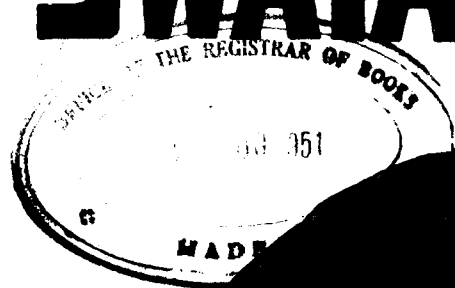


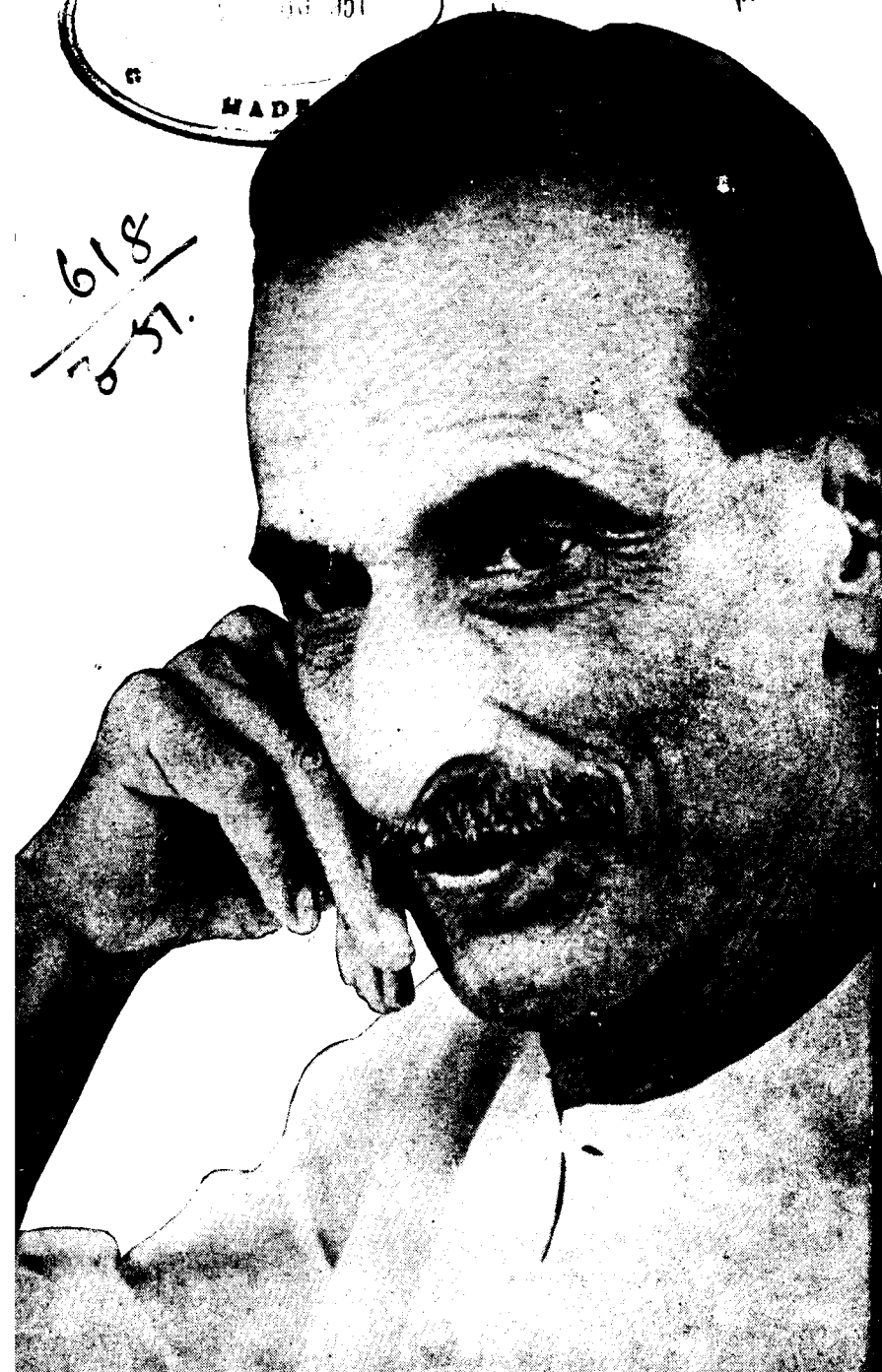
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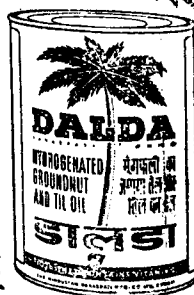
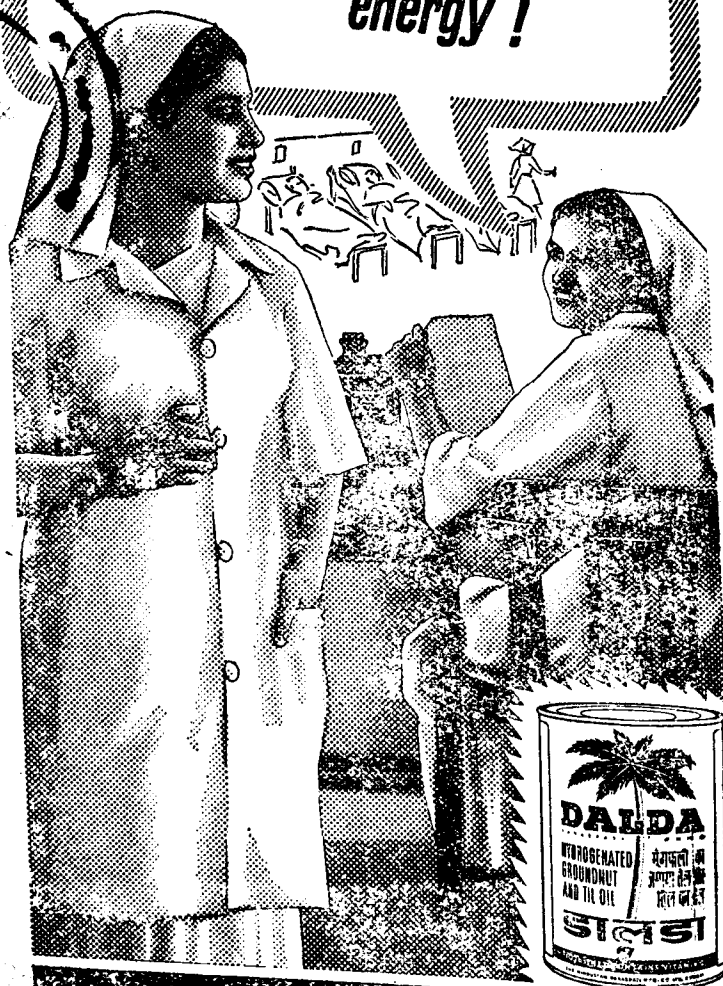


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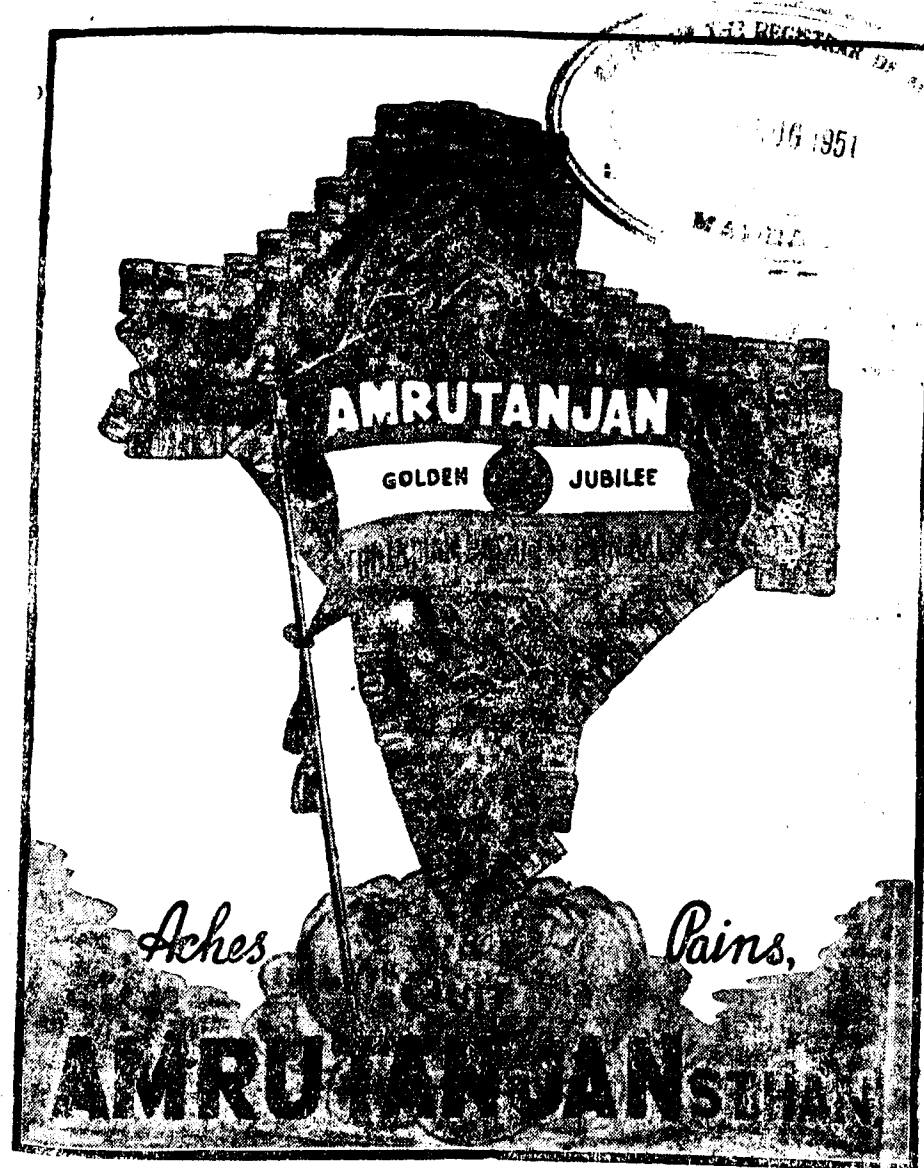
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SWATANTRA

VOL. VI. NO. 28

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1951

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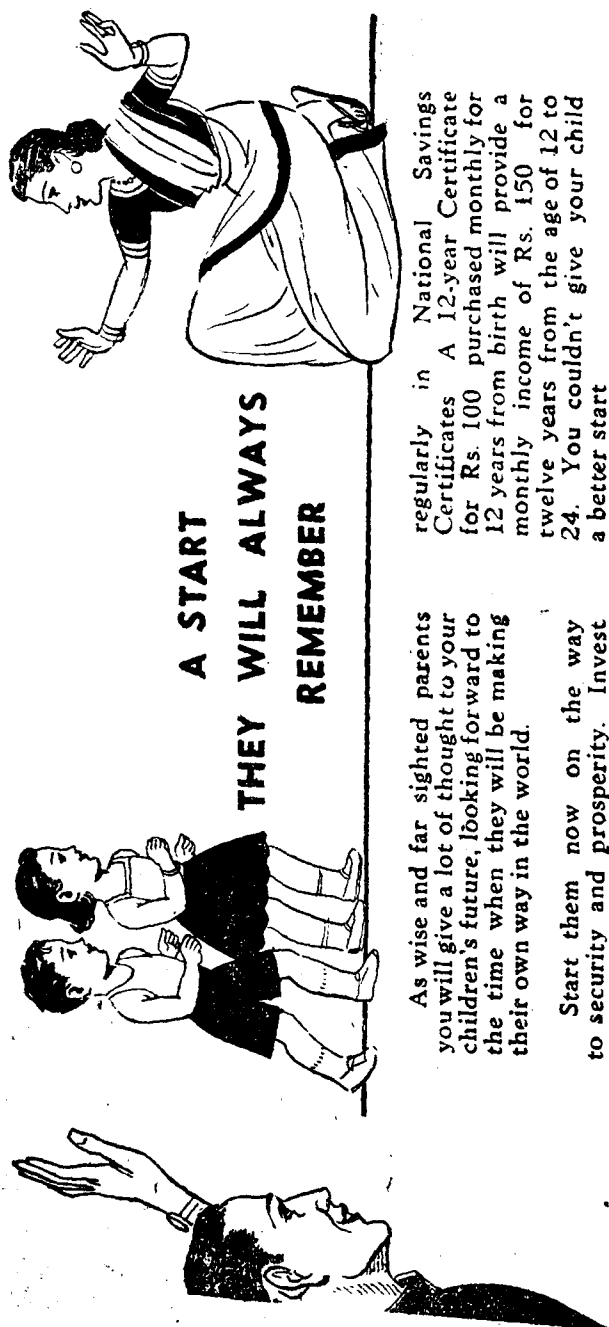
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VOL. VI
No. 28

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18 1951

ISSUED
WEEKLY

NEHRU AND CONGRESS

AFTER resigning from the Congress Working Committee and the Congress Election Committee, Pandit Nehru has taken care to make it clear that he has no intention of resigning from the Congress. He is anxious that nobody should resign from the Congress. "It was extremely wrong for anybody to quit the Congress", he warned a meeting of Congressmen addressed by him at Delhi on Monday. It is doubtful if the Prime Minister's desire to stop further defections from the Congress organisation will be served by the reasons he is reported to have given for his own resignation from the Working Committee. One of these reasons was that his "repeated efforts to remove the ever-increasing weaknesses from the Congress had not produced the desired results." Another which follows as a corollary from the first reason was that he did not want "to be responsible for each and every decision of the Working Committee and its Secretariat." The inspiration for loyalty in a party comes from the quality of its leadership, and organisationally party leadership is vested in its executive and in the head of the executive the President. If, in the Congress, the character of the President and his executive the Working Committee is such that Pandit Nehru feels impelled to dissociate himself from them, what is the thing left in the Congress which he can point to, as worthy of the loyalty of followers? The Prime Minister's attempt to build the stability of a discredited organisation, discredited more than anything else by his own resignation from its Working Committee, around a leadership which he has himself felt unable to

support, reveals neither consistency nor a proper understanding of the meaning of membership in political party organisations. Does he want Congress membership to sink to a lifeless acceptance of the executive authority of a condemned leadership? It is open to Pandit Nehru to unseat the President if he can, step into his place, and with himself as President, form a new Working Committee free from the weaknesses he has complained of in the present one. That he will succeed in such an endeavour is certain. At Bangalore, it is true, Sri Tandon won on all points in the tussle between himself and the Prime Minister. But the victory was a tactical one based on calculations of Pandit Nehru's incapacity or unwillingness for outright non-co-operation, in whatever manner treated. Pandit Nehru is now the biggest asset of the Congress as a vote-catcher. The disillusionment of the people with the Congress regime as such is complete. One has only to turn to this year's Independence Day 'celebrations' to comprehend the abysmal depth to which the credit of the Congress has sunk. Its four years of rule have sufficed to make the taste of freedom bitter in the mouths of the governed. There is no love lost between the people and the ministers and the ministry-making Congress bosses. Yet through all the agony of a miserably misgoverned people steeped in disappointment, Pandit Nehru has managed somehow to remain unscathed as a glamorous popular idol. It is the glory of this glamour that makes Congress stalwarts of the stamp of Sri Kamaraj, Gopala Reddi and Bhaktavatsalam survive and hope to

win the elections, though everybody knows that beyond filling the legislature with a large number of hopeless ignoramuses and self-seekers that are a disgrace to that body and trading on their vices and weaknesses to maintain themselves in power and position, they and their kind have little achievement to their credit in the form of outstanding public good. With Pandit Nehru at the helm, the Congress will win enough votes in the coming elections to continue as the ruling party. Without him it is doomed to collapse in the elections.

The responsibility for giving a new lease of life to legislators who with their corruption and unprincipled conduct have cost the Congress the trust and esteem of the public, will belong almost entirely to Pandit Nehru if, after getting out of the Working Committee, he should still seek public support for the Congress organisation. The two attitudes do not cohere, and each destroys the purpose of the other. Sri Gorwala in his report on public administration has some shocking disclosures to make about the influenceability of ministers and the debased character of their constant interference with the work of the officers. He points out that corrupt ministers have promoted the emergence of the reprehensible type of "the slick officer who attempts to ingratiate himself with the legislator by doing him favours and anticipating his wishes in order to use him, that is, his influence with the Ministry, for his own advancement." Sri Gorwala proceeds:

"The only real remedy for this state of affairs lies in raising the calibre of the legislators, the sense of responsibility of the minister and the character of the officer. The first two again really depend on the selection of candidates by the political parties, for it is from these candidates that the legislators will be elected and from the legislators the ministers will be chosen. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that men of character, capable of disinterested approach to problems and of deciding matters on merits even against themselves should be selected as candidates. It is true that such men are not often prominent in politi-

cal life. They are to be found among the followers rather than the leaders, but the future of the country depends on how large a proportion of our new M. L. As. and M. Ps. belong to this class."

Pandit Nehru seems to have grasped the truth of these remarks of Sri Gorwala, for he speaks of his decision to leave the Working Committee as a drastic measure that will give a "shock treatment to the ailing Congress." The shock treatment has begun all right, but the efficacy of it is checked by Pandit Nehru himself, for he seeks to impair the effect of his action by remaining in the Congress and calling upon others not to leave it. Pandit Nehru wants to stabilise the Congress. Stabilise for what? For maintaining intact the whole of the electoral machinery of the Congress in the hands of just those whose leadership he has found to be unendurable. So much turmoil need not have been raised for so unsatisfactory a result.

For the time being, the Congress President has shelved the issue raised by the Prime Minister's resignation. The A.-I.C.C. is to be convened to accept or reject it. Sri Tandon has made a great show of his right to constitute the Working Committee in his own way, and this shoving on the A.-I.C.C. now of the responsibility of dealing with Pandit Nehru's resignation does not fit in with the doctrine of Presidential supremacy. If the Congress President dare not consent to the Prime Minister's withdrawal from the Working Committee, it is because Nehru possesses a prestige and influence which cannot be ignored without disastrous consequences on the political fortunes of the Congress. Behind the Tandon-Nehru conflict there is the Congress President's insistence that Congress Governments should be amenable to the Working Committee's authority. Such insistence is based on an illusion as to the Congress President's position. The reality of mastery belongs to the Prime Minister, though titular headship of the organisation lies with Sri Tandon.

All surviving instances of power without responsibility, and responsibility without power, should be eliminated,

if the Congress is to carry on its work smoothly and efficiently without discordant outbursts.

Sotto Voce

FOR SERVICES RENDERED



TO "go American" being the current fashion, Parliament in true Congressional style instituted a probe into the conduct of one of its members. This has brought forth a teeny weeny mouse. Mr. Mudgal on his election as M.P. undertook to do some lobbying for the Bombay Bullion Merchants Association. His *alter ego*, the Mudgal Publications, was to be paid certain sums for publicity and propaganda. Rs. 2,000 was paid; but the bullion merchants were not satisfied that they were getting adequate return for their money. Meanwhile two official members of the Board who considered that the arrangement with Mudgal Publications was improper had apparently reported to higher authorities, and in due course the Prime Minister called for an investigation.

The Committee remarks rather loftily that the fact that only a small sum of Rs. 2,000 was paid "makes no difference, as the anticipations of Mr. Mudgal from this source were fairly high." It is true that Mr. Mudgal had asked his assistant to get "at least Rs. 7,000" from his clients. The work involved the preparation of a memorandum, arrangements for a delegation and other Parliamentary contacts for the rest of the session. New Delhi is an expensive place; and the scale of expense depends on the standing of the parties. A solicitor's bill may be twenty times as heavy as that of a humble wakil gumastha who does his work quite as efficiently; but no one dreams of refusing to pay.

Mr. Mudgal claimed to have done nothing that is not done every day in America, and much nearer home too. The institution of the enquiry, however, rattled him and he set about—very clumsily for a contact man, I must say—covering up his tracks, if indeed that was what he wanted to do. The full text of the report, as well as of "the special report" which the Chairman is stated to have submitted to the House, may show that the Committee brought a judicial mind to bear on the sifting of such evidence as it got. But on the main charge, it has not made out a very impressive case.

The Committee says that Mudgal Publications "usually receives relatively large sums of money from several sources." The organisations mentioned by name range from Hind Cycles to Associated Cements. The Committee was apparently told that the payments were for publicity in *The Indian Market*. But it seems to have its own private doubts, for it observes that the standing of this weekly in the journalistic world is "obscure." That is as it may be. Of how many papers on whom the Government shower patronage in the form of well-paid advertisements has it been objectively ascertained that they give value for cash? Mr. Diwakar would not even divulge their names in Parliament: he headed off inconvenient questioners with the plea of "public policy" which covers a multitude of sins.

The Committee is satisfied that

"Mr. Mudgal's conduct is derogatory to the dignity of the House and inconsistent with the standard which Parliament is entitled to expect from its members." The verdict is calculated to send a pleasant tide of righteous indignation surging through many a patriotic bosom. But, was Mr. Mudgal the first legislator to have agreed to lead delegations and arrange interviews with the high-ups? Possibly many of the good Samaritans who thus labour inconspicuously for the public good are scrupulous in charging nothing more than "expenses." But who will take a salary nowadays if he can possibly get "expenses"!

The allegation made in Parliament that a Kanpur sugar magnate was promised the Congress ticket for a consideration has been violently repudiated. But surely it is not pretended that munificent subscribers to Congress-sponsored funds of various sorts have given out of pure philanthropy. That would be as naive as the fairy tale invented for the benefit of Victorian children—that baby

was dropped into the nursery by a stork. The fact that money is given not to an individual but to an *ad hoc* board makes no difference to the morals of the transaction; any more than does the other fact that powerful interests in this country believe not so much in organizing a pressure group to twist the tail of authority as in putting salt on that appendage.

Nobody is of course so crude as to attempt to get directly at the major gods. But you can discreetly pull the strings which manipulate the god-lings. It is all very well to proclaim to the world that only men of integrity will be set up as candidates. But the party machine follows the wisdom of the homely proverb that you must have a wall before you can cover it with paintings. And when that wall happens to be a phalanx of "political sufferers" the draughtsmanship of our idealists is apt to be defeated by the unevenness of the surface. Integrity is a jewel which the builders of monolithic organisations mislay among the foundations.

VIGNESWARA.

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NATIONAL PLANNING

By S. ANANTHARAMAKRISHNAN

PLANNING for the progress of a nation is by no means easy and the success of any National Planning depends to a large extent upon the volume of active support it derives from the people. There must be a nation-wide propaganda. The people must be told in clear and unambiguous language what the plan envisages for them over a given period, how each one could and should co-operate and contribute in his or her own little way to the success of the plan. We have been free since August 1947. The most noticeable change now is the complete lack of self-discipline among all ranks of the population. What chances are there for any planning, however original in conception and practical in execution, to succeed if the vast mass of people do not give our own Government active support. In my opinion such support should consist of

(a) A determination on the part of every able man and woman in the country to do a minimum of 8 hours of work every day, whatever may be the nature of the work that he or she can do.

(b) To stop this continual grouching that is going on everywhere in this country by every one about almost everything. I do not mean that healthy and constructive criticism should be stopped.

(c) To realise that every one who is expecting to be fed and clothed and looked after must contribute something in return.

The Government on their side should take steps to see

(a) That their Ministers and other spokesmen, both Central and State, do not make indiscriminate speeches on matters affecting important policies, whether under the pretext of voicing their own opinion or otherwise thus causing confusion in the minds of the public.

(b) That official statements when issued are consistent.

The ruling party in the country, i. e. the Congress Party has a big res-

pensibility to see that public pronouncements by their dignitaries and office bearers do not contradict the Government's avowed programme. If a change is needed let the party instruct its Ministers first and let them announce the changes.

I mention what appear to be very elementary things but as one who has been closely following the trend of developments in the country, I feel much of the confusion could have been avoided. We had the Indian National Congress Planning Report presided over by Pandit Nehru. It was followed by another report by a commission presided over by J. R. D. Tata, and now the present Planning Commission's report. Each one prescribes different remedies for our ills, and holds out different promises. Government have not stated whether the ideas expounded by the Congress Committee's plan have been or are being superseded by the present report.

The attainment of happiness is the ultimate object of all individual human endeavour, and since all States are comprised of individuals, the collective effort of the State should, in theory, result in individual happiness. Any large scale planning for the nation must, therefore, necessarily be based on providing the individual with an opportunity to earn firstly, the elementary needs of the individual, such as adequate food, clothing, and housing, and secondly, to obtain education and medical aid. The right to work and to get a suitable reward for such work already exists, but National Planning has to ensure that opportunities to enjoy those rights are provided. The right to live as one chooses, and the right to follow or practise the religious tenets of any sect he may choose, will give the individual the mental peace or solace so very necessary for his happiness.

India for centuries has been depending on the land for sustaining her enormous population. In spite of the great increase in population, the land has not, when properly worked,

failed yet to produce sufficient to maintain her population. The shortage of food that we hear so much about during the last eight years has been mostly man-made. In any scheme of National Planning for our country, agriculture must necessarily occupy the first place. To make agriculture really effective, irrigation and power projects, roads development and the improvement of all existing means of communication must be the first charge on the State. (Means for the preservation of law and order and administration of justice already exist and increase in the provision of social services should automatically follow thereafter.) Agriculture engages the time of the largest number of our peoples. Properly developed, agriculture makes possible the employment of an almost unlimited number of our people. One has only to travel by plane once from the Southern end of this sub-continent to Delhi, or to travel from Bombay to Calcutta, to realise that thousands of square miles of uncultivated land are lying waste because of lack of water or the means to get water to that land. Our irrigation experts know that only a small percentage of the water that flows in our great rivers is being used for irrigation or power production, the bulk flows on to be lost in the sea. When these rivers are properly linked up and the water impounded for use for irrigation purposes, a dual purpose will be served, i. e. providing employment for a very large number of people and allowing these people to help to solve the nation's food problem and in this process the automatic development of rural areas and village life.

Next in importance to agriculture comes industry. Our country from the point of view of industrial potential stands unique in the world. Most of the essential raw materials required are found here in abundance. Intelligent labour is available in plenty. Right at our door steps is an enormous potential market, for almost any kind of goods. Capital is also available, but what is lacking is the planned thought on the part of our Government. Should we not now clearly say what kind of economy we are to aspire for, whether totalitarian, Socialist, Communist, or the

democratic way of life? Should we not say definitely what industries will be projected by the Central and State Governments, and what will be left for private enterprise to develop? Should we not say what lease of life private industries are going to be given, how compensation will be determined in the event of the Government wanting to take over industries developed by private enterprise?

Statements from people in authority appear from time to time that foreign capital is necessary for the development of projects in the country. In my opinion, foreign capital will be unnecessary once the State has declared its clear cut policy, and satisfied its nationals that the policy is sound and their savings will not be squandered or any properties taken over without proper compensation.

As election time approaches the voices raised by responsible political leaders seem to become more and more widely divergent on the important subject of a future policy for India. Any policy which does not guarantee security to the individual (national or foreign) for his investment can only retard the rate of progress of development in India. Once a sound policy is stated clearly and the individual of any class can be satisfied there will be no expropriation without adequate compensation, funds will not be lacking for any sound industrial enterprise or Government sponsored project of national importance.

Pundit Nehru's foreign policy of strict neutrality, and acceptance of financial aid from any country does not seem to be consistent. When accepting outside aid a great deal of care and consideration has to be given to the terms governing that aid to avoid any possible disappointments to either party. To be successful, National Planning must be based on facts, on possible present development and on practicable future developments. This visualises that the execution of each section of the National Plan will become the responsibility of individual groups, and when further decentralised, the responsibility of an individual. Our first need, therefore, is to be quite sure that the National Plan is considered with such a procedure well in mind

to make the plan practical and not just theoretical. The plan has to be based on what is to be the final responsibility of each individual concerned in practice. If we do not get a plan which has this well in mind, we shall end with having a site plan with no building on it and no detailed drawings to work from in constructing a building.

Government expenditure has been mounting up during the last ten years and the country is now saddled with top heavy administrative machinery. It cannot be said that all this expenditure is either necessary or the money has been wisely spent. A committee was appointed some time ago to go into the question of possible retrenchment in the Central Secretariat, but what has been done as a result has been negligible. It is notorious that great deterioration in the quantity and quality of work of the Government officers has taken place. Yet the cost of such service is gradually going up.

All over the world the talk today is "incentive" to the worker. Is it not time that we stopped for a while to consider a small incentive to the investor, to the industrial pioneer, to the professional man, such as a doctor, lawyer and consulting engineer? The taxation for an undeveloped country like ours is, I consider, unduly high, to this extent it takes away the incentive. I agree that money has to be found for important items of Government expenditure and for nation building activities. But Government should see that every one who should pay, pays his legitimate share of tax. Then the rate of taxation can be considerably reduced. I refer to the enormous evasion of tax that is going on. National Planning must include a scheme which makes tax evasion impossible, not only in theory but in practice by providing administrative machinery to make it difficult for the tax dodger to practise his art.

In the industrial sector the possibilities of development are enormous. The automobile and allied engineering industries alone can, when properly developed, provide employment for a very large body of men and women. In the United States it is reckoned that

11% of the population are directly or indirectly employed by the automotive and allied industry. We have not touched even the fringes of the shipping industry. The consumer goods industries are an enormous group. There are hundreds of other industries, small as well as large, that can be established and worked successfully. What our leaders have to provide now is the proper atmosphere, when people will know definitely what is expected of them, when capital will flow freely into industry, when labour will be enthusiastic to provide more and when pioneers will come forward to extend both agriculture and industry—(A. I. R. Broadcast).



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APPROACH TO POLITICS UNDER SARVODAYA

By J. C. KUMARAPPA

MAN conditions his environment. The latter in its turn reflects the ideals out of which it has emerged. Politics of a country at a stated time discloses the objectives sought to be attained by the political alignment of forces. The politics of Russia differs from that of the Nazis and both these differ from that of Fascist Italy although all the three claim to be Socialists in outlook. Similarly also, the politics of Great Britain differs from that of the United States though both these claim to be democracies. The common feature is that in all of them the life of the citizen is controlled by the State for a definite purpose. The individual personality of the citizen is crushed in other interests.

But the local differences arise out of the goals set before itself by the respective States. The States are usually run by a few nationals with a purpose. To attain that purpose politics are shaped to rope in the people.

The Russian State attempts to control the life of its people to strengthen its own economic position to secure world domination for its ideology.

The Nazis tried to use politics to regiment their people for military solidarity. The Fascists sought to regulate the life of the people through manoeuvring political power.

The British Imperialism aimed at securing world domination economically, not only by manipulating its home politics, but also by holding the balance of power by gambling in international alignment of forces.

In America politics are well under the control of business interests.

In our own country there has been no politics worth the name under the British regime unless it were a game to win the favour of the masters. Later, individuals entered the political arena for a platform to ventilate their grievances. But these can hardly be termed politics of the orthodox kind. It is only under the banner

of independence we shall evolve some type of political life which is essential to a modern democracy. The form this type will take, will depend upon the goal before us. In the last three years we have only been playing with democratic forms but even in this we have been influenced to some extent by the shape of politics under western capitalistic orders.

In the western industrialised countries politics have been used to promote business. To create markets a life of self-indulgence, under the plea of increasing the standard of living, has been encouraged by introducing a multiplicity of wants. Political life based on self-indulgence and an increasing level of wants will create greed and avarice and these, in their turn, will lead to violence in the attempt to secure for themselves other people's property. This is the result of a system of politics controlled and run by business as we find in the West.

Politics Of Self-restraint Economy

Our tradition and culture have been founded on a philosophy of non-violence and truth. This way does not lead to self-indulgence but to self-control based on self-sufficiency which seeks the welfare of all—Sarvodaya. Here there would be an attempt to meet the real needs and not a drive to create a multiplicity of wants.

Therefore, a Sarvodaya economic order has to be buttressed by a system of politics which will work for economic and social justice of the weakest in the society. In such a state of affairs Government policies will not be dictated by the State, the military the bureaucracy or big business but will be formulated by persons in close touch with the general masses of the country.

Nevertheless at the interim period we seem to be largely under the influence of circumstances over which we had no control. The present politics are a carry-over from our fight with British Imperialism.

Values dictated by belligerent conditions differ from those demanded by peace. To a soldier a rock affords a hiding place and a shelter from enemy life, a hill side will enable him to cover his enemy from advantageous heights. But to a farmer a rock is so much unproductive surface, hindering his furrows running straight. He wants his soft soil to be open to sun and rain and the surface flat enough to retain sufficient moisture. Such is the case also in the field of politics.

While we were fighting British Imperialism we had recourse to certain strategy. In personnel, the city people had definite advantage. The lawyers, physicians, professors and students presented a formidable front which looked impregnable. They needed little or no time in preparation for the wordy warfare on the platform and for the onslaughts on the evils of British Imperialism and to decry the exploitation of the masses. Hence such men were recruited in large numbers and given a short training in group discipline through congenial mass drill under the Charkha programme. To what extent all this proved successful history has now recorded in the inauguration of the Indian Republic.

We have now turned the corner and a new situation faces us. Our problem is not to turn out a foreign imperialism but to build up, out of a culturally disintegrated population with a history of several centuries of slavery, a self-respecting nation which will pull its weight in the council of nations for the betterment of humanity and the advancement of civilisation.

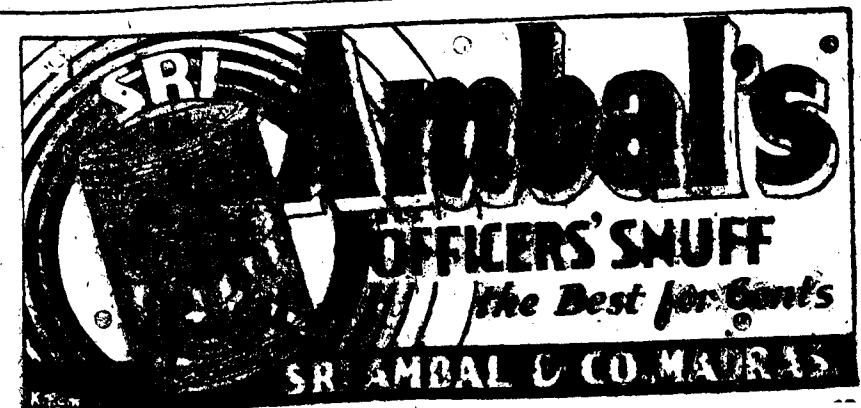
The personnel for this programme will differ according to the work to be done by them. We have now adult franchise. Every head counts and the largest number of them are in the villages. Therefore our field of political labours has to be shifted to the rural areas. The subject matter to be dealt with is not British imperial history but the vital problems facing the villagers. Hence, the present day politician, to be effective, must be well versed in rural life and should be able to handle a scheme of rural development that will satisfy the villagers and bring them economic and social relief. For these purposes who should be better qualified than the villager himself?

Unfortunately, these differences in the political field before and after the attainment of independence were not appreciated and the soldiers who fought the British Imperialism were left in the saddle, with the effect that their notions do not help in any way to solve today's problems. Therefore, what is needed is not a wordy manifesto or flowery poetical ideals, but a grip of the rural life and its needs.

Politics Of Sarvodaya

To this end those who would interest themselves in politics should burn their boats, settle in villages, identify themselves with the villagers and take up rural problems as their own and thoroughly understand the situation, gain the confidence of the villagers and work up the democratic organisation from below. Agriculture being the principal occupation in the village, politicians should take it up or be closely associated with it.

The days when the "white collared" gentry could dabble in politics are



gone. The times have changed and demand different tactics.

The Congress has failed to show any adaptability to the difference in the environment and circumstances and is not responsive to public opinion. Hence its days are numbered. An organisation wishing to serve the nation should formulate its programme to suit the present environment. It should go to the villages, abandon the Delhi mentality and accept the rural way of approach to the problems facing us. Power politics can serve us no longer. What we need is an approach through service. The village voter has to be educated to appreciate the change in his own status and responsibility and has to be shown the way to discharge his duties properly. Hobnobbing with city life will not help matters.

If the Sarvodaya ideal is to be carried into the politics of our country, Government policies should not be dictated by the administration, or by those playing with power politics. It should be laid down in the interests of the masses to secure for them economic and social equality. It will call for a considerable amount of self-control and self-discipline from the citizens but that is the only way to evolve a Sarvodaya society. There is no short-cut to it.

Are we prepared to take this narrow way and give this warring world a lead towards the attainment of peace or shall we take the broad way of self-indulgence and rush headlong with the rest of the world to destruction?

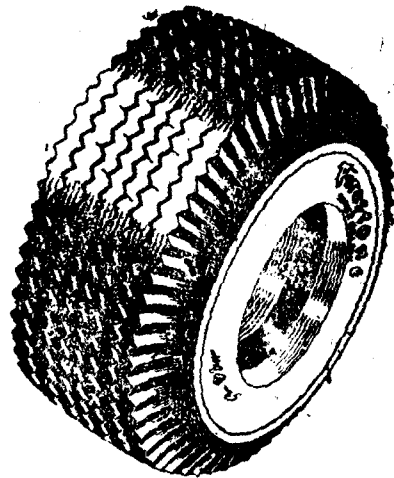
As we have seen, politics in the West has grown up out of an economic organisation based on self-indulgence and forms an indispensable supplement to it. Because of having its roots in this self-indulgent economy it brings forth violence on a global scale periodically.

Sarvodaya can be possible only in a community which has developed self-control and self-discipline of a high order based on a self-sufficient economic organisation. Politics under such conditions will necessarily be decentralised and will be calculated to elicit the best self-denying leadership from the villages. In such a political setting the leaders will confine themselves to laying down policies and controlling their own organisation

while the smaller fry may accept, office and execute the policies indicated by the leaders.

The Sarvodaya political field is not a reserve for the upper ten. The leadership should really be from below. A group of villages that form an economic unit should have their own panchayat which should have taxing powers and authority to spend on the public needs of the community. This will form the simplest unit of our democracy and will afford the training ground for the all-India arena. These basic village republics will evolve their own political machinery and execute their policies within their jurisdiction. These miniature political units will provide the sap for the all-India organisation, stage by stage.

All this will no doubt take time but we cannot achieve anything worthwhile by rushing into things or slavishly imitating the West. We must realise we have a mission to perform and that should be undertaken in all humility and sincerity whatever it may cost us in time and energy. (A.P.S.)



Firestone

**BEST TODAY—
STILL BETTER TOMORROW**

LONDON LETTER

FAMILY PLANNING

By HARRY HEAP

FROM reports that a family planning clinic has been opened at the Women and Children's Hospital in Egmore, it would seem that the principle of birth control has been accepted as a moral principle by some, at least, of the women of South India. In Britain, this has been the case for many years, apart from the members of the Roman Catholic Church. There are, in the larger towns and cities of Britain, similar clinics to the one just established in Madras, where women can go and consult with qualified personnel about their matrimonial problems, chiefly those arising from marriage relations with the husband. These clinics are closely associated with the Marriage Guidance Council, which will advise married people on their intimate affairs and will also give wise counsel to young people who are contemplating marriage. The work of such a council has always to be carried out with delicacy and great understanding. The Council also gives a positive religious background to all the books and other literature that it recommends or has published, so that the Churches cannot complain that Marriage Guidance Clinics regard sex and its problems from a materialistic point of view. I am sure that if the principles which have moved those in Madras, who have begun the Egmore clinic, are as those of the founders of the Marriage Guidance Clinics in this country, then there will be no cause for anyone to suspect that the sanctity of marriage and its relations will be anything but enhanced for those who are wise enough to attend the clinic for advice and, where necessary, treatment.

Child Guidance Clinics

Another kind of clinic which is performing a most useful service in Britain, and in other countries also, of course, is the Child Guidance Clinic. These are mostly for problems which parents find in their children of school age. In these clinics there is

usually a minimum staff of three trained workers. There is a psychiatric social worker, a psychologist, and a doctor who has had training in psycho-therapy. The usual procedure is for the child to be recommended in the first place by the school, either after reports from the teacher or the parent. The psychiatric social worker has the job of finding out the physical background of the child, the home conditions, family income, relations with other children in the district and school, parental relations, and the thousand and one other details of the child's life at home. The psychologist gives the child the special psychological tests, assesses his intelligence, his probable reactions to outside stimuli, his emotional background. The doctor, with the reports of his associates before him, can consider the treatment necessary, and so the child and parent are helped. Often the problem child is the result of problem parents, and in such cases the staff must be most tactful in their approach to the parents and the problems which enquiry has revealed. At present, most of the work of Child Guidance Clinics are associated with children who are in some measure backward. For such children, there are often special classes in the local schools and, in most areas, special schools for those in need of them. It used to be thought that a backward child should leave school as soon as possible, that he needed less education than a clever child. Now it is coming to be accepted that it is the backward child who needs more and specialised teaching than the clever one. Those Child Guidance Clinics are also used by the courts, particularly where a juvenile is brought before the court with an offence connected with sex.

India And Pakistan

Relations between India and Pakistan are causing considerable concern in Britain. No-one here wants to

take sides in this issue. We know that India feels that right is on her side, and Pakistan feels the same way. Both countries, and others, too, for that matter, should understand that people all over the world have become so used to propaganda that statements by politicians are now regarded with considerable reservations. It is not enough for one to follow the Hitlerian theory of, the bigger the lie the more likely is it that it will be believed. Nowadays the truth will have to stand out clearly before even that can be believed. We are concerned over the deterioration in the state of affairs between India and Pakistan. Rights and wrongs there are, on both sides, but our main concern remains as it has been for a long time now, peace between your country and Pakistan. No-one's pride is big enough or important enough to cause war. If Britain had wanted to stand on her pride, there would long ago have been war with several countries of the world. But pride is not worth a war. Again, unless the issues are such that they invade drastically the economics, the moral ideals, or the welfare of the people of a country, they are not worth fighting over. Argue about them, stand up for one's rights over the Council Chamber, in Committees and Conferences, but do not let differences that are not absolutely vital result in massing armies in such a way that war might be forced on a country even if it is not wanted by its people. The old adage is still true, that it takes two to make a quarrel. India, with its pacifist outlook, is the one country in the world above all others which we in the West expect to maintain peace. No-one can doubt that war between India and Pakistan would be one of the worst tragedies that could happen. No two countries have so much in common, so much to gain from peaceful co-operation. We in Britain find it hard to understand why such co-operation should not be forthcoming, why both

It is of the utmost importance that men of character, capable of disinterested approach to problems and of deciding matters on merits even against themselves should be selected as candidates. It is true that such men are not often prominent in political life. They are to be found among the followers rather than the leaders, but the future of the country depends on how large a proportion of our new M. L.A.s. and M. P.s. belong to this class. It is for the Parliamentary Boards to make a real effort to select, as far as possible, only such people.

—Gorwala Report.

India and Pakistan will not lay aside their differences, even if it means each of them sacrificing something which they at present hold dear to them. War between the two essential parts of what could be one of the most influential areas in the world, the sub-continent of India, should be, and we hope is, beyond reasonable possibility. I should perhaps add that whilst most of us are standing watching with interest, apprehension and, at the same time, hope, as India and Pakistan regard each other with some suspicion, there are the extremes of opinion which support either Pakistan or India. These extremists have as their mouthpiece the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New Statesman and Nation* respectively, the one being the expression of the die-hard Conservative school, the other having as its editor a great friend of India, a man who can always be relied upon to put the Indian point of view.

Visitors To Moscow

There have recently been several visitors to Moscow from Britain, notably a band of Quakers. Their reports have been read with great interest. It is evident that the people of Russia are quite happy in the life they live, but it is also quite obvious that they have little idea of what life is like in the Western countries, and that their belief in *Pravda* is pathetic. Apparently, Charles Dickens' novels are quite widely read, and are accepted as being an accurate description of what life is like in Britain today! There is no knowledge of the British Health Services, for example. A recent visitor reports that he passed through some of the worst slums he had seen anywhere, yet his host blandly told him that Moscow was the only slumless city in the world. He had been taught that, so it must be so. What a vital factor in life is the freedom of the Press, with its power to disseminate the truth, wherever it may be found.

PUT IT ON "EXPENSES"

By ANDREW ROTH

IF you have ever had a British businessman cry on your shoulder about how terribly he fares under the "Welfare State," you will want to look again at the recently concluded Chopra case. White-haired, persuasive Dr. Narayan Das Chopra was imprisoned for three years for a "long and ingenious fraud" against the Sheffield steel firm of Darwins, Ltd., of which he was Chairman. The significant fact brought out by the trial was the tremendous amounts considered as legitimate and untaxable expenses for British businessmen. Although the British businessman pays higher taxes on his salaried income, he otherwise does better than the American businessman because there is no capital gains tax here and the fat expense accounts are untaxed.

At his trial Dr. Chopra was disclosed to have had an automobile repainted to match the eyes of a female employee—charging it to the company. Although the judge found no legal fraud involved in this and other lavish expenditures he commented that it might be high time that the directors and auditors of companies consider whether the wholesale unloading of extravagant and unjustified expenditures on corporations might approach being a fraud on shareholders and the taxation authorities.

The background of the case is rather an interesting one, involving the attempts of British steel firms to avoid nationalization and the attempts of the Indian princes to find safe and influential investments. Dr. Chopra, a naturalized British subject, attempted to exploit his Indian connections having been born in the Northwest Frontier. He convinced the directors of Darwins, an old-established steel firm, that he could find additional markets and capital in India. Furthermore, he held out the hope that the Labour Government would not nationalize a foreign-owned firm. One trip he made to India set the firm back some £4,000 (then

\$16,000) although he was the guest of the Governor-General. At his trial Dr. Chopra explained that the tips were beyond belief.

He attempted to convince his Indian contacts that buying into Darwins was a lucrative investment, partly because he himself, a trained metallurgist, would make available his own secret processes and patents if he were put in a position of authority. He proposed to train Indian steelmen in the plant and make it the springboard for an expanded Indian steel industry which could compete with Tata's. In 1946 he persuaded Sir Joseph Bhore, formerly Assistant High Commissioner for India in London and then advisor to the fabulously wealthy and ambitious Nawab of Bhopal. A holding company, called Rahon Steel Ltd, after Dr. Chopra's town of birth, was established with 1,000 shares listed at £1 each. Of these the Nawab of Bhopal took 750, and Dr. Chopra a few. The Nawab also advanced £435,000 (then \$1,750,000) to buy a controlling interest in Darwins. Dr. Chopra was thereupon appointed Chairman of the Board of Directors and Technical Director.

If Dr. Chopra had limited himself to the technical and production side he undoubtedly would have carved himself a solid niche in the industry. Men arriving at 7-30 a.m. found him already at work. He changed the spirit of the firm, giving greater scope for the workers in the plant and increasing their earning capacities. Production was streamlined at various points. Output increased.

But the bug of opulent living and high-flown schemes had bitten Dr. Chopra. As a technician he had laboured long for modest returns. The one metal alloy with commercial possibilities he had perfected had brought him only a few hundred pounds a year. He liked talking of schemes involving tens of millions with the men who controlled such sums. And he liked living on that scale.

When installed at Darwins Dr. Chopra was given a seven-year contract under which he received £4,000 a year (then \$16,000) and expenses at the rate of £1,000 (then \$4,000) a year. From the outset he made clear he considered the expense ceiling his floor. He opened five bank accounts and gave orders they were all to be kept in credit. He took a sumptuous suite at the Royal Station Hotel for himself and family. Arms full of flowers were delivered every day. Not satisfied with the apartment's rich decorations of Indian carvings and carpeting, he 'borrowed' a £200 radio and several valuable water colours from Darwins. All of Dr. Chopra's Sheffield hotel bills—averaging £290 (\$1160) a month—were forwarded to the company's accountant.

Although he had a sumptuous London flat in South Kensington, he also billed the company for over £2400 (\$9,800) for entertaining at modish Claridge's Hotel over a period of twenty months. He felt he needed Claridge's as the right background for entertaining his prominent Indian and British official friends to whom he was known as "Tommy". When he went on vacation, no matter how many relatives and friends he took with him, he billed the company for the costs.

Dr. Chopra had a weakness for opulent gestures, as if he would have liked being born into a Maharajah's family instead of into a modest middle class family in a small Frontier town. He gave his doctor a £750 car. A handsome cheque was sent to Kishan Lal Bhalla, described as a "secretary of Pandit Nehru," for an Indian charity. When the firm's Rolls-Royce was damaged, he ordered a new one, at a cost of £6,000, saying: "It's better this way. The old one was not good—its registration number added up to thirteen." And the company shelled out.

At first Dr. Chopra did not seem to concern himself with the fact that his expenses far surpassed the £1,000 allotted him annually. The excess was simply entered in a special ledger as a director's debt to the company, a

device used by many companies. But the passage of the new Companies Act in 1948 made it compulsory to show directors' debts on the balance sheet. When this Act went into effect Dr. Chopra's debt to the company was over £5,600.

It was at this point that the high-living doctor crossed the border line between the "legitimate" exploitation of an expense account and fraud. He had a minute inserted in the report of a company meeting authorizing the payment of £7,000 to him for patented processes and secret formulas which he claimed to have placed at the company's disposal. In actual fact the only process he submitted—for the manufacture of "D-metal"—turned out to be a complete failure. But even though the payment of £7,000 barely covered his debt to the company, he instructed the secretary to credit his private account with Barclay's Bank with £4,000.

About this time, the Nawab of Bhopal became insistent on a return on the £435,000 he had invested. Sir Joseph Bhore, who had been installed on the Board of Directors as the Nawab's 'watchdog' wanted to know why profits had not increased proportionately with production. A little investigation showed that "overhead expenses" had gone up disproportionately. In November 1949 the Board of Directors sacked Dr. Chopra. Subsequently the police found the company's radio and water-colours still decorating his suite.

The curious thing about Dr. Chopra's trial was that he was only found guilty of two offenses: crediting his private account with £4,000 after falsely pretending to be the owner of certain patents and processes, and, taking for his own use the company's radio and water colors. His other expenditures, though lavish, were not found by the judge or the jury to be legally fraudulent. In other words, British businessmen, weeping about their heavy tax burdens in expensive West End clubs, can go on putting their whiskey bills on to untaxed "business expenses" for which the company pays and pays and pays.

WHY I HAVE RESIGNED FROM THE CONGRESS?

By K. R. KARANT

TOWARDS the end of June, on my return after a tour of Europe, I told a meeting of the Press that I would consider my position vis-a-vis the Congress. Since then I have met members of my constituency in several places and pondered deeply over the matter and have come to the definite conclusion that I should resign from the Congress. It is no pleasure to me to sever my connection with an organisation which I have served for nearly 30 years. But when the same institution has become an instrument of injustice, corruption and oppression of the poor, it is time that individuals like me decided to do what is right rather than what is expedient in one's own interest.

I think that this great institution whose name was so sacred till we obtained Swaraj should have been gracefully and reverently wound up the moment Swaraj was won. It is unfortunate that Mahatma Gandhi who was of this opinion subsequently changed his mind. Till independence was got, people of all views and shades of opinion, of all interests, and the large mass of people all joined together under the Congress to fight for and obtain the freedom which was our rightful due. But when once that was achieved, there was no meaning in the same body of people with no definite or clear-cut political views, in fact with opposing views, policies and interests, still working under the same institution motivated only by the one desire of holding and sharing power or the spoils of that victory.

Capture By Reactionary Forces

To-day the leftist forces which worked for the struggle are nowhere in the Congress. On the other hand both the Congress Governments and the Congress machinery have in truth and substance been seized and captured by the powerful capitalists, landlords and similar interests. Therefore it is only right that people of the left like Sri Kripalani, Sri T. Prakasam, Dr. J. C. Ghosh and thousands of others who have joined them should go out of the Congress. The conservative and reactionary forces in the Congress to-day may be allowed to take full advantage of the institution by themselves. Whether it takes long or short for the collapse, the people cannot be fooled for long. They will know what it stands for, and more than all, they will judge it by the results achieved actually in the last four years after freedom, and

not by the mere verbiage of the election manifestoes or promises made for the future.

And the result in the last four years* has been a tragedy to the country and the vast masses of the poor and the middle classes in it. The Congress Governments all over—both Central and Provincial—and the Congress organisation itself, particularly the members of its Working Committee, should take full responsibility for this unhappy result. The great hopes which were in the hearts of the masses of our people when we became free have been destroyed. The life of the common man has been rendered miserable. Prices of commodities have risen by leaps and bounds. Nothing except tall talk has been going on. The controls are worked for the benefit of the rich strangling the poor. Prosecutions launched against the rich are withdrawn by influence. Even honest officers who venture to book offenders are brought to grief if the accused happen to be relations or friends of the ministers. Public funds and resources have been distributed to further private interests. A few of us in Madras, like those in Bengal and U. P., who tried to unearth some of these placed them in writing before the Congress President. The history of that enquiry made by the Congress is too well-known. It was one of dodging all the time, and ultimately when they could dodge no longer, there was a report on it by three of our great men conniving at and whitewashing these charges. The net result of it all was only disciplinary action against ourselves and a direct encouragement to the offenders to do what they pleased. When men who swear by truth and non-violence can come to the position of justifying evils and corruption, it is they that have destroyed and killed the soul of the Congress, not those of us who are leaving it to-day. In Bengal our Prime Minister promised a general election years ago. How far he has carried out that and many other promises which he has made from time to time are too well-known.

Common People Left Out

And now, once more, we are promised the millennium by means of the election manifesto framed under the Glass House of Lal Bagh. We have been told that everything went off beautifully in Bangalore except for the reconstitution of the

Working Committee. Of course we have also had other pictures given to us by the Press of the utter indifference and light-heartedness of the patriots who met to decide the destiny of this nation for the coming five years. I am afraid that those who have fought for this reconstruction of the Working Committee have been fighting for only a share of power of the Congress and no more. The real question with them seems to be as to which group in the Congress—the President's group which stands backed by the influential capitalists or the Nehru group opposed to it—should be in a position to put up candidates and capture power for the future. The common people and their well-being seem to be nowhere in the picture. Both sections were there in the Congress till now and the result is well-known. The so-called manifesto holds no relief of any real reform in the Congress machinery or in the Congress Governments. I shall take two or three glaring instances of how the Congress has deliberately belied its past pledges, because they appear again in the new manifesto.

The Congress has been repeatedly pledging and making promises on the question of linguistic provinces. It enlisted the support of the people of Karnatak, throughout the independence struggle and gave them a written pledge by means of a resolution of the Working Committee passed at Wardha in September 1938, that the moment the Congress got the power to frame the Constitution for the country, this claim of the Karnatak people and the others like Andhra, Kerala and Maharashtra would be conceded. It was reiterated again and again even in the election manifesto of 1945-46. Men who have any respect for pledges and who believe in their sanctity should carry them out when the time comes. I have myself personally along with others waited in numberless deputations on these Congress demi-gods at Delhi, at Dehra Dun and at Madras. In the resolution unanimously passed by the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee in February 1950 we made it clear to the Congress that if the province question was not settled before at least the coming elections the people of Karnatak would have no faith in the Congress. I remember well how my friend, Mr. Nijalingappa, who is trying to justify himself to-day, told us that if the Congress failed to respond to that resolution the whole of the Karnatak Congress Committee would resign in a body and there would be none left to work the Congress in this province. But memories are short and to-day he is ready again to give hopes to the people with the halting and grudging promise made at Bangalore in a manifesto which did not contain it before. Our people

are no doubt ignorant. But they cannot be fooled for all time.

Karnatak's Miserable Condition

The condition of Karnatak to-day is most miserable. Even the Dhar Committee reported that its immediate improvement should be a Central charge. From Mangalore to Karwar there is no all-weather communication. The road promised by the Centre has been dropped. The West Coast port for Karnatak is laid on the shelf. The Mangalore-Hassan Railway surveyed 50 years ago is not heard of. But we do hear of the Chamrajnagar-Satyamangalam Railway so that the resources of Mysore may be diverted to Cochin and the idea of a West Coast Port for Karnatak may be finally dropped. Those worthies who preach to us today about the unwisdom of the linguistic provinces (the editor of the "Harijan" is the latest recruit to this class now) did not move their little finger when Sardar Patel cut up the little state of Sirohi and added the best portion of it including its capital to Gujarat and the rest to Rajasthan. They preach to others what they are not prepared to practise themselves. The condition of the Karnatak people who are reduced to permanent minorities in the Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad legislatures is intolerable. In other countries, populations of 3 or 4 millions are running independent territories of their own. The people of Karnatak have made no such claim. They have always been patriotic and in All-India matters have been most loyal and will continue to be so. They number about 20 millions. That they should be brought under one provincial administration so that they can look after their own interests and welfare cannot be said to be an unjust or unreasonable demand. Democracy becomes a farce if people talking the same tongue are to be split up into five separate legislatures and administrations in which hereafter the local languages other than Kannada will become the ordinary vehicle for speaking. Take for instance the future Madras Assembly. To-day there are 215 members. About 40 per cent of the members out of them are unable to understand English and can speak only in their own language, Tamil or Telugu. In the new Assembly there will be 375 members. From the Karnatak areas of South Kanara, Bellary, the western taluks of Anantapur, the northern portions of Coimbatore, Salem, and the Nilgiris the total number of members that could be returned would not exceed about 20 or 22. In framing the constituencies in many of these areas, both for the Central Parliament and the local Assembly, they have been tacked on deliberately to the neighbouring linguistic areas so that they would be rendered completely help-

less. What part can these people play in the future legislature where Tamil and Telugu will be spoken by more than 60 per cent of the members? The constant quarrels and factions which have been the bane of Madras politics till now will be multiplied in the Assembly to come. The position of the Karnatak members in the Bombay legislature will be no better. All these political games are too clear and nobody can be hoodwinked any longer.

The only straightforward and honest course for the Congress and its Central Government would have been to carve out a province of the contiguous Kannada areas and appoint an independent tribunal for this purpose. Some day or other this must be done. Why not do it now and redeem a long-standing pledge, instead of trying to go on shirking the issue all the time under one pretext or another? Far from helping us, the Congress Working Committee deliberately separated Mysore and Hyderabad from the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee making even future integration difficult. And this was done contrary to the provisions of its own Constitution. Hundreds of us in Karnatak who have been congressmen for decades are today going out of the Congress and have recently formed a new party called "The Karnataka Unification Party." We shall place these grievances before our people in the coming elections and it will be for them to cast their vote upon this issue. This is the only logical sequence to the resolutions passed by the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee from time to time and at Haveri in February 1950 presided over by Mr. S. Nijalingappa, then a member of the Congress Working Committee.

The Land Question

What the Madras Ministry has done in the matter of the land question is a clear fraud upon the previous Congress election manifestoes. In 1936 the manifesto emphatically declared that security of tenure upon payment of 'fair' rent would be guaranteed to the tenant classes. In 1946 it went one step further and promised to remove all intermediaries between the tiller and the State upon payment of equitable compensation. Yet in Madras, after 15 years of this promise, not only there has been no attempt to carry out the promise but deliberate attempts are made to strengthen the hands of the landlord classes who have been evicting thousands of tenants, the actual tillers of the soil, from their holdings without granting them the least protection. The Congress Committee of my district waited repeatedly upon the ministers in Madras with no result. Promises made on public platforms by the Madras ministers have been belied.

In the Prakasam Cabinet which was in office in Madras for 11 months, in which I was the Revenue Minister, immediately we took office we ordered a detailed enquiry at great cost by a responsible officer upon the position of the tenantry in the province with a view to implementing forthwith by legislation the election manifesto. In the meanwhile a bill had been prepared and signed by me, before I left, on the lines of the Tenants and Ryots Protection Act for Malabar and the estate areas to protect all cultivating tenants from eviction upon condition of their paying rents regularly. Within a month of our leaving office Sri Kala Venkat Rao who succeeded me and who is now the General Secretary of the Congress obtained a mandate from the party by means of a definite resolution enabling him and his ministry to prepare and bring in major legislation on the subject of land tenures without delay. The party gave him that mandate unhesitatingly. He made several speeches both in public and in the legislature that he would forthwith bring in such a measure. Soon after, in August 1947, the special officer appointed by us previously made his report, and any Congress Government which intended to redeem its election pledge could have framed legislation utilising the valuable materials contained in the special officer's report and got it enacted into law within six months thereafter. Not only was this not done but actually the question was dodged and put off from time to time. The plea was put forward that the Congress had appointed the Kumarappa Committee on agrarian reforms and therefore as soon as that report came the legislation would be enacted. Even that came and it went very far indeed. But nothing was done and the present ministry in Madras started yet another committee called the Subramaniam Committee and packed it with landlords who were all the time against the grant of any real reform to the tenant classes. So much time and money need not have been spent upon it if the idea was really not to do anything.

And to-day, after 15 years of Congress promise, the actual cultivator of the soil throughout the province, except in Malabar, for which and adjoining areas, Mr. Madhava Menon, the Law Minister, got enacted an amending legislation, are at the mercy of the landlords who, in fear of legislation coming sometime or other, have been evicting their tenants particularly in populous areas, increasing rents and rendering their existence miserable. Not even the temporary stay bill prepared by me would be brought before the legislature in spite of repeated requests made by me and others in the Madras Legislature. In December 1948, as a private member I prepared a bill for

such stay and gave notice of it to the legislature and asked the party to give me permission to introduce it. Not till now has it done so. And now to include this question once again in the next manifesto is nothing short of a fraud upon the public. Will the President of the Congress who is so meticulous about principles ask the ministry in Madras an explanation for all this and at least now call upon them to enact a proper measure in the months ahead?

Interference From Top

On questions of general administration, the low level to which it has been reduced, how even in normal and petty matters there is interference from the top, how nepotism and favouritism are the order of the day, I need not state much. These are now taken for granted. My request is that even the Congress and its top leaders are ignoring and conniving at them. Resources of the State as such in money and lands are being freely distributed amongst the Congressmen. In my district, village grazing grounds, grounds containing valuable clay, and timber growth conserved by neighbouring landlords under established rules of the Board of Revenue, have been assigned away to 'political sufferers' in spite of the protests of myself and the public concerned. What are the top leaders of the Congress doing to check all this?

In the matter of food and cloth control, the Congress Governments have woefully failed to do their duty. It is not as if there is no scarcity or the problem is without difficulty. But it is the deliberate failure to enforce the rules where the rich and the influential are concerned that has helped to accentuate the distress. In my own district the controls were removed last year after taking the stocks from the ryots for the main crop. Having taken them, the ration shops in the rural areas were removed in spite of our protests. To-day in the villages of this district the ruling prices for rice are Rs. 40 to Rs. 55 per maund whilst the control price is Rs. 14 for local rice. Certain rich and influential sections are being left with sufficient stocks enabling them to sell at these exorbitant rates to those who are starving. Like illicit distillation, well-defined trade channels have been established for this trade. Even if a man buys at these rates and keeps 2 or 3 maunds in his house for feeding his wife and children, such stocks are seized. In the months of June and July last levy was going on for those who had already given or sold. In certain towns like Puttur 2 oz. of rice are given for the common folk and even the starving students in hostels, whilst Government servants under the name of essential services are given more. In the villages not

even the 2 oz. are given. There cannot be graver iniquity than all this. One cannot go to the villages in the name of the Congress with all this injustice and oppression. Price levels are shooting up by leaps and bounds and no effort is made to check them. The price of every article of food has gone up by 8 or 10 times the pre-war rates. How can the poor live on these rates? Life has become a hell to them. If Governments cannot check this, why do they exist at all?

Government Hated

Things cannot be allowed to go on as they are now. There has been developing a hatred for the Governments, whether Central or Provincial, in the minds of the common people. The fact that that they are helpless and do not rise against them is no excuse for not setting right matters. It has therefore become the duty of some of us, however mighty the Congress organisation with its large funds—from whom and by what means those funds have been collected is yet another story—to fight against it to see that the injustice comes to an end. Whether it comes to an end or not, at least we shall have done our duty.

The only course left for any one placed like me is to resign from the Congress which has for all practical purposes ceased to practise the principles it professes to preach. Having done so, I was anxious, if possible, to join the Praja Party as it contains a large body of Congressmen who have left the Congress for the same reasons. But there are 2 or 3 points in its manifesto like the question of the linguistic provinces, the question of land policy and its foreign policy of 'neutrality at all costs' with which I find it difficult to agree. Hence I sought for clarification from Sri Prakasam. His reply has not helped to solve my difficulties, and so we in Karnatak before whom I placed the correspondence, have formed a party of our own and its manifesto has been placed before the public.

Praja Party

Whilst coming to the decision to resign from the Congress I held consultations with the people of my constituency. I desired also to resign from the legislature. The members of my constituency are apprehensive that the elections will not be held at all under one pretext or another, and that any opposition or criticism on the part of persons like me to the Governments, both Central and Provincial, which are thus ruling without going to the people and obtaining sanctions from them, and often contrary to the election pledges made in the past, should continue. They have asked me to continue, at any rate for the present, and not to resign. In the meanwhile I have given notice of a stay of eviction bill for

the coming session of the Assembly for preventing the large-scale eviction of tenants going on all over the province and especially in the coastal tracts of my district. I have provided in that bill that the stay of eviction would be granted only on the payment of full rents due to the landlords and not only 2 years' rent as is the case with the Tenants' and Ryots' Protection Act of 1949. I would like to see it passed forthwith. I am sure the Congress and the Madras Ministry which have promised major and even revolutionary land reforms in the past 15 years, and which are going to reiterate them again in the new manifesto, will even at this hour be faithful to their own past pledges and

grant this small mercy to the vast masses of these tenants for whom they have been shedding tears all these years. Or if they choose to oppose it simply because it comes from me they will be thereby proving to the tenant classes and the people of this province as a whole the real value to be attached to their election manifestoes in the coming elections. And so good-bye to the Congress organisation as such, as it has ceased to act up to its own ideals, professions and pledges and has become an instrument of tyranny and misrule, but not to the ideals themselves which are exceedingly good and which we of the Karnatak Unification Party shall follow to the best of our ability.

DECLINE OF MORALE IN GOVERNMENT

By Major D. V. RAJA RAO

MISS A, living with her mother, exhausted her rice ration card and she was asked by the dealer to get it renewed. She immediately sent the card with the proper application for its renewal to the A.T.S.O. The application and the card were received and the servant boy that took them was asked to come a day or two later for the new card. During the week after that, the boy went twice to the A.T.S.O.'s office but the new card was not given. In the meantime Miss A exhausted her ration of rice and not being rich enough to buy rice in the black market, she sought the help and advice of a gentleman. A letter was addressed to the Tahsildar explaining Miss A's predicament and requesting early issue of the ration card. On the intervention of the Tahsildar, action began to be taken. Next day an official visited Miss A for verification of the statements made by her in her application. He asked the boy to be sent to the office at 3 P.M. that afternoon for the card. The boy was sent accordingly. But for some reason or other the card was not ready for four days and every day during these four days the boy had to wait at the office from 11 a.m. to 6 or 6-30 p.m. In the meantime, Miss A and her mother had to live on the charity of their friends and relatives.

Miss A's case is typical of the working of the rationing office. Perhaps it is typical of the working of all the Government departments. There is

no sense of duty nor of responsibility and much less any consideration for the hardships and sufferings of the people, amongst the officials of these offices. In the event of a complaint Miss A's case can be explained very satisfactorily by the concerned clerks and officials and no fault can be assessed with anybody. When these explanations are accepted as satisfactory and everybody is exonerated, the fundamental fact that Miss A and her mother are thrown, for no fault of theirs, on the charity of their friends and relatives for five or six days is overlooked. Miss A moved in proper time and in the proper way, to get her ration card renewed before her week's ration ran out. But she had to go without ration for five or six days in spite of the intervention of the Tahsildar in her favour. Such is the sense of duty and responsibility in our services. But the services cannot be altogether blamed for it. 'As is the master, so is the servant' is a good old saying which is true always. The strength of a master's authority lies in his moral superiority over his servants. The scandalous working of our controls and rationing system is so notorious that it is universally admitted and need not be elaborated on. But what is not admitted is the moral bankruptcy of our Governments which explain this scandalous administration.

The policies of our Government are conceived and administered with the

object of strengthening the political power of some groups of politicians, enriching some sections of people who support them and bringing some favoured communities into administrative power. The whole set-up of the Government from the ministers down to the lowest jobs is organised on a communal basis. Interests of the people in general and efficiency in administration are sacrificed for the political and communal interests of these politicians and their groups. Inefficiency, indifference and corruption in the services are condoned for communal and political reasons. In a set-up like this, it is futile to seek for a sense of duty and responsibility in the services. Nor can a Government conceived and functioning to serve communal, sectional and individual interests of some politicians have the moral authority to enforce discipline and efficiency in the services.

It is an irony that communal rivalries and antagonisms set up and encouraged by the British to serve their imperial interests should now

have got such a strong hold of our politics and Governments. The British were alive to the danger of public discontent that inefficient and indifferent administration would cause and while they encouraged the communalists to serve their political purpose they did not follow their communal policies to the extent of undermining the efficiency of the services. But our power-mad communalists do not seem to be alive to this danger. If the administration is to improve and the Government function in the best interests of the people, our politics should get out of this communal basis and outlook.

The political parties that would be contesting the coming elections will do well to seek strength in the ability and integrity of their candidates than in communal affiliations and antagonisms. If people do not want to share Miss A's lot in their every day life, they will do well to vote for people of proved ability and integrity than for party, communal and personal affiliations.

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Short Story

THE QUEEN OF GARAMPUR

By S. HANUMANTHA RAU

THE sepulchral gloom that hung over the Palace of Garampur was five days old, but none the thinner for that period. An oppressive silence lay all over the palace. No one talked above whispers. No sound of horses or vehicles was heard near the royal residence.

It was about nine in the morning when a Sardar sought audience with the queen. Contrary to his habit, he dismounted at the outer gate, and threw the reins of his dark steed over to the gatekeeper, who curtsied and ran up to take charge of the animal. Dressed in close-fitting trousers of muslin, a loose long-shirt and a rose-red turban, the Sardar walked the forlorn way of one furlong to the queen's house slowly, almost stealthily—a space which usually he would cover in a matter of seconds on his galloping horse. His eyes were on the ground in front of him, and his prolific dark beard brushed his chest. The armed guard made a low bow and stood at attention. The Sardar entered and ascended the stairs wearily, and he could hardly lift the weight of the slippers on his feet. He went so noiselessly that the girl at the entrance to the queen's chamber was taken aback, when she heard his whisper close behind her. She answered him in an equally low tone. "Never came out the whole of yesterday, Sardarji, and hasn't touched food since the night before last."

He sent her to the kitchen to order lunch, and then gently knocked on the door. The maid who opened the door curtsied, and whispered, "Her Highness is in the ante-room," and making a sign to him to wait, she drew in and came back in half a minute, and nodded at him to enter, as she herself went out. He entered the big room at the end of the short passage. Through the open door leading to the inner chamber, he saw the queen standing with her back to him, her head resting on her arms folded on the window sill. "May I come in, Your Highness? he begged, hardly hearing the words himself.

"Why do you still insist on calling me Your Highness?" she shouted as she turned round to face him, flashing fire in her wet eyes. For twenty-two years he had watched those eyes, almost since they first saw the light of day, and gloated over the thought that they were the best

ornament for that lovely face. But he had never seen them red or swollen, never dreamt that they could be so fierce; never seen them wet, except when he told her some pathetic story from ancient Indian lore. Her dishevelled hair and crumpled sari and blouse made her look the personification of misery. The Sardar gulped before he spoke again.

"I know how Your Highness feels...."

"Your Highness, Your Highness," she hissed between set teeth with her fists clenched. "Where is my highness? If you really cared for my highness, why did you not save my lord? Why were you not alert and watching? Why didn't you shoot a moment earlier? Every one who was in that hunt should be shot dead, including you." She turned round, and convulsed with ill-controlled sobs, struck her head down on her folded arms on the window sill.

"We all deserve that punishment for what happened. But, believe me, none of us was careless, and certainly none wished for what happened. Your lord had no enemies around him. We were all concentrating our attention on the tiger which had bolted away, wounded we feared. And unexpectedly, almost right from our midst, sprang up another, on to His Highness's elephant. It was all so sudden. We shot the animal from within a few inches, but by that time it had already mauled your lord cruelly. I am ashamed to show my face to Your Highness."

The queen turned round, looked straight at his pleading eyes, and the next instant rushed at him and collapsed at his feet, crying, "Oh Baljit," weeping loudly, encircling her arms around his knees as he sat on the gadi behind him, and resting her head on them. With one hand caressing her head, he lifted his kerchief with the other to his eyes, but not before a rebellious tear fell on the queen's neck.

"Poor, poor Chitra! I never dreamt that I would have to see a day like this. From the time you were eleven days old, I brought you up, along with your mother's loving care, and on her death bed, I gave her my word that I would keep you happy as long as I lived. When you married, I begged and came here as

part of your dowry, so that I may always be with you and feast my eyes on your happiness. I have now failed in my duty. What is there now for me to live for, Chitra?"

A few minutes of silence passed, broken only by the weeping of Chitrangi, and the Sardar added, "But Chitra, dear. Get up, and have some breakfast. You can't starve yourself like this."

"What do I care what happens to me, when my priceless possession is gone?"

"You have to care, Chitra. You have lost your freedom to do whatever you want with yourself. That is the penalty you have to pay for being a queen. Get up, and eat something."

"I can't eat anything, I don't want to eat any thing," she said, without lifting her head from his knees, managing to control her sobs enough to speak:

"But I want to eat something with you. Get up. Here, wipe your eyes...." Baljit Singh gently lifted up her face and wiped her eyes dry with his kerchief, raised her by the arms and made her sit on the gadi by his side.

When Chitrangi had some lunch, she was in a better frame of mind to talk to Baljit. But the latter still did not feel bold enough to broach the subject which was uppermost in his mind. That was the first day he had been granted audience by the queen, after being refused four times since the preliminary funeral ceremonies were over. Baljit Singh was afraid that the first meeting was hardly suitable for the proposal he had up his sleeve to be moved. He knew that at least in the beginning his idea might shock Chitrangi. He took his leave promising to call again the next morning, to talk on some important State matters. He rode back at a gallop to his bungalow where his son Ram Singh awaited him eagerly.

A gay party was in progress in the house of Avinash, a distant cousin of King Pradeep. One of his admirers—and there were half a dozen of them around Avinash always—shouted, "King Pradeep is dead. Long live King Avinash". There was great applause. "Well said, my dear fellow," complimented Avinash, who had just emptied his glass of wine. "Pass the madhu round, again."

"W....W....We certainly deserve a celebration," said his second admirer, "but w....w....we must see that our plan does not fail."

"What wonderful plan is there to fail?" asked a third friend. "When Pradeep is dead, Avinash is king. There is no one else who can assert any claim."

Avinash knit his brows and asked the second speaker "What do you mean by

plans failing? We haven't any plans. We don't need any. Automatically the kingdom is mine. It became mine six days ago, but I shall wait till the shradha ceremonies are over."

"If any fool causes trouble, we shall promptly send him where Pradeep has gone. That is all," said the first admirer.

"Un....un....unless of course someone strong like Baljit Singh comes to fight us."

"Baljit Singh can't try any of his tricks on me," said Avinash, twirling his moustache. "I shall simply kill him, if he dares fight me. Ah....how long did I practise shooting and fencing?"

"Five months, Your Highness Avinash Maharaj," shouted a fourth admirer, hiding his smiling face behind the man sitting in front.

"Nonsense," rebuked Avinash. "What a niggardly fellow you are! Say it was one year."

"One year and five months I shall say, if the cup is passed round again," said another who had not spoken till then.

"That is better."

"That is better. Pass the madhu round. But I think a better way would be to get rid of Baljit Singh secretly, without the bother of a battle. Whoever will do it will be my Prime Minister."

"I....I....I can get rid of Baljit Singh like that," the second man said, flicking his fingers.

"I pity poor Ram Singh who will become an orphan, but we can't help it," muttered Avinash, as he unsteadily stretched his cup for more drink.

"What shall we do about the Queen?" asked the first speaker.

"The queen! Ah! Ah! Where is the queen?" Don't you know, you fools, that I am not yet married?" asked Avinash, as he tried to get up but could not balance himself and fell back into his seat with a thud, laughing. "I am a king without a queen."

"Chi....Chi....Chitrangi, the queen," reminded the second man.

"Oh, Chitrangi! Yes, what shall we do with her? She is young and strong and beautiful. One of you fellows marry her," suggested Avinash, trying to laugh, but suddenly grew serious, and with fear in his eyes, shouted, "No, no, You will then become a king—the queen's husband. No. We shall give her a pension. A hundred rupees a month. Two hundred if she wants, and we shall drive her away somewhere, out of Garampur." The speech exhausted Avinash. He leaned his head on to the wall and fell silent.

The next day Baljit Singh was admitted into the presence of the queen without delay. "I have come to trouble you with some State matters, Your Highness."

"Any papers I have to sign, Baljit?"

"No. I have asked the Chief Minister to send those papers to you in the afternoon. I have come now only for a personal discussion. Have you thought about your future, Chitra?"

"But let us finish those State matters first, Baljit."

"Yes....yes of course. In fact....I mean, where a person of your status is concerned, there is not much difference between State matters and personal matters," said Baljit, his head slightly bent, his eyes avoiding the queen's.

"You sound queer today, Baljit. What is on your mind? Speak out and speak clearly." The queen sat silently, watching Baljit's face for a while. A whole minute passed and still Baljit was not ready with his words! The queen wondered if he had heard her words.

"I have come to beg of you something."

"Why so much hesitation about it, Baljit? Is there anything a daughter can refuse her father? You have always called me your daughter, and treated me as such. Ask anything in the whole kingdom and it is yours. What do you want, Baljit?" The queen moved nearer to Baljit, put her hand on his shoulder and waited for his words, her eyes on his downcast ones.

"I promised something to somebody, Chitra, and I want your help in fulfilling my promise."

"Give anything to anybody you like, Baljit. Who is there to hinder you?"

"I have come to know that Avinash has already been celebrating in advance his succession to the throne...."

"Yes, the throne is his now according to law, isn't it? Let him have it. I shall retire into solitude."

"The drunken fool will ruin the State, and his hangers-on will loot it."

"If that is the fate of the people of Garampur, let it be so. Who can help it? And how am I concerned with it?"

"You are, Chitra. You can save the State, keep the people happy, maintain the glorious tradition of Garampur...."

"How can I? I am no longer the queen. I...."

"You will continue to be the queen," said Baljit lifting his eyes to hers in an abject appeal. "I can't bear to see you pensioned off. I have thought over the matter—thought for seven days and seven nights. All I want you to do is to say yes."

"You seem to be hatching some diabolical plan, Baljit. You never spoke to me like this before. Have you considered what shame and scandal will befall me, if Avinash's life comes into danger?"

"Not a hair on his head will be hurt, Chitra, but, Avinash shall not succeed to the throne. I have made up my mind about it. The state shall continue to be governed by Chitrangi, the queen."

"But how, how? How can I be a queen?"

"Not as the wife of a king, but as a mother."

"Ah," cried Chitrangi, as she sprang up and stood motionless, her eyes filled with wonder and fear, waiting to hear what Baljit would say next.

"I have got the papers ready. You have only to put your signature, and then appear silently by my side when the proclamation will be read out by me to the subjects who will be assembled."

"Proclamation!"

"Yes, a proclamation that Queen Chitrangi is going to be a mother...."

"But I can never be a mother, Baljit. Never."

"May be. But the proclamation will be made that you are going to be one soon."

Chitrangi jerked back a step, her lips forming an O, which she covered with the edge of her saree. Baljit appeared dumb. No sound escaped Chitrangi.

A moment later, Baljit Singh stood up, and facing Chitrangi with fierce determination in his eyes, continued, "I promised your mother that I would keep you happy as long as I would live. To keep you happy is more than lies in my power, I now realise, Chitra. But at least I can keep you a queen, and I will do it."

"I command that you shall do nothing of the sort."

"This is something in which I shall not obey Your Highness."

"Don't show me your face again, if you won't obey my commands. You may go now."

And Chitrangi turned round and rushed into the anteroom. Baljit slowly moved towards the outer door of the room. He was too engrossed in his own thoughts to hear Chitrangi's sobs.

Two days later a dashing young man of about twenty-five years, clad in spotless white Rajput dress and sporting a trim beard, rode up to the palace door. The clattering of the hoofs of his galloping horse roused the whole staff to attention. Scores of heads appeared at the windows to see who it was. Chitrangi looked down from her balcony window, and her face lit up with a smile as she espied the youth dismount and rush in.

He mounted the stairs taking two steps at a time and when he arrived at the

queen's door, the maid with a flickering smile held the door open for him and said "Her Highness is expecting you, Sir."

He entered, stood a moment contemplating the majestic Chitrangi, and then rushed and knelt at her feet and held them with his hands.

"Silly boy, get up! Is that the way to greet a sister, Ram? Get up! I know how much you loved your king. You have not to demonstrate it before me." Before she could finish her words, she felt a tear drop on her feet. She bent down, patted the youth's head tenderly, and with her hand tried to raise him. He stood up and murmured, "I have come to beg of you something."

"The son of Baljit Singh doesn't beg. He takes whatever he wants without asking anyone. Sit down, Ram."

She took her seat on the divan and made him sit opposite to her.

"But this is something which Your Highness alone can give me. It is in your hands. A father's life is precious to me, Your Highness, and you should save it—and you only can do it," and Ram Singh could not control his tears.

The queen moved nearer, wiped his eyes with the edge of her saree, and asked, "Is Baljit ill, Ram? Poor Baljit! I said harsh and cruel things to him and I have been weeping over it these two days. Is he sick also?"

"Sick of the world, he says. He hasn't touched food these two days. He says he would fast unto death."

"Is he terribly angry with me for what I said that day, Ram?"

"I don't know what Your Highness said to him. He says he could not keep up a promise given to some body and hence he has lost the right to live. But he loves you so much, Your Highness. Perhaps he will listen to your words."

"Baljit Singh is a tough fellow. He won't listen to anybody's words. But has he the heart to die, leaving his sweet Ram an orphan at such a young age? He has been both father and mother to you all these years....and to me too, Ram."

"He doesn't care for any one now. He forbade me to write home to his brother. He forbade me even to see Your Highness. He does not know I am here now."

"He is stubborn, Ram, and sometimes stupid. Go and tell him that I too offer my prayer to him to break his fast."

"He would be terribly angry, if he knew I came here. He has grown very weak, Your Highness."

"What can I do to deter him, Ram?"

"I don't know, Your Highness. But something tells me that you can save him, if anyone can."

The queen sat silent for a while. The struggle in her mind brought varied expressions on her face—now grim determination, now sad resignation, now an unfathomable doubt. She stood up silent for a while and then began pacing in and out of the anteroom. At length she said, with a sigh of resignation, "I know what is the matter with him, Ram. I know it well. He has ever had his way with people and at this age of fifty-five he is not going to bend. It is we others that have to yield to him. Sometimes I feel I should never see him any more or talk to him."

"Forgive him if he has wronged you, Your Highness."

"Wronged me? Yes, he has wronged me. He has made me a doll of wet clay in his hands, Ram, wet clay. Even now I can't have my way. He did not allow my lord to have his way in anything when Baljit differed from him...."

Ram Singh felt afraid at the mounting tone of the queen's voice and lifted up his eyes to meet her troubled ones, as she continued. "He is the most dogged, foolish man in the whole world. And I hate him for it. But he is kind, Ram, awfully kind. He is the dearest soul I have ever known."

Ram Singh was puzzled to see the queen wipe her eyes with the edge of her saree. It was only as little children playing together that he had seen tears in Chitrangi's eyes, and he had promptly brushed them, and cuddled and coaxed her to be quiet. She was now the queen, and he was uncertain how to act, though he felt the same old urge to console her.

With difficulty she controlled the twitchings of her lips and managed to say, "Go, Ram, go and tell him that I agree to his proposal. I hate it, but I am helpless. Go and tell him he can have his way. And for Heaven's sake, let him break his fast."

"But he won't believe that I really brought your message, Your Highness."

"Here, take this ring and give it to him; say I called you here. And let him break his fast with the oranges and apples of my orchards."

She removed her ring and gave it to Ram Singh. She rang for the maid and ordered a basket of fruits to be sent at once to Baljit's house.

Ram Singh collapsed at the feet of the queen, crying, "Oh, how can I thank you enough, Your Highness?"

The queen bade him get up, wiped his tears though her own were streaming down her cheeks, and sobbed, "Shali I tell you how to thank me, Ram? Call me Chitra once, as you called me all along our childhood. Who will call me Chitra again, if Baljit dies?"

She broke down and sat on the divan. Out came Ram Singh's kerchief and he brushed her tears away whispering, "Don't weep, Chitra, dear. Let me carry your message to my father soon?"

"Be quick, Ram," was all that she could manage to say, and Ram Singh hurried away, depositing the queen's ring in his pocket.

In response to the invitation sent out by Baljit Singh, the subjects of the State assembled in their thousands in Khushal Baug in front of the balcony from which all proclamations of importance used to be read out to them on various occasions. Men, women and children were there, young and old, all eager to hear the news, which was widely rumoured to be about the succession to the Garampur throne. The usual royal seat at the balcony was vacant, and it was announced that the queen was indisposed and did not wish to make her public appearance while still in mourning.

Baljit Singh, in his imposing turban, and his long coat with numerous buttons right down from the collar and his white close fitting trousers, stood up and read the proclamation that the queen was soon to become a mother, and that until the child was born, the question of succession would be kept in abeyance. A dozen men of Avinasha's party had gathered in the midst of the crowd not far from the balcony, and they shouted, "Downright lie! Produce the queen. Get her medically examined! A ruse to deprive Avinash of his legitimate due! Avinash is king of Garampur!..." Armed police quelled the disturbance and when silence was restored, Baljit Singh assured the audience, that the very fact that he, Baljit Singh, Master of the Royal Household, was announcing the news to thousands of the assembled subjects from the sacred balcony should be taken as sufficient guarantee of truth. If anyone was still in doubt, time would dispel it in due course.

When the crowd was dispersing, the followers of Avinash shouted vague threats of teaching Baljit Singh a lesson, as they went home to report the matter to Avinash.

When Chitrangi heard of the protests and denunciations of a section of the people, she was worried and afraid, but it was too late to do anything about it, and she resigned herself to the need for sticking to the falsehood as long as Baljit's cleverness made it possible.

A week later queen Chitrangi left the capital for the summer palace, though it was not the usual time to go there. The subjects learnt that the onslaught of the

grief in her present delicate condition rendered peace and seclusion necessary.

The disappointment felt by Avinash and his followers, and the frustration of their hopes made them wild with indignation, and one of them was sent to the neighbouring State of Sitalnagar to solicit military help to fight with Baljit Singh and the queen for the throne, which was represented as belonging to Avinash. Three days later a band of five hundred armed men secretly entered Garampur under cover of the night, and preparations were in progress to make a sudden attack on the palace and the summer residence simultaneously, so that both Baljit Singh and Chitrangi might be captured before they had time to consult each other.

Every alternate day Baljit Singh sent a messenger to the queen from Garampur, to bring information about her welfare, and also to get a few official papers signed by her. One day the messenger on his way back from the summer palace was stopped by a masked man and addressed threateningly, "Inform Ba....Ba.... Baljit Singh that preparations are going on for a battle and the charge may be made the day after tomorrow early morning at 3. Mention the word NISTAK and he will know who I am."

When Baljit Singh heard the news from the messenger he lost no time in getting ready the Garampur forces. Ram Singh was put in charge of a hundred armed horsemen, with special instructions by Baljit to safeguard the queen's residence. Baljit Singh himself led the main division. About an hour before the time scheduled by the party of Avinash, the Garampur army began their attack, taking the enemy unawares.

Till one o'clock the next afternoon Baljit Singh and his son were exchanging reports about their progress. Then their communication was cut off, by the messenger being ambushed and killed.

Information reached Ram Singh that a contingent of three hundred men had been instructed to attack the summer residence that night at 9. He could not contact his father for instructions, and had to be on his own.

The summer residence was a castle at the summit of a hill overlooking a lake. The queen's chamber was on the eastern side. There was a sheer drop of five hundred feet from the balcony of her room, and no danger of the enemy's approach from that side. The road on the west that led up the hill was winding between trees and huge boulders and the rest of the hill was a jungle.

When the news was brought to the queen that a batch of cleanshaven youths in green shirts and yellow turbans were battering the western gates of the castle, she was puzzled about what to do. There

had been no chance of communication with Baljit Singh or his son. When the few men in the castle fell back before the enemy at the door, the queen instinctively ran to the balcony on the east.

The leader of the attackers succeeded in scaling the outer wall of the castle compound, and from there issued instructions that the others should silently wait for him to open the gates and bring the captured queen out.

When this news reached the queen, she felt that quick action was necessary to save herself from dishonour, and she hoisted herself on to the parapet, brushing aside the pleadings of the maids.

"Chitra, dear, don't do that. Don't," came the voice from the green shirt, strangely familiar and sweet to her ears. But one look at the young man convinced her that she was being deceived, because he was clean-shaven. She stood up on the parapet, and was about to jump when the man sprang on her like a tiger on its prey, and pulled her back, both falling on the stone flooring of the balcony.

"Believe me, Chitra. I am Ram Singh. Here is your ring if proof is necessary. I disguised myself and put on the enemy's dress as the only way of saving you. I have only twenty men with me, similarly disguised, but we are enough to protect you. I am supposed to capture you and take you to Avinash. Don't be misled by my open orders to the men."

"Oh, my Ram," the queen said, as she patted his cheek affectionately. "I shall obey your wishes. How is Baljit?"

"Hope he is all right. Haven't had news of him since yesterday afternoon."

The castle doors opened. Amidst the loud weeping of the maids, Ram Singh led out the queen, and commanded that twenty men should be with him to help him take the queen to Avinash. The rest might go quickly to announce the happy news to him.

Ram Singh and his twenty men led Chitrangi to a mud house at the foot of the hill on the northern side, and put her in a room that had been crudely prepared for her. She was requested to rest while the men kept watch.

A hour passed. A visitor approached the house on horseback. Six of Ram Singh's men dashed forward on their horses, and interrogated him. He reported, "Avinash has been killed. Baljit Singh is wounded seriously. He wanted to see his son, and if possible Her Highness. I have already lost half an hour in reaching here."

Queen Chitrangi almost fainted when she heard that Baljit had been seriously wounded. She and Ram Singh lost no time in reaching the place where Baljit lay. On the way they heard that on hearing of Avinash's death, the Sitalangar army had dispersed and run away.

Baljit had been laid on a bed of grass behind a bush, as he was too seriously injured to be moved. Ram Singh and Chitrangi sat on either side of Baljit. The profuse bleeding from a deep wound over his heart had been stopped, but he had already lost much blood, and was too weak to speak above whispers.

"Baljit," cried Chitrangi as she laid her head on his body, "Baljit, what have you done to yourself?" Baljit managed to move his hand a little on the head of the weeping queen. Then he looked pathetically at Ram Singh's tear-stained face and started fumbling for something.

"What do you want?" asked Chitrangi tenderly brushing his hair back from his forehead with one hand and clasping his hand in another. With his other hand Baljit took his son's hand and glanced at both alternately, and finally turning towards Ram Singh, murmured, "Keep her the queen." He then began to breathe heavily. Someone suggested giving some water to Baljit, while another hurried up with a cup of milk. Chitrangi poured a few drops of milk down Baljit Singh's throat.

"Drink this, Baljit, and you will feel better. Oh, don't leave me and go away, Baljit," she sobbed, and the next instance screamed, "Oh, Baljit" as the twitchings of his lips indicated the approach of his last moment. With Chitrangi's hand in one hand, and Ram Singh's in the other, Baljit Singh breathed his last.

Five days later the people of Garampur again assembled at the Khushal Baug to hear another proclamation. The Queen was in the royal seat in the balcony, and at her bidding, Ram Singh read out her message to the subjects.

It was Baljit's fatherly love towards Chitrangi that had made him announce a falsehood that she was to be a mother. Baljit had dearly paid with his life for the untruth he had proclaimed. The kingdom belonged to the people. They might select their own king. Chitrangi would retire into solitude.

There was not one among the listeners who had dry eyes. "We want Chitrangi to be the queen. Long live Chitrangi, the Queen!" shouted the people in a deafening chorus.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND MADRAS UNIVERSITY

By RAMESH U. PAI

THE ban on the admission of girl students to the recently started men's colleges imposed by the University of Madras is to my mind a gross injustice and for sheer shortsightedness and unimaginative 'red-tapism' it has no equal. For many years, it has been a practice for men's colleges in our State to admit girl students. But recently, in accordance with the recommendation of the University Commission of 1945, the Madras University has been imposing a strict ban on such admissions. The reasons given by the learned members of the Commission are difficult to understand. One of the reasons is that in their opinion what they call 'co-education' is harmful at the Intermediate stage of university education. It is unfortunate that no valid reasons based either on psychological or educational grounds have been given by these gentlemen for their recommendation. This discrimination is sought to be justified by mere opinions and generalised statements in the report. It is, of course, admitted by all that girls are better educated in girls' institutions and for this reason it is also necessary that the type of education given to girls should be slightly different from that imparted in men's institutions. But this question is intimately related to the wider and more difficult question of devising a special type of education which will train our girls in those tasks and responsibilities which, as educated women, they are called upon to shoulder when they leave the portals of the university. But so far, our university has done nothing to tackle this basic problem. The same courses are imparted in women's colleges as are imparted in men's colleges, although the university has started some new courses like nursing, domestic science and music. This implies that more and more women's colleges should be opened. The financial resources of the country and the demand for such specialised colleges are two of the factors which ultimately have to decide the

issue. For the present, we do not seem to be in a position to start separate women's colleges and until such time as these separate institutions come into existence, a large majority of our girls have no other alternative than to seek admission to men's colleges if they want to secure the benefits of university education.

Again the term 'co-education,' as used by the University Commission, is vague. Co-education, I believe, is something different from what the Commissioners have in view. If men and women attend the same college for a few hours, it is hardly proper to call it 'co-education.' In America and the countries of Europe there are a large number of co-educational institutions of all grades, and in these institutions boys and girls not only attend the same lectures, but also live in the same campus freely participating in all the academic and social activities. In Switzerland, co-education has made phenomenal progress, and in that country, it is not a rare sight to see young men and women sharing freely all the activities of their schools and colleges without any restraint. They live in the same hostels, go on excursions, together, participate in games together in mixed teams, and the social mingling of boys and girls is something which will certainly frighten the conservative sections in this country. To apply therefore the term 'co-education' to the practice prevailing in our colleges, is a gross misuse of the term. In our so-called 'co-educational' schools and colleges, there is no free intermingling of boys and girls such as we find in the western countries. Girls sit in separate seats, and separate retiring rooms and other facilities are provided for them and the university itself has made it obligatory that such separate facilities and conveniences should be provided to girls in institutions which admit them. It is only in the class-rooms that boys and girls meet together, under the close supervision of the staff. I shall be the last

person to claim that this is a perfect arrangement and we do not require the special pleading of the Madras University Commission to convince us that this arrangement is defective, because girls do not get the necessary atmosphere of freedom in men's colleges which is quite essential for their proper development.

Apart from these general considerations, the ban imposed on the admission of girls in new Intermediate colleges by the university has to be viewed from a more practical standpoint. It is to be remembered in this connection that this ban has not been made to apply to older colleges. In these colleges, girls are freely admitted to the Intermediate classes. I do not know if the university authorities have taken the trouble to find out if this has had any harmful effects on the younger generation. On the contrary, there is a considerable section of teachers and parents who think that the practice is working satisfactorily. After all, there are some definite advantages to be gained from this. Girls in men's colleges show more initiative and develop qualities of self-confidence and leadership. In a rapidly changing world, men and women are bound to shed many of the old 'taboos' and come together in work and service. The demands of the modern age are, all of us know, much more stringent than what they were in the past. Complete segregation of sexes, as psychologists have never been tired of pointing out, can result in more harm than would result in disciplined co-operation of the sexes in social and academic activities. We require more evidence than mere generalised statements to prove that admission of girls to men's colleges is harmful, so harmful that a university has to impose a rigid ban on such admissions. Segregation in any form, whether of races or sexes is repugnant to the progressive outlook of the modern age. I do not deny that there may be occasional lapses. But it is difficult to convince any one in this modern age that compulsory segregation of sexes in schools and colleges is going to advance the cause of morality. Such a view is antiquated and in practice totally unworkable in the present circumstances of the country. No other university,

so far as I know, imposes such a ban with such shortsighted rigidity as our university has been doing in recent times. In Bombay, there is no such ban. In many of the big colleges there, not only boys and girls are freely admitted, but in some of these colleges, even separate seating arrangements in lecture halls are not made. Even in Madras boys and girls study together in professional colleges. Are we to believe that this practice has totally undermined the moral stamina of our younger generation? To entertain such a belief is a gross insult to our culture and to our young men and women. It is interesting to remember that a large number of leading women in our country are themselves opposed to this ban. Women like Lady Rama Rao, whose claim to speak on behalf of the progressive section of our womanhood is unchallengeable, do not support the policy of the university. After all, the parents of girls have a right to decide this much more than a body of old-fashioned academicians. At the last meeting of the Senate, in Madras 1951, one of our leading women senators, Begum Amiruddin, declared her strong opposition to the ban. Our own Prime Minister, whose claim to speak on behalf of liberal and progressive forces cannot be denied even by the Madras University, declared the other day in Bangalore that it is the duty of men and women to work together for the service of the country and the world, and he called upon the educated women of the country to shed their sense of inferiority and co-operate with men in all beneficial activities. One need hardly ask what Mr. Nehru would have said if the ban on our university had been brought to his notice! These views are in complete consonance with the trend of thought which is growing in all civilised countries, although the exclusive band of men in charge of the policies of our university seem to be blissfully unaware of it.

There is another point arising from this which it is the duty of the university to take note of. Even if we grant that what they call 'co-education' is harmful at the Intermediate stage, there is the immense practical difficulty of sending our girls to separate women's colleges. In the first

place, such colleges are very few in number, and naturally the number of seats available in these colleges is bound to be limited. Again, the financial resources of many parents do not permit them to send their girls to distant places and keep them in hostels. Such parents have necessarily to send their girls to a men's college nearer their homes or to a college in their own town. This ban works with peculiar hardship in the case of girls who are denied admission to a men's college situated in their own locality. In Udipi, a college was started two years ago and in the first year, when the university permitted the authorities to admit a limited number of girls, several of them took advantage of the facility. But in subsequent years, the ban was strictly enforced and the result has been that quite a large number of girls belonging to middle class families have been deprived of the benefits of higher education. It is simply impossible to understand the rationale of this ban. What terrible consequences would have arisen if a limited number of girls who were eager to join the college had been admitted to the college, is known only to the university. But most of us do know how much harm it has done to the cause of women's education in these parts. The college authorities had made all arrangements to have separate retiring rooms and other conveniences for the girl students as required by the university. There are two lady teachers on the staff and the management were prepared to appoint an additional lady to the staff to specially look after the social activities of the girls. But the university authorities, in spite of all this and in the face of frantic appeals by the educated women of the locality, have thought fit to stick short-sightedly to their 'ban'.

It is high time our university revised this short-sighted policy. It is short-

sighted because it imposes unnecessary hardship on a section of our students whose educational advancement is of such vital importance to the country. It is true that there is need for more women's colleges in the country. But the best way of achieving this object is not to persist in this petty and vexatious ban. Women's colleges cannot spring up by any miracle that we know of, and after all, this ultimately depends upon the financial resources of the nation and on the demand for such separate institutions. A time may come when this will be achieved; but until then it is necessary that a comparatively small number of girls who seek the advantages of higher education should not be denied the opportunity of pursuing their university studies in existing men's colleges. The Constitution of India clearly lays down that no one should be denied the right of education on the mere ground of caste or sex. The Madras University Act is also clear on this point. Any discrimination affecting the rights of any class of people is repugnant not only to these provisions, but in the present circumstances is totally irrational. I do not know why this ban should be so persistently and stubbornly enforced. One sometimes begins to suspect that the ban proceeds from a false sense of prestige and even from certain vested interests that seem to have entrenched themselves in the influential circles of our academic bodies. Education cannot be the vested interest of any particular group or section of the nation. India needs educated men and women in ever-increasing numbers for her service and the service of the world. I earnestly hope that our Madras University will soon realise how greatly such narrow-minded policies will react upon the progressive sections of the community and immediately repeal this meaningless ban.

The constitutional responsibility of ministers to Parliament and the public covers every action of their subordinates, whether done with their specific authority or by delegation, expressed or implied. Accordingly in the legislatures of several other countries, it is the custom never to mention as responsible subordinate officials or even a whole department. It is the minister who is responsible. He takes the praise for that which is well done; and the blame for that which is ill done is his. So far as responsibility goes, the minister is the department. If there have been mistakes or mala fide practices, it is for him to take action against the officers. They are not to be exposed to attacks in the legislature or elsewhere.—Gorwala Report.

THE PAKISTAN PERIL

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

THE mounting Indo-Pak tension with the seemingly inevitable sequence of armed conflict, constitutes a direct challenge to our independence, and it seems hardly an exaggeration to say that the days ahead of us are critical days, full of serious potentialities for India as well as for Asia. History is repeating itself. Nazism and Fascism, which have been laid low in the West, are reappearing in the Eastern horizon in the twilight of Anglo-American Imperialism. And once more England is espousing the cause of the aggressor, even as she did when Hitler seized Austria and Italy pounced on Abyssinia. For in truth the dictator's technique is writ large in Pakistan's claim for Kashmir. Her plan, as envisaged by her war lords today, does not stop with Kashmir but includes a *jehad* for the conquest of India. Was Hitler appeased by the capitulation of Poland and did Mussolini cry halt after Abyssinia's surrender? The fascist shouting for "living space" was not more specious than the sabre-rattling Pak rulers who regard Kashmir as vital to Pakistan's economy; although in point of fact the Treaty of Versailles had provided justification for the European dictators.

Kashmir is in Indian territory. In the pre-partition parleys, it was completely ignored by the architects of Pakistan. After Pakistan was established, the situation underwent a radical change. A series of incidents began to happen and all too suddenly on 26th October 1947, certain tribal hordes made a terrible swoop over the country, committing plunder and rapine on a scale accomplished by Nadir Shah and Tamerlane in days of old and on a par if not in continuation of the savagery and killings in Calcutta, Noakhali, Amritsar and Razakar-ruled Hyderabad with the added feature that the property and lives of even foreign nationals were not spared. Responding to the frantic appeals for help, Indian troops were rushed to the State and checked the depredations though not without enormous losses of men and material. This was not a fight between India

and Pakistan nor between Hindus and Moslems as such, but solely between the people of Kashmir led by Brigadier Usman (amongst others) and a ruthless band of ruffians well disciplined with almost inexhaustible supply of equipment and man power. The raiders, it was apparent, were directed by expert hands and there was clear evidence of Pakistan's active participation notwithstanding her assumed innocence. But India did not make much of it until it became a stark reality. Ultimately she referred the matter to the U. N. O. even though she had very nearly won the war. The U. N. O. and the Security Council, however, did not take it up in earnest, nor did they evince a desire to do justice by India. Sir Owen Dixon was sent out after long delay and parleys, and his finding was that Pakistan had been the aggressor. Action on this footing ought to have been started immediately but somehow the U. N. O. thought fit to differentiate between Pakistan and Russia and China. Nor was this all. Another emissary has been sent; and it looks as if Mr. Frank Graham has been deputed to neutralise the finding of Sir Owen Dixon. Evidently, even amongst aggressors, there is one law for Pakistan and another for Russia and China. In the interval, in 1949, a cease fire agreement had been agreed upon but there was a radical difference in the approach of the two countries thereto. India has honoured it with observance to the very letter: not a single shot has been fired nor an inch of territory occupied. On the other hand, Pakistan has honoured it in the breach and there have been to date as many as 538 violations of the agreement.

Kashmir is not a commodity to be bandied about at the pleasure of either Pakistan or of the Western Powers. It has a soul and a being of its own and is not outside the pale of the U. N. Charter of human rights; and its peoples must have their say on what is good for them. Even the European dictators in the heyday of their powers did not withhold the right of plebiscite in Saar. The idea that regions with a majority of Mos-

lems must automatically fall into the grip of Pakistan has only to be stated to be rejected and in fact it had never been the basis of its very creation. Are there not places in India and elsewhere peopled wholly by Muslims? And is it not a solid fact that the entire Moslem world and the Moslems in their entirety excepting a few warmongers in Karachi have refused to be taken in by the Pak propaganda? Even amongst the Western Powers, countries like Eire and Russia are neutral. The Anglo-American bloc is doubtless hostile to our cause but it is perfectly clear that it is buttressing Pakistan's suzerainty as the only means of liquidating India's supremacy in Asia which has become a reality since independence.

England has, however, chosen to take a different stand altogether. She is pouring out war materials into Pakistan and her press, irrespective of party affiliations, is mouthing many of the Pak slogans, upholding the aggressor's cause and putting India in the dock. The British Lord Chancellor the other day appealed to the statesmanship of the countries to solve the tangle, little knowing what India has done so far and what Pakistan has failed to do. But even Lord Jowitt cannot shut his eyes to the recent happenings. As against Pakistan's aggression and the sabre-rattling of her leaders, going hand in hand with war preparations in which some of his own countrymen are playing so vital a part, can he point out one instance wherein India has violated the provisions of any agreement, treaty or convention? Indeed has England herself dealt with the matter in a spirit of statesmanship and fairplay? Sir Owen Dixon has named the aggressor and Dr. Graham is to hold another enquiry. In the interval, especially when a cease fire agreement is still in force, there has been a steady supply of armaments, technical personnel and military advisers, the most recent being the dispatch of 36 jet fighters through Mir Laik Ali, a fugitive from justice but still styled the 'Premier of Hyderabad.' These are not merely violations of international law but of international morality as well.

The *Times* looks aghast at what it calls the "heavy concentration of troops in the frontier area which, it

says, would disturb public tranquillity" and would far rather like the U. N. observers to be stationed at all vulnerable places. What is England doing at the present moment in regard to a comparatively minor issue? What about her warships and para-troops at the Persian Gulf for the redressal of a purely civil wrong which concerns only a private company? And is Britain prepared to clear the Suez Canal area of her troop concentrations? With a profound ignorance of all the events that have happened in this unhappy land since 1946, the *Times* proceeds to contemplate gravely about the "religious intolerance which will reach a pitch at which Hindus will feel unsafe in Pakistan and Muslims dare not remain in India", and warns us that "if this happens and if stories, real and imaginary, are circulated in England, either Government may come under irresistible pressure to take drastic action". Applied to Pakistan, these words have a peculiar relevance; it is not pretended that the lives and the properties of the Hindus are not in jeopardy in Eastern or Western Pakistan. But in regard to India they constitute a serious travesty of facts. What is the position since 1946? Thousands have been butchered and millions of non-Pakistanis have been uprooted from their homes and hearths and the compensation withheld runs into several crores. Yet what did the British Government or the U. N. A. do? The offenders were more proper subjects for trial as war criminals than many who had come into the category and were dealt with ruthlessly. Contrast with this what India did, when similarly circumstanced. Against those who started reprisals in Bihar, the State took drastic action, contemplating even aerial bombing and the whole thing was stamped out in a trice. Mahatmaji himself pledged his life for the safety of the Muslims in India and gave it up for that cause. There has been a continuous stream of vilification and abuse in the Pak-Press, which its rulers seem in no mood to discourage; but in India, the Constitution itself has been amended to punish ill-informed criticism of foreign powers. Our only act of aggression (for so it has been styled) has been the renovation of Somnath Temple. In short,

the Indian approach to the Kashmir problem is the non-violent and defensive approach; but Pakistan has no use for non-violence and its apostle of ahimsa, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, continues to be indefinitely in detention.

India has no territorial designs on Kashmir and even at the start decided upon a plebiscite although it was felt that she would go the way of N. W. F. P. Nor has she ventured to interfere with the internal administration of the country even when far-reaching measures like the recent land reform were carried out. In regard to propaganda, too, India is proceeding a little too cautiously and the combat in that sphere has been unequal. Pakistan has not scrupled to use the U. N. emblem for her outpourings, but India has not felt worried about it at all. This is probably the main reason why her stand over the Kashmir issue has been so imperfectly understood by the world at large. Every one in this country

including those who undertake bimonthly trips across the Atlantic, our ministers, diplomats and vice chancellors, seem to feel that Kashmir is Pandit Nehru's business, and have not done their duty to their country. After all, in this age, publicity and propaganda make a man a State, and even wars are no exception. It is no exaggeration to say that World War II was won in Fleet Street. The Nazis with all their immense resources and war potential could not make headway since world opinion had quite definitely hardened against them and the atrocities perpetrated by Germany, Italy and Japan were so graphically conveyed to the peoples of the world that even the bombing of Hiroshima has come to be thought of as just retribution. India cannot afford to neglect propaganda and her efforts in that behalf, at any rate in the Western countries, require a good deal of shake-up and vigour. And that is a lesson which even so evil a thing as Pakistan's jihad, has to teach us.

RAILWAY RATES TRIBUNAL

By S. RANGIAH NAIDU

THE Indian Railway (Second Amendment) Act 1948 set up the Railway Rates Tribunal in India, from April 1949 and the Members and the Secretary assumed their duties on April 11, 1949, with their headquarters at Madras. The rules governing the procedure and the effective discharge of the functions of the Tribunal were framed by it and notified by the Government on November 1, 1949.

Sections 34 to 46-B of the Indian Railways Act deal with the composition of the Tribunal, its functions, etc. It consists of a President and two Members, appointed by the Central Government and the qualification for a Member is that he is or has been or is qualified for appointment as a Judge of a High Court. Section 41 of the Act lays down the nature of complaints against a Railway Administration, which can be taken cognizance of by the Tribunal and they are mainly questions of fact requiring a detailed knowledge of railway rates and their working. The Members of the Tribunal, as well as its Secretary, are full time employees and the annual expenditure, including their

salaries, etc., amounts to about Rs. 1,50,000. Two panels—one representing the trade, industry and agriculture, consisting of 60 members and another representing persons with railway experience, consisting of 30 members—are appointed by the Central Government for assisting the Tribunal. The remuneration for a member of these panels is Rs. 50 per day or part of the day, when he is empanelled, plus travelling expenses, if he is a non-official and the actual salary if he is an official.

In a review of the "Indian Railways 1949-50" issued by the Ministry of Railways recently, it is stated that prior and subsequent to the notification of the Railway Rates Tribunal Rules, enquiries from the public were received and considered by the Tribunal and that they were informed that it could take cognizance of complaints, only if they were presented in accordance with the rules. They have been framed rather elaborately, adopting the practices and procedure in a Civil Court and every complainant should deposit Rs. 150 with the application, with a regular scale of

fees for filing cross objections and for legal practitioners for retainer and for each hearing, etc. A few complaints have been received by the Tribunal and its decision in one case referred to it by the Ministry of Railways regarding the classification for cummin seed, white and black, was recently announced in the Press. The Tribunal reopened recently after its long vacation during summer and probably we may hear more about the few other cases, pending before it.

This Tribunal is similar to the Transport Tribunal in the United Kingdom created under Section 72 of the Transport Act 1947, to which the jurisdiction of the Appeal Tribunal under Section 15 of the Road and Rail Traffic Act 1933 and of the Railway and Canal Commission has been transferred. This Tribunal consists of three permanent paid Members, one of whom is experienced in transport business and another in commercial affairs and the Chairman is an experienced lawyer with two panels representing trade and transport. The report of this Tribunal for 1950 is an interesting record of achievement and cases were heard under the six principal legislative measures—the Railways Act 1921; the Railway (Road Transport) Acts 1928; the Railway Freight Rebates Enactments 1929-43; the Road and Rail Traffic Act 1933; the London Passenger Transport Act 1933 and the Transport Act 1947. It is significant that applications under the Railways Act were mainly by the Railway Executive in respect of merchandise classification and exceptional rates. The powers of this Tribunal are comprehensive and during the year 1950, 1127 new applications were lodged, with 99 applications of 1949 pending. How comes it that the Tribunal in the U.K. has its hands full, while its analogue in India is waiting to receive applications, which should be presented in accordance with its rules? The fundamental difference in the organisational set-up of Railways in the U.K. and in India accounts for it. The British Transport Commission, with its railway, road and ports, executives is a statutory body, controlling transport in general, while the Indian Railways are controlled and managed directly by the State. Applications under the Railways Act to the Tribunal in England were

mainly by the Railway Executive, while there is no corresponding body in this country, except the Railway Board, which is under the Ministry of Railways. Applications have to be sponsored by it to keep the Tribunal in this country busy and during the past two years, one or two references were made by the Railway Board to the Tribunal. Commercial organisations can also present applications; but it may be stated that the entire rates structure has been rationalised in this country from October 1948, in such a manner that it can be considered as far simpler than it is in U.K. or U.S.A. Further, in a period of rising prices, the trade is not possibly worried about the incidence of railway freight or conditions of carriage and their main concern is to obtain adequate transport, which is in short supply. If neither the Railway Board nor the trade can file sufficient number of applications according to the rules of the Tribunal, the annual expenditure on its upkeep can hardly be justified. To satisfy an insistent public demand, the Government appointed in 1923 the Railway Rates Advisory Committee, with two full-time Members and a lawyer as Chairman, with a Secretary and the fee for an application was fixed at Rs. 100. For about two years, no applications were filed and the fee was later reduced to Rs. 10. A few complaints were then presented and during its existence for about 22 years, not more than 50 cases came up before it. With this experience of the Rates Advisory Committee before the Government, the Tribunal was constituted, to satisfy the requirements of a new section in the Indian Railways Act. So far as the trading public are concerned, the scale of fees, as well as the labyrinthine procedure, adopted by the Tribunal are unsuited to commercial needs and practice, requiring a summary procedure. Problems in railway rates are largely questions of fact and the present lawyer-ridden constitution of the Tribunal should be brought into line with its analogue in U.K. Whether it can be merged in the proposed "Tariff Commission" in view of the close relation between tariffs, industry and transport as the Inter State Commerce Commission in U.S.A. functions, is worthy of serious consideration.

INTERNATIONAL STORY

By BINOD U. RAO

THE eyes of the Extra Special Correspondent of the *Daily Discovery* shone with the light of victory. Here was not only a story that would shake the world but here was a grand clue to the workings of international espionage that would crashland him onto a patriot's pedestal.

For this west-coast-of-India news-hound smelt a strange odour at this powwow of world theosophists at Adyar, on the river of the same name, in the Cooum-ridden city of Madras. Who was that stocky thickset man with the piercing eyes, mixing so easily with the crowd yet tell-taling high-level political intrigue? Why was he looking *here* and peeping *there*, and whispering into *this* man's ears and looking into *that* man's eyes? His furtive glances and still more furtive movements—what did they tell? *Who* was he? *What* was he? *What* was he *here for*? And *how* was he hoping to achieve what he was *here for*?

Here indeed was a discovery for the *Discovery*. He could not of course hope that it could be a *daily* discovery but, by Krishna, it would be big enough to last for all time. Only that morning his *dear* wife had threatened to desert him unless he wangled a raise in salary—and here, now, was the chance of a lifetime.

But look! this was going to be an even bigger affair than he had thought. For this man in an ascetic's robes—was not his build the build of Stalin? Were not his eyes *his* eyes? But the shape of his mouth—by Rama this time!—was like that of Mao's. Yet his nose—wonder of wonders!—his nose was the nose of Tito, Tito the Marshal.

So Stalin—Mao—Tito—it was becoming slightly confusing, but it was worth it. After all, what was anything worth that was not confusing? What fun would there be his going and reporting to his Editor merely that the world's theosophist leaders attended the convention? But, a Stalin or a Mao, or even a Tito, among theosophists—that was a

story! Yes. **STALIN AMONG THEOSOPHISTS** would be a jolly good headline, a typical *Discovery* headline.

The Extra Special Correspondent was now extra specially excited. For here, within one-tenth of a stone's throw, was the story of a lifetime, the story of a wife-time. The story of stories—the glory of glories—a wondrous tale not a thousand Hollywoods and a thousand Elstrees could have conjured up for their audience.

But wait, the head—that head was not of Stalin, or Mao or Tito. If he knew anything about Nahas Pasha, it was his. Maybe—who could tell—it was Nahas Pasha. All this rumpus about Arab and Jewish State—the Egyptian Prime Minister might be looking round on behalf of the Arabs—who could tell? The world was in such a confused state that anything might be true, anything might happen. Nahas Pasha might happen.

But if Nahas Pasha—yes, why not Truman? The Anglo-American bloc—the Extra Special Correspondent had no particular antipathy to the Anglo-American bloc, but then, as an objective news reporter he was not at war with the Reds and Pinks either, and at any rate he was himself a Communist for the second half of every month—the Anglo-American bloc might very well be spreading its insidious net in the countries of the East through its No. 1 Personality.

To say that the E. S. C. was dizzy with excitement would be a miserable under-statement. You could have knocked him down without a feather. A Stalin among theosophists! A Truman among theosophists! A Mao on the Adyar! Which man with journalistic blood in his veins would not give half his life for a scoop of this kind?

The E. S. C. was in no position—and you will hardly blame him—to think or to will. So he surrendered his will to his feet, which promptly carried him to the nearest telegraph office, from where he sent off express telegrams to the Prime Minister of India

and the Home Minister announcing his startling discovery. In his agitation—and again who will blame him—he repeated the message to the Madras Home Minister, who was in the very city of the E. S. C.'s discovery. As a true patriot—country before self, Prime Minister before Editor, and all that kind of thing—it was not till then that he thought of bunging his story across the wires to his paper on the other side of India.

Then it occurred to him that he might as well see the local Home Minister and let him have it straight from the shoulder. What were his police doing that they should not know a Stalin, etc., among theosophists? Yes, as a patriot he should take that line.

So he took a cab and hurried along the sea-front from Adyar to Fort St. George, and asked for St. George. The Hon'ble Minister, sitting in his office overlooking the sea, was all but drowned in official papers and could ill afford to spare any time just then for the E. S. C. The patriot-journalist, considerably hurt, sent in another card, this time with the endorsement "Have a top secret. Must see you immediately." The Minister being popular though Hon'ble, felt it unwise and unnecessary to resist this importunity and called the E. S. C. in.

The E. S. C. burst in like a typhoon from the Madras beach. He spouted forth wave upon wave of words. The Minister was startled—startled and worried. But he said, as calmly as he could: "Thank you very much for the tip. I shall have it investigated."

This was too much—or rather too little—for the Extra Special Correspondent. A Minister of state reacting so lightly to an event of such tremendous import! A servant of the people not caring for the safety of the people! It was a position which no free citizen of India, no journalist, no patriot could accept.

"If you are doing nothing about it," declared the outraged informant, "the Prime Minister is. The Central Home Minister is. And the *Daily Discovery* is. I've sent SOSs to them. And the foreign spy in our midst will be dealt with."

The Minister's worry grew. But he was worried not about the strange

foreigner whom the smart journalist had spotlighted, but about the smart journalist himself. What if his fevered imagination had affected his cranium? In other words, was he crazy?

The Minister called for a glass of drinking water. He offered it to the visitor.

But the Extra Special Correspondent was in no mood to be so treated. Here was a responsible Minister not only guilty of masterly inactivity in a life-and-death matter but actually suspecting his sanity. What did he mean? He would show him, would teach him a lesson. The interests of the country demanded it, cried for it. If the Minister did not understand, he would... he would....

The E. S. C. rose from the arm of the chair on which he had all the time been poised, to go out of the room—but he found himself being led by a couple of chaps in uniform.

The *Daily Discovery* would not have been the paper it was if it had not screamed as it did the following day about the sensational discovery of a foreign Head of State at a theosophist meeting at Adyar. Headlines which seemed to come out of the paper on which they were printed—phrases that would put some of our present yellow rags to shame—arguments and conclusions which would set one to unthink furiously—heralded the announcement. The paper called for the immediate apprehension and detention of Stalin-Mao-Tito-Nahas Pasha-Truman, for his identification, and for energetic taking up of the matter with the Governments concerned. The paper expressed great indignation at the failure of the governmental machinery both at the Centre and in the States to prevent and forestall sabotage of this most dangerous kind. "The present Government must go," it declared. "It has proved itself totally unfit to govern. The people are fed up. Let the people govern. We are the voice of the people. Let us govern. Let honest, decent, clean journalists like those who run this paper, with a guaranteed circulation of less than two million—let them govern. We have been following too soft a policy,

too long a time. It is time the long handle was used. Use it. Go to war—it does not matter with whom, but go to war.”

Meanwhile the subject of this country-wide furore had been detained for investigation in the ordinary course. The *Daily Discovery* gloated over this as the first step in the achievement of the programme it had outlined. “GOVERNMENT YIELDS TO PUBLIC DEMANDS FOR EXPOSURE OF FOREIGN PLOTS AGAINST INDIA,” it proudly declaimed, and forecast further spectacular developments which would change the face of the world.

Not only the Indian Press but the world Press was agog. The fact that this strange foreigner was discovered in an Indian city at the same time when all the heads of the States associated with him were reported to be holidaying in some “secret place” rendered the situation particularly piquant. Day after day the columns of the papers in the countries concerned bulged with speculation, suspicion, advice, argument and counter argument, innuendos and demands for “clearing the air.” The Press of one country suggested that here was the man who should be made King of all the world while the Press of another country demanded his immediate liquidation—serve him right if he was Head of a State—but both proposals were promptly vetoed by the Soviet Press. Readers joined in the fray. Day after day the rumpus continued.

The stranger was taken to the Indian capital for identification. He spoke little but he spoke Russian, Chinese, Yugoslav, Arabic and American, all fluently. He intrigued everybody. The Russian Ambassador vigorously vetoed any suggestion that he was Stalin. The Ambassador of the Chinese People's Republic affirmed that he was no Mao. The Yugoslav Ambassador declared that this certainly was not Tito. The Egyptian envoy had not seen the man in his

From the influenceability of ministers there follows another danger, that of the “slick” officer who attempts to ingratiate himself with the legislator by doing him favours and anticipating his wishes in order to use him, that is, his influence with the Ministry, for his own advancement. Of such too, in many places, examples are not lacking.—*Gorwala Report.*

life. The United States Ambassador was willing not only to eat his own hat but to lick all the saffron off the stranger's robes even if he was half as True as Truman.

With the position thus deadlocked at this end, the scene shifted to the capitals of the countries involved in the controversy. Foreign Ministries everywhere were intrigued, worried and desperate, but none could confirm or deny the hundreds of rumours that were being bandied about—could do nothing to dispel international turmoil.

And meanwhile worldwide excitement continued. A great shadow hung over the international horizon. Diplomats meeting at the different confabulations of the United Nations looked askance at one another, and at all their meetings an unseen thirteenth delegate caused confusion and dissension. The world held its breath in an unutterable tension.

Suddenly one day the mist cleared. Each Foreign Office announced the safe and happy return of its Head of State. They announced much more. They proclaimed the signature, in New Delhi, of a Pact of Friendship—heralding a new Golden Age—between all these countries including India. The secret holiday resort had been New Delhi.

But the answer yet remained to be given to the question who was this strange foreigner at Adyar so enterprisingly discovered by the *Daily Discovery*?

An Indian yogi who had lived for some years in the U. S. A. and had been sent out to India as a Gallup Poll agent to answer the main question “How many people have seen the Aga Khan by moonlight?” and subsidiary questions arising therefrom. But the yogi had had to give up his assignment midway after being spotted by his wife No. 1 from Kumbakonam, who demanded restitution or maintenance.

PRE-ELECTION PARLEYS IN CEYLON

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

THE political atmosphere in Ceylon generally serio-comic in character suddenly turned serious in the second week of July as an important Minister who was also the Leader of the House resigned just before the budget session of the House of Representatives. Though an immediate crisis during the budget debate was skilfully avoided by the Government, it is now permanently on tenterhooks with its precarious majority.

Some facts about the disposition of the parties in Ceylon's House of Representatives would make the picture clear. After the elections in 1947, the United National Party, now running the Government, had only won forty-two seats out of 101 in the House of Representatives, and could form the Government only with the help of a few independents looping them in with baits of office. But even as it was, the United National Party was not a single political party with a long history or tradition. It was a conglomerate organization formed just before the elections in 1946 and had two constituent units, the main part consisting of the United Nationalists like the Premier Senanayake, who were formerly members of the Ceylon National Congress and the Sinhala Mahasabha, led by Mr. Bandaranaike. Of the forty-two seats sixteen seats were won by the primary members of the Sinhala Mahasabha.

The Sinhala Mahasabha group in the U. N. P. did not have a lot of common ground with the U.N.P. But the party, as a whole, carried on the Government with the independents, since the alternative to that was the loss of governmental power by the U. N. P. and the enthroning of the Leftist opposition. But during the last two years, the differences between the Sinhala Sabha leader in the Cabinet, Mr. Bandaranaike and the U.N.P. strong men, Premier D. S. Senanayake and Sir John Kotelawala, quite often came to a head and a Cabinet crisis was avoided with great difficulty. There was first of all the dispute between Mr. Bandaranaike,

the Minister of Health and Local Government and Sir John Kotelawala, the Minister of Transport and Works, as to who was in charge of village committee roads. Later, there were funny speculations as to who would be the next Premier, when Mr. Senanayake vacated his seat. Quite early this year, Mr. Bandaranaike started a lively controversy by announcing that he wanted some special protection for Buddhism. During the last two months, the Minister of Health brought matters to a crisis when he said during a speech that the U.N.P. Government had done nothing for the people and he was ashamed to say so. This created a storm of protests and many Government spokesmen asked him to resign if he felt that he or his Government had done nothing for the people.

But the storm matured and broke only just a month ago early in July when the Sinhala Mahasabha, under the Presidentship of Mr. Bandaranaike held its annual session in Madampe, passed seven important resolutions of policy and asked the Government to implement them. The more important of them asked the Government to give special protection to Buddhism, to forthwith make Sinhalese and Tamil the State languages and to abolish racing and to introduce prohibition. As against this, the Premier had made it already clear that no religion could be given any special status or made the State religion, that the languages could be adopted as State languages only slowly and that racing and drink, though evils, could not be immediately abolished. So when the resolutions were presented, the U.N.P. Working Committee rejected them unceremoniously and the deputation from the Sinhala Mahasabha to the Premier met with no better success. Therefore the President of the Sinhala Mahasabha, Mr. Bandaranaike, was left with no other alternative except to resign. He did it quite dramatically just on the night before the presentation of the budget.

and before the budget debate and took his seat with the opposition.

For a week, the Parliament was tense with drama with members crossing the floor with people crowding the Visitors' Gallery and the Government worried about its precarious majority. The debate on the budget was notable for its inconsequential irrelevance. The topic of the day was the resignation of the erstwhile leader of the House and the walk-over with him of some members to the Opposition benches. The ex-Minister stole the show from the Finance Minister by making a long statement about the causes of his resignation. Discussion inside and outside the House centred round this and the possible fall of the Government. After a week at last it was found that in a House of 100, the Government could command a majority of ten or so. Government spokesmen thereafter gathered confidence and one of them claimed that the Government was as stable as Sripada, the holy peak in Ceylon and a place of pilgrimage.

As usual, the really interesting part of the discussion was personal. To understand the nature of such personal exchanges in Ceylon one must bear in mind that the political history of Ceylon made it almost inevitable. Under the Donoughmore Constitution, the State Council which was the legislative body then was divided into seven committees and each elected its chairman, who was equivalent to a Minister. There was no obligation of Cabinet solidarity among these seven Ministers and each was independent. Each in turn aspired to lead and one pertinent feature of the Donoughmore days in Ceylon was the ridiculous rivalry between all the Ministers. When the late Mr. Satyamurti visited Ceylon in 1939, he said that the one chief feature of Ceylon politics was that each Minister complained bitterly of every other Minister. But most of the personal rivalries have by now died down, and just a few remain to lend colour to Ceylon politics. Baron Jayatilaka, who was the dominating figure in Ceylon politics had two chief followers, Mr. Bandaranaike and Mr. Senanayake, of whom the former was fully confident that he was going to be the successor. But Jayatilaka had to quit politics due to an unfortunate

incident and Senanayake very easily became the leader in Ceylon politics since he kept himself generally independent and also built a strong band of followers round him, including Sir John Kotelawala, the present leader of the House and Mr. Jayawardane, the Finance Minister. Mr. Bandaranayake kept aloof and built his own small following, but in the Cabinet he soon saw that he was not the chief man and when finally the breakdown came he walked out brusquely.

The ex-Minister pompously told the House that in resigning his post he had conquered himself. But the Government spokesmen made fun of him as having resigned out of personal pique. Some told him that since he was not nominated as the successor of the present Premier, he resigned. Others said that he had played into the hands of the Marxist opposition. The ex-Minister, of course, had his answer and counter-charges for all these.

But even in the Opposition he feels not quite at home. Though he has often publicly admitted the good points of Communism, he is no Marxist himself. On the other hand, his

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trump card is mainly the chauvinistic cry of a special status for Buddhism, the religion of the majority and the raising of Sinhalese to the supreme position as the State language. The anti-religious Marxist parties in the Opposition, like the L.S.S.P., will not agree to that. Also his communal tendencies, at one time very rabid indeed, will not endear him to the Indian Congress members. Mr. Bandaranayake himself understands his anomalous position and is forming a centre party with a welfare state, based on Buddhism and the middle way and admitting non-Sinhalese as well into its fold.

But the other Opposition parties are also now throwing themselves together with a view to defeat the Government at least in the next elections. The Marxist opposition parties, namely the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja

Party and the Communist Party, are having unity talks for the past one month and are trying to evolve a united front. The lesser leftist parties are also merging, namely the Mahajana Peramuna and the Republican Party. The present Government is therefore trying its best to win the next elections by trying to please at least some minorities, notably the Muslims. The rightist press here, which mainly supports the present Government has conspired to decry the ex-Minister and has described all moves for left unity as an effort to end democracy and betray Ceylon to Russia by the leftists. But apart from the lurid pictures drawn of Ceylon under the leftists, the people in many places are tired of the present Government. The coming election in Ceylon will be the most hotly fought one in her history.

ATOMIC ENERGY—THE GOOD IT CAN DO BY 2000 A.D.

By Dr. GERALD WENDT

IT is easy to have high hopes for the year 2000. Then there will begin not only a new century but a new millenium. And it is not far off. Many of our present children will live to see it. More and more during the next 50 years they will hope that the millenium will bring a new era of peace and happy living.

Atomic energy is ready to do its part to justify that hope. It could furnish plenty of energy to do the world's work. When it does, industry and prosperity will not be confined to those few nations that have coal and oil underground. Nations will then use atomic fuels, which can easily and cheaply be brought anywhere on earth. One kilogram of this fuel is no bigger than a small lemon, but it can generate as much power as 3,300 tons of coal.

From this single fact comes the prospect of steel mills in South America, of cotton mills in Egypt, chemical industries in India and Indonesia, fertilizer manufacture throughout Asia and therefore better crops and more food. Atomic fuels can provide warmth in cold climates and air-cooling in the tropics, and, above all,

electricity for cities and homes of all the world. They can bring good highways and electric railroads, vast irrigation projects in areas now arid, new mines and forest development, more productive farms and better living. All these, for most of the world, depend on a new supply of energy. It will come from the uranium atom.

It is energy that does work and produces goods. A small tractor now does the work of 100 horses but needs no food except gasoline. A steam engine on a railroad train, or in a factory, has the power of a thousand horses and gets its energy from cheap coal. Present industrial civilization is based on these fuels. But where coal is not cheap, industry can use atomic fuels and engines that have the power of 10,000 or more horses. Working day and night without tiring, atomic power can produce materials, the clothes, and the comfort that men need in every land from Alaska and Siberia to the Antarctic and around the globe.

Atomic energy will benefit most the countries that lack coal and oil. So it is important that the United States has offered to turn over its knowledge

and facilities to the United Nations, provided only that they will not be used as weapons in warfare. With the resources and vast promise of atomic energy under the control of the United Nations, and with the possibility of wars ended, world-wide industry and world prosperity could come long before the year 2,000.

Meanwhile, American research on atomic engines continues. Gordon Dean, chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission, estimates that nearly three-quarters of all the research expenditures and results will be of value to peaceful uses and to other nations. This shows a faith that the new atomic materials can be used for the good of humanity.

If that is justified, then other predictions are possible. Aviation, for instance, could enter a new era if the planes could use atomic engines. Flying would be cheap and universal. A great trans-ocean plane now can carry 10,000 gallons of gasoline, which weigh 20 tons. With atomic engines the fuel need weigh less than an ounce or 10 to 20 grams. Then the same plane would lift 30 additional tons of cargo or the weight of 300 passengers. Elimination of the heavy load of fuel would make flying as cheap as any other form of transportation. The human race could take to wings as freely as it now takes to wheels.

In addition, such planes could fly farther. They need never run out of fuel or stop for refueling. Such engines, it is true, are not yet developed, but it is important to remember that 50 years ago flying was impossible and the first brave flight across the Atlantic was made only 32 years ago.

The distinguished Danish scientist, Niels Bohr, has said: "It surpasses the imagination of anyone to survey the consequences of this project in years to come, when the enormous energy resources may be expected to revolutionize industry and transportation." The revolution in transportation will be universal. Safe and cheap flying will make the world one community. It will have its greatest effect in countries of great distances, such as Brazil, Argentine, Arabia, and Australia.

But an application of atomic energy that is often discussed will probably not happen. Atomic engines and fuels

are not likely to be used on a small scale. There will probably be no atom-powered automobiles, no atomic stoves for the home, no atomic flatirons, or lamps. This is because part of the energy released from the fuel is in the form of harmful rays. In large engines and in factories these rays can be absorbed in thick walls, but in any small unit they are dangerous. Thus in the home, atomic energy will be used indirectly, as electricity or as steam that is generated in an atomic powerhouse and distributed to cities, towns, and factories through wires or pipes.

These uses of atomic energy will make life in the next century far different from what it is now. But a still greater revolution will come in other ways—through the information that the new atomic materials are now giving to research men in medicine, agriculture, chemistry and physics. They provide a new instrument for investigation which reveals as

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much as did the invention of the microscope long ago.

Nobody knows, for instance, how green plants use the energy of sunshine to build their leaves and stems and fruits from water and the carbon dioxide of the air. Yet this process is basic to all life. Without it there would be no plants, and without plants no animal could live. The world would be dead. Today this mystery is being solved by means of carbon which has been charged with energy in the atomic furnaces and thereafter emits rays that betray its presence wherever it goes. Such carbon, in the form of carbon dioxide gas, is being used to trace the course of chemical reactions in living plants. Long before the year 2000 we shall know their secret.

Medical research, too, is using the energy-packed and radiating atoms in the study of cancer and of other diseases. It is safe to predict that during the next 50 years both old age and death will be long postponed. Most people will live almost 80 years and the feebleness of age will not

strike them until near the end. All this means larger, happier families and a longer, richer life for our children.

One can speculate, too, that by the end of the century atomic-powered rockets will enable men to leave the earth behind and to cruise through the space between the planets. But this article is not speculative and looks forward only to that which can be reasonably foreseen.

There is ample uranium for atomic fuels in Canada and the Congo, as well as in the United States. There is thorium, another potential fuel, in India and in Brazil—enough to supply all the energy needs of the world for several centuries to come. The great promise of atomic energy is that it could speed an age of plenty, plenty of power and production, plenty of food and health, plenty of life and leisure. It could be the greatest asset of the United Nations for making a better world. It could bring a true millenium even before this century ends.



M. S. Venkataramani of 'The Hindu' recording in London a talk in Tamil, for the 'Tamilosal' programme of the BBC. Right is Mrs. Leela Gopalan of 'Tamilosal'

SIDELIGHTS :

I love the sight of agony and the sense of joy.

If that be another's and this mine.

—SHELLEY.

THE Krishna Pennar Project has a misleading name. It ought to be called the Chingleput, South Arcot Rehabilitation Project. The nimble intellect of Sri Bhaktavatsalam, the architect of the project, has conceived the idea of taking the waters of the Krishna, across two reservoirs, to a distance of over 700 miles, to irrigate the lands of his native district and of South Arcot. In the matter of propriety, it is something like taking the waters of the Cauveri to irrigate Vizagapatam! In our river valley civilization, the people living in the valleys have certain natural and inherent rights to the waters of the rivers flowing in them. To divert the flow of water in one river to the detriment of the people inhabiting its valley for the benefit of others dwelling in a remote and distant valley, is a form of robbery worse than looting, and it is never practised on the strong and the self-reliant, able to take care of what belongs to them. The Krishna Pennar Project, seeking as it does to divert the waters of the Krishna in the Andhra area, to an entirely different and distant valley, is an indication of the miserable weakness of the Andhras. The Andhra ministers of the Madras Government who have consented to the wholesale spoliation involved in the project, are really enemies in disguise of the people whose leaders they profess to be.

It is noteworthy that a conference was lately held of representatives of the various States interested in the waters of the Godavari and the Krishna. The conference was in response to the Planning Commission's suggestion that State irrigation schemes should not violate the rights of other States to their respective shares of the waters of the rivers brought under the scope of such schemes. It was resolved at the conference that the Madras Government have a right to the use of only

40 per cent of the water of the Godavari and 47 per cent of the water of the Krishna. In view of the fact that the Andhra districts constitute a potential State within the area now controlled by the Madras Government, and the whole course of the Krishna represented by the allocation of 47 per cent of its waters to the Madras Government, runs in the Andhra area, the true position of Sri Bhaktavatsalam as P. W. D. Minister is that of trustee over the allocated water for the benefit of the potential and inevitable Andhra State. But the trustee plans to swallow the trust property taking advantage of his temporarily privileged position. Had the Andhra State already come into existence by now, Sri Bhaktavatsalam or any other Public Works Minister of the residuary Tamil State, would have no voice at all in the disposal of the waters of the Krishna. That is perhaps why he is so averse to take time by the forelock and establish by possession a right to the control of the Krishna before the emergence on the scene of the Andhra State as the rightful owner. Perhaps that is also why the Madras Government opposed the Bill prepared by the Central Government taking to themselves the power to deal with inter-State river valley projects so as to assure proper protection to the rights and interests of the people in the valleys, concerned in the projects.

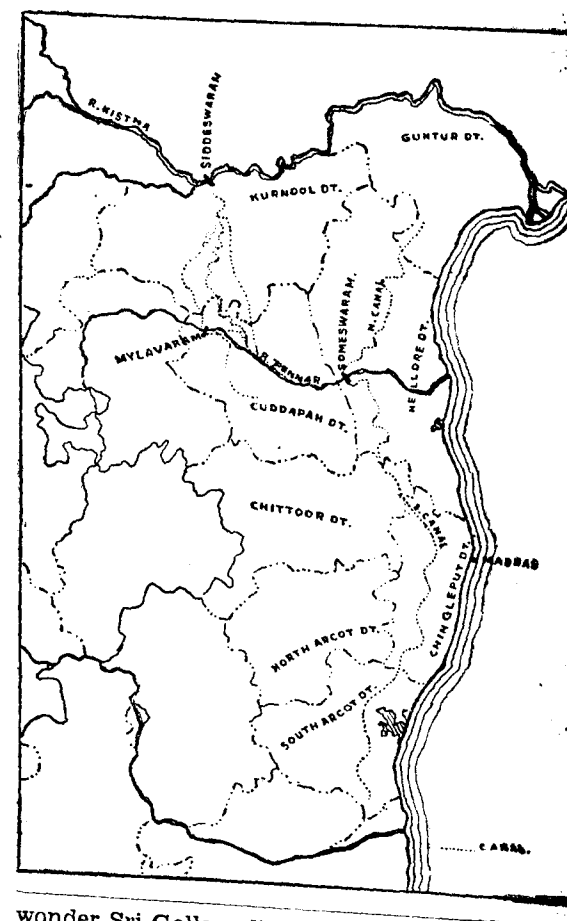
The Krishna-Pennar Project is estimated to cost Rs. 150 crores. It is apprehended by competent experts that actually the cost may go up to Rs. 200 crores. The project is likely to take 25 years to be completed. It involves the construction of 2 reservoirs, one at Siddeswaram and the other at Someswaram, the cutting down of a huge mountain, submersion of rich fertile lands and gardens and the diversion of water to a distance hundreds of miles away preventing the construction of any ramified network of canals in the neighbourhood of the river. It is expected, when completed, to irrigate 28 lakhs of acres but it is doubtful if

the expectation will be realised, as an enormous quantity of the water, not less than 17 per cent according to knowledgeable critics, will disappear through evaporation. The Krishna Pennar Project completely sabotages the Krishna Pulichintala Project, from every point of view its superior, designed by Col. Ellis and Mr. Mallings, the renowned engineers who were the planners of the Mettur Project over the Cauveri.

There are at least 40 lakhs of acres of irrigable land in Cuddapah, Kurnool, Nellore, Guntur and Krishna districts which can be brought under cultivation if water can be provided at a low cost. The Krishna Pulichintala Project, which was recommended in 1910 and has not yet been taken up, sought to provide for this need. It will not cost more than Rs. 20 crores. It can be completed in three years. It is capable of generating 1 lakh kilowatts of electricity. It will irrigate 9 lakhs of acres of new lands, and 7 lakhs of acres of second crop lands, and it is capable of being further extended to irrigate an additional area of 10 lakhs of acres. It is estimated to produce 12,50,000 tons of paddy. There will be no room for all this in the Krishna river valley if the Krishna Pennar Project comes into operation, as the project will utilise the whole of the 47 per cent of the waters of the Krishna allocated to Madras State.

The Krishna Pulichintala Project is cheap and fit for expeditious completion. The Krishna Pennar Project is top-heavy, costly, and will take a quarter century to complete. The cost per acre of the former is half that of the latter. The heavy cost that will have to be borne under the Krishna Pennar Project is not only unnecessary, the project will perpetrate the terrible injustice of permanently diverting a huge quantity of the water of the Krishna to other regions which have no right to it, to the hurt of the people of the Krishna river valley whose natural right to it is unquestionable.

In this as in other matters the Andhra ministers have failed to justify themselves. They have become a menace to the welfare of the very community they profess to serve. No



wonder Sri Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri, a patriot if there is one, feels present conditions intolerable and has resolved to throw his very life into the balance in the attempt to end them and wrest some good out of independence to our woefully mis-governed people.

Our main problems are poverty, unemployment, hunger, industrial stagnation, decline in administrative efficiency. These will not be solved merely by the formation of linguistic States. But multi-lingual States cannot be sustained by clannish ministers with no sense of fairness towards the people of linguistic regions other than their own, in the area subject to their administrative control. The horrible grabbing spirit of ministers like Sri Bhaktavatsalam is not conducive to inter-linguistic harmony. It will only provoke the martyr's wrath to resist its rapacity to the last drop of his life-breath.—SAKA.

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.

Lost Patience

It is regrettable that our Congressmen, after having fought with the mighty British with such patience and endurance, should now lose their temper so easily even at the mere shouts of a handful of immature young students. Is it that they exhausted all their patience and endurance during their fight for freedom? Or is it that power has made them forget their past and changed their character? Can't our Congressmen tackle such situations by using a little more tact? Why should they go in for police help? Is it for their own protection? The way in which our Congressmen should teach discipline to young men is not by retaliating but by tactfully solving the just demands of the young men. One day or other power will pass on to some who are now immature young men. If they should rule badly, posterity will blame not the rulers but the Congressmen who guided them and trained them in such a bad way. Besides ruling the country, it is the duty of the ruling leaders to put the younger generation in the right path. Our leaders should regain their lost patience by remembering their past glorious histories.

W. V. RANGA RAO.

Chatrapur.

Telugu Script Reform

Much progress has been made in the scripts of various languages all over the world but it is a pity that practically no effort has been made to reform the Telugu script.

The printers in Andhra are facing a terrible handicap in that they are unable to put up any decent display work. The various type foundries too are not able to prepare new faces of type due to the large number of characters in Telugu type. Telugu linguists, literary men and research scholars should bestow serious thought on this important problem, in the solution of which lies the future of Telugu language and Telugu literature. Printers and publishers in Andhra should play their role with dignity and enthusiasm to give their unstinted support to any deserving venture in the direction of reforming the Telugu script.

May I appeal to the Madras Government, the Telugu Academy, the Andhra University and other Sahitya sabhas in Andhra to focus their attention on this much needed reform. A conference of all those that are interested in this reform may be convened at an early date and a

small sub-committee may be set up. Sri Gopala Reddi should undertake this task as he is playing the triple role of being the leader of the Assembly, Pro-Chancellor of the Andhra University and the President of the Telugu Academy.

Recently the Madras Government passed orders directing all Governmental records in Tamil to be printed in the reformed Tamil script prepared as per the recommendations of the sub-committee set up by them. When shall Andhra march abreast of the times?

J. V. APPIAH SASTRY,
Jt. Secretary, Andhra Printers' Association.

Guntur.

Sales Tax In Madras

Under the present interpretation of the Madras General Sales Tax Rules, all dealers who have got themselves registered under the Sales Tax Act will have to pay sales-tax even for the amount of sales tax collected by them as agents of the Government. This has deprived the average citizen of confidence in the Congress regime.

Peelameedu.

T. K. SUNDARAM.

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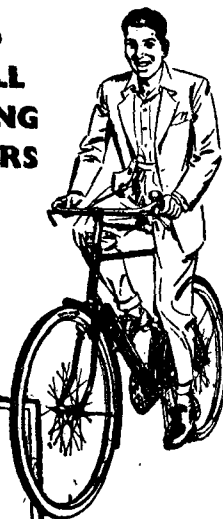
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SWATANTRA

VOL. VI. NO. 29.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1951

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SWAMI SITARAM

SRI Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri has lately assumed the name and title of Swami Sitaram. He was a lawyer before he took to politics, and probably the most lucrative legal practice in Guntur district belonged to him at the time of the inauguration of Gandhiji's non-cooperation programme. In response to the Mahatma's appeal he gave up his profession and threw himself into social service. Since then he never looked back. The momentum of his social effort plunged him into a discipline of ever-increasing simplicity of life until finally it made a sanyasin of him. His wants are few. He has no family ties. Having through non-possession refined himself into a saint, he has reached the stage of unbelievable indifference to the appetites of the flesh from which the only further progress left is in the direction of martyrdom. He looks on life and death with calm equanimity and the fears that oppress ordinary mortals do not touch him.

It is now a week since Swami Sitaram started an indefinite fast by way of Satyagraha to impel the authorities concerned to bring into being the long-promised Andhra State. Pandit Nehru is reported to have conveyed through the Chief Minister of Madras a message to the Swami disapproving of fasting as a method of finding a solution for political problems. The Prime Minister seems to have suggested that if more or less agreed proposals are put forward before the Government of India, the latter would be willing to act on them and create the Andhra State within the terms of the policy embodied in the Congress Election Manifesto. Though Swami

Sitaram is an enthusiast for linguistic provinces, he has not arrived at his present resolve of Satyagraha merely to compel executive compliance for a cherished political desire of his own. Pandit Nehru's admonition not to mix fasting with political ends does not fully comprehend the object of Swami Sitaram's endeavour. He has arrived at the conception that it is his duty to stake his life to secure the Andhra Province, not under the pressure of political ideas or ambitions, but in the stress of sad experience of the growing misery of the people (without any hope of redemption), in the present set-up of government. More than a demand for a rearrangement of administrative areas is involved in his fast. It is a demand primarily for better government, a revolt against the corruptions that have rendered the present regime so barren, unpromising and intolerable.

We for our part have not slipped into the general current of excitement over the redistribution of territory on linguistic lines. We hold that the integration of provincial life into a unifying national consciousness is more important than the division of national consciousness into its component separate units. But worthy ministers with a proper sense of national citizenship are required if people dwelling in multi-lingual States are to progress in amity. Unfortunately the type of minister that has emerged after freedom has been one incapable of fairplay in inter-linguistic relations. Though Andhra and Tamil ministers tour in all districts of the State, their interest is not uniform over the whole of its territory. There are sub-regional

passions and loyalties within the structure of the State Government, and the stronger members of the Cabinet have shown no hesitation in concentrating excessive benefits on their own native districts, oftentimes round about their own patrimonies. The temporariness of the Tamil-Andhra association was emphasised by the abortive attempt towards Andhra separation made in Sardar Patel's life-time. Since then the spirit of grab has pervaded the partners, with the weaker section helpless and the stronger victorious in every matter of vital value involved in the administration. Though freedom under Congress rule has brought all-round general deterioration, the deterioration in Andhra has been many degrees worse than in Tamil Nadu. Feeble and unsure of themselves the Andhra ministers have maintained themselves in their positions with the easy expedient of surrender in every major conflict. They made up for lack of local support with extraneous alliances which have proved disastrous to the means and rights of the area supposed to be

served by them. Exasperation over this state of affairs has accentuated afresh the clamour for the Andhra Province. Swami Sitaram is no more than its powerful apostle. But no less.

It is not possible to frighten Swami Sitaram. He is impervious to ridicule. Fear of being isolated does not daunt him. He is that most invincible of the standard-bearers of agitations, a sincere fanatic. Ruthless ministers like Sri Bhaktavatsalam and, vain and weak ones like Sri Gopala Reddi have already brought Andhra-Tamil relations, so full of brotherly goodwill before their advent as ministers, to a dreadful mess. It is horrible to contemplate the chaos that will ensue if Sri Sitaram should achieve the crown of martyrdom without fulfilment of his mission. The cynic might doubt whether a lesser chaos will signalise the triumph of the Andhra Province demand. But at least the Andhras will have the satisfaction then that their ministers cannot go outside to sell them, and will have to come back to them to survive.

Sotto Voce

YOKED OXEN



WAS it the Election Commissioner indulging in a bit of leg-pulling, or was it Fate? The Congress has been allotted the symbol of a pair of yoked bullocks. There were far too many applicants for the plough and so that uncouth agricultural implement had to fade out in the interests of amity. That is the official explanation. But one cannot help asking

why the plough could not have stood by itself on the mast-head of one of the parties. True, it would not be of much use in the fields without bullocks. But Bala Rama found in it, you will remember, an unanswerable argument against every kind of impertinence.

Our agrarian revolutionaries, for

instance, who make no fetish of non-violence, might have chosen it with more propriety than the fashionable and foreign hammer and sickle in one of their many permutations. The Congress, of course, could have no truck with anything remotely savouring of blood-letting. But was it necessary to suggest that it wears today the aspect of doleful dejection or hint prophetically that it may be put on the shelf? If any of my urban readers considers this fanciful let him hie to the nearest village and quitting his lazy bed of a morning walk towards the fields at puddling time.

He will meet one of the most melancholy sights in creation—plough oxen dragging themselves home, all energy spent, but still bearing the yoke because their lord and master has been either too lazy to unyoke them or too thrifty of his strength to saddle himself with a burden which they might as well carry. There they march dolefully in step, like any suburban couple bowed down by the weight of custom. They may cordially hate each other in their dull bovine way, but they are so used to each other's company that they cannot imagine a separate existence. And the yoke, for them, is a part of the natural order of things. Long since departed is their morning freshness which made them toss their pretty heads in ritual protest against the constraining bar.

Oxen yoked but to no plough—a perfect symbol of organisation without purpose. That is the Congress today. Our politics were born in frustration, were cradled in frustration and are being smothered in frustration. Of his Captain Ahab Herman Melville said, "The White Whale swam before him as the monomaniac incarnation of all those malicious agencies which some deep men feel eating in them, till they are left living on with half a heart and half a lung." The white man in the days of his glory excited much the same sentiments in the breasts of our politicians. But their hates, unlike Ahab's, were shallow. And now, caught on the rebound, they seem to love the

departed foe almost as cordially as they hate each other.

Kidwai snarling at Tandon, Kripalani stuttering his rage against almighty Jove, Nehru sullen and school-masterish by turns, and the party-bosses wringing their hands in helpless dismay—it is a scene that calls for the brush of a Durer or a Rembrandt. "When you are in difficulties call a committee," runs the hoary Congress adage. And so we shall have another pow-vow at the Capital, perhaps decked out with more lavish circumstance than Nasik or Bangalore saw. But, as for relieving Congress in extremis, the proverbial ginger-brew for the man who had swallowed a crow-bar would be far more effective.

There is organisation and organisation. There is the organisation of the inert stone; there is the organisation of the beehive or of Soviet Russia; and there is the perfect fellowship of integrated free individuals which has been the dream of all the philosophers. But all successful organisation has one thing in common. And that is an intense conviction—the spark in the heart of the dead inertia of Nature, the imperious will to survive that is sealed in the worship of the Queen Bee or the Man of Steel and the profound realisation of the Vedic seer that fear is at the root of all evil. Nihilism is the Deadly Sin.

Is it an accident that Congress, mumbling all the time of production, has fared like the mother-in-law in the fable who starved herself to death happy in the thought that the hated daughter-in-law must follow constrained by good manners? It has hamstrung agriculture in the name of social justice, State finances in the name of Prohibition, common honesty in the name of controls. For every one of these shibboleths it has evoked the sanction of a Dead Hand. Seeing the populace stupefied by drums and incense, *pujaris* worshipping at other shrines lustily sing the same song. The protests of the still small voice have little chance of being heard in the din.

VIGNESWARA.

HEADMASTER THROWS UP JOB IN DESPAIR AND PROTEST

By T. V. RAMACHANDRAN

EVER since the advent of Swaraj, there has been an unholy tendency for provincial legislators and M.L.As to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the departmental officers, hampering them in the official discharge of their duties. During the last Ministry, things reached such a stage that Sri Omandur Ramaswami Reddiar had to utter a dire warning to the local, town and district Congress committee members and presidents to keep off nosing into the internal administration of local officers.

Not only in the field of provincial administration but in local bodies such as the district boards and municipalities, a similar unhealthy tendency has crept in on the part of municipal commissioners and district board presidents to encroach on the jurisdiction of the headmasters. Of late there have been many such instances of interference in the spheres of work of local board headmasters in matters of admission of pupils and promotions to higher forms.

On top of these instances of municipal and executive interference in the work of the headmasters, comes the painful story of the headmaster of the Mayuram Municipal High School, Mr. N. S. Krishnamurthy Aiyar, after 27 years of honoured service under circumstances which only go to show that the rot has set in and that no self-respecting headmaster can continue to serve, unless he sinks to a zero and allows himself to be a plaything of local board politicians and executive heads.

Mr. N. S. Krishnamurthy Aiyar, as a worthy successor of that eminent headmaster of the last generation Sri R. Raghava Iyengar, has carried on the high traditions of the Municipal High School, Mayuram, during a period of 27 years, 20 years as an assistant and 7 years as headmaster. During the past 7 years of his regime the school has been maintaining a high level of results in the S.S.L.C. examination and even in the recent S. S. L. C. public examination, out of

184 pupils that sat for the examination 181 came out successful.

At a time when the whole town of Mayuram was ringing with the glowing record of results set up by the High School and when the parents and the public were expecting the Municipal Council to pass a resolution in appreciation of the glorious service of the headmaster and his staff, there came out, like a bolt from the blue, the mailed fist of the Commissioner. It appears that the Commissioner's son was reading in the Second Form of the Municipal High School, and on one occasion the drill master of the School had punished him along with some other boys for staying away from the physical education class. The Commissioner got scent of the incident in the drill class and sent a note to the headmaster urging upon him to get an explanation from the physical education teacher. Immediately after the incident the teacher concerned submitted his explanation and met the Commissioner in person. The Commissioner scolded him outright and sent him away and called upon the headmaster to take disciplinary action against the teacher. The headmaster felt that he was not justified in taking disciplinary action under the circumstances and he took no further action.

Thus began a stage of strained relations between the Municipal Commissioner and the headmaster. Soon after, another incident took place which still further embittered these relations. It seems that Sri S. Gopala Iyer, a secondary grade assistant of the High School was giving private tuition to the Commissioner's son and three other boys in whom he was not taking so much interest as in the case of the Commissioner's son. On a complaint from the three boys that they were neglected by the teacher, the headmaster had to intervene and preach a sermon to the teacher on the importance of duty and impartiality in his attitude towards the boys. The teacher concerned of course took this matter to the notice of the Commis-

sioner and contributed his share in adding fuel to the fire.

On the re-opening of the High School on 13th June 1951, the local sub-magistrate of Mayuram, a Muslim gentleman, sent his office attender with a Nadar boy for admission into the Sixth Form of the High School, though in fact the boy seeking admission had failed in the October examination of 1950. The District Educational Officer's circular was very clear on the point that no failed S.S.L.C. candidate shall seek readmission into a High School and so the headmaster refused admission. The infuriated sub-magistrate brought pressure upon the local Public Prosecutor to meet the Municipal Commissioner in this connection and exert his influence upon the headmaster for getting admission to the boy. Soon after this incident the headmaster had to meet the Commissioner in connection with the appointment of a Tamil pandit for the School, when the Commissioner treated him with scant courtesy and threatened that he would sack the headmaster as he had sacked another headmaster Sri Vedaratnam at Bellary (where he had been a commissioner) unless the headmaster came to his senses and obliged the sub-magistrate by admitting the boy in the Sixth Form. The headmaster, however, could not yield in the matter because the rules concerning admission were explicit.

Thereafter not a day passed without some petty pin-prick or snub being administered to the headmaster hampering him in the day-to-day administration of the School. Day in and day out, councillors came pouring with recommendations for some boy or other. Some of the councillors even went to the length of urging upon the headmaster the desirability of admitting all the boys from the elementary schools without an entrance test. At this time the Commissioner managed to get a requisition from about 15 councillors using the name of the sub-magistrate for transferring the headmaster from Mayuram to Koranad Municipal High School and orders were passed at 3 p.m. on the 25th June 1951 to take effect the very same evening. At a time when the people of the locality were eloquent with praise for the brilliant achievements of the High School, the head-

master got this unexpected kick. A special meeting was held the same evening and a resolution was passed for admitting all boys from municipal elementary schools into the High School. The Commissioner ought to have pointed out to the council that this resolution was in open contravention of the Madras Educational Rules. The Public Prosecutor had a son for whom admission could not be got when Mr. N. S. Krishnamurthy Iyer was the headmaster because he had failed thrice in the entrance test. He easily got into the High School immediately after the transfer was effected, because the first thing that the Commissioner did on passing orders of transfer was to exert pressure on the probationary headmaster so as to secure admission for the son of the Public Prosecutor without any entrance test.

Even after the transfer to Koranad Municipal High School, the Commissioner's vendetta closely followed the unhappy headmaster to his new office. Even there he was not allowed peace or freedom to carry on his duties. The threats of the Commissioner, his daily interference in the smooth administration of the School and the transfers effected, exhausted the limit of human patience and resulted in creating in the headmaster a feeling that it was no longer possible for him to continue to serve with self respect or dignity. He therefore resigned.

The resignation of the headmaster came as a shock to the student population of Mayuram. The teachers of the Tanjore District Guild met under the presidentship of Mr. Amaldasan, headmaster of Mannargudi High School, to consider the grave issues arising from the resignation and passed a resolution condemning the interference of the Commissioner in the day-to-day administration of the High School and urging upon the Director of Public Instruction to institute an enquiry into the circumstances that culminated in the resignation of Mr. N. S. Krishnamurthy Iyer.

Whither are we drifting in the name of democracy? It does not augur well for the stability of education or for the future of our younger generation if local board members and municipal councillors are allowed to nose about into the internal administration of schools.

ANCIENT INDIAN REPUBLICS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

By H. RANGACHAR

WHEN, after the attainment of independence, we, the people of India gave ourselves a sovereign democratic Republic, we were not establishing in the country a novel form of government, by any means alien to our past or traditions. For, history records that, from as early as the eighth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., sovereign democratic republics and confederations flourished in different parts of the country. References to these can be traced in the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini, the greatest grammarian the world has yet produced. There are also references to and discourses on republics in the Mahabharata, the Jatakas and other ancient Buddhist and Jaina works, in Kautilya's Arthashastra and in some contemporary foreign accounts. With the light thrown on these by modern research, it is possible to gain an approximately accurate idea of the republics, their institutions, their working, their problems, their progress and their decline.

These republics were of two kinds—individual republics known as Gana Rajyas or Ganas and a confederation of two or more known as Samghata-Ganas or Samghas. Even from the earliest times, these republics comprised, as observed by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji in his *Hindu civilization* "the whole population in all its castes admitted equally to its privileges." The head of the Gana or the Samgha was designated in some as Samgha-Mukhya. The illustrious Lord Krishna was the Samgha-Mukhya of the Confederation consisting of the five Yadava republics; the great Lord Buddha was the son of a Raja or the President of a republic; the great Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was the son of the chief of a clan of the Vesali Republic.

The membership of the governing body of the republics was confined to a special governing caste of Kshatriyas known technically as Rajanyas.

There were popular assemblies of varying sizes, consisting of some 400 to 500 members and in one case of over 7000. Some had two chambers. These assemblies transacted administrative, judicial and other business. The decisions were by majority votes, the word for vote being *Chhanda* both in Pali and Sanskrit. These assemblies had developed rules of procedure for conduct of business. There were rules regarding quorum, moving of motions, speeches and the taking of votes and several other cognate matters.

Some interesting sidelights on the proceedings of the assemblies are also available. It is recorded of the Lichchavi Assembly that "members were notorious for their arguments and disputations." Referring to the numerous Rajas of the same Gana, the Lalitavistara remarks that the Lichchavis recognised no distinctions, everyone thinking that he was the Raja." Chullavagga mentions that, sometimes, during debates, "there might break out among members violence, quarrel and dispute" and that "pointless speeches are brought forth and the sense of any single utterance is not clear." The quotations are from Dr. Mookerji's book already referred to.

In confederations or federal republics, the powers of the Centre varied. Panini refers to a federal army, that of the Kshudraka-Malava Confederation.

This is only a brief description, in bare outline, of the institutions and the working of the republics. Though the subject is of great interest, it is not proposed to deal with this further, as the object of these articles is to get a glimpse into the working of these republics, with special reference to their problems, their difficulties, the ailments they were prone to, their strength and their weakness. Apart from its historical and topical interest, this may not be without value to us now, when, so close to the fourth

anniversary of the Independence Day, we naturally wish to take stock of our hopes and aspirations, frustrations, achievements, failures and difficulties ahead.

Two of the noblest and most illustrious sons of India, Krishna and Buddha, were intimately associated with the republics. The ancient records and literature have fortunately preserved to some extent the views of these two great personages. The Mahabharata also contains the experience of Krishna in the working of the Yadava Confederation and a discourse on the problems of republics by Bhishma. The ancient Buddhist literature, the Jatakas, the Suttanta also contain some valuable material including the views of Buddha on the strong and weak points of the republics. These will now be considered in some detail.

The Mahabharata (Santi Parva, ch. 75) Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastry edn.) gives a first-hand account of the difficulties and anxieties experienced by Krishna in the day-to-day working of the Yadava Confederation as its Samgha-Mukhya. Having met Narada, his friend, the philosopher and the sage, Krishna lays bare before him his anxieties and difficulties and seeks his counsel. The great anxiety which, according to Krishna, ground his heart "even as a fire-stick is grinded by a person desirous of generating fire" was the disunion among his supporters and followers, their struggle for power, their rivalries and recriminations. Apart from Babhru-Ugrasena who was openly opposed to him, he had as his supporters Ahuka, Akrura, Gada, Pradyumna and Sankarshana. Krishna's followers realised only too well his greatness, his popular following and his prestige and how indispensable it was that he should be the head of the Federation. Each wanted to have him

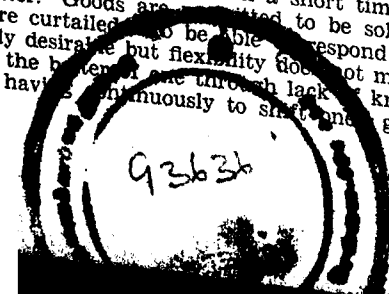
as the leader but on his own terms. Krishna "complains that Sankarshana with his strength, Gada with his virtue, Pradyumna with his attractive presence are leaving him helpless while all power is grasped by Ahuka and Akrura, leaving him unsupported against Babhru." Ahuka and Akrura were bitterly opposed to each other though both were followers of Krishna, attached to him. Krishna valued the friendship of both and could not dispense with either. He complains that to have them both on his side is painful and not to have them both would be equally painful. He compares his plight to that of a mother who sees her two sons gambling against each other and wishes victory to neither nor defeat to any one of them!

Narada observes that the dangers to which the Confederation was exposed were of two kinds, external and internal. "The calamity that has overtaken thee is an internal one and is born of thy own acts.....None who is not a great man with cleansed soul and possessed of accomplishments and friends can bear the heavy burthen. Take up this great burthen of governing the Vrishnis and bear it on thy shoulders." Thus Narada advises Krishna to rise to the responsibilities of his position.

This experience of no less a person than Krishna shows that dissensions and rivalry for power amongst the leaders are a great source of weakness in a democratic republic. As stated by Bhishma, these are further complicated in the case of a federal republic by dissensions among the constituent units and the fissiparous tendencies to which they give rise. This and the several other sources of weakness, as diagnosed by the ancient political scientists and philosophers will be dealt with in the next article.

The cloth policy of the Government of India in recent months can well be regarded as a monument to misinformation and vacillation. Prices are increased, modified within a short time and raised again a few days later. Goods are not to be sold for export and then exports are curtailed. It is to be able to respond to changing situations is certainly desirable but flexibility does not mean allowing the situation to get the better of one through lack of knowledge and determination, and having continuously to shift one's ground.

—Gorwala Report.



NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

TWO lakhs of rupees have been given to the Congress funds by a well-known black-marketeer in exchange for nomination as a candidate to Parliament, according to reliable sources. A valiant Knight of the British days has paid one lakh to ensure nomination as a Congress candidate for Parliament. This Knight's son has given Rs. 50,000 for a seat in the Provincial Assembly. It would appear. The more obnoxious a candidate, the greater the penalty to be charged: that appears to be the guiding principle of the Party Machine.

Prospective Congress Party candidates seem to have spent the Independence Day in negotiating for Parliamentary seats by dangling money-bags before the Provincial Congress Committees and the Election Committees. This is how Democracy becomes a farce. Only those who have got lakhs of money can manage to get selected as candidates on behalf of influential political parties. These political parties alone have some sort of an organization to fight the elections. An independent candidate must have endless monetary resources in order to stand as a candidate. Elementary principles of Democracy ought to rule out from Parliament anybody who has an income, say, of more than Rs. 1,000 per month. Fabulously rich men and women, suffering usually from indigestion on account of over-eating, claim to speak in Parliament in the name of the starving millions of the land.

A system which confines the possibility of active participation in politics to less than one per cent of the population cannot be called democratic by any stretch of imagination. This is where the pretensions of formal democracy fall to the ground in a country like India, where the elec-

torate is extremely ignorant. England is perhaps one of the few countries in the world where elections are elections and not a farce. True Democracy in India therefore depends not on the votes cast, but on the candidates who are put up. Votes can be cast only for those who stand for the election. And if those who stand for the election are such as are to be summarily ruled out on account of their having nothing in common with the masses, then the defeat of Democracy is very complete. That is why we lay so much emphasis on the choice of candidates that are put up.

Independence Day was celebrated in the Capital amidst this sordid background of selling away the right of representing the masses to those who have the dough. Pablo Neruda sang in his poem on Chilean independence (1810), entitled *The Earth Betrayed*:

*No, the flags were not yet dry,
The soldiers were not yet sleeping,
When freedom changed her dress
And turned into estates;
On land but recently sown
A caste arose, a band
Of newly rich, with their
coat-of-arms,
Their police and their jails....*

The conflict between Nehru and Tandon within the Congress Party is the conflict between the modern and the mediaeval outlook, between the desire to achieve economic progress and an indifference to it. But Nehru was himself engaged in toeing the line drawn by the business community in India during the last five years of office. So much could have been achieved in five years, when there was a tremendous enthusiasm in the people. The enthusiasm has now died down completely. There is no longer that feeling of electrifica-

tion in the presence of the Pandit. We have gone through a great disillusionment.

Pandit Nehru is merely helping to put back Congress in power after the elections. He will not be able to control the Party Machine after the elections. Those who are left in the Congress today have very little in common with him. The few that see eye to eye with him he asks to remain within, while he himself chooses to leave the Working Committee because (he says) "I do not want to be responsible for each and every decision of the Working Committee and its Secretariat." But he holds that "it was extremely wrong for anybody to quit the Congress." He asks others to be loyal to the organization from whose Working Committee he has withdrawn. He thinks a mere reconstitution of the Working Committee will work the miracle of salvaging the Congress. What Pandit Nehru should do—while the fit of boldness still possesses him—is to propose the dissolution of the Congress Party. That is the only chance he may have for rallying all the progressive elements in the country around himself. This is the last chance for him. His victory over Tandon within the Congress Party will have no meaning as long as the Party Machine remains intact. It is sure to get the better of him in the long run. The Congress Party is a body without a head. It is marching forward by sheer inertia. Not a single young man has joined the Congress Party since independence. This speaks highly of the young men of India. But it does not speak highly of the Congress Party.

Paul Hoffman speaks highly of the Marshall Aid to Europe. No doubt it was a very remarkable job that he did in Europe as Marshall Aid Administrator. But few in Europe have a good word for the Americans. Americans have come to be hated by the general run of mankind (and woman-kind) in Europe. I asked Hoffman why this was so. I asked also for his reply to the criticism in journals like the *New Statesman*—which seemed to us to be very valid—that the Americans had helped Rightist Parties to come to power in many countries of Europe. Hoffman did not reply to the

first question. To the second question, he said that he was familiar with that line of criticism. Marshall Aid had merely the effect of stabilising the Governments that already existed in Europe. He pointed out that the Labour Party continued in power in England. So did the Labour Parties of the Scandinavian countries. But the Labour Party in England actually managed to get in by the skin of its teeth. France has no doubt continued to have a series of Coalitions of the middle Parties, but the attitude of the Government is one of progressive subservience to the U. S. Consequently, the feeling outside the Government is one of hatred for the U. S. As far as Greece is concerned, the Americans simply converted a majority into a minority. All the same, Hoffman's was a good reply.

Prof. J. J. Chinoy of the Delhi University is the first member of the Indian Delegation to return to the Capital from a six-week visit to the Soviet Union. He gave a talk on some aspects of Botanical Research in Soviet Russia at the University on August 20, but a lot of non-botanical people turned up as well to listen to him. Prof. Chinoy looked like a man who has seen the vision come true. The marvellous achievements of Soviet Agriculture and Horticulture were recounted to us by Prof. Chinoy, who explained that almost all research in Russia was applied research. Practical problems in Agriculture led Soviet scientists to formulate their plans of research. Fundamental problems were tackled in the course of their work, when they investigated problems like frost-resistance.

Chinoy read a paper before the Soviet scientists on the growth and development in plants as related processes, although the Soviet view is that growth and development in plants are independent processes. Prof. Lysenko was himself present to hear him. There was a heated discussion for two hours in the most academic manner on Chinoy's paper. Chinoy and others later met Prof. Lysenko who, as President of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the U. S. S. R., showed them round the Academy. Chinoy told us how graft hybrids definitely showed that

acquired characteristics can be inherited. Darwin had mentioned graft hybrids in 1890. Western scientists merely refused to believe in the evidence of the Soviet scientists without producing any evidence to the contrary. Michurin's work on graft hybrids in Russia and Luther Burbank's work in America pointed to the same conclusion.

Chinoy proceeded to describe the new 130-meter high sky-scraper buildings of the Moscow University, which provided 6,000 rooms for 6,000 boys and girls who will reside at the University. Each room had a telephone, television and radio, not to mention hot and cold water facilities. Chinoy then described a visit to a Collective Farm in Kazakhstan, which had 250 acres under grapes, 2,500 acres under apples, 15,000 under grains, 5,000 under vegetables and 220,000 acres were grassland. There were a hundred thousand horses on the Farm, 240,000 sheep, 100,000 other cattle, numerous

pigs and other animals. 2,500 persons worked on the land. Each worker received wages according to his work. Besides, the income of the Farm was distributed among the workers after deducting 13% for the Government's services by way of tractors, etc., 15% for capital outlay, and 10% for social services in the Farm. There were six schools and two hospitals. A club had just been built at a cost of two million roubles. There was a theatre with a capacity of 500 people. Chinoy was intrigued by the 250 acres of grapes. What had happened to it? He asked the Director. The Director merely said that he would explain it presently. At the end of the visit, the Director took the scientists to a suspicious looking, low-roofed building. Inside, tables were neatly laid out with excellent food. And there were sixteen different varieties of wine. Prof. Chinoy assured us that he tasted all of them, and testified that they were excellent!

WORK OF THE RAILWAY RATES TRIBUNAL

By S. RANGIAH NAIDU

THE Railway Rates Tribunal at Madras delivered its judgment recently on the application filed before it in October 1950, by Messrs. Modi Food Products Company Limited, Modinagar, near Delhi, for the reduction of freight rates on groundnuts without shells, received by them from several sources. This judgment appears to be the first important pronouncement after it was constituted on April 11, 1949, and is of far reaching consequence.

Messrs. Modi Food Products Company Limited have their Vanaspathi Factory at Modinagar, in Uttar Pradesh near Delhi and they obtain groundnut kernels from stations in Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras States. Some of the Railways—the G. I. P. and B. B. & C. I. Railways in particular—quoted reduced freight rates for these kernels to Modinagar. When the Indian Railways Rates structure was revised in October 1948, these rates were cancelled and the

firm demanded the status quo. The Railways concerned refused and Messrs. Modi Food Products Company Limited filed the complaint against these Railways, before the Tribunal.

It will be remembered that the Government formed in 1944 several panels for examining industries likely to be beneficial to this country and in the terms of reference "location of industry" was included and the reports of these panels dilate at length on this important desideratum. In respect of Messrs. Modi Food Products Company Limited, the Vanaspathi plant is installed with other manufacturing concerns of the Modi combine at Modinagar, far away from the producing areas of the principal raw material, viz., groundnut kernels, while similar Vanaspathi factories are relatively closer to these areas or in the midst of them. It is obvious that the location of Messrs. Modi Food Products Company is disadvantageous, judged by this criterion of availability

of raw material; but the firm may have their own reasons for locating it at Modinagar having in view that they have an unfettered field for distribution of their finished product in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, far away from other factories manufacturing Vanaspathi. This disadvantage of bad location was, however, minimised when certain Railways reduced their freight rates on their raw material and the firm obtained also groundnut oil in addition, from the milling areas.

The trade position of groundnut kernels and groundnut oil in this country changed from the middle of 1940, after the fall of France during the last War. Before that period, groundnuts were mainly exported from India to France and U. K. and prices were regulated from Mincing Lane based on world parity. When exports suddenly fell off after 1940, the internal demand for kernels and oil developed. Consequent on the banning of exports of kernels from Madras State, the development of the oil milling industry was rapid and export of groundnut oil increased, as also internal demand for soap making, etc. In the bilateral agreements between India and other foreign countries, groundnut kernels or oil were included under exports. The internal price of kernels as well as oil has now reached dizzy heights, to the discomfiture of the South Indian householder, who cannot get even this vegetable oil at a reasonable price. The position in regard to other oil seeds such as gingily and mustard is different from that of groundnut kernels, in that the price of the former is controlled entirely by internal supply and demand. The gingily and mustard oils, extracted from them are not required by Vanaspathi industry or for soap manufacture. The price of Vanaspathi is controlled by the Government and there is a ceiling to the price which the factories can pay, including the railway freight for groundnut kernels or oil. While the prices of these articles rose from 1940, it must be remembered that the railway freight was more or less constant, until it was slightly revised in October 1948. Apparently the Modinagar factory is helpless against the relentless interaction of economic forces combined with its bad location and it

turned, therefore, to the Railways for relief.

The Tribunal in its judgment has gone beyond the relief sought by the complainants and decided that groundnut kernels should be classified with other oil seeds and charged at the same wagonload rate. It may be emphasised here that before the Modi Food Products complained to the Railways and the Tribunal as regards the unreasonableness of the rates, under Section 41 of the Indian Railways Act, neither the producer of groundnut kernels, nor the wholesale dealers and exporters complained about it. It is a different matter, if interveners joined, after the Tribunal took up the case. The annual production of kernels is about 2 million tons and the requirements of Modi Food Products may not exceed 400,000 tons. To assist the movement of about 2% of the total production, the entire classification should be reduced, according to the judgment of the Tribunal. The financial effect on the railway revenues will be a reduction of about Rs. 15 lakhs, while Messrs. Modi Food Products may be benefitted to the extent of about Rs. 30,000. If the relief to the complainants had been limited to the extent of quotation of station-to-station rates, which were operative in the past or in other words, the status quo was restored, the "legal" implications of unreasonableness would have been amply satisfied; but the Tribunal's judgment goes far beyond the immediate needs of the case and offers gratuitous relief, which will not benefit either the primary grower or the ultimate consumer, but will fill the pockets of middlemen and oil crushers. The judgment of the Tribunal reduces itself to a syllogism that oil seeds are charged at a lower rate and that groundnuts are oil seeds and that the latter should, therefore, be charged as oil seeds. If this principle sought to be established by the Tribunal is stretched further, in the case of coal, firewood and charcoal, the effect will be disastrous to the railway revenue. Coal is charged at the lowest scale and it is open to the dealers in firewood and charcoal to contend that these articles should be charged on the same basis as for coal, as they are used also as fuel. Again cocoanut kernels or copra are now charged

BRITAIN FAVOURS PAKISTAN

By ANDREW ROTH

ON August 1 the Conservative *Daily Express* in one of its typically short-sentenced editorials, challenged Kingsley Martin, editor of the socialist *New Statesman*, to restrain the belligerence of his "pal" Jawaharlal Nehru instead of harping on the aggressive tendencies of the Americans. In its August 11 issue the *New Statesman* counter-attacked the Conservative newspaper *Daily Telegraph* for saying that India would bear "primary responsibility" for the outbreak of an Indo-Pakistan conflict even if Pakistan fires the first shot. According to the *Telegraph*, India would be at fault because it sticks to "a status quo which is in itself highly inimical to Pakistan." The *New Statesman* describes this as an "unconvincing... piece of casuistry" which "gives a free hand to every would-be aggressor in the world and justifies fully the invasion by North Korea."

Despite this bitter verbal duelling between the partisans of India and Pakistan both sides share a rapidly mounting fear that war may break out. London's concern with troop concentrations and propaganda bar-rages on the sub-continent is tempered by confidence in the prudence of both Pakistan's Liaquat Ali Khan and India's Jawaharlal Nehru. But it fears that the hand of either one may be forced by an incident. In particular it is feared by all British onlookers that the rising temper of Pakistan, which leads even Liaquat to talk in terms of a "clenched fist," may produce a major incident from which there could be no recoil.

Although most British experts on the sub-continent have strong feelings on who is to blame for the Kashmir tangle, all agree that a conflict would be an unmitigated tragedy—and not only for India and Pakistan. An Indo-Pakistan conflict might blow apart the Commonwealth and all of Britain's Middle Eastern plans. It is generally conceded that in the event of a conflict, this country would do little more than piously urge a restoration of peace. No one anticipates any Korea-style military intervention on the side of the attack-

ed. It is realized that intervention on one side would almost certainly drive the other side out of the Commonwealth. And Britain is not prepared to risk that. Among other reasons, India and Pakistan together take a quarter of Britain's exports, and Britain cannot afford to alienate either of them. It is for this reason that the *Manchester Guardian* warned Pakistan editorially on July 24th: "If there should be war Pakistan would probably receive little protection from outside. The Security Council might feel that the past was so tangled that it was impossible to allot responsibility for the outbreak." Issues become very complicated when—unlike Korea—one has something to lose on both sides of a conflict.

An Indo-Pakistan conflict would certainly be reflected in a press and political war here, judging by the clear cleavage of sympathies between the Conservatives, who feel for Pakistan, and the Labourites, many of whose hearts beat in rhythm with Nehru's. The sympathy of the Empire-minded Tory for Pakistan arises from several clauses. The British official or military officer in the East has always favoured the less complicated and less political community. In the Middle East it is the Arab over the Jew, in Malaya the Malay over the Chinese, and on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent it has customarily been the Moslem over the Hindu. There is a tendency to build up a mystique about these "simpler" peoples who are felt to be both lovable and loyal. This sentimental regard for the Moslem officers and men who make up the Pakistan Army made the British newspapers most favourable to the Pakistan Government initially reluctant to believe its version of the "Pakistan Conspiracy." Empire-minded Conservatives still look back to the days when, as Winston Churchill put it during the July 30th debate on the Middle East, "the well-placed and formidable resources of the Imperial armies in India" sustained Britain's power from Suez to Singapore. No sensible Conservative thinks that the Indian Army

can be tapped by Britain. But many still hope that the Pakistan Army, under certain circumstances, might yet be used. Pakistan's cunning Premier has exploited this illusion by suggesting that if the Kashmir situation were settled favourably for Pakistan then maybe....

Pakistan has also won many Conservatives and others in Britain by carefully limiting its external objectives to the securing of Kashmir. While almost everyone in Britain accepts the independence of India and Pakistan as an irreversible fact, among the Conservatives there are many former custodians of the Empire who resent India's tendency to act independently in foreign affairs. They particularly resent Pandit Nehru's criticisms of the U. S. for the Anglo-American alliance is the keystone of Conservative foreign policy—except of course where the U. S. treads on Tory toes, as in Persia. The tendency of Pandit Nehru to give moral lectures on international affairs evokes a Tory desire to catch him out, much as some would like to find a particularly sanctimonious parson in the hay with the farmer's daughter.

The continuing hope in some British circles that Pakistan might, in fact, come back into the fold in a more active sense is symbolized by the travels of Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck. British officials, including Mr. Attlee, are annoyed by the Indian suggestion that he is helping to organize the Pakistan forces against India. Britons apparently expect Indians to believe that he is visiting Pakistan Army installations simply in his capacity of director of a newly-established carpet manufacturing concern. It is most unlikely that General Auchinleck is encouraging Pakistan—though his presence may have that effect. He is following in the well-worn footsteps of a number of other British senior officers who make it a practice to establish their 'presence' on some commercial pretext during periods in which ties with Britain may be strengthened. I recall a British colonel who had served as intelligence officer to T. E. Lawrence who turned up in Syria after the Syrians had won their independence from the French with British help. This colonel described himself as a fountain pen salesman but seemed to wander far

from the usual commercial channels. Later he was named correspondent for *The Times*. Nobody believed that either was his main function. Two years ago he was shot by an Arab nationalist.

The press attache of Pakistan House here is indignant that the minority of British newspapers which is pro-Labour favour India. But this intimate relationship between British Labourites and Indian nationalists goes back a quarter of a century. It was shaped in large part by India's high-strung High Commissioner, Krishna Menon, who for many years combined his task of propagandist for Indian independence with active participation in Labour Party politics. A small group of Labour intellectuals like M. P. Ragnald Sorensen and writer H. N. Brailsford—together with Communists like R. P. Dutt—did most of the early agitating in Britain for Indian independence. It was natural that Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders should have had their friendliest contacts in these Labour intellectual circles. In the thirties British leftwingers read Nehru's autobiography for their picture of India and looked to him to reflect their own anti-fascism.

Labour intellectuals are reluctant to believe that Nehru can do any wrong, not only because of past associations, but because more recently he has become the *deus ex machina* to solve their "cold war" frustrations. The Anglo-American alliance has been accepted very reluctantly by the rank-and-file of the Labour Party and a number of backbench M.P.s. They would have liked to see Britain occupying a "third force" position in international affairs between the colossi of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. For such socialists—for whom the *New Statesman* is the most effective voice—Pandit Nehru has frequently served as an international spokesman. And whenever, the editor of *Reynolds News*, the British cooperative's popular Sunday paper, has no other way out of a knotty problem like Indo-China or the Korean question, he is likely to headline his proposal: "LET NEHRU MEDIATE."

Just as it is difficult to believe that an old friend and admired intellectual maltreats his wife, Labour intellectuals have been reluctant to believe

that Pandit Nehru does not live up to his eloquently expressed ideals in matters close to home. British (and American and French) socialists and near-socialists have remained loyal to Nehru long after most of their counterparts in India have parted, political company with him. H. N. Brailsford, one of Britain's few socialist experts on India, long ago warned about India's deviation from Congress ideals in a *New Statesman* article entitled "Amber Light in India." But *New Statesman* editor Kingsley Martin and his wife (and Asian expert) Dorothy Woodman have preferred silence to saying critical things about personal friends like Pandit Nehru.

Victory With Defeat

The tide began running against Mr. Nehru last January at the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. He won acclaim for his position on Far Eastern questions, which helped strengthen Britain's hand in its attempts to restrain American trends toward expanding the war to China. But at the same time his reputation here was tarnished by his refusal to accept any Commonwealth efforts to arbitrate a settlement. The Pakistan Premier scored a considerable publicity success when he disclosed that he had accepted—but Pandit Nehru had rejected—all Commonwealth offers at arbitration, including the sending of a Commonwealth force to Kashmir for the duration of a plebiscite. No attention was paid to Mr. Nehru's explanation that Indian public opinion would not accept Western meddling in Kashmir affairs.

Pandit Nehru's stubborn resistance to Commonwealth efforts reportedly irritated Prime Minister Attlee. Mr. Attlee had personally supervised the transfer of power to India and, during the months-long crisis over Korea and China, Pandit Nehru had communicated directly with him, by-passing ailing and unsympathetic Ernest Bevin. But Mr. Attlee, harassed by knotty problems in domestic affairs and Anglo-American relations, concluded that on Kashmir Mr. Nehru was being "unreasonable"—which is a very black mark in Mr. Attlee's book. In February and March the Security Council discussed and passed an Anglo-American resolution under which Dr. Frank Graham is now

shuttling between India and Pakistan as mediator. If he does not succeed by the end of September, the Security Council, acting on his recommendations, is to call on both sides to accept arbitration. Mr. Nehru lost further supporters in Britain by refusing to accept the Security Council's recommendations and by encouraging Sheikh Abdullah to announce a Constituent Assembly whose inauguration is sure to inflame Pakistan opinion. Significantly, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Britain's delegate to the Security Council, helped secure the adoption of a protest against any such action which might prejudice the authority of the United Nations.

Kashmir In The Cold War.

Even the best friends of India and Mr. Nehru in Britain now concede—at least in private—that perhaps the principal reason for his refusal to allow an internationally-supervised plebiscite is that an impartial plebiscite taken at the present time will result in a Pakistan victory, largely because Kashmir is 78% Moslem. Persons sympathetic to India hope the land reform program now being instituted in the Indian-held portion will arm the Indian-sponsored regime with the economic weapon to counter the religious appeal of the Pakistan side. But they agree it may take two years before India would have an even chance in an impartial plebiscite.

Sympathetic Labour M.P.s recognize that Pandit Nehru is facing a crucial election next winter and may lose votes to Hindu communal groups if he weakens in his position on Kashmir. But even strong sympathizers of India feel that Mr. Nehru has more room to manoeuvre than he has used and that part of his inflexibility comes from his own personal infatuation with Kashmir.

Those in the leadership of the Labour Party who, like Mr. Attlee, have "cooled off" on India, have not become pro-Pakistan enthusiasts. But the logic of British overseas interests tends to push them in Pakistan's direction. It has not escaped British attention that in the voting on the recent Security Council resolution protesting Indian actions prejudicing UN authority the Soviets lined up with India in abstaining. It is also recalled that for some time Soviet

and other Communist publications have played up an unsubstantiated allegation that Pakistan has granted secret airbases in Gilgit to the U. S. While the allegation need have little resemblance to reality, it does show that the U.S.S.R. considers Pakistan much more likely to side with the West than India. This likelihood has, of course, increased as a result of the purge of left and potentially-left officers in the Pakistan Army in the alleged "Pakistan Conspiracy."

Symptomatic of the increasing appreciation of Pakistan among Empire-minded Labourites is the little-noticed reply of Patrick Gordon-Walker, the Urbane Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, to a parliamentary question on military relations with Pakistan. Mr. Gordon-Walker's reactions are significant not only because he, like Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Gaitskell, is one of the well-mannered moderate Labourites

particularly favoured by the Attlee-Morrison leadership.

The cadaverous Earl of Winterton, Conservative front-bencher, pressed Mr. Gordon-Walker on July 12 to "give an undertaking to the House (of Commons) that if the Pakistan Government ask for closer discussion with His Majesty's Government on these (military) affairs His Majesty's Government will not give them a refusal on the ground that they are not entering into similar discussions with India." Mr. Gordon-Walker replied simply: "Yes, certainly, we would welcome closer military association."

If these words irritate touchy Indians, they should not encourage trigger-happy Pakistanis. Mr. Gordon-Walker means that he would like Pakistan to aid in Commonwealth defence. This is far from meaning that the Commonwealth will aid in Pakistan's defence—unless, of course, Pakistan finds an opponent on the other side of the curtain.

LEGAL LIMITS OF THE RIGHT OF CONVERSION

By T. R. VENKATA RAMA SASTRI

THERE are two very apt proverbs in Tamil that come into my mind on reading a booklet that was issued by two eminent Christians, Dr. Butler M.A., Ph.D. and Mr. Samuel M.A., L.T., on the rights of conversion.

*Before authority cringe, but
In authority be ruthless.*

and

*First obtain, shelter, that secured,
Claim the house as your own.*

The booklet was issued with a view to persuading the Constituent Assembly to allow conversion to Christianity. As I have said elsewhere, that right stands conceded and now there is no question that any one is entitled to profess any religion and it is, as a consequence, open to any one to persuade or dissuade a change of religion. The writers claim immunity from scrutiny of the methods they see fit to adopt in pursuing their right of conversion. To set out their claim in their own words,

"Any interference by law with the methods of conversion is interference with matters where the moral situation is delicate and personal, where there are honest differences of opinion, and no universally acknowledged solution of the problems; moreover, interference with the method may very easily pass into interference with the right itself."

If just limitation of the methods employed stopped all conversion one is well rid of an evil. The foot-note to the above passage is revealing. Article 4 of the Greek law of 1938 is criticised as a classical offender against the principle enunciated. It forbids "proselytism" which it defines as

"any attempt by force or illicit means or grants or promises of financial or other aid or by fraudulent means or promises or by moral and material assistance or by taking advantage of any person's inexperience or confidence, or by exploiting any person's necessity or mental weakness or thoughtlessness, or, in general, any attempt or effort whether successful or not, directly or indirectly to penetrate into the religious conscience of persons, whether of age or under age, of another faith, for the purpose of consciously or unconsciously

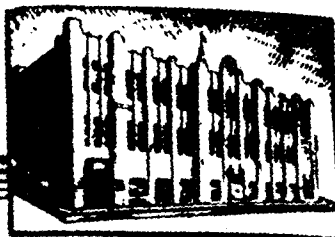
altering the religious conscience or faith, so as to agree with the idea or convictions of the proselytising party."

So the claim is that neither force nor fraud nor any criminal acts used as a means of conversion should be controlled by law! There is a note at page 40 which is still more enlightening. It runs:

"The possibilities of misuse cannot but be greater in those bodies which rely for conversion less on direct persuasion of the individual will than on the effect on awakening souls of incorporation into the divine life of the church. To them, to persuade a man to join the church by baits seems not to be bribing his conscience but merely helping him, by putting him in a position, where his prejudices can be removed. It is with reference to this context of thought that judgment should be passed on such startling confessions as those by...."

The Greek law is probably directed against seduction of Christians from the Greek Church and shuts out the usual methods of missionaries. If denominations of Christians should protect themselves against denominational activities, how much more protection is necessary against seduction of Hindus into Christianity. The least should be protection against the illegal use of the right of conversion. India can permit conversion but cannot promote it by tolerating illegal methods. The first sentence of the above quotation shows that conviction is less relied on for conversion than merely getting men to join the church without any previous attempt at convincing the convert of the truth of any principle of Christianity. I have no access to the startling confessions but apparently they are startling to the writers themselves; they attempt to white-wash it by persuading themselves and trying to persuade others that 'baits' are not bribery of conscience. Will any member of Parliament or the Government of India look into this matter and fix the legal limits within which the right of conversion may be carried on. The immunity claimed indicates the

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methods not unusually adopted in effecting conversions. They indicate the degradation in the hands of the church of the message which their Master directed to be carried far and wide. Evangelisation has now come to mean adding numbers to professing Christians. It is a common phenomenon almost everywhere that great saving messages of teachers become degraded in the hands of their followers.

Hinduism attaches importance to the broad principles of religion and leaves Hindus to choose any theological fold, one not very unlike Islam, another not very unlike Christianity and still another which is indigenous to India, the Advaita Vedanta. This country practises tolerance which is her strength as well as her weakness. Christianity having practised utmost ruthlessness against those who differed from her ecclesiastical views even in matters like astronomy or geology or biology has now lost her power to coerce belief even in Europe. Not having ecclesiastical power in India, it asks for permission to convert and asks for immunity from scrutiny of her methods. One may say just for argument that they will not object to similar missionary efforts

by the Buddhists in their country. But if the mission achieved a measure of success, what uproar will there not be in Western countries? So long as you can treat the few who appreciate Buddhism as cranks, you will not mind, but if it becomes a big landslide then we know what the bishops will do and many orthodox Christians will do in their wake. Of course Hinduism is bound by her principles not to proselytise. It has the faith that, in so far as there are meritorious elements in it, they will prevail in the long run of their own force and not by any meretricious propaganda. According to it no useful purpose can be served by disturbing people in other historical conditions of life by forcing your ideas on them. Really Christianity may also claim that they force no ideas on any one but only ask them to join their church. Blanshard says that catholic doctrine illustrates my maxim by open confession that where they are in a minority they must put up with things but when in a majority, the minority religions will not be allowed to propagate, as freedom is only for the propagation of God-given catholic Truth and not for other false religions. (See "Freedom & Catholic Power p. 270).

A SERIOUS BREACH OF FAITH

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

DURING the last two years we have been repeatedly told by Pandit Nehru and the Union Food Minister Shri Munshi that the Government of India is determined not to import foodgrains after March 1952. The nation had been solemnly asked to tighten its belt and attain self-sufficiency in food at all costs. The Prime Minister's appeal had a salutary effect on the general public and every attempt was being made to increase food production in the country. In view of the constant danger of international conflict and conflagration, a policy of food self-sufficiency was very sound and practical. Pandit Nehru had succeeded in rousing the enthusiasm of the people and in developing to a considerable degree the will to be free from the want of food in the country.

And now the Planning Commission, of which Pandit Nehru is the Chairman, tells us in the course of the first Five Year Plan that it is necessary "to plan imports so as to ensure that during the next few years it is possible to reckon upon annual imports of about 3 million tons; in exceptional years, imports may have to be larger." The Commission's plan does not envisage self-sufficiency in food even after five years. Since India has been, unfortunately, facing abnormal years in succession, the prospects are that the annual imports, according to the Plan, would be easily 4 million tons. The Commission is not at all sure when it may be feasible to stop imports of foodgrains; "during the next few years" is a very vague and indefinite phrase which ill becomes a Planning Commission. How could the

Prime Minister affix his signatures to a Plan like this? While signing the Plan, did Pandit Nehru not remember the grave words that he had been using regarding the nation's will to be free from the bondage of foreign food? If the Government of India with Pandit Nehru as the Prime Minister accepts the recommendations of the Planning Commission, it would surely amount to a very serious breach of faith and promise. If a solemn pledge of the Prime Minister and his Government could be thrown to the winds in this light-hearted manner, what guarantee is there that the Commission's Plan would also go through? The road that is paved with good intentions only is the royal road to disaster; the country can never achieve anything worth-while, following such a path.

Economic planning is not merely a matter of rupees, annas and pies; its success is possible of attainment only through a psychological revolution among the people. If the Government of India and the Planning Commission think that the Five Year Plan can be worked out only with the assistance of internal and foreign capital and without enlisting the whole-hearted co-operation and will-power of the masses, they would be sadly mistaken and disillusioned. In a country like India where there is dearth of capital and abundance of labour, the State should depend on the invaluable labour assets rather than on the money factor.

If the Government prepares a definite plan of food self-sufficiency and harnesses the voluntary effort and enthusiasm of the people, there is no reason why the country cannot attain the targets of increased production within a specified period. Where there is a will there is a way. Nothing substantial could be achieved without hard labour and determined effort. If

China can produce on one acre twice as much as India and if Japan can grow three times as much, we see no reason why India, with enormous manpower and a brilliant leadership cannot attain self-sufficiency within a very limited time. To be independent of foreign food-grains is the very essence of modern democracy. If, unfortunately, a global holocaust is precipitated in the near future we cannot ask the people to devour jute and cotton or tobacco. All the national energies should, therefore, be utilised for the production of more food. The policy of growing jute and earning dollars for importing foodgrains is suicidal and short-sighted. It should be clearly realised by the Government of India that self-sufficiency in food is the sine qua non of effective national defence. The Planning Commission ought to prepare a revised plan for proper crop-planning in the country. The present policy of trying to grow more food as well as to please the jute and textile mill-owners is not satisfactory. The country must not import food a minute longer than what is absolutely necessary for national existence. The Prime Minister was perfectly justified in appealing to the nation to attain self-sufficiency by the end of March 1952; he had acted as the fore-sighted leader and well-wisher of India. The Planning Commission, by side-tracking the issue and rejecting the possibility of stopping food imports in the near future, has rendered great dis-service to the nation.

How we wish that the Prime Minister asserts himself and does not go back on his own words by accepting the recommendations of the Planning Commission! Either the solemn promise of stopping food imports by the end of March 1952 should not have been made at all, or the promise, once made in all seriousness, ought to be fulfilled at all costs.

Mrs. Helena Normanton, K. C., Britain's first woman barrister, has exchanged her £5,000-a-year practice in the Middle Temple for house-work at her Beckenham home. At 58, Mrs. Normanton, who has been a barrister since 1922, has decided to retire. She sold her law books for £350, and remarked: "I think it is time I retired gracefully." Mrs. Normanton practised mainly in criminal cases at the Old Bailey, and in 1948 was the first woman ever to appear for the prosecution in a murder trial.

PROFESSOR'S DILEMMA

By G. S. PANCHEHA

"TWO thousand five hundred? It is quite impossible for me to pay it," said young Professor Kamlakar, and with an abrupt good-bye, he left the drawing room of Professor Joshi's commodious flat which he had entered half an hour ago with a very hopeful prospect of settling his sister Kusum's marriage.

Kamlakar walked homeward with heavy steps. The marriage season was drawing to a close. There was no other boy in his view now suitable for Kusum. This meant that her marriage would have to be put off for at least four months and her bed-ridden mother would not live to see her last child wedded happily. Should he incur a loan to fulfil the last earthly desire of his dear mother? And if he did, how long would he take to repay it?

Kamlakar fell to calculating his means. He was a professor in a non-Governmental college and after six years of service he was getting two hundred rupees per month, including D. A. He had a wife and two children, a widowed mother on her death-bed, two brothers studying in college, and a sister who had passed her matriculation and was due to be married. A monthly dole of two hundred rupees was hardly enough for him and he worked morning and evening at private tuitions. Until one of his brothers began to earn, it would be hard for him, and that meant three long hard years.

Suddenly he lapsed into a fit of impotent rage over the custom or dowry still prevalent in society. What a shame that educated and cultured men, like his colleague Prof. Joshi, the son of a retired judge, should break off marriage negotiations only on the question of a dowry when he had approved of the bride already. And who would not approve of his sister Kusum? Ah, if only he could afford it, he would have sent her to

college. How she aspired to be a graduate! Poor Kusum, having passed her matriculation with distinction, had to stay at home without going to college because her brother was too indigent to pay for her education. And too indigent to arrange for her marriage too!

A rather harsh weather-disturbed-aerial song grated on Prof. Kamlakar's ears and interrupted his gloomy train of thoughts. He turned to his left. It was a radio in a panwalla's shop. The young professor saw the fat panwalla's adroit fingers twisting the betel leaves into nickel coins that had made him an enviable master of his glittering shop with the beautiful streamlined radio. But he (the Professor) had not been able to save the cost of a radio after six years of service.

Prof. Kamlakar entered his house with disgust. He had not the courage to face his sick mother, who, too, had been fondly expecting a settlement of Kusum's marriage with Prof. Joshi. But the sound of his footsteps brought his mother's weak but impatient call from her room. Kamlakar could not avoid her and stood before her with a guilty look.

"Doesn't he approve?" asked his mother who interpreted the sad expression on her son's face as the party's refusal.

"He does, mother. He wants two thousand five hundred for a dowry. We must give him our final reply in three days."

The old lady sank into her bed with a sigh and the sentimental young man withdrew from her presence immediately. After this final disappointment in his month's marriage campaign, he decided to take a week's holiday from his household worries especially because he had to value about five hundred examination

papers and return the bundle to the University in time.

Prof. Kamlakar chose a quiet place, about a hundred miles from the capital, as his retreat where an old aunt of his lived. Stepping out of the little railway station with a bag that contained the answer books along with his other belongings, he was about to shout for a rickshaw when he felt a heavy hand on his shoulder. Turning round, he saw his old school and college mate, Sheolal.

"You here, Sheolal?"

Sheolal greeted him very warmly.

"We're meeting after a long time, Kamlakar," he said. "It's about six years."

"Full six years since we left college. I never expected to see you here, Sheolal."

"Nor did I expect to see you, Kamlakar. But now you'll be my guest here."

Unmindful of the protests of Prof. Kamlakar, he seized the bag from his hand and shouted for his chauffeur who soon doubled up to his master and carried the bag to the car.

Fully dazed, Prof. Kamlakar accompanied his friend to the big Buick car.

"Is it yours, Sheolal?" he asked wondering.

"Yes" smiled his friend.

As the car sped along the dusty street, old memories crowded into his dazzled brain. This Sheolal was just a dull-headed student who was, however, an adept in the art of using unfair means in the examination. He somehow managed to come out as a second class M. A. in Economics. In the old regime his uncle had managed to secure for him a lectureship in a Government college which Sheolal magnanimously declined on the just plea that he knew nothing of the subject and was quite unfit for the honour. After that they parted and no one had ever heard of the other until this unexpected meeting. What was Sheolal doing all these days? How did he become so rich? Was it a windfall....

"Get down, Kamlakar. What are you thinking, man?"

Standing below a magnificent two-storeyed mass of solid concrete, Sheo-

lal was smiling good-humouredly at his friend in the car.

"Won't you get down?" he repeated, laughing.

"Excuse me, Sheolal," said Prof. Kamlakar, not a little abashed.

"Come, let us not be so formal," said the other, and the two friends walked arm-in-arm to the little flight of steps that led to the spacious verandah, decorated with tall, green crotons all round.

Sheolal and Kamlakar were taking their afternoon tea after the midday nap when a tall, well-built figure in the late forties entered the drawing room rather boisterously shouting after Sheolal. Presently he pulled up a chair and seated himself by the side of his host.

"Where were you these three days?" asked Sheolal sipping his tea without any apology to his guest.

"I'd been to the Capital. Well, hand me a cigarette, Sheolal."

"To the Capital?" asked Sheolal surprised, handing the cigarette case to him.

"Yes, in search of one Prof. Kamlakar...."

Sheolal started.

"I'm sorry," he apologised. "This is my friend, Prof. Kamlakar, and here's Seth Motiram, the Chairman of our Local Chamber of Commerce."

Kamlakar surveyed Seth Motiram's figure clad in spotlessly white dress from head to foot.

"Namaste," he said.

"Namaste" returned Seth Motiram, rather embarrassed. "I learnt you came here but never thought you were Sheolal's guest. Your aunt's here, isn't she?"

"Yes," replied Kamlakar, feeling distinctly uncomfortable between these two big men and wondering what on earth had this man to do with a humble Professor like himself.

"Kamlakar is my best friend," said Sheolal, "and Motiramji is by far the richest man of our town."

"Next to your friend, Sheolal," retorted Motiram.

Sheolal seemed to accept the compliment with a self-complacent smile.

Kamlakar could not help feeling inwardly jealous of him.

"What's your business with Kamlakar?" asked Sheolal surprised.

"He's valuing the English second paper for B. A. this year and our Govind is appearing. His number is 10."

Kamlakar felt much embarrassed.

"Well, what of that?", asked Sheolal again.

"Govind has passed in all his papers this year except English. You see, Sheolal, I can't afford to see him failing year after year like this. The first paper is with Professor Verma. But that fool, Govind, has answered questions worth only fifteen marks in that paper and Prof. Verma could not give him more than twelve. In his second paper he has attempted all the questions. I wish Prof. Kamlakar could give him twentyone marks."

Kamlakar was stunned to hear such talk.

Sheolal looked questioningly at him. "What if he doesn't pass this year?" asked Kamlakar carelessly.

"And what if he doesn't pass his B. A. at all?"

"I wouldn't have minded it, Prof. Saheb," returned Motiramji. "But we've settled his marriage with Indira Chowhan, daughter of"

"And she is a B.A.," put in Sheolal, clapping his hands. "Fine, that's why Govind must be a B.A. this year."

"I see," said Kamlakar sarcastically.

"Yes, you'll understand it now," said Motiram not in a position to understand the feelings of the incensed Professor. "So will you please—"

"I'm sorry, Motiramji," said Kamlakar rising haughtily from his chair. "I won't be of any service to you."

He would have left the drawing room had not Sheolal forced him into his chair again.

"Will you pay two thousand?" asked Sheolal.

The other produced his cheque book from the pocket.

"Wait. We won't have a cheque. He may want cash," advised Sheolal.

"I'll return in an hour," said Motiram. "We'll be spending over a lakh

on his marriage. Two thousand isn't much. Thank you, Sheolal."

With this Motiram left the drawing room.

Kamlakar was too dazed to interfere in this brief talk. But when Motiram was gone he said, "You're a fool, Sheolal. I'll never barter my reputation and that of the University for a paltry two thousand."

"You are a fool," he retorted, "a most unpractical fool." And he left the drawing room after his guest in obvious indignation.

Kamlakar was now amused as he followed Sheolal with his eyes out of his premises. He was amused to see Sheolal getting furious over an issue that ought to have made him feel ashamed. "I'm a most unpractical fool," he laughed and retired to his room.

He took the bundle of answer books and pulled out No. 10. Casually he went through the paper. It was true that he had attempted all questions. But the whole answer book was not worth even ten marks.

Kamlakar replaced the bundle in his trunk. He would begin the valuation at night. Meanwhile he would go and see his aunt. If Sheolal was not too insistent he would even shift to her house by evening and pass the week with her.

With this decision Kamlakar put on his coat and went out. In less than five minutes he came to his aunt's place. The old lady received him warmly, but had a long tale of her own woes to tell. Her son who was a clerk in the municipal committee remained suspended for ten months for being a member of the R.S.S. Would he use his influence with Sheolal and his friend Motiram who could easily get him reinstated in no time?

So Kamlakar found worries pursuing him wherever he went and he returned to Sheolal's residence in a sort of fix. Should he talk to Sheolal about his cousin who was suspended from service? And how could the matter be broached before Motiram if he did nothing for his son, No. 10 of the B.A. examination?

Kamlakar weighed these questions in his mind and decided that he was quite helpless in the matter of help-

ing his cousin. He could never award twentyone marks to a paper that deserved no more than ten. Not even for his cousin's bread and butter, much less for the bribe offered to him.

As he recalled Motiram's two thousand, a sudden wave of restlessness passed through him. He remembered that that was exactly the sum he needed for settling Kusum's marriage. He would get five-hundred rupees as remuneration for valuing the papers. And this two thousand....

What a coincidence and what a temptation! All that evening Kamlakar tried to battle with the temptation, but could not drive it out from his mind. So, when that night Sheolal remarked casually to him that he did not seem to be in need of money, he burst out at once.

"Oh, Sheolal, you don't know how badly I'm in need of it. And he told his friend about the recent failure of the marriage negotiations and the story of his mother's illness.

"Then you're a greater fool than I thought," said Sheolal placidly. "You don't know, Kamlakar, what's the state of affairs in our country today. Bribery, nepotism and black-marketing are rampant today as they never were...."

"I've an idea of it," said Kamlakar. "No, you haven't," laughed the other. "Just listen to my story." Sheolal paused for a while. He lit a cigarette and smoked vigorously for a few minutes. Then he began.

"I took up my first job with the local Government as a food inspector in this rice tract and it proved to be my last job too," said Sheolal quite gravely in a tone which could be the lowest possible with him. "Soon I found that I was most suited for it. I worked to the entire satisfaction of all my superior officers with the result that I was offered promotion in less than six months. But I declined it. I was quite satisfied with the job I held."

Here he stopped, lit another cigarette and went on after a few puffs.

"My salary was only rupees seventy per month. But in four years a fellow from the anti-corruption department came to me with a discovery that my bank balance had improved in the last four years by seventy

thousand. I laughed, for it was an open secret. The anti-corruption officer wanted ten thousand rupees from me so that he might make his report as mild as mild could be. But I defied him outright. A departmental enquiry was instituted against me. I ran helter-skelter to persuade the authorities to start a criminal prosecution instead. But my request was turned down. At the end of the departmental enquiry my services were terminated. I was glad. With the capital I had amassed, I started on another adventure of my life, black-marketing, which I've been carrying on to this day and you can see the result. Now, can you say, Kamlakar, with all your professor's intellect, why they turned down my request for a criminal prosecution and why in fact the department could do nothing against me but terminate my services and grant me full scope for black-marketing?"

Sheolal smiled as he hurled this question at Kamlakar who plainly admitted that he felt bewildered.

"I was not the only man who took bribes," Sheolal explained, "there was a long chain of officers who accepted them through me. It was easy for me to prove a charge of bribery against them as I maintained a complete account, date by date, of the cheques cashed and the amounts deposited by me in their favour. The Government could easily put a man like me in jail. But who would take action against men who formed in fact the Government itself? And what is true of bribery is true of black-marketing, too. You read of a smart arrest by police of a clerk taking a bribe of eight annas. But men who have amassed in a few years what they could not have earned all their lives escape scot-free. A petty dealer is fined for selling a *dhoti* at a little above the printed price. But black-marketers like me who have earned lakhs are guests of honour at the Government House on important occasions. And it was said that black-marketeers would be hanged."

The gravity with which Sheolal was speaking impressed Prof. Kamlakar more than the facts he disclosed and he began wondering what sort of a man this Sheolal was.

"Every man loves money, even for

its own sake. I have constructed this building with tons of iron and hundreds of bags of cement at a time when it would have been difficult for an honest professor like you to secure a few bags of cement to repair your kitchen. Motiram's daughter was married in the Capital at a time when wheat and sugar were rationed commodities and yet bags were being consumed in daily feasts that were being liberally attended by officials and others. Can such instance be hidden from the Government?"

Sheolal stopped for a smoke again. When he went on, the pitch of his voice increased.

"Kamlakar, money is everything in today's world. Your mother is ill. You've to depend on your local physician. If you were able to take her to Bombay or to Vienna, who knows she might not add a few more years to her life? But you can't because you've no money. You can't even arrange your sister's marriage before her impending death because you've no money. I remember the sweet little girl six years ago. She must have grown to be very attractive now. But you'll get her wedded to a beggar and ruin her life because you are a beggar yourself. Kamlakar, please do help Motiram and help yourself. Don't miss this chance of securing a good husband for dear Kusum and fulfilling the last earthly desire of your mother...."

"Sheolal," said Kamlakar not a little perturbed by this appeal to his sentiments, "excuse me. The temptation is too great. But I'm sorry I don't think I'll be able to do a thing like that in my life...."

Sheolal rose to his feet.

"You won't," he smiled with bitter sarcasm in his voice. "You have no guts."

And with this they parted for the night.

Kamlakar passed a restless night. Two thousand was not a small sum for a man who could not save a hundred after six years of service. It was coming when he needed it most. Prof. Joshi was an attractive lad for Kusum. It would be difficult to get another like him. And then how his mother yearned to see Kusum married before she died. Kamlakar wanted that two thousand very badly. But he had no mind to accept it.

The whole issue continued to revolve in his brain even on the next day so that by tea time in the afternoon Prof. Kamlakar had not valued even a single paper. He could afford to lose time no more and decided to begin valuation immediately.

Just then a postman handed a telegram to him and a letter to Sheolal. Kamlakar opened it with apprehension. Was it about his mother?

It was not. It was from his brother, who had written: *Final word given. They want two thousand five hundred immediately. Wire instructions—Sudhakar.*

Kamlakar looked at Sheolal who seemed to know the contents of the telegram already. The moment their eyes met, Sheolal produced from his pocket a wad of notes and hurled it at Kamlakar.

"I sent a reply telegram to your brother asking him to settle the marriage at once," he said haughtily. "Now you've only to award twenty one marks to No. 10."

But Kamlakar had made up his mind. His own honour and prestige and those of the University were at stake. He threw back the wad of currency notes at Sheolal. "Take them back, you fool. There are certain principles which I value better than money. I don't mind if my sister remains unmarried for some more years or my mother dies before Kusum weds. But she knows she is leaving her daughter in safe hands. I am wiring back to my brother to stop the negotiations."

Sheolal was apologetic. "My dear Kamlakar, I admire your integrity. I have already told Motiram that you will not oblige him under any circumstances. Take this money back, my friend. This two thousand is mine. I shall give you another thousand. Is not Kusum my own sister? It is a privilege to help you with my money. Though I am a wicked fellow, I am not incapable of admiring honest men like you. Return the money when you can—when your brothers begin to earn. Forget what I said to tempt you. I wanted to test the strength of your character. I apologise to you for having hurt your feelings. Let No. 10 fail for another ten years. I won't be sorry. I am glad my money will be of some use to a great and good friend like you."

SPORTS AND GAMES IN INDIA

By P. N. S.

IT is good to halt in our onward march once in a while and look back to take stock of what we have achieved or failed to achieve. And it is quite appropriate that we of sports should do the stock-taking on this day, marking the dawn of the fifth year of our freedom, for national freedom gave a new life and a new vigour to our activities, in this sphere. And as we halt briefly on the sports highway, we find, both before us and behind us, a more inspiring picture than in the political and economic fields. The picture is heartening and should help our sportsmen to pledge themselves to raising standards further to place our country on a par with the rest of the world in every form of sport. Our record is good enough to give us a glow of satisfaction, but it has also to be borne in mind that, measured in terms of wins or victories, we have not done as well as could have been expected.

The Asian Games, which came off in March at New Delhi at the newly-built National Stadium, the first of a series to be constructed in this country, with the Purana Qila overlooking it in sombre majesty, must occupy pride of place among the sporting events staged during the year. It was but fitting that one of our dreams that came true—the National Stadium with facilities for every form of athletics and games—should have been opened by our most lovable sportsman Jawaharlal Nehru, and that the first event to be staged therein should have been the Asian Games. As President Rajendra Prasad declared open the glorious athletic festival, after 53-year-old Brig. Dilip Singh (who represented India in the Olympic Games of 1924) had set alight the flame, and as the representatives of Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Iran, Japan, Nepal, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and India clashed in gay camaraderie and in true Olympic spirit in the various events, with David Abraham painting the colour and the pageantry of it all in his inimitable broadcasts, every Indian bosom ex-

panded in legitimate pride. Individual triumphs and failures fell to the background, and a wave of gratitude wafted from all over the country to the gentlemen who had transformed a blueprint into a historic fact—a rare thing, indeed, in these days. Still, there was a tinge of sorrow that the agenda did not contain the game of hockey, in which alone India stands supreme. There was much understandable criticism of this sad omission. Incidentally, its inclusion would have been an appropriate homage to the heroes of the game who kept our flag flying at Berlin, Los Angeles, Britain and other places.

Speaking of hockey, an Indian team led by K. D. Singh (Babu) and consisting of many promising youngsters completed an unbeaten tour of East Africa. While Rajagopal of Mysore drew admiring crowds wherever he displayed his magic wand, youngsters like Sivaprakasam came back much improved by the rich experience. Madras, to which fell the honour of conducting the National Championship, staged the grandest National so far and elicited unbounded admiration from player, spectator and critic alike. East Punjab managed to retain their hold on the Championship for the third year in succession by winning the Rangaswami Memorial Trophy, but only after being shaken to the marrow by Madras and Bengal on their way to the final, and by the Services Eleven in the final.

With the second Commonwealth team under the captaincy of Leslie Ames of Kent and England and consisting of many top-rankers and the great Frank Worrell, touring the country, it was all bats and stumps from October to February. Though India, led by Vijay Merchant, lost the rubber by virtue of their defeats at Bombay and Kanpur—the "tests" at Delhi, Calcutta and Madras were drawn—the tour brought to light many young men capable of carrying on the struggle in the years ahead. Prominent among these are C. D. Gopinath of Madras, hailed on all hands as a coming star, Rajendranath, behind the wickets, and S. P.

Gupte of Bombay. With the M. C. C. tour of this country this season, followed by our return visits to Britain and the West Indies, the Commonwealth tour served a useful purpose in unearthing such fresh talent and grooming it for the bitter struggles of official tests.

For the third time, under the inspiring leadership of C. K. Nayudu, Holkar won the Ranji Trophy Championship, beating Gujerat in the final, while Mysore University annexed the Rohinton Baria trophy beating Madras.

Aug. 5 was a momentous day for Indian cricket. Vijay Hazare, India's most dependable artist, received full recognition for his qualities by being elected to lead India in the tests against the M. C. C. this season. Merchant, who contested the coveted place, was defeated by a big margin, but like a true sportsman he has offered to play under Hazare, promising the skipper unstinted cooperation. Lala Amarnath has also given us the heartening news that he is very fit, and Amarnath's form may to a large extent decide the rubber, for together with Mushtaq Ali he stands unequalled for the capacity to strike terror into opponents. Along with the defeat of Merchant, A. S. De Mello received a rude shock by his dethronement from the Presidentship of the Board of Control, a shock which made him announce in bitterness, "I have done with cricket." His defeat must have been mainly due to the retrograde move for the abolition of the Ranji Trophy Championship which De Mello sponsored.

Dilly-dallying with the question of introduction of professionalism in cricket—an essential step to put the game on the upgrade, now that princely patronage is no longer in the picture—came to an end when Vinoo Mankad announced his intention to play as a professional from the 1951 season and the Board of Control granted him the necessary permission. Many promising cricketers are sure to fall in line with Mankad and increase their efficiency by undivided application to the job.

A decision of far-reaching importance was taken by the All-India Football Association in July when it made up its mind to abolish bare-footed football by stages, so that by 1955 the fights all over the country

will be with boots on. If our footballers desire to emulate those of other nations, they must acclimatise themselves to booted soccer, and this decision of the parent body has come in time.

Football, like hockey, is a game where tempers are apt to be frayed and 'incidents' are likely to occur, but nobody was prepared for the ugly happenings in Calcutta every other day. Calcutta can very well be said to be the home of football in the country and it is sad to think that the home has been kept far from clean during the year.

Our table tennis stars led by Ranbir Bhandari took part in the World Championships at Vienna and came back with a lot to learn. Interest in tennis was kept up by visits to the country of F. Kovalski, I. Dorfmann, Miss Dorothy Head, all of United States, S. Davidsson of Sweden, and J. Drobny of Egypt; later on 52-year-old Jean Borotra, the Bounding Basque, charmed spectators in company with Roger Dubuc of France. But the early defeats of Narendar Nath and Naresh Kumar in the Wimbledon Championships in June revealed the gulf we have to bridge to get anywhere near the American, British or European standard in tennis. Badminton too had its quota of foreign stars, when, after the Thailand team's defeat at Bombay in the Thomas Cup, the great Wong Peng Soon of Malaya gave exhibitions of his skill against Davinder Mohan and others of our country. Our interest in billiards and snooker was kept up by the visit of Tom Cleary, the Australian, who took part in the National Championships at Calcutta and then toured the country playing exhibition matches.

The overall picture of sports and games in India is one of progress. Considering the scarcity of playing fields, the non-availability of important sportsware and the prohibitive cost of the few available things due to import control, such progress is heartening and can only be attributed to the sports consciousness of the Indian and his desire to play the game even in the most adverse circumstances. Encouraged by this heart-warming thought let us stand on the threshold of the future and cry out, "Come along boys, let us march on and win the rubber."



By V. P. SATHE

THE Central Board of Film Censors was earning a good reputation among the producers; and by certifying the most controversial Bengali film '42' which has now been released in Calcutta, the Board had earned the gratitude of the industry. But the Board, or rather those in charge of the day-to-day censoring of pictures seem to have suddenly changed their colours.

The change of policy is attributed by some to the appointment of Mr. S. A. Iyer, the erstwhile President of the Bombay Censor Board as the Regional Officer. It is said that Mr. Iyer is enforcing the old Mr. Morarji Desai's puritan policies rather severely again. The result is the producers are in jitters once again; now they are not sure of anything as they were only a couple of months ago. The first 'victim' of the new policy has been Variety Pictures' *Bari Bahoo*. Those who have seen the picture do not understand why the picture was banned. Banned is a wrong word; for it is not banned altogether but only certain portions have been objected to. The result is that Asha Biswas the producer is now reshooting the picture and will present it again to the Censors.

The second victim was *Shabistan*. For four or five days the fate of this picture was hanging in the balance. In fact though the picture was scheduled for release on Friday, till Thursday afternoon the producers were not sure whether they would be able to release the picture.

That apart, it is said that even some absolutely unnecessary cuts were imposed on Shantaram's new picture *Amar Bhupali* (Immortal Song). It is also said that these cuts were

imposed so that other producers should not feel that Shantaram, ex-member of the Censor Board, is spared from censors' scissors.

At the same time the critics have been baffled at the latitude shown in the case of certain foreign pictures. Thus, for instance, the critics are wondering how the censors allowed a scene of bank hold-up with vivid details in *Highway 301*. And the critics also fail to understand how blatant anti-Soviet propaganda is permitted in American newsreels when the official policy is neutrality in such matters.

Thanks to these incidents the producers are steadily being disillusioned; the high hopes raised by Mr. Agarwala, the Chairman, are being dashed to pieces. And it is again feared that the Censors will revert to the old uncompromising, rigid, puritan policy which, if enforced, would spell disaster for the film industry.

Whether these conclusions are justified or not, it cannot be gainsaid that of late the Censor's conduct has instilled such doubts and fears in the mind of producers that unless they are removed there will be no real co-operation between the two.

Picture Of The Week

These days most of the pictures emanating from Hollywood either deal with neurotics or criminals. Recently we had two crime pictures *Highway 301* and *Panic in the Streets*. The former proved more popular and was more dangerous of the two since it showed rather too vividly a ruthless gang of bank-robbers in action. The whole picture was so inhuman and gruesome that it made you feel disgusted. Comparatively a short film entitled *Around Twelve O'clock* was human and appealing though it

also dealt with a criminal who is trying to reform and who is saved by an old lady from the gallows.

Panic in the Streets had a novel angle. Though it began with a murder it recounted the search for the murderer not merely for crime but for medical reasons as the dead man was suffering from an infectious disease which would spread and endanger the city. It was this different angle that made this brilliantly directed picture truly interesting.

But compared to these grim and tough melodramas it was refreshing to see Joan Crawford play the straight role of a Senator in *Goodbye Miss Fancy* set against the romantic and delightful background of a college. It had a social as well as romantic theme; the social theme stressed the need for free and complete education in America today to the youths so that they knew what is happening in the world torn between groups and ideologies; the romantic theme revealed how silly it is to hold on to old dreams of love and forget that people change with the times. Joan Crawford thus finds that the professor she loved twenty years ago has lost his courage and ideals in the course of his career and has learnt to compromise and surrender his ideals. This change shocks her into the realisation that she is no longer in love with the man and prepares her to marry the *Life* photographer. A realistic approach to romance as well as education distinguishes this sober, intelligent and entertaining film.

But the picture that seems to have created great sensation is *Portrait of Jennie*. Every film critic seems to have gone ga-ga over it. With so much praise showered on this picture it is difficult for an ordinary scribe like me to say anything against the film. But with the best of intentions I must admit that I for one was disappointed in *Portrait of Jennie*. The reason is that I found that it was "Much Ado about Nothing". Frankly I have not been able to find out what the whole thing was about. And in my opinion any picture which fails to answer the question "Why and what for" just cannot be good.

True, the acting by Jennifer Jones as the mysterious Jennie—who is either ghost, a dream, a fragment of

imagination or God knows what?—Joseph Cotton as the artist who finds her and loves her and ultimately loses her is really superb, though I like the acting of Ethel Barrymore and the artiste who plays the role of Cotton's friend More. In fact, the only scene which looked real was the one in which the artist's friend tries to persuade the cafe-owner to get new paintings to decorate his restaurant done by the artist.

Otherwise, in spite of the beautiful photography, the mystery, dreamy effects, the whispering monologues, *Portrait of Jennie* is just arty-arty hocus-pocus—it is in other words a very pretty portrait without beauty of soul. For, it appeals to your eyes but never to your heart. And the trouble with those of our critics and stars who are raving over it is that as usual they seem to have been swept away by the technical craftsmanship of Hollywood.

Star Of The Week

Last week I met Jairaj, one of the oldest heroes who is still going strong. Jai is one of the first educated artistes to join the screen in the days of the silent films; and all these educated boys who today aspire to be stars would do well to meet and study his career. For perhaps no other star has seen so many ups and downs and yet kept up his spirit and body so well as Jairaj.

Jairaj comes from Hyderabad from a very good family. He is a nephew of the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. While studying for graduation he decided to join the films and he came down to Bombay with a few rupees and one suit case.

Well, it was not easy for him to gate-crash into films. The first job he secured was that of a double to the famous hero, Nandram. It was Jairaj's job to fight, jump and do all kinds of dangerous stunts for Nandram without getting any credit in return. Later, thanks to Mama Varerker and other friends he got his first break and became a full-fledged film artiste. When talkies came the stock of Jairaj went up; for he could speak Hindustani beautifully. His first talkie picture that I recall to have seen was *Shikari* in which he appeared opposite Sita Devi. Later I saw him playing the role of Indra in

Patit Pawan opposite Durga Khote who played Ahilya. But the picture in which he impressed the highbrows was Debaki Bose's *Life is a Stage*.

Since then Jairaj has been acting in a number of pictures; but he got his real break in Bombay Talkies' *Bhabi* which proved a hit and revealed Jai's histrionic talent. In the forties Jai rose to the peak of his career. He had major roles in *Swami*, *Nai Duniya*, *Naya Tarama*, *Prem Sangeet*, *Nai Kahani*, *Panna*, *Hamari Baat* and *Shahajehan*.

Apart from acting Jairaj has always aspired to be a director. In *Prakash*, he got his first chance when he made *Mela* in which Naushad gave music for the first time. Later in Bombay Talkies he directed *Pratima* starring the one and only Dilip Kumar. Both the efforts proved failures; he has now made a picture on his own called *Sagar* and in connection with the release of the picture he toured round many places and watched the audiences. As a result of this tour, as he was telling me, he has learnt many new things. These things have made him cynical in a way; but now he knows what the audience expect in a motion picture. This experience would be of great value to him when he makes his next picture. Meanwhile it appears that though of late he has not had many contracts he is still cheerful, cashing on every opportunity that comes his way.

Jairaj, as said above, has seen good as well as bad days. Is he a great artiste? Perhaps not. But he is a sincere artiste and given a proper role he would never fail to deliver the goods. Moreover, he is a very nice person; he is one of those rare individuals in the film world who belong to every group and yet to no group. He has no foe, and many friends. A voracious reader, he has perhaps the best library any star can ever boast of. There are book stalls in Bombay where no sooner a new book comes the first copy is earmarked for Jairaj. Happily married to a Punjabi girl, daughter of a journalist-cum-Captain Kriparam, he has four children and he is expecting the fifth next month.

It is always a pleasure to meet Jai and exchange notes on the film industry with him. Considering the amount of good work he has put in he

has unfortunately never been lucky enough to reach the dizzy heights of success. That is perhaps because even drinks have never made him dizzy! Yet one wishes that if not as a star, as a director and producer he should attain the highest pedestal of glory. For, no man in the film industry deserves such glory more than Jairaj.

News Of The Week

—Mme. Simkie, the renowned dancer, has composed a lavish eight minute dance number depicting the conflict between the good and evil for R. K. Films' *Awara*. The dance is now being rehearsed while the music has already been recorded.

—The alleged war between a group of journalists and the film star Madhubala has come to an end and the treaty of peace and friendship has been signed over a cup of tea.

—Ashok Kumar, Nalini Jaywant and S. K. Ojha were introduced to the film magnates and stars of Egypt and the press at a cocktail party given by Mrs. Faizi, the wife of the Indian Ambassador at the Indian Embassy. The unit has now flown to London and as the P. T. I. report says Nalini Jaywant took a leading part in the Independence Day programme at India House on 15th August.

—On 16th August Dilip Kumar performed the muhurat of Time Films' *Baghi* starring Naseem, Ranjan and Nimmi. Anant Thakur is the director while Lala and Ayub Khan, Dilip's brother are the producers. On 17th August Kuldip Pictures' *Jahwa* went on the sets with Suraiya in the stellar role. Based on a story by R. S. Chowdhary, Arjun Dev Rashik is writing the dialogues while Anant Thakur is directing it.

Kardar is also going on the sets this week. He is starting the shooting of *Divana* with Suraiya, Premnath and Sumitra in the cast. Incidentally, I have received some enquiries about the Kardar Kolynos-Teresa contest. I would request readers to address all correspondence to the Manager, Metro Cinema, Bombay in this connection. Even the photographs should be sent to the above address.

—Jayashree has returned from her holiday in Poona to resume work in *Parchhain*.

THE RICHEST MAN IN BRITAIN

By WILLIAM PICTON

ON his birth certificate he is John Crichton-Stuart. In "Who's Who" he is Marquess of Bute—and a dozen other titles of nobility. But what makes him unique is that he is regarded as the richest man in Britain, having succeeded in 1947 to his father's estate, which included 117,000 acres of land and industrial property, six castles in Britain, one castle in Spain, and extensive business, real estate and mining properties in Morocco, Gibraltar and South America. During his father's lifetime the family fortune was estimated at approximately \$180,000,000 capital value, apart from income which, although heavily taxed, was nevertheless enormous.

Despite death duties (of which a first instalment of \$6,000,000 has already been paid) this great family fortune was not seriously depleted, for the late marquess made provision for this eventuality during his lifetime. This was done partly by making deeds of gift to his heir (and also to his other four sons). Under English law, providing the death of the donor does not follow within five years of such gifts, death duties are not payable on them. In addition, the real estate holdings abroad are also not subject to death duties.

Since the present marquess' accession to the title, however, his personal acumen, allied to his enormous capital backing, has enabled him within two years to repair the inroads made by death taxes into the Bute fortune. The extent to which this is so is revealed in part by the fact that the present marquess maintains five residences in Britain, besides keeping up his Spanish castle (which he often visits, being fond of Spain), and planning to reopen a castle in Wales as a summer home.

This latter is Castell Coch (Red castle), a 70-roomed, 13th-century fortress on a hill top at Tongwynlais, near Cardiff. Local children call it Fairy castle, for in addition to its

picturesque ramparts, portcullis, dry moat, drawbridge and dungeons, it is reputed to house a hidden treasure and two medieval ghosts.

Soon after his succession to the title he made a gift of the famous Cardiff castle and 450 acres of surrounding land to the people of Cardiff. This was no ruin; Cardiff castle was among the most splendid of the family's possessions. It was feudal in its appointments and upkeep, and liveried servants used to attend the late earl when he was in residence.

Worked In A Bank

Among the castle's contents were a staircase plated with gold, bathroom decorated with 50 different kinds of marble and with windows glazed with alabaster, a solid bronze door to the chapel, a marble Roman bath imported from Italy and an Arab room with a gilded ceiling and stained glass windows. Peacocks promenade in the grounds, and in three huge greenhouses orchids and other rare plants are cultivated. Such a gift is the measure of the almost fabulous Bute wealth. In September, 1949, part of the castle was opened as the Welsh National College of Music and Drama.

Also in the family, and previously kept at Cardiff castle, is the magnificent Bute state coach, second in splendor only to that of the King's.

At Mount Stuart, the Marquess of Bute's magnificent Gothic house in Rothesay, stands the most expensive private altar in Britain, put up at a cost of \$150,000. Mount Stuart, built of red sandstone, shows up well against the green woods surrounding it. Within are floors, pillars and staircases of marble, with walls lined with fine tapestries made at a private factory established by the late marquess near Edinburgh. Some years before the war four of these tapestries were loaned for an art exhibition and were valued at \$300,000.

Born on Aug. 4, 1897, the present marquess first achieved national fame

21 years later—the first time for 150 years that the male head of the Crichton-Stuart family had lived to see his heir come of age. Newspapers all over the country carried stories and pictures of the pageantry at Rothesay, with signal fires blazing from hilltops. The heir himself lighted the main fire, high on the wooded slopes above Mount Stuart, the first time for five generations that father and heir had participated in the picturesque ceremony. At Cardiff castle, later in the week, 10,000 guests attended a garden party.

After graduating from Edinburgh university, the Earl of Dumfries (as the heir then was) went to work in a bank at a salary of about \$4.50 a week, at his father's request. This was to give the young man, destined to inherit vast wealth, a grounding in business matters and a respect for the careful handling of money. This banking experience has greatly contributed to the present marquess' success in maintaining and even building up, the family fortune.

At 24 he again broke into the news by buying the lonely island of St. Kilda, part of the Outer Hebrides in the Atlantic ocean, 140 miles from the Scottish mainland. In the previous year the Government had evacuated the island's 300 inhabitants because of difficulties in ensuring food supplies during the harsh winter, and the only life remaining on the isle were wild birds. It was for this reason that the Earl of Dumfries bought St. Kilda, with the aim of setting it up as a bird sanctuary.

An enthusiastic ornithologist (he is today a Fellow of the Zoological Society and a member of the British Ornithological Union), he has pursued his hobby in many parts of the world, besides spending many weeks every year on his island bird sanctuary. He still tells with feeling of the occasion when, trapped on a mountain ledge by a snow storm when examining a sea-fowl's nest, he had to descend 200 feet by rope, exposed to gale and snow—and dressed in a kilt.

In 1932 he married Lady Eileen Forbes, daughter of Earl Granard, and their wedding in the Irish village of Newtonforbes (Earl Granard's country seat) was a great occasion in

British society life. In the following year the marchioness presented her husband with twin sons, and the family has since been increased by addition of another son and a daughter.

A Roman Catholic, the Marquess of Bute is regarded by the Vatican as one of its most important sons. The late marquess was the only British holder of the papal order of the Golden Spur, which cannot be held at any one time by more than 100 persons. This order is conferred only on distinguished Roman Catholics "who by arms, writing or brilliant deeds have promoted the cause of Christianity, valiantly defended the Church or illustrated it by their teaching."

Like his father, he is known for his contributions to Catholic charities, and for his generous treatment of those who work for him. A servant falling ill will be provided with the finest medical skill that can be obtained.

A member of the Territorial Army (Royal Artillery) in 1939, he served throughout the war, but returned to his civil "uniform"—tweed jacket and uncreased flannels—as soon as he could. He shuns publicity, is rarely photographed, and although a valuable talker when among friends, is not generally noted for loquacity. When travelling abroad (he sometimes visits his possessions and business interests in Spain, Gibraltar and Tangier) he frequently goes incognito as plain "Mr. Stuart." These visits are business trips as well as holidays, for the marquess retains a very firm grasp on the financial and commercial details of his holdings.

Amateur Ornithologist

He is probably the only man in Britain to have removed his own appendix. This occurred when he was pulling a gun through a hedge and a branch caught on the trigger. The shot snipped off his appendix as cleanly as a Surgeon's knife, and he was fully recovered within two weeks.

Slight of build, with sombre eyes and a heavy black moustache, he has often been likened to portraits of an earlier Stuart, King Charles I, but he is of a much more retiring disposition than that ill-fated monarch. Although a member of two famous

London clubs, as well as of one in Edinburg, he is rarely seen socially, preferring to spend most of his time in the pursuit of his two hobbies, ornithology and shooting.

It is quite certain that within a measurable period the marquess will have increased manifold the depleted heritage that accrued to him in 1947. Britain has no capital gains tax; although income is heavily taxed in the higher brackets, increases in capital value are untouched. If you start a company with \$100 capital, and that company increases to a value of even \$1,000,000, not one penny of the increase is taken by the State. The marquess, in addition to being chairman of the Bute Ferry Co. (an extremely profitable shipping firm) in which he owns most of the shares, and chairman of Mountjoy Ltd. (a holding company for most of the Bute industrial real estate interests) has also started two business companies, one a slate quarrying concern and the other to develop light industries.

Both these have been started in a small way, without fanfare or gran-

diose aims, but that is a Bute business attribute. His great-grandfather created an enormous fortune in a similar manner, by interesting himself in a small fishing village on the Welsh coast and buying land in and about it. This tiny village became a world seaport—Cardiff.

The marquess (through Mountjoy Ltd.) still retains holdings worth millions of dollars in Cardiff alone.

In addition to these, the marquess recently joined the board of the \$16,500,000 Eagle Star Insurance Co. and increased his hotel and other holdings in Tangier. It is difficult to assess the Bute nitrate mining interests in South America, but the marquess is known to possess extensive holdings in Chile.

There is no doubt whatever that the Marquess of Bute, descendant of Scottish kings (the founder of the family was John Stuart, a son of Robert II of Scotland), will retain his position as the richest man in Britain, for it can be said of him, as his father, that "although possessing great wealth, he has the prudence to preserve it."



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BRITAIN'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY: INDIAN INFLUENCE

By ANDREW ROTH

LONDON: India played an important role in recent debates on Britain's Middle East policy. Winston Churchill named the loss of "the well-placed and formidable resources of the Imperial armies in India" as chief reason for the decline of British influence in the Middle East. This evoked the tart remark of Labour M. P. R. H. S. Crossman that "One does not make a policy by having a nostalgia for the Indian Army." But the nostalgia exists, whetted a bit by Pakistan's discreet suggestions that British support for Pakistan's aspirations in Kashmir may release Pakistan troops for use in the Middle East. But even a more emphatic promise would not defend the Middle East and the absence of either the Indian or Pakistan armies is pushing Britain toward what one might describe as a "doughnut" policy for the Middle East.

In the early thirties an American doughnut company distributed brightly colored jingles:

*As you wander on through life,
brother
Whatever be your goal
Keep your eye on the doughnut
And not upon the hole!*

No one has noticed this motto in the office of Foreign Minister Herbert Morrison. But the pressure of events appears to be pushing British Middle East policy out of the shifting sands of the Middle East's 'inner core' to the more solid ground of the 'outer rim.' As the new British-headed Middle East directorate emerges from the September meeting of the North Atlantic alliance in Ottawa it seems most likely to be based on this 'doughnut' or 'rim' strategy. Greece, Turkey and—if possible—Iran will comprise the top segment of the circle directly confronting the Soviets. Saudi Arabia will probably provide the air bases on the East reinforced, it is hoped, by Pakistan. Crete, Cyprus, Malta and Libya will provide the airbases, dumps and headquarters on the West. The Sudan, reinforced by South African

troops, will comprise the southern portion of the circle.

This 'rim' or 'doughnut' strategy facilitates an alliance with individual states in the Middle East's 'soft core' without getting caught in Arab dynastic rivalries or the bitter Arab-Israel fight. Israel and Jordan and Iraq can attach themselves to the outer rim individually. Egypt—which all British strategists consider the 'hub' of any Middle Eastern defence—can be fitted in later if the knotty problems of the Suez Canal base and the future of the Sudan can ever be solved. This 'rim' strategy, then, offers the opportunity of *starting* to think in terms of a common Middle Eastern defence *without* waiting for the dust to settle.

Any shift in Middle Eastern strategy is of vital importance because this is the most vulnerable area of *both* sides of the 'lukewarm war.' The area's importance to the West was described in the message accompanying the Mutual Security Program now before the U. S. Congress: "It lies athwart the principle lines of sea and air communication in the Eastern hemisphere. It is a land bridge between Asia and Africa, Soviet control of which would expose the African continent. It is a source of a prime strategic material, oil, the continuing supply of which is essential to friendly nations in Europe and Asia. It supplies three-fourths of the petroleum requirements of Western Europe." It is also the area from which the Soviet's Caucasus oil resources can most easily be bombed.

Britain's Basic Objectives

The 'doughnut' strategy should be considered *not* as a new and fixed British strategy, but as one toward which Britain is being pushed by the logic of events. If anything is clear about British Middle Eastern policy it is the absence of what *The Economist* calls a "clear, coherent and agreed" policy. Mr. Churchill was being partisan but not inaccurate when he described Mr. Morrison's major speech on Middle Eastern policy

on July 30 as an "able and agreeable parade of bland truisms and platitudes." Mr. Morrison enumerated British objectives but gave no hint that these objectives are linked together into any future pattern or that he has the remotest idea of how to hurdle the seemingly insuperable obstacles in the way.

Britain's basic objectives in the Middle East are clear. The immediate aim is to organize a defence of the Middle East under British command to which the U.S., the Commonwealth, France and the Middle Eastern states contribute. This, it is hoped, will make secure Britain's tottering network of airbases, landbases, storage dumps, transit rights and military alliances. Thus strengthened, Britain hopes to minimize the loss of the valuable Middle Eastern oil concessions and other investments which do so much to preserve its precarious economic stability.

These objectives are common to the bulk of the Conservatives and Labourites. Ernest Bevin's 1946-48 Palestine policy had the support of virtually all the Commons but Winston Churchill and a few left-wing Labourites. And today both Conservatives and Labour leaders insist they will not evacuate the Anglo-Iranian oil refineries at Abadan or the Suez Canal bases.

There is, however, a striking distinction in attitude. The Labour Government is conscious of Britain's military weakness and fearful of war. It attempts to rely on negotiation and the support of the U. S. to buttress its position but will, under pressure, agree to what its opponents describe as a "slow motion scuttle" if war is the alternative.

"Whiff Of Grapeshot" Technique

The Conservatives, too, rue Britain's weakened position. In the Middle East debate Winston Churchill spoke of retrieving Britain's position "at a lower level" and gave as the prime reason for Britain's Middle East weakness the loss of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent as a military base and source of manpower. But Mr. Churchill, and even more so the Tory backbenchers, want to make up for this lack of real power by more frequent use of the "whiff of grape-shot" technique. Speaking of the Abadan refinery Mr. Churchill,

cheered on by Tory backbenchers, insisted that British personnel "must stay and we must never agree to their being withdrawn. If violence is offered to them, we must not hesitate to intervene, if necessary by force."

Despite the abundance of verbal fireworks there were no illuminating proposals for a new Middle Eastern approach. Conservative Middle Eastern expert Julian Amery proposed increasing Britain's present 35,000 troops there to three or four divisions, without suggesting from what magic sleeve these troops were to be extracted or on what Middle Eastern bases they are to be stationed.

The best insights were contributed by Labour's most brilliant Middle Eastern analyst, R. H. S. Crossman. He insisted that "there is no country in the Middle East today which willingly accepts the presence of our troops" and added that "there is not a single country outside Israel and Turkey capable of defending itself or willing to lend a hand in any war—except on the winning side." He warned that Lord Killearn had used the Tory "whiff of grapeshot" tactics when he sent tanks into the Egyptian Royal Palace in 1942. "We are suffering still" he added, "from the appalling scar on Egyptian national honour which this piece of toughness with the Egyptians has produced." He emphasized that "If we do not have the people of the area wanting to defend themselves, then whatever defence we may create will fall to pieces in the stress... of war." But when it came to proposing a new "political framework" for the Middle East the brilliant but erratic Mr. Crossman proposed the hoary imperialist scheme of a union between Iraq and Jordan and Britain's taking over the Egyptian Gaza strip from Egypt as a base.

The paucity of feasible proposals arises from increasing realization that there is very little Britain can do in its old grooves. *The Economist*, which on many occasions shows a rare quality of frank insight insisted, on August 4, that "except in the semi-European units of Turkey and Israel—there are at present among the Middle Eastern peoples no elements that favour the West. Individuals possess Western friends. Despots like King Ibn Saud or the late King Abdullah sign agreements with Western

allies. But among the peoples as a whole the term 'pro-British' is one of opprobrium, and 'pro-American' runs it close in all the countries which take the Palestine settlement to heart.... Anomalously, the rich pasha and landlord-politician supports this attitude. He would if he were logical, throw in his lot with the West in order to barricade himself against Communism. Instead he points at the West as a source of all local evils, so identifying himself with a popular outcry and deflecting attention from his own shortcomings as a manager of his country's social affairs." It comes to the conclusion that "the West desperately needs a policy for the Middle East, but has no idea where to find one that will work quickly."

The Liberal *Manchester Guardian* demonstrates a similar defeatism. In the Middle East things are going "from bad to worse" it admitted on July 30, primarily because of the loss of "the unchallenged military supremacy of Britain" which existed between the wars. "The question before us—and it must be promptly answered—is whether the old framework, which seemed so stable twenty years ago, can be restored by any action we can take, or whether changes must go on—some of them perhaps changes for the worse—until a new balance is struck...."

"We could, no doubt, still muster force enough to defeat an Egyptian Army or the Persian Navy if we were driven to it. But such an action, even if it could be justified in itself, would not restore the old grip. It might destroy opposition; it would no longer create compliance. It would not restore the security of the old. In the long run there will be no health in the Middle East until the relations of its constituent countries with Britain rest on a more normal base. But can we rely on having a long run?"

Muddling Through

Britain has a desire to defend its Middle Eastern position and long has pushed for the emerging Middle East command as the military framework for its defence. But Foreign Office officials virtually admit they are still casting about for a political strategy to accompany it. Under these fluid conditions objective realities appear to

be winning out over waning illusions, pushing Britain towards an 'outer rim' policy.

Perhaps the most striking development has been the growth in respect for the anti-Communist capacities of the Turks. Turkey is now conceived of as the substitute for the loss of Indo-Pakistan troop resources. It has about 350,000 troops, trained and equipped by the U. S., with enough reserves to double this within a few weeks. On the basis of their Korean showing, some British strategists think the Turks can absorb the attack of as many as 1,000,000 Russian troops while serving as a spring board for initial bombardment of the U.S.S.R.'s "soft underbelly," the Caucasus oilfields. Politically, the Turks are a western diplomat's dream; they are violently and traditionally anti-Russian and clamour to be considered Europeans, even 'honorary Europeans.'

On July 18th Mr. Morrison announced in the Commons that Britain would support the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the North Atlantic Pact and explained that Britain is "most anxious that Turkey shall play her appropriate part in the defence of the Middle East. The Turkish Government share this view. When the British-commanded Middle East organisation is announced in September it is expected a Turkish general will command land forces."

While Turkey's western flank is covered by the doughty Greeks, there is considerable concern here about the tottering Persian structure. It was largely the joint Anglo-American concern with the strategic aspect of the Persian situation which enabled Presidential Envoy Averill Harriman to get Britain to tone down its terms in Teheran. There has been a discreet hope that Pakistan may help stiffen that flank. Already Pakistan diplomats in Teheran have helped smooth the way for British diplomats in the Anglo-Persian talks. And the Pakistan Government has suggested that if the Kashmir situation is settled in a manner satisfactory to Pakistan then perhaps the Pakistan Army will be available for service elsewhere. But the Pakistanis, together with the Indians and Ceylonese, ostentatiously stayed away from the Commonwealth

Conference on Middle East defence in June, making it necessary for Britain to look first of all to the South Africans for Middle East forces.

Base-seeking Strategists

Turkey's re-emergence as an important military power contrasts strikingly with the bulk of the Arabs, who are militarily ineffective, violently anti-Western in ideology and largely unconcerned about Soviet intentions. British strategists have not thought much of the Arab states in terms of a military contribution, certainly not after the Arab defeat at the hands of the Israelis.

Britain is prevented from completely abandoning the 'inner core' of the Middle East largely by the conviction that Egypt is the 'hub' of any base and transit facilities. As Mr. Morrison said during the debates, "Egypt is in some respects the key to the Middle East." It has the only port, transit, base and labour facilities adequate to supply a Western army fighting in the Middle East. Furthermore Egypt is the bridge between Asia and Africa and controls the Suez Canal which links the Eastern and Western hemispheres. It is only the British (and American) conviction of Egypt's vital importance as a 'facility' that has kept the British Government patiently negotiating and discreetly bribing the Egyptian Government with jet planes and other armaments for five long years. But it finds that even those Egyptian leaders who are most reasonable and anti-Communist in private pour out the bitterest vituperation in public in order to preserve their political position. This is compelling base-seeking British strategists to think more seriously of Turkey's Iskanderun (Alexandretta)—which the U.S. has been modernizing these past two years on top of Britain's wartime improvements.

Using Saudi Arabia

The extent to which anti-British feeling, when channeled through Middle Eastern territories, can destroy the most carefully-built centers of British influence, has been brought home again by the assassination of King Abdullah. Never again can Britain hope to have as wholehearted and co-operative an ally-cum-satel-

lite as it had in his lifetime. Although Abdullah's second son and present Regent, Naif, is rather pro-British, the cabinet already has a more nationalist tone. And if heir-apparent Emir Talal ascends the throne, Britain is due for some unpleasant times both from him and from the dissatisfied former Palestinian Arabs and refugees.

Of late the British have turned an increasingly friendly eye toward Ibn Saud the venerable King of Saudi Arabia. Unlike other Arab leaders, his sand-and-oil kingdom has no public opinion and he can make arrangements with Western powers on the basis of simple self-interest. Until now his alliances have revolved about the huge Aramco oil development and the American airbase at Dhahran. Recently his son, the Emir Feisal, has been here discussing with the Foreign Office Saudi Arabia's uncharted borders with a number of British protectorates including oil-rich Bahrain. From this, the talks have wandered afield. Foreign Office officials found him very reasonable about Israel and the problem of the Western defence of the Middle East. There is some hope of using Saudi Arabia to break the solid front of the Arab states against Israel, thus bringing both Arabs and Israelis into the new Middle East defence setup.

If the current tendency to move the emphasis of Middle Eastern defense to its 'rim' continues, Israel is expected to be one of the beneficiaries. For a long time Western observers have believed that in the Middle East proper only Turkey and Israel could put up any significant resistance against a Soviet attack. But any attempt to bring Israel into a Middle Eastern defence structure has been stymied by the opposition of its Arab neighbours. Once the Middle Eastern defences are moved out to the 'rim', individual states like Israel, Jordan or Iraq may be able to join, individually without stirring the Arab League hornets nest to an effective counter-action. Furthermore, a relaxation of emphasis on the 'inner-core' of Arab states will diminish Britain's tendency to try to win their friendship by supplying arms, thus diminishing the objective possibility of an Arab 'second round' against Israel.

American Letter

MEET STALIN, THE 'MASTER BUNGLER'

By Dr. P. G. Krishnayya

NEW YORK CITY: The great parlour game in America today is Soviet Russia. A great number of studies have come out recently on U.S.S.R. By far the most interesting one is by Prof Michael Crankshaw of Harvard University.

In one short closely-packed study, Mr. Crankshaw, who knows the Soviet Union well and at first hand, masterfully dispels some of the most dangerous delusions of our deluded times. Few readers will come away still believing with General MacArthur that the enemy is Communism as such rather than Russia. Or that the Communist revolution, as conceived by Marx, has succeeded in Russia or anywhere else. Or that Stalin, in contrast to the leaders of the West, has been pursuing a diabolically clever blueprint instead of playing it by ear. Or, most important of all, that a major war is inevitable because the Kremlin is bent on the military conquest of the world.

It is Crankshaw's thesis that while Marxism itself was fated to prove false, what was left of it was so violently distorted by Lenin and Stalin, especially Lenin, that the net result must be described as "anti-Marxism." At bottom it is the traditional Russian will to expand, without fighting, prompted by messianic as well as strategic and economic purposes and periodically reversed by the equally traditional Russian drive to ignore the rest of the world and turn mystically in on itself.

This emphasis on "Russianism" will no doubt bother many non-Communist readers, and Crankshaw does, indeed, ride his pet theories pretty hard. Thus the Russians are absolutists; they want anarchy, but if they can't have it, they prefer autocracy to hypocritical Western compromise. Hence the Kremlin dictatorship to supplant that of the Czars. Hence the slave labor. And hence, too, the

basic weakness of the Soviet Union and of a world movement that looks to it for leadership.

As to that weakness Crankshaw has little doubt, and one can appreciate and enjoy his account of its manifestations without accepting his sweeping characterizations of the Russian people. Far from following a grand Bolshevik design of world strategy, Stalin "has been improvising in a hand-to-mouth manner reminiscent of the British Foreign Office."

And to what effect? He has revived the German menace, his particular *Bete Noire*, in a shorter time than anyone thought possible; he has brought about the unity of the Western European powers, which he feared, and indirectly stimulated their economic recovery by way of the Marshall Plan; and he has stung the United States into a defence program which at once dwarfs his own industrial potential for war and staves off the American economic debacle on which his hopes rested.

He has, furthermore, alienated, if not liquidated, the real revolutionaries of Eastern Europe, stirred up hot resentment in the satellite countries, and allowed Tito to demonstrate the attractive possibilities of independence. Connoisseurs of diplomatic bungling might well avert their gaze from Acheson and Co. and look on the work of the Master Bungler.

Apart from having jockeyed himself into his nightmarish position, Stalin suffered glaring weaknesses to begin with; destruction and loss of manpower on a scale little dreamed of in the West; industrial production that "has no hope at all of catching up with the United States for many decades;" a per capita food allowance now lower than it was in 1928, when it just about reached the 1914 level; an overpowering desire for peace and

rest on the part of a population strained to desperation by successive wars, famines, purges and Five Year Plans; and the dangerous hopelessness of 10,000,000 slave laborers behind the lines.

Conceding the size and quality of the Red Army, Crankshaw points out that neither mechanically nor organizationally it is adapted to the quick and highly co-ordinated movement of the Blitzkrieg, while the enormous perimeter to be guarded would cut down the size of an attacking force to proportions that the Western powers could handle.

There is nothing wishful in the facts and statistics with which these assertions are supported, and Mr. Crankshaw neither minimizes Stalin's freedom from scruple nor ignores the high cards he holds. But on the whole his analysis sends rays of confidence and knowledge into an area clouded with ignorance and fear.

Chester Bowles—Next American Ambassador To India

Chester Bowles, former Governor of Connecticut and wartime price controller, has accepted President Truman's offer of a crucial diplomatic post, Ambassador to India.

The appointment represents one of the President's rather rare gestures of friendship for a liberal personality as distinct from liberal policy. Cynics note it as further evidence that he intends to run again.

Bowles is wealthy, a favorite of labour and influential in the independent circles that Mr. Truman alternately attracts by his foreign policy and repels by his tolerance of the antics of his personal circle. It was not necessary, however, to get him out of the way as a possible rival; his defeat for re-election as Governor of Connecticut last fall took care of that. He can still be useful to Mr. Truman in a campaign.

Bowles' new eminence is a far cry from the days when Mr. Truman first moved into the White House with the present Secretary of the Treasury, John Snyder, at his elbow to help him run the country. A great many of the New Dealers irritated the new

President but Bowles could fairly claim that none excelled him at the pastime.

As Governor, however, he managed to find a common meeting ground with Mr. Truman. He also presented him with a much needed and faithful Democratic vote in the Senate by arranging to make a Connecticut Republican, Ray Baldwin, a state judge and replacing him with the present Senator Benton.

It is not yet clear whether Bowles' appointment will be delayed by the struggle between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. This is the crisis which former Senator Graham is trying to mediate for the United Nations.

Who in '52?

For weeks now, veteran politicians in both parties have been studying the political portents of President Truman's repeated laudatory remarks about Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

And out of the welter of conflicting conclusions has come widespread agreement on only one major point: President Truman does not envision a Truman vs. Eisenhower race next year.

If he does, it's got most of the politicians stumped. They say that's not the way they learned the game. It doesn't make sense to build up a fellow you expect to run against.

The President naturally was expected to say nice things about the general in answer to press-conference questions. He couldn't do much else concerning a man whom he had appointed to so many high offices.

But the President went much further than necessary. He said laudatory things about the general that he knew would be thrown back to him if he found himself campaigning against Gen. Ike.

Hence the conclusion of the politicians that Mr. Truman is sure he won't be engaged in such a campaign. Which means, in their opinion, that one of the two won't be a candidate.

At this point there comes the area of disagreement among the politician-analysts.

The conservative Republicans, most of them for Sen. Robert A. Taft say

that the President knows Gen. Eisenhower won't be a candidate. He can keep Gen. Ike in Europe, if necessary, they say.

The pro-Eisenhower Republicans say that President Truman won't run if the general decides to. And perhaps the President has already made up his mind not to run again.

Most Democrats say all they know is that the President is too skillful a politician to build up a man against whom he might expect to run and thus it is apparent that the President doesn't anticipate a Truman vs. Eisenhower race.

"Why, if they were grooming a man back in my district to run against me, I might say he was a nice sort of fellow, in a mild way," said a Republican House leader. "But I'd be darned sure not to say anything they could throw back at me next year. Truman knows Eisenhower isn't going to run."

Mr. Truman's praise of Gen. Eisenhower has been building up, as the questioning proceeds in his press conferences week after week. In the latest of these conferences, the President said he was as fond as he could be of the general. He called Gen. Ike one of the great men produced by World War II and, he added, he had shown that by giving the general the most important job available for his abilities.

"Now you don't say those things and expect to be campaigning against the fellow next year," said one Democrat. "Especially when you're on record as once having promised to help him get the Presidency."

(Gen. Eisenhower's book reported that the President told the general in 1945 that he would help him get anything he wanted, including the Presidency.)

In Bernadotte's Footsteps

A letter came to Sweden from Secretary General Trygve Lie, last winter, and Countess Bernadotte opened it with mild curiosity. The contents, she said, turned out to be "surprising." Mr. Lie asked her to be one of

three members on a special U. N. Commission on Prisoners of War.

The commission's job was to try to find out what happened to more than 2,000,000 German, Japanese, Austrian and Italian civilians and combat troops who disappeared in the Soviet Union after World War II. Russia never accounted for them, so the General Assembly authorized the inquiry. Were they dead? Were they alive? Were they being worked slowly to death in forced-labour camps?

Countess Bernadotte thought it over. She finally accepted after receiving assurances from Mr. Lie that he picked her for her own qualifications and not because she was the widow of Count Folke Bernadotte, the Swedish humanitarian who died by an assassin's bullet while serving the United Nations as mediator in the Palestine War.

"I feel so strongly that being married to a man and taking on his mantle are two completely different things," she explained at an interview. "There is an awful difference. After all, I'm not Folke Bernadotte."

The American-born countess is the former Estelle Romaine Manville, a daughter of the late H. Edward Manville, onetime chairman of the board and president of Johns-Manville Corporation. She was married to Count Bernadotte, a nephew of the late King Gustaf of Sweden, at Pleasantville, N. Y., in 1928.

She said she had seen Dr. Ralph Bunche frequently in New York, although he has been very busy. Dr. Bunche won the Nobel Peace Prize for his work in securing an armistice in Palestine, a post he inherited after Count Bernadotte's death.

"We had fun one night," she said. "Ralph is on an international films board. He took me to two foreign films in one night. One was good; the other I had been avoiding. Afterward, I said, 'Ralph, how do you do it? I'm exhausted.'"

no action has been taken. It is not surprising that when grave allegations by responsible parties are made against people holding positions of high authority and they continue to remain in power without being cleared of the accusations, the public generally feel that anybody really influential can get away with anything. It seems fairly clear that if the public are to have confidence that moral standards do prevail in high places, arrangements must be made that no one, however highly placed, is immune from enquiry if allegations against him are made by responsible parties and a prima facie case exists. The form of machinery and enquiry may be different for different people, but there must be a machinery and it must exist within the framework of Government and not, in the case of Ministers, for example, within that of the political party. There should be no hushing up or appearance of hushing up for political and personal reasons."

The reconstitution of the Working Committee is a move in the right direction, but it will become meaningless if it stops just there. The drive for integrity should not be limited to the top but should be carried forward to every other level of the Congress organisation. Because of the dominance of the corrupt in the Congress regime, young men have ceased to be inspired by the Congress and but few of them have joined it in recent years. For the renovation of the Congress with youth and freshness, the elimination of the corrupt from the ministries and the legislatures and from important positions in the administration is the main task to which any Working Committee that may be formed by the Congress will

have to apply its energies relentlessly hereafter. There is no lack of hullabaloo, as it is, about the apprehension and punishment of the corrupt in public service. But in practice, while a little mouse of a clerk is caught and severely punished, big whales of ministers and secretaries of departments with transactions on a colossal scale flourish uncaught. The movement for integrity is directed, in not a few instances, by the clever undiscovered corrupt as against the less wily unskilful bungler. In the Union Parliament this week Sri Rajagopalachari spoke of the difficulty of evolving methods for speedy punishment of the corrupt without violating the concessions due to natural justice. One method, at any rate, suggested by Sri Gorwala is so axiomatically infallible that no difficulty at all need be felt even by the most delicate conscience about the desirability of giving it the widest application. Says Gorwala:

"There can be no doubt that some action is necessary when it is known or can be seen that a public servant or his dependents have become suddenly rich, for instance, when a man on a salary of Rs. 1,000 per month, or his wife or daughter buys or builds a house costing a couple of lakhs, or rides about in a car worth Rs. 20,000."

If, in the forthcoming elections, this simple test of corruption suggested by Sri Gorwala is applied to every applicant for a Congress ticket, however high up he may be in the Congress organisation, and in particular to ministers, there will be some hope for good government and the restoration of Congress prestige in future. None otherwise.—SAKA.

FROM GORWALA REPORT

The deviation from moral standards of ministers, legislators and administrators takes various forms. These can be classified under three main heads: corruption, patronage (based on communalism, sectarianism, nepotism and favouritism) and influence. Whatever the form, there can be no doubt that it vitiates policy, weakens administration and undermines public confidence.

To some of the men in power the temptation is great to use the influence of Government servants, even to the extent of arranging transfers of suitable instruments, to secure power again, but they must realise that this very short-sighted policy is bound to recoil upon them within a few years and is disastrous in the larger interests of the country.

There can be no doubt that at the present moment, with a parliamentary majority behind them, at least a few are inclined to hold that there is no difference between their will and the law.

THE EARTH IS GETTING MORE WARM

By GEORG MANN

THE climate of a large part of the northern hemisphere is getting warmer. The idea isn't new; it was widely discussed in the 'thirties. But then, after the cold winters at the end of that decade, scientists grew a little sceptical.

Some intimated we were merely living in the trough of an Ice Age, and that colder days were just around the corner. Now they aren't so sure. Many experts are agreeing with Dr. Ivan R. Tancehill of the U. S. weather bureau, that the climate is getting both warmer and drier. And that change, they point out, opens up a great many problems.

Bright Side

Some of the results will be excellent. Other results, like those foreseen by the University of Cincinnati's Dr. Clarence Mills, promise trouble.

Let us look at the bright side first. Copenhagen is happy these days; the Danish colony of Greenland is flourishing.

Sheep are even being raised in the southern-part of Greenland. The Eskimos are losing their taste for seal, once the staple of their diet, and learning to like the abundant cod, which has appeared in their waters for the first time.

Across the Atlantic, the Danes themselves are learning to recognise the 25 new bird species that have moved into their country from warmer climes. Six southern bird species have ventured as far as Iceland. In Norway, fir and spruce are invading new territories and growing taller in old stands.

In Iceland, farmers have hopes of growing barley; in southern Ontario, there's hope for producing cotton. The line for cultivating wheat in Canada is said to have moved north by hundreds of miles.

Ice-Free Port

The Russians are reaping the biggest rewards. The reason is obvious; there's more of Russia to warm up. The permafrost—the treacherous, permanently frozen area in the soil

that wrecks the hope of building—has been forced back hundreds of yards a year. The Barents Sea, north of Archangel, scorned by temperature-conscious fish for centuries, has blossomed into a lush fishing area.

There is hope for an ice-free passage across the top of Asia; shipping in the Baltic can be carried on weeks longer every year. Russia may yet achieve the age-old dream of an all-year oceanic port.

As northern Siberia and northern North America are freed from the clutches of cold, the pattern of world power must inevitably change. Additional agricultural land opened up by warmer temperatures means political power for Russia and Canada.

If world power shifts towards the North Pole, thanks to climatic change, it won't be for the first time. The last warm period in history began around A. D. 850. That date marks the appearance of Denmark in history, when the Vikings ruled England, set up a dukedom in France, established a state in Russia and a kingdom in Sicily.

Bad Aspects

There are probably two reasons for their dominance. One, their lands became relatively warm and fertile and successful agricultural colonies could be established as far north as Greenland and Iceland. And secondly, if the ideas about the effects of climate on man held by Dr. Clarence Mills are true, more southerly peoples had their vitality sapped by unduly warm climates.

One accurate check on the temperature comes from nature's own 'ice thermometer,' the glaciers. The last 25,000 years—since the last Ice Age in short—have seen the amount of ice on the earth's surface decline by half. Everywhere the glaciers are retreating under the impact of warmer temperatures, and the process is speeding up.

Like the shifting balance of national power, both good and bad results can be expected from this aspect of our

warming climate. For one thing, shipping lanes in the North Atlantic are free of the iceberg menace. The bergs, breaking off the Arctic waters, have melted by the time they reach travelled waters. And valuable farmland underneath the glaciers can be used to produce food.

On the other hand, when the glaciers melt, the water goes into the ocean and the sea level goes up. It is rising well over an inch every year. And if the earth's 4,000,000 cubic miles of glacial ice ever melted completely, it has been estimated that the sea level would go up 165 feet.

That means goodbye to a large chunk of Holland, England, cities on the coasts of all the oceans, goodbye to all the wealth accumulated in those cities. Not much can be done if this occurs: not even dykes would be feasible.

Other Symptoms

Some other curious climatic symptoms seem hooked to the warming climate. While it gets warmer, the northern temperate areas are definitely drying up, and the effect is also found in the tropics.

African lakes are drying up, while the snows of Kilimanjaro are steadily retreating up that mountain side. The years 1919-1940 marked a period of declining rainfall. And, in this connection, the atmospheric pressure seems to be decreasing in the northern hemisphere.

The worst result of the change, however, according to Dr. Mills, is the physical and mental slowing-down in what are now temperate areas. Both men and animals grow smaller in the heat, fertility is lower, and animal experiments indicate that living beings aren't as bright.

Such are the effects. But why is the climate warming up? There are several shrewd guesses among scientists, but basically there is not enough evidence to answer why.

England's weathermen figure the increased warmth may be due to increased carbon dioxide in the air. This gas allows heat to enter the earth's atmosphere, but keeps the heat radiating out just as the glass roof of a greenhouse serves as a heat trap.

Where does the increased gas come from? From human furnaces, engines and motors that burn fuel. And

much natural vegetation has been cut down, which means there is less vegetation to take in the carbon dioxide produced by man.

Many Theories

Furthermore, as Jerome Namias of the U. S. weather bureau points out there is also a greater tendency for ocean air to move inland. This brings equalising winds over usually colder areas.

One consistent attempt has been made to connect climatic cycles associated with the 11-year sunspot cycle. Scientists believe that when the number of sunspots is declining, our climate tends to grow warmer. When the sunspots are on the increase, the thermometer eases down.

More recently, physicists have been making some findings which could apply to this problem of a warming earth. A couple of years ago, Nobel prize-winner Victor F. Hess, of Fordham University, New York, found that granite deep in New York City's subway was about twice as radioactive as it ought to be, on the basis of its known content of radioactive thorium and uranium.

Why this radioactivity increased he didn't know, but it looked as if the earth might be getting hotter at a rate faster than the scientists have figured.

Polar Power

There is also a hint in a theory proposed last year by the University of Chicago's Nobel prize-winner Harold C. Urey before the National Academy of Sciences. Urey's theory, roughly stated, indicates that the earth might have been relatively cool, when it was first formed and later heated by the radioactivity of certain chemical elements.

If radioactivity can play such a role, perhaps disintegrating atoms are heating up the earth, and they may play a role in our present warm spell.

The world's climatic history is full of paradoxes. But one thing is clear, it's getting warmer. The future of northern nations should be bright, with new land opened to farming and a slackening of the annual fight against cold and snow. But the climate may eventually bring tropical latitude to nations on Canada's latitude. Then perhaps a new polar nation will be formed to dominate world affairs.—*Light*—NNF.

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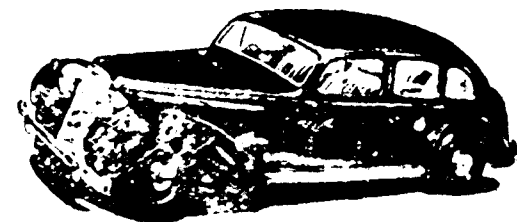
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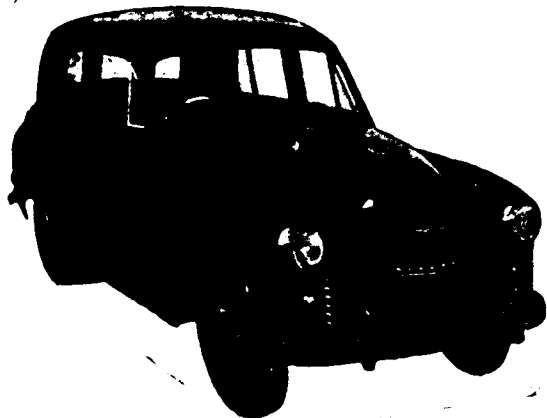
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