfather's advice. He prescribed an entirely different procedure from that which I followed at the clerical interview. He explained that this change was necessary because this time I was appearing before a commission to be selected as an officer. Grandfather's tips were very concise and reflected his ripe worldly wisdom. I was told that the interview would invariably be arranged upstairs and that I would do well to count the steps as I went up. Grandfather explained that this was always a pet question put to unobservant candidates by the members of the Commission. I was also advised to know the number of spokes in a cycle wheel and the delicate difference between 'a little,' 'the little' and 'little' and in case I didn't know, I was directed to Nesfield's Grammar.

Grandfather was also particular that I should know the noises made by all kinds of animals. For, the members of the Commission had, it appeared, asked on previous occasions such questions as: "What do asses do?" "What do monkeys do?" and the smart young man was supposed to answer, "Asses bray," etc. I was told that on one occasion a European member of the selection committee asked an unwary candidate, "How many buttons are there in my pants?" And the 'bright boy's' answer was, "as much as there are." On another occasion, a member of the selection committee trimming his cigarette casually asked a candidate, "What am I doing now?" Of course the 'dumb' candidate seemed to have answered, "You are spoiling a nice carpet." But the answer which the "prize boy" gave was that he was wasting valuable manure. I need not add that he got selected.

Loaded with all these tips, I was very careful and counted the steps as I went up, but the selection committee completely disappointed me. They seemed to be a set of uninteresting people who were anxious to know from where I came, what were my hobbies and whether I had done any national service. This was hardly what I expected. I came home and told grandfather that his tips didn't work, but he was not disconcerted. He only remarked that the standards were fast deteriorating and that such a dull commission would not have been tolerated in his days.

The Russian Press has now reached a total circulation of 35,500,000 according to Soviet statistics on Publications. About 7,700 newspapers are now published in the Soviet Union. The largest newspapers are Pravda and Izvestia, each of which has a circulation of about 1,000,000 copies daily.—I. P. S.



THE MIRACLE OF PRAJAPUR

By KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

THANKS to the ever-loquacious Lado, the mid-wife, within a few hours the news had been broadcast to the whole village of Prajapur!

It was a holiday, being August 15, the day of freedom. In chattering groups of threes and fours, the village folk turned out, all headed for Ramoo's house, a tumble-down thatched shack, a little distance away from the cluster of huts which was the main village. Youthful tongues wagged and wise old gray heads were shaken sceptically as they debated the probability of the miracle described by Lado.

"Can such a thing ever be?"

"This life is the eternal sport of Bhagwan, brother. Nothing is impossible for Him."

"Must say Ramoo's wife is truly lucky. Not one, not two, but..."

"Hi. Hi. Hi. Ha. Ha. Ha."

"Why do you display your dirty teeth? What is the laughing matter in this?"

"Nothing, uncle. nothing. I was only thinking that this Ramoo looks so thin and sickly but he turned out to be a real he-man."

"I hear he is feeling proud like a peacock. Since morning he has been celebrating with *bhang*. By now he must be dead drunk."

"Why should he not feel cocky and proud? After all he has done something—he has proved that he is a Man! Not like you that even after seven years..."

"Aay, but it was not Ramoo's wonderful feat. If any credit is to be given, it is to his wife."

"Say, Panditji, has such a thing ever happened in *Vilayat*—in the lands of the white folk?"

"Aay, what do you talk? They can never compete with us in this matter. These white folk! Bah! In *Vilayat*, I tell you, men are not men and women are not women."

"Then Ramoo's wife will become famous throughout the world."

"Of course—and, along with her,

our village, too!"

II

That day when the mail-runner from Bhimnagar Post Office came to distribute letters to the village of Prajapur, he heard the news. On his return he told the story to the Post Master who, in turn, passed it on to his neighbour, Doctor Kundanlal of the Municipal Civil Hospital. That same afternoon, when Lala Bansidhar, President of the City Congress Committee, who was a chronic case of diabetes, came to get his regular injection, Doctor Kundanlal told him about the miracle of Prajapur.

From the hospital Lala Bansidhar was going straight to Gandhi Garden to preside over the public meeting in connection with the Independence Day when, on the way he met Munshi Brij Narain who combined teaching in the Municipal School with freelance journalism as local correspondent of the "*Desh Deepak*" daily. He asked the City Congress President for an advance copy of his speech so that it could be wired in time for the *Dak* edition. Lala Bansidhar had kept a well-prepared synopsis of the speech he was going to deliver ready in his pocket, and he promptly handed it to the obliging correspondent. Also, while talking of this and that of local politics, he casually mentioned the 'miracle' of Prajapur, about which he had just heard from the Doctor.

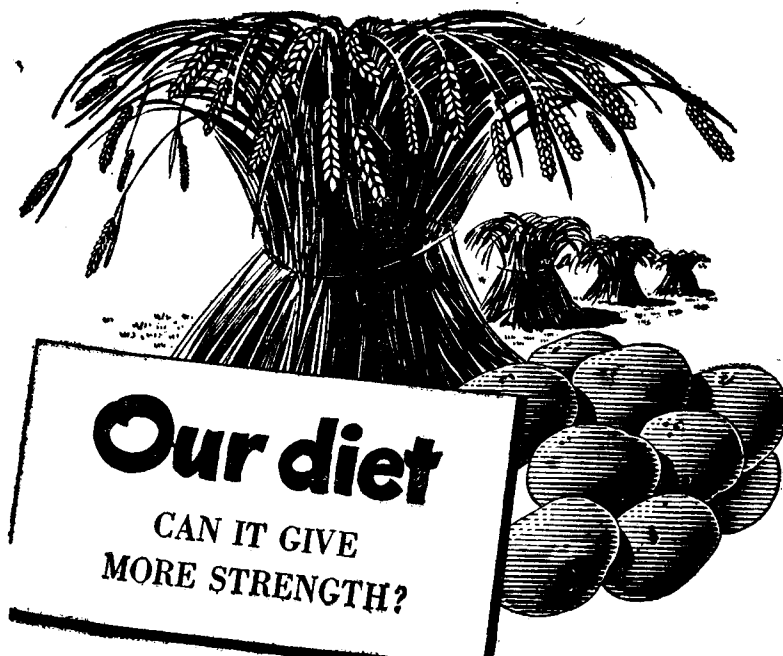
Munshi Brij Narain's 'nose for the news' quivered with excitement when he heard about the 'miracle.'

"Is that the truth, Lalaji? Is such a thing possible?"

"Must be. After all, I have heard it from no less reliable a person than Doctor Saheb himself."

"Then it must be true. A special case like this must have been undertaken by Doctor Saheb himself."

"Naturally, naturally," assented Lala Bansidhar, re-adjusting the angle of his well-starched Gandhi cap, as they reached the already-crowded Gandhi Garden and the "leader" was



OUR DIET can certainly give us more strength. Food factors like proteins, minerals and vitamins will ensure that. But these three factors also require the help of fats and carbohydrates which supply the body with "fuel" or energy. In other words, for full health and strength, we must eat a balanced diet in which all the five food factors are present in their correct proportions. Here are some of the foods that make up a balanced diet. You should eat daily one or more from each of the five groups: potatoes, wheat, rice, millet (carbohydrates); dal, milk, nuts, eggs, fish, meat (proteins); amlas, carrots, tomatoes, lemons, papayas (vitamins); brinjals, drumsticks, lettuce, spinach (minerals) and fat like *Dalda* which is pure and energy-giving.

WHICH FOODS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR DAILY HEALTH?

Write for free advice today—or any day!

THE DALDA ADVISORY SERVICE

P.O. BOX NO. 353, BOMBAY I



greeted with shouts of "Inqilab Zindabad" and "Lala Bansidhar ki Jai"...

III

Next day, however, the report of Lala Bansidhar's eloquent Independence Day speech did not appear in "Desh Deepak" but another news-item sent by Munshi Brij Narain was prominently featured on the front page:

MIRACLE OF PRAJAPUR

Peasant Woman Gives Birth To Five Children; Independence Day Offering To Mother India.
(From Our Own Correspondent)

BHIMNAGAR, August 15.

The strange case of a peasant woman who gave birth to quintuplets in the early hours of this morning is reported from the village of Prajapur, ten miles from here. Of the five, three are male and two female. Doctor Kundanlal, in-charge of Bhimnagar Civil Hospital, who personally attended this amazing delivery case, told your correspondent that the mother and all her five new-born children are doing well.

The news has created a sensation not only in Prajapur but in all the neighbouring villages, and hundreds are flocking to see the quintuplets and their mother. Considerable interest has also been roused in the city of Bhimnagar and a deputation of prominent citizens headed by Lala Bansidhar, President of the City Congress Committee, is expected to visit Prajapur.

Some religious circles are attaching particular significance to this event and hold that the birth of these quintuplets can only be a miracle, for the edification of the unbelievers of the world and to bring them back to the path of faith. Nationalist circles, however, look on this "Miracle" in a strictly political light. Addressing an Independence Day meeting in the evening, Lala Bansidhar said:

"On this auspicious day of August 15, the wife of a common peasant of Prajapur has given birth to five babies and placed this unique Independence Day offering at the feet of Bharat Mata" (cheers).

IV

Picked from "Desh Deepak" by

other agencies, this news appeared in no less than 750 Indian newspapers in thirteen languages. The foreign correspondents flashed the news abroad and within a day the names of Ramoo and Lajo had appeared in newspapers of every country in the world. As many as 125 Indian and 55 foreign papers wrote editorials about the 'miracle of Prajapur.'

The well-known nationalist daily, "Congress Times" wrote in a stirring editorial:

"By giving birth to quintuplets on August 15, a patriotic peasant woman has not only added five to the progeny of Mother India but also proved that the rural masses of India are not behind any one in their love for their country, for their country's freedom, and for their national government. We want to congratulate our peasant brother Ramoo and his devoted wife Lajo and wish to place their noble shining example before those carping critics of the Government, the Socialists and the Communists, who indulge in much tall talk but, in the field of action, cannot produce even a mouse."

The weekly "Desh Sainik" wrote:

"That brave young woman of Prajapur, Lajo, has brought infinite glory to the name of Bharat. No longer need we feel inferior to Canada with her Dionne Quintuplets."

A news agency reported from Montreal that the Dionne girls had sent a telegram of fraternal greetings reading:

"WELCOME TO THIS WORLD—FROM CANADA'S FIVE TO INDIA'S FIVE."

Which provoked an editorial comment from the daily "Bharat Bhisham":

"Let not the Canadians think that they can claim equality with us of Bharat. It may be that they, too, have quintuplets but let them not forget that while all five of the Dionne children are girls, our sister Lajo has given birth to no less than three boys among her quintuplets."

"Rashtra Sevak" came out with a concrete suggestion to the Government:

"If we the people of Bharat decide to follow in the footsteps of Ramoo and Lajo, in a few years



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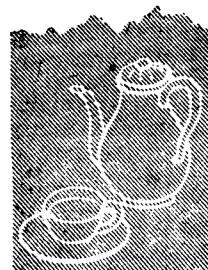
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our population can be doubled and thus we can dominate the world by sheer force of numbers. We suggest that the Government should appoint a committee of medical experts who should carry on a scientific investigation of this case of the birth of quintuplets and, on that basis, suggest ways and means of increasing the fertility of Indian womanhood. Let every Indian husband be a Ramoo and every Indian wife a Lajo—and tomorrow we rule the world."

This suggestion was strongly criticised by the Socialist weekly, "*Janata Gazette*" which wrote:

"Our country is already dangerously over-populated. There is not enough food for the present population. By encouraging the birth of quintuplets, do we want to accentuate the problems of hunger and unemployment? By such stunts the Government cannot side-track the people's attention from their basic demands for food and houses which are summed up in the Socialist Party's slogan: *Kam do makan do, naheen to gadi chhor do*."

The Communist "Red Front", commenting on the editorial of *Janata Gazette*, wrote:

"The Marxist scientists, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, have long ago completely disproved the reactionary and fascistic Malthusian theory of population. If there is no food in the country for the people to eat, it is not due to over-population, but to the reactionary and anti-people policies of the Nehru-Patel Government which protects hoarders and profiteers while the common people starve. With clenched fists we give the Red Salute in honour of Comrade Ramoo and Comrade Lajo and assure them that the peace-loving people of the whole world, all the way from Telengana to Tashkent, are today congratulating them for having contributed five brave little Red soldiers to the Army of the Proletariat."

(A few days after this editorial appeared, an official spokesman of the Communist Party denounced "Red Front" as the organ of Trotskyite-Titoist-Left-Sectarianism).

A Delhi weekly published a cartoon showing a peasant woman demanding

rations for her five children to the consternation of the Food Minister, Shri K. M. Munshi, whose Gandhi cap was depicted as flying in the air.

In "Gup Shup", the humorous gossip column in "*Our Times*" the following paragraph appeared:

"According to an unreliable report, the Government is thinking of abandoning the 'Grow More Food' and 'Plant More Trees' campaigns and to start a 'Produce More Babies' movement."

The All-India Women's Conference announced a "Lajo Day" on which the Taj Mahal Hotel held a "Ramoo-Lajo Fancy Dress Ball" in which the first prize was awarded to a group of three boys and two girls who came dressed in baby napkins as the 'Quintuplets of Prajapur'.

A Lahore newspaper invited the attention of the people and Government of Pakistan to the potential menace of an over-populated India swarming with quintuplets and added that the achievement of Ramoo and Lajo constituted a challenge to the manhood and womanhood of Pakistan, who must answer it by producing two Pakistani quintuplets to India's one.

A famous doctor addressed a meeting of the Bombay Rotary Club on "Some Medical Aspects of the Miracle of Prajapur".

A message from New York stated that a medical mission composed of eminent American doctors and gynaecologists was on its way to India to study the case of Ramoo and Lajo. And a Moscow paper, commenting on this report, warned not only Ramoo and Lajo but all the people of India against the infiltration of agents of American imperialism in the guise of medical experts.

In Bombay, Nagpur and Lucknow, three maternity homes were named "Lajo Maternity Homes."

Returning from a pilgrimage to holy Amarnath, Mahayogi Atmananda declared that, after 21 days *samadhi* in an ice-bound cave he has had a divine revelation that a certain peasant woman would give birth to quintuplets and that one of them would be an *avatar* of Vishnu who would be recognized by a round birth-mark on his left foot. This news brought a number of yogis to the hut of Ramoo who all proceeded to examine the feet of the three boys

among the quintuplets. One of the yogis later stated that every child had a similar birth-mark, another held that none of them had it, while among the rest every one pointed to a different child as possessing the mark of divine distinction. While the yogis wrangled over this, it was revealed that the alleged Mahayogi was a fraud when he was arrested for cheating a woman whose silver ornaments he had promised to turn into gold!

From Tibet it was reported that a shepherd's wife living on the outskirts of Lhasa had given birth to sextuplets but the news was later found to be exaggerated—the real number having been three. Then Tass reported from Vladivostok that a Siberian woman had given birth to no less than seven babies at a time but the American news agencies promptly contradicted it, describing it as a "Soviet Stunt" in the "cold propaganda war."

For a week all the papers were full of reports about Ramoo, Lajo and their babies, and a journalist calculated that all the newspaper columns published in the world press about the 'miracle of Prajapur', if put end to end, would go round the world, and that the quintuplets had received free publicity worth more than a crore of rupees—at normal advertising rates!

V

Meanwhile, an organisation known as "Friends of Ramoo and Lajo" was formed under the presidentship of Lady Nilkanth Supariwalla who was childless after 20 years of married life, and lavished her affection on a brood of dogs instead of babies. The F. R. L. (as Friends of Ramoo and Lajo popularly came to be known) decided to send a citizens' deputation to Prajapur and for this purpose an appeal was issued for a lakh of rupees of which 40,000 was collected within a few days. Out of this amount Rs. 10,000 was donated by a well-known millionaire industrialist who had seven wives but no issue from any of them. Seven members were elected to form the deputation—a doctor, a lawyer, a professor, three industrialists, and two society ladies. An enterprising reporter, announcing their names, mentioned the interesting fact that the total number of children of the seven members of the deputation was also five, thus collec-

tively equating them with Ramoo and Lajo.

From the funds of the F. R. L. Rs. 13,000 was spent on chartering a special plane to transport the deputation, Rs. 1,200 on garlands, bouquets, flowers, etc., to be presented to Ramoo and Lajo, Rs. 9,000 was given by way of travelling allowance to the members, Rs. 7,000 was given by way of 'pugree' to acquire an office for the F. R. L. Toys worth a thousand rupees were bought from the factory of Seth Johri Chand Khilonawala—who was a member of the Committee. This meant not only a profit of Rs. 600 to him but also thousands of rupees of free publicity when the news and pictures of these toys were printed in the press. Clothes worth Rs. 2,000 were made for the quintuplets, part of the money going to the Karorimal Cloth Mill and the rest to Tikachand Tailoring House—both Karorimal and Tikachand being members of the F. R. L. Managing Committee! The silverware—five sets of baby tumblers and plates and tea cups and knives and spoons and forks—to be presented to the quintuplets were, of course, purchased from the shop of Seth Sonachandiwalla, also a member of the Committee.

After thus satisfactorily disposing off the total amount of Rs. 40,000, the deputation left by chartered plane for Bhimnagar. From there they proceeded to Prajapur in a fleet of cars, accompanied by dozens of reporters, Press photographers and newsreel cameramen.

When the procession of these cars reached their destination, followed by all the excited children of Prajapur, the noise brought Ramoo out of the hut. As usual he was drunk on *bhang*. Seeing the cars and the crowd and, fixing his red-rimmed eyes on Lady Nilkanth Supariwalla, he shouted in an unsteady voice:

"*Kiyon, Kya hai?*" Why, what's all this?

In reply, Lady Nilkanth started reading the address which was printed on artificial silk (from Karorimal Cloth Mills) and framed in silver (by Sonachandiwalla Jewellery Mart) and which had been jointly drafted by the Professor, the Lawyer and the Doctor. In her high-pitched voice she read:

"On this auspicious and happy occasion we greet and congratulate you, Shri Ramoo and Shrimati Lajo,

on behalf of the people of India. Believe us when we say that your unique achievement has added a glorious new chapter to the history of India that is Bharat. Today in Shrimati Lajo we see the divine incarnation of Bharat Mata herself. These five babies are not only dear to your hearts but to the hearts of the 35 crores inhabitants of India that is Bharat. They are our precious treasure, the source of our pride and our glory, envied by the whole world. From today the bringing up of these children, their welfare, their education and eventually their careers and their marriages are the responsibility of the entire nation. We beg you both, Shri Ramoo and Shrimati Lajo, to accept these gifts—these clothes and these toys—that your fellow-countrymen have sent for your five little darlings."

Ramoo who had been watching the crowd with half-closed, intoxicated

eyes, now burst out in a rough, drunken laughter. "Toys? Clothes?" he shouted, snatching a few silken baby frocks from Lady Supariwala's hands, "Go, go inside, membsaheb, and give them to the little ones." Then, turning back to his hut he shouted, "Lajo, oh Lajo, why do you cry? Dry your tears. Look what they have brought for your babies. What does it matter that they didn't get enough milk, that they didn't get medicine when they were sick? What does it matter that they got pneumonia when the rains came and the roof leaked? What does it all matter? Get up, Lajo and thank these kind people, for they have brought silken shrouds for your five little ones."

Shocked and speechless, when the members of the deputation went inside the hut, they found Lajo, her face covered with her *odhni*, sobbing in a corner and lying on the wet mud floor, wrapped in dirty rags, were five little babies—dead!

FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS (5)

RESPONSIBILITY FOR UNFAIR ELECTIONS

By Prof. M. VENKATARAMAIA

THERE is a widespread impression that any unfairness that is found in elections is all due to the Government that may happen to be in power at any particular time and that there are no other agencies that can and generally contribute to that unfairness. So deeprooted is this impression that the leader of a prominent political party went to the extent of declaring that the Congress Ministries should resign a few months before the elections and that the Governors should take over the administration of the States. This is a novel suggestion and it does not appear that in any democratic State in the world such a suggestion has been made or accepted. Even in the constitution of the fourth Republic of France (the constitution that is now functioning) where a provision on these lines has been introduced it doesn't contemplate the resignation of all the Ministers and the establishment of one man-rule between the dissolution of the National Assembly and the meeting of the new Assembly after a general election, but only the replacement of the Premier and the Minister of the Interior and even this applied not to all dissolutions but to dissolutions under a particular set of extraordinary circumstances. What has however to be noted by the discerning public is that while it is easier for the Government of the day to make elections unfair both by its acts of omission as well as of commission there are other agencies in the country which can make elections unfair and which do make them unfair if the experience of other countries is taken as a guide.

The voters (the electorate) can contribute in their own way to the unfairness of elections. They can do this by non-voting. In every democratic State a certain percentage of voters do not at all take part in voting. There are instances where as much as 30 to 35 per cent of the voters abstain from voting. In many cases this is due to mere inertia and to lack of interest in politics. There are other causes also at work. But

whatever the causes be, non-voting on an appreciable scale makes elections unfair. The parties that win may not in such a case have real majorities behind them. Whether the legislature formed out of such an election represents the major public opinion in the country may also be called into question. There is however no gainsaying that an election from which such a large percentage abstains is an unfair election. For this the Government of the day cannot be held responsible. The responsibility is primarily that of the voters themselves. They are lacking in a sense of duty. Secondly it is that of the political parties one of whose duties is to educate the voters and bring them to the polls. To remedy this the system of compulsory voting has been introduced in countries like Australia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, etc. This is mainly due to the agitation of political parties who wanted to be saved from the trouble and expenditure involved in bringing the voters to the polling booth. But though this system has reduced the percentage of non-voters it has brought along with it certain undesirable consequences and this is the reason why it has not been introduced in other democratic States. In our country there is a great danger of elections becoming unfair through non-voting, partly because very few understand the value of the vote, partly because there are no good means of communication and partly because our political parties (except perhaps the Congress Party) are not as yet well-organised. It has also been found from experience that it is the middle parties that suffer more from non-voting than those at the extreme left or the extreme right whose following is generally more fanatical and therefore more enthusiastic in exercising their voting rights.

Much space need not be devoted to voters contributing to unfair elections by voting under the influence of bribery and corruption which take various forms. It is said, for instance,

that in France (where corruption is not so widespread now as it was at one time) the main forms which it assumes are "an increase, promised or actual, or withdrawal of, poor relief, considerable intimidation of leaseholders and labourers agricultural areas, banquets held between two ballots, food and drink given to electors who come from far away, small gifts of money, drinks on a large scale, promises to bestow on the constituency the whole or part of the parliamentary salary, threats to stop a pension, and in some constituencies systematic distribution of goods and money." Nursing of the constituency and treating one other forms. Of course the responsibility here lies as much on the candidates as on the voters. And these forms of corruption persist inspite of various corrupt and illegal practices Acts.

Political parties also contribute to the unfairness of elections in a variety of ways. They do this in the first place by the hold and the influence they have on the nomination of candidates. For all practical purposes it may be said that at the present day in our country as well as in other countries the voter has no alternative but to choose among the candidates forced on him as it were by the political parties. In several cases the parties have been found to nominate obscure persons in preference to well-known persons, wealthy persons without character or ability in preference to poorer or less wealthy persons of superior calibre. By so doing they make the elections unfair. They manage to place power in the hands of people not fit to exercise it. This is done because the leaders of the party want always to have "yes" men at their disposal. They do not consider how all this results in the incompetence of the legislature, in difficulty of setting capable persons to serve on select or standing committees or hold responsible positions. Office then becomes the monopoly of a few. In the United States the system of primaries has been introduced by legislation to reduce the power of the party bosses over nominations and to transfer it to the general mass of voters. It is not possible here to deal at length on this aspect. It is enough if the public know that through nominating unworthy candidates—as the Congress Party is accused of hav-

ing done in the elections to the Constituent Assembly and to other legislatures since 1946—political parties can make elections unfair. They can also make elections unfair by creating triangular and quadrangular contests in the constituencies and making it difficult for the voter to make an intelligent choice. This is really a danger in a country like ours where parties are being formed on narrow issues or impracticable ideologies. They can make elections unfair by resorting to all sorts of unfair methods to gain a victory at the polls. Apart from bribery and corruption of different kinds they have been found responsible for hiring rowdies and gangstermen, creating violent scenes near the polling booths, shifting ballot boxes, impersonating the voters, running away in some cases with the ballot boxes, etc. They are bent more on victory than on the proper methods to be adopted for securing it. Parties also are responsible for spending extravagantly on elections. It is true that all parties are unable to spend large amounts. But the unfairness lies in this very thing. Parties consisting in the main of the wealthier and the higher middle classes have in this respect an advantage over those which appeal mostly to the working classes and the lower middle class. There are many other ways by which political parties generally contribute to the unfairness of elections—ways which have found expression through institutions like the Tammany Hall of New York. We are developing our own Tammany Halls and party bosses.

The legislature of the country can make elections unfair in two ways in the main. It may neglect to pass the legislation that is needed to make elections fair. The Indian Parliament for instance has not settled directly the question whether constituencies should be single member or multi-member. It is a most important issue and it should have been debated upon in the Parliament itself and the necessary law should have been passed here instead of leaving the whole matter to the Election Commissioner and his advisory committees. While the actual delimitation of constituencies is a purely administrative matter involving only a correct knowledge of figures regarding population, area, etc., the question whether

they should be single-member or multi-member is one of principle and it should not have been left to any other authority however exalted it may be. Of course the order issued by the President on this subject on the recommendation of the Election Commissioner will have to be placed before the Parliament and its opinion elicited but this is a reversal of the legitimate procedure under which the preliminaries are settled by the legislature itself. It is also the duty of the legislature to pass the necessary legislation for pulling down corrupt practices during elections, for regulating contributions to the funds of political parties and for fixing their expenditure. The presumption in our country is that the Acts already on the statute book relating to these matters will continue to remain in force.

The other way by which a legislature may make elections unfair is by conferring extensive powers on the executive so as to enable it to interfere with the freedom of individuals and

parties in carrying on their work in connection with elections. The Public Security Acts, the Preventive Detention Acts, the various sections of the Penal Code on the subject of public meetings, etc., come under this head. It may be that the critical circumstances through which the country is passing today, the abnormal situation created by food scarcity and scarcity of other essentials of life leading to the outburst of violence and rioting here and there, together with the existence of certain parties wedded to violence and the creation of chaos and confusion, may be an excuse for arming the executive with extraordinary power. But it is only an explanation and an excuse. It doesn't in any way affect the argument that whenever and wherever a legislature confers such extraordinary authority on the executive there is a reduction of the element of fairness which ought to be associated with elections. The inference to be drawn from this is that the legislature also contributes its own share to the unfairness of elections.

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By V. P. SATHE

SIX years ago when Bombay Talkies' 'Kismet' was released there was a great furore in the press. In some quarters it was alleged that 'Kismet' was an undesirable and unhealthy crime picture. Fortunately the censors were not taken in by this propaganda and the picture proved to be the biggest hit in the annals of the Indian film industry running for about three years in Calcutta alone.

But since then, generally speaking, no effort has been made to depict the life of a criminal on the screen except again by Bombay Talkies in 'Nateeraj' which depicted the life of a bad boy to the bitter end. Yet, it is true that both these pictures did not emphatically condemn the crime as does Wali's 'Putli' which has now aroused considerable interest.

In 'Putli' the crime is denounced in a most emphatic and rather rhetorical manner. The picture is punctuated with sermons against crime. But the sermons may be effective if they are uttered from a pulpit and not from the screen. For that the best way is to present a story of a criminal and point out, in terms of drama, how his method is wrong.

'Putli' does nothing of the sort. It rather mixes two issues rather crudely. First, it shows how romantic and erotic stories published in a magazine ruin the lives of young girls. In particular it shows how an educated girl, influenced by the stuff she has read, runs away with an undesirable youth and lands herself into trouble. The whole idea is far-fetched, crude and unconvincing.

While in trouble, she meets two pick-pockets, one of whom is attracted towards her and later, under her influence, decides to give up his criminal profession. He almost succeeds

but his fingers are unable to resist the temptation and so he cuts them off, and later in trying to save the girl he loved from the clutches of a black-mailer gets involved in murder and is arrested. In the court he blames his parents for giving him licence and not admonishing him, and in fact slaps his old mother. This argument may appeal to some sentimentalist but sounds logically absurd. The end in which the criminal bursts into tears to disillusion the street urchins who idolize him also fails in its purpose since the urchins are not part of the story but just introduced at the fag end.

Yet, with all its absurdities and crudities, the story of the pick-pocket played superbly by Yakub is lively and human, inspired as it is from Munto's short story 'Jeb Katra'. In fact it is Yakub who has saved the picture from falling into a rut.

And mind you, it is not the sermons but the entertaining and moving story of the pick-pocket that holds the interest of the audience and accounts for the popularity that the picture has been able to attain. The story of Miss Putli and her love is the most uninteresting. Had the screenplay been confined only to the story of the pick-pocket and the girl who changed him, 'Putli' would have been a really first-rate anti-crime picture.

But as it is, but for Yakub's performance and his characterization, a few good songs, some brilliant dialogue and occasional good situations, 'Putli' is a very crude and loud picture which is commendable only for the purpose for which it has been produced.

Personality Of The Week

Last week, the news appeared that Paul Zils, the producer-director of

'Our India' went to Delhi to show his picture to President Rajendra Prasad, and Prime Minister Nehru. Both these leaders saw the picture which is based on Minoo Masani's famous book of the same name. It is not yet known what was their reaction to this picture, but one hopes it must have been favourable.

Paul Zils will be going to England to exhibit his film in the Edinburgh International Festival and he will be soon releasing the picture in India as well.

'Our India' is the first full length picture Paul Zils has made in this country, which he has now made his home. A German by birth, he had his early training in filmcraft in U.S.A. and has the distinction of having worked as an assistant to William Deitrie, the world-famous director (of pictures like *Pasteur and Zola*) when he was in Germany. Later Paul Zils specialized in documentaries.

While he had been out of his country to make documentaries the war broke out and, in spite of his anti-Nazi views, being a German he was interned in India. After the end of the war, Paul Zils found many friends in Bombay. His articles on documentary films appeared in the local press and along with his friend Rafiq Anwar (the hero of 'Neecha Nagar') he decided to produce a picture of the Buddhist era, 'Siddharth', based on a novel by Herman Hesse.

Due to lack of financial backing the plan never materialized. It was in those days that I first met Paul Zils and the first thing that impressed me about this handsome blonde young German was that he had not the slightest tinge of that western superiority complex. That's why perhaps he could make friends with Indian progressive writers and artistes with such ease.

Undaunted by the initial failure after which Rafiq went to Lahore, Paul took over the production of documentaries in right earnest under the banner of his new concern, Documentary Unit of India—better known as DUI. He produced three shorts on India for the U.N.O. and while some critics genuinely felt that these shorts adopted a patronizing attitude and failed to give the real picture of rural India, these pictures were well received by the U.N.O. Later he made a

number of shorts for commercial concerns.

But obviously these shorts could not satisfy his urge and he was all the while anxious to make a full-length film. In Minoo Masani's 'Our India' he thought he found the ideal basis for such a venture. A script tracing the cultural history of the country from ancient times and incorporating the story of a peasant family of the present times was devised by Dada-chandji, a well-known Bombay Journalist and film critic, and Evelyn Wood who wrote the dialogue for the English version.

And on the basis of this script, he approached leading stars and asked them to work on a co-operative basis. The stars responded to his appeal. Result: 'Our India' has the biggest star-cast to boast of. All these stars have worked on the basis of a nominal remuneration plus percentage in profits. In spite of the vast canvass of the story and the multitude of stars Paul Zils showed his efficiency in completing the picture according to schedule.

Now the real test is in the offing. It is only when 'Our India' is released

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sed that the critics as well as the industry will be able to appreciate the real genius of Paul Zils. As it is made in English as well as in Hindustani, this picture might also open the closed doors of the international market for Indian films.

On the outcome of this picture hangs the future of Paul Zils and others who belong to his school of film-making.

Stars Turn Partners!

There is an old saying to the effect that two women are like two swords which cannot live in the same scabbard. This is perhaps more true of film stars who are more self-centred and egoistic than other women.

It is on record that the producers generally avoid casting two female stars of equal importance in one picture, for they are afraid that it would be difficult to handle them. This rule applies to Hollywood.

In "Grand Hotel", for instance, Greta Garbo and Joan Crawford were co-starred. But the script was so arranged that both the stars never appeared together in the same shot. If they had, the producers were afraid of some real fire-works on the sets. A similar precaution was taken in case of Ginger Rogers and Lana Turner in a picture about Waldorf Astoria.

Hence, is it not surprising that two Indian stars who are these days acting together in two pictures should decide to start a production unit in partnership? Surprise or no surprise, it is a fact that Nimmi and Geeta Bali have become partners in a concern called Three Stars and they propose not only to star themselves in the first picture of their new concern but invite Nigar to appear with them.

Nigar, Nimmi, Geeta Bali—the three stars are like three places of dynamite which may blow up any moment. If they last together and if their concern runs smoothly, the world will have to change its opinion about women. As it is, one can only sympathise with the man who will have to bear the burden of directing these three stars out of whom two will be his bosses.

New Centres Of Production!

At the moment, motion pictures are produced in Bombay, Poona, Kolhapur, Calcutta, Madras and Coimbatore.

In Pakistan there is only one production centre—Lahore.

Now India is likely to have three new production centres, viz. Delhi, Lucknow and Hyderabad, of which the last two are already functioning. A picture starring Bharat Bhushan is being made at Lucknow and a report from Hyderabad, which at one time was a favourite resort for outdoor shooting, indicates that one picture has already been completed there.

Incidentally, Hyderabad has a close affinity with the film industry, having contributed to it such leading stars as Nigar and Jairaj. Besides, Zubeida, one of the old stars, is now settled down in Hyderabad.

Talking of the South it appears that apart from Gemini Studios, Jupiter Studios is seriously competing for the Hindi market and that it has already completed its first Hindi picture "Rani" starring Bhanumati and Anoop Kumar. Now A. V. M.'s "Life" which created a stir in Tamilnad and Andhra is being transcribed into Hindi.

As to Delhi, as reported earlier, there is a plan to establish a big studio at Okhla.

Nargis Signs Two Contracts

Though at one time Nargis was in no mood to sign fresh contracts, last week she is reported to have signed two contracts.

She is reported to have agreed to play the feminine lead in Prakash Pictures' "Baiju Banwara," the story of Tansen's contemporary musician, with Dilip Kumar as the likely choice for the title role. Naushad is giving the music. One of the reasons for signing this contract is said to be that Vijay Bhatt is helping Nargis Art Concerns by editing its ambitious productions, "Pyaar Ki Baten."

The second contract she is reported to have signed is with Ram Daryani to appear in Daryani's next social picture.

Author To Direct A Picture For Prince!

Author Ramanand Sagar is reported to have been signed by the Prince of Baria to write and direct a picture. The Prince of Baria, it will be recalled, financed Protima Das Gupta to produce "Pagle." He is now producing pictures on his own, the world rights of which will be controlled by Tribhuvan Productions of Gordhandas Agarwal.

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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.

Delhi Press Association

My attention has been drawn to the last paragraph of the New Delhi Diary published in SWATANTRA dated July 22, about the Press Association, Delhi. Please permit me to point out that the report is unauthorised and incorrect. In the first place, at the last general meeting of the Press Association, it was decided to postpone consideration of the amendments to the Constitution and no question therefore of accepting or throwing out of amendments arose. Secondly, the relevant amendment which was brought before the Association was only a re-draft of the existing provision deleting certain irrelevant clauses and it did not have the effect, as Mr. Prasad reports, of terminating a correspondent's membership of the Association the moment he ceased to be an accredited correspondent. The Association primarily exists to safeguard the interests of journalists working at the headquarters of the Government of India and therefore Mr. Prasad's lofty warning can only cause amusement.

K. RANGASWAMY,

Secretary, Delhi Press Association.

Preference For Candidates From Illiterate Families

The Government of Madras have adopted the Communal G. O. with a view to giving assistance and preference to certain candidates coming from weak and illiterate communities. There is no doubt about the good intentions of the Government. But it is unfortunate that the method adopted is unconstitutional and also that the Government could not avoid perpetuating an atmosphere of class-consciousness among the people.

So to get over the crux of the problem I suggest a line of action which the Government may adopt without fear of being unconstitutional and at the same time achieve its aim.

A system of selections based upon the illiteracy of the family of the candidate may be adopted. The more the extent of the illiteracy of the family of the candidate (which may be gauged by taking into account the illiterate members of the family), the more preference may be given to that candidate, irrespective of community.

Weak and illiterate communities can be uplifted if weak and illiterate families are uplifted.

M. RAJAGOPAL

To Kill Caste

The Diwakar Committee has suggested to the Government of India that caste should not be mentioned in the forms used in courts and jails and also in police and revenue records. The Committee's report that "communal and caste distinctions have caused immense harm to the country" is not a discovery. The verdict is as old as Buddhism. If the Government are really sincere about the elimination of caste I would suggest that caste indication such as the wearing of the holy thread may be made a penal offence and marriage within one's own caste should be made invalid. Caste suffixes to names should also be declared an offence. Mere removal of caste from the records will be a fight with the shadow. It is the substance which is more urgent and important.

S. GURUSWAMI

Editor, Viduthalai.

Madras Tram Fares

Tram travel has become literally a nightmare to the Madras city dweller who has now been called upon to pay increased rates of fares for a dilapidated conveyance. It is undeniable that the trams are too rickety and old to serve the growing needs of the travelling public of a metropolitan city. Even the cheapness in the rates of fares which was the only redeeming feature of the city trams, is now a thing of the past and as from 1st July the fares have been so exorbitantly raised that the thousands of ill-paid N.G.O's and commercial employees who constitute the vast clientele of the Tramway Company, are driven to the necessity of avoiding the cumbersome but costly conveyance by footing the distance instead. In the face of the fabulous profits the Company is piling up consequent on the terrible increase in the volume of traffic in the city, it is really absurd on the part of the Tramway Company to attribute the increase in the rates of fares to the moderate revision of tax made by the Government. There is a consensus of opinion among the public that the Government by their tacit acquiescence in the proposal to increase the tram fares have acted in utter disregard of the present peak level of the cost of living which dries up the slender resources of every middle and lower middle-class family.

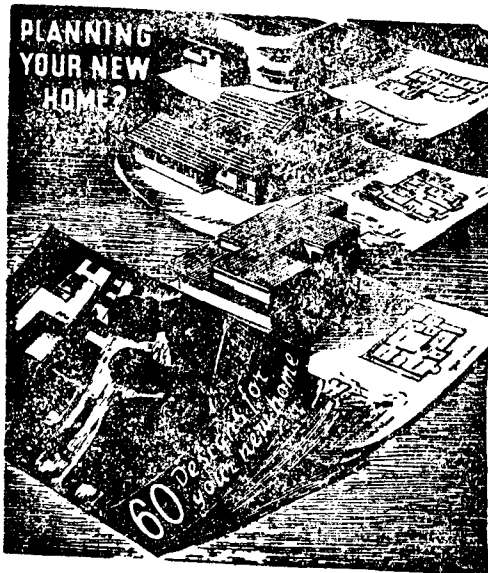
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SWATANTRA

VOL. V, NO. 28.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1950

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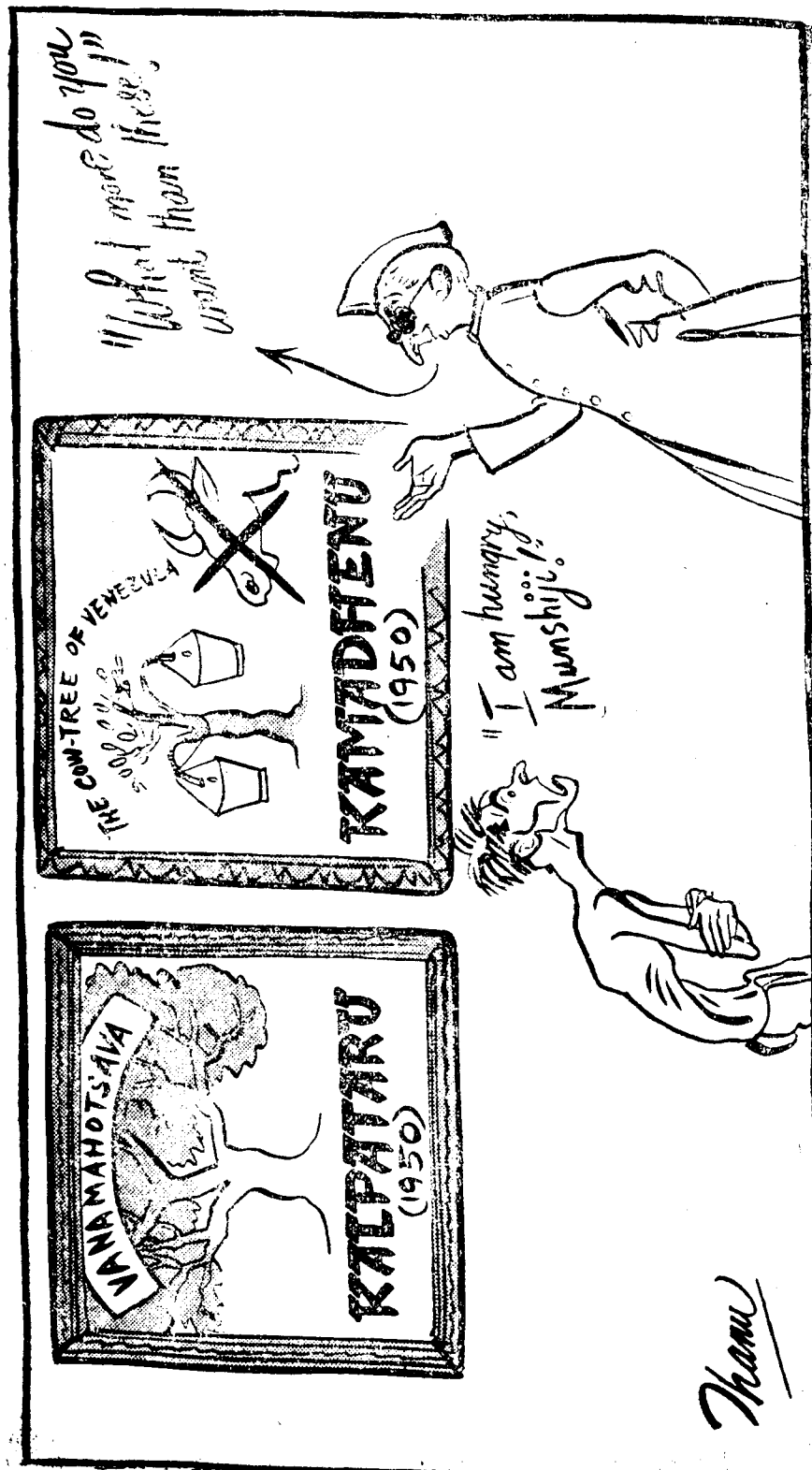
CONTENT OF FREEDOM

A progressive decline in public enthusiasm has attended the celebration of Independence Day over the past three years. The first Independence Day was an occasion of delirious popular rejoicing. The second passed off with less excitement. With the third, disillusionment began. And now, on the occasion of the fourth Independence Day, people are apathetic, disappointed and bitter. They have ceased to look to the regime that has come with affection, esteem or hope. Everywhere in the world, the Government in power has a large army of employees and beneficiaries, and these can set going a large publicity machinery to boost up any undertaking officially sponsored; and this is true of our Congress Government, too. It has utilised all its resources to make Independence Day this year look a grand success. And a grand success, it must be deemed to be, if one is to judge it by the reports in the newspapers. Pages and pages in bulky supplements have been filled with pictures and speeches of Congress leaders meant to illustrate the glory of Independence Day. The command performance side of the celebration has been got through neatly. But so far as the life of the people, as distinguished from propaganda, is concerned, it must be confessed that the Day has passed without evoking a thrill. In public places, buses, trams, trains and the like, where people spontaneously congregate, the trend of talk has been uncomplimentary to the Congress, and denunciation of Government has been the rule.

When the Congress assumed office, the public attitude to Congress rule

was one of eager and confident expectancy. That was a splendid asset to begin with. In these three years the ministers have completely destroyed that asset. It is not merely that they have been new to their tasks and fell into error and inefficiency. There is always hope of betterment through the lessons of experience for the bungler if the heart is sound. The public would have borne patiently with inefficiency due to ministerial inexperience, in hopes of improvement of efficiency through learning by mistakes. What exasperated them was the change in the character of Congress leaders in general when they became ministers. All too frequently they used their power not for the public good but for the rewarding of their own supporters. If they have failed to check grave evils like black-marketing, it was because the ministers in power had a tender corner in their hearts for blackmarketeers. The alignments of persons in authority with anti-social elements have cost the Congress its old popular character. The result is that Congress ministers, excepting for a few, have ceased to be looked upon as benefactors. They are distrusted and not respected.

The food problem has brought matters to a crisis. Famine conditions are rampant, especially in many parts of the south, but there is no attempt made to deal with the problem boldly. Verbal denials of a grave situation do not constitute redress. They leave the situation unchanged. There is an unreality in the whole atmosphere of the Government because of the unreality of its leadership. In Madras State, at any rate, power resides some-



where outside the Cabinet, and responsibility in the form of titular leadership is not adequately joined to power. The disequilibrium of power without responsibility is the cause both of the deficiencies of Government and of its seeming disregard of public opinion when such deficiencies are vigorously criticised. An unloved Government continues to rule with the help of a mechanical majority in the legislature. Every day of continuance in office of such a Government will only mean further widening of the gulf between the mass of the people and the constitutional structure of the State.

The Congress organisation has departed from Gandhian ideals. Congress ministers are communalists in disguise. There is little difference in spirit between them and the Justice

Party men. It is a fraud for the Congress to continue to retain its old name in the changed circumstances of the day, with so many Congress ministers plainly pledged to Justicite persuasions. Honest Congress ministers should join the Justice Party leaving the Congress free to give effect to its declared traditional ideals. The continuance of communalist Congress ministers in office means the spread of the Justice Party both in Government and in the opposition, with no voice left for the ideals for which the Congress stood under the Gandhian leadership.

Pandit Nehru serves today in the south as a cover to a communalised institution, formerly before the advent of power, imbued with the nationalist spirit. It is not a service to the nation for Pandit Nehru to allow this to continue.

Sotto Voce

RUPERT OF DEBATE



"PANDIT NEHRU, intervening in the debate, said"—how familiar is that gambit to the assiduous readers of our legislative reports! The intervention is sometimes delightfully inconsequential, as when coming to the rescue of the soporific Mr. Kidwai, he defended the postal holiday on Sunday on the ground that only "in the more backward countries" post offices worked on the Sabbath. Forestalling an avalanche of statistics, of which he has a wholesome fear, he adroitly played upon the sympathies of his audience by bemoaning his own lot; the daily flood of 1500 letters was fast swelling to 2000, he said. Parliament knew him too well to provoke a tem-

pest by asking how he coped with the double ration on Tuesday.

That is a question which his Private Secretaries are perhaps in a better position to answer; they are expected to temper the wind to the shorn lamb. They would gladly do much more for him than shroff the letters he must read, if only he will let them. They might save him from the sort of gaffe he is constantly perpetrating if they were not cowed down by that glittering eye which twinkles with merriment one moment only to be veiled with thunder the next. You will remember how one day he imagined that obscurantists were out to kill the

Hindu Code Bill and forthwith erupted into the halcyon calm of a House discussing the allotment of legislative time; his outraged modernity made him rampage like a mediaeval pasha.

Mr. Nehru is the soul of courtesy—when his soul is not afire. Poor Gopalaswami Iyengar, trying to trap Dr. Mookerji in a net of exceeding fine mesh, must have been nonplussed to find his leader butting in with an angry ejaculation directed against the impenitent champion of Bengal: "Why should he not wait for my reply? He will get it tomorrow." It was as if a matador engaged in a death-grapple with a bull had overheard a spectator tell the beast, "Why not leave that chump alone and wait till I punch you?" But in this case there was a sequel and it was not the bull that suffered damage.

Snorting at the suggestion that there should be compulsory exchange of populations Mr. Nehru declared, "If that proposition is put forward it will be fought to the utmost everywhere, in the council chamber, in the field or the market place." Is it just my fancy that finds here something more than the Churchillian accent—a very distinct echo in fact of a famous peroration against Hitler? Now, Mr. Nehru would scorn to plagiarise any man consciously. There is little doubt that that large heroic gesture must have seemed to him like a spark from his own anvil. Alas, the challenge was wasted rhetoric, and it has left an unpleasant taste in the mouth. For Mr. Nehru has to deal not with Hitler or Mussolini but with his own countrymen.

Talk of undoing the partition makes him see red; which is precisely the way to hearten the malcontents. He should know that Southern Ireland declaims against partition with routine regularity without disturbing the night's rest of Mr. Attlee and the

Ulster Premier. And international opinion, for which our Prime Minister has such vast respect, has not banished Eire into outer darkness for ungentlemanly pertinacity. As for exchange of populations, Mr. Nehru should reflect that he cannot jibe at it without telling the Hindus from East Bengal, logically, that he cannot admit them. After all, they are no longer Indian citizens. Is he not being guilty of that weak sentimentality of which he accuses others, in thinking they have some claim on his sympathy?

Far from feeling thus, he blames Dr. Mookerji for jeopardising their future. "You are saying things which are sure to rouse the ire of Pakistan and the poor Hindus must tremble, thinking that they will have to pay for it. Why don't you leave them to settle down quietly to their lot?" It is no Mahasabhaite but a good Congressman, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, that gives the devastating answer. "Yes, we are driving many of them into the arms of Fate all right," she said, "but it is not perhaps the kind of solution you would like: it is apostasy." Even our secular democracy cannot afford to forget the lesson of twelve centuries of history—that none can be more bitterly anti-Hindu than a Hindu forced from the fold.

We must take all the Hindus who will come. And if we can't ask the Muslims to go—and we can't—there is no escaping Dr. Mookerji's third alternative. We must ask Pakistan to cede living room for these nationals of hers she cannot or will not retain. We failed to do this in the Punjab. And we are saddled with a nightmare refugee problem, while Pakistan has neatly solved hers by settling her refugees on the broad acres of evacuee Hindus. We cannot repeat the mistake in Bengal and hope to be forgiven by posterity.

VIGNESWARA.

Gambling is one of the biggest industries in Britain. The British people spent £725,000,000 on gambling last year on horses, dog races, football pools and fun fares, according to a review by the Churches Committee on gambling. This amount was more than the £650,000,000 gambling turn-over of 1948 but less than the record figure of £791,000,000.—L. P. S.

NEW DELHI DIARY

By V. V. PRASAD

ON the eve of Independence Day, the Pandit and the Sardar made two significant statements. Pandit Nehru told Parliament that the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement of April 8 wanted that Government should take effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of propaganda for disturbing the territorial boundaries between the two countries. He was sorry that he had not worked in accordance with the terms of the Agreement. That was because "India has a noble Constitution which protected not only civil liberties in a variety of ways, but also uncivil liberties." In short, Panditji does not like the Constitution. The truth is that the Nehru-Liaquat Pact is *ultra vires* of the Constitution.

Sardar Patel announced that the Government contemplated a comprehensive and well-considered measure for preventive detention. "After the decision of the Supreme Court, it was the duty of Government to see that the earliest opportunity was taken to amend the Act in consonance with the decision." The Deputy Prime Minister, whose wrath was drawn by Pandit Kunzru, praised the Bombay Government because Pandit Kunzru had praised the Bombay High Court. The Bombay Government protected the civil liberties of millions of people "including judges of the High Court," he said. Pandit Kunzru declared, "It will be a great advantage to the House and to the country, if Sardar Patel realised a little more of the implications of parliamentary Government. Intolerance of criticism is wholly inconsistent with responsible Government." Let us hope that the Sardar will pay heed to the second Pandit.

Sardar Patel told Pandit Kunzru that one criticism was that the Preventive Detention Act was not properly scrutinised. "If I have failed,

I have the consolation that I share the failure in this respect with all the members of this House," of which Pandit Kunzru is also a member."

Pandit Kunzru:—I was not present here in India on that day.

Sardar Patel:—Just as time and tide wait for no man, this House waits for no member, however important he may be.

Sardar Patel himself had stated on the floor of the Indian Constituent Assembly some months ago that he was absent from the House on account of illness. If he were present, he said, he would not have allowed certain clauses concerning fundamental rights to remain as they were. This is the kind of statement which shakes the faith of people in democracy. The convention that the Constitution is framed by the whole House becomes fiction if one member says (however important he may be) that if he had been present, the clause would have been altered.

Pandit Kunzru could not plead that he was ill. Since he was not ill, he was abroad. Pandit Kunzru's conviction that he would have been able to alter the Constitution if only he were present is proof of his faith in democracy despite his well-deserved strictures on Sardar Patel. "Pride and prejudice cannot obliterate facts," he said. "Sardar Patel gave a display of the strength for which he enjoys a high reputation. I regretfully felt that the strength was more compatible with the idea of good Government than that of representative or responsible Government."

Mr. Ruikar of the Forward Bloc has been making some heroic attempts to bring about a United Leftist Front. Mr. Dange of the Communist Party was one of those who were invited. He was expected to attend the Conference but obviously the recent resolu-

tion of the C. P. I. disapproving of his interpretation of the developments in the Communist Party had to be taken into account. I asked Mr. Ruikar whether an individual invitation like that could be accepted. He said that he had also invited the General Secretary of the Communist Party, but it was difficult to know where they were; some of them were underground, and some were not. He therefore thought it advisable to invite Mr. Dange separately.

The unity move confines itself for the present to the three Trade Union Organisations of the Workers, and excludes the Government-sponsored Indian National Trade Union Congress. There is also an attempt to achieve a vaguer kind of unity among the Forward Bloc, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Workers' and Peasants' Party, the Bolshevik Party and other splinter groups. The Socialist Party is itself showing tendencies of splitting up into two groups, one

joining the Communists and the other vanishing altogether.

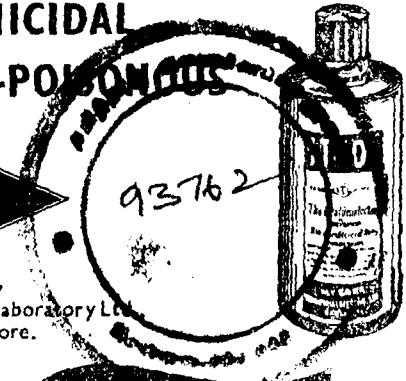
The Communist Party of India has not yet been able to make itself clear about the final shape of the new line. Mr. P. C. Joshi has asked for a Party Trial. If the removal of Ranadive does not mean a change in the Party line, there was no point in removing B. T. In the meanwhile Congress Governments continue to do what they say the Communists would do if they were in power. The Communists will cancel the passports of everybody except themselves, say our Congress rulers. The implication is that the Congress rulers will not. But only the other day we heard of the Bombay Government's refusal to issue a passport to Mr. Dange to visit Paris. Mr. Dange is a Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, whose headquarters are in Paris. He also applied for permission to go to Paris so that his shattered health may be built up under medical supervision.

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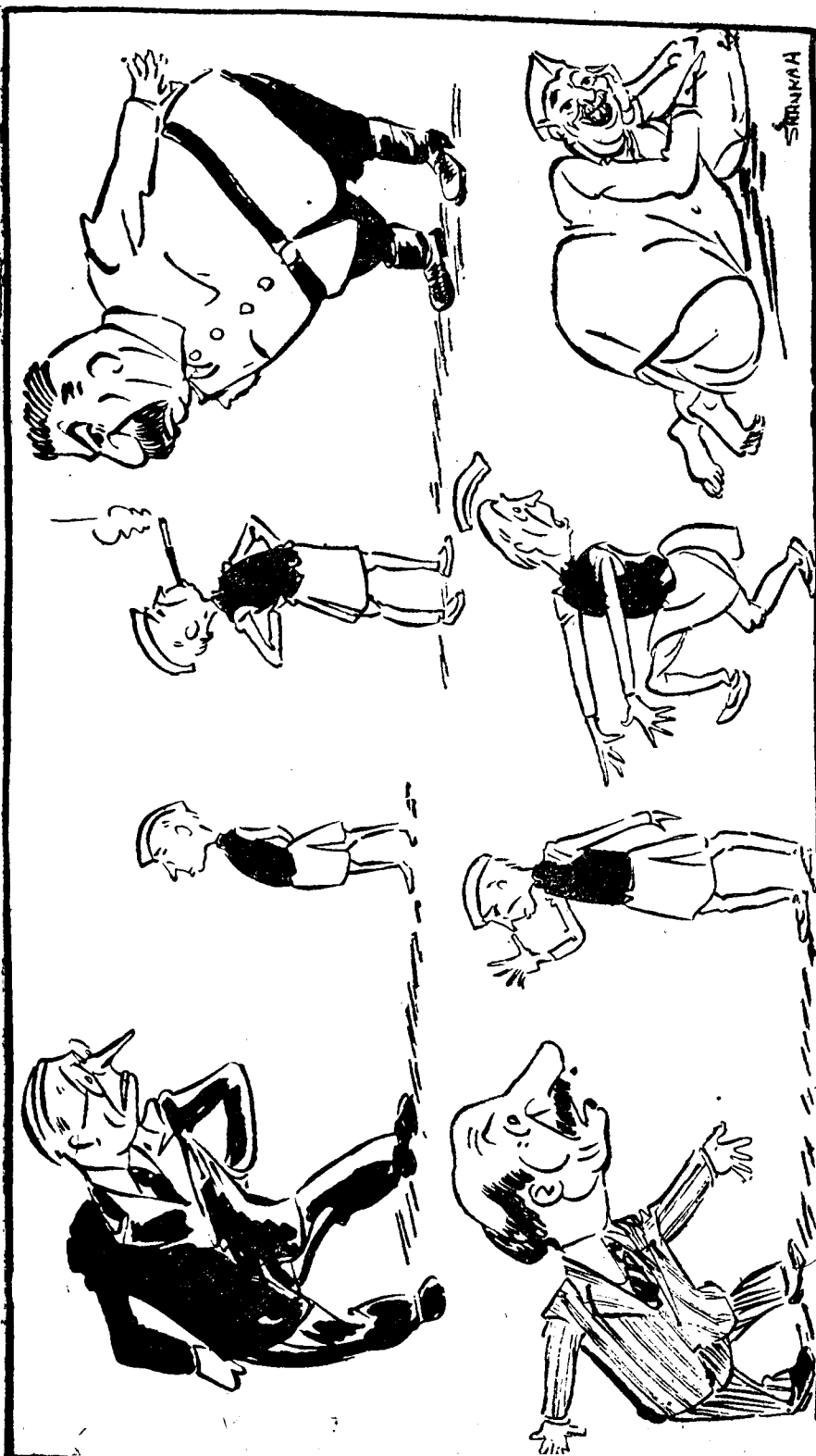


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Pandit Nehru says he has no fear of dollar imperialism or any other force, but he is afraid of self-complacency among Indian themselves.
—Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly.

THE BLACK GOD

By MANJERI S. ISVARAN

SING, brothers and sisters, sing,
for the millennium is come
to the music of pipe and drum;
sing, full-throated, sing,
your gallant voices fling
with the birds, the reeds in the wind,
brothers and sisters of Ind,
for the millennium is come,
shouting with triumph the earth has no scum,
blood 's the same whatever caste you've sprang from.

Ay, the millennium is come
to the music of pipe and drum,
when dog despises dog,
and donkey donkey diddles,
and blare the second fiddles
to the croak of the leading frog,
and foxes foxes befog,
and reptiles reptiles renounce,
and whore walks out on whore,
and the ultimate ounce
of truth is drown'd and values are no more.

Calls the caucus:
be one of us.
Cajoles the clique:
be our cazique.

Waste not your time in worshipping the gods
who are a legion;
O, they have been ousted by pimps and bawds
in every region;
venery's the most welcome contagion,
verily a popular religion;
there's only one god,
the crowning fraud,
the god of the black market,
running racket on racket,
who has no target
for making money; only with the ends
he is concerned, that pay him dividends
his bank balance to bulge
for him to indulge
in global tours in constellation planes
to link the chains
between cheat and cheat
in one vast international deceit,
swanking in saloons, satiating in brothels,
lolling in the lounges of luxury hotels,
striking shady deals
through seven-coursed meals.

Sing, brothers and sisters, sing,
ring, jocund temple-bells, ring,
the millennium, the millennium is come
to the music of pipe and drum.

tery, philosophy, medicine, nature and beauty....

"About 1641 he became Chief of his large tribe, which was spread over areas now comprising Peshawar and Kohat districts. He was soon engaged in hostilities against the Mughals, and strove to rally his countrymen under his banner of revolt.

"The unique qualities of Khushal attracted the attention of the Imperial Government, and in 1660, he was invited by the Emperor's Deputy to attend a Durbar at Peshawar. The fearless Chief accepted the invitation without any misgivings, but it turned out to be a plot to arrest him. Khushal was taken as a captive, first to Delhi and later to Gwalior, where he remained until he was released in 1664. He describes in one of his poems how he begged his admirers not to make any attempts to secure his liberty. He narrates the tale of his exile in pathetic couplets, giving long accounts of the political and social conditions prevailing around him. In those poems he speaks of the decay of Mughal power in India, and prophesies its approaching downfall.

"After he had been set free, he plunged into the task of uniting the various tribes against his enemies. A confused state of war ensued, and at last Aurangzeb had to go out in person with a strong force to stamp out Khushal's rebellion. The Mughals met with stout resistance, and the Emperor was forced to employ methods other than military. Aurangzeb succeeded in seducing some of Khushal's followers and, having gained some success, left the country, only to hear of another rising....

"...lying on his death-bed, Khushal's last words to the people around him were: 'Bury me where the dust of Mughal horsemen shall not reach my grave.'—(Frontier Speaks).

Today Khushal Khan Khattak is remembered by his people more as a poet than as a warrior or politician. There can be no doubt, however, that the patriotic traditions of his struggle against the Mughal imperialism and the stirring verses he has left behind and which are sung by every

Pathan must be inspiring the people of his homeland who rise once again to assert their independence.

And this celebrated poem of Khat-tak (translated from Pushto) may well be the marching song of the Pakhtoonistan "liberation army."—

Praise be to God that my will is now my own;
No care is mine for his court nor yet for council.

Like a bright star fortunate is my destiny;

Every day to me is a holiday of independence.

What though others weep? I am mad with joy.

Enough for a pathan his rug and blanket.

No care is mine for couches and cushions,

Freedom is mine, though plain and coarse my clothes.

Relieved now am I of velvet and brocade,

A grass-built hut is now so dear to me.

I had rather be settled there than in the marble palaces,

Because the wealth of the Mughals I despise.

The battle I fight is for faith and honour.

It is for the Afghan's honour that I have unsheathed my sword.

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

STRASSBOURG: Mr. Winston Churchill called upon the European Assembly here to demand the immediate creation of a European army, to fight what he called "Russian Communist aggression."

WASHINGTON: President Truman ruled out the possibility of a meeting between the heads of State of Russia, the United States and Great Britain to solve the international crisis.

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

MADRAS: A Congress member broke into sobs when he spoke on the starvation conditions in some rural areas in the Mathurai district during the Food debate in the Madras Assembly.... Another heart-rending revelation, that in the Tirunelveli district, babies and grown up children were sold at Rs. 2 and Rs. 5, because their parents were not able to feed them because of famine conditions, was made by the Congress member from that district.

ECONOMICS OF COMMERCIAL ART

By DEVI PRASAD ROY CHOWDHURY

IN Commercial Art, art is applied to a purpose other than art for art's sake. Those who co-operate in the business are, the artist, the employer, the consumer of the outturn and the man in the street. The science of economics works magnificently well with the joint efforts of all these. This is how it is done. The taste of the artist is mercilessly rationed through control of the different shades of pigments to meet the urgent need of being catchy. The employer takes a solemn oath not to pay the artist more than what his convenience would permit. The press refuses to accept any gradation of tone on account of the consumer's partiality towards line blocks, which are cheaper in cost and quite effective in print.

The objective is to popularise trade through such designs as would arrest the attention of the way-farer, without compelling him to get into the depths to understand intrinsic values of the signs composed in a pictorial theme. The economic motive is aggressively alert here, since the project aims at reducing wastage of time, money, thought, energy and all the rest of it, that go to make the science complete. Success of course depends upon how the artist exhausts himself to procure the result. He is employed for the business as a bull is yoked to a cart. The latter is not supposed to know the weight of the burden it has to carry nor the destination it has to go to. The bull moves on, drags on, on account of the driving force behind the whip. It is the indomitable will of the driver that makes the beast go on. The most amazing thing in this respect is that the energy behind the whip never ceases to function even though the driver gets tired. The cause for the gracious withdrawal of economic pressure from ceaseless whipping and continuous labour of the artist seems to be veiled in mystery. It is time that we made some investigation to see whether, in this regard, the economic objective is not lost in the case

of Commercial Art in our land.

The popularising of industry through pictorial illustrations is rather a recent innovation. Since it is an importation from the West, a lenient attitude is sought for experiments in this field till the practice grows into a tradition. Giving due consideration to all the possibilities involved, they seem to me to be bound up with exploitation of the very fundamentals of aesthetics, and this is not a thing which I can reconcile myself to. I am constrained to say that the prospect of being catchy is more likely to lead to frustration than promise any progress if things go on as they are doing at present. The reason for my apprehension is that the approach of the commercial artist generally is not only objective but subjective also. Therefore the subject through which the objective is to be reached, ought to have an artistic appeal, and without such an artistic appeal, no service can be rendered to the utilitarian aspect of Commercial Art.

Here is another problem. It concerns the standard of aesthetic sense of the receptive agent for whom the posters are intended. This problem takes us right to the bottom of the system of education that has been current for a long time. This system has hardly created any interest for a fuller life. We gathered the knowledge left by others in a mechanical manner. We had no intention to use it. Our ambition was merely to secure a degree to serve as a passport stamping us as educated. Our unassimilated knowledge failed to excite the intellect to the point of enabling us to think and see things for ourselves. Eyes did not look at things of beauty, ears never cared for music.

Approach to aesthetic standards has been not only absent from institutions of mass education, but it has been scrupulously avoided in our homes also, where growth of individuals depended on environmental influence. In the latter places, every form of appreciation of the beautiful was

generally considered an indulgence in luxury or sheer waste of time. In consequence of which, the person artistically bent, was taken to be a social misfit if not a torch-bearer of scandals. But these censors are perhaps not aware of the fact that the themes in art of our religion have been mostly erotic, and the highest attainment of our art in plastic and graphic forms developed through religious motifs. I have digressed from Commercial Art to fine art, because Commercial Art owes its existence to the latter which enjoys the benefit of distinction on account of a certain technique of its own, which is uncompromisingly rigid in character.

Do we really respond to the devices of Commercial Art, and if we do, what are the reactions? The answer is that one set of people will remain totally indifferent, while another will vigorously protest, protest on the ground of cruelty to the aesthetic sense. What is the cause of the indifference or the unfavourable response? The nearest reason we can get at is that there is usually a discord in the arrangements of pigments and a systematic disruption in the method of balancing. With the result, colours begin to scream and there is a revolt of balance in the disorder that follows. Here we are again faced with the question: Has there been any serious attempt to check the disorder so shattering to sensitive nerves? In answer we have to admit that there has been no such attempt. I may in this connection draw a simile by comparing the discord in question to the sudden beating of a tin box in the midst of a well organized orchestra. The unwarranted intrusion of the crude into the sphere of the refined, will explain how adjustments of cultivated sounds that constitute absolute music could end in a chaos on account of interruption by the unwanted. The same rule applies to painting also. Proper adjustments of sound and colour in both the cases are indispensable for a pleasing expression. But the very element on which depends the desirable result works as a discord if discipline in harmony is outraged. I might say it is the taste which is responsible for the menace to art in Commercial Art, the taste which has degenerated for want of understanding of relative

values. Good taste is the test of proper education for every walk of life.

The reactions of values and taste on Commercial Art can be further analysed. I have already stated that the function of a poster is to create an impression on the passer-by, even when he just throws a fleeting glance at it. That is all he can afford to spare in the midst of a pre-occupied mind and motion, since nobody walks without a purpose. The effect thus created in the mind is expected to fulfil the aim the illustration stands for. But the discord associated with it brings a repulsion, which prevents further attention, though it was expected to induce further inquisitiveness of the subject-matter in the mind of the person concerned. Nobody, it should be noted, likes to be in close touch with a thing in which his interest has ceased. Hence to make an impression lasting, we have to add just that interest which increases the value of the subject-matter and ultimately fulfils its commercial utility. This is only possible when finer issues of the art are implemented in the pictorial theme, for which culture of aesthetics, pure and simple, is required. In the circumstances, I venture to suggest that the taste for the beautiful must be fostered at home first, where the dweller and the visitor both get the benefit of the surroundings. Thus good taste gets a chance to spread in every sphere of activity.

Let me proceed to another aspect of art, which can be described as art commercialised. This is a very simple business. It consists in the selling by the artist of his soul, along with his art. The soul of an artist when allowed to exist as such in our country, is rather hard-boiled, and it takes any amount of dictation from the purchaser, besides accommodating itself to the wishes of relations in the matter of correction of work already done. Otherwise the artist will get landed in a difficult situation, with hunger threatening in the offing. Hunger is not a pleasant thing to play with. The artist knows that. So the gift of the artist works in harmony with the instinct of self-preservation. The satisfied purchaser approves of this as a healthy thing. —Condensed from a talk at Madras Christian College.

PERSIA'S RAZMARA—NEW ATATURK?

By ANDREW ROTH

CAN General Ali Razmara save Persia? This is the most important question today in the Middle East. Every analyst of note has fingered Persia as the most dangerous "soft spot" on the Soviet periphery. Yet there has been curiously little comment on General Razmara's swift emergence as a virtual *deus ex machina*. Perhaps it is because Persia's new and dynamic Premier is the West's "last card" in Persia that it is thought wiser to 'play' him in silence.

Quick In Action

In a country long cursed by a decadent and spineless ruling class, lean, sharp-featured General Razmara exudes irritation with past confusions and hesitations and confidence in his own ability to do things. His unpersian speed of action was dramatically shown when he was named Premier by the Shah, on the day after the Korean attack. He formed a cabinet, convened it for the first time and held his first press conference as Premier—all within two hours of his nomination. His predecessor had taken two weeks for the same thing. "Either he is the fastest Middle Eastern politician since Kamal Ataturk," mused one observer, "or he has been planning this for months."

General Razmara is a rewarding man to interview. His mind has a sharp cutting edge and he uses words for realistic explanations, not flowery deceptions. The quick motions of his wiry body betray the store of energy which keeps him working from five in the morning until well into the night. He does, indeed, suggest a Persian incarnation of Turkey's dynamic Kamal Ataturk.

General Razmara's favourite proverb—"A man's first country is his belly"—displays his sense of social realism. While still Chief of Staff he applied it by improving Army pay. He told me that this had improved morale somewhat but that there could be no basic improvement while deep poverty prevailed in the country. He insists that there are only two hun-

dred or so "real Communists" in Persia and that the elimination of poverty, rather than police suppression, is the best way of countering them.

Scholar And Writer

Persia's new Premier prides himself on being a scholar and geographer as well as a military man. This dates from a dull spot in his career in the thirties. He joined the Army as a youth in 1918 and acquired a reputation fighting the Kurdish tribes and suppressing revolts in Luristan from 1926 to 1930. But he never won the full confidence of Reza Shah, the pre-war dictator-monarch and father of the present Shah. Therefore Razmara studied Persian geography and wrote his "Military Geography of Persia" and 19 other books which he went out of his way to tell me about.

Persia's new Premier has also a gay side. He recently had a diplomatic cocktail party in stitches telling about his aged grandmother who has recently grown a new set of teeth.

It is difficult to tell whether Washington or London is happier at General Razmara's emergence as Premier of strategic, oil-rich Persia. Although it has been considered wiser to maintain a discreet silence, London beams with hopeful enthusiasm. Britain has been deeply concerned about its inability to secure ratification for the oil agreement negotiated last year between the Persian Government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The British Government owns a majority of the stock of this company, the Middle East's biggest producer. During the last year it has become clear that, despite greatly improved terms, no Persian Government responsive to popular feelings dares ratify the agreement. Under General Razmara's 'forceful leadership' the ratification may be pushed through.

America's new Ambassador, chubby Henry F. Grady, probably feels most fortunate to begin his mission at a time when the Government of Persia is in the most competent hands in a decade. During the last year the

rapid disintegration of Persia, particularly on the economic side, had severely frightened the State Department. The Americans were also completely frustrated because any money supplied to the previous corrupt and inept Governments would have gone 'down the drain.' Now Ambassador Grady is expected to 'stiffen' Persia with economic and military assistance much as he did during his last two years in Greece, with the hope that honest General Razmara will prove a good risk.

General Razmara has always managed to keep in step with mounting American influence without losing his less obvious but probably stronger British ties. In 1946 he endeared himself to the Americans by favouring strong action to put down the Azerbaijan rebels when others were more timid. He helped negotiate the Persian-American military agreement of 1947 and thereafter remodelled the Persian army on American lines. This helped shape the American strategy of relying on the Army and the Throne as its chief Persian allies. During 1948, in particular, this American support helped push General Razmara—and the Shah—into the foreground of Persian politics.

Tribesmen Won Over

There is now some hope that the much-touted "Seven Year Plan" can get under way because General Razmara has shown a remarkable ability to absorb and apply foreign advice, when it benefits Persia and himself. Thus, he has applied very effectively the American suggestion of three years ago that the well-armed tribal peoples, who constitute one-third of Persia's population, be converted from an anti-Government force to an organized reserve of the Army. He proclaims very proudly that for three years there have been no tribal incidents. The Army supplies medical care and protection during the seasonal migrations of tribal flocks. And the tribal leaders attend a two-months course in how to harass invaders. General Razmara does not pretend that either his 140,000-man army or the approximately 300,000 armed tribesmen could do any more than harass any major modern invading army.

No Border Incidents For Blackmail

General Razmara is happy to

receive American help but is not willing to use blackmail or misrepresentation to secure it. Most Middle Eastern leaders would have blown up the series of petty incidents on the Soviet-Persian border into major invasions to secure Western attention and American help. Some Persian quarters have attempted this, with the help of Persian correspondents for American press associations. But General Razmara has consistently reduced these altercations to their proper proportions. Explaining them to me last April he pulled out a sheaf of maps and pointed out that they all concerned the same dozen spots where the border is not properly demarcated.

Involved Intrigues

Although, in true Persian style, Razmara has used foreign support to power his own ambitions, he has not neglected his own careful career-building. Virtually every Persian seems born with the ability to spin complicated intrigues, and General Razmara is certainly not the least endowed. As soon as the old pro-Nazi Shah was deported by the Allies in 1941, Razmara started making friends and alliances. By 1945 he had achieved his ambition and became Chief of Staff of the Army and a close friend and ally of the young Shah. He has purged the army of his opponents both on the extreme right and the extreme left. He has placed his special friends in strategic places.

One of General Razmara's closest friends and allies has been General Daftari who was chief of the military police and of the General Staff's Second (Intelligence) Section. Under General Daftari this secret service grew tremendously, sometimes along strange lines. Anti-Razmara sources, for example, have their own version of the May 26 killing of Ahmed Denghan, deputy and editor of the pro-Army "Tehran-e-Mossavar." Both Denghan and the man who shot him were supposedly members of an assassination squad attached to the Second Section. Editor Denghan was supposed to be the "finger-man" to point out to the assassin Dr. Baquai, a vociferous opposition deputy who is a bitter enemy of General Razmara. But Dr. Baquai, warned of an attempt on his life, escaped from the Chamber by a side door. Editor Denghan and the young assassin returned to the

former's office and Editor Denghan was supposedly killed in argument over who was responsible for botching the job. General Daftari asked the police to deliver the killer into his hands although there was no legal reason for doing so. It was later officially announced that the assassin was a member of the pro-Soviet Tudeh (Masses') Party, who was slated to kill General Razmara.

Razmara For Dictatorial Powers

It is significant that, on the eve of General Razmara's taking office, this same General Daftari was named head of the civil police. General Razmara once before showed his ambition to control the police as well as the military when he took over the gendarmerie in May 1949. The American advisers who had trained the gendarmerie felt that it should remain an independent rural police organization. An embassy-inspired American press association dispatch commented: "For the past two years there have been persistent rumours that General Ali Razmara, Persia's Chief of Staff, wants a military dictatorship with himself as the strong man under the Shah."

During the last year the increasing stench from Persia's Augean stables has made a military dictatorship seem a lesser evil to Western diplomats. They are more fearful of complete collapse and the victory of pro-Soviet elements. The attack on Korea sounded the warning that Persia could not be left in weak, fumbling hands. General Razmara took office the day after the North Koreans attacked.

Razmara's Promises

General Razmara has promised Persia improved living conditions, lower living costs and a quick end to "disorder" and "the misery and famine which have ravaged the country."

But much as these are desired, tumultuous street demonstrations have shown that many Persians fear to lose their few remaining liberties en route. Dr. Mossadeq, leader of the parliamentary opposition, has warned General Razmara: "If we do not follow democratic ways we will never be able to satisfy the people's needs."

Actually the basic issue in Persia is not political democracy—which the country has never enjoyed—but whether Persia is to be run for the benefit of the abysmally poor fifteen millions or its corrupt and inept "two hundred families" of great absentee landowners. (The Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy put it even more strongly for me some time ago: "There are only two alternatives in Persia: a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictator of the ruling class. Unfortunately," he added, "we are aligned with the latter.")

Task Before Razmara

There is no doubt that General Razmara is a man of tremendous ability and forcefulness and genuinely desirous of reform. But to carry through any meaningful reforms he will have to chop off, tentacle by tentacle, the flaccid octopus of semi-feudal control which now smothers any advance but will fight tenaciously to preserve its one-sided privileges.

The Middle East has sired one Atatürk and some admirers see General Razmara as a Persian reincarnation. But Atatürk combined dictatorship, fast-paced reform and extreme nationalism. General Razmara undoubtedly leans toward stronghanded rule and reform. But he now draws his support from the Shah, a substantial section of the "two hundred families" and the British and Americans. This renders unlikely any thoroughgoing reforms or any extremes of nationalism.—Copyright —N. P. S.

A move is afoot to change the name of the Tory Party, in Britain. Several prominent Tory leaders want that the name should be changed to suit the changing conditions. But the difficulty has been experienced in finding a suitable name. Lord Tviot, the Chairman of the National Liberal Party declared in London, the other day:—

"Lord Woolton and I are thinking of changing the name of the Conservative Party but the difficulty is finding something suitable. We have die-hard Conservatives and die-hard Liberals and it would be a good thing if we could arrive at a name to embrace us both. I would like to see a name like the "People's Party."

RAILWAYS IN INDIA—(6)

OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY AND STANDARD OF SERVICE

THOUGH the conditions of traffic and working in India approximate to those of the U. S. A. railways, our efficiency is, as already mentioned, below a quarter of that of the latter. How our railway efficiency can be improved will now be considered.

The first important step is to accelerate substantially the speeds of goods trains. The average goods train speeds in the U. S. A. have nearly doubled during the last twenty years. Many goods trains there now maintain virtual passenger train speeds. The timings of such goods trains are published. The general average speed of accelerated main line goods services is in the neighbourhood of 40 miles per hour and overnight services for distances of 400 miles are not uncommon.

It is a similar revolution and not a mere change in the freight train schedules that is badly needed on our railways. It has already been stated, that on the Broad Gauge, particularly there are facilities for increasing the speed of goods trains consistent with safety. Goods train time tables should be completely over-hauled and redrawn, providing for maximum speeds and minimum halts at junctions. Co-ordinated through-timings with connected railways should be given, so that through goods trains can run on main lines at fast speeds like passenger trains from one end of the country to the other. The facilities needed for these, including additional crossing stations or loops should be provided on top priority. Methods of operation should be revised and modified to make this possible. It is obviously not possible to enter into details in this article; what is needed is a complete re-orientation of goods services.

At present there is great detention of goods trains at engine changing stations, and local and foreign junctions. At most of the latter, goods trains are broken

and reformed, involving great delay. Suitable measures and methods of operation should be adopted to avoid this. The most important amongst such measures is what is called the "Preclassification plan" in the U. S. A. The Interstate Commerce Commission, U. S. A., who did much to bring this system into force years ago, observed as follows in one of their reports:

"One of the important features of operating efficiency is to move traffic in solid blocks, kept together for longest possible distances.... This practice not only promotes expeditious movement but minimises switching in transit and at intermediate terminals with resultant savings to the carriers. We have also urged the carriers to deliver cars to their connections in blocks so that preclassification may be worked out easily and with less switching. Many carriers have adopted our suggestions along this line with savings which amply demonstrate the soundness of the practice."

The Railway Board Report for 1948-49 mentions that some progress was made with a system somewhat analogous to this in case of trains originating from Bombay area. The system of pre-classification should be extensively adopted on all our railways.

Another direction in which efficiency can be increased is by improved methods of handling consignments in small lots or "smalls." A full use of motor transport to supplement railway service is one of the important ways in which this can be achieved. Measures should also be adopted to ensure full loading of waggons and avoidance of delay to waggons. By such measures it should be possible to improve the performance in regard to goods transport and achieve a much higher gross ton mileage output per goods train hour, with resul-

tant economies and benefits.

To ensure efficiency it is necessary to have a definite plan to work up to. This plan should be drawn up for each railway system and should fix definite targets of efficiency to be attained for the various items of operation and others, such as consumption of fuel and stores. In consultation with the General Manager and Heads of Departments of each railway, the Railway Board may fix the targets and there should be periodical "efficiency audit" to ensure that necessary action is being taken to overcome difficulties and reach the goals fixed. There must be a sustained efficiency campaign to create the necessary atmosphere in all grades of staff to put through the efficiency programme. In the workshops, there should be introduced a system of job analysis as recommended by the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee. Without such a dynamic plan and a continuous persistent attempt to work up to definite goals, sustained progress will not be possible.

It is by investing large sums to improve and modernise the plant and equipment and by maintaining a ceaseless drive to attain efficiency targets according to plans carefully drawn up that the U. S. A. railways have been able to advance to higher and higher levels of efficient and economic operation. In this connection the following admonition of the Interstate Commerce Commission in their recent report on railways in the U. S. A. applies equally to our railways and may with advantage be noted by all officers and staff for their guidance: "...we are of the view that more must be done to increase the efficiency and reduce the cost of railroad operations. Opportunities of this kind extend from the multitude of minor day to day operations to large scale changes in practices which require both careful planning and substantial capital investments. Lapses in operating procedures which lower standards of service are costly to correct and discourage the use of rail service. A thorough searching out of better ways of doing these lesser things which constitute a railroad's day's work must be undertaken. Bold experimentation with new devices and methods seems also to be required in some instances. The co-operation of employees from top to bottom is a

first essential for successful determination of where weaknesses lie and for the application of remedial steps. Imagination and ingenuity must be brought to the task. The responsibility for effecting improvements lies directly with the railroads."

Modernising The Railways

A necessary prerequisite for a high standard of service and efficiency is an up-to-date railway plant and equipment with all modern facilities. Functional excellence cannot be attained without a modern plant and equipment of high standards. The many defects and deficiencies in our railways should be removed, up-to-date locomotives, rolling stock, track and train control systems should be provided. This will involve a large outlay of capital, which cannot be avoided. Despite falling traffic and decreasing returns, the railways in the U. S. A. launched at the end of World War II, a four billion dollar programme of improvement in plant and equipment and are carrying on the same. It is this that has largely enabled them to maintain and advance the quality of their service and efficiency. Unless the necessary capital outlay is incurred and the railway plant and equipment is modernised, it will not be possible for our railways to render a high standard of service at low cost.

Unification Of Gauges

Amongst the major defects in our railway system, the most serious one is the existence of three different gauges. This restricts the free flow of traffic by necessitating transshipment at junctions. The cost of transport is increased by the extra handling, the necessity for providing duplicate facilities, detentions to engines and waggons and unnecessary empty running on different gauges. The total capacity of the railways is thus restricted.

There is a general feeling that, as railways were not originally constructed on a single gauge, the defect cannot now be removed without a very heavy capital outlay which is likely to be out of all proportion to the resulting benefits. This view is not well-founded. Countries like the U. K. and the U. S. A. had this problem in a much more acute form than our railways. They incurred, years ago, the necessary expenditure,

By
H. RANGACHAR, M.A.

changed over virtually to the single standard gauge and have greatly benefitted by it. There is no reason whatever why our experience should be different. Australia which is labouring under a similar disadvantage and has four gauges on its 27,000 mile railway system has undertaken unification on the 4'-8½" gauge as a post-war reconstruction measure and is reported to be making steady and slow progress.

In our case the problem resolves itself into one of converting 15,000 miles of metre gauge into the world standard gauge of 4'-8½". The conversion of broad gauge requires a comparatively small outlay as the alteration to the track, engines, carriages and waggons is not extensive. The cost of converting the metre gauge will not however be so heavy as is generally assumed. The engines and other rolling stock need not be scrapped but can be altered to run till they reach obsolescence.

It is to be hoped that, in view of the immense benefits in efficiency and economy which it will render possible, the standardisation of gauges will be taken up early on a planned programme.

Communications

Apart from getting the most up-to-date engines, carriages, waggons and improving the track, the other large improvements necessary are in the field of communications. The railway is a large scale unit covering vast areas with far flung operations. Efficient communication facilities are necessary for control and working and should be provided on our railways. The same set of wires can now be used both for telegraph and telephone purposes and can carry several circuits. As a result of technological developments, radio is also being used on railways in the U. S. A. for communication from one end of the train to the other, for yard operations and for communications to and from moving trains. Even the use of radar is being experimented upon, in that country.

Centralised Traffic Control

This new system of working trains is coming more and more into use in the U. S. A., in the place of the old systems. As observed by Mr. Robert S. Henry in the International Industry Year Book, 1948, it is possible under

this system "to direct train movements entirely by remote control. Orders to train crews are not needed. Instead, switches and signals over many lines are controlled by a single operator sitting before a panel or a switch board in a control room. Before him, the position of each train is shown automatically on an illuminated diagram of the line. Below the diagram are knobs which govern each signal and small levers which govern each switch on the line." The operator can regulate movements of trains by his exact knowledge of where trains are. The "Railway Age" of December 31, 1949 observes: "The CTC signalling is as simple as the stop and go traffic signals on city streets... The CTC makes it possible to use motive power effectively, that is, to keep the trains in motion at the maximum permissible speed throughout a very high percentage of the time they are on the road." The track capacity under the CTC is increased by 50 to 100%. This system is not in use on our railways and may with great advantage be installed on important main trunk lines, wherever possible.

Improved systems of interlocking signals should also be adopted for safety of train movements. The new device of entrance exit (NX) is being installed at important big stations and yards in the U.S.A. This may be used at big stations on our railways.

Improved and up-to-date facilities for maintenance and handling of locomotives and cars may with advantage be provided. The lay-out and design of loco sheds should be remodelled so as to make it possible to lubricate, wash, deash and coal locos simultaneously on an assembly line and thus avoid detention and improve user.

There are many such improvements necessary and the works for modernising the railway should be carried out on a well thought out and carefully prepared 3 or 4 year plan. The necessary capital expenditure, though large, should be provided.

Coordination Of Transport

In the conditions of the present day world, no single means of transport can meet the complex and multifarious needs of a country. All types of transport are necessary and should have full scope and facilities to func-

tion effectively in the public interests. The problem should be viewed, in the words of Mr. Herbert Morrison, not from a tube mind, a railway mind, an omnibus mind or an air mind but from a transport mind. There should therefore be no question of favouring any one kind of transport at the expense of the other. The several agencies of transport have to be so coordinated as to be in a position to function efficiently and provide in combination an integrated and unified system of transport to the country. The following should therefore be the basic objectives of any well-regulated system of coordination of transport:

(1) Full opportunities should be provided for each type of transport to function in the field in which it can render efficient service.

(2) In competitive fields, conditions to ensure fair competition should be created.

(3) The different types of transport should be so integrated as to render in combination a unified transport service to the country.

There are many directions in which rail and motor transport could supplement each other for mutual benefit and great advantage to the public. Both for passengers and goods, motor vehicles could provide door to door service in cities and towns. At places inland, unconnected by railways, "off-rail stations" or out-agencies should be established on an extensive scale so that no place in the country will be without access to an out-agency situated within easy distance. These out-agencies should book through passengers and goods to any other place for a single motor-cum-rail rate; the transport between the rail station and the out-agency should be provided by the railway under suitable arrangements with an associated company or the provincial Government as the case may be.

Dual Purpose Vehicles And Equipment

These are largely in use in the U.S.A. The adoption of similar devices on our railways will be a great step forward in providing integrated fast inland transport throughout the country, including parts not traversed by railways. The dual purpose vehicles and equipment consist of steel containers which can pick up smalls (less than waggon loads) and deliver them intact at destination, demounta-

ble trucks or detachable lorry and trailer bodies which can be transferred between railway open waggons and motor lorries or trailers.

This is an altogether new field of activity for our railways full of great potentialities for development. The transport resources of the country will be immensely increased as facilities for through-booking in bulk will now become available to every part of the country unconnected with the railway, however remote it may be. Suitable containers, truck bodies and trailer waggons should be obtained and the system introduced at the earliest possible time.

It is a well-known fact that railways in India have not cultivated and secured the goodwill of the public at large. The nationalisation of railways has not resulted in any great change in this. This is largely due to the present conditions and inadequate transport facilities. The 3rd class passengers who contribute the largest to railway revenues and are thus its greatest patrons have still ample justification for complaining that the railway is not giving them a square deal. The overcrowding and other inconveniences make travelling highly uncomfortable. The present Government are aware of this and are taking steps to improve the conditions. More carriages are being added and more trains run. The provision of 3 crores of rupees for passenger amenities annually for the next five years may be taken as an earnest of their attempts to improve the quality of railway service to third class passengers. Our railways should go all out to secure the goodwill of the public at large by their attention to their needs and by the quality of their service. This will be a great asset.

The country has a very valuable asset in its railways which by integration and nationalisation have been welded into a unified system under the single control of the Government. At present, their equipment, facilities and service are inadequate and not satisfactory. The railway plant has to be improved and modernised; suitable organization has to be set up; and operational efficiency has to be increased and maintained at higher and higher levels. Their financial position has to be strengthened and fortunately circumstances are very favourable for this, as, unlike railways

in most countries, our railways have increasing traffic and earnings. With proper planning, organisation and management, our railways can become a highly efficient member of the integrated transport system of

the country providing, at the lowest possible cost transport, unrivalled for safety, speed and efficiency and thus play a very worthy part in the economic development of the country. (Concluded)

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By S. RAJALAKSHMI

INDIA, hardly three years a free nation, has like Minerva full-grown, stepped on to the stage of world affairs with a dignity and a plumb all her own. Within this short period not only has she recovered from a shaky start and stabilized herself to the great dismay of political Cassandras, but she is now gradually settling down to become something of a Third Force in world politics. That she is no newcomer to world States but a mother country, venerable in her own right, has been conclusively proved by the great role she has played in the last three years in world councils.

This is the major line of her foreign policy, frequently outlined by her Prime Minister, namely, the pursuit of peace through an independent approach to controversial issues while refusing to align herself with any major power. True to her own traditions India has sought the liberation of subject peoples, the maintenance of freedom both national and individual, the elimination of racial discrimination, of want, disease and ignorance with which the greater part of the world is afflicted. This positive vital role is merely an extension in foreign affairs of the same broad principles upon which India has based her own transition from subjection to independence and full sovereignty. The story of Indian social history is a continuous series of attempts to reconcile the conflicting forces of individualism and collectivism. With the achievement of political independence, India has found an impetus to her intense striving for the discovery of her lost soul.

Avoiding the heresy of either extreme, namely, individualism and collectivism as also the lure of power blocs, India has endeavoured to view world affairs without fear, prejudice or passion; to appraise them dis-

passionately in the light of specific facts of each case; and furthermore to disentangle and concentrate attention on the human and moral factors that may be involved. This leads her naturally to remain aloof from any alignment with one or the other of the power blocs that divide the world today. While such an independent approach has not always been appreciated by the contending groups India has no other course to follow if she is to be true to her national genius. Moreover, the forces driving on to a third world war can only be checked by such a policy pursued by India in her persistent efforts to bring together all groups thus bridging the gulf that divides them. The initiative she has taken for the settlement of the Korean dispute is entirely consistent with the foreign policy which she has been following. The purpose, aims and aspirations of such an impartial, neutral force in world politics, which is India's legitimate role were abundantly made clear by Pandit Nehru during his tour of the United States and Canada last October. The Prime Minister declared in unequivocal terms in all his private and public utterances in America that when India said *constructive neutrality* she meant it and that it was neither a negative nor an isolationist policy.

A resume of India's part in the international sphere during the current year in which she played a vital role in shaping the course of events may be briefly given for a clearer picture of this policy in execution.

India was the first Commonwealth country to recognise the Government of the Peoples Republic of China on December 30, 1949. This recognition was based on an understanding of the revolutionary change that had altered the international government of China and was a historical event of great significance. Although the

pattern of the new Government in China was vitally different from her own, India realised that the Communist regime represented the will of the Chinese people, was a strong and stable Government and should therefore be recognised as such. Since then India has been making constant efforts to get Communist China represented on the U. N. in place of Nationalist China which has ceased to exist.

The recognition of the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China by U. K., U. S. A. Australia, Belgium, Holland, New Zealand, Italy, Greece, and Siam and the Ho Chih Minh Government by the U. S. S. R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania, did not deter India from taking a neutral stand in the matter. Any hasty action was unwise, declared Pandit Nehru since it was too early to say whether Bao Dai had the support of his people.

When the Inter-Asian Conference met in New Delhi in January, 1948, the main problem before it was the Indonesian struggle for freedom. India's interest in the Republic of Indonesia arose not only because of old ties, but because the freedom of Indonesia strengthened the Indian Republic. Pandit Nehru's recent visit to Indonesia in June saw the forging of yet another link of unity between the two nations by the renewal of the ancient ties that allied India with Indonesia.

On January 4, 1950, an Indo-Afghan treaty was signed recognising the independence and rights of the two States. The treaty affirms everlasting peace and friendship between the two countries and provides for the exchange of diplomatic representatives in each other's territories. By this pact of friendship the two Governments agreed to develop and strengthen the cultural ties that bind them and help each other's industrial and agricultural progress.

An Indo-Iranian treaty signed in Teheran on March 15, 1950, was proof of the desire for friendship that has for long existed between Iran and India. The treaty provides for perpetual peace and friendship, and mutual assistance in matters of trade and commerce, for the common good of the two countries.

On 25th June, civil war broke out in Korea with the Communist invaders from the North. The conflict

constituted a major event even threatening world security and arousing global interest. The Security Council passed two resolutions in which a cease-fire was demanded as also assistance from the U. N. for the South Korean defenders. India's support to the resolutions was consistent with Pandit Nehru's foreign policy statement in U. S. He had said: "We have to achieve freedom and defend it, we have to meet aggression and resist it. But even while resisting aggression the ultimate objective of peace and reconciliation is never to be lost sight of."

India's initiative, therefore, in approaching the three Big Powers for a speedy and peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict was nothing new but only a practical application of the policy enunciated earlier. U. S. S. R.'s re-entry into the Security Council and the admission of Communist China as a member, India felt, were prerequisite factors for a solution of the Korean dispute. Subsequent international reactions to the move have, however, damped India's fervent hopes; but the appeal of India's influence has never been in works of a spectacular character thrilling the world for the moment. So perhaps the vital role she is playing in the cause of world peace will bear fruit later on when passion has cooled and calm has returned to the world.

India's consistent stand in the U. N. discussions in supporting the claims of colonial people for emancipation and her independent attitude towards the two sharply divided power groups have enhanced her prestige and smaller States are looking to India for guidance. India has also played a notable part in the discussions which led to the settlement of the Italian colonies. That India's prestige stands higher in the eyes of the world today is evidenced by the election of several Indians to head various U. N. organisations. During the year Mr. Jagjivan Ram was elected Chairman of the I. L. O., Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was elected President of W. H. O., Mr. V. K. R. Menon was selected to be Chairman of the Committee of Work on Plantation; Mr. Sadashiva Prasad was elected Chairman of its Asian Man Power Committee; Mr. A. S. Lal of the Government of India was appointed Assistant Secretary-General of the U. N. O.

FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS (6)

By Prof. M. VENKATARANGAIYA

IN a democracy the essence of an election consists in the electorate being given opportunities to choose from among a number of candidates the persons who are to govern them either as members of the legislature or of the executive (the Cabinet). Choice has no meaning unless it is a free choice. And free choice implies two things. In the first place it implies freedom for persons to offer themselves as candidates for being chosen. In the second place it implies freedom for the voter to choose any one he likes from among the candidates. Unless both kinds of freedom exist elections cannot be said to be free.

At the present day in all democratic States there are very few persons who stand as independent candidates. Every one is a candidate attached to some political party or other. Freedom therefore for a person to stand as candidate really means freedom for people to organise themselves into as many political parties as they like and freedom for them to set up candidates for election and freedom to carry on propaganda among the electorate in favour of the candidates so set up. So far as the voter is concerned he must have the freedom to listen to the propaganda carried on by all parties and make his final choice without being subject to any pressure, intimidation, threat or violence. It is when these conditions are fulfilled that the elections deserve to be called free and fair.

The freedom which one has to associate with elections is not merely or solely freedom just before the elections or during the elections. It is a continuing freedom and should always exist in the country. Although it is just in connection with elections that parties set up candidates and although it is just during an election that the voter has to weigh the arguments placed before him by several parties and make his choice, the process of educating the electorate and carrying on propaganda to gain its favour is a process in which political parties have to be engaged throughout. The vote cast by the elector at

an election is the result of the total impression that is made on him by what he hears from different political parties from day to day between one general election and another. A free election therefore is possible only where political parties are free to carry on their work of educating the public at all times. It is only where there is a general atmosphere of freedom that free elections become real and possible.

It is to secure this kind of freedom that the Constitution guarantees certain fundamental rights, the most important of them being (1) the right to form associations or unions, (2) the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, (3) the right to move freely throughout the territory of India and (4) the right to freedom of speech and expression. Any group of people having common objectives and anxious to get them fulfilled through political action can under these fundamental rights form themselves into a political party, put up candidates for offices and try to capture power. There is no ban on the formation of any party. Every party is free to hold meetings and carry on its propaganda throughout the length and breadth of the country. It has complete freedom of speech and expression and can use the press and the platform or any other means of communication which it can think of for creating public opinion favourable to itself. Just like the manufacturer of an article or its salesman advertising his wares before the consuming public, the political parties are free to bring their wares—the advantages and benefits which they propose to create if they are returned to power—before the public; and the public are not prevented from choosing any advantage or benefit offered to them and the particular party and its candidate producing that advantage or benefit.

Those therefore who are anxious to have free elections in the country should put themselves the following questions:

(1) Does the law permit the Government of the day to ban any political parties?

(2) Does it confer power on Government to restrict the freedom to organize public meetings?

(3) Does it empower Government to place restrictions on freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of movement of individual citizens?

(4) Are there any devices of a constitutional character by which any abuse of power by Government in these various matters can be prevented?

It is a matter of common knowledge that in our country as in several other democratic countries of the world powers are conferred by law on Governments which enable them to ban particular political parties and to place various kinds of restrictions on the other kinds of freedom referred to. This tendency to ban political parties has become strengthened in recent years in many countries professing the democratic faith because of the rise of parties which do not believe in democracy but which want to use the existing democratic machinery for overthrowing democracy and establishing a totalitarian Government with power concentrated in the hands of a small minority. For instance, in the United States of America twelve out of the forty eight States had by statute outlawed every party that advocates totalitarianism, the overthrow of Government by violence, and other methods called "subversive". In some cases the Communist Party is specifically mentioned. In Texas the candidates belonging to the Communist, Fascist and Nazi parties are excluded from the ballot. In Illinois not only are the candidates of those parties excluded, but the law also declares that no other political group shall be qualified as a political party and given a place on the ballot if it is associated with such parties. The Alien Registration Act passed by Congress in U.S.A. forbids similar revolutionary associations. There was an attempt in 1948 to pass legislation applicable to the whole of the U.S.A. to place restraints on the activities of the Communist Party and though some legislation was passed it did not result in the banning of the party. Events are moving in a similar direction in certain other countries like Australia. In our country it is open to Governments at the Centre and in

the States to ban any political parties indulging in subversive activities aimed at the overthrow of the State and the Communist Party has been banned in certain States. There is a fear that the ban may be introduced in other States also and that it may be extended to other leftist parties. If this happens on a large scale there will be an interference with free elections. The question whether Governments should be entrusted with such power is not easy to answer. For there are two aspects to it. One is whether liberty to form associations should be granted to those who would destroy liberty, who propose to overthrow Government by violent revolution even though the Constitution provides for making changes through peaceful methods. The answer to this question must be No. The other aspect however is whether there is not the danger of such a power to ban parties being used not against totalitarians alone but against all progressives and radicals whose policies the Government of the day does not like. It is the second aspect that threatens to make elections unfree in our country. The only possible remedy to it is unfettered appeal to courts from the decisions of the executive.

Governments in our country are also empowered under Section 144 of the Penal Code and several City Police Acts to prevent the holding of meetings without previous permission. The police are entrusted with similar powers in several other countries—and this is done not so much to ban meetings but to prevent clashes between rival parties when meetings are held or to regulate traffic, etc. Similar laws regulating the taking of processions on public roads are also found in our country and elsewhere. Here again a fear is entertained that these may be used to discriminate between the Congress Party on one side and the other parties on the other. Every power is liable to be abused. The order banning meetings or processions may be challenged in some cases through courts of law. But this is not a timely remedy.

The same has to be said with regard to the action that our Governments can take under the Press Emergency Act, the Press and Registration of Books Act, the Official Secrets Act, etc. These Acts may be used to restrict freedom of expression. The old

law of sedition is still on the statute book. It is therefore a matter for doubt whether in an atmosphere like this the elections can be really free. So much is left to the discretion of the executive that unless it keeps itself under self-restraint elections may not be quite free. In matters like these what is more important is the tradition inherited by Governments than the laws conferring extensive powers on them. Where the tradition of liberty has taken a deep root as in England or the United States these laws become a dead letter. In our country we do not have such traditions and the only tradition our present Governments have inherited are those left behind by the British bureaucracy.

More dangerous than all these is the Law of Preventive Detention under which it is open to the executive to detain any person in prison for three months to start with and for a longer period later on without bringing him to trial before a court of justice. There is a possibility of this law being used to prevent the leaders of opposition parties contesting in elections and from carrying on propaganda to get themselves elected. There may be need for a law like this in time of war to prevent persons from having dealings with the enemy or in time of internal revolution. It is also possible that other emergencies of a similar character may arise necessitating a law of preventive detention. But so long as such a law is on the statute book there is no possibility of free elections being held. There is therefore a great deal of force in the demand made by the Conference of Opposition Parties held in June last in Bombay that for assuring freedom of propaganda by candidates it is necessary that the various Provincial Public Security Acts, the Preventive Detention Act, the promulgation of prohibitory orders under Section 144 Cr. P. C. and under similar restrictive measures should at least be suspended and that action taken against members of political parties that have not been banned should be withdrawn.

There is no serious objection to laws restricting freedom of speech, freedom of public meeting and freedom of association being placed on the statute book in the interests of the stability of the State, the preser-

vation of peace and order and of high standards of public morality, decency, etc. The objection is to absence of provisions for appealing to courts of justice when individuals and associations feel that the power granted to the executive under these laws is being abused. It is quite possible that courts also may interpret the law so as to restrict liberty. No one however has any reason to complain about such an attitude on the part of judges especially where they are independent of the executive as is the case in our country. Such an interpretation by courts is only an indication that there are reasonable grounds for restricting liberty.

Elections may become unfree if political parties do not show mutual tolerance. One party may interfere with the freedom of another in a variety of ways like systematic disturbance to its meetings and so on. It is circumstances like these that provide excuse for governmental interference. Of course it should be the duty of Government to provide police protection against such disturbances but when these reach huge proportions even the police may not be able to do much. It is then that occasions will arise for prohibition of meetings. Democracy is successful and effective when the democratic spirit—the spirit of give and take—pervades the whole atmosphere. But when political parties do not exhibit this it becomes difficult to make elections really free. As in other cases, here also it is not merely the Government that contributes to elections becoming unfree. Political parties and individuals may also bring about a similar situation.

Elections become unfree when the voters are subject to intimidation and to threats of all kinds by their employers or by the gangster elements in the country. Secrecy of the ballot has been found to be an effective remedy against intimidation by employers. But how far it will be efficacious in a country like ours where 85 per cent of the voters are illiterate and where they require the help of some outsider to mark the voting paper is a matter for consideration. Illiteracy is the cause of numerous complexities in the working of the electoral machinery.

The above survey makes it clear

that the problem of fair and free elections is a highly complicated one. There are complications in the preparation of complete and correct electoral rolls. There are complications in the actual conduct of elections and in the elimination of the elements of fraud to which candidates and the parties to which they belong resort. There are also several complications in the actual counting of votes after elections. It is only when all these are solved that elections may be said to be fair. It has also been pointed out in the course of the survey that

in the conditions of our country it is better for us to go in for single-member constituencies except where seats are reserved for the scheduled classes and tribes. The question as to the circumstances under which elections become free has also been examined. It is hoped that the issues raised in the course of the survey will make the more enlightened section of the electorate bestow some thought on the subject so that no one in the country will have reason to complain that the elections held were either unfair or unfree. (Concluded).

RED CHINA SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO U. N.

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A few days before the People's Republic of China was proclaimed the People's Political Consultative Conference in a "Declaration of the Chinese People to the World", demanded that "United Nations General Assembly immediately halt all criminal activity of Tsiang Ting-Fu and other representatives of the Kuomintang gang and immediately cancel their right of representation at the United Nations General Assembly." The Soviet Union promptly supported the demand. In September 1949, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, Chairman of the Nationalist Delegation to the General Assembly tabled a motion for the consideration by the Assembly. It reads as follows. "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China and to peace of the Far East resulting from the Soviet violation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of August 14, 1945." Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. objected to the consideration of the subject by the Assembly as it had been submitted by a delegation which had no right to represent the Chinese people. They further contended that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was the only lawful Government of China. They made it plain that they would not participate in the discussion of the subject and would not recognise any decision that may be arrived at. Yugoslavia supported the stand taken by the above members.

In spite of these protests, the Assembly referred the subject to the

Political and Security Committee of the United Nations. There the discussion centered around several draft resolutions. A Chinese proposal declared that the U.S.S.R. had persistently obstructed the Nationalist Government in its attempt to re-establish its authority in Manchuria and had given military and financial aid to the Chinese Communists and thereby violated the Charter of the United Nations and the Member States were called upon to desist and refrain from giving military and financial aid to the Chinese Communists and recognising their regime. Another draft resolution was prepared jointly by Australia, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines and the United States of America. The proposal called upon the Member States "to respect the political independence of China" "to respect the right of the people of China... to choose freely their political institutions and to maintain a Government independent of foreign control", "to respect existing treaties relating to China" and to refrain from seeking spheres of influence of special rights and privileges in China." The draft was prepared by Dr. Philip C. Jessups, the American Ambassador at large. By adopting the joint draft the Committee side-tracked the charges brought against Russia by the Chinese Delegation. With minor amendments the joint draft was accepted by the Committee. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Committee's resolution on December 8, 1949.

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THE GREAT CHANGE

By P. N. SAMPATH

lai, the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China notified the U. N. that the delegates of the so-called National Government had no legal status and should not be allowed to speak as the representatives of China. On January 8, 1950 he despatched a telegram to all the Members of the Security Council excepting Yugoslavia and Nationalist China. The telegram read: "This is to inform you that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China holds as illegal the presence of the delegates of the Chinese Kuo-mintang reactionary clique in the Security Council. The position of the Central People's Government is that the said delegates be expelled from the Security Council. It is hoped that this position will be adopted and action be taken accordingly."

The situation created by the People's Republic of China is without a parallel. So far, there is no precedent in the history of the United Nations for questioning the credentials of a sitting member. The nearest approach to a precedent is to be found in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute of 1935-36 when the League of Nations in order to deprive Ethiopia of membership and to satisfy Mussolini, refused to recognise the credentials of the Emperor Haile Selassie's Delegation to the 1936 Assembly.

And now the question of recognition of Red China by the United Nations is squarely before the Security Council. It has been contended by some of the members of the United Nations that before Red China is admitted to membership of the U. N. she should secure the diplomatic recognition of the Member States. But this contention is not valid. Diplomatic recognition is not an essential pre-requisite for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the U. N. Burma and Yemen, for instance, were voted for membership of the U. N. by many of the States which had not given them diplomatic recognition. Conversely, a vote for the admission of a member to the U. N. does not imply readiness to recognise its Government. So the criterion is not the existence of diplomatic recognition which is given or withheld purely from motives of political prejudice. The qualifications for the membership of the U. N. are

laid down in Article 4 of the Covenant. A nascent State seeking admission to the U. N. must have the ability and willingness to carry out the obligations of the U. N. membership. Any other consideration is not quite relevant to the issue. Now the question is whether Red China is in a position to satisfy these two tests. There can be no doubt on this point. Of the two rival claimants, Red China is in a better position to speak for the people of China. As she enjoys mass support, she is in a better position to carry out her international obligations imposed on her by treaties and conventions than her rival. If these are the facts, the U.S.A. and Egypt are not justified in refusing membership of the U. N. to Red China. It may be asked why the U. S. A. is opposed to the entry of Red China into the U. N. The U. S. A. had burnt her fingers badly in China at a cost of billions of dollars and at a great loss of prestige. Red China is, therefore, a bitter pill for the U.S.A. Secondly, American opinion takes it for granted that Communist China would act as a subordinate member of the Soviet bloc. Admission of Red China to the Security Council would mean placing an important weapon in the hands of Stalin. Whatever may be the validity of these psychological beliefs, Red China is an accomplished fact and her admission to the membership of the U. N. should not be delayed any longer. By admitting Red China to the membership of the U. N. the Western Powers would be depriving Russia of its present chance of making immense propaganda on the theme of western capitalism linked with the decadent feudalism of Chiang Kai-Shek. Further it must also be realised that the U. N. is a universal organisation and its machinery should not be utilised for carrying into effect the policies and programmes of any particular power or powers. It is a place where in spite of fear and tension of cold war both sides can still meet and even take decisions. This noble edifice built to promote peace and prosperity of the nations must be saved from the threatened division into two blocs, the pro-Soviet and the anti-Soviet. This can be done only when the two powerful members of the U. N.—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—realise that they have a responsibility to mankind.

THE recently announced change of policy of the Indian Communist Party is a transmogrification for which, people who have seen the ravages and red ruin wrought by their erstwhile programme of indiscriminate violence, will be rather unprepared. Naturally they will be sceptical whether the Communists have really changed their character or only their spots.

The two factors which had influenced this change of policy are: firstly, the Communists have at last come to realise that their policy of violence had alienated public sympathy to an alarming extent, and secondly, the idea of giving a trial to constitutionalism occurred to them close on the public and publicised assurances of the two leaders of the Congress Government, Nehru and Patel, that a constitutionally motivated or Communist party would be allowed to function without governmental interference.

The Communists have been all things by turn but none for long. They were in the Congress once upon a time. In the initial stages of the last war, they were denouncing it from house tops as an "imperialists war." But when the Soviet Union became an ally and entered the war, our Comrades were quick to certify the war as "the Peoples' War." Again, when the Allies drifted apart at the end of the war, the Indian Muscovites changed their tactics once more.

When the British imperialists left India, the Communists had nobody to fight with, for some time. But when they occupied themselves with fomenting a plethora of strikes in different parts of the country, the Indian Government found ample excuse to clap many of them in jails. The rest of them went underground, coming up to the surface by fits and starts in jets of violence.

As time went on, there was inner schism in their midst, and good old P. C. Joshi was cast out. The change of leadership was, however, not for the better. The policy of violence for violence's sake pursued by the new boss Ranadive nearly brought about

the party's extinction. Communists were fast decimated by Governmental violence. The Communists who had filled that role in popular fancy formerly. This was a colossal blunder for which Ranadive must be held responsible.

There is no compatibility between Communism and Constitutionalism, between Communism and parliamentary democracy. There is little in common between the two. The Communists are generally sceptical about the reality of democracy under Capitalism. In their turn, the Social Democrats or the left wing capitalists or again, the capitalist humanitarians, think that under Communism individual liberty is as impossible as a nudist colony in Lapland.

Lenin spoke of the demoralizing effect of parliamentarianism on Socialism, as it "converted each Socialist party into a little Tammany Hall with its climbers and job hunters." Karl Marx had little faith in the parliamentary type of democracy. Neither was he in favour of surreptitious and conspiratorial methods. He advocated open methods. Strange as it may appear, he did not recommend violence as a policy. But, he did not rule out the possibility of its occurrence by way of accident when the inevitable class wars took place. The latter deposition of Marx has been taken as a certificate for violence by his interested followers. They have put Marx in a bad light thereby. On the other hand, Marx thought that the government of the proletariat could be established with "little loss of human substance." The Second Communist International broke up on account of his differences with Bukarin, and the reason for the difference was Marx's intense dislike for the latter's anarchist bomb-cult.

The advent of Communists as neo-constitutionalists is fraught with potent possibilities. The Socialists who are just emerging into the limelight as a political party, may feel that the Communists have walked over them. The Communists have a record as tried whole hoggers. Whatever programme they take up, they go at it with all the enthusiasm they can

muster about them. Given an unfettered hand, they may come abreast of the Congress in public estimation. But, before this can be done, the bad name they have made for themselves must be lived down.

Individual liberty is safe if the Communist Party is raised to the stature of a full-fledged parliamentary Opposition party, and kept there. In

such a capacity, they can obtain a series of concessions for the workers and labourers. But, if they are inadvertently voted to power and office, individual liberty would be pawned without hope of redemption. There can be no two opinions about this among those who know what is obtaining in Russia and the satellite countries.

AGRARIAN CRISIS IN TAMILNAD

By RAMNANDAN MISHRA

ON 16th July 1950. Mr. Rahim, President of the Provincial Kisan Panchayat, was dragged by the circle inspector and thrown on the road side. He had to be taken to the hospital for treatment. Two press reporters, who had gone there, were also arrested, and later let off. The police went round the 32 villages surrounding Othakkada and beat the villagers indiscriminately. Nine days before, that is, on the 8th July, 33 Satyagrahis including 11 women were beaten of whom 7 were seriously injured and taken to the Madura General Hospital.

Such stories have been pouring in the Central Office of the Hind Kisan Panchayat from Tanjore, Trichy, Chingleput and other districts of Tamilnad. What is the reason for this mad fury of the Madras police? The tillers want security of possession and a fair share. Long before these demands were conceded by the party in power, a strong recommendation was made by the Kumarappa Committee for reforming the agrarian system in this respect immediately. Madras is the only province in India which has not cared to do anything even to carry out the programme of the Congress party.

It should be borne in mind that although Tamilnad is a ryotwari area, the majority of actual tillers are without any ryoti pattas. Large areas of land in Tamilnad belong to religious institutions, big holders and inamdars. Twenty per cent of pattadars roughly own 80% of the cultivated land. About two million families who live on land are either tenants-at will or agricultural labourers. The main tenants of agricultural holdings in Tamilnad can be grouped as follows:

1. The pannal or the yearly labour

system. According to this system farm servants work for long hours, both in the fields and homes of their landlords, on a low remuneration of about 10 to 12 annas a day.

2. The second in order is the lessee system. According to this system lands are leased out by the landlords with a stipulation that they get a major fixed portion of produce. At present more than two-thirds of the produce is paid by the tenant as rent to mirasdars. If the tenants fail to pay the rent civil proceedings are launched.

3. The third system is a varam system, that is the sharing system. The landlord is the master of the produce and parts with a share to the tenant. This is given in the form of wages in lieu of his labour. This system has made the position of tenants insecure.

In all these systems there is absolute insecurity. The tenants cultivate their lands entirely at the mercy of the landowners. Any tenant can be evicted at any time. This naturally gives a great hold over the lives and destinies of the poor cultivators to the landowners.

I am requesting Sri Vinoba Bhave and Sri J. C. Kumarappa to visit these places and report to the nation. The situation in Tamilnad is a challenge to the progressive thinkers of India. If the Madras Government does not hear the voice of reasons and justice, what are the poor peasants to do? Will Tamilnad go the way of Andhra and become a sore problem? There is only one way out: the Government of Madras must come out with an ordinance stopping all eviction and fixing a fair share for the tillers, pending legislation.

AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN MEXICO

By EMIL LENGYEL

FROM bread-riots to the bread-basket is the road of Mexico's new peasant revolution. Boldly written on the revolutionary banner is Mexico's new agrarian programme "Colonisation and Irrigation." Leader of the revolution is Miguel Aleman, "from newsboy to President," Chief Executive of the country.

The Republic of Mexico looks like a cornucopia on the map and it is supposed to be fabulously rich. In reality, it is a poor land with rich possibilities. It is those possibilities that the agrarian revolution has already begun to realise.

Mexico has more than most countries can hope to have. It has an amazing variety of soil wealth ranging from the most varied products of the temperate regions to sub-tropical and tropical products—from hardy corn to delicate coffee, by way of wheat, cotton, tobacco, deciduous and citrus fruits. It has also a sub-surface wealth of oil and minerals.

Yet, the death rate in Mexico is among the highest in the western hemisphere. Intestinal diseases which could more correctly be called starvation symptoms, have been decimating the population. The Mexican's intake of calories before World War II was the lowest in North and South America and among the lowest in the world. Health conditions in Mexico can be compared only with those of Tibet.

Land And Liberty

Pulling the country out of the abyss of misery is the object of the agrarian revolution. More than two-thirds of the people are farmers. By helping them, all the inhabitants of the country would be helped. The industrial potentialities of the republic could materialise only with the success of the agrarian revolution. Processing industries based on the soil such as milling and textile manufacturing—would raise the incredibly low standards of the population. If the masses were better fed, they would display more enterprise. In

other walks of life. Industrial workers cannot flourish on near-starvation rations.

The contribution of Mexican land to the national income accounted for only 15 per cent of the total as recently as two years ago. Before this revolution was started early in 1947, more than nine-tenths of the land was not cultivated. It consisted of waste land, of deserts, marshes and mountains, pasture and forests. Much of this land was, and some still is, so inaccessible that it cannot be approached by ordinary means. You have to use machetes to smash your way into virgin jungle at the slender waist of the country known as the Isthmus. The total cultivated area of the country was a mere 7.5 per cent, and the cultivable region was thought to be no more than 8.5 per cent.

President Miguel Aleman sounded the call to the agrarian revolution early in 1947, shortly after his inauguration. That call was "Tierra Libertad" (Land and Liberty), the battle cry of colonial times. But this time the peasants saw themselves backed up by their Government.

The first article of President Aleman's historic "Fourteen Points" of National Reconstruction sounded the keynote of the new administration. Food production must be expanded so that the masses of the people should have enough to eat at reasonable prices. More than that, Mexico must produce enough to export to a famished and war-devastated world.

The programme called for two important measures. One was the colonization of millions of peasants with no land or insufficient holdings. Vast tracts of land are available in the great arid zone of northern Mexico, dipping deep into the central regions. There the Government could operate with ease. Much of that arid land could be reclaimed with the water available there, if not allowed to run wild in malaria-infested swamps. Irrigation could accomplish this.

Battle For Grain

As soon as this programme was

announced, about 1,000,000 peasants petitioned for land. The Government had 7,500,000 acres at its disposal and that was not enough. It therefore announced it would satisfy peasant claims for soil by purchasing farm lots from private owners as well. This it would do particularly in the case of owners who had failed to make the best of their opportunities. However, in order to reassure small-holders, Aleman announced that the holdings of farmers with fewer than 500 acres would not be touched.

Where was the peasant to get the money? The Government opened up the sluices of capital by authorising the National Bank of Agricultural Credit, a semi-official institution, to extend mortgage loans to prospective farmers. What security could the landless peasants give that the loans would be repaid? Character was declared to be the most valuable security.

Also, the colonization was coupled with industrial progress. Peasants were to be colonized in regions where farm industries promised to make good so that the peasant should be able to improve his lot by working both on his farm and in the plant.

Who was to receive these farm allotments? Here the revolutionary land programme was linked to social reform. Flight from the land into urban centres threatened to tip the balance of town and country. The large cities had appeared as sanctuaries from hunger to many thousands. Crumbs from the rich tables of the cities would keep them alive and so they moved to urban centres. A revenue movement is now encouraged by giving preference to those ex-peasants who want to return to the land. Other colonists are small-holders who have shown their worth but have not been able to make a living on their paltry lots. Share-croppers are also to receive preferential treatment.

Irrigation Projects

Supreme commander of the battle for grain was an ex-peasant, Gabriel Ramos Millan, former law partner of President Aleman. He found that to settle the people was not enough. They must also be shown how to colonise, and must be enabled to introduce improvements. Little had been done about this, partly because of

political neglect but mostly because of the unaccessibility of a large portion of Mexico. Farm education was therefore resumed on a large scale with the help of teachers of agriculture, one of a team of rural cultural missions organised all over the country.

At the first Soil Conservation Congress held in Celaya last December, the record of the overhauling of the Mexican countryside was presented. The Mexican "dust bowl" was shown as a real danger. In many places, the land was stripped of its soil covering by the ruthless conquistador and his equally ruthless successor, the absentee landlord "hacendado." Forests were burned in order to secure grazing space. Instead of fructifying the soil, the rains now washed down the remaining soil cover into deep gullies. Peasant ignorance and attachment to traditional forms accomplished the rest. Even today, the peasant ploughs his land up and down the hillsides in the Mexican highlands, as if it were his intention to open the door to nature's destructive forces. The tropical downpours wash down the soil, exposing the nakedness of the stone. Soil erosion has killed more people in the country than the bloodiest revolution.

The Government now teaches the peasant to turn to contour farming following the outlines of his sloping fields, so that he can catch the rain instead of squandering it. Individual farmers can do little about reforestation, but the Government can do a lot, and it is doing so. A programme of reforestation has been introduced and is beginning to show results. The Government also encourages the peasants to employ fertilisers to enrich their soil and helps them find the means. Coastal swamps are being drained to reclaim them for agriculture and rid them of malarial mosquitoes. The battle is also on in the jungle areas. Those regions are rich with accumulated vegetable debris. But the jungle is jealous of its prerogatives and must be fought every inch of the way. The Government teaches the peasants of the tropics how to fight the menace.

Irrigation is the most important weapon of the new agrarian campaign. The generalissimo in that sector of the front is Oriye Alba, head of the Secretariat of Hydraulic

Power. The fact that a cabinet position should have been created for that purpose is a clear indication of the importance attached to this phase of the agrarian revolution.

Rice And Sugar Fronts

The final target is to make 12,000,000 acres available through irrigation. In his "Fourteen Points" speech President Aleman announced that the Government would appropriate 300,000,000 dollars (Rs. 120 crores) for irrigation as a beginning enough to bring 3,500,000 semi-arid acres under the plough. In 1947 the federal Government appropriated 15 per cent of the budget for irrigation projects and that measure induced the sedate Food and Agriculture organization of the United Nations to break into cheers. While the figures are not yet in, about 3,000,000 acres of irrigated land are probably the heartening result of the action upto the end of last year.

T. V. A. is the magic word also in Mexico, as the irrigation projects are frequently linked to hydro-electric power plans. There are several such projects centred around the country's more important river systems. One of the most important projects is that on the Lerma river in Central Mexico. It is expected to be completed at the end of this year opening up not only new agricultural land but also industrial possibilities. The peasants can increase their income by working in the factory. A sugar factory drawing upon the increased sugar cane production of the region should greatly increase the earning capacity of the

local population. Difficulties are bound to arise in a country as deficient in industrial know-how as Mexico; and the Lerma river project has run into some.

In the arid state of Sinaloa, adjacent to Sonora and facing the Pacific Ocean, the Rio del Fuerte region is being turned into an orchard in which peasants produce a wider gamut of fruits. Another Mexican T. V. A. is the Papaloapam Valley Authority in Veracruz state, facing the Gulf of Mexico. There irrigation and electric energy projects are linked to those of drainage in order to clear the area of malaria-producing swamps and build roads and highways, connecting newly built townships to exploit the great natural wealth of this area.

The greatest victory of the peasant revolution has been scored on the rice and sugar fronts both of which have become export articles. Truck farming alone could make Mexico rich. Vegetables which she could grow in the winter would have rich markets in the U. S. if production and transportation were adequate. The leaders of the movement are fully aware of this, and they are aiming at capturing that northern gold mine.

Mexico has been called the richest undeveloped accessible country in the world. The agrarian revolution now being waged aims at making it one of the richest developed countries. The movement has started with a driving force which bodes well for the future.—Copyright.

U. S. JOURNALISTS HAVE 200 PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

SOME 220 different professional organizations for newspaper and press association reporters, writers and editors exist in the United States. They vary widely in their size, interests and activities, ranging from the White House Correspondents Association to the National Association of Dog Writers.

The largest of these—which is also the largest newspaperman's club in the world—is the 40-year-old National Press Club in Washington, with a membership in the United States

and other countries of about 3,000. The National Press Club has spacious quarters in its National Press Building, the tallest office structure in downtown Washington.

The oldest and most exclusive, however, is the Gridiron Club, also in Washington, established 65 years ago. Its membership is limited to 50 newspapermen, and no new member can be elected until an old one dies. The Gridiron has no club rooms, and all it does is to give annual or semi-annual dinners at which the President of the

United States and the nation's most prominent and dignified personages are lampooned in friendly skits. The "Girdiron Dinners" have become both a Washington and a national tradition and invitations to them are coveted.

Between these two extremes are ranged the other organizations. About 80 are nationally organized, while some 140 are organized on a state, regional or city basis. Each of the 48 states has its own press association, some of the larger states having several, as, for instance, the North Texas, South Texas, East Texas and West Texas Press Associations.

These are not news-gathering and distribution agencies. Their membership consists of publishers and news and editorial employees of papers who meet at stated intervals in different cities within the area to discuss matters of mutual professional interest and to enjoy themselves socially.

Women have press associations of this type in some states and cities, and have their own press clubs in metropolitan areas, the best known being the Women's Press Clubs of New York and of Washington.

Among the many group organizations are the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the largest and most important national organizations of editors and of owners and publishers. Their annual meetings are usually in New York City, concurrent with those of members and clients of the Wire News Services—Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service.

The combined programmes of these conventions and meetings provide annually a "newspaper week" in New York, nation-wide in participation, affording consideration of and action on important current problems in the newspaper business in America.

There is also a National Conference of Editorial Writers, and a National Editorial Association. News and editorial specialists are further assembled into a variety of groups. These include:

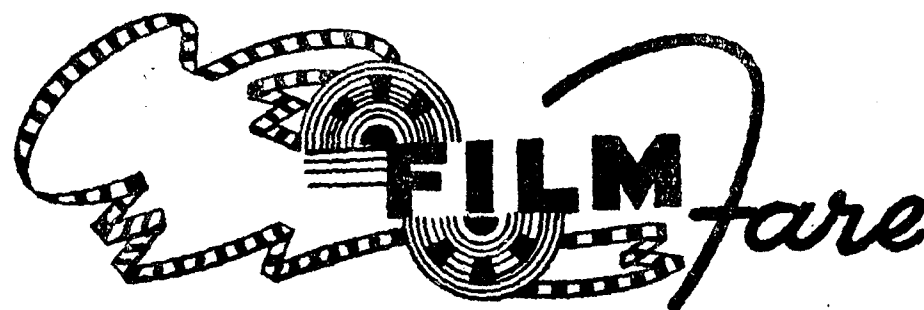
The American Agricultural Editors Association, and the Agricultural Publishers Association; the National Cartoonists Society; International Labour Press of America; Football Writers Association of America; Baseball Writers Association and so on with national associations of writers

on education, aviation, finance, science, religion, petroleum, business, music, art, drama, and other subjects. Radio correspondents, United Nations correspondents, former world war correspondents, are among other specialists with group organizations. There is an Associated Negro Press, an Association of English-Jewish Newspapers, and a National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association.

A national professional journalistic fraternity, Sigma Delta Chi, with some 18,000 members (1,500 still in college, and the others working newspapermen) is dedicated to the improvement of professional standards. It makes annual awards for outstanding achievement in various types of newspaper, radio, and magazine writing and reporting.

The American Newspaper Guild, now 17 years old and with more than 25,000 members, brought industrial unionism to the news and editorial rooms of United States newspapers and press associations ("AP", "UP" and "INS"). Its founder and foremost organizer as long as he lived was the late Heywood Broun, a brilliant newspaper columnist in New York. Its growth was slow at first. Unionism had long been established and recognized in the mechanical ends of the newspaper publishing business. Printers, pressmen (who operate the printing presses); telegraphers and teletype operators; stereotypers; delivery-truck drivers, each had strong unions, but the idea was alien to news and editorial writers, and quite a few of them, and most of the publishers, resisted it.

Broun and his pioneer colleagues had difficulty in spreading the movement, but gradually it took hold. One of the largest press services held out until a few years ago, but then signed a Guild contract. At first the Guild was affiliated with the American Federation of Labour, but changed to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). It is strong now in New York, Washington, San Francisco, and most large cities, and has had a steady extension during recent years in smaller cities. It is considered largely responsible for improved wage and hour conditions among news and editorial employees, through collective bargaining agreements made with the Guild by newspaper owners and publishers.—U.S.I.S.



By V. P. SATHE

"THE Adventures of Ichabod and Mr. Toad", the latest Disney film, recounts two stories—one English and one American. They appear to be an illustration of the Anglo-American alliance in the sphere of art and literature.

The narrator for Mr. Toad is Basil Rathbone. The character of Mr. Toad is colourful. He seems to be a good example of the adventurous aristocratic youth who is always out for some mischief. And the account of his adventure, his court trial and his subsequent efforts to prove his innocence are engrossing and delightful.

But the moment his story ends and that of his American rival Ichabod begins, one forgets him completely. Mr. Toad does not leave any imprint behind, comparatively Ichabod is more impressive. The way in which his caricature has been drawn is itself so amusing and his mannerisms so original that one cannot but like his character.

His story is not very amusing, yet his success with women and his fright of ghosts lend colour and entertainment to the picture. But after seeing his story, also, one feels that it was all pointless.

Excellent caricatures, both these stories have no theme or no intrinsic beauty to make them immortal. That is why this picture is a sort of minor product of the great genius.

More impressive and, in fact, memorable is the short which is shown along with this picture, namely "The Saga Of Seal Island." This short is also produced by Walt Disney. It is a sort of factual account of the seal's life on the Island. It shows how, with the beginning of summer, first the male seals come followed by the

female seals and the life they lead for three months there before they depart for an unknown destination in September.

The fight for supremacy between the young and old is graphically illustrated; the life of young pups, especially that of one pup who goes about in search of his mother who alone would find him is moving and almost human.

But throughout the short the emphasis is on the theme of "The survival of the Fittest." Does it mean that Walt Disney also believes in this theory? If he does, then his art would serve a reactionary and almost Fascist doctrine? We hope, that will not be the case, though unfortunately Disney has often allied himself with reactionaries.

Star Of The Week

Sohrab Modi, the film artiste and star returned to the screen after a lapse of six years in 'Sheesh Mahal.' The last picture in which he appeared was 'Prithvi Vallabh' in which he played the title role.

Sohrab Modi has always combined the three roles—producer, director and artiste and yet it would be wrong to say that he became an artiste because he was a producer. It would be more correct to say that he owes his producership to his fame as an artiste, not on the screen but on the stage.

True, like his two brothers—Rustom and Keki—Sohrab started his career in the line of film exhibition in the early twenties. But he soon forsook his family trade and joined a dramatic company. He was the leading star of the Urdu stage in the late twenties. He specialized in portraying the Shakespearean heroes in the Urdu stage adaptations of his plays like "Hamlet" and "Othello."

His height, personality and above all his voice made him an ideal star for the stage of those days. It was the advent of the talkies that brought him to the screen and his first efforts were devoted to the production of Shakespearean plays. He followed the technique of the old theatre both in acting and presentation of his screenplays. In the beginning that technique did not pay much. But in 'Jailor' he got the role after his heart and Kamal Amrohi's dialogues gave him the opportunity he was waiting for. He became the real star and an important producer. It was, however, the success of 'Pukar' which earned for him the highest plaudits.

It was at the Jubilee of 'Pukar' that I first saw him. He looked anything but a film man or an artiste. He was like any other businessman; and he had no airs about him. Since then I have had many occasions to meet him and watch him work. Generally dressed in white suit, fresh from any vice associated with film-people, I have found him always devoted to his work and his studio.

At one time it appeared that he would never marry. For he was regarded as a confirmed bachelor and it was left to Mehtab who first appeared in his picture 'Parakh' to transform him so completely. Incidentally, it was in 'Parakh' that Sohrab Modi gave up theatrical technique and made his first true motion picture. Since then he has been experimenting with social subjects, drama and comedy alike. But barring 'Shama,' none of his efforts have proved successful.

So in 'Sheesh Mahal' he has now made a fresh bid to win laurels. The star of such hits as 'Jailor' and 'Pukar' and the maker of such hits as 'Pukar', 'Sikandar', 'Parakh' and 'Shama,' the creator of such stars as Naseem, Meena, Al Nasir, Sadiq Ali, Sheela, has now staked everything on 'Sheesh Mahal.'

No wonder the whole industry is anxious to know the box-office verdict on 'Sheesh Mahal'; for it will be the verdict on one of the great pillars of the film industry. For that is what Sohrab Modi has been to the industry. His concern, Minerva Movietone, has been a backbone of the industry and his contribution as a producer of historicals has been so memorable

that even if he produces no other masterpiece, his name will be always remembered. He has given stature and name to the industry and shown the way in which glorious history can be presented to the screen.

Report On The South

My friend Bal Govind Shrivastava, the well-known scenarist has just returned from Madras. The other day when I met him he told me over a cup of coffee, that the South Indian film industry is very active. As against eighteen pictures produced last year twenty six pictures will be produced in 1950.

Moreover, the interest in the Hindi market is growing. While Vasan is busy making 'Mangala' and preparing the script for the next picture, Jupiter has a plan to produce three pictures in Hindi. Pandit Sudarshan J. S. Casshyap and Harin Chattopadhyaya have all joined Jupiter. Harin, apart from playing a lead in one picture, is expected to write and direct one picture for Jupiter.

A. V. M.'s 'Life' which has been a hit in Tamil and Telugu is now being transcribed into Hindi and Vahini Pictures is also reported to be toying with the idea of making a picture in Hindi.

Though Shrivastava did not reveal the object of his visit, it is apparent that he was called upon to write the Hindi script for one of the aforementioned concerns. At the same time it is obvious that he visited the South to meet Mr. and Mrs. Kotnis to discuss the script of their next picture which will now be made in Bombay. The most interesting news that Shrivastava gave was that Sunita Devi, the erstwhile film star and reputed dancer, has become a Sanyasini and joined Shree Aurobindo Ashram in Pondicherry and that she is on a fruit diet.

Music Director Dead!

It is with deep regret that one records the sad and untimely death of Khemchandra Prakash, the renowned music director (and not film director as erroneously reported by a daily newspaper) on Thursday 10th August in Bombay.

Khemchandra was a simple man dressed always in Dhoti, shirt and coat. He seldom put on airs. And yet he had perhaps the longest record of consistent success. Ten years ago, he first came into the limelight for his

tunes of Ranjit's 'Pardesi' and he was responsible for the fine musical score of 'Pyas', 'Shadi', 'Khilauna' and 'Tansen.'

True, Madhok who wrote the songs for most of these pictures shared the credit for tunes as well. But none can deny that the soft and melodious orchestration and even blending of classical and light tunes gave Khemchandra an individuality of his own.

After 'Tansen' though for sometime his music did not become a hit, it was always a treat to hear his tunes. In 'Ziddi' and 'Sawan Aya Re' he again came into the limelight. Who will ever forget the melody of 'Chanda Re Jare Jare'? Or who will not be haunted by his tune in 'Mahal': 'Aayega Aayega'!

Khemchand did not copy others; he stuck to his style. Even his Ghazals like 'Jine Ki Tammanna Kon Kare' revealed his liking for the classical pattern. He knew both the Punjabi and Bengalee styles and by blending the two created a melody which was all his own.

I saw him last on the muhurat of 'Ganesh Janma' a fortnight ago. He had just composed two tunes, which Jayant Desai praised in my presence. What happened within a fortnight nobody knows. But the news of his death in the morning papers of Friday must have come as a shock to all those who are interested in films and music.

Khemchandra was about forty and in his death the industry and the country have lost one of the most talented music directors.

"Our Struggle" Party

A small group of journalists gathered at Taj on Saturday 5th August evening to attend a tea party given by Producer Harname Motwane who is making an ambitious patriotic film 'Our Struggle' (Andolan) with no stars and hardly four songs and a classical ballet.

M. D. Japeth, the P. R. O. of Motwane, told the journalists that it would take another six weeks to complete the picture which was two-third drama and one-third documentary, with actual newsreel shots in it.

He also disclosed that the picture has received offers from Russia and China and that negotiations with Italy and France were afoot. As to America he cherished the fond hope

of releasing the picture in New York. Harman, when asked about the Government attitude, said that though he had not asked Government help as such, he was denied facilities to shoot scenes in Jalianwala Bagh, Amritsar, and he was refused the aid of the military for certain scenes. This is, indeed, deplorable.

'Our Struggle' will be released by January 26, 1951.

Incidentally, another tea party was thrown by Film Arts on Sunday 6th August to the journalists to introduce them to the producer Fatehchand who is now making 'Buzdil' starring Kishore Sahu, Nimmi and Prem Nath and directed by Shahid Latif.

News Of The Week

—Nakshab, who produced 'Nishana' is planning to start his second picture which he proposes to start at Filmistan Studio. It appears that in all probability he will direct the picture himself, with Ashok Kumar, Madhubala, Yakub and Om Prakash as the stars. The picture is tentatively titled "Rasya."

—Santoshi who is completing 'Sargam' this month has taken two new assignments. First, he will write and direct a picture for Jagat Pictures. Second, he will write the story, dialogues and songs for Shahin Pictures' next production, "Saaz."

—On Saturday 12th August at 1-30 p.m. Navketan performed the muhurat of 'Baazi' starring Geeta Bali, Dev Anand and introducing a new comer—a girl from Simla whose screen name will be Kalpana Kartik. She arrived in Bombay just two days before Muhurat and her true identity is being kept as a closely-guarded secret.

—Ajit has been signed by Kuldip Pictures to play the male lead in 'Alaf Laila.' Kuldip Pictures is producing a Punjabi picture 'Phooljari' being directed by Rajindra Sharma of 'Lachhi' fame.

—Nasir Khan and Nargis are co-starred in Ram Daryani's next picture.

—Director D. K. Ratan has started 'Nagan' starring Surendra, Sulochana Chatterji, Ajit, Kuldip, Cuckoo and Hira Lal with Madhok's lyric and C. Ramchandra's music.

—Sulochana Chatterji and Wasti are coming together in 'Shagan' being produced by G. D. Talwar, directed by S. Arora and music by Harnalal Bhagat Ram.

A PERSONAL PRESS

By A. BAGHAVAN DAS

IT would be more true to say that there are independent papers in India than that there is an independent press. Some papers have a magnificent tradition of independence, but far too many show a regrettable dependence on some political leader. It is right and natural for a political party to be supported by a section of the press. Indeed, since the adherents of a party, no less than its leaders, wish to see their standpoint expounded, there is an inevitable demand for a party press. And, as editors also have political affiliations and journalists tend to join the sort of paper that shares their affiliations, the party alignment is normally quite sincere. The *'Daily Herald'* struggled into existence and now flourishes as the voice of Britain's Labour Party. But, even though there have been rumours of rivalry and dissension in the Cabinet, Britishers would be horrified at the idea of a paper being run for Cripps, another for Bevin and another for Morrison. And although Lord Woolton may at times find Churchill as much of a liability as an asset, it has never occurred to either of them to woo the public to their side through their own papers. The sense of party loyalty in the leaders is too strong for such a development, and the public also are too politically mature. A man is going to vote for the Labour Party, not for Cripps or Morrison. And a paper with Socialist leanings will hold itself free to approve or criticise the actions of either of them as occasion may demand. If either of them tried to build up his own personal influence through his own paper the reaction would be: "If he is with the Party, let him speak with it; if not, let him get out of it."

And yet this is precisely what happens in India. We think of the *Indian Republic* not as the voice of Congress but of the Congress President. *Vigil* is commonly regarded as Acharya Kripalani's paper. Both the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister have papers that they can rely upon to support and expound their actions. And what happens at the Centre happens in the States no less.

Freedom to express one's views in speech or writing is a fundamental right, but Ministers and party leaders are expected to forego that right. If they do not, no party will speak with a homogeneous voice, and each will bewilder instead of inspiring its followers. In England, where political discipline is strong and political sense mature, this is realised. A party policy statement is carefully worked out beforehand, but once it is launched all the leaders support and expound it. If any of them felt unable to do so, his only course would be to leave the party. But in India such discipline and maturity seem to be lacking. Far too often both Ministers of the party in power and leaders of the parties in opposition have bewildered the public by speaking with discordant voices and have given ground for doubts as to whether there is any agreed party policy at all.

If any such discordant speech wounds a party's homogeneity, the existence of a daily or weekly paper subservient to one member of the party certainly prevents the wound healing. It is impossible for a group of men to agree completely on policy and ideals. And as soon as divergent interests and ambitions come into play the general public will find themselves looking in on a television show of party disruption. Instead of large masses of them supporting the party, as they would like to, they are split up into small groups supporting one or another of its leaders, and the party is weakened.

We have heard of late a number of exhortations from those at the top to avoid fissiparous tendencies, but so long as newspapers are run to expound the views of individual leaders the cracks begin at the top of the pyramid and can only widen farther down. The self-denying ordinance should begin at the very top with the renunciation of all personal control over any newspaper either through ownership or through the personnel of the editorial staff. Then only can India's press hope to become independent and her political parties strong and homogeneous.

SIDELIGHTS : :

The superiority of some men is merely local. They are great because their associates are little.—JOHNSON.

WITH Pandit Nehru out of the Congress presidential election contest, the chances are divided between Sri Purushotham Das Tandon, Acharya Kripalani and Sri Shankarrao Deo. Professor Ranga is also one of the competitors. His failure, if he does not withdraw on the eve of the election, may be set down as a certainty. Outside Andhra, Ranga has no support. And within Andhra, his supporters are not a broadbased community drawn from all sections. They are a narrow, canalised clan, looking more formidable than they are as a result of their distribution at strategical points in control of key-posts in the provincial organisation. The quintessence of the communal spirit is incarnated in Ranga in the Andhra politics of today. Spiritually he resembles a Communist, though his energies are devoted to incessant battling with Communists. There have been such frequent somersaults on the part of the policy-makers of the Communist Party, that the content of what is termed as the Party Line has lost all reliability and ceased to be taken seriously. Whatever the Communists announce as their latest viewpoint, has, by prescriptive right of tradition, come to be treated as a prelude to a further change before long. They oscillate between enunciation of a dogma and its recantation, but their fanaticism for their brief-lived creeds is deadly while it lasts. Continual experience of admitted and proclaimed errors has made no breach on the obduracy of their habit of cocksureness. To a Communist, a non-Communist can never be in the right. The inflexible objective of Communist politics, through all flexibilities of policy, is the capture of power for Communists, reducing all others progressively to nullity. Exactly the same is the objective of the Ranga-ites. They are a close-knit body of compact power-seekers, as intolerant of others as are the Communists, and no less ruthless and unscrupulous. It is Professor Ranga's ambition in the provincial sphere to

elbow non-Ranga-ites out of the limelight and make the State one reverberating forum for the practice of Ranga worship. In the matter of all-out bid for power, the Ranga technique and the Communist technique are much alike. Neither has a place for democracy or for other parties.

A pamphlet has been issued from Delhi under the title WHO SHOULD BE THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT? interspersed with red headings on every page, and concluding with the plea that to vote for Ranga (RANGA in thickest red capitals) is to put life into the Progressive Forces of India; to strengthen the Secular State of India; to provide an opportunity to the youth to work for the Greatness and Glory of India; to inspire confidence among the Kisans and Workers of India; to meet the challenge of Sectarianism, Provincialism and Totalitarianism; and to crush the growing tyranny of orthodoxy. This is the climax to a series of qualifications laid down in earlier pages for the aspirant to the exalted post of Congress President. The reader is told that the Congress President should be a Kisan. He should be a Youth Leader. He should be one who has travelled abroad. He must have had tremendous organisational experience. He must not only understand the humanism of Revolution, he must be one who has himself led the life of a revolutionary. And he must be one who enjoys the confidence of both Nehru and Patel. The authorship of the pamphlet is not disclosed, but the light of the personality of Sri Ranga shines underneath the bushel of unanimity, unable to be hidden. Well trained as the followers of Ranga have been over a period of years, not one of them has overtaken Ranga in enthusiasm for Ranga. Ranga as seen by Ranga is idealised into a pattern for Congress Presidents to conform to, in this extraordinary pamphlet which for the first time in the history of Presidential elections seems to raise the issue whether the honour is worthy of the aspirant, and not the aspirant of honour.

Professor Ranga's competitors have not tailored the Presidentship to their requirements. They lack that gusto of glowing and glorious self-importance with which he strides the political scene. One of them, Sri Tandon, is certainly not blessed with the confidence of both Nehru and Patel, which Ranga claims as his particular speciality. Pandit Nehru would seem to be indifferent as to who wins, provided it is not Tandon. The Prime Minister's objection to Tandon seems to be entirely impersonal, connected not with any lack of quality in Tandon but his association with a communal organisation like the Hindu Mahasabha. Nehru's distaste of communalism is sound in principle. But it is based on the assumption of a virtue in the Congress which is no longer there, having disappeared with the advent of power. Many Congress ministers are communalists in actual faith and conduct, and the difference between

them and avowed communalists is one between hypocrisy and straightforwardness. If we must have communalism and cannot get rid of it, it is better, while it lasts, to have it administered by honest communalists rather than dishonest nationalists. Tandon is likely to be a storm-centre in the developing conflict for rivalry of power between the Patel and the Nehru factions at the Centre. A non-acquisitive eccentric like Acharya Kripalani, with a declared preference for unanimous choice, is not likely to persist in the contest after failure of attempts to achieve unanimity. But Sri Shankarrao Deo, unlike Kripalani, is ambitious, tenacious and intriguing. As intrigue is more effective in present day power-politics than integrity, Deo might score over Tandon, unless Patel, with his grip on the party machinery, should utilise it in Tandon's favour for a trial of strength with the Prime Minister. —SAKA.

CHANGE THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH BALLOT BOX

Republican Party's Programme

MR. H. D. RAJAH, President, All-India Republican Party, writes: "I am convinced that no other Party in the country today answers the demand of millions of people who look for a free and democratic life under conditions which will enable them to pursue a life of happiness according to their lights with the least interference from the State. The case of the people in the limited income groups—the middle classes, the small traders and merchants—the common people, needs attention.

"The big industrialists and the industrial workers and the agriculturists generally have come into better times and are better placed. But the people—the common people with limited incomes—are driven to rack and ruin.

"The Socialist Party has dealt with the plight of this class of people and has included them among the exploited sections of the community and brought them within the purview of the programme of the Party.

"But one should not get away from the fact that the ultimate object of the Socialists and the Communists is the same. The difference is only in their methods. Moreover Socialism is alien to the Indian climate. Socialism bases itself on State power. Under Socialism everything is subservient and subordinate to the State. Freedom of the individual in such an all-powerful State is a myth. Socialism has no future in this country and the soil is not congenial for its growth.

"Again, the Socialist Party bases its programme and policy on industrial labour and landless peasants. The vast number of people who do not come under this category do not accept such a programme and policy. Besides, Socialist economy will be a controlled economy and any one can see what havoc the controls have wrought.

"As for the Communist Party, it need not engage our attention. It does not believe in democracy and works for its own Party dictatorship.

It is wedded to violence and insurrectionary methods.

Congress A Hoax

"There, then remains the Congress. The leaders of the Congress have played a hoax on the country and the people by keeping up the label 'Congress' to their Party.

"The All India Republican Party demands the liquidation of the Congress. The Congress was never a party. It was the spear-head of the national struggle against alien imperialism. As such, it represented the national urge of the people. Within the Congress were Socialists and others who did not agree with the policy and programme of the leaders. The ruling passion and the central idea of the Congress was the overthrow of foreign rule. Now that that object has been achieved, the Congress has ceased to be what it was and it will be a fraud to utilise its name and prestige and national appeal to further the objects of a narrow political junta which is what the Congress of today is.

"It is worth mentioning Gandhiji's advice to the leaders that the Congress should be disbanded and transformed into a Lok Sevak Sangh which will have nothing to do with Parliamentary politics and will not be identified with any particular political party.

"The leaders discarded this advice. They have utilised the prestige of the Congress to further their own interests. The widespread discontent against the Congress and the waning confidence in its leadership clearly showed that the people cannot be hoodwinked and exploited in the name of the Congress. The proper course for the leaders was to organise a separate political party of their own on a clear cut programme and policy and seek the allegiance of the people to it. In a democracy parties are formed on distinct policies and programmes.

Commonwealth Ties

"I am equally emphatic about India's membership of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is a symbol of British Empire and Imperialism and our association with it means our acquiescence in that concept.

"But then, it is argued, the Government of India is not committed to Britain's imperial policies and the Indian policy is independent of Britain's policy.

"It's all a camouflage. What is Britain's interest in Malaya or Hong Kong except imperialist? One cannot be within a political group, accept that group concept and yet disown any responsibility for the action of any one party in the group. Membership of the Commonwealth has not brought any advantage to India. On the other hand it has had all its disadvantages and embarrassments and handicaps. India must come out of the Commonwealth. That is one of the demands of the All India Republican Party.

"India's membership of the Sterling Bloc has reduced India to the position of a satellite of Britain who acted as a broker in our trade deals with the outside world, which have now to be put through via London.

"If India were not so tied to Sterling, we could exercise our freedom to enter the open markets and carry on trade and commerce to the best advantage of the economy of our country. We do not want any sterling ring round Indian economy.

Not So Secular

"I am critical of the Constitution of Free India. I say that the Constitution declared India a secular State, but in practice conferred rights on religious basis. Even at important functions, religious rituals form a prominent feature. India is not a secular State. It is a multi-religious country. In a secular State no rights could accrue on considerations of religious beliefs to sections of the people. We want to make India a truly secular—democratic State. This can be done only when the defects referred to are eliminated from the Constitution.

Against Prohibition

"We are against some of the policies pursued by the Union and State Governments, particularly Prohibition and Controls. We consider Prohibition an encroachment on the right of the individual to live his life. It assails his freedom.

"What has Prohibition achieved? It has resulted only in disrespect for law. Bootlegging is on the increase.

and the manufacture of illicit liquor is developing into a very profitable cottage industry. Moreover, pursuit of this policy has penalised a whole nation in the form of the sales tax and the increased cost of the excise administration. The Republican Party is opposed to Prohibition.

"We want the Controls to go. There is no need for them. These controls, have only resulted in making an already corrupt bureaucracy more corrupt. They have encouraged nepotism and favouritism and interfered with production and distribution. There is no shortage of goods in the country and the Controls have only led to higher price levels.

"If Controls are lifted there would be a free flow of goods and the laws of supply and demand would act as an incentive to greater productive efforts. Under Controls every other man is forced to contravene the law, as the goods he needs are available on the sly at a higher price. There is thus wanton disrespect for law. Disrespect for law in one sphere will lead to disrespect in other spheres and the rule of law itself will be jeopardised.

"Other planks on the Republican Party's programme refer to the integration of the States and the institution of Rajapramukhs, to the top heavy administration and to the heavy taxation policy. We want the old Indian States to be absorbed in the contiguous provinces and not their creation into separate States or Unions of States under Rajapramukhs with fabulous allowances. If the

institution of Rajas is bad and retrogressive in a democratic age the elevation of the Rajas into Rajapramukhs is worse.

"As for the top-heavy administration I consider that in the present conditions of our ill-balanced national economy it is imperative that our administration should be cheaper and in any case I don't see why we should have highly-paid officers. We should have drastic cuts in the emoluments of the Government servants and the money so saved diverted towards productive channels to the benefit of the people as a whole.

Tax Burden

"The taxation policy in the country is iniquitous and places more burdens on certain sections of the society, while others bear little. We will have a more equitable system of taxation. The tax burden will be uniformly distributed to all sections of the society.

"These are only some of the points from the platform on which the All India Republican Party hopes to build an Opposition Party. We want that the people should realise that a change has come over the country. We want them to realise that they are free and have a Democratic Constitution and that it is possible for them to enlarge their freedom and change the Government according to their liking through the ballot box. The Party will educate the people on these lines and seek to implement its policies in a constitutional manner. We believe in the ballot box way as the only way of effecting change."

MEN OVER SIXTY ARE USELESS

I have two fixed ideas. The first is the comparative uselessness of men above forty years of age. Take the sum of human achievement in action, in science, in art, in literature—subtract the work of the men above forty, and while we should miss great treasures, even priceless treasures, we would practically be where we are today. The effective, moving, vitalizing work of the world is done between the ages of twenty-five and forty—these fifteen golden years of plenty, the anabolic or constructive period, in which there is always a balance in the mental bank and the credit is still good.

My second fixed idea is the uselessness of men above sixty years of age, and the incalculable benefit it would be in commercial, political and in professional life if, as a matter of course, men stopped work at this age. As it can be maintained that all the great advances have come from men under forty, so the history of the world shows that a very large proportion of the evils may be traced to the sexagenarians—nearly all the great mistakes politically and socially, all of the worst poems, most of the bad pictures, a majority of the bad novels, not a few of the bad sermons and speeches.—OSLER.

FASTER! AND MORE FASTER!

By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

ABOUT two of the brightest ideas that have come out of American imagination in recent times (or perhaps it is British, but if the Americans are only emulators, they have certainly bettered their masters) are the Club and the Quiz. Stretched from Washington to Boston are clubs of various sorts and conditions sponsored and run by men and women of ages ranging from eight to eighty, clubs for pets, books, fans and for every variety of human interest that God has established or man has created. An idea sprouts in an ingenious brain and forthwith behind it, like flowers behind the footsteps of Ruskin's good women sprouts a club. That is the trouble with ideas in America. They no sooner evolve like the butterfly from the cocoon than they are done to death. They are then resurrected and done to death all over again from a new angle. Or if they are not done to death they are passed from hand to hand in such inexhaustible succession that often what started as something artistic or beautiful finally appears to the public eye as a chic commercial article.

The Book Club is one of the products of the American mania for the pursuit of newer and newer projects and is a symptom of that nation's capacity for boredom. People, some philanthropic souls diagnosed were getting out of the reading habit. In his tireless pursuit of pleasure and profit, man was tending to neglect the Higher Things like Literature, Art. He must be persuaded to read more, to look at pictures more and generally pay more attention to the real self inside him. Why not? You can do worse than improve your mind. But then a smart young clerk said the American nation must not merely be persuaded to read, they must be told *what* to read. And so by forceful degrees and by lively devices American public taste in books is being shaped by a racket of businessmen who write out the ads for the books before they are written and launch "best-sellers" in the same way as one launches a new baby-food. The wonder is not that so many Americans

buy books, it is that so *many* are 'sold' on the ideas of so *few*. As they swallow the pills the doctor prescribes, as they indulge in mental strip-tease on psychiatrists' comfortable couches to clear their psyche of inhibitions, so they credulously imbibe the "sensitive, powerful written picture of life in the raw" which is to become next month's best-seller and the "saga of adventure and suspenseful excitement which hasn't been equalled since in any country or clime" which is dished out as a "must for book-lovers of all ages." And so literature is fast becoming a commercial commodity sold across the counter like cabbages and tinned meat and the literary palate of the people of the chosen land subjected to a totalitarian regimentation which is, in its way, as harmful to the breeding of creative genius, as the dictate of a Government or a State. Buy more, says the industrialist, so that there will be an incentive for the worker to Produce More, which is the secret of all industrial expansion. The position of books is blasphemously similar. Buy more so that more people may write more books, not necessarily write *better* books. Therein lies a significant difference. The florists, says Mr. Tom Denny of the *New York Times*, increased their business by adopting a slogan 'Meet me at the florist's.' Why could not that invitation be extended for a rendezvous at the bookseller's? He calculates that at least two million American men are kept waiting every day for appointments by fiancées, wives and what not. Why, asks Mr. Tom, should they not tarry at the book-store and improve the shining hour or two by browsing? And perchance they may also be persuaded to buy, which is good for business.

The Quiz is another offspring of American ingenuity which is wearing slightly thin at the edges. They ask you a question and either you know the answer or you don't. Most often you don't. It is something you have read in your high school with a wily little twist which makes it entirely different.

Different. That is it. The main

business of these word-mongers is to see that nothing looks or sounds the same if they can help it. There is a hushed rumour which goes about in the best circles in Washington that there is a certain man always mysteriously referred to as X who is paid a fabulous salary and kept closely guarded in an air-proof, steel room with guards at the door with a button within reach of his fingers which when pressed opens up a trap-door under his feet through which he can fall and disappear for days together whenever public opinion turns against him. His work is to search through the dictionary and transpose syllables of words, make voiced sounds voiceless and vice versa, submit maxims and catch-phrases to phonetic transformations and dally in sundry pleasant ways with the English vocabulary and reduce pseudo-intellectuals to a wordless admiration. He also makes new words by putting two words together and then dipping them in a solution of Misinterpretation and keeping the whole mixture in a cool place for seventeen hours. He is a pastmaster of the quibble and the quirk and can turn out sophistries and verbal absurdities with the casualness of an expert. He composes limericks, digs up quotations, makes puns and invents questions which can be answered by no shrewdness of intellect or fertility of imagination. In short, in the course of his work, he runs the gamut of alphabetical mystifications from alliteration and the rhyme to the epigram and the conundrum. The Quiz is generally attributed to his creative genius. The idea, that is. And then it was put in the market in bright new tins with a highly coloured label on it which showed a man and a woman blindfolded standing with a closed basket between them into which their hands are dipped. They are searching for the answer. It is obviously in the basket. The gag is over their eyes so that their powers of concentration may not be diverted. Or perhaps it is to prevent them from cheating by peeping into the basket. Anyway, the answer is to come from the basket, not from where intelligent answers really should come from.

The tins, of course, were lapped up by the American network of broadcasting sooner than you can say Jack Robinson and soon it was found there were more quizzes than listeners, an

embarrassing situation which was remedied by the gift of a few million radio sets to the nation by a generous but feeble-minded multi-millionaire. Now there are quizzes conducted by Hollywood stars, by columnists, by child prodigies, by ex-servicemen filling in their time before the farms promised them by the government become a reality, farmers come to town to buy the new design tractors, by college and high school students anxious to earn the money for higher studies, by politics-mongers catering to a public fancy to get votes and other varieties of the genus homosa-piens. Now Vera K. Lawrence and Carol Lynn Gilmer, co-workers on the staff of the *Reader's Digest*, have thought up a brand-new quiz programme which has already been snapped up by the ABC net work. It is called 'The Cliche Club.' The general idea is this. Somebody narrates a story which, suggests a maxim or a cliché or a proverb or a saying and you have to guess what it is. And you are given exactly so many minutes, and you must be under a certain age and certified to be mentally balanced by an approved doctor. Or something to that effect. And when at the end of the prescribed time you give it up, the quiz master gives the answer and you say "Oh! why didn't I think of that one?" Here is an example as given by the *Saturday Review of Literature*: The pretender to a throne sat at the head of the table at a swanky tea-party handing out the refreshments himself. Have you guessed the answer? It is quite simple, really. You take the first letters of all the words in the story, delete every third letter, and a vowel to each consonant and pronounce the whole with a slight Connecticut accent. And if you hit upon the right answer you get a pair of snowshoes, a trip to Honolulu in a helicopter, a wax cast of an Egyptian mummy, a complete diving set, a framed photograph of this year's Hollywood Academy winner complete with her autograph and a fur coat. No two fur coats, I think. Or perhaps it is a furcoat and a mink. Anyway, a nice sizable collection of expensive junk. Got the answer yet? That is right. The answer is: It never reigns but it pours.

P. S.: The grammar of the title is intended. It is *not* due to editorial oversight.—S. R.

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.

Languishing Without Rice

Notwithstanding the oft-repeated orations of Food Ministers, we, the people in rural areas, are languishing without rice.

For the past three weeks, the supply of rice to the ration shops in and adjoining Paruthipet has been irregular and indifferent. Issue of telegrams to the District officials resulted in half-hearted and reluctant releases of stock barely sufficient for half the people. Result: each family of five adults got one measure or a little more per week barely covering a day's consumption. The pathetic plight of the villagers running post haste to the ration shops—which are in most places situated at distant places—only to find the shop-keeper negatively nodding his head must be seen to be understood.

Compare and contrast this with the conditions obtaining in the city. Towns folk get 7 ounces of rice—bad and meagre though it is—in addition to some subsidiary grains. And what is more, the supply is regular and certain. But one can't tell here whether we will get rice at all, and whether it will be one measure or half measure if at all we get it.

And what about sugar? While the city dwellers get it in quantities that are commensurate with their status and salary, here we get it at a magnanimously flat rate of 2-1/2 palams per adult per month. Can any picture of more unsympathetic discrimination and deliberate differentiation be painted? The ingenuity of the department which made this differentiation, is diabolical—worth a whole life time study by psychologists, for it amounts to saying that those who live in cities are men and the rest mice. A fraction of the inconvenience to which we are condemned would have provoked the gallant newspapers of the city into the fierce protest of shrieking headlines and thundering editorials.

Having sucked the villagers dry in the procurement campaign, is it fair and proper on the part of the authorities to leave them high and dry to shift for themselves?

B. DURAISWAMIAH.

Paruthipet.

Indian Institute Of Culture

It is gratifying that the Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, is giving a fillip to the humanities. Humanities help us in appreciation of values. Literature and other arts exert a salutary influence by providing an excellent means of breaking down the barriers which maintain

provincialism, group prejudices and the like. It redounds to the credit of the Institute that it has given prominence to literature and arts, subjects which are today the Cinderella of the educational household.

Among the prominent activities of the Institute may be mentioned public lectures every alternate Thursday. Men of sound scholarship deliver lectures on a variety of topics. The punctuality observed in these lectures is the envy and despair of many other institutions. The Institute conducts regularly group discussions. Latest books are reviewed by eminent scholars and interesting discussions are held.

The Institute maintains a fine library and reading room. Unlike many other institutions whose doors are bolted, banged and barred to non-members, it allows every one to use the reading room and consult books. There is a singular distinction about the choice of books in the library. A moment's glance at the bookshelves and periodicals is enough to convince the visitor that culture is a living reality in the Institute.

The Indian Institute of Culture has a fine record of invaluable service to the citizens of Bangalore. It has been imparting light and delight to thousands of persons suffering from intellectual undernourishment.

K. S. VISWANATHAN.

Bangalore.

Reorganisation Of Training Colleges

In the reorganisation of Collegiate Teachers' Colleges, the Madras Government have newly opened, in addition to the existing colleges at Saidapet and Rajahmundry, two Government Training Colleges, one at Palghat and another at Mangalore. It is unfortunate that in the Andhra districts there is no such addition. The Government could only think of subsidising two new Training Colleges at Guntur and Vizianagaram opened and managed by private bodies. The whole of Rayalaseema gets no Training College although they could have easily opened one, attaching it to the C. D. College at Anantapur, as they did at Palghat and Mangalore.

By this arrangement, four posts in the M. Ed. Service are created in each of the Training Colleges. Probably owing to the economy drive, two Gazetted posts are reduced to the subordinate service in each of the Colleges at Saidapet and Rajahmundry where there were six Gazetted

posts previously. The consequence is that the Andhra districts get only the reduction of Gazetted posts, whereas the southern districts get all the new posts and consequent benefit of promotions. Out of the 16 Gazetted posts only three are allotted to the Andhra districts. It is needless to say that this has worked hard on the officers in the Andhra area who were anxiously expecting promotion.

P. SURYA PRAKASA RAO.
Rajahmundry.

Communal G. O., Post Mortem

Don't you think it is a strange coincidence that the students of the Pachaiappa's College, both in Madras and in Kancheepuram, should have taken out a procession to protest against the High Court Judgment? I think it speaks volumes either for the uniformity of education imparted to the lads in those two institutions or for their splendid *esprit de corps*.

The Minister for Education rightly condemned this unseemly demonstration but he added the rider:

"I also want to warn another set of people who gloat over the High Court decision."

I am not aware of any procession floated to gloat over the decision but this is certainly the first time that I hear that it is bad manners to appreciate the judicial decision of a constitutionally constituted High Court. *O tempora! O mores!*

An M. L. A. suggested a *viva voce* test as an effective method of eliminating unwanted candidates seeking admission into colleges.

The Minister for Education seems to have considered this brain wave ingenious, for he readily responded:

"The very thought-provoking suggestion of my friend will be considered." Certainly thought-provoking, isn't it?

R. RAMACHANDRAN.

Sugar Scarcity In Rajahmundry

Sugar is featured always in the papers, and the situation is said to be progressively improving. Reports from most towns round about say that in most places an individual with an income of more than Rs. 100 per month gets 2 viss of sugar in two instalments each month. But in this place (Rajahmundry) we get sugar only once in a month and individuals with income of more than Rs. 100 a month get 1½ viss and the rest 1¼ viss. This month sugar has not been issued to us so far.

Repeated representations to the authorities concerned have failed to bring us any relief. However, plenty of sugar at Rs. 2 and over per viss is available in the black market. How and why the citizens of Rajahmundry have come to suffer this special handicap with regard to sugar nobody seems to be able to explain. The people of Rajahmundry will feel grateful

to the authorities if they can unravel this mystery.

Major D. V. RAJA RAO.
Rajahmundry.

Unfair

More than ten thousand candidates were denied admission to the P. & T. R. examination, and many of these were rejected on the ground that "their documents were not attested by gazetted officers."

I do not know whether the P. M. G. is aware that even the candidates for I. A. S. and M. P. S. exams are not instructed to send "attested documents." The clause, "All documents should be attested by gazetted officers" is absolutely missing in many of the 'instruction lists' sent to the candidates. How is the P. M. G. justified in rejecting those applicants who which were not properly instructed?

E. SRINIVASAN, B.A. (Hons).

Reward Of Political Suffering

Political suffering has been too well rewarded in the case of some. A child of fortune at Nerur has been allotted a fertile area which is worth Rs. 30,000 at today's prices. The surprise is that the 'martyr' is growing sugarcane in the field assigned to him.

Are not the assignees—political sufferers or war veterans—bound to grow food crops? Are they allowed to lease out their assigned lands? Should not Government see to it that the new area brought under cultivation is devoted to production of more food—rather than more money to the assignee?

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN.
Nerur.

Rash And Unwise

Many Madras estates have melted to mere nothing under the zamindari legislation and one of them is the Vizianagaram Estate.

Many charities are annexed to the estate of Vizianagaram. The most important of these is the Students' Boarding House. There is no such free boarding house in the whole of the Andhra University area or even in Madras Province. It has been in existence for sixty years. Under the patronage of the Maharajah Sahebs of Vizianagaram, the boarding house has been noted for its care in attending to the have-nots. It feeds over two hundred people for over nine months in the year, and nearly 150 of them are students belonging to the English College.

It would appear that the Government are now inclined to discontinue this boarding house from the next academic year. It is through rash and unwise acts like these that a Government loses its popularity among the people.

Vizianagaram.
B. RAMGOPALAM.

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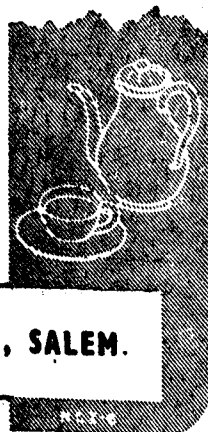
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SWATANTRA

VOL. V. NO. 29

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1950

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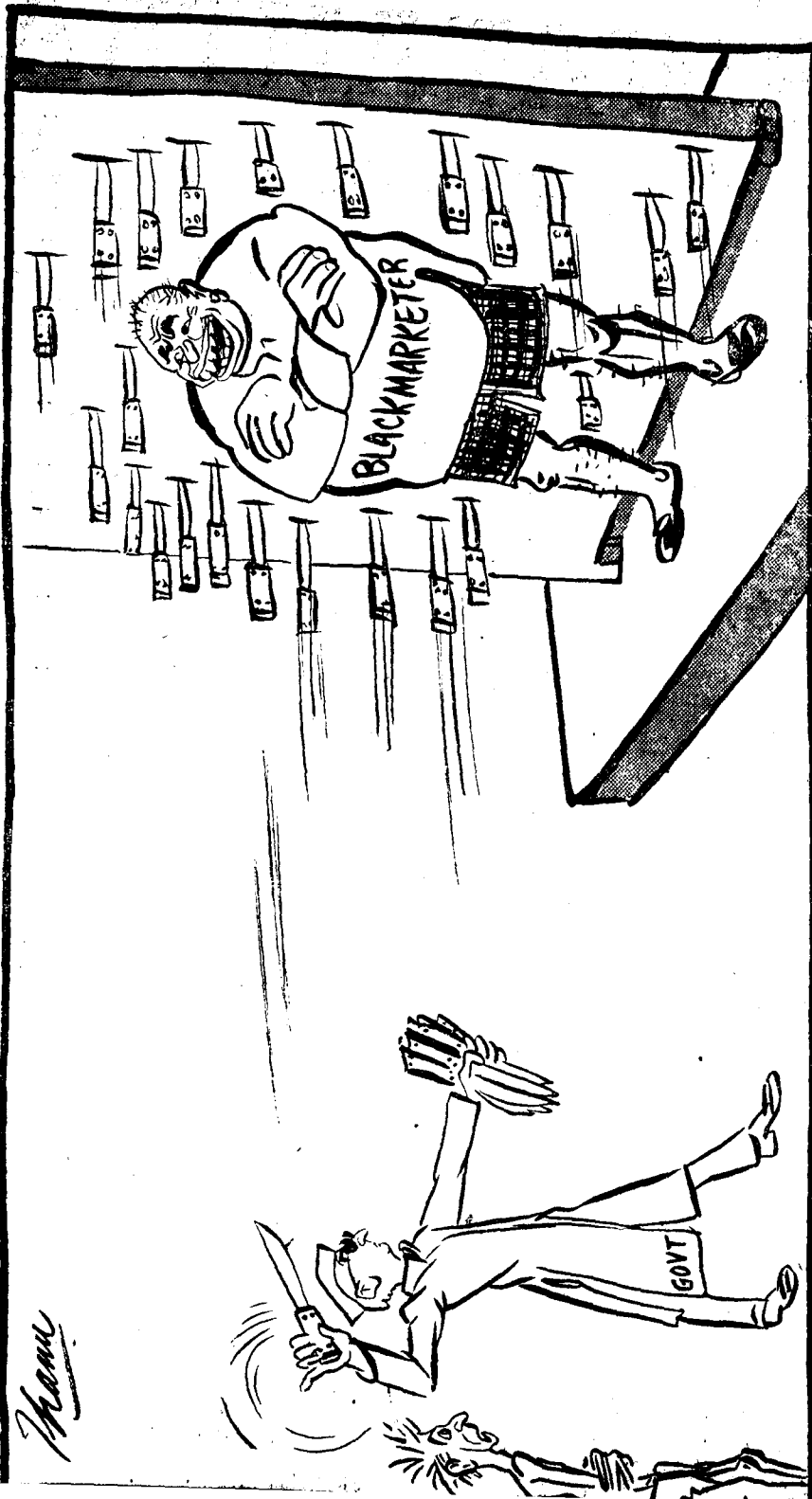
HAILED AS A SAVIOUR

AFTER an initial slump Pandit Nehru's international stock has risen, and it is now realised that his proposal for a settlement in Korea, put forward last week through Sir B. N. Rau in the Security Council, provides an acid test to all concerned of a disinterested purpose to achieve a just peace. Pandit Nehru's first peace effort in July sought to secure Red China's representation in the Security Council, in exchange for Russia's acceptance of the U. N. view of the Korean aggression. It came to nothing because of the Kremlin's craftiness. Stalin welcomed Nehru's intervention in a style that stamped its object with failure in advance. He wanted Red China to be admitted to the Security Council first, with all discussion as to the aggression in Korea being left to the future.

Evading the Soviet trap Pandit Nehru made a second attempt. This time the suggestion was to refer Korea to a committee of the six non-permanent members of the Security Council. The merit of the suggestion is that it takes the diplomatic initiative out of the hands of the big powers tainted with imperialist ambitions and unable to agree among themselves, and transfers it to others not suspect in the eyes of Koreans and other Asian peoples. It is only the non-permanent members of the Security Council, none of them great militarily, that cannot be "accused or suspected of any expansionist ambitions", argued Sir B. N. Rau, in commending the Nehru proposal for U. N. acceptance.

Pandit Nehru's second plan has been received with enthusiastic approbation in Britain and America. The most influential sections of the British press have endorsed it vigorously. Walter Lippman is all praise for it. The idea it presents, he says, "is so well conceived, so well timed in relation to the diplomatic situation in the U. N. and to the military situation in Korea, and has been put forward so deftly that any Government had better think twice before it fails to support it." In a warm eulogy, the *New York Herald Tribune* says that "since the first shock of the Korean aggression, Mr. Nehru has been trying desperately to establish India's position as a great neutral force, a mediator between Asia and the Occident, between Russia and the non-Communist world. He has been trying to revive the Security Council and to re-establish rational negotiation among the giant powers which surround him."

Behind the belated Western appreciation of Pandit Nehru's peace efforts, there seems to be a retreat of the American conscience from its original cocksure attitude as to the serviceability of American and U. N. intervention to its proclaimed beneficiaries in Korea. Some of the Americans themselves are appalled at the turn of events that has changed a campaign of liberation into a war of destruction, and they have begun to doubt whether they can help a country without destroying it. The fundamental American weakness in the assumption of leadership for the liberation of the enslaved in Asia, is



the character of its allies. Both in Korea and in China, American support was given to corrupt and tyrannical regimes that had driven people to revolt, and the wrong alignment of American alliances in Asia was in itself a service rendered to Communism in the very process of seeking to combat it. In Formosa, Chiang Kai-shek set up a rule of killing and pillage reducing a people happy even under the Japanese occupation to misery and beggary, but General MacArthur has now made a private military alliance with Chiang forcing Formosa into the arena of the war. This act of General MacArthur is condemned by the *New Statesman And Nation* as likely to "drive all the Asiatic peoples into the Communist camp," besides being in excess of U. N. policy and President Truman's instructions. The paper holds that General MacArthur is, in the circum-

stances, "not a fit and proper person to be in charge of responsible military operations." For an aspirant to world leadership in the promotion of democracy, the present plight of the U. S. A. is in some respects dreadful. It has destroyed more than it has saved. It has forfeited the sanction of the U. N. by transgressing its limits. It has got identified with hated tyrants in the area of its intervention. It is driving more people into the Communist fold than the Communists themselves could secure through the positive attraction of their promises and propaganda. Through bungling in statecraft and tactics, it has put itself on the way to isolation. In this dilemma, Pandit Nehru's peace efforts have brought hope of relief, with prospects of blame for intransigence being transferred to the Russian side. Hence it is he is hailed as a saviour.

Sotto Voce

CHEEKING THE JUDGES



THE American legislature has ordered contempt proceedings to be initiated against sixty persons for impugning its authority. The Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives has been carrying on a searching investigation—many have called it a heresy hunt—into the political antecedents of officials and others in important positions. The object is to find out whether there is any taint of Communism about them. But the above-mentioned persons have flatly refused to answer the question whether they are or ever were Communists. This is regarded as studied defiance of the sovereign authority of the legislature.

This loyalty probe has been strongly criticised not merely by Communists and fellow-travellers but by many who don't sympathise with subversionists but genuinely value liberty. More relevant to my purpose, however, is the fact that the American legislature, when it found that these persons refused to testify, did not incontinently jail them. It turned over the matter to the properly constituted courts to be dealt with according to law. If after a regular trial the courts hold that the accused are not guilty, they will be promptly discharged. Even Senator McCarthy could hardly be so egregious as to ask for the amendment of the Constitu-

tion forthwith, as do the stalwarts who swear by the Communal G. O. in Madras.

The disgraceful agitation that has been whipped up over this affair has its roots in something more sinister than political intransigence. It betrays a profound contempt for that rule of law which is the sole safeguard against the totalitarian state. We are a peaceable and law-abiding people and with the man in the street respect amounting to reverence for those who administer justice is an immemorial tradition. It is the bad example set by those in high places that has of recent years brought about a very undesirable change in this respect, particularly in the attitude of the half-literate city crowds whose obstreperousness is interpreted by demagogues as the voice of God.

You will remember how the irrelevant fact that Gandhiji's murderer happened to be a Brahmin was played up so virulently by a vicious press that rabid communalists in certain Bombay districts were encouraged to rouse the rabble against that community. Hundreds of innocent men and women were murdered, maimed or robbed with impunity. And the Kher Government made a farce of justice by letting off the miscreants who had been apprehended. It took the extraordinary view that they had acted irresponsibly but understandably under the impulsion of an overmastering emotion! One was all the more shocked to find Sardar Patel, of all people, recently accusing the 'communalists' of a desire to establish a Hindu or even Brahmin hegemony in India. The gibe was as unworthy as the threat to resist such attempts by all the force at the command of his Government was gratuitous.

The Sardar was in a singularly unfortunate mood that day. Rather patronisingly he let the world know that though the Govt. had to see to the safety of the judges who declared this or that law unconstitutional, they

would faithfully accept the decisions. He then twitted the Indian Moderates with their supposed failure to show zeal for civil liberties when the Britisher put down the Congress movements with a high hand. Pandit Kunzru rebuked him with quiet dignity for making this thoroughly unwarranted charge. And the Deputy Prime Minister had the grace to admit that he might have been mistaken. It is a thousand pities that he did not feel the need to apologise for his far more outrageous *faux pas* about Brahmin ambitions, even after Mr. Bhopatkar had thrown down a spirited challenge asking him either to substantiate the charges or to withdraw them.

Whatever the law does not prohibit is lawful and permissible. Suppose any political party were so foolish as to work for the hegemony of this or that community. Its disastrous ambition may be fought by all legitimate political means. But unless it is likely to result in imminent danger to peace and order it cannot be put down by executive fiat or force. Sardar Patel knows this as well as anybody else. It is apparently due to his clear-sightedness that the absurd attempt to treat the so-called communal parties as outlaws was given up before the courts had occasion to declare it unconstitutional.

But if it had been persisted in, the courts would have had to do their duty. And where should we be if such a decision were to lead to a tearing and raging campaign for amending the Constitution so as to enable the party in power to declare any other party unlawful for any reason which seemed to it good enough? Preposterous as this may sound, such a demand could hardly be resisted, if callow schoolboys and political adventurers were to be allowed to spread the notion that the judiciary if it did not behave might be by-passed.

VIGNESWARA.

Tickle the public and make them grin
The more you tickle, the more you'll win.
Teach the public, you'll never grow rich;
You'll live like a beggar and die in a ditch.

—A verse often quoted by H. G. WELLS.

SIDELIGHTS: :

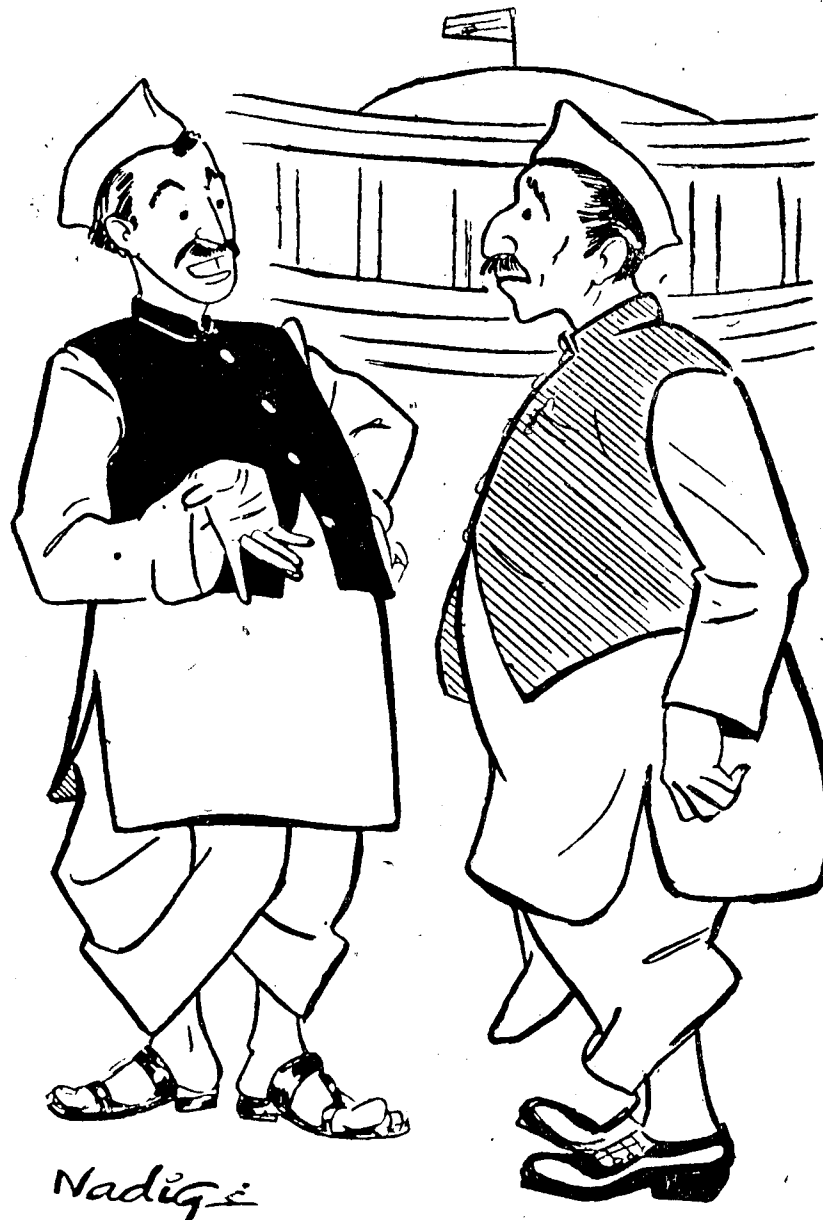
There is no stronger test of a man's character than power and authority, exciting as they do every passion, and discovering every latent vice.—PLUTARCH.

THERE are now three candidates in the field for the Congress Presidentship, Acharya Ranga having withdrawn, despite the twelve-page circular issued from Delhi that he is the one man that can save the nation from the perils encompassing it. Of the three candidates, Acharya Kripalani had been Congress President once already. He then resigned before the expiry of his term. The reason for his resignation was his failure to get on well with the top leaders of the Congress running the Government of the country. Feeling that he was unwanted, Kripalani left, exemplifying a type of independence crystallised in his character as its outstanding speciality. He has the strength that belongs to unrestricted ventilation of chagrin and discontent without regard to consequences. He is no schemer. Daring in thought and deed, he is daunted by nobody. His intellectual sophistication is driven to barren exploits as he is indifferent to career and fortune. He is brilliant. But it is a brilliance that is fitful and tapers off into whimsicality. He has stamina without tenacity. His undoubted gifts of superlative excellence are therefore constantly getting lost in the purposelessness of an unambitious existence. Capable of the highest feats of endurance and sacrifice when his loyalty is touched, he seems cast adrift in a rudderless state on a sea of turbulent disquiet since the Mahatma's death. He cannot do without struggle, but when it tends to be successful, its fascination wanes for him. The technique of building power through human tools is repugnant to him, as there is a streak of renunciation in his nature that will not be quietened except when there is nothing left to renounce. It follows he has not the aptitude for consolidating the organisational efficiency of any party in power. Acharya Kripalani is far too much of a rebel and a nonconformist to prove agreeable to the mighty ones at the helm

of the Congress, especially now when there is so much of rottenness to hide if decorum is to be preserved. The impetus of the same forces that threw him out of the Presidentship once will throw him out of it again if he should find himself there a second time.

Sri Purushottamdas Tandon would appear to have angered the Prime Minister whom certain journals have credited with a threat to resign if Tandon should become Congress President. Pandit Nehru's finest acts are those that come after outbursts of previous offensiveness by way of recompense in the wake of subsequent penitence. In temper authoritarian, he is on principle democratic. A democrat like him is not likely to persist in undemocratic dictation to the hurt of any candidate in an election so as to ruin its freedom, and Sri Tandon's chances are quite secure in the inevitable swing to a juster attitude that may presently be expected of the Prime Minister. The danger is that much mischief might be done before grace overtakes the initial imbalance, in the combustible atmosphere of the Centre, charged as it is with a brewing conflict between the Patel and the Nehru factions. After reaching the top of glory as the subjugator of the princes, the Sardar has fallen into the mouths of purveyors of evil scandal on the score of discreditable doings of pampered favourites of his own, specially in Bombay. That he is so all-powerful that people dread to call him to account as they might a lesser man, has not saved him from tempestuous underground denunciations of a sort that no mightiness on earth can reach. In the case of Pandit Nehru, though there has been bungling in plenty, power has not been used as a whip to beat critics with. Not having lost the faculty of meeting dissidents without the shelter of power, he has come to be looked upon as an ineffective angel, while to the Sardar has gone the title of the Iron Man.

It would be a pity if, in the battle between giants at the helm, the office of Congress President were to sink



—Courtesy: Shankar's Weekly.
I suppose the people are equally responsible for the present state of affairs. After all, they elected us."

into the insignificance of a pawn. Dr. Pattabhi began his term with pre-tentious Gandhian poses which, though they ill fitted his record, he hurled on the hospitable like bricks and missiles, until social functions in his honour completely stopped. What with his involvement in petty factions, his garrulity, his habit of running away to a distance to avoid responsibility when important issues came up for decision, he succeeded in reducing the prestige of the Presidentship to the lowest point it ever reached. He allowed himself to be trifled with and ignored. Sri Tandon is not vulnerable to the susceptibilities that contributed to the inconsequence of Dr. Pattabhi as Congress President. He has made a name for integrity. He is admired for his rectitude. He knows his mind and has a will of his own. He is not afraid of defeat. He is accustomed to stand alone and fight for things he holds dear however over-awing the odds. Even the Sardar may find in him the cutting power of a diamond to match the hardness of his own steel. If victorious, Sri Tandon will prove to be a strong President with no quarter for the dishonest and the corrupt, with mettle enough to replace the worthless yesmen of the

legislatures with substitutes of ability and public spirit and drive out of the Congress fold the internal enemies that have so ruinously discredited and demoralised it.

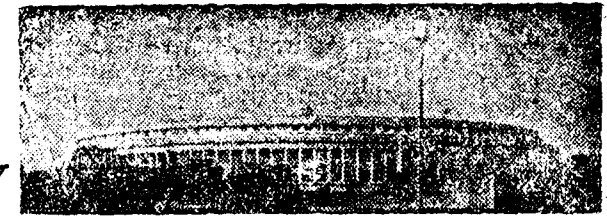
The third of the year's aspirants for the Congress gadi, Sri Shankerrao Deo, is a fanatic Maharashtrian of considerable local influence in his native province. The intensity of his provincial loyalties is a measure of his disability in attaining the stature of national leadership. Outside Maharashtra he is not of much account. His political ambitions are towering; his personal importance little. A man of tremendous assiduity in the pursuit of trifles, he is an indefatigable imitator of the Mahatma in manner, habit and other externals, and the austerities of his choice in the discipline of Gandhism have left him unloved and repellent, a lugubrious prisoner to pose without a shred of charm. With him to guide it as President, the Congress will not need a long time to go completely to pieces. It is therefore in the fitness of the present degeneracy of that once great institution that he should win and his betters fail.—SAKA.



A distinguished visitor to Madras this week, Professor Bhansali is here seen spinning.

NEW DELHI DIARY

By V. V. PRASAD



WHEN a member of the staff of the United Nations Mediator in Srinagar eight weeks ago described Pandit Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as "the bloody Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan," I knew that the old chap was finding Mediation to be too tricky a proposition for a High Court Judge. Dixon had thought that demilitarisation would be well on its way by the time he arrived in this sub-continent. He has discovered that there will be no signs of demilitarisation even after he left. We all live and learn.

Workers of the National Conference interpreted the Mediator's work as one that was calculated to secure military bases in Kashmir for the Anglo-American bloc. Even some of the leaders of the National Conference seemed to share this suspicion. The general feeling in Kashmir was that Sir Owen had come with a preconceived plan which recommended partition of some kind or other. It was known that plebiscite would be bypassed.

Eric Downton's despatches in the *Daily Telegraph* from Srinagar on how the Soviets were imagined to be using Sinkiang as a base of operations for atomic warfare confirmed the fear that the construction of bases in Kashmir by the Americans is to be expected. The only interpretation that can be put on the Dixon episode is that both India and Pakistan have been reduced to their lowest terms by the simple method of dangling the turnip. American-dominated U. N. has successfully played the part of the monkey which appointed itself as the arbitrator between the two kittens. Mahatma Gandhi was no fool to have advised against reference of Kashmir to the United Nations.

Rajaji is to be Finance Minister in the absence of Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh. And he will be Foreign Minis-

ter if and when Pandit Nehru goes to Lake Partial Success. When he was Prime Minister of Madras, he was running all the Departments of Government together. Now he is going to run them one after another. This is how it should be, because of doctors' orders as well as of the vagaries of politics.

Rajaji appeared but once as a speaker in Parliament. He is a master of over-simplification. He made things look so simple that he failed to carry conviction. You suspect there is something fishy in it. Panditji, on the contrary, appeared to make things much more complicated than they were. In short, the international scene is a very simple matter, and yet it is so complicated. I expected that Rajaji would be called upon to help undo the effects of Dr. Mookherji's speech on the Nehru-Liaquat Agreement. But he contented himself with speaking on Korea.

Rajaji's analysis of any situation falls into a familiar pattern. He can justify any action of Government by that process. He would argue that if the Government did not do what it did, it could have done one of two other things. The first is that they could have remained inactive, and the second is that they could have been overactive. Inactivity would mean that the Government is sleeping. If Government were inactive, then the very same people who were criticising it now would have come forward with the charge that Government were inactive. If the Government did something more, then Government could have been justly charged for committing excesses. Etcetera, etcetera, etcetera.

Suppose there is firing by the police somewhere. Rajaji would say that the Government could have refrained from firing altogether, or they could have carried on firing for a greater

length of time. If they had not fired a single shot, indiscipline would have grown, and shops would have been looted, arson would have been committed. It was the duty of the Government to protect innocent men, women and children. If it did not do that, then the Government would lose its very title to exist. Lord Krishna has enjoined on us the duty of doing our duty. The fact that they resorted to firing showed that the Government was not afraid of becoming temporarily unpopular. If more people were killed by firing, the Government could have been justly accused of inhumanity. The Government could have been called a Fascist Government, a Dictatorship, a one-man rule and the like. We have to weigh every one of our actions every moment of our lives. We should pray to God that He leads us alright.

Rajaji's speeches remind me of Stephen Leacock's "Boarding House Geometry." Leacock sets down a series of axioms. "No item should be charged more than once on the same side of the bill." "You can make a bee-line from any one boarding house to any other." "If you draw a line joining all the rooms in a Boarding House, the steam-pipe lies somewhere within this line." "In the absence of a double room, a single room may be declared a double room." "If the wrangle between any one boarder and the landlady is equal to the wrangle between any other boarder and

the landlady, and if all other things are equal, each to each, then the charges for both will be equal." "If not, suppose that one of them is greater. It then means that the other is less than it might have been. Which is absurd." (The quotations may not be word-perfect, since the propositions and axioms are reproduced from memory.)

Some of us are personally bitter about Korea because the tragedy of it all has been brought home to us by the news of the killing of Colonel Unni Nayar. He was the Special Correspondent of *The Statesman*, and did a damn good job in that capacity. But he had a weakness for military service. Whenever there was a military function, he would don his Lieut-Colonel's uniform, although it entailed his saluting every officer above that rank. He had an opportunity to go back to the Defence Ministry, and was the most successful Public Relations Officer that the Indian Government ever had in Delhi. Although he had a civilian post as Press Attache at our Embassy in Washington he was itching for military service. He was about to be named Chief U. N. Military Observer when he was killed. We were talking about him at Dr. P. P. Pillai's house about the same time as he was killed. We were looking forward to see him shortly in Delhi. It was an American mine that killed United Nations' Unni Nayar. And America looks like being intent on killing U. N.

SOMERSET MAUGHAM

In the college in which I studied there was no book at all by Somerset Maugham in the college library, though it was the year of grace 1943! Even now, except in one or two colleges, there are no books by modern authors later than Bernard Shaw. College students in Madras, for the most part, have no chance at all till they leave their colleges to hear the names of Aldous Huxley, D. H. Lawrence, or even J. B. Priestly, let alone James Joyce. Once I was going in a bus with one of my friends and he took it from me to see the title. He returned it saying that however much he tried, he was not able to interest himself in astrology. He didn't say anything about economics because of that "Sixpence."

In a discussion held by authors among

themselves, some months back, about the novel of the 20th century, only Somerset Maugham was considered by all present as the major novelist of the middle of the 20th century comparable in status with Hardy, George Eliot and Dickens.

Rebecca West says, "A creative artist is one who carries through the business of analysis, synthesis and communication," and we find Somerset Maugham perfect in all those three functions. He has a range of vision, wide enough to include all the inconsequences of human desire, ambition, cruelty, weakness and sublimity. By the pains he took in his early life, to cultivate and perfect his style and technique, he has flowered into a mature realistic writer.—V. T. DEVANATHAN.

FOOD PROBLEM—NEW CHINA SHOWS THE WAY

"...And as family after family finished its store in small village and spent its last coin in the scanty markets of the town...the hearts of the villagers grew distraught with their own hunger and with the hunger of their pinched wives and crying children....

"...The children's bellies were swollen out with empty wind, and one never saw in these days a child playing upon the village street....Their once rounded bodies were angular and bony now, sharp small bones like the bones of birds, except for their ponderous bellies....

"There was a day when his neighbour, worn now to less than the shadow of a human creature, came to the door and whispered, '...Here we have eaten the beasts that ploughed our fields and the grass and the bark of trees. What now remains for food?'

"There was nothing to do but to pull the door tight upon its wooden hinges and fasten the iron hasp....Thus they started across the fields, a dreary small procession moving so slowly that it seemed they would never be able to reach the wall of the town....

"...he suddenly found himself and his family caught in a multitude, and he asked of one who pressed against him: 'Where is all this multitude going?'

"And the man said, 'We are starving people and we are going to catch the fire-wagon and ride to the city....'

THESE quotations could be from a contemporary reportage or a realistic novel describing the famine in Bihar or in the South and the consequent, migrations of the hungry peasants to the cities, on foot and by rail in the 'fire-wagon'. But, actually, they are quoted from Pearl Buck's famous novel of Chinese peasantry, *"The Good Earth."*

This is how she described a famine in Northern China just before the Chinese Revolution. It can also be a description of the famine in India after (or is it before?) the Indian Revolution!

Once again we are reminded of the basic similarity between the conditions in India and China—the pre-Revolution China!

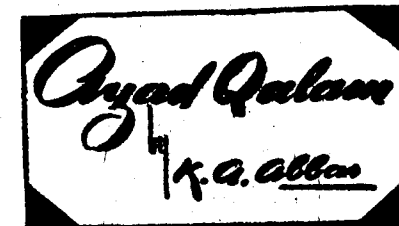
WHEN EARTH WAS NOT SO GOOD!

If Pearl Buck's classic description of famine conditions be suspected of literary exaggeration, this is what the acute observer of objective detail, John Gunther, wrote ten years ago in his *Inside Asia*: "The life of China is the life of the land. At least eighty-five per cent of Chinese are small tenant cultivators....There are very few big estates anywhere, and as a rule the tenant—or proprietor—holds just as much land as his family can cultivate, which is something over an acre....the average income of a small farmer is under 100 Chinese dollars per year, that is £3-5s. (i. e. Rs. 60 per year or Rs. 5 per month!!) If a landlord is a bad landlord, it means first that he is an absentee, second that he takes more than 50 per cent of the crop as rent. The small landlords—tenants also—pay preposterous taxes, especially in remote provinces like Szechwan where war lords have collected taxes many years in advance. The agricultural debt is enormous—so enormous as to be incalculable."

Until the agrarian reforms (They are still reforms, and not a revolution!) ushered in by Mao Tse Tung's regime, the good earth of China was not very good to its tillers. The Chinese peasant in those days (like his Indian brother even today) had to share the produce from his little holding with the landlord, the Government tax-collector, and the money-lender; also he was at the mercy of the war-lords, of droughts and floods. No wonder so often he had to sell his land or his children, to migrate

(uninvited by any Home Minister!) to a city to cough out his life blood pulling rickshaws or to suffer the ultimate humiliation of having to beg for food!

The basic problem of agricultural China is the same as that



of agricultural India—the production and distribution of food crops. “Throughout history”, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said, “Every Chinese Government has been judged by one simple test—the price of rice”. (He did not say how his own Government would fare in such a simple test!)

The new regime in China is only a year old and even now, because of the ever-present threat of Kuomintang Counter-revolution, peaceful conditions have not been established. And yet (again to quote Pandit Nehru's interview with Tom Driberg of *Reynold's News*) the Chinese Communists had shown remarkable energy and efficiency “in preventing famine when they had taken Shanghai and there was only ten days' stock of rice. They commandeered rice in the country districts and brought it to the city so efficiently that the price of rice soon fell.”

How is it, then, that Chinese peasants who, traditionally, have always hated and feared the Government tax-collectors and ever sought ways and means to evade the grain levy, now so gladly offer their grain to the new Government?

The magazine “*People's China*” seeks to answer this question and what it writes is of urgent interest to India—to India's Food Ministers and to India's hungry millions.

“First of all, the peasants are at last free from feudal exploitation. In the past, they had to pay at least 50 per cent of the produce to the landlords in the form of rent. They were also weighed down by heavy interest rates on agricultural loans as well as by a vast assortment of sundry taxes.... Today the peasants living in areas where land reform has been completed have virtually no tax obligations to meet except their ‘public grain’ (i.e. grain levy). Land rents have been abolished and tax rates are far below those of previous years when tax collectors arbitrarily imposed any levy which they thought could be extracted from the villagers.... In newly liberated areas where land reform has not yet been introduced, and reduction of rent and interest has greatly eased the peasant's burden.... After paying both local and national taxes the peasants still retain a far greater proportion of

their crops than ever before.... A steeply-rising progressive tax has been introduced.... poor peasants will not be taxed more than 10 per cent of their harvest; middle peasants may be taxed up to 15 per cent; rich peasants up to 25 per cent; and landlords upto 50 per cent.”

At the same time (unlike the past when peasants sometimes sold their children to meet the taxes which were stringently imposed even in the days of the famine) “last year, when floods, drought and locusts brought hardship to many sections of the country, the People's Government immediately lowered taxes in accordance with local conditions, cancelling them entirely in areas that were badly affected.”

Moreover, *People's China* points out, “proper reshuffling of the public grain” ensures supply to deficit areas, thus ending the previous “contradiction of importing large amounts of foreign grain while home-grown crops rot in the hinterlands.” It is recalled that though Chiang's Government was importing 2,000,000 tons of foreign grain every year (very much like India today), still food prices were allowed to soar and millions starved.

In 1949-50, thanks to the vast quantities of “victory grain” which the peasants voluntarily and cheerfully contributed to their Government, “food prices have been widely stabilised *without relying on foreign imports*, and food shortages that developed in certain areas have been checked.”

SEND MUNSHI TO CHINA!

This is a brilliant record for any Government and, according to his interview with Driberg, Prime Minister Nehru is conscious of the achievements of the People's Government of China.

Pandit Nehru, it is reported, has been cordially invited to visit the New China. The invitation has come from no less an eminent dignitary of the Government of China than Madame Sun Yat Sen.

More important than his visit to U. S. A. or Malaya or Indonesia would be Pandit Nehru's tour of China—if and when he goes! But he *must* go—and soon—for it is important for India, for China, for Asia and the world, that a friendly understanding unite the peoples of these two great

countries of Asia in their common endeavour to preserve world peace and to raise their own standard of living.

Meanwhile, I suggest that the Food Minister Mr. K. M. Munshi, and experts of the Food Ministry, be sent to China to study on the spot how the Chinese authorities are tackling their problems of land reform, grain procurement and food distribution.

It is senseless to send numerous delegations and experts and students to European and American countries—to Sweden and Belgium and Canada and U. S. A.—where the social, economic, geographical and climatic conditions are entirely different from those prevailing in India.

India can learn a lot, and must learn, from the New China.

But does the Government of India want us to learn that lesson—i. e. the problem of food can be solved only by the willing co-operation of the peasantry which, in its turn, can be secured only by abolishing feudal burdens and inaugurating agrarian reforms which have been long overdue all over Asia?

STRAWS IN THE WIND?

WASHINGTON: Representatives of 10 Atlantic Treaty nations are meeting here to expedite plans for the movement and protection of military supplies in the event of another great war.

LONDON: Britain will send troops from Hong Kong to Korea “immedi-

ately” to reinforce General Douglas MacArthur's United Nations forces, the War Office announced.”

NEW DELHI: The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has received an invitation to visit China, it is reliably learnt here. The invitation, it is further learnt, has come from Madame Sun Yat-sen, Senior Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China. It is held doubtful whether the Prime Minister will be in a position to visit Peking in the immediate future.”

HINDUSTAN HAMARA

MADRAS: Six persons died in a village in Dindigul Taluk of dysentery as a result of eating roots of “Aloe” plant “black kathazhai” according to a Dindigul report. The report said that no foodgrains had been issued by ration shops in certain villages in the Taluk during last week and people had taken to “Aloe” roots. Some of them developed dysentery.

JAIPUR: Dr. Flemming Lund, Director of the International Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign, said at a press conference yesterday that “one human being dies of Tuberculosis in every seven seconds in the world and one dies in every minute in India.

SHOLAPUR: Hearing began here today of the case of a prominent Sholapur Congressman and member of the Prohibition Committee, for alleged violation of Bombay Prohibition Act of 1950. He had taken alcoholic liquor in the night of fourth July last, the prosecution had stated.

BRITISH AND INDIAN NEWSPAPERS COMPARED •

By A. ALAGAPPAN

IN the United Kingdom there is no telling as to what will strike headlines. Front page news is as unpredictable as the British weather. Except for the handful of important British papers which take extreme care to preserve a praiseworthy balance, generally there is no attempt to serve the vital news of the day to the readers. The central defect lies in the utter negligence of world events. News about international

organisations is seldom found, while football transfers are treated in far greater length. The little that is said is often distorted. Indian newspapers give a far fairer and greater coverage of world events consistently. While free from blame on this count, Indian newspapers are easily outdistanced by the British Press on many points of importance.

Indian newspapers are interested more in *who* says rather than *what* is

LESSONS OF THE KOREAN WAR

By BAROO

being said. They respect and even worship personalities. If a politician of importance strays into fields which are not his own and dares to speak out, his views are not only widely reported in preference to the views of the experts in those lines, but are also presented as tantamount to gospel truth. Instances are not wanting to show where a political leader's views on war strategy or on an intricate economic question have been presented much more prominently while Generals and economists on the same subjects were struggling to secure some obscure corner. I am sure that if Mr. Attlee speaks tomorrow on the art of painting, no newspaper in Britain will treat it seriously, but may perhaps make a good joke out of it.

Indian newspapers suffer from a serious disease called "Statementism." When the terrible human tragedy was taking place in Neokhali, that intense agony of the nation was treated something like this. Mr. "A" from Madras issued a statement about it. Mr. "B" from Bombay contradicted Mr. "A". Mr. "C" from Delhi cast reflections on the wisdom of both Mr. "A" and Mr. "B". As to what actually happened in Neokhali no one knew. While the facts were ignored waves of hate were being generated in the country on what these wise men said. Instead of rushing reporters to the spot with powerful cameras and getting at the truth, a play in words was being indulged in. Many men were allowed to build their reputations on what they said then. Day in and day out Indian newspapers are flooded with statements. And on every conceivable occasion and topic it is only statements containing these personal partial views that are being widely publicised. In my opinion, it is high time that this disease was cured and attention directed to current events of importance.

Much of the news in India is composed of reports of conferences and meetings. Reports of smaller meetings just tell us as to the place and

time of the meeting, the names of the president, lecturer and the dignitary who proposed a vote of thanks. Sometimes the subject of the meeting is also mentioned, but quite often what was said in this meeting is entirely or almost entirely omitted. When I once asked an experienced journalist as to why this atrocity was knowingly being committed, I was told that by giving publicity to small souls, the newspapers preserved their customers.

Now in the United Kingdom we scarcely see this. Probably the financial strength of British newspapers enables them to escape wasting space in this way. Blame must not be allowed to rest on the shoulders of the reporting staff, who, brilliant as they are, are just not allowed to exercise their intelligence in finding out stories. Their skill is so often canalised in reporting the dull proceedings of meetings and functions in cities. So that journalism in India is tending to become desk work rather than reporting in the field as in Britain.

Indian newspapers have a good eye for news of political significance, but otherwise they are almost entirely blind to subjects of wider interest, and cultural activity is sadly relegated to a minor corner. Lately there has been a great deal of interest shown in sports, but I am not at all happy about specialisation in various branches of journalism. While there are a number of able journalists with general qualifications, there are few who have concentrated on particular lines. It is only 'The Hindu,' 'The Times of India,' 'Statesman', and dailies of this calibre which have a team of experts on their staff.

One fundamental point the press of India and Britain share. From the very start Indian newspapers have been actuated by the ideal of freedom which has always been the cornerstone of the existence of the British Press. In both countries, the same high values prevail and there is every effort to hold high the torch of liberty.—(From a broadcast in the Far Eastern Service of the B.B.C.)

WHETHER, by the time these lines appear in print, the Yanks have been driven into the Sea of Japan or not, they have without doubt already received the biggest spanking they have ever had. It is necessary to look into the causes of the American debacle in Korea and see what lessons are to be learnt from it.

Since Anglo-American news sources—on which unfortunately we in India are so dependent—have throughout refrained from mentioning any but purely military reasons for American defeats in Korea, it is well to consider these reasons for whatever they are worth. It will be recalled that in the beginning, all the blame was put on a handful of Russian-built tanks that defied American bazookas. There has been no allegation that these tanks were an improvement on any that the Americans had known during World War II, or that their tactical use was revolutionary. It was admitted that these tanks were of the kind used by the Russians in 1945, and that the only difficulty they presented was in the thickness of their armour. The Americans did not, at the outbreak of the war have immediately to hand any weapon with penetrating power sufficient to put these tanks out of use. But Super Blitz Bazookas would soon arrive from the States, and make an end of the tank menace. Well, these much-talked-of Super-Blitz-Bazookas did arrive from the arsenal of democracy, and knocked out numbers of enemy tanks.

In the meanwhile, rocket-firing Mustangs based in Korea also took a hand in the kill, and destroyed many tanks. It is relevant to mention at this stage that the total number of tanks with which the Northerners were credited was about 50. The Americans have at no time alleged that this number was augmented by reinforcements—on the other hand, it was emphasised by MacArthur's headquarters time and again that Super Fortresses carrying block-busters had showered tons of explosives over enemy marshalling yards, ports, bridges, culverts and roads, not to speak of cities and towns. But inspite of having been

put out of action several times over by Super Blitz Bazookas, Mustang-fired rockets and of course the American artillery, these 50 odd tanks displayed a stubborn immortality and a quite unreasonable ubiquitousness throughout the campaign. Thus, when they appeared in Yangtok, the American Navy and His Britannic Majesty's Royal Navy opened broadsides on them with their 12" and 20" guns, so that, in the words of American correspondents themselves, the town was left a heap of smouldering ruins, a smoking shell. The town was retaken by gallant GIs, but a little later the same Stalin tanks re-emerged from their ashes like a veritable phoenix, and of course again put the Super-Blitz-Bazooka-armed Yankees to rout. Instances of this kind could be multiplied endlessly from the accounts of Western observers themselves.

But about midway through the campaign, the Americans began to soft pedal the tank theory, and a new explanation of American defeats was now advanced. There were a number of reasons for this shift in the propaganda line. For one thing, the tank story had been played-out, what with the loudly-heralded arrival of Super-Blitz Bazookas and the pin-pointing Mustangs that never missed their targets. For another, the original 24th had in the meantime been reinforced by two fresh American Divisions and it was felt that continued American reverses even after this reinforcement and in the face of the unchallenged monopoly that the Yanks enjoyed both on the sea and in the air required an explanation far grimmer than the exploded myth of Stalin tanks. Recourse was therefore had to the good old bogey of superiority in numbers, to the nightmare of Asiatic hordes that was first seen by Kaiser William II. According to Anglo-American accounts, the North Koreans were absolutely reckless in their expenditure of lives. They rolled on in waves, regardless of their casualties. Nothing could stop them. The North Koreans lost, so say our informants, about 40,000 men to the American 2,000. But still they kept on coming.

India has a plan for the solution of the Tibet question vis-a-vis Red China's reported moves to annexe it, according to "Daily Graphic." London. The paper published a story the other day that the Indian Ambassador to Peking has suggested a pact between China and India to keep Tibet a neutral autonomous state.—I. P. S.

Still they kept on driving the Yanks back, back into the Sea of Japan.

Now, according to the Americans themselves, they had plenty of equipment, including heavy tanks, during the later stages of the campaign. In fact they were over-equipped, so much so that one correspondent said they were being hindered by the mass of their own equipment. There was obviously nothing to prevent them from keeping on killing the stupid Northerners in endless numbers—provided they could also keep their ground. Why they could not hold their lines in the circumstances needed to be explained, and what better explanation than that the Northerners infiltrated into and beyond their lines in the guise of refugees. It was accordingly ordered that the southward flow of refugees was to be stopped at all costs. Refugees moving southwards were to be fired upon and treated as enemy troops. This was done. But infiltration still continued. American flanks were still turned, their communications disrupted, their rear disorganised. Meanwhile suicidal frontal assaults by enemy troops proceeded apace, and the numerical odds against the Yanks continued to rise. What could one do with an enemy that sent teen-aged recruits with two days' training into the front line? What could one do with an enemy that advanced like locusts, sprang up like dragon's teeth behind one's lines, died like flies? What, alas, could one do with an enemy that could walk on his feet, scale vertical heights, and do without mobile laundries and mercerised uniforms?

One could only retreat. That is what the Americans did.

But the Americans are fools to believe that this version of the greatest set-back that their arms have ever received is going to be swallowed by the world, or even by all their own compatriots. Only the purblind are going to accept these infantile stories of invincible tanks, overwhelming numbers, and inexplicable infiltration, defeating a superbly well-equipped army served by masses of local troops and enjoying an absolute mastery of Korean skies and seas.

The true explanation of the American debacle naturally lies elsewhere than their apologists would have us

believe. To begin with it lies in the hatred of the Korean people for the American interventionists, and in their refusal to act as cannon fodder for them. This is clear from the sorry role that the South Korean forces have played in this war. Although Syngman Rhee had an American-trained and American-equipped army on whom Dulles and Mikado MacArthur placed great reliance, it seems to have done precious little to justify his and his masters' hopes. A great part of it went over to the Northerners within the first few days of the fighting. The remainder, sandwiched between American units and forced to fight, seems to have lacked all incentive to do so. And indeed, it was justified in its lack of enthusiasm to commit suicide. To act as mercenaries against the interests of one's country is bad enough, but to be taken for granted as an expendable item and not get even a word of thanks from one's foreign paymasters is unbearable even to the most degraded. Even worms will turn, and it is no wonder that whatever little morale the South Korean forces had at the beginning of the campaign was destroyed by the lofty attitude that the Yanks displayed towards them. *It is a fact of the utmost significance and one which all Asian people will take long to forget that not a single American communique has had a word to say about South Korean casualties in a campaign in which so many of them met an unwilling death.* This is not the way to treat allies. This is the way to treat slaves whose lives are of no account, whose lives have been mentally written-off even before the fighting starts.

It is not as if the Yanks have no previous experience of hiring Asian soldiers to fight their fellow countrymen for the greater glory of the tycoons of Wall Street. Once previously the experiment has been made on a gigantic scale, and met with a gigantic failure. For years Washington kept millions of Chiang's mercenaries on her payrolls, and met with set-back after set-back, but it has refused to learn the lesson of that adventure. Now the lesson has been repeated in Korea. But there are none so blind as those who will not see, and Truman and MacArthur have already decided to back up Chiang afresh!

The second reason for the Korean

debacle is a corollary of the first. Since the Americans believe that they can employ local johnnies to shed their blood for them, and that they themselves need do nothing more than supply dollars and guns of which they have more than enough any way, they are reluctant to risk their own lives in any fighting. When they are faced with the prospect of having to do their own fighting, they prefer to retreat and straighten out their lines. In the last resort they prefer to get pushed out into the sea rather than stick to their ground and lose blood. This is of course also due to the fact that they are fighting for a cause that they do not understand—fighting to impose the dominion of their capitalists on a foreign country that wants to be free.

When it is remembered that the Northerners stand for freedom from American rule and from their local agents and puppets, it is easy to appreciate why their *elan* is infinitely higher than that of their enemies and why they are willing to lay down their lives in the pursuit of their object. It is also easy to see why they do not need to infiltrate into American lines because every Korean behind American lines is automatically a sympathiser and helper, and, if active enough, a saboteur and guerilla fighter. As for the pressure of numbers, it is easily explained by the fact that every able-bodied Korean in areas liberated from the invaders would like to help in the sacred task of ridding his country of them, and needs only a gun to reach the hottest part of the front.

The Korean war is therefore to be explained not on traditional military lines but by the moral factor. If there is any military lesson to be learnt from it, it is this that military aerial and naval superiority is, in the last resort, of no avail against a people determined not to yield to foreign domination. The Korean war is a vindication, par excellence, of the human spirit struggling to be free and not counting the cost of the struggle. It has demonstrated the fact, already illustrated by the Russo-German war, by war-time resistance movements in many countries and by the Chinese civil war, that no country can be held down once its people are roused to a consciousness of their rights and

are determined to be free. It has proved for all time that a people that is prepared to pay the price in blood and sweat and toil, can, even if empty-handed, prevail upon the guns and bombs of an aggressor.

The repercussions of the Korean war will be wide and vitally significant. The American army engaged openly for the first time against an Asian nation—and what a tiny little nation at that—has been debunked so completely that American prestige will never be able to make good the set-back it has received. The fighters of Malaya, Indo-China, Greece and the Philippines will take heart at the Korean victory while American puppets in these regions will be correspondingly disheartened. In India, Pakistan and in the rest of Asia, news of American defeats have produced such sincere jubilation among the common people that Americans should no longer have any delusions regarding the state of public opinion in this continent, even if a capitalist press does not correctly reflect it. In West Germany and in Japan, popular delight over American discomfiture is even greater. But most important of all, the Korean War has exposed America as an enemy of world peace, and brought her fellow-travellers into the light.

America's aim of world domination has been made incomparably more difficult now that her true intentions and her *modus operandi* have been both laid bare. Acheson and his fellow war mongers seek still to pursue a policy that is foredoomed to failure. During the last few weeks they have made efforts to recruit in West Germany and in Japan by proposing to rearm these countries. West Germany has given a polite refusal to the invitation that her citizens should die to ensure high dividends for American businessmen. Japan, if she arms at all, will soon turn her arms against the men who atom-bombed her. Even Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are offering only conditional help. They are willing to help only in Korea (and that too in their own good time, when help will no longer be needed), and are firm about their decision not to under-write American schemes of conquest in China, Indo-China and the Philippines. It is clear that the Americans will have to do

their own fighting if they want to conquer the world.

What a job the American Government has let itself in for! How unpropitious the times! Yet the chances are that Washington will not back out of its mad commitments, its undertaking to stem the tide of human progress all the world over, its resolve to put the clock back. But should the worst

happen, it is today clearer than ever before that the world will, and will with comparative ease, cut itself free from the tentacles of an evil imperialism trying to strangle it. Already the hold of these tentacles has weakened; the monster is showing signs of exhaustion. The beginning of the end of imperialism is over. We are now privileged to watch it die before our eyes.

FAMOUS BRITISH ATHLETICS COACH TO VISIT INDIA

By ROY MOOR

Geoffrey Dyson, 35-year-old Chief Coach to the Amateur Athletic Association of England and one of the foremost athletics coaches in the world today, is to visit India in September. He will do so at the invitation of the Amateur Athletic Federation of India to run a coaching course for experienced Indian athletes.

Dyson is giving up his holiday period to make the trip. It was the only way he could meet the request from India; he is in such demand throughout the rest of the year supervising the coaching of English athletes.

Dyson's own competitive career came to a close at the early age of 23 by reason of his taking an important position as Lecturer on Athletics at Loughborough College. He was thereby deprived of his amateur status. By that time, however, he had proved himself a very accomplished hurdler and had, in fact, recorded a time of 14.7 seconds for the 120 yards hurdles run. He could also do 22ft. for the long jump; 11ft. 6 in. for the pole vault; 5ft. 6in. for the high jump and could sprint the 100 yards in 10.2 seconds.

World War II broke out soon after Dyson had taken up the Loughborough appointment, so he concentrated his activities supervising physical training in the Army. He swiftly rose to the rank of Major, first having full charge of British Army physical training in Africa and then in the Central Mediterranean zone. He was a tremendous success in the job and the experience of the work stood him in good stead when he resumed as

lecturer and coach on the Loughborough College staff at the end of the war.

In 1947 the English A. A. A. decided to appoint a full-time national athletics coach. They were in no doubt as to the man they wanted for the new venture. Dyson duly accepted and in co-operation with the A. A. A. he evolved the present-day successful coaching system which operates throughout England.

From the outset Dyson realised that his task was so colossal that his first act must be to coach athletic coaches rather than concentrate on coaching athletes. After all, he had a national responsibility. He toured the country giving lectures and coaching advice in the big towns and the small villages. His powerful personality and forthright lectures considerably widened the interest in athletics in England.

Dyson not surprisingly has won great respect as an athletics coach not only in England but in other parts of the world as well. Sweden paid him a very high compliment on a visit there last year. Swedish experts rated his lectures to them as the best they had listened to on modern athletics techniques.

Mrs. Dyson, who will be accompanying her husband on his trip to India, is the famous Maureen Gardner who raced Fanny Blankers-Koen so close in the world record-breaking 80 metres hurdles final at the Olympic Games two years ago. Maureen was just a sprinter until Dyson persuaded her to change to hurdling. Now she is a joint world record-holder with Mrs. Blankers-Koen.

MAKING NEGEV DESERT INTO FERTILE LAND

By MAURICE CARR

Will Israel's master plan convert Negev desert into fertile land? Women as well as men are joining in the task of bringing the great dream to realization. Uninterrupted peace is needed now if the new nation's development is to be in accordance with the valour of her fighting men.

CAN Israel win the battle of the Negev, not in combat with the Arabs or in a diplomatic duel with the Great Powers, but against the forces of nature? The Jews have taken upon themselves the mission of transforming this bleak desert into a green and pleasant garden. Only here, in this uninhabited wilderness, can they hope to settle millions of immigrants from all parts of the world.

Failure to fertilize the Negev would be a major disaster for Israel. This wasteland covers nearly two-thirds of the entire country, and unless it is restored to life, the newborn Jewish State will remain, as it were, a permanent invalid paralyzed from the waist down.

There is no incentive like sheer necessity. Already the Israelis have begun to knuckle down to the task. It is not going to be easy, but by no means so difficult, as anyone unacquainted with the past glories of the Negev might imagine. Former civilizations were able to redeem vast tracts of this "south land" of the Bible, and the Israelis reckon they can do even better with all the aids of modern science. Water and will-power, in vast quantities, will do the trick, and of both these commodities the Israelis claim to have abundant reserves.

Before setting out on a tour of the Negev, I was privileged to see the master-plan for its reclamation, the fruit of many years' labour by a brilliant team of specialists, including many non-Jews.

The work is to be divided into three main stages, starting with the easiest and ending with the most difficult.

First, water will be fed to strategic points in the Negev—selected as the nuclei of further agricultural development—from surplus sources on the northern boundaries of the desert

where springs, streams and—in the winter—storm floods now run wastefully into the sea, underground and surface dams and reservoirs are being built. The water thus trapped is to be diverted southward into the wilderness through pipelines. Already, water has been acquired for several new farms south of Beersheba, though so far the only green spots are tiny cemeteries, where lie buried Jewish pioneers who fell in the defence of their settlements. But the water which is now used only for the sprinkling of graves, will soon be applied to large-scale irrigation. Next year should see the harvest of peace and not war.

Canal Will Save Sea

The second stage of the master-plan is rather more ambitious. An annual supply of over 450,000,000 cubic feet of water is to be brought into the thirsty Negev from the river Yarkon, which flows into the Mediterranean just above Tel Aviv.

But most spectacular of all will be the last operation, and when it is completed the desert will have water enough and to spare. The river Jordan is going to be switched to the Negev. At a point where it emerges from the Sea of Galilee—the scene of so many miracles—in days gone by a latter-day wonder will be performed. Here the Jordan will be dammed and made to run into great pipelines carrying it into the wilderness. Thus the Jordan will no longer empty itself, as it normally does, into the Dead Sea.

What is going to happen, then, to the Dead Sea which, without replenishment of Jordan waters, will evaporate at the rate of something like 17 feet each year and soon disappear altogether? To save the Dead Sea, it will be linked to the Mediterranean by a 25-mile-long canal starting at

Haifa and finishing in the bed of the Jordan beyond the point where this river has been diverted into pipelines. No pumping will be required, as the Dead Sea lies 1,300 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and indeed, this drop, as well as the many waterfalls of the Jordan will be harnessed for the generation of power on a lavish scale.

Believe it or not, it is estimated that this 20th century nation-wide version of fetching water from the stream will cost no more than \$500 per acre of desert, and that as soon as intensive cultivation is begun in the Negev, the crops raised in two years will repay the initial outlay. Sceptics are referred to the Bible, which relates that when Isaac sowed in the Negev, he "received in the same year an hundredfold."

Hardened unbelievers are further referred to the findings of the Weizmann Research Institute, which has been carrying out intensive experiments in the Negev for many years. This most remarkable of all deserts abounds in the good earth. Its soil, known as loess, has the frugal virtues of a hermit. It will get by on a single drop of water where other soils require three drops; it will indeed yield equal or superior crops on a mere third of the water supply normally needed elsewhere.

A Ding-Dong Struggle

Though the Negev has scant rain, never exceeding 10 inches annually, it has exceptionally heavy falls of dew, even during the rainless summer months, and it has been found that—with a little know-how—grain crops and fruit orchards can be successfully raised even on unirrigated land. So can castor-oil trees, and entire forests of them are going to be planted without further ado, to provide the basic material for new plastics evolved by the Weizmann Institute.

Irrigate it and the Negev will grow an abundance of almost any kind of vegetation found in the temperate as well as tropical climes, from coniferous pines to date palms, apples, bananas, citrus, vines, almonds, grains, vegetables, flowers and rich fodder for dairy herds.

Human beings also thrive in this benign wilderness, and the local Bedouins, though eternally famished, have by far the finest physique of any

Arabs. Jewish colonists declare the Negev to be a health resort compared with the humid and sultry plains of northern Palestine. It combines the potential fertility of a lowland with the climate of a highland, and pestilence never walks here as it does in most parts of the Near East.

Not for nothing did Abraham, the father of all Jews, choose to pitch his tents here 4,000 years ago. At that time there was life and prosperity in the Negev. He sojourned in the kingdom of Abimelech with its many cities, and when he had outlived his welcome he betook himself to still uninhabited regions, digging new wells all the way from the borders of Egypt to Beersheba. His enemies filled them in again, so that his son Issac had to do the job all over again. And this kind of ding-dong struggle between pioneers and wreckers has gone on ever since, all down the ages.

Savants today are greatly puzzled as to how the ancients procured adequate water supplies in the Negev. One theory is that in olden times this area was thickly wooded, and that the trees not only conserved rainfall near the surface of the soil, but actually helped to induce rain from the same sort of lowering clouds which now scurry across the Negev skies without shedding a drop.

What is beyond doubt is that the Philistines did pretty well for themselves in their native Negev by farming the land. According to the Bible, they could afford to build themselves, at Gaza, a temple accommodating 3,000 spectators on the roof alone, not counting the audience within, so that when the shorn and blinded Samson pulled down the pillars, "dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." A fair idea of what the countryside looked like then may be gleaned from the story about the 300 foxes which Samson drove—with firebrands attached to their tails—"into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks, and also the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives."

In antiquity, also, the Negev was one of the world's great thoroughfares. When the queen of Egypt came up from Egypt to pay a state visit to King Solomon 3,000 years ago, she must have followed the traditional

traders' caravan route through the "south land." And in those days, Eilat on the Red Sea—where these lines are being written and where only a few mud huts now stand—was a great port, busy with ships bringing silks and spices from India and gold from Ophir for the temple in Jerusalem.

Cities Under Sand

Not far from here, at Etzion, Geber, may be seen the remains of Solomon's famed copper smelters. These furnaces were operated by the blasts of nature from the adjoining Arabian desert. The ore was quarried in the purple mountains, which sweep away majestically from Eilat toward the wilderness of Sinai in Egypt.

Under Roman rule the Negev became an important industrial centre, and the delicate fabrics woven in Gaza were world-famed, incidentally enriching our language with the word "gauze." At the height of its greatness, in the seventh century A. D., the Arabs, inspired by the new faith of Islam, overran the country, the Romans' elaborate irrigational works fell into neglect, and a slow painful death set in until the desert became what it is today.

From beneath its sands, archaeologists have so far brought to light the ruins of six Roman cities with magnificent monuments and buildings. It is believed that each of them had a population of 20,000. There are also many beautifully paved crossroads, apparently leading from nowhere to nowhere; but it was one of these, known only to some professors of the Hebrew university, which enabled the Israeli forces, a year ago, to take the Egyptian Negev invasion army in the rear, obliging it to beat a headlong retreat.

What the Israelis need now is uninterrupted peace, so that they may revive the Negev as never before in its history. From the purely technical point of view, there are no insuperable difficulties. The Jordan Valley Authority, as the overall reclamation project has been called, has been carefully studied and proclaimed sound by men who conceived the Tennessee Valley Authority. U. S. engineers thought nothing of carrying the Colorado river more than 300 miles into the Californian desert, and

the whole of Israel measures only 240 miles from one end to the other.

Israel's puny size, however, while simplifying the problem in one fundamental respect, involves hundreds of added complications. What would appear as a straightforward job to a colossus like the U. S. with the population of 140,000,000 endowed with immense resources and skill, is going to demand superhuman effort from an infant nation at present numbering a mere 1,000,000 sadly lacking in means and experience. This is where the will-power comes into the picture.

With the help of foreign experts, the Israelis mean to learn as they go along. They are getting ready to import the most up-to-date machinery available in the world markets. A standing labour force will be set up comprising at least 20,000 men, skilled and unskilled, all of them prepared for years of strenuous pioneering in the blistering summer heat and driving winter rains. Israel's conscript army will help out, too. After doing six months' military training, the young recruits will spend 18 months at manual labour for the regeneration of the Negev.

When fertilized, the Negev will be able to support, at the most conservative estimate, between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 settlers on the land alone, without making allowance for the inevitable growth of market towns, urban administrative centres, transport and public services. Industrial possibilities are the great unknown.

Rumours Of Uranium

Rumour has giant wings here and alike in the streamlined cafes of Tel Aviv and in the medieval bazaars of Bagdad, it is now being said that fabulous deposits of uranium and oil have been unearthed in the Negev. The Israeli authorities wince at the mere thought. It is bad enough that this piece of wasteland lies in the internationally strategic Suez Canal zone. It would not be long before foreign countries broke the Tenth Commandment if great mineral riches were discovered here as well. The Israeli Government will be content if commercial quantities of baser metals are found. There is a gratifying abundance of marble, granite and limestone, so that the dwellings and public buildings of the future cities

of the Negev are likely to have a Roman solidity to them.

Like the Romans, the Israelis must build good roads before they can even hope to cure the Negev of its centuries old atrophy. A railway is to be built between the Dead Sea potash works at Sodom and Beersheba, and work has already begun on improving the dirt track that runs from Beersheba due south to Eilat where, as in Solomon's days, a big port is to be built serving as Israel's gateway to the Far East.

To travel through the Negev these days is one thing, and see it is another. The convoy which I joined at Beersheba must have churned up tons of sand, so that for the best part of the time my companions and I were blinded, despite our goggles, our ears getting stopped up with the good earth of the Negev. At night, we slept out on the sands. And by day, during occasional halts, I caught glimpses of an awesome mountain landscape with peculiar rock formations shimmering in the distance. Many of them resembled villages and cities, with what looked like towers,

spires, domes and skyscrapers jutting out against the skyline. On almost every crest of every nearby hill there sat a lone vulture, eyeing us hungrily, and here and there herds of camels, many of them mere babies barely able to stand upright, scattered wildly at our approach. The Bedouins, I discovered, largely keep body and soul together by drinking camels' milk; but how the camels sustain themselves in this barren land with its rare thorny bushes, I never found out.

Driving down the crazy hairpin bends of an almost perpendicular mountainside, known as the Scorpions' Ladder, we saw many wrecks of cars that had inadvertently taken the 2,500 foot short cut down to death and destruction. Here, too, we saw youthful pioneers, including many young girls, at work hewing and carrying the rock away by hands to widen the perilously narrow road.

If Israel can keep up this spirit for the next decade or two, the Negev will become unrecognizable and the desert will be a desert no more.—Copyright.

ESPIONAGE IN PRACTICE: LESSON FOR INDIA

By AMIYA NATH BOSE

“EVERY British traveller is a patriotic agent for his country”—this was the opinion expressed by the anonymous authors of the Spy Manual issued by the Gestapo. The truth of the above remark is borne out by the stories narrated by Mr. E. H. Cookridge in his book on the ‘British Secret Service’ published in London. Mr. Cookridge disclosed that there were quite a number of British agents in industrial, government and military circles of Nazi Germany. Some of them even held commission ranks in the German Army. Commander Stephen King-Hall tells a rather amusing story which happens to be true. After the fall of France, an elderly American woman decided to stay in the occupied country in order to be near her daughter, who was married to a Frenchman. Towards the end of 1941 two German officers were billeted on her. For nearly three years she shared her home with the two Germans, never speaking to them unless it was unavoidable. The behaviour of the two German officers was scrupulously correct. In July 1944 the orders came for evacuation and before leaving they stiffly thanked her for the manner in which she had carried out her duty which they realized must have been extremely distasteful. She replied briefly that the sooner they left, the better she would be pleased.

“They clicked their heels, bowed and handed me a small box” the old lady said. “Nevertheless we ask you to accept this as a testimony of our gratitude”, one of the officers replied. “But please do not open it for twenty-four hours.” They left the house and drove away.

The American woman and her maid wondered if the box was a booby trap, but they decided to respect the Germans' wishes. When at the appointed time the box was opened it contained a small silver cigarette case, and inside was a card which bore the words: “With many thanks from two members of the British Secret Services.”

The British Secret Service not only had its agents in Germany, but it also organised an efficient system of counter-espionage, for the purpose of catching German agents and preventing leakage of vital information from England and other countries allied to her. The case of a man named Percy Glading is of some interest to India. In 1938 Percy Glading was quite a well-known figure in the left-wing movement in England. It was generally believed then that Percy Glading was an important member of a leftist party in England. As a member of that party he had contacts also with a leftist party in India. Percy Glading became rather fond of a young woman, whose real name still remains unknown. This young woman described as ‘Miss X’ at the trial of Glading, actually visited India as Glading's agent with substantial funds and established contacts with a number of leftist leaders in our country. Percy Glading was arrested in the year 1938 and was put on trial at the Old Bailey for selling plans of a new 14-inch gun and of a new naval depth charge, which were being made at Woolwich Arsenal to a “foreign power”. It was not clear in 1938 whether Glading was working for Russia or Germany. It is now established that Glading was one of the important agents of Admiral Canaris, Chief of the German Intelligence in 1938. It has since been disclosed that “Miss X” had always been an agent of Scotland Yard and she established friendly relations with Percy Glading under instructions from her boss at the Scotland Yard.

German Intelligence

Another incident which could rightly be described as one of the greatest successes of the German Intelligence Service is as follows: In 1939, Tyler Kent was the cypher clerk of the U. S. Embassy in London. He proved to be such an excellent and hard-working man that in spite of his youth and comparative inexperience he was sent to London in October 1939

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and given an assignment of paramount responsibility. The young American diplomat eventually developed the habit of spending his evenings at cocktail parties in Mayfair. One day he was introduced to a charming woman. She was much older than the young American, but had all the sophisticated attractions of an experienced lady of the social set. Baroness Anna Wolkoff—although a British subject since her childhood, she still used the title conferred by the Tsar on her father who had fled with his family to London from the Bolshevik Revolution—was certainly a woman who could turn the head of an American youngster. Anna Wolkoff was one of Admiral Canaris' most efficient secret agents. Soon the twenty-four-year-old American was head over heels in love with the thirty-seven-year-old baroness. The U. S. Ambassador in London, Mr. Joseph Kennedy, reporting on the case, following Kent's arrest, to Mr. Cordell Hull the U. S. Secretary of State stated: "I telephoned the President in Washington saying that our most secret code was no good anywhere. The Germans and Italians and presumably also the Japanese had possessed a full picture of the problems and decisions and everything else sent in and out of the White House and State Department for the previous eight months, at as critical a period as any in the history of the War". In these few words Mr. Kennedy paints a telling picture of the position in which this young man had placed the British Empire. From the early days of the War until Kent Tyler's arrest on May 18, 1940, German Intelligence had been kept informed of every single message sent by the British Government to Washington, including the most secret statistics of Britain's land, sea and air forces, their dispositions and reserves, the food and oil stocks held in Britain and the Commonwealth, and the strategic plans for the future. Altogether Kent copied more than 1,500 cypher messages passing between Whitehall and the White House in addition to Mr. Kennedy's reports to the American State Secretary, Mr. Cordell Hull. Kent's methods were simple, speedy and effective. He and his mistress made micro-film copies of the documents which he purloined from the cabinets as he

went off duty, returning them on the following morning after the work had been done. Everything went so smoothly that the couple became a little careless and this led to their eventual arrest.

Peace Time Spying

The War has come to an end, but, as Cookridge puts it, there is no armistice for spies. *Spying in peacetime just takes a different direction.* The battle for future markets, the control of vital materials such as oil or uranium, are linked with espionage. Political intrigues in the many trouble spots of the world provide other objects of interest for the intelligence organisations of the Great Powers. To-day the Balkans, Trieste, Palestine, the oil regions of the Middle East, Germany and Austria, China and Japan, Manchuria, Korea and Sinkiang are the scenes where the modern dramas of espionage are enacted".

Diplomatic conferences attract international spies and the attention of the various security and counter-espionage services is focussed on the task of preventing "leakages" which may result in new and graver international complications. *"Inside information" obtained by secret agents may decide on the future foreign policy of a state. On them may depend whether a country is wooed or neglected.* The "firmness" of a statesman or a compromise that is put forward at an international conference or before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation, a plan for an economic treaty or the severance of diplomatic relations, may be based on the implications contained in the reports of secret agents.

The book of E. H. Cookridge proves beyond doubt that the British Secret Service is as active now as it has been during the War. It is also clear that Britain's espionage organisation is well established in all countries including our own.

If India is to develop a really independent and realistic foreign policy nothing is more necessary than an efficient espionage organisation. Our Secret Service will not, of course, "make" policy, but its task will be to keep the Foreign Office fully informed and to provide the information that is not accessible through 'normal' diplomatic channels.

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Short Story

A BIT OF BOHEMIA

By J. Vijayatunga

HE was turning the words over and over in his mind, as with compressed lips, now standing close to the easel, now moving away from it, he attempted, by the already greying London afternoon light, to put a halo of silvered blue around the head of Siva's celestial consort, Parvati. Moving away from the easel and still murmuring to himself "without denying one single challenge of life," he kept looking at the picture critically when there was a knock on the door, followed by a second knock.

"Yes? Who's there?" He crossed over to the door and opened it.

"Of all people," he exclaimed when he saw who it was.

Grinning from ear to ear Mervyn Dallas held out his hand.

"Yes. Just arrived. Went to my old room in Blue Peter Street."

He saw the painting and crossed over and stood before it for several minutes transfixed to the spot devouring with his eyes the interplay of the curving lines of *Siva and Parvati*.

"Christ," he said, and ran his fingers through his hair. "I congratulate you, old man. You have done it. Here I have wasted another year analysing my reactions in a prim bourgeois French family, writing nothing more than a letter or two to my brother, Stephen, while you have piled up picture after picture. And, I see, you've finished *An Oriental Odyssey* too. Shake. I congratulate you."

"You see, Mervyn, I too study my reactions, but I don't do it to the exclusion of everything else. I cannot afford to. I have to earn my living. Nor is that all. Earning one's living is the simplest thing if one was not concerned with the greater issues of life. In that case, one becomes a push-cart trader, or, even a painter—the result is the same. One earns one's living. As it is, I am working to order, living to order, and all the

time burning with the ambition to make something out of my life more than the business of nursing my body, feeding and clothing and titivating it, and satisfying my vanity by doing it perhaps a little better, a little more ostentatiously, than the other fellow. Now, what do you do? There's your weekly rent and food bill met. You're still to some extent your father's concern, while my father and mother have become very much my concern, though it is true I do little about it. Still I sweat and hustle in order to be able to survive, and also to catch up with my neglected duties. At the same time I carry on with the creative side of my work—and that, as a means to a greater social end. My individualism has always been socialistic. Every individual is to be allowed his fullest growth and self-expression so that society should be the gainer. A modern, a more comprehensive experimentation of the theory of Confucius. No, Mervyn, I am beginning to give you up."

"There you go again. You want to turn me into a drone. Christ! I want to write, but damned if I'd write to pot-boil. Where in this capitalist society is the freedom to write what I should like to write—and, where is the demand? You have said yourself that El Greco would have been a greater painter if he didn't have to accept the commissions he did painting all those mule-faced, unvirile wastrels,—counts and bishops and all that. Nor do I want to describe the kind of foulard tie that Macleish Weatherborough wore as he sauntered down Piccadilly one May morning on his way to his tailor. All this novelists' muck! From the time of Creation the reproduction of the species has been there; but your novelist and your dramatist could still purvey the bed-room scene and still find a public interested in it. Christ! Here are thrones falling, empires crumbling, thousands dying in China, men

entombed in coal-mines by the hundreds, bombs razing down Malay villages, and here we are asked to read through five hundred and fifteen pages how Peter seduced Priscilla and Cuthbert, the public school hero, married her, despite her fall from grace, adding two more items to the statistics of Somerset House. Christ! What are two insignificant bipeds, or even three, and their miserable reactions to one another when compared against the vast drama of planet whirling past planet, of suns and moons and solar systems!"

He paused, flushed with the exertion of his long speech.

"Christ!" he repeated, and gazed at the floor, his hair clutched in his fingers.

"Is it not exactly what I tell you, Mervyn? Aren't you concerned too much with your little reactions, and, postponing worth-while work for the sake of trivial make-believe?"

"I can't help it, Comrade. Until there is a social revolution and writers and artists are encouraged to write and paint about the greater issues of mankind, about the more significant portents of the universe, and the greater visions of the intellect, I'd rather spend my time making love to a luscious wench like Rosina. Let's go to 'Brown's Joint.' I am dying to feast my eyes on Rosina."

So they went to Brown's Joint where Mervyn feasted his eyes on Rosina.

DOWN WITH PROVERBS

By "KIREY"

LOOKING up from the book I was reading, I said aloud to my village neighbour who had interrupted me: "Honesty is the most precious jewel."

"I didn't think you would become a subversive element," said my neighbour.

"I beg your pardon! You can go as far as even twice-removed cousins in my family and not find a subversive fragment."

"But what you said was very subversive," said my neighbour.

"If it comes to that, I didn't say it—it is from an old Sanskrit book." I showed him the open page of the book and said: "The man who said it lived about seven hundred years ago."

"Darn it all, to think that this subversive business started as long ago as that!"

Nothing could convince my neighbour that it was after all a harmless moral platitude. He just wouldn't agree, for he kept saying: "Well, go into any office and say that out loud. You will fail in your errand of course—but you will most likely find your house searched the next morning and yourself habeus-corpus around the country's courts."

Thinking it over, I must admit my

neighbour has got something there. All these old proverbs, saws, adages and what nots are not so harmless as they sound. True, no harm would come of repeating them to yourself in solitude, or of saying them over and over at night, to induce sleep. But when you try to say them out before somebody—there comes the rub.

For instance, take the very apt saying—apt for our times—"A Little faith can move mountains." If it is your neighbour who hears you say it aloud he will be sure to cut you short with a "No vote this time," and if it is a man of public importance he will remind you of partition, Karens and Korea and lash out at you for being a carping critic. And he would lash out at you for being a destructive critic if you were to say: "All that glitters is not gold."

The average man does not bother about these old saws and adages having left them in school exercise-books and forgotten them all until his gallivanting sons need to be reprimanded with something more weighty than the traditional parental "Don't." But there are some, often in the villages, who would not take a turn in a by-lane without scattering around a few of these hoary sayings. Or, even sit-

ting out in the sun in old age they must wag one of these as a tail for swishing off flies while chewing the cud.

My neighbour was emphatic that I could not repeat a single one of these old precepts without deserving to be hauled off for wanting to overthrow the lawful Government by force—plain subversion that, financed by God knows whom.

"You are a distorter," I said. "Why, these sayings are just capsules of wisdom, of practical wisdom, like: 'A stitch in time saves nine.'"

"Since that capsule is meant for the tailoring profession, I have nothing against it although I don't see why they shouldn't put the nine stitches in and increase production."

"No, you misunderstood it. It says that a step taken in right time saves a lot of bother later on."

"Tch, tch, there you go again." My neighbour was exasperated. "That is destructive criticism, for no official takes a step which is not either a right step or a step in right time, with every step being always in the right direction. And your 'capsule of wisdom' must be meant for a sinister purpose, which can only be..."

"Oh, then it might be best not to say anything at all. As the old Book says: 'Speech is silver, silence is golden.'"

"Good Lord! Do you mean that the speeches we hear should not be delivered, that a half of every newspaper is drivel, that electioneering is a farce and a waste of time? Do you mean..." he raised a threatening finger.

"No, No. I only meant it for myself."

"You should be more careful. I have known you since you were that high and so do not disbelieve you. But officials will not have that consideration."

"Well, what about the other type of these old precepts—precepts to help you improve your life?"

"Such as?"

"Such as: Make hay while the sun shines."

"I should have taken you to be a permit-man or worse if you had been

wearing a khadi cap. But being dressed as an average man you must surely be an illicit distiller."

"Really, neighbour mine, the things you say! All right, since we are a philosophical-minded people, no one would object if I repeat; Man proposes, God disposes."

"Philosophy is good in its place," said my neighbour, looking very grave. "But what you said just now is plain subversion,—and to bring our God into it is really dastardly."

"I only said..."

"What you said was that all the thousands of offices in our free country, all the tens of thousands of officials, all the millions of files—in short the entire State is useless, that this State should be overthrown with violence, that to achieve this we should follow the orders of a person whose code name is God, and that..."

Too dazed at this recital, I said feebly that all these things were from a book of moral precepts.

"Subversive precepts," grunted my neighbour.

"No... the author lived a thousand years ago."

"That is no guarantee," said my neighbour. "The other day some Brazilian or Argentine police nearly caught a subversive fellow called Voltaire, some French subversionist who claims he has been dead for over a hundred years."

"Well, this is all from a Sanskrit book, and Sanskrit is the language of the Vedas..."

"I don't wish to suspect a family friend like you," said my neighbour, looking at the still open book. "But the thing looks like a code book, and all codes are subversive."

"You should burn that book," was his parting advice.

The parting advice of anyone should be unhesitatingly followed. But if I were to do so I would land on the horns of so subversive a precept as "Heed thy neighbour." Life is truly too full a sea of troubles. And to take up arms against it in the style of Hamlet could only be the work of a foreign agent. Yes, *ipso facto*.

WHY SOCIALISTS DON'T MAKE HEADWAY

PRECARIOUSLY POISED BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND COMMUNALISM

ON an analysis of the political and economic problems of India today, two views emerge. The first view is that the basic cause of much of the trouble that came in the wake of our securing political freedom was religious animosity or communalism as it is called. The second view is that the reasons for the trouble stem from the acceptance by the leading political organization in 1947 of the Mountbatten Plan to divide India; and the Congress, this view maintains, completely succumbed to the rush and elan of Mountbatten who brought a military mind to the solution of an essentially communal problem. The acceptance of the two-nation theory and the deterioration of the communal situation which came as an aftermath of this tragic acceptance, have both conspired to focus attention and much thought on two, somewhat enigmatic words: 'Theocracy' and 'Secularism.'

The indiscriminate use of these two words by men who now preside over the political destinies of India and Pakistan has raised a storm, and India, for her part, has played up 'Secularism' sufficiently well to show off to her theocratic neighbour that her Government makes no difference between religions and religious communities.

The party in power has been so much hagridden by the thought of communal passions running high and a mounting communal tension developing within the country that it has scrupulously eschewed any religious approach to the problems of today. One of the results of this mentality is that the idea of God in our Constitution has been dethroned. There is something to be said for this but not very much. What really counts is not whether this ideology is the basic principle of Government but whether the general secular approach is conducive to the growth of a sense of

duty, responsibility and straight living in the younger generation of today. Mr. Nehru is completely opposed to Gandhiji's view that those who hold that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what either religion or politics means. Gandhiji's view, it need hardly be said, has nothing communal in it but comes from a deep understanding, appreciation and assimilation of religious values and the true spirit of religion. In fact, Gandhiji's success in the political and social field was entirely due to the truly religious approach that he made to the problems that confronted him. He intensely believed in God as the embodiment of the sempiternal values of the human race and it is the intensity of this belief that was the motive force of his personality, the secret of his power over the masses and of his success in the field of social and economic activity. He was assassinated because he refused to truckle to communalism, but in one sense, some of his followers in the Congress are even greater offenders than the man who shot him dead. They have completely disregarded his basic teaching and conveniently forgotten the approach he made to political and social problems. Social service or economic amelioration cannot bring results as by a mechanical process in a factory; these have to be applied to human material and the men who indulge in this high-soled activity must, first of all, enjoy the confidence of the masses and this confidence can be gained only if they prove and demonstrate their sincerity as social workers. A social worker among the Indian people has to be inspired by a religious zeal. By religious zeal one does not mean fanaticism but the inspiration that comes out of living in the presence of something great and big with the knowledge and belief that something higher than oneself or humanity sits in judgement over us

telling us that this is right and this is wrong. One might call this God or Conscience or the Inner Voice. It is not the name that matters but an appreciation of the values of which it is symbolic.

It is fashionable today, in fatuous talks around tables and over tea-cups, to dismiss God or Conscience or the Inner Voice as somebody or something too far away from human affairs to have anything to do with them; and to deny the existence of God or the social conscience is a pleasant occupation, an indication of 'modernity' and a sign of 'progress.' The Zeitgeist or the Yugadharma would have us believe that humanity is its God and social service its religion. This is good phrasing, surely, but it has not inspired its votaries with that spirit that made Gandhiji a Colossus in the political and social field. It has demonstrably lacked the driving force necessary to make people act in unison for a social purpose, for economic betterment. It is too shallow, too much of the mind, to awaken in us the lofty spirit of working for a great national cause and the exhilaration that comes out of constructive work done in the midst of the poor and the downtrodden.

All the shouting today about Secularism may be an effective counterblast to the cry of Theocracy that Pakistan has kept up to a disturbing pitch ever since she came into existence; sometimes the effectiveness of this counterblast is mockingly disproved by events and happenings in India, Pakistan and Kashmir. Also it is quite possible that this Secularism is the result of revulsion from the intensely superstitious practices of organized religion, of orthodoxy and other adventitious growths in which the spirit of true religion is hidden. Whatever justification there may be for secularising public life today (and conditions today may broadly justify Mr. Nehru's secular approach), it should not harden into a cult, into irreligion as it threatens to do among the younger generation. Youth today, in the admission of Mr. Nehru himself, is growing dangerously irresponsible and conspicuously lacks a sense of duty. It has to be stated that this is partly the result of a secular

education which does not inspire the values of true religion. The line that divides Secularism from irreligion is thin and tenuous and under the growing impact of the crass materialism of America on the one hand and the godless Communism of Russia on the other, this slender division might well nigh vanish from the minds of the youth of this country. The moulding of the Indian mind on the pattern of Western education, with little or nothing of the ancient Indian values in it, can be advanced as one of the reasons why India today suffers from spiritual decadence. But close students of Western civilization, of which England has for long been the spearhead, will not deny that in so far as certain religious values are concerned, England has always been and will continue to be a conservative country. This healthy conservatism shown in the acceptance of the Crown and certain religious practices has not hamstrung the pace of Socialism in that country but on the other hand has given ballast and stability to the character of the British people whatever 'ism' might sit in power and control their public life.

India has lost this ballast which was the secret of her strength in the past when she stood up firmly against the changes and upheavals that have punctuated her agelong history. Probably in the first flush of freedom, every nation behaves irresponsibly for some time and then the forces making for order and stability assert themselves. But in India these forces have not come upon. The forces of Communalism and Communism are today the rallying points of mass discontent and frustration. The Socialists who are precariously poised between the two forces of Communism and Communalism have not given effective battle to either of them, primarily because their message has not seeped into the social consciousness of the Indian people and lacks the inner content or the essential Gandhian touch which sets a whole nation on the move. The dormant idealism of the Indian mind is a force to be reckoned with, when it is once aroused, and it can be aroused only if the Socialists can develop the Gandhian technique of the truly religious approach.—S. JAYARAMAN.

THE POPE AS THE PILGRIMS SEE HIM

By J. E. BELLIVEAU

In this Holy Year hundreds of thousands of people are seeing the Pope for the first time and realizing what a warm and human personality is this man who sits upon such an exalted throne.

THERE is a story, nearly forgotten now, that when Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister, visited Pope Pius XII in 1940 to seek support for Germany's case, the haughty and ambitious Teuton met for the first time a man who could put him in his place. When the Pope berated him for the Nazi persecutions in Poland, where there had been savage executions of Jews and other resisting Poles, he did it with such withering power that Von Ribbentrop fainted. Later, he had to be assisted to his car. He never returned to the Vatican and the Nazis knew from that day forward where the head of the largest church in Christendom stood on the question of Germany and the war.

It is a story that illumines a side of the man who leads 500,000,000 Roman Catholics, which is not generally known. Most people, when they see the Holy Father, are impressed with his kindness, his gentility and courtliness of manner. They find it difficult to think of him as a stern and harsh father, laying down the law in terms so thunderous as to shake a German diplomat.

In this Holy Year hundreds of thousands of people from all over the world are seeing Pope Pius, who has been indefatigable in greeting the pilgrims in general audience. For most visitors, regardless of their religious faith it is a fascinating experience and usually a surprise. They had previously no idea how warm and human a personality is this man who sits upon such an exalted throne and how simple it is to talk with him when he addresses them.

They hear Red rumors that the pontiff is ailing; he is suffering from the normal ailments of age because he is 74, and the pressure of his strenuous days is enough to kill a younger man. But then they see him trip lightly from the sedia gestatoria

—the chair on which he is carried into St. Peter's basilica—and they watch him as he almost runs up the stairs to a platform where he is to speak. And they wonder what the rumours were about. There are other days, as on those when the most solemn and most tiring of the Holy Year ceremonies are held, when the Pope leaves St. Peter's an obviously worn man.

He recuperates rapidly and, in a private audience the next day, is likely to appear as lively and bright as a man of 50.

The Long-Awaited Moment

I first saw Pope Pius one day in the spring when a delegation of Canadian pilgrims had obtained a general audience. A reporter in Rome, I was invited to go along when the group gathered in the great square of St. Peter's in front of the obelisk of Pope Sixtus. The present Archbishop of Montreal, Most Rev. Paul-Emile Leger, was then Rector of the Canadian College in Rome and he had arranged the audience. The Canadians were to go into St. Peter's through a side door and take a position directly about the platform from which the Pontiff would speak.

They had thought they would be alone, but when they got into the basilica, they had to push their way through throngs already stationed there, although the Pope was not to come for another two hours. Before he did come, more than 60,000 pilgrims and others visiting in Rome had filled the vast aisles behind them.

At last, a murmur arose from the direction of the huge doors of the basilica and one knew the long-awaited moment had arrived. Pope Pius had come down from his apartments in an elevator, was lifted shoulder-high by the 10 chair-bearers and was making his way up the centre of the 700-foot-long church.

In this largest of the world's churches, the Pope looked like a toy in white borne aloft. The murmurs grew to a roar of enthusiastic shouting as the people cried "Viva il papa," and waved their arms and fluttered handkerchiefs and women's shawls above their heads.

It is a spectacle one can only understand when he knows the emotional nature of the Italian people, and their emotion is infectious; group after group take up the cheering. It is a demonstration such as might disturb a reserved Englishman in Westminster Abbey. But here in St. Peter's it has no quality of irreverence; indeed, the feeling is that this is proper. This is the outward manifestation of a joyful people whose religious devotion bubbles from them.

Long before the Pope came in this day, functionaries had busied themselves arranging the platform for his reception. About it had stood the Swiss guard with their steel halberds and helmets. A little man in a double-breasted blue suit and trousers that did not match (because most people in Italy are too poor to have full suits) had the task of sweeping the carpet. When anyone walked to the platform to move a chair or put another in place, the little man dashed out, whisked about with his broom and retired. Not a speck of dust should rest there, he was determined, when the Holy Father mounted the steps.

There was the usual pageantry, though not on the scale of that on great occasions. The small detachment of the Noble Guard wore their magnificent red tunics, their burnished helmets and buccaneer boots.

There was the red velvet of the bearers and the highly colourful Swiss guards, and there were the few prelates who attended. On this informal occasion the Pope wore no bishop's mitre and no tiara of his papacy. He had his all-white soutane and his tiny white skullcap or zucchetto, wearing the pendant pectoral cross of a bishop and the ring of the Fisherman, which symbolizes the successor of Peter, prince of the apostles.

As he was borne through the cheering and pressing throngs, he leaned far over the arms of his chair to wave and acknowledge the greeting of the crowds. His face was wreathed in a broad, open smile that had almost the quality of delighted laughter. It

was a smile no picture has ever caught. Sometimes, it seemed, His Holiness leaned over so far in the chair he was likely to fall out.

When he alighted from the chair, he walked about those in the area of the platform, while mothers thrust up babies to be blessed and fathers held aloft bigger children. Some of the hands thrust forward were caught by the Holy Father and grasped firmly. He blessed all those about him, now and then stopping over a child or an old lady who had been jammed near the aisle, to speak and give his blessing.

Personal Magnetism

As in his private audiences, each of those to whom he spoke and each whose hand he took felt that the Pope saw him alone. The Pope has that quality of concentrating completely on the person with whom he is dealing at the moment, even in a throng.

On the platform, he spoke to pilgrims in Italian, in French, which he speaks brilliantly, as he does German which he spoke next; then in English, in Spanish, in Portuguese and in a Rhineland dialect. Those who have heard him only by radio are surprised by the deep, strong and resonant voice of the Pontiff. It sounds high-pitched and thin on the air.

When, this day, he had given his blessing, it was not only the Italians who waxed emotional. The Canadians, a reserved people, found themselves cheering and waving like the rest when Pope Pius was borne out of St. Peter's.

As he has for years, Pope Pius still allows himself but four hours of sleep each night. The first day I saw him it seemed enough, for he was full of energy and bright. But on another occasion, after a great formal ceremony that took hours, he left St. Peter's looking strained and tired. Still, even on that occasion, he moved so rapidly that his entourage had to trot to keep up with him.

Those who meet Pope Pius in private audiences, when groups of from half a dozen to 50 people are welcomed into the papal parlors, find the Pontiff a man of Latin mental agility. He is tall, lean and ascetic in appearance and he is never stuck for a word or unprepared for any conversational situation. His personal magnetism and the obvious driving force within make a visit a notable occasion.

From diplomats, politicians and journalists the Pope gets a great deal of precise information about the world. From the average pilgrim he gets a picture of the world, because he sees so many of them. Specialised groups of visitors are often the auditors of speeches in which the Holy Father addresses, in effect, the faithful throughout the world. To lawyers, doctors and writers he occasionally gives brief addresses that have far-reaching consequences. Sometimes what he says has actual political consequences in Roman Catholic countries.

A private audience comes after the person concerned applies to the papal secretariat in Vatican City, or he has a friend in Rome or in one of the embassies accredited to the Vatican who makes the approach for him. Then, if it is granted, as it usually is, an invitation is delivered by messenger to the recipient's hotel the night before the audience.

No Cold Formality

Pope Pius goes to his official study just before 9 a.m. and there the maestro di camera (master of the chamber) lists the appointments for him and some information on the visitors. These visitors are then escorted by Secret Chamberlains of the Cape and Sword who wear black gold-embroidered uniforms. Palatine Guard officers line the hall named for them. At various points, members of the Noble Guard, wearing for this duty blue tunics and knee breeches, stand on the threshold of every parlor. The visitor, passing from parlor to parlor, is given noble honors as he passes, no matter what his status in life. At last, from the ante-chamber, he is taken into the private study of the Pontiff.

Ordinarily, the audience lasts 15 or 20 minutes for a small group and the Pope at first sits behind a long desk at the right of the door. The room, unlike those through which the visitor has come, is sober and dully furnished.

If the visitor is at first awed, he is soon at ease because the Pope himself has no cold formality, no aloofness. Though he comes of a minor nobility in Rome, he is of the people themselves and has an understanding of them. When the Pope walks about to meet the visitors and talk with them,

he keeps his attention entirely on the person before him. That he is engrossed is apparent from his rapid questions. He grasps the explanations given by the visitors so quickly he is on to the next question before they have completed the answer.

Those who visit the Pope in private audiences, if they are men, wear dark business suits and, if women, long dresses and a veil or mantilla on their heads. In them, the women look most distinguished and the Spanish women or Italians of the upper classes have an air most of their North American sisters would love to achieve but rarely can. One visitor, Eleanor Packard, a correspondent, went to an audience with a group of male correspondents who had been with the troops south of Rome at the end of the war. Her personal effects had been lost and her fellow correspondents wanted her to come to the audience with them.

In natty slacks, she was shielded by the men all through the corridors and the parlors. Finally, before the shocked guards, she was seen in the private study. When the Pope reached her, he commented: "We see you are an American."

As a matter of fact, it is usually visitors from the U. S. who cause the guards and the masters of ceremonies most trouble. Their manners are sometimes bad by European standards and they are so accustomed to the informal attitude toward their own national leaders they cannot understand reasonable polite protocol. One sees them acting the same way in Westminster Abbey when the King and Queen come, but there the guards seem better able to cope with them than in Rome, where the guards are too polite. Europeans never learn to understand these elements in the U. S. population, and each time they face a rude situation they face it freshly and unprepared.

The Perfect Squelch

But it is not often Pope Pius himself is surprised by the arrivals. He has lived in other parts of the world and has travelled all through the U. S. The story is told of an ego-bloated movie star who was ushered in finally, and Pius quietly asked him: "And what is your profession, my son?" The Hollywoodian's ego was suddenly deflated.

In a private audience the Pontiff

will ask the visitor about his home, his profession, his business and his family. Often, he will offer his blessings on the family. At times he will ask various other questions and the visitor is put at ease so readily he has no difficulty with his conversation.

Hearing him speak, it is hard to realise that only twice in the 11 years he has been Pope has Pius been outside Vatican City. On those occasions he went to the papal summer palace at Castel Gandolfo. It is about 20 miles from Rome, on the Alban lake. From the ground the town is unimpressive, though the grounds of the palace are charming and the lake is a beautiful blue. From the air, as I saw it on the way to Sicily, it is a beautiful spot with the summer home of the Pontiff behind a cliff that drops to the lake waters.

There is one memory of Pope Pius XII which every visitor takes away with him. It is the picture of the Pontiff giving his blessing to a general audience. Three times I was present when he gave his blessing to the throngs

and always there was about it some ethereal quality that could not be easily explained. The Pope's appearance is ascetic but not pietistic. His features have a sort of transparency about them that lights when he prays.

When he extends his arms and looks to Heaven and then to the mass of people as he is about to bestow his blessing, it is as if he would encompass them all within his outstretched arms. Slowly he moves his hands forward and upward to make the Sign of the cross. The crowd kneels, or bows, if it is impossible to kneel, and a hush falls over the vast numbers. When they look up at the Holy Father it is to see a man rapt in prayer, in communion with God. The thought fills them with emotion and, when they arise, they no longer restrain that emotion, but "let themselves go" in a tremendous cheer.

Even the dome of Michelangelo 400 feet above the altar in the basilica echoes the roar, and the figures of the apostles around the periphery seem to approve.—Copyright.

INDEPENDENCE, OR ANARCHY

By SAMANTHAKA

NO other generation might have seen as many revolutions as ours is destined to witness—Turkish, Chinese, Russian, Indian and Indonesian and we do not know, what are yet in store. Times have been changing with a drastic speed, with a speed so rapid that men were afraid that they may not be able to march with them. One such great epoch-making event in our times is the change in the political status of India with its partition; and even the most orthodox conservatives who opposed all changes had no other alternative than to adjust themselves with it. One of the well-known grounds that the Tories were putting forth as an objection to the transfer of power to Indian hands was that such an action might result in bloodshed, chaos and anarchy. Very sympathetic Indeed! June 3rd plan offered transfer of power, of course with partition and in its anxiety to have freedom at any cost and in its eagerness to end communal massacres, Indian National Congress agreed to

the plan and agreed to the cutting into two of the Mother India. But, subsequent happenings, most tragic as they were, belied all such hopes and exposed the bankruptcy of our leadership, affording an opportunity to all Anti-Indians to exploit the situation to the utmost extent.

India is free, politically free. She is having a constitution of her own, a constitution discussed, drafted and decided by her own countrymen. She has a Government not subject to either suzerainty or sovereignty of any other, beyond her limits. She has a legislature, which is as much sovereign as that of any other state with written and rigid constitution can be. She has a Supreme Court, within her own territory appeals from which do not lie to any other authority either within or without the boundaries of India. She has a separate and distinct International status. She has her own representatives in all International bodies voicing forth the views of Government and people of India and not any other.

She has her own Ambassadors and Ministers of Trade in friendly countries. She has full and unrestricted powers to declare war and peace. Her political Independence is thus undoubted and unquestioned. But, the extent of it is doubted by some constitutional pundits and politicians who are inclined to feel that her sovereignty is curtailed by her membership in the Commonwealth. Republicanism and sovereignty of our democracy is in their opinion irreconcilable with her membership in the Commonwealth. It may be noted with interest that no where has been stated of what India's membership in the Commonwealth actually means and what it involves. India is following her own foreign policy independent of any influence from the Commonwealth. She is free to leave the Commonwealth if she so desires at any time.

India is politically free, yet India is not free, cry the masses of India. This is because freedom, economic and social, is not yet achieved. Conditions in India have been reduced to a much worse position than in the British regime. There is no security of life, property and honour. Slavery is replaced by anarchy. Why can't we invite the British to come back to India and rule over us, is the question, constantly put whenever one tries to discuss or explain the political situation with the ordinary villagers not politically conscious. Gandhiji himself appreciated this when he read over to the audience during one of his prayer speeches, the letter written by Sri Konda Venkatappayya of revered memory. People are more unhappy and more disgusted with the National Government than they ever were with the British.

The end of the war has not resulted in the establishment of peace. The fear of yet another global war with more destructive weapons is hanging heavily on the people darkening their minds. In such an uncertain and gloomy position power was transferred to India in 1947 when she had not expected such a great revolutionary change so peacefully and so suddenly and when she was not prepared for it. The country was also partitioned and the entire equilibrium of the national economy was upset. Independence was followed by communal massacres on the borders of India and

the refugees presented a tremendous problem for our Government of inexperienced administrators. There was butchery of human beings, burning of villages and of crops, rape of innocent women and forcible conversions. Life lost its values, incendiarism became common, religion was reduced to a cult of violence and no police or military protection could reach the victims. The State failed in its primary functions. Lately the Delhi Pact was concluded, and conditions have to some extent improved.

In fortunate provinces blessed with communal peace, another form of anarchy was introduced by Congress patriots. In their view freedom was not for the country but for themselves. Liberty for the nation was understood as license for Congressmen. They argued unashamedly that they were entitled to undue concessions by virtue of their glorious participation in the freedom struggle. They forgot that Socialists and others who are not members of the Congress party had also worked silently for attainment of India's freedom. Today State power is used by Congressmen for nefarious purposes, and the Congress volunteer feels that he is the ruler of the country and tries to boss over the administrative officers of the Government. Legislators are indulging in very cheap activities bringing discredit to their honourable positions and to their great organisation. Ministers are losing no time in amassing wealth as they are not sure of their offices in future. In Madras, Bombay, West Bengal, U. P. and Bihar, the corruption, nepotism and actual interference in the internal administration of districts by responsible ministers has gone to intolerable lengths and charges are levelled against them by their own comrades. Yet no enquiry was made and the Congress High Command, consisting of the trusted leaders of the nation, hushed them up.

With the passing away of Gandhiji, a great moral influence has vanished. Personal and selfish interests have become triumphant. Corruption and indiscipline is rampant among Government servants. No courtesy to the people, no will to serve the public and no devotion to duty can be found among them. What they seek to gain is not the satisfaction of their superiors by hard work and merit, but

political influence. More importance is attached to some remote relative of a Congressman than to their official duties.

These conditions are ably exploited by the Communists who always fish in troubled waters. Anarchy is the soil where they plant their seeds. They, whose ideology seemed at one time to be popular with the masses, overestimated their strength and wanted to impose themselves by force of arms. They gave a call to revolution which in the terms in which it was put, was nothing but dacoity. Their attacks are concentrated on innocent and illiterate villagers. They often seize the hard earned money of the poor peasant. Murder, loot and arson is a fashion with them. Dramatic appearance in a village in police or military uniforms, shooting and scaring unarmed villagers, burning their houses and crops and escaping with loot and plunder, these do not constitute revolution in any sense of the term, and cannot be described by any political scientist as political action.

The Communists are as much detested, if not more, in Andhra and Telangana areas as in other parts of India. When the Chief Minister of Madras toured the Communist infested areas he was received in all villages with much ovation. The villagers asked to be given guns so that they could teach a lesson to the Communists, but the Chief Minister was afraid that the guns, if given, might be directed against the Government itself. Lack of confidence in the people leads to lack of confidence in the Government. People's co-operation is always there, but the Government show how to utilise it for the benefit of all concerned. The Communist Party cannot prosper anywhere, much less in India, if there is a popular Government enjoying full confidence of the people with a clear-cut proletarian outlook. The cries of Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj will not satisfy either the Kisans or the Mazdoors or Praja if it is not followed by some concrete plan and action to establish it. Mere bullets cannot kill an ideology. During March and April 1950 alone 51 Communists were shot dead in Krishna district alone, and it certainly gave a good indication of the strength of the Madras Police. But can any ~~ism~~ be crushed by shooting a few individuals believing in it? The

Communists can be put out, not by executive action, but by the people themselves. The efficient and semi-military M. S. P. and S. A. P. could have already put them down, had they mixed with the people as their protectors. As it is, the approach of the police has become a signal to the villagers to flee and escape from their merciless beatings. The police seem to compete with the Communists in atrocities. Sometime back the I. G. of Police himself made an enquiry into certain incidents in Elamaru village of Krishna district, and had to admit that certain indiscretions were committed though he denied atrocities. The tales narrated by Sri K. Lingaraju, Congress M.L.A. for East Godavari, in Madras Assembly and the budget speech of Sri Prakasam were most revealing and reflected the views of the people. It is not difficult to wipe out the Communist menace, if the Government set about the task in the right manner.

Let the State Governments of Madras and Hyderabad be formed by popular leaders enjoying the full confidence of people.

Let them act under the direct supervision and guidance of the Central Government as was suggested by the Andhra P. C. C. Working Committee.

Let all anti-Communist forces including Congressmen, Socialists, Hindu Mahasabhis and Muslims be mobilised together into one Anti-Communist Front.

Let the people be taken into confidence and be educated on the political situation in the country and the world.

Let the people be organised into anti-Communist squads which may operate in co-operation with the police units.

Let the electorate be enlightened as to the real programme of the Congress to uplift the masses.

Unless and until the twin demons of Communist menace and communal frenzy are suppressed, and until the growing corruption and indiscipline among Congressmen and Government servants are put an end to, our independence cannot be stabilised and the common man will not be unjustified in asking whether what followed August 15, 1947 was independence or anarchy.

STATISTICS-MAD

By H. RANGACHAR

VIGNESWARA has said that those whom the Gods destroy, they first make statistics-mad—and so it must be. Statistics is thus something heady over which some can go off their heads and lose them altogether.

Statistics is claimed to be a modern science which the complex present day civilization has brought into existence and in which it has no mean part to play. Though new in its present technique and form, it has not the happiness of having no history. Its ancestry can be traced back to the dim past. In his Bhashya on the Katopanishad, the great Sankaracharya makes a partial reference to an old Sanskrit tag which classes amongst "fools' pursuits" (moorkha vicharana) activities akin to statistical ones, such as trying to ascertain the average number of teeth in a crow's mouth or the number of hairs on the bodies of asses. Artha Sastra of Kautilya gives instructions regarding the maintenance of lists of population, lands, crops, etc., one branch or other of statistics. In fact one of the sources of statistics—it has several origins—was in the necessity ancient kings felt for enumerating and maintaining lists of able-bodied persons for war purposes, and of agricultural production and trade for purposes of taxation.

Apart from this political and economic origin, the statistics or the theory of mathematical probability on which it is largely based owed its origin to numerical devices and figurate numbers which were largely employed in magic. Later, the beginnings of the theory are directly traceable to the cult of games of chance and insurance, especially marine. Some trait or other of its heredity can be seen in one or the other of statistical activities today.

But what exactly is statistics? Text book definition of scientific collection and sifting of data and meticulous compilation, etc., apart, it has been described popularly in several ways. Mr. Hogben in his *Mathematics For The Millions* equates it with the "arithmetic of human welfare." Much less complimentary is the description of obviously an unscientific person,

may be a victim of statistics, who exclaimed "lies, d-ned lies and statistics". O'Henry or what perhaps comes to the same thing, one of his characters calls statistics "the lowest grade of information that exists." Is it as a compliment to its comprehensive and all-pervasive character that it is often said that statistics can be made to mean anything?

Statistics deal almost wholly in numbers. Pythagoras did not regard numbers as lifeless symbols but as possessing specific moral qualities. Thus each one of the figures represented some quality or other such as reason, justice, opinion and even—marriage. What wonder, then, if statistics which are arrays of numbers can cover almost anything?

One need not necessarily have to depend on the historicity of the person who, believing in the statistician's average depth, crossed the river—never again alive to tell his tale. But the following is a historic account of what really happened in the last Crimean War. Was it really the Crimean War or some other war? What does it matter? It was a war alright of by-gone days when wars were old-fashioned and had distinctive proper names based on place or duration. They had not become standardised enough to be classified numerically or statistically as World War I, II—and World War III? In the Crimean War, the ardent advocates of temperance, a very ancient cult indeed, wanted to investigate scientifically the exact effects of teetotalism on the physique and morale of soldiers in actual fighting. For this purpose, a battalion was selected and a team of investigators set upon the investigation. The result duly announced was that 50% of the teetotallers became insane while the other 50% died a premature death. Incidentally, a teetotaller has been defined by an English school girl as a person who is not seen drinking. The result of the investigation was devastating to the cause of temperance; the matter was however probed into further and it was found that in the entire battalion there were only two teetotallers, one of whom went mad and the other

died fighting. The conclusion was of course scientifically correct, even as the percentage was mathematically unimpeachable.

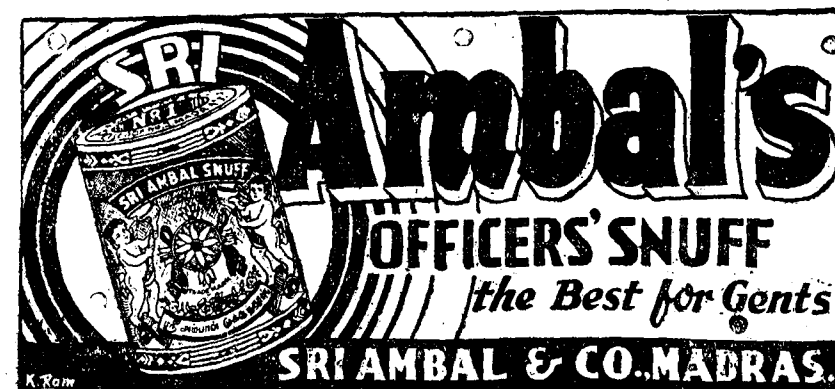
It cannot be the fault of statistics if they are not scientifically prepared with meticulous accuracy. The need for this is all the greater in social sciences where the statistician has to deal with changing human beings and their unpredictable behaviour. Errors arise not only in the preparation of statistics but also in interpreting their significance and drawing conclusions from them.

Thus a high figure of average income per person, however gratifying in the abstract, need not mean an economically sound society as the high per capita income can exist with very low incomes for average persons constituting by far the largest bulk of the population. The confusion between the average income per person in a state and the income of the average person has been a fruitful source of economic fallacies.

It is in the field of social sciences that statistics can be presented in an arresting and startling manner. Thus, recently, in a rather widely featured article on the lurking dangers in homes it was stated that according to insurance and other statistics, "having a bath is the most dangerous thing the average person does"! Statisticians have declared that your home, sweet home, is not such a safe place and actually "contains more risks than the street or the factory and—that three out of every six fatal accidents occur there, while the proportion of serious injuries is very much higher." Of a piece with this, is the startling discovery—but alas none the

less true—announced by a statistician some years ago that the place in which by far the largest number of persons met their end was—the bed! From time immemorial, philosophers, sages, seers, scientists and theologians have all been debating the existence of a God and trying to establish it in their own way. Nothing is beyond the statistician and George Gallup "could prove God statistically. Take the human body alone—the chance that all the functions of the individual would just happen is a statistical monstrosity." Thus, statistics has joined the ranks of Asthika Darshanas or non-heterodox schools of philosophy and should therefore be looked upon more kindly by the Gods than Vigneshwara is disposed to concede.

Mere numbers are very dry and may to some extent account for the prejudice against statistics. Attempts are made, especially latterly, to present them in a telling and attractive way, to put them across. In the *Encyclopaedia of Pacifism* edited by Aldous Huxley, the cost of World War I "has been reckoned at about four hundred thousand million dollars or eighty thousand million pounds. According to figures quoted by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler in his 1934 report to the Carnegie Foundation this sum would have sufficed to provide every family in America, Canada, Australia, Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany and Russia with a £500 house £200 worth of furniture and a £100 worth of land. Every town of 20,000 inhabitants and over in all the above-mentioned countries, could have been presented with a library to the value of a million pounds and a university to the value of two millions. After which it would



have been possible to buy the whole of France and Belgium, that is, all the land, houses, factories, railways, churches, roads, harbours, etc., in these countries." India and the other countries of the East do not figure even in this imaginary distribution!

To give some idea of the statistics of railways in the U. S. A., Dr. Parmelee has observed inter alia as follows in his *Modern Railway*: "If some brilliant engineer could devise a method of projecting our railway tracks to space, the mileage of the American railways would reach to the moon, with enough left over to encircle the earth.... If the total cars loaded in a year were coupled together in a single train, they would reach fifteen times around the earth.... The daily freight performance of the railways would be equivalent to the effort of 50 million horses and 25 million drivers."

According to the statistics of the American Dental Association as given in a recent issue of the *Reader's Digest*, "there are 500 million untreat-

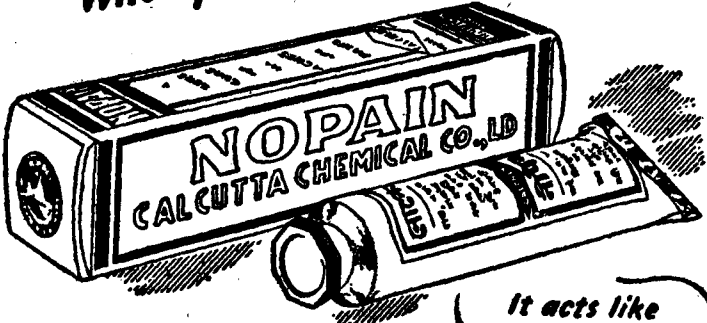
ed cavities in the teeth of the population—at least 3 decayed teeth per person. It would take the 84,000 U. S. dentists three years to catch up with this backlog of afflicted teeth."

Years ago, to wit in 1936, it was reliably reported in a London financial journal that the following statistical work was found on a tear stained sheet of paper pasted in Wall Street:

Estimated population of the U. S. A.	124,000,000
Subject to old age pension under Townsend Plan	50,000,000
Balance	74,000,000
Minors ineligible to work under the child labour laws	60,000,000
Balance	14,000,000
Number unemployed	13,999,998
leaving the number to produce the country's requirements 2, just you and me and I am tired.	

West Germany will treble her trade with the U. S. by the end of 1951, according to several leading German businessmen who recently visited America. German exports to U. S. have already increased and they are competing dangerously with Britain's exports to America. This has created great nervousness among British businessmen.

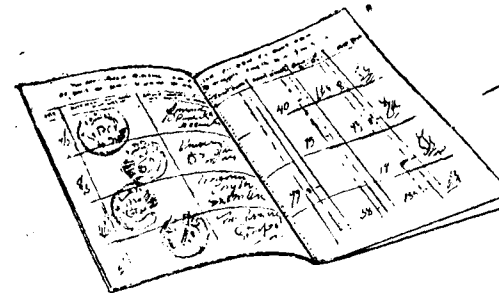
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Letter to
Khus

By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

My dear Khus,

IN the hurry and bustle and excitement of your going away, your father and I forgot to perform a last but, to us, not the least, delectable duty. No, hardly a duty, but merely the fulfilment of a dream long cherished. We had talked about it for days, just this old father of yours who is looking over my shoulder as I write this letter, and I. It was too precious to be shared with anybody else. When the inexhaustible discussions about the preparations for the wedding, the invitations, the groceries, the clothes, the permits and the paucities, the million little courtesies to be shown to the guests, completely wearied us and I lay half dead on the sofa quite convinced that everything would go wrong, we would be suddenly reminded of *this* and we would sit on the sofa, and our tiredness miraculously gone, talk about it all over again, say the same things we had said the previous day and remember again the small delicious bits of inconsequence that had gone into the making of the innocent, childish stuff of a dream which grew out of shadow into substance.

No, Khus, it is not any intriguing, cherished skeleton in the cupboard nor, romantic fool, any delicious mystery about your birth. Your father was not a prince in disguise nor are you the changeling daughter of a brilliant, erratic artist. The secret I am going to tell you is the secret of a small book, a grey-covered bank book with your name on it which contains—oh! absurd little fortune!—one thousand three hundred and twelve rupees and nine annas. It is yours, Khus. The silver and the gold and the silk were the incidental expressions almost of custom and habit,

part of the setting-up of a happily-married daughter in life; but this bank-book is the souvenir of your parents' past and so a part of you, a collection of soft impulses and sudden dreams and memories as sad as earth, and as sweet as heaven.

It is not a story of slow and patient saving, of a hoarding coin by coin for the sake of someone we loved, a concrete symbol of self-denial. It is money that got saved *in spite* of us. I cannot even claim that it is the bread we cast upon the waters come back to us. It is the result of casual generosity, of an unpremeditated, unplanned giving; we denied ourselves nothing, let me be frank. It began when you were five and last Sunday, the day after you went away, your father put into it a hundred rupees, all that was left of the money we had set apart for expenses. The unforgettable start was made with the munificent sum of two rupees and eight annas acquired on the morning of a memorable pay-day by the sale of old newspapers. There was just then nothing to spend it on and so impulsively I said, "Let us start a savings box for Khus!" And without waiting for your father to reply I hunted up the little wooden box I had bought long before at a Congress Exhibition and which now stands on my desk, a little browner, a little more faded and chipped but yet in my eyes full of a beauty that age cannot wither nor custom stale, and put the precious superfluous money into it and clamped the lid down. And your father ruffled your hair as you stood looking at us puzzled as to what all the fuss was about and laughed and said: "So I have a capitalist for a daughter!" Everytime after that the money got for old newspapers went into your

little box. Soon it became a habit, almost routine, like paying the electricity bill every month. And a little later, as things became easier around the house, and we could buy a book we wanted or a toy you asked for without fearfully counting the money, we dropped a rupee every month into the wooden box. Odd change unexpectedly left in the purse on the eve of pay-day went the same way as did half of the first cheque I received for my debut in print. And how well I remember the day of days when you took part in a children's play over the radio and your father signed for you on the back of a blue-green cheque for ten whole rupees. The next morning when I proudly presented it at the bank I needs must tell the young clerk at the counter who had assisted me on similar occasions, what the play was all about and what a broadcasting studio looked like with its red light above the door and the shining, double-faced box of network into which you spoke and I beamed at him with my heart in my eyes and he gave me a wide grin and said "Smart girl! Smart girl!" Oh, I was on top of the world that morning, Khus.

As I write I remember dozens of small occasions when laughingly and with a joke your father or I dropped a coin into your little box. There was the unforgettable time when unable to endure a particularly dull evening at home we sallied out wearing our oldest clothes and armed with a fiver which we could ill afford to waste just then on fanciful diversions, and got involved with a lot of ice cream in a restaurant. The better part of the rest of the fiver was dissipated on a new brand of chocolates which proved later to be entirely unedible. Chagrined and annoyed at having wasted the money and an evening in such a pointless fashion we walked home thoroughly angry with ourselves and each other. Your father thrust his hand savagely into his coat pocket to take out his cigarettes. The cigarettes were not there! He had left them in the restaurant! But there was something else in his pocket, a piece of paper. "Why can't this be a fiver!" he said angrily pulling it out. And, ye gods! It was a fiver! How it got into the pocket of the old coat he had discarded two years before as entirely unusable and how we had ever accounted for it at the time, remains

still a mystery. But then I saw in it nothing but the hand of God. Solemnly we thrust the windfall into your wooden saving box.

And so the little pile of savings grew and we cheerfully continued to drop odd bits of coin into the wooden treasure and the bank as cheerfully jotted down in the book the slowly increasing interest on your small capital, till the whole process became quite humdrum and, "Alright, put it in Khus's box" became almost a catch-phrase around the house. But the act of dropping money into the box never lost its thrill for us and every time I presented your bank-book at the bank with some money to put in, it was with a new sense of surprise and wonder, with an excited pleasure which we felt rarely when we scrupulously, vigilantly and carefully paid the never-ending insurance premiums. What was perhaps even more inexplicable was our attitude of detachment towards this haphazard, casual accumulation of the coins in the wooden box. There was no formal sanctity to it, none of that reverent and painful devotion which makes "compulsory" saving such a resented preoccupation, but a kind of secret enchantment and mystification, a little like the bewilderment which filled me when I looked at your legs growing longer and your body acquiring a shape and your throat a voice and your eyes filled with the puzzle of living. At such moments when suddenly you ceased to be you and became instead a beloved stranger, I held my fluttering soul and asked myself, "Is this the child I have brought forth?" The little bank-book was this wonder and gladness reduced to figures and numbers. It was the work of our hands and yet not ours. Once we lost the book and often the periodic contribution of the one single rupee was forgotten to be made. And, sometimes, pressed by an emergent expense we "borrowed" money from your box, but it was always with a sense of guilt and meticulously returned. There never, you see, was any feeling of possession in us towards that money in the box. It was yours, to be cherished in trust till you were old enough to be given its custody.

And so, Khus, we are giving it to you now. Parting with this faded little book gives me the same pang of pain I felt when I watched you dash

before your wedding go about the house with a spring in your step and a light on your face as if you were possessed by some insane melody. I dare not say it is a gift because I am not able to feel it is something which we are giving you. Accept it as you would accept a lovely dream in the night, something which has merely happened to you. But do not save it up all over again like a proper housewife husbanding her Golden Grain. Spend it, spend it without regret and without fear. Yield to the impulse and if one day you see across the road in a shop window a gay dress you want, or a book or a picture, go in and buy it. And if you want to give to some pitiful, ragged Lazarus by the roadside, let not your reason and logic reduce the desire to words like Government and State aid, but give, give with both hands. The heart is often a happier guide than the head. I have sometimes argued within myself so long about an act of charity that when at last I yielded to the wish, the giving afforded neither me nor the receiver any pleasure. Who was it who said, *A poor life this if, full of care, we have no time to stand and stare?* A poor life indeed this if, full of reason, we do not snatch at the One Moment in Annihilation's Waste and drink of its essence. I am not sorry I have not taken pains to instil into your bosom high and elevated principles of honour and dignity and respectability. They are only words, Khus. What matters is how much we live. All the art of living, says Havelock Ellis, lies in a *fine mingling of letting go and holding in*. I know some respectable, rich, honourable people who never let go (may be that is why they are so rich!) and whose lives, I consider, are barren and sterile and have less of happiness than that of the common, homeless vagrant who, following no rules and with no precedent to guide him, nevertheless manages to extract out of life some measure of fulfilment. My grandmother, if she could listen to this letter, would turn in her grave, I think. For indiscretion to her was sin. But indiscretion, like courage, is a lovely thing

and rare, and I know that discretion, attended by frustration can, like an ill-sheathed knife, cut his master. So, Khus, gamble on the sudden impulse, make the spontaneous gesture and yield to the moment and when you throw this exhausted bank-book aside, laugh and say there goes a fool's dream. Better that, than that prompted by wisdom and prudence you should make of this dear, faded testament a monument of repressed desires. Centuries ago, Ben Johnson said: *In small proportions we just beauties see; And in short measures, life may perfect be.* I know it is true, for this moment as I write this letter to you and see in front of me this old brown wooden box, life to me seems perfect and I wouldn't exchange it for all the treasures of the world for an eternity of respectable security.

Affectionately your
Mother.

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

In these pages are included quotations from the COMPLETE WORKS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA touching upon almost every phase of individual and national life. It is a treasure-house of thoughts of power to inspire and guide.

About the power of Swami Vivekananda's words, Romain Rolland wrote:

"I cannot touch these sayings of his (Swami Vivekananda) without receiving a thrill through my body like an electric shock. And what shocks, what transports must have been produced when in burning words they issued from the lips of the hero!"

Pocket size, pp. 240: Price Rs. 3.

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Newspaper-reading has become a habit. It is like drug-taking or cigarette-smoking, not caused so much by the pleasure of indulgence in it as by the discomfort of abstention from it. Millions of men and women read newspapers, not for information, but to pass the time, to escape from the pressure of boredom or to escape from the pressure of thinking.

at Imperial Cinema, where he had come to see 'Adhi Raat.' Naturally I asked him about his new picture 'Aan,' which is also being made in colour.

The information that he gave me is indeed very interesting and reveals that Mehboob is staking a big fortune on his new venture.

Mehboob divulged the fact that so far he has done shooting for 110 days and only completed just three-and-half or four reels. He has already spent about a million rupees on this picture. At the same time he told me that he had completed the shooting of 'Andaz' in less than seventy days.

Why this colossal difference? Due to colour and sets. Each shot is first photographed in black-and-white and then again in colour. But the arrangement of lighting for the 'colour' shot takes twice as much time as for an ordinary shot. So one 'O. K.' shot is equal to about three shots.

Moreover, he has maximum number of sets in this picture. In fact most of the sets will be seen for only two or three minutes on the screen. So the constant construction of new sets demands both time and money. Hence so many shooting days and such a big cost.

At this rate Mehboob hopes to complete and release the picture not before August 1951. And at this rate it would not be wrong to presume that the picture will cost more than three and half millions—more than 'Chandralakha'! A big stake, indeed!

When I pointed this out to Mehboob, he said other people put their money on buildings and other ventures, he has earned from films and he is now putting all that money on films.

About the colour process, he said, he has been lucky to get the colour print printed by technicolour process. And the first colour reel that has come from Hollywood was seen by the members of the Film Enquiry Committee who are reported to have expressed satisfaction.

From all this account it would not be wrong to presume that 'Aan' is the most ambitious picture now in the making in India.

Muhurat Galore

Apart from 'Baazi' several new pic-

tures have gone on the sets during the Independence Week.

At M. & T. Studio, Central India Pictures' launched 'Bali Umaria' produced by Nimmi and A. Ramesh on Saturday 12th.

At Famous Cine Laboratory & Studios, Producer Wali launched his untitled Production No. 6 on Independence Day. The picture will star Mumtaz Shanti, Bharat Bhushan, Pran and Manju.

At Shree Sound Studios, Varma Films launched 'Badal' on Friday 18th. Directed by Amiya Chakrabarti it stars Madhubala Premnath, Poornima and Gope in the stellar roles.

On the same day Vaikunth Pictures, a new concern sponsored by V. P. Trivedi, well-known distributor, launched its maiden mythological picture 'Bhola Shankar' at Famous Pictures Studio.

News Of The Week

—Ramanand Sagar, the author of 'Barsaat' seems to be selling stories like hot cakes. He is reported to have sold two more screenplays—one to producer A. R. Kardar and one to producer R. C. Talwar.

—Kardar has announced 'Indar Sabha' and 'Dil-e-Nadan' as his two forthcoming productions.

—Bimal Roy, the famous director of New Theatres (of 'Hamrahi' fame), has received an offer from a Bombay producer to direct a mythological picture and from another producer to make a picture in colour.

—The title 'Lok Lai' has been changed to 'Daaman' by Madhukar Pictures.

—The Rattan team comes once again. Music for Madhok's new picture 'Naini' will be given by Naushad and it will be directed by M. Sadiq.

—Nanabhai Bhatt of 'Hamara Ghar' fame has announced 'Lal Qilla' as his next picture, the story of which will be written by K. A. Abbas. He is also producing another picture 'Holiday' (Chhutti-ka-Din) to be directed by his brother, Balwant Bhatt.

—P. N. Arora of All India Pictures, has tentatively titled his next picture after 'Pardes' as 'Naznin.'



Speeches of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari. Information Bureau, Jaipur.

Collections of official speeches are, except in rare instances, seldom edifying volumes. They do not ordinarily survive the circumstances under which they were apposite. But they can be redeemed by maturity of reflection and sagacity of observation. Such an experienced administrator as Sir V. T. Krishnamachari is not likely to be stale and unprofitable even on such a remote subject as the system of distribution of essential commodities in Jaipur three years ago. On the contrary, these speeches may be usefully consulted even now for guidance in these difficult times.

The speeches were delivered when Sir V. T. Krishnamachari was Dewan of Jaipur State. Though those delivered in reference to purely local topics are not without their value, they are naturally overshadowed in importance by those made on national affairs. His period of office coincided with the transition to independence. If the occasion was thus momentous, the speeches are fully worthy of the occasion. There shines through them the image of an experienced, responsible, and sagacious administrator, who has brought to his task the riches of a mind at once perceptive and tolerant. No student of modern Rajasthan and India can fail to profit by a close study of these speeches.

The Silent Forces. By V. T. Neelakantan. Premjee Kuverjee and Co., 62, Mint Street, Madras-3. Price Rs. 2.

An exposition of the lives and teachings of sages and seers of modern India, this book is a distinct contribution to the devotional literature of the country. The author has succeeded in impressing on the reader a vivid sense of the achievements of the remarkable apostles of modern Hinduism. He has treated with loving care of Sri Aurobindo, Sri Ramana Maharishi, and Krishnaji. Yet, it may be questioned whether his studies of some of the lesser (in the parlance of the world) saints are not even more valuable. In fact, they may constitute to the general reader his first introduction to their noble lives and lofty ideals.

There is visible throughout the book a deeply refined intellect, attuned to the finest nuances of spiritual progress. The author's knowledge of his subjects is comprehensive. He has produced a work, which, despite its unpromising exterior

and the somewhat gawky language he has employed, is certain to hold its place as an introduction to the study, of those silent forces, that more truly than strident politicians are shaping the history of the nation.

On The Red Trail. Issued by the Director of Information and Publicity, Madras. Price four annas.

The official mind appears to labour under the misapprehension that the inspiration of ministerial utterances is as plenary as that of the Holy Writ. An exposure of Communist atrocities in many parts of the Madras State can be performed by many expedients. But, when the method adopted by the Government is only to collect the exhortations and injunctions of the ministers, perhaps the weakest is chosen. For, the public does not stand in need of continual demonstrations of the evilness of the atrocities; it demands rather evidence that arrangements are being taken to prevent them. When the Chief Minister affirms that "these sporadic agitations by anti-social elements will be put down with a stern hand with all the resources at the command of the Government," he is merely performing yet another exercise in the collection of clichés.

Nor is the introductory analysis of the evil more worthy of praise. When the anonymous writer talks of the "elements who seem to have sold their soul to the Devil" and such other puerilities, it is merely bathos. The reader looks in vain for a reasoned discussion of the malady; ventures in theology are doubtful substitutes. The compiler ought to have foregone the frenzied introduction in favour of the article by "Cato," which has been unreasonably relegated to the background.

Kali The Mother. By Sister Nivedita. Published by the Advaita Ashram, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Price Re. 1-4.

Kali the Mother is the reprint of a series of essays written in 1897 by Sister Nivedita on the terrific aspect of ultimate reality. These brilliant essays on Kali as the terror-inspiring yet all-forgiving symbol of the union of the individual soul with the undifferentiated Self are all the more valuable for the intensely subjective viewpoint from which they have been written. To quote the preface, "the book has a perennially absorbing interest for every reader interested in the search for the Truth in all its infinite aspects."

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.

Fantastic

The suggestion that "caste indication such as the wearing of the holy thread may be made a penal offence and marriage within one's own caste should be made invalid," given by Mr. Guruswami for the removal of caste distinctions (in your issue dated 12th August) seems to me fantastic. Under every civilised system of jurisprudence, a person has got the right to marry anyone he or she likes and it is opposed to public policy to tamper with such a right. The wearing of holy thread by caste Hindus does not affect the interests of any other body in society, adversely or otherwise. An utter and complete disregard of the existing caste system and a permanent eschewal of all bitter feelings amongst the castes will certainly lead us to the goal of social equality. As Mr. Guruswamy says, let us fight for the substance—solid and useful—without hankering after shadows or pronouncing platitudes.

P. SURYANARAYANAMURTHY.
Waltair.

Sanitation At Rajahmundry

The incidence of dysentery in this town now-a-days is appalling. The public are worried over their helplessness against this incapacitating disease. It is generally considered to be a preventable disease. But, in spite of a protected water supply and a Health Department in our municipality, even people living under what are generally considered as sanitary conditions are not immune from it. The Health Department take refuge under the stale arguments of want of a sense of public hygiene amongst people, want of funds and want of co-operation from the Executive and Engineering Departments. But when roads are littered with accumulated rubbish and filth, drains are stagnant and overflowing and when every street corner and every inch of open space is allowed to be used as a public latrine, the trouble is something worse than these common arguments.

We have a fairly comprehensive Health Act which does not leave the Health Department so helpless. If only the officers of the Health Department here spend more time on the roads than in the clubs and pay more attention to their responsibilities and duties than to their social pleasures the health of the town will certainly improve and people will not be so helpless against

the common but easily preventable diseases that undermine our man-power so much.

Major D. V. RAJA RAO.
Rajahmundry.

Change Of Faith

A few years back, Dr. Ambedkar threatened publicly to join Islam with his ten million followers. Very recently, he expressed ardent admiration for Buddhism and pleaded for conversion to that faith. Nevertheless, he is piloting the Hindu Code Bill and though this measure has jettisoned every long cherished principle of orthodox Hinduism, he is acclaimed by several as the modern Manu! That is a measure of the tolerance of our folk and their elasticity of mind in matters of religion. It is true that every citizen must have the absolute right to change his faith at will, but when it is found that compulsion or exploitation of economic disabilities is used for effecting conversions, the State has an obvious duty to step in and prevent such a position. The position has deteriorated sufficiently and calls for speedy action by the State. The only straightforward solution would be to enact suitable legislation which while preserving—consistently with the constitution—freedom of conscience, would also ensure that forcible conversions are prevented. For that purpose, the Centre alone is the suitable authority and it has got the necessary power under Sec. 248 (1) of the Constitution. It is hoped that appropriate legislation would soon be enacted.

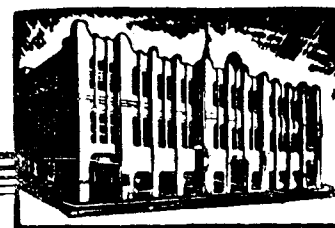
R. S. SRINIVASACHARYA.
Palayamkottai. Advocate.

More Geologists Wanted

With the advent of the Atomic age, every leading country is rushing into intensive search for radio-active minerals essential for the production of atomic energy. It is the basic need of every country to develop its mineral industries. The value of ores, minerals and metals produced in India ranges from 30 to 35 crores while it is several times greater in the United Kingdom (220 crores) and other western countries. To realise the full potentiality of mineral resources every inch of the country should be properly investigated by qualified personnel. To this end Russia employs 10,000 geologists while India maintains 150! Needless to say that this is a great set-back to a progressive nation.

M. RAMAKRISHNA RAO, M.Sc.
Guntur.

(ESTD:



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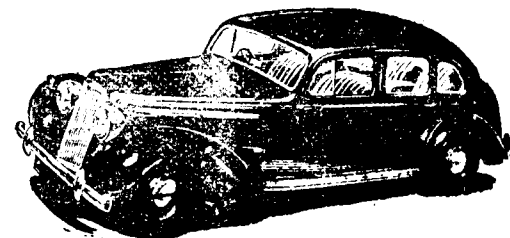
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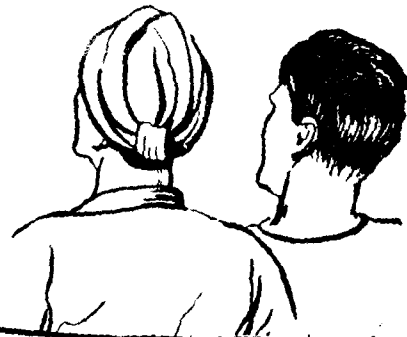
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