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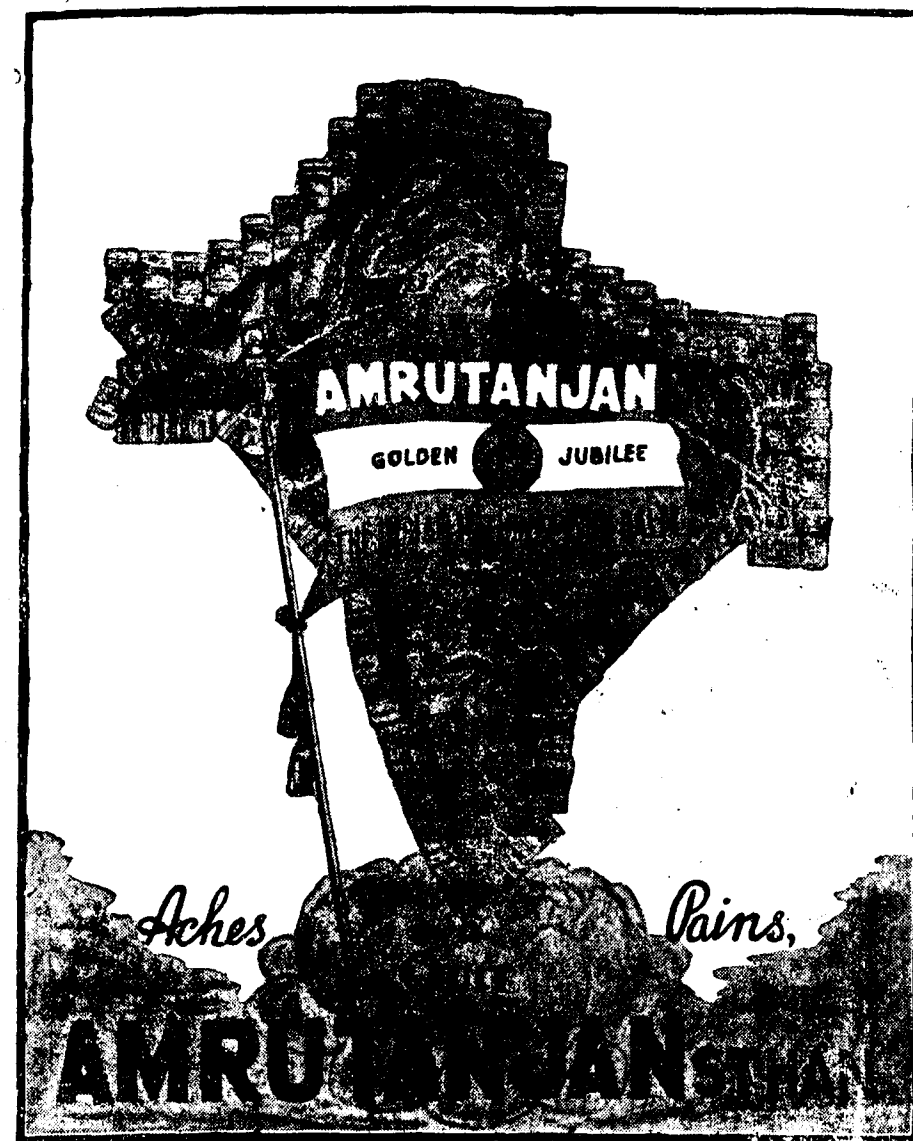
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SWATANTRA

VOL. VI
No. 30

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1 1951

ISSUE
WEEKLY

A HEROIC ROLE

WHEN the Japanese Peace Treaty came up for discussion in the Diet at Tokyo in mid-August, the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Yoshida, was subjected to considerable heckling. He parried all questions about Japanese rearmament and remained resolutely secretive about future American Japanese relations. He declined to answer questions regarding Japanese relations with China. In the debate in the Diet, the allied Powers were accused of openly seeking territorial aggrandisement. The American Government was bitterly attacked for the provision in the treaty permitting the continued stationing of American troops in Japan. The spokesman of the Socialist Party said that "in no way did the treaty satisfy the wishes of the Japanese people." He charged Mr. Yoshida with indulging in "pure propaganda and failing to speak any kind of truth."

Summing up the situation, the Tokyo Correspondent of *The Times* said:

"There is anxiety here over the course to which it is imagined Japan is being committed. All important Japanese newspapers have called upon the Government to display some sense of responsibility towards the people by not signing a security arrangement without first making public its provisions. Such pleas, however, have fallen on deaf ears, and Mr. Yoshida has gone so far as to say that he will not permit a dissolution of the Diet—and in consequence a new general election, in which people could express their views—until the Diet has ratified the peace treaty which he intends to sign."

Considered in the light of Japanese public opinion pictured so graphically

above in *The Times*, the decision of the Government of India not to participate in the San Francisco Conference shines out as an act of supreme justice and courage. In their note to the U. S. Government explaining their decision, the Government of India lay emphasis on two fundamental objectives: first, that the terms of the treaty should concede to Japan a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations; and secondly, they should be so framed as to enable all countries specially interested in the maintenance of a stable peace in the Far East to subscribe to the treaty, sooner or later. The Government of India have, for reasons specifically stated by them, come to the conclusion that the treaty does not, in material respects, satisfy either of these two criteria. One of these reasons is that the Ruyuki and Bonin Islands whose inhabitants have a historical affinity with the Japanese people, continue, under the treaty, in American occupation. Another reason is that, if Japanese sovereignty is to be real, Japan should decide to enter into a defensive agreement with the U. S. Government after she has become truly sovereign and not while still under American occupation. The answer of the U. S. Government to the Government of India's objections does not deal at all with the arguments raised, but expatiates on the danger of delaying the peace treaty. "It (delay) would perpetuate," states the U. S. Note, "the surrender terms which subject the Japanese Government to the military rule of the allied Powers. If that subjection is con-

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tinued after occupation has served its legitimate and valid purposes, the result is indistinguishable from colonialism and imperialism in vicious forms. The United States does not want to be party to colonialism or imperialism." These noble sentiments so spiritedly phrased, cut no ice with the intelligent world, as Pandit Nehru is certainly no advocate of either colonialism or imperialism. The American viewpoint that there can be no departure from imperialism or colonialism for Japan except under terms of American dictation providing for the stationing of American troops, sums up just the substance of India's objection to the peace treaty, but the Washington authorities have merely recapitulated it in another form, and said nothing to make it

acceptable to lovers of freedom without the American umbrella.

In refusing to go to San Francisco, Pandit Nehru has valiantly taken up the Japanese cause against Japan's own present leaders in office tied to American apron strings. With China unrecognized, India abstaining, and Russia ready with other proposals, the peace treaty that will emerge will not represent the voice of Asia. It will be a symbol of European and American disposal of Asian affairs without Asia's consent. This certainly will not conduce to peace. The subservience to Anglo-American persuasion, or threats of those Asiatic Powers that have been drawn to rally round the treaty, serves, by contrast, to illustrate the truly heroic role as champion of freedom that has devolved on India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru.

Sotto Voce

LEAKY BOAT



THE besetting temptation of clever people is to exploit their own virtuosity. In the process they often overlook things that are plain as a pikestaff to simple fellows like you and me. An angry Bengali declared in Parliament that the Government of India, in insisting on prior agreement for readjustment of State boundaries, was following the "Divide and Rule" policy of the Britisher. The Home Minister, instead of just saying that the analogy was false, must needs picture the contrast. There was as much resemblance between the Britisher's pretext and Mr. Nehru's honest difficulty, he said, as between man and monkey.

Though that was an unnecessary

insult to the anthropoid, that humourist would be vastly tickled if he could realise that in the very act of sniffing at him the Minister was unconsciously imitating his ways. With an inconsequence that no mere arboreal could excel, Mr. Rajagopalachari put in one of those alternative pleas that are so dear to the heart of the criminal lawyer and so fatal to the case. Was Machiavellianism necessarily wrong, he asked, because the Britisher had practised it? Had not our ancients, in fact, found it long before the West did? And was it more evil in itself than, say, the mathematical tables?

After this brilliant display of dialectics how could the distracted Bengali be expected to cool down?

The Home Minister could at the very outset have pointed out that, while the Britisher could go on making hay so long as Congress and Muslim League were at each other's throat, poor Mr. Nehru had nothing to gain by keeping Bengali and Bihari wrangling. That would have been a dull and pedestrian reply—but it might have worked. However rabid linguistic acerbities may be, people have not yet come to such a pass that they could say, as we told the Britisher, "You had better quit and then we will settle this business with our fists."

But if those in authority go on insensitively treading on people's corns as if that were the recognised cure, I should not be surprised to find quite a number of Napoleons of Notting Hill leaping up in defence of their sacred dunghills. Mr. Rajagopalachari loftily maintained that languages were not everything. While providently keeping his weather-eye open for squalls in the south, he told the people of the north that they were fighting over shadows. All the northern tongues were really descended from the same grand-parent. Why then should they claw each other's hair and not live in amity? Alas, the path of the improviser is hard. Had he so soon forgotten his own prime argument for Pakistan—that when brothers become *dayadis* they should amicably part?

We are all descended from Hiranyagarbha. But the thought does not deter the man whose purest joy in life is to wear down his neighbour's resistance. If he could but get his backyard fence moved one inch in three years into hostile terrain, he would consider himself more of a hero than any seen at Verdun. The Home Minister is contemptuous of the primitive property instinct that makes

men quarrel over a few border villages. But his Government has no sympathy to waste on those whose destiny is thus settled over their heads. Did not Dr. Ambedkar take the line in the Bhutan dispute that our Swaraj Government had as much right to cede territory (and the people in it) as Charles II had?

The principle of self-determination can be carried to noxious lengths; and in every case there is bound to be more heart-burning at the end than at the beginning. But, granting that, you cannot tell men not to be so touchy and exclusive about their own languages if you try to foist your own pet preference upon them. Mr. Kher, the white-robed political saint of Bombay, casually gave out the other day that his Government were consulting the various universities of the State regarding the use of Hindi as the medium of instruction in colleges. If that is not crude linguistic imperialism I do not know what is.

Mr. Gadgil is loath to depend on his broken Hindi lest, like the foolish man in the parable, he should be found saying one thing and meaning another. But the Congress stalwarts, who used to rail against English as the old man of the sea, would replace it by a *lingo* which is as foreign to the bulk of the people of this country and infinitely less competent. For all that it has been invested with national status Hindi is grossly provincial. That apart, the cultural consciousness of a community accretes naturally round its language. To make an alien tongue the medium of instruction is to drain the mind of all vitality and to produce not men but mimes. Hindi is the leaky boat that will sink our drunken nationalism.

VIGNESWARA.

There seems little doubt that greater moral discipline is a pre-requisite for the advancement of the nation. This discipline must permeate from the core to the essential parts. Emotion can never be a substitute for discipline and at the present time even that fire is not burning very brightly. Plans, in any case, are unlikely to arouse emotion. Their aim must be to arouse disciplined enthusiasm, that is, provide an ideology on the basis of which the individual will be prepared to sacrifice for the common good. If this were to come about, it would, among other things, be an automatic aid to national discipline.—Gorwala Report.

SIDELIGHTS : :

Times of general calamity and confusion have ever been productive of the greatest minds. The purest ore is from the hottest furnace, and the brightest thunderbolt from the darkest cloud.
—COLTON.

COMPROMISE formulas evolved by Congress busybodies to patch the differences between Nehru and Tandon do not reveal any understanding of the real cause of all the trouble. The composition of the Working Committee is not the real issue. Whether the Committee will remain nominated as at present, or whether it will be reformed with elected members, as suggested by some, the situation will remain the same. Newspapers for some time have been discussing with prodigious zeal the relations that should subsist between Pandit Nehru as head of the Government and Sri Tandon as head of the Congress organisation. Theoretically, no doubt, this is a question of momentous importance, but it is of little account practically under present conditions. There is no Congress President that can dream of a competitive relation with Pandit Nehru in the exercise of power, not Sri Tandon certainly. The Prime Minister's position as a national leader is indisputable, unassailable, overwhelming. Yet Sri Tandon has made a brave show of fight and resistance, and rallied round himself defenders with loud tongues and evidently heavy purses. Whether, as some Bombay journals have reported, he has anything to do with a conspiracy to oust Nehru and form another Government at the Centre with another Prime Minister, is doubtful. But it is certain that violent anti-Nehru forces have been released by the Tandon-stand, and unless checked and eliminated in time, they will go on accumulating strength until they get full control of the Congress, with no Nehru to reckon with. The Congress crisis is a struggle for supremacy between Pandit Nehru and those who seek to make him even more ineffective than he is.

Why is Pandit Nehru ineffective?
He is non-communal, and the com-

munalists who have crept in such large numbers into the Congress and hold so many key posts in the Congress Governments and committees, impede Pandit Nehru in implementing his non-communalism in the administration. We have a non-communal Prime Minister and any number of communalist ministers. They tell him lies and go their own small petty way while he dwells in another plane filled with high objectives. Pandit Nehru is steeped in integrity. Many of the ministers are rotten to the core and are steeped in corruption. The Prime Minister's efforts to stamp out corruption are ruined by the counteracting devices of a large number of ministers and others who pretend to be full of rectitude while they debase the administration continually. The Prime Minister is horrified at the prevalence of black-marketing and if he had his way he would hang the culprits by the lampposts. But the blackmarketing interests have become very powerful. They have invaded the Congress, the Press, the Government. The biggest of them escape as they are good as vote-catchers and the ministers and the provincial Congress bosses have need of their services and money. They fight Nehru with his own so-called followers.

Nehru's fight with Tandon is really a fight against his own pretending followers in the Congress who, even while swearing loyalty to him, have in practice sabotaged his leadership and all it stands for, and have made of the Congress a sink for corruption, communalism, treachery and vileness. They may cast their votes for him at the A.I.C.C. and still continue to undermine him as they have been doing these four years. To separate the corrupt from the honest in the Congress has become so difficult and complicated, that if Nehru persists in the task, he may before long realise the need of a clean slate with a fresh party formation for saving some measure of intelligibility to his outlook and ideas.—SAKA.

ANCIENT INDIAN REPUBLICS AND THEIR PROBLEMS—II

By H. RANGACHAR

IN a discourse on republics, as recorded in Chapter 98 of the Santi Parva of the Mahabharata, the great Bhishma emphasises over and over that internal discord is the great bane to which republics largely succumb. The tendency to dissensions may manifest itself in all the strata of a republic—in the individuals and leaders constituting the parties and the Government, in the several sectional interests and communities and in the constituent States of a Federation.

Bhishma states that dissensions which first appear amongst the individuals of a section or a community should on no account be neglected but rigorously checked and controlled by the leaders. If not, the discord spreads to other communities and clans and thence to the States, thus becoming the most potent force for the disruption of the Federation. For a federal republic to progress and flourish, it is of the utmost importance that such fissiparous tendencies which divide the republic should be eradicated from its inception and this duty primarily devolves on the leaders of the communities.

Neighbouring States actuated by greed, envy and hostility are always on the look-out to sow seeds of dissension and rivalry amongst the various units and interests. The means they adopt for this purpose, says Bhishma, are the well-known *bheda* and *dana* strategies, promoting disunity and quarrels by gifts and holding out allurements and promises of rewards to disloyal or weaker units or sections, thus planting a fifth column in the republic. A federal republic, according to him, is a fertile field for espionage on the part of unscrupulous neighbouring States. Eternal care and vigilance is needed to counteract this. "If the components of a federation become divided and each pursues its own sectional interests, its prosperity dwindles and it becomes a prey to diverse dangers

....It is easily subjugated by enemies."

A federal republic has thus to contend against two dangers—"internal and external." "The external danger can be overcome with comparative ease provided the internal danger which can be eradicated is overcome; the internal danger can cut the very roots in a short time." Therefore, concludes Bhishma, in the absence of dissension and in unity lies the salvation of republics.

If, on the other hand, there is unity and harmony, the republic becomes very strong. "When they are thus united, they attain their ends by the very strength of their unity; other States then seek friendship and alliance with them" observes Bhishma.

The correctness of this diagnosis has been amply proved by the subsequent history of republics in ancient India. An outstanding instance is the fall of the great Lichchavi Confederation, due to subjugation by Ajatasatru in the 6th century B.C. This ambitious monarch cast covetous eyes on the republic which then comprised 36 States and was at the zenith of its power and glory. The *Maha Parinibbana Sutta* records that the king sent "the Brahman Vassakara, the Prime Minister," to the Buddha to give an indication to him of the monarch's designs on the republic so that the king may learn of the reaction of the Buddha to it. On the Prime Minister approaching him, the Buddha remarked that the Lichchavis were very strong and invincible and referred to their internal unity and concord as one of the chief sources of their power. "So long as the Vajjians meet in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord....so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper." The Prime Minister agreed and added "So, Gotama, the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance."

Ajatasatru accordingly launched a well-sustained subterranean campaign to sow dissension amongst the units of the republic. For this purpose, he found a very efficient instrument in his Prime Minister, Vassakara, who transferred himself to Vaisali, the capital of the Vajjian or Licchavi Republic and lived there for over three years, perhaps as a citizen and a sympathiser. So well did he play his part that at the end of the three years, wide-spread dissension had reared its ugly head and concord had disappeared, making the republic ripe for attack. When the attack did come, there was disunion and absence of concerted action; many of the constituent units even said "Let the brave Licchavis go forth first and crush the enemy." Divided, the republic ultimately collapsed, though not without a long and protracted struggle of over sixteen years. Bhishma's observation that if a "confederation be disunited among themselves, they meet with destruction," proved prophetic.

One of the important factors which promotes discord in a republic is nepotism. "They are the best of republics and thrive which discarding sons and brothers, accept (encourage) those having competence and merit" (vinīta), says Bhishma. The implication is that in a republic composed of diverse interests, there is greater tendency for nepotism and for preferring extraneous considerations to those of merit. This fans the embers of sectional jealousies into a conflagration in course of time.

Another prime essential for the progress of a republic is that leaders, men of proved worth and competence, should be in charge of the administration of the republics. The ten-

dency in a republic is for every one to consider himself to be as good as the leaders themselves." By birth and as members of a community, all are equal, but not in valour, talents, beauty and wealth" says Bhishma. Leaders of proved ability and worth should therefore be entrusted with the management of the affairs and the administration of the republic. "The efficient conduct of the affairs of the republic, oh, scion of Bharata, depends to a large extent on these." In the Maha Parinibbana Sutta, it is recorded that the Buddha taught the Vajjians that "so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian leaders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words...so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper."

Narada, in the course of his advice to Krishna, enumerates the qualifications which leaders should have. These qualifications are wisdom, intelligence, patience and courage. They should be men of restraint, well-versed in diplomacy and statecraft and imbued with the praiseworthy ambition of advancing the cause of the country. Bhishma also says that "by paying proper heed to leaders who are possessed of wisdom, courage and patience and who display steady prowess in all respects, the republics advance in prosperity."

Another problem which the republics have to face relates to the guarding of the secrets of the State. Both Yudhishtira and Bhishma make reference to this. These secrets and consultation and action on them should be entrusted to the principal members of the Cabinet or the Council and others should not have access to these, opines Bhishma.

It is not enough to act with integrity. Justice, it has been said, must not only be done but must be seen to be done. So too moral standards must not only be observed but must be seen to be observed. In other words, they must be so observed as to eliminate the possibility of suspicion and secure the general recognition of the observers. Accordingly, for public servants—Ministers and Legislators just as much as Administrators—there is not only a standard of conduct to be maintained but a code of behaviour to be followed. The one evokes judgment, the other comment. Judgment is slow and not every one's task. Comment is swift and almost every one's business.—**Gorwala Report.**

NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

IS Nehru a Dictator? Yes and No. Pandit D. P. Mishra gives strong reasons in favour of the conclusion that he is. Others argue that if Nehru is not a dictator, he should be given dictatorial powers. Pandit Bala-krishna Sharma says that Pandit Nehru is too decent a man to be a Dictator. Acharya Kripalani argued in Parliament last session that the Government was seeking dictatorial powers, but that it is unable to exercise these powers properly. The limited powers that the Government had were being misused. If the Government saddled itself with dictatorial powers, it would misuse them more. He would have liked Pandit Nehru to become a Dictator if he knew how to use his power. "You are not made in that mould," he declared, with withering sarcasm.

Pandit Mishra's statement contained many truths, although we will any day prefer Pandit Nehru to Pandit Mishra or Rajarshi Tandon or S. K. Patil or Morarji Desai. It is quite true that Pandit Nehru is intolerant of criticism; is beyond the reach of all except foreigners and a coterie of flatterers and sycophants; is blind to the faults of his friends and relations; is easily led away by those who surround him—"men and women," as Pandit Mishra says, "who would stop at nothing."

But Nehru will not sell the country to a foreign power under any circumstances. The same cannot be said of some of the Congress leaders who seek now to replace him. If Nehru goes, the new Prime Minister will almost certainly drag India into one of the two power blocs, and abandon the present policy of drifting but dynamic neutrality. Nehru has many of the fine qualities of an English gentleman. He is endowed with a liberal outlook like most of us who

have admiration for the British philosophy of life. Even if he becomes a Dictator, he will not be ruthless. A Dictator without a radical economic programme, however, is worse than useless. And Pandit Nehru will never be able to implement any programme. His indecision and inaction are Hamletian. What would have happened if Hamlet were the Dictator of Denmark? Nothing. Nehru has the psychological make-up of a Dictator, but he lacks the determination which would have made Nehru's rule the most memorable and beneficial period in all India's history. Even Kidwai has begun to give only qualified support to Nehru's leadership.

India's stand on the American-sponsored Japanese Peace Treaty is the most courageous instance of our independent foreign policy. This is Pandit Nehru's boldest stroke of international statesmanship, and vindicates our position as a people with principles. (It would now be difficult even for Pandit Nehru to accuse the people of this country with lack of character. If they lacked character, he would not have been allowed to stay away from San Francisco). Pandit Nehru declared that the American Draft sought to impose an unequal Treaty on Japan, and would not help a harmonious settlement in the Far East. This has enraged the United States Government.

The U. S. Note can only refer to the statements of Yoshida and other Japanese citizens under American occupation, which were in the nature of certificates of good conduct. The truth is that the Japanese are very polite as a people, and will not say anything against anybody in public. Even impolite people will not say anything against anybody who happens to be in military occupation of the

country. The Japanese, moreover, are anxious to put an end to the Occupation quickly. If they go about abusing the Americans, Occupation is hardly ever likely to end.

The U. S. Note has regretted that India's suggestion about territorial clauses "would involve a major departure from the Potsdam surrender terms, which specified categorically that Japanese sovereignty should be limited to the four home islands...." This is a case of the devil quoting the scriptures. The American proposal to conclude a separate Peace Treaty is itself a gross violation of the Potsdam Declaration. The U. S. wants to swallow camels, and is therefore surprised that India is straining at a gnat.

Although the U. S. Note speaks of the certificates which Yoshida and other Japanese public men have been giving to the U. S. militarists, the Tokyo Correspondent of the London *Times*, referring to an article in a Japanese newspaper, wrote on August 15: "Well over half the population is opposed to the retention of American forces in Japan after the Treaty and to the lease of bases to the U. S. It is widely hoped by the Japanese that Russian intervention will compel the Americans to restore to Japan the Ryuku and Bonin Islands, whose inhabitants, it is claimed, mostly desire to rejoin what they now consider to be their motherland." *The Times*, writing somewhat understandingly on the Indian stand in an editorial, said: "The most important Indian objection is that the Chinese Government had not been consulted in the drafting or invited to sign. A settlement with Japan in which the rulers of China have no place is plainly incomplete in fact and might well complicate Indian foreign affairs...."

It is not only the Potsdam Declaration (1945) that the American Government has violated. The Cairo Declaration (1943) also has been violated by them, which states explicitly that Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands would be restored to China. The American Government has also very kindly violated the Yalta Agreement (1945), inasmuch as the Treaty provides that the southern part of the Sakhalin Island and the Kurile Islands shall be returned to Soviet Russia only after Russia becomes a signatory to the

American draft. (The revised American draft does not even mention Soviet Russia: it merely states that Japan shall renounce her rights to these Islands.) The Yalta Agreement was that these Islands would go to Soviet Russia without any ifs and buts.

If we turn our eyes from the excellent way in which Pandit Nehru is running our foreign affairs, we see a very gloomy picture. Cloth shortage continues in a scandalous manner. The talented cartoonist of *Vigil*, Nana, depicted Harekrushna Mahatab as Lord Krishna sitting on the branch of a tree while naked women cried out to him for clothes. What has been said of Harekrushna holds equally good for Sri Krishna. Sri Krishna Sinha is the Chief Minister of Bihar. There is a sole Government-appointed buyer of cloth for the whole Province of Bihar. He has been simply refusing to bring cloth into Bihar for several months on some excuse or another. This was his retort for the Bihar Government's stern action against some black-marketeers in cloth some months ago. The Bihar Government, along with all other State Governments, was asked by Pandit Nehru to take some stern action against hoarders and black-marketeers. Sri Krishna Sinha was away in Mussoorie. The Chief Secretary of the Bihar Government, Mr. L. P. Sinha, and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Mr. M. K. Sinha, decided to act energetically, and rounded up a number of black-marketeers. They were hand-cuffed and taken along the main street. But the gear was reversed on account of Ministerial intervention.

The Sugar Kings have made a clean profit of three crores of rupees by the relaxation of control. No wonder they are very keen to help the Congress with election funds! In Madhya Pradesh, the Transport Service is nationalised throughout the Province except in Chhattisgarh District. Some Minister or his relations are supposed to be interested in the bus service of Chhattisgarh. Hence the exception. The Prime Minister will do well to ask the Chief Secretaries and other officials in various Provinces to see him direct so that he may have a good idea about the rotten state of affairs in our country.

MALPRACTICES IN FOOD ADMINISTRATION

In his speech at the recent Food Advisory Committee meeting Mr. Kumaraswami Raja, our Chief Minister, is reported to have said: "Instructions have been issued to all Collectors asking them to open fair price shops freely in all areas where the slightest need might be felt and to issue cards liberally not only to all non-producers but also to partial producers who would have, by this time, mostly exhausted their slender resources." The Chief Minister and the officials of the Food Department do not appear to bother themselves with the more important question, whether the shops already functioning have been given to proper licensees and whether in the cards already in circulation, especially in the derationed rural areas, bogus and bloated cards predominate. Under the rules, it is incumbent on the Collectors to select the licensees after personal scrutiny and verification. In practice, however, this important work has been delegated to Revenue Divisional Officers. In many sub-divisions these officers are frequently transferred before they could understand the topography of the sub-division or the status and antecedents of the applicants for licences. The whole thing is done only at clerical level and the fair price shops are actually bought, mortgaged and sold. According to the rules old licensees should be preferred if there is nothing "on record" against them, but the extent of malpractices indulged in by them, such as adulteration, undermeasurement, false register entries, blackmarketing, etc., without anything appearing against them "on record" and without their getting into the clutches of the law, is shocking indeed.

Secondly, under the rules the Tahsildar or the Taluk Supply Officer should personally scrutinise the applications for ration cards and issue cards bearing their official seal. In practice, however, the cards are prepared and distributed by low paid village officials, who do not hesitate to extort their mamool or to issue cards at random. Further, a good percentage of the cards issued are either bogus cards or bloated cards or cards belonging to persons who have, owing to the prevalent famine conditions, migrated to other districts in search of food and work. These cards are with the relief shop keeper himself and accounts are written up as if rations have been purchased and on the basis of these accounts indents are passed week in and week out.

Thirdly, the stocks are taken delivery of as a rule only during midnight hours from the godowns of the wholesale dealer in the taluk headquarters and a good

slice of the allotted stock is diverted to the blackmarket. It is no doubt expected that the local officials would prevent these malpractices. This is, however, physically impossible because in a taluk like Sivaganga, for instance, there is only one Assistant Taluk Supply Officer to attend to the office routine, to pass the weekly indents, inspect the stock in the fifty relief shops scattered over an area of six hundred square miles and visit the three hundred villages in the taluk with no conveyance of his own for verifying the cards with reference to the census entries or actualities. And yet, he is supposed to do all these miracles!

The net results is that people who do not require or deserve cards get them, while those who are really needy find it an uphill task to get them. A good half of the rationed foodgrains "sold" through the fair price shops gets into the blackmarket wherefrom the poor have to purchase them at an enormous cost. This is the ultimate disposal of the foodgrains imported from abroad after so much of effort!

The Chief Minister has stated that rice is bought and sold in the open market at Re. 1-6-0 per Madras measure, which compared favourably with the price in the previous year when decontrol was not ushered in, but the Chief Minister appears to forget that the Foodgrains Control Order is still in force; and according to that order it is an offence to buy or sell rice even in derationed areas at rates higher than the control rate,—which is 13 annas 7 pies per Madras measure. It has not been explained how this large scale, open and barefaced violation of the rules has come to be tolerated or winked at.

In the light of these facts, it is hard to sustain the claim of the Chief Minister that the Government have regulated and canalised the distribution of imported food grains through the fair price shops.

Imported foodgrains should be sold in the open market under Governmental supervision in the weekly shandies in rural areas limiting the sale to one rupee per individual. Not a huge staff is necessary for this and there will be a more equitable distribution among the poor at proper price. There will be no hoarding and no resale at an exorbitant price. There is bound to be strong opposition to the adoption of this course from the vested interests on the one hand and the Civil Supplies Department on the other. Would the Government overcome the opposition and do the right thing?

—M. G. GURUSWAMI AYYAR.

THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

By C. V. H. RAO

DEVELOPMENT schemes which look attractive and promising on paper have to be translated into practical propositions before credit can be claimed by the Government for them. Apart from the industrial sphere, regarding which a wide-enough private sector has been recognised, almost all the other schemes in the Planning Commission's Report deserve State initiative and enterprise. Thus the major part of the financial outlay on these schemes will have to be found by the Central or the State Governments.

So far as the Madras Government are concerned, most of their post-war development programmes have become merged in the schemes which have received the imprimatur of the Planning Commission's Five Year Plan. The estimated expenditure on these schemes between 1951-56 is Rs. 137 crores, most of which however does not represent expenditure on newly formulated schemes, but on the other hand, expenditure on some scheme such as the Tungabhadra, already in progress, or expenditure which would have to be incurred in the normal course on welfare activities during the coming five years. Priority, which is already being accorded to them, will continue to be accorded to schemes concerning agricultural development and development of irrigation and power resources. Next in importance come schemes relating to expansion of education, medical and public health facilities, housing, etc.

It is undeniable that in the face of the chronic food shortage and particularly shortage of rice in this State—irrigation and agricultural development is of supreme importance. Admitting this however does not mean that preference accorded to small irrigation schemes and water sources like wells is justified by past experience. Such schemes, executed as integral parts of the grow more food campaign, have so far yielded extremely insigni-

ficant results. The tank renovation and well sinking schemes, for example, have been lamentable failures, involving waste of some crores of good public money. The figures of additional food production that these schemes are supposed to have yielded, are not by any means accurate and do not convince. There is a widespread feeling that the expenditure on Grow More Food schemes is an unmitigated and inexcusable waste and in permitting it to occur, both the Government and the administrative machinery have rendered themselves liable to censure. Any further expenditure on schemes over the execution of which there cannot be adequate and close supervision will only augment the waste and expose the ineptitude of the Government in not sternly putting their foot down on it in proper time.

Bad and inefficient administration has also been responsible for the inconspicuous results that have flowed from the schemes for distribution of seeds and manures to the agriculturists, many of whom had not either secured their requirements or are able to secure them only after considerable difficulty. The rural welfare scheme in Madras, which formerly was designated the firka development scheme, has immense potentialities of benefitting the villagers. The results achieved in this direction are not remarkable, and once again the reason for the failure is incompetent or unsympathetic administration and a lamentable absence of inter-departmental co-ordination, which continues to be the bane of the administration four years after the end of the British regime. The Rs. 2 crores proposed to be expended on this work during the coming five years will indeed be mainly continuation of the expenditure on schemes sanctioned already.

Unless it is assured that future allotments for this work are so utilised as to make some of our villages at least definitely better places to live in than before and engender in the villa-

gers a genuine spirit of self-help, it will be mis-directed and wasted effort.

The official note circulated by the Madras Government giving details of the five year plan so far as it pertains to this State, discloses a proneness on their part to devise measures of additional taxation for the financing of the plan. Doubtless no large-scale development plan can be undertaken or carried through without a sufficiency of funds, and schemes and projects, half-executed, should not be allowed to sag or left hanging in the air for lack of timely financial aid. Nevertheless, two points demand careful consideration in this connection. Is it desirable to secure the funds, required through additional or fresh taxation at the present moment, when the existing legislature's life is rapidly drawing to a close? Secondly, should capital expenditure on developmental works be financed through taxation, before other methods of raising money are exhausted?

The expediency of levying additional taxation is questionable, particularly when it is remembered that provision has already been made in the current year's budget for most of the schemes and they would not suffer for want of money till the commencement of the next financial year. By then the general election would clarify the party position. If the Congress Party secures a majority, it could then proceed with the taxation proposals with the added strength of an electoral mandate. If, on the other hand, the ballot box reverses the party fortunes, it would be both unwise and unfair to hand over to the new Government what would probably be unwelcome babies in the form of particular taxes or levies.

Additional taxation on land, which is what the proposals for additional taxation in effect amount to, has no leg to stand upon. The proposed betterment levy is the only one among the new taxation proposals for which some justification can be legitimately pleaded. As for the additional tax on lands growing commercial crops, granting that the income from such crops is substantially higher than that from food crops, is it desirable or wise to impose such a tax or a surcharge on land revenue assessments of over Rs. 150, when the fundamental principle of standardising the land revenue

assessment and introducing other essential reforms in the land revenue administration are awaiting consideration? The Subrahmanyam Committee's recommendation on land revenue reforms should be carefully examined and whatever changes in land revenue and land administration are necessary to benefit the cultivator and the tenant should be introduced through a comprehensive measure of legislation. Piecemeal measures will result in grave injustice to certain sections of the people.

The manifest unwisdom of rushing through taxation measures at the fag-end of the legislative term is emphasized also by the consideration that in financing the Rs. 137 crores plan for the State, additional taxation occupies a proportionally minor place, so that its non-imposition in such hot haste would not hinder progress. Among other sources of finance, credit has been taken by the State Government for a Central Government contribution of Rs. 30 crores, though it is simultaneously admitted that the quantum of that contribution has not been finally settled. Conversion of securities held by the Reserve Bank is expected to bring in Rs. 27 crores and borrowing in the open market, Rs. 17 crores. Evidently, the Government intend to treat these sources as reserves to be drawn upon later on, they are so sure of them. They are not very eager to explore, with a specific view to economy, possibilities of reducing expenditure on the general administration. The credit for Rs. 5 crores which they have taken under economy is very meagre. There is another amount of Rs. 6 crores which represents surplus accumulations of provident fund, etc., which it is proposed to transfer to developmental activities. Thus the only source which they intend specifically to tap for immediate purposes is additional taxation, from which a sum of Rs. 20 crores is proposed to be secured in the next five years.

Two vital factors to which planners and planning in India do not seem to accord sufficient importance are, first, the price factor and, secondly, the availability of the technical skill necessary for implementing the plan. Estimates of expenditure on irrigation and hydro-electric schemes or any other schemes cannot be considered

sacrosanct and final in the the face of fluctuating prices. They are easily likely to be upset by such incalculable factors as international rearmament and exchange and trade restrictions. Governments in India, both Central and State, have displayed insignificant appreciation of the need for holding down the prices of even essential commodities. It is this factor of fluctuating price, in relation to the machinery and equipment that has to be imported from abroad, that was put forward as the main reason for the bloating of the original estimates of the Ramapadasagar project, and for its being relegated ultimately to the scrap-heap. As regards the technical skill and personnel needs for the execution of the various projects, our engineering personnel have no doubt carried an enviable reputation throughout the country for their skill and competence. But engineering skill is not the only factor that counts in this regard. What counts is the capacity of the general administration to rise to the occasion and to get things through in a spirit of national undertaking and apostolic zeal and energy. Of this we are not assured, and Mr. Gorwala's report is not very encouraging either about the financial backing which the Planning Commission schemes would receive or about the efficiency or capacity of the existing administrative machinery to discharge its task.

ALLIANCE OF POLITICS WITH WEALTH

Nothing perhaps tends to bring a Government or party so completely into disrepute as the feeling that the strings are being pulled by wealthy interests and that ministers and leaders posture and mouth according as they are played upon by their masters. Dangerous as the association of politics with wealth is at any time, it becomes particularly dangerous when wealth takes the form of large industrial and speculative interests and the necessities of the time involve a great deal of interference by Government in commerce and industry. From this there devolves a very special responsibility on ministers. This conduct must be such as to give no room for any feeling that any special interest is likely to have an undue influence over them. Thus no question should arise of being the guests of, or living in the houses of, individuals representing such interests. This should be the rule even as regards thoroughly respectable individuals. Very much more so should this be the case when the persons concerned are generally reputed to behave in an anti-social manner. In the state of our laws it may not be possible to hang influential black-marketeers and tax-evaders from the lamp posts, but it is certainly within every minister's capacity not to consult them, to show them no favours, to avoid having social contact with them, to refuse to make speeches at gatherings where they take a leading part or to accept purses from them.—Gorwala Report.

On the whole, the Madras Government's development plans require very careful handling, if they are not to be a wash-out. And since no specific targets, apart from rough calculation of results expected, have been prescribed to which expenditure of money and effort could be related, laxity in execution and indifference to results cannot be ruled out altogether and the benefit to the public would be incommensurate with the sacrifices called for from them. A people will be prepared to undergo sacrifice and bear financial and other burdens when the fruit of the sacrifice can be clearly envisioned or realised; it will be the Government's task to see that this criterion is fulfilled in the execution of the five-year plan.

We are promised a supplementary plan involving an additional Rs. 300 crores of expenditure, in which the Ramapadasagar and Krishna Pennar projects are expected to be included. These are sufficiently big projects to be treated on an all-India basis and their financing should be done by loans from international sources. Considering that some half-investigated projects with the Kosi project have been included in the first five year plan, the Planning Commission must be regarded as having committed a grave error of judgment in not including these two fully investigated ones in it.

THE STRUGGLE FOR KASHMIR

By T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

*It requires two to make a quarrel,
'tis true*

*It requires two for peace and
reconciliation too.*

THE Prime Minister of India will not start a war but without the Prime Minister of Pakistan being willing he cannot have peace and reconciliation. Pakistan's expression of apprehension of aggression on the part of India is a mere pose for propaganda purposes. India had good reason for apprehension from the cry of Jihad in Pakistan and made ready to meet it should there be aggression. This preparedness of India is represented as aggression and in some quarters it appears to be held that it is a sufficient provocation for Pakistan and if it struck the first blow it is only nominally an act of aggression. Partition of India was carried out with the consent of the party now in power in India though with regret that a division of the country had become inevitable. Since the partition, that party has not said a word about the reunion of the divided parts or the reconquest of Pakistan. A political party not in power, nor, if I may say so without offence, likely to come into power just now, has been saying that they will work for reunion by legitimate or peaceful means. Nobody in India, not even that party, says that Pakistan should be invaded and subjugated. On the other hand there is loud cry of a party called Hindustan Hamara to conquer India and Kashmir with it. The present situation has a history which is worth recalling. Jinnah said that it was the right of the rulers of the States to accede to either India or Pakistan. That statement was made not with insignificant Junagadh in mind but with a view to serving the Nizam who had an overwhelming majority of Hindu subjects and whose dominion lay in the very heart of India. Having said that to serve a powerful Muslim ruler, he set about to secure the accession of Kashmir to Pakistan where the ruler was Hindu but the Muslims were in a majority.

There was a Pakistan-inspired invasion of Kashmir territory by the North-western tribesmen. Kashmir was invited to Karachi in order professedly to save Kashmir from trouble. At that point the well-laid scheme of Pakistan miscarried. Kashmir did not go to Karachi according to invitation, but acceded to India. Then Pakistan appeared in its true colours as the invader. After some fighting, India, not perhaps very wisely, appealed to the United Nations. An Australian Judge appointed by the U.N.O. could not compose the differences but expressed the clear opinion that the tribal incursion and the later Pakistan invasion were unlawful. Though such was his clear opinion, the United Nations dominated by England and America did not ask Pakistan to come out of Kashmir—an attitude in strange contrast with their stand in Korea. Mr. Graham has now been deputed to mediate and most likely he may not succeed in his mission. Arbitration is one suggestion. What is there to arbitrate about? The only effect of arbitration is that if the arbitrator gave Kashmir to Pakistan or divided it between India and Pakistan, there is no appeal to any one. Pakistan is fairly sure that the arbitrator will give Kashmir to Pakistan.

Mr. S. Natarajan, wrote in the *Indian Social Reformer* under the caption "A Marvel of Mischief" that *The Economist* and *The Manchester Guardian* were consistently hostile to India since partition and now have simultaneously adopted a changed technique of partial appreciation of the Indian case with an unchanged attitude to the Indian case. Recently Mr. Gautam expressed the same suspicion of the English attitude. I wrote to a friend in England of the widespread impression in India of England's antipathy and got the reply that India was mistaken in that impression and England only desired a friendly settlement of Indo-Pakistan differences. Now the article of Mr. Andrew Roth in *Swatantra* makes it clear that the suspicion is well founded and my friend's reply speaks

for far too many without intimate knowledge. A Tory paper has since said that defence of Kashmir might well be an offence to Pakistan for two reasons: that Kashmir is predominantly Muslim and the upper reaches of the Punjab rivers traverse Kashmir. Now the Christian nations are at each other's throats. Pakistan and Afghanistan, both Muslim States, are none too friendly. Within Pakistan, the relation between *Pakistanis* and *Pakthoonis* is a study in Muslim amity. And with all these patent facts it is assumed that Kashmir Muslims will surely vote for accession to Pakistan. As for the other point of Punjab rivers, is it the first time in the history of the world that a river traverses many States? What of the Danube? Does one State own it? What of the Kaveri, the Krishna and the Godavari, which, till the other day, flowed through different States. The States did not join the Union because of these rivers. If the Punjab rivers must belong from source to sea to the Punjab, they must claim a part of Tibet also. The *New Statesman and Nation* even in blaming the Tory paper adds that it may be said that India is relying too much on the legal aspect. When the different attitudes as to Kashmir and Korea were contrasted, an American paper attempted a distinction on the ground that an amicable settlement was expected in Kashmir. The expected settlement did not materialise. Why should that old unrealised expectation justify the continuing unlawful aggression of Pakistan? Why should India be told to forget the past and go forward as if there is no continued aggression in Kashmir?

The Indian mind is perhaps oversuspicious. It argues that India, having achieved freedom, was able to forget the past and agree to be within the Commonwealth but that England, having lost a mighty empire and the great prestige it gave her, is unable to forget the past or forgive those whom she holds responsible for the result. India thinks that in any quarrel between Pakistan and India, England will never be on the side of India, however just may be her cause.

Even those who do not hold England responsible for the division of India when it finally came believe that the foundation for partition was laid in 1906 when under official inspiration the Muslims were got to wait in deputation on Lord Minto and it was acclaimed as a successful separation of loyal Muslims from the seditious Hindus—an act of statesmanship that will change the course of Indian history for many a long year. It did not secure the perpetuity of the British empire, as it was expected to do, but in forty years it divided India. India paid that price for independence willingly but is still pursued by the old outlook of England between Hindus and Muslims.

From all this can be understood the incredulity of Indian papers of standing which note Auchinleck's movements in Pakistan and will not accept his devotion to a company dealing in carpets as an explanation for his stay in Pakistan when the temperature is 117 degrees.

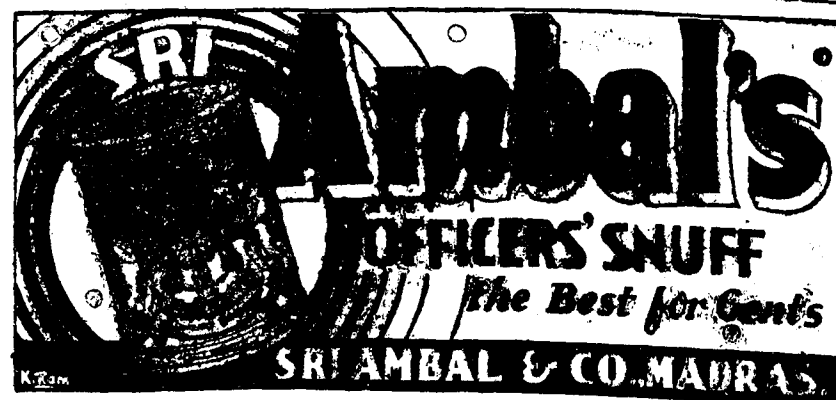
The *Manchester Guardian* itself admits the less satisfactory record of Pakistan in the matter of the treatment of its minorities. The Prime

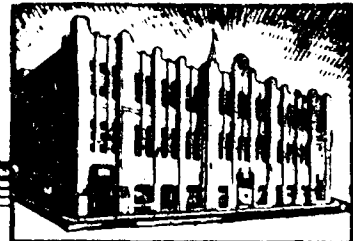
Minister of Pakistan professes to treat the exodus of Hindus from East Pakistan as blatant falsehood. Why do not our good friends interested in both parties instruct their emissaries to find out the truth in East Pakistan?

That India thirsts for war and intends aggression against Pakistan is untrue. It is for Pakistan to decide whether there should be war or friendship between the two countries both of which need peace and amity. Many in India are under the impression that England is unfriendly to India and correspondingly many in Pakistan believe that England and America are in their favour. Pakistan's bellicose attitude should be discouraged by those who are believed to be in her favour both in India and in Pakistan. The memorandum of the leading Indians has received studious misrepresentation at the hands of the astute Sir M. Zaffrulla, which has been repeated by the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The ruler of Rampur and the Shias have also expressed their confidence in Nehru. Here Mr. Justice Basheer Ahmed expressed his

preference that Kashmir should be with India. The temporarily clouded vision of Muslims supported the League's propaganda for Pakistan and the Indian Muslims see that it has only reduced the number of Muslims in India and therefore their strength. The Kashmir Muslims will add to their influence in so far as numbers can do so. He who runs may see the difference between the treatment of Muslims in India and of Hindus in Pakistan.

Now Mr. Andrew Roth has written that Britain is against India in Indo-Pakistan affairs for reasons which go back to the British past as rulers of India which has coloured more recent events. The explanation for Pakistan agreeing to arbitration and India hesitating to accept it is in that history. Whatever the decision, India cannot appeal to any one against the decision. Kashmir may be awarded to Pakistan or it may be divided between India and Pakistan in order to please or displease both the parties. Kashmir will then have had no voice in a matter which concerns her the most.



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V A R A

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

IT was a few months after he had passed his sixtieth year that I met Va Ra in his house. The occasion and the meeting were dramatic in some ways. He had just then narrowly escaped from a severe car accident, but his legs and the hip bone had sustained serious injuries. He was bed-ridden and weak. A friend of his and an editor had asked me to translate his 'sketches' into English, and I went to see Va Ra about it.

As soon as I entered his room, he smiled and said "Mr. V. Subramanian, I suppose."

I was astonished, for we had not met each other so far. I asked him how he came to recognise me, and he managed to reproduce the classical instance of Stanley meeting Livingstone in dark Africa.

He replied that his friend had told him about me and my fitness to translate his works into English. He was sort of expecting me and had a general idea of my appearance.

I said that this reminded me of an anecdote about Conan Doyle in Paris, and so went on to talk about many other things. The talk ranged over many fields, from Bharathi, Gandhi and other prophets, right to his favourite subject 'fate,' from the heroes in Ramayana on to mutual friends. We talked for nearly two hours, for weak or strong in body, Va Ra loved good conversation to the last day of his life. For nearly a week thereafter I met him almost every day and talked over many things. I could thereafter claim to be a friend of his.

Even after the lapse of two years, I can vividly remember some of the points he made out, during our talk. I wish I had jotted down what all he said, for he had very forcibly expressed his views on many problems.

While we were discussing as to who really was the greatest man in the Ramayana, he gave a characteristic but rather surprising reply to that question. According to him, Vibhishana was the greatest man in the Ramayana. The reason was that it was he alone who put truth and

justice as his first loyalty and deserted his brothers and friends to earn calumny at home and suspicion among his new friends. All others in the Ramayana had smaller loyalties, however great their sacrifice. Rama had his faults, Bharatha was just a brother capable of great sacrifice, and Sita, great as she was, not a positive heroine. So I asked him whether according to that standard, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not the greatest man in India and Pakistan put together. He readily agreed that he was.

As usual, the talk slowly came round to Bharathi, who to Va Ra is more than a God. He was beside himself with enthusiasm, as he talked of his matchless poetry. His one ambition was to see some at least of Bharathi's poetry translated into English and other European languages. He wanted to live to see the day when his name would occupy a high place in the list of the world's great poets, just as it had come to occupy nearly the highest place among Tamil poets.

Enthusiasm for Bharathi as the greatest poet made him rather blind to other facts. "Kamban," he used to say, was rather "made" into a great poet by his interpreters. By his untiring efforts, Va Ra made Tamil Nad acknowledge that Bharathi was the greatest Indian poet of the last two centuries.

It is as a man who truly understood Bharathi's greatness and made it known to Tamil Nad that Va Ra is familiar to the Tamil public. Starting as a small revolutionary, carrying money to Aurobindo and other patriots in Pondicherry from British India, Va Ra soon became the firmest friend and helper and greatest admirer of Bharathi. His small biography of Bharathi entitled *Mahakavi Bharathiar* is a classic, with few equals. But Va Ra is entitled to a high place in Tamil literature on his own merits.

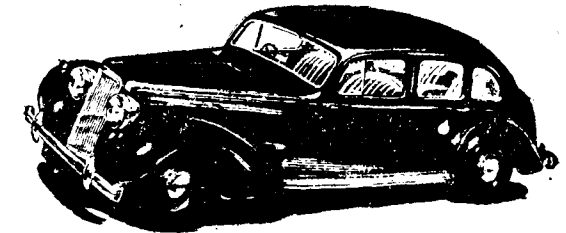
His writings, all put together, are rather too thin to give him that high place to which he is entitled. His novels, highly original, thought-stirring and shock-administering as

they are, do not earn him that place. In the game of writing shocking things about unconventional subjects, little men have gone ahead of him. His slender volume on Bharathi is a better support to his reputation, for slender as it is, lacking in details in some places and too full of them in others, it is a classic which would have passed muster as such among the most fastidious critics. His volume of character sketches, about common men and women in Tamil Nad gives an even better title to him for his place among writers, for, original and pioneering when he wrote it, it still remains the only one such successful attempt in that field.

Great as he was as a writer, he was a source and inspiration of greatness in others. He claimed to be the leader of the new writers in Tamil who broke new ground and opened new vistas for the language. Most of the writers in Tamil who have achieved anything, owe their inspiration directly or indirectly to him. In the field of crea-

tive writing he did for Tamil what Gokhale described Mahatma did for politics, namely, he made heroes out of common clay. Instances are not rare where he went out of his way, literally miles out of his way, to encourage a new writer of promise. Va Ra was wellknown for his tart tongue, and his bitter frankness even to his intimate friends as well as casual acquaintances. But his passion to encourage new talent was even more persistent than his frankness. He has told me many kind things, and one or two caustic things as well. He was very glad that I undertook to translate some of his pen portraits into English very early. I cannot escape a certain sense of guilt when I think that I went on postponing the task and that only one of his sketches was translated into English and appeared in print before his death. I had planned to meet him on the day he died to explain my failure and delay, but death had preceded me on that day.

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MY FIRST HOLIDAY

By S. Hanumantha Rau

AFTER all I got leave. For two long years I had been asking to get away somewhere even if it be only for a few days, but my Principal would invariably refuse me permission for some reason or other. Most other girls in the hostel were going home for Easter, for Xmas, and for the long summer vacation, but I had no home to go to. I had a rich uncle, it is true, who maintained me in the hostel and saw that I was above want. He was ready to spend any amount of money for me, but the happiness of a "home" he could not give me, because of his termagant wife who appeared to hate the very sight of me. Three years' life with her, after my father's death, had convinced me that I would be happier in the hostel, though alone, than in my aunt's house.

At last, at long last, I could think of some place to go to. An old friend of mine, Kumud by name, had come down to Visalnagar, and when she asked me to pay her a visit, I felt it a welcome change from the monotony of my hostel life. Though my Principal seemed to appreciate my good luck in having received an invitation, I found it difficult to persuade her to let me go out of the hostel. When my uncle wrote to her that he personally knew Kumud's father and the whole family to be thoroughly respectable people, my Principal finally gave me a week's leave.

"Take care of yourself during the journey, girl," said she, "and drop me a card as soon as you reach your friend's house. Don't you think you had better get a reply before you start?"

"Unnecessary, mother," I replied, "Kumud has already been expecting me by every train; and I am also writing to her in today's mail and I will start from here the day after tomorrow."

"Hurry up, then; you have hardly got half an hour for posting your letter."

"Thank you," I said, and rushed to my room.

I threw down my books on my table, and unbuckled my wrist watch, asking my servant maid to get ready my writing case. I hastily scribbled a letter, and it read as follows:—

ANANDPUR,
Thursday, 18th April.

My Dear Kumud,

Here is a big surprise for you! Kumud dear; I shall arrive there on Saturday night at 7 o'clock by the Passenger. After all I did succeed in getting leave, but it is only a week. What a lot of trouble it cost me to get my Principal grant my request to be let off! The prospect of holding my sweet Kumud in my arms made me dare the risk of my Principal's displeasure. Do send your brother Ramchand to the railway station; you know I am a stranger to Visalnagar. It's a pity I have not seen your brother even once, but send this letter with him and I'll know. Tell him to look for a fair young girl, with a blue saree and rose-coloured petticoat and big size specs, and he will catch me, sure.

Be prepared for a lot of news to hear and enjoy. Last evening at about this time, I had a topping piece of adventure—I have no time to write it all now, and besides, you will like better hearing it from

Your loving
Nalini.

"Look here, Lachmi," I bade my servant, sealing the cover, "run and see that this is in time for today's mail. Don't post it in any letter-box on the way, but go to the Post Office. Do it first before anything else."

Lachmi took the pink envelope and was about to leave the room, when I told her again, "Be sure to post it at once, Lachmi; else I shall be stranded in a strange city."

The servant returned after forty minutes and told me that she had posted it as instructed.

"You have taken too much time, Lachmi. Were you looking at any street juggler on your way to the Post Office?"

"No, madam; you may be sure the letter will go in the mail now. I slackened my pace only while returning from the Post Office."

* * *

My Big Ben woke me up punctually at four on Saturday morning. Just as I came from my bathroom, Lachmi greeted me with her usual 'salaam,' and informed me that the cook was getting ready my breakfast. With her help I got together the things I wanted to take with me and was packing them up, when some one called Lachmi's name from outside. She went out and brought me news that the Principal's car was ready waiting for me outside the hostel compound.

"Really?" I exclaimed, in sheer glee; it was a privilege no other girl had enjoyed before and I felt proud that I would ride to the station in the car. My only regret was that none of the hostel girls was present to envy my fortune.

The car dashed through the silent streets of Anandpur, and out through the little grove of trees between the town and the station, and I was delighted with the exhilarating breeze of the cool morning. How heavenly it would have been if my Kumud were by my side, I thought. I wish the road were a couple of miles longer, so that I could have more of the pleasant ride, but the very next instant I saw the station building emerge to my view around the corner and the car slowed down. Half a dozen coolies scrambled behind us when we drew up in the porch.

"Don't want any of you. Call my father," said my servant maid as she got down and opened my door.

"Is your father working in this station, Lachmi?" I asked.

"Yes, madam; he is the oldest porter in this station. Here he is."

The porter carried my luggage to the platform and bought me my ticket.

I had still about ten minutes for the arrival of the train. For the first time in my life I was free, and the idea was most intriguing and made me happy. I had no elders to ask me not to go too near the rails, no teacher to din into my ears how to look about myself, how to stand, and how to appear modest. I could do what I liked, and as if to test my liberty, I took a coin and put it in the outstretched hand of a beggar boy and bought a copy of the Illustrated Weekly and turned over three or four of its pages. I felt I could sing out my heart's joy and would have done so perhaps, had I not been surrounded by the ever-increasing crowd on the platform.

At last when the train arrived, Lachmi's father found me a comfortable berth and saw that all my belongings were handed in and arranged near my seat.

"What is your name?" I asked him, handing him a coin.

"They call me Premsingh, madam," he replied, 'salaaming' me, with the coin still held in his hand; "when is my lady returning from Visalnagar?"

"You may expect me here next Sunday."

"I will be ready at your service, madam," he said, as the train began to move.

* * *

Till about ten o'clock, the journey was pleasant and enjoyable. An interesting variety of men and women got in and out of the wayside stations. Here and there I could see some landscape stretching on both sides of the train. From about ten the heat of the sun grew more and more severe, and though I could sleep for a while, I felt rather uncomfortable and did not find myself in the joyous and inquisitive mood that I had in the morning.

Towards the evening as the train approached Visalnagar, my thoughts rushed back to Kumud. Of course she would have sent her brother to the station. I wondered what sort of a brother Kumud had! Probably Kumud herself would have come to the station. In that case I should keep the present I was taking for her outside my trunk, so that I could give it to her as soon as I see her. But no; the station might not be the

right place for it. Suppose no one had come to meet me. Even then I could engage a taxi and drive to her place, as I had her full address. In any case I had better pack my things in my trunk and keep them tidy and together so as to get them out easily.

Such were my thoughts as the train entered the station yard and I was ready when it slowed down.

I was looking out of my window and scanning the crowd that was ranged on the platform. I noticed a smartly dressed young man holding a pink-coloured letter in his hand, and I guessed it must be he. As soon as the train stopped, he approached me and said, "I am Ramchand, Kumud's brother; are you not Nalini?"

"Yes, yes! Thanks awfully. How is Kumud?"

"Quite well; only she complained of some headache in the morning. In fact that is why I refused to bring her with me, though she was so insistent on coming to the station. Besides, when two friends, so madly fond of each other as you two, have to meet after a long interval, a railway platform is not the right place."

"You are awfully clever and nice, Ramchand," I complimented.

We moved out of the station building followed by a coolie carrying my luggage, and in the fulness of my heart's joy I was dead to the outside world and was completely absorbed in my conversation with the young man at my side.

"Did you not find the journey tedious in the Passenger?" he asked, as we took our seats in the car that was waiting for us. "We all wondered why you did not come in the Express, starting later and arriving earlier than this slow train."

"I hate to travel in the Express and Mail trains while on a pleasure trip. I prefer a slow train in the day time, so that I can see the country through which I am passing. You must travel in Mail and Express trains in the nights only when you go to see a sick relative or friend at a distance or on some other urgent work."

The youth sitting next to me appeared happy and cheerful, and I too was quite unconventional and free with him, for was not Kumud's brother my brother too? Our car passed

what was shown to me as Kingsway, and threaded its way through a bazar street. I enjoyed the sight of the well-lit streets of Visalnagar. Now and then was wafted to my ears the melody of sweet music, which brought me recollections of the days when I was learning to play on the Veena. The car glided down an incline and took a turn to the right at the Cinema Square, which was all ablaze with myriads of coloured lights, and my joy knew no bounds. At last we entered the compound of a small bungalow, a neat two-storeyed building far away from the din of the city, with wide spaces all round.

In a moment I would be face to face with my Kumud, thought I, and wondered what should be the first words with which to greet her.

We got down from the car and went up a flight of steps, and as we entered the building, my friend asked the servant girl, "Is Kumud upstairs?"

"She has gone into the kitchen and will be back in a few minutes," came the reply.

I was struck with the absence of the playful children and with the silence in the house. I found myself in a neat little room in the second floor, dimly lit by a table lamp. There were but two tables and a teapoy, and two chairs and a sofa in the room, and I wondered what had become of all the costly, elegant furniture I had formerly seen in Kumud's house.

The young man motioned me to the sofa and the next instant took his seat beside me.

"You look tired, Nalini. Shall I order some coffee?" he asked, nestling closer, and trying to take my hand in his own.

I withdrew it immediately and replied angrily, "Where is Kumud?"

"Don't you worry about Kumud; she will be here in time. You look bewitching, Nalini; give me a kiss before Kumud comes up."

So saying he moved closer and put one arm round my waist.

I stood up, throwing away his hand with a violence that must have hurt his fingers dashing them against the back of the sofa, and demanded in a thundering voice, "Where is Kumud? Kumud, Kumud, oh, what a rogue of

a brother you have!" And as a fearful suspicion shot through my mind, I shouted at the top of my voice, "Oh, is this Kumud's house at all?"

The fellow appeared cool and calculating, and with a wicked smile he said, "Don't cry, girl. Not a soul can hear you in this neighbourhood. No girl in your position gained anything by shouting and screaming. Listen to my words and be happy."

"How dare you insult me, you rascal? Tell me who you are and give up that letter of mine, before I blow your brains out," said I, fixing my steady gaze on him and gripping a chair.

"I have seen too many kiddies like you to be terrified by your dramatic outbursts, girl," he said, appearing not in the least perturbed; and before I had time to think how indeed I would get out of the clutches of this brute, he rushed at me, held both my hands in his grip, and throwing me down on the sofa, tried to force a kiss on me. I felt my wrists aching and fear made me weak and powerless.

"Held, help," I yelled at my highest pitch, and the next instant three men rushed into the room, of whom I recognised one to be Premsingh, the porter of Anandpur station, father of my servant maid.

Finding himself at bay, my assailant tried to escape through the window, but Premsingh and his companions pounced upon him like tigers and handcuffed him at once.

"Why did you follow this villain, lady?" asked Premsingh of me, as I stood there with dishevelled hair, still trembling with fear.

"I don't know who he is," I replied trying to set right my dress and hair; "he deceived me saying that he was the brother of my friend and I followed him thinking that I was being taken to my friend Kumud's house."

"Don't you know that he is Vithal,

the son of the famous rice merchant of Anandpur? Haven't you heard of the exploits of this wicked fellow before?"

"I know nothing more of Anandpur than my hostel and my school. Besides, I was completely thrown off my guard by this fellow showing me a letter which I had written to my friend Kumud and I believed him to be Kumud's brother. But what a miracle it is that you managed to be here in time to save me."

"It is a miracle worked out by man, lady," said Premsingh smiling and added seriously, "if you will forgive a stupid fault of my daughter, your servant, then I will tell you how I managed to be here."

"I forgive everything your daughter might have done, to show my gratitude to you."

"This villain coaxed her to give your letter to him offering to post it himself and sent her away on an errand of his own, and Lachmi believed him. She told me the story immediately after your train left Anandpur this morning, and I felt grave suspicions in my mind, and thought it best to shadow you, ready with the protection you may need, and so came here in the Express; these two men are constables of the railway police. Come, let us drop you at your friend Kumud's house and then take this rascal to the police station. The police car is waiting for us below."

I gave Premsingh the full address of Kumud, and we then drove to her house, which appeared quite at the other end of Visalnagar.

As soon as I saw the surprised Kumud, I couldn't help bursting into tears and throwing my arms around her, and it was indeed a topping piece of adventure that I narrated to her that night.

It is one of the unfortunate features of the present time that there are so few officers left in the districts capable of imparting the right training to the new IAS. From all accounts much of it is good material, but again from many accounts it needs training badly. In the interests of the future, every province ought to send out some of its suitable senior civil servants to hold charge of districts and to treat such districts as training grounds for the young. The desire to keep senior officers in the Secretariat is understandable but senior officers are in any case a wasting asset and the needs of the present have to be measured against the interests of the future.—Gorwala Report.

FATEFUL A.-I. C. C. MEETING

By Major D. V. RAJA RAO

THE struggle between the reactionaries and the left-wingers in the Congress has climaxed to a first rate crisis now and the coming A.-I.C.C. cannot evade the issue any more. At the Nasik Congress, the fact that the Congress is getting demoralised by opportunist and unscrupulous elements that crept into it was widely acknowledged and high sounding resolutions calling for character and integrity amongst Congressmen were passed. The demoralising and corrupting influence of these elements over the Congress Governments and administrative services was also recognised and resolutions were also passed deprecating it. But when an attempt was made to bring the Congress parliamentarians and parliamentary activities under the direction of an autonomous body within the Congress but independent of the High Command, it was resisted and the issue was evaded. With a view to forcing the issue the wingers in the Congress formed the Democratic Front within the Congress as an opposition to the reactionaries in power. Mr. Jawaharlal who, as the head of the Government, was feeling his position most embarrassing on account of the activities of the unscrupulous reactionaries within the Congress had his sympathies with the opposition. He tried his best to reform the Congress by composing the differences between the block in power and the oppositionists and thereby giving the left-wingers a greater voice in the affairs of the Congress, but he failed. The block in power, instead of facing the moral issues squarely, took shelter under the strict word of the Congress constitution and drove the staunch, life-long and genuine Congress people out of the Congress, in the name of discipline, because they were opposing their unscrupulous ways. Mr. Jawaharlal who has been fighting a losing fight to restore the Congress to its moral stature became helpless in the Congress with the departure of the righteous elements in it. Driven to the wall and not prepared to lend himself to serve the ends of the unscrupulous reactionaries,

Mr. Jawaharlal has resigned from the Working Committee and the Central Election Committee. One of the architects of the Congress as he has been, and believing in the Congress as he does, he is loth to leave it or discredit it. Nor do the reactionaries in power want him to go out. They are fully aware of his position with the people and they want him to keep them right with the people though they sabotage everything Jawaharlal wants to do for the benefit of the people. How to keep Jawaharlal in the Congress without prejudice to their interests is the problem for the reactionaries. How to get the Congress to work for the benefit of the people and make it an example of moral rectitude in public life is the problem for Jawaharlal.

As matters stand today, our legislators and ministers feel that they are responsible more to the Congress bureaucrats than to their parliamentary leaders. That is natural as their political future depends on the good will they enjoy with these Congress bureaucrats. Most of the leaders of the provincial assemblies themselves owe their positions to the good will they enjoy with the Congress bosses and they dare not disoblige them in anything they want. In the unique position the Congress enjoys now as a political party and with the immense faith and goodwill of the people it accumulated to itself during the long years of struggle for freedom, the powers in the Congress feel too autocratic and complacent to care for public opinion. They sacrifice public interests for their benefit and the benefit of their friends with an impunity that staggers the public. They interfere with the public services with an over-bearing audacity and the services feel helpless in the absence of Governmental support for them. Even the public servants have come to look for the favour of the Congress leaders for their betterment rather than achieve it by efficient performance of their duty and the good opinion of their superior officers and ministers. It is all a vicious circle corrupting the whole public life in the country

and driving the people to despair. Public patience is colossal. Even so, there is a limit to it. It would be safer to the country, if that limit is not over-stepped. If the calamity of a public revolt were to be avoided, it is an urgent necessity that our governance and public life should be got out of the influence of the corrupt and unscrupulous reactionaries that are dominating it through the Congress.

Our political unity is rather superficial. The disruptive forces let loose by our erstwhile imperial masters are still active and perhaps some of them in some States are even aggressive. There can be no denying that the Congress with its long tradition and its historic and unique fight for freedom is a strong unifying force in our politics. There is no other political force in the country now to replace it. However, national unity cannot be sustained on sentiment alone. Unfortunately the Congress is fast running out of its stock of goodwill with the people, as a result of the corruption it has fallen into. It will take a long time before a political force, based on morality and integrity can be built up to replace the Congress. In the meantime the disruptive forces already exploiting the weakness of the Congress will gain in strength. There is only one man who has the strength to defy the Congress demigods and rescue it from the rot that is consuming it. That is Jawaharlal Nehru. He derives his strength more from the faith people have in him than from the Congress itself. With that he can still restore the Congress to its former prestige. But he must be given a free hand to do so. It will not be fair to him or to the country that believes in him to keep him in the Congress and make him ineffective. Even if Jawaharlal is prepared to efface himself for the benefit of the Congress which he nurtured so lovingly for so long, the Congress will not be benefitted much more than winning the elections. But then the future of the country will be more or less doomed. People can hardly be expected to put up with five years more of the misrule we are having now. What a discontented people driven to despair will do, time alone can unravel.

If Jawaharlal is not given a free hand within the Congress, it is better

he comes out of it. He can then serve the country better outside the Congress than from within that discredited organisation. The people will stand solidly behind him in their teeming millions. May be it will be somewhat of an uphill task for him to build up strong political unity in the country in the face of the numerous disruptive forces and the attenuated but still powerful Congress, but he is strong enough for the task and brave enough to face and overcome the difficulties. He can rely upon his people for unstinted cooperation in his task. But unfortunately times are so critical now that it is extremely doubtful if Jawaharlal and the country will be given the time for such a task.

Such is the crisis to resolve which the A.I.C.C. is meeting now. It has steered the country admirably and safely through long years of fight for freedom and the country is anxiously looking to it now to resolve this crisis as well in the best interests of the country. Jawaharlal must be saved for the country, and the country must get the best out of him. That is the most essential need now. Considerations of prestige, individual or group, should not be allowed to prejudice the welfare of the country. It is to be hoped that the A.I.C.C. will do its duty by the country.

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THE MYSTERIES OF LONGEVITY

By JOHN E. GIBSON

GEORGE. Harry and Susan are children of the same family. They are possessed of similarly robust physiques, and their lives have been free from serious accident or illness. You might expect them to have similar life spans. But that is far from the case. George dies in the prime of life; Harry doesn't succumb until he is almost 70, and Susan lives until she is well into her 80's. Why?

To find the answer to such questions, science has been probing deeper into the secrets of longevity—and recently they've come up with significant findings. They've discovered, among other things, that it's possible for each of us to control to a large extent just how long we shall live.

Dr. Martin Ruderfer, who has made a study of the mysteries of longevity, sums up his findings and those of other leading authorities in a recent report to the American Association for the Advancement of Science; Each one of us is born with the ability to generate a given amount of energy during his life span. How fast you use this energy up determines how long you will live—barring, of course, mortal illness or accident. Dr. Ruderfer's studies show that the faster a person lives—the more rapidly he generates energy and burns it up—the shorter his life expectancy.

Tests show, for example, that women expend energy at a slower rate than do men—and consequently live longer. Actually, studies show that both sexes consume approximately the same amount of energy in a lifetime. A man, however, spends his energy faster and has a shorter life expectancy.

Scientific investigations bear out the fact that dynamic, hyper-active persons tend to be much shorter-lived than placid, easy-going individuals, whose energy output is moderate.

Don't Dissipate Energies

Take George, who died in the prime of life. Physically he was as well equipped as the brother and sister who so considerably outlived him. But by temperament George was a human

dynamo. He generated and used up energy at a terrific rate. Restless, intense, he was seldom still for a minute—except when he slept. At the end of a gruelling day at the office, it was common for George to polish off a round of golf or tennis, and then follow this up with an evening of dancing. He kept up this pace year after year—and seemed to thrive on it. But after he reached his late 40's, his supply of life energy had exhausted itself, and so George folded up—and became just another mortality statistic.

His brother Harry took things much easier. He led a fairly active life—both in business and socially—but he always saw to it that he had adequate time for leisure. He expended his basic life energy, at a moderate rate, and so it lasted him a good 20 years longer than it did hyper-active brother George.

Susan, who used up her energy at the slowest rate of all, was tranquil and easy-going. She always felt there was plenty of time for everything. And despite the fact that Susan never gave the appearance of hurrying, she always managed somehow to get a good deal accomplished. And she was happy, too, possibly because she took her time and enjoyed life as it came along—more than 80 years of it.

If you want to lengthen your tenure on this earth, the formula is simple: don't waste and dissipate your energies. On the other hand, don't go to the other extreme and embrace a policy of laziness. For, after all, what you accomplish with your life is more important than how long it is.

Furthermore, science has found that you're likely to live longer if you do whatever you're doing, well. If you are a successful wife and mother, the odds are that you'll have a longer life span than if you'd made a fizzle of the job.

Scientific evidence indicates that if you are successful in what you undertake—if you achieve some degree of eminence in your work or avocation—you'll live appreciably longer than

otherwise. At Westminster College, Professor Chester Alexander made a careful study of nearly 10,000 eminently successful persons in 18 leading countries. And he found that the vast majority of them averaged much longer life spans than their fellow-men. "There can be no doubt at all," says the scientist in summing up his findings, "that longevity is significantly related to occupational eminence."

This doesn't mean that you should "drive" or overtax yourself, either mentally or physically. For this will shorten your life. Furthermore, it isn't necessary. You can be just as successful if you take things in your stride calmly and unhurriedly. As a matter of fact, studies of the noted British scientist, Sir Heneage Ogilvie, show that a man functions most effectively, and does his most important work, when he allows his mind to wander at its own pace instead of driving it. And tests have shown that any problem which confronts you can be solved quicker and easier when you are mentally and physically relaxed.

The type of work you do also has a bearing on how long you will live. Professor Alexander's study showed that successful men of some professions consistently tend to outlive those of others. He found, for example, that eminent lawyers, educators, and philosophers are three times as likely to live to be 90 or over as noted authors, sculptors and explorers. Just why the top-ranking in one group should outlive those of another is a question science finds it difficult to answer. Take noted scientists, for example. The professor's study shows that, on the average, they live a good five years longer than ranking philosophers, 10 years longer than eminent musicians, and more than 10 years longer than outstanding actors or actresses. And, as Dr. Alexander points out: "It's equally hard to explain why seven times as many eminent lawyers as chemists—and five times as many philosophers as philologists—should live to be more than 90."

Frailty An Asset

Contrary to what many people believe, you'll live longer if you earn your living with your mind rather

than with your muscles. For authorities have found that heavy physical labour shortens your life—particularly if you continue to engage in it after 40. The famed biologist, Dr. Raymond Pearl, has made perhaps the most exhaustive study of this matter. His analysis of mortality statistics shows that healthy persons engaged in heavy labour stand up under the strain until they reach 40. After that age has been reached, however, they begin to die off. And Pearl found that for those who continue with strenuous physical exertion after 40, the mortality rate really sky-rockets. Indeed, his findings show that once middle age has been reached, we shorten our lives in exact proportion to the amount of heavy physical labour we perform. It is simply a case of using up one's life energy at a swifter rate.

If your spouse has a long life expectancy, you're likely to have one, too. The U. S. public health service's Dr. Antonio Ciocco made a study of the death records of over 2,500 representative married couples. His startling findings: husbands and wives show a marked tendency to have similar life spans, and also to die from the same causes! Indeed, the U. S. public health official found that marital partners tend to die of similar diseases, irrespective of whether the disease is contagious or not. Death from pneumonia, for example, occurred almost twice as frequently among husbands whose wives died of this disease, as otherwise. The same phenomenon occurred to a somewhat lesser extent with ailments such as heart disease and cancer.

Though science has difficulty in explaining why this should be, authorities advance a number of possible reasons. For one thing, studies show that, in general, people tend to marry those who are similar to them in build, disposition and many other respects. And it is not at all improbable that this like-attracts-like principle may extend to factors affecting longevity and vulnerability to certain diseases.

If you happen to be small and frail, that's strictly an asset—not a liability—so far as longevity is concerned. The odds are you'll live longer than if you were husky and robust. For Cornell University studies indicate that as a general rule, an imposing physique is

not conducive to a particularly long life. Biologist Raymond Pearl compared the physical measurements of 2,000 extremely long-lived persons (aged 95 and over) with those of a short lived group. He found that the longevity group weighed appreciably less than the others, and were smaller and frailer in physical structure.

As for the delicate or semi-invalid type living longer than the husky persons, this notion has a definite basis in fact. For Pearl's study of the 2,000 persons showed that an abnormal number had "always been sickly," or "frail," or "semi-invalid." In explaining this seeming paradox, leading authorities concur with scientist Ruderfer, who points out that the less robust tend to live longer because, being less active, they spend their basic life-energy at a slower rate. So if you're in poor health—and take care of yourself—the odds are that you can look forward to living a lot longer than you could otherwise expect to.

Mental Attitude Important

Heredity, of course, plays an important part in longevity since it helps to determine how much basic energy we have the capacity to generate and expend during our life span. Good environment and proper diet are also potent factors, since they help to keep our physical machines functioning at top efficiency, and provide us with greater resistance to disease. So far as diet is concerned, one of the most important things to avoid is over-eating. People who consistently over-indulge at the dinner table very seldom achieve old age; and the majority of centenarians are frugal eaters.

There is another very important thing to remember if you want to prolong your life to the maximum. Your mental attitude can either shorten your life by decades or correspondingly lengthen it. When scientists studied the group of 2,000 men and women

who had lived to be 95 or over, they found that this group had one very significant trait in common. And only in this one outstanding trait did they differ from the rest of mankind. They were all possessed of placid temperament, relaxed, and not given to worry. They had, as the investigators emphasized in their report, taken life at an even, unhurried pace.

That hurry and worry do more to speed the aging process than perhaps any other factor has been demonstrated by numerous scientific studies. Why is this? For one thing, worry actually is more fatiguing—and consumes more nervous energy—than the hardest kind of physical labour. It also produces such extreme tensions that proper circulation of blood is impaired. Medical researchers have also found that it seriously interferes with the function of our internal organs, and even affects the secretions of the glands. Hurry also produces nerve-sapping tensions which devitalize our energies and further hasten the aging process.

It may sound trite to say stop worrying and take things easier. But all the evidence indicates that there is no simpler or more effective way of adding precious years to your life. As one leading authority sums it up: "The more rapid the pace of living, the shorter the time that life endures. This has been found true for plants, insects, animals and men."

All up and down the line, scientific investigators have made this point crystal clear: each of us can produce and expand just so much energy during his lifetime. To the extent that you dissipate your quota of life force through hurry, worry, or over-strenuous activity, you shorten your life. And to the extent that you take things easy, are calm and relaxed, you postpone the time when the Grim Reaper picks up his scythe. Remember, if you take your time—you'll have more of it!—NNF.

Today it is the weight of United States power (aided in vital fashion, of course, by the British Commonwealth and other United Nations forces) that must keep the balance in the Far East. That is exactly what we are doing in the peace settlement with Japan. We are setting up Japan as a counterweight to Communist China. Thus as Russia is today throwing her weight into the balance on the side of Communist China, so we are throwing ours onto the Japanese side.

—NEW YORK TIMES.

THE FULBRIGHT SCHOLARSHIPS

By A. VINCENT ROW

"COULD you tell me who are all those who are entitled for the 'Fulbright' scholarship?" was my opening question when I was ushered into the presence of the Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer, U. S. I. S., Madras.

"Oh, any one with a Bachelor's degree is eligible for the benefit."

"What is the procedure to apply, may I know?" was my next question.

"Students desiring this benefit should with their application enclose a letter or certificate obtained from any University in America where they seek admission either for the continuation of their studies or research, stating clearly they would be admitted. Any information regarding the studies or the Universities in America, is supplied by us on enquiry."

"Could you tell me, what are the conditions of this scholarship?"

"Conditions? There are actually no conditions, you know. The scholars are selected purely on merit and are sent to U. S. A. for a study period of one year or thereabouts, and no Fulbright scholar is allowed to stay back under any account. Full freedom of expression is granted and except for the ordinary rules that govern the institutions that they study in, no other restriction is placed on them."

"Are all expenses including that of 'board and lodge' and travel expenses borne by the Government of U. S. A.?"

"Under the Fulbright scheme only passage fare is payable and all other expenses are to be borne by the applicants themselves. In deserving cases, however, provision is made under 'SMITH-MUNDT' grant to cover the tuition and other expenses during the stay of these scholars abroad. This is also true of students from other countries."

"Students from other countries?"

"Yes. U. S. A. has entered into an agreement with BURMA, PHILIPPINES, THAILAND, CHINA, KOREA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, EGYPT, IRAN, UNITED KINGDOM, NORWAY, BELGIUM, LUXEMBURG, NETHERLANDS, FRANCE, AUSTRIA, GREECE, TURKEY and PAKISTAN, for the exchange of students."

"Could you tell me, how this cost is borne by the Government of U. S. A.?"

"The surplus war material stocked in all those countries was worth millions of dollars and the carting of it back to the States would have cost us much, while none of these countries were in a position to pay us in dollars. It was therefore agreed between the Governments that the value should be paid in the local currency which would be used for the exchange of students at the international level."

"Is there any amount fixed for this purpose?"

"The annual expenditure under this head should not exceed the rupee equivalent of 400,000 dollars, but the amount spent each year varies depending on many factors."

"This looks entirely a governmental affair to me and if so, could you tell me why this scheme is called 'Fulbright'?"

"The scholarship is sanctioned by Congress under the 'Fulbright Act' and JAMES WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, member of the Senate, and himself a Rhode's scholar, is the author of this scheme. It was thought only right to honour the man who cherished such noble thoughts, for it is mainly due to his tireless efforts that this Act was passed, and this scholarship derives its name from that Act."

The last date for application of this benefit is SEPTEMBER 15 for the year 1952-53.

REFLECTIONS ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

By P. N. S.

AS I opened my eyes, pleasant sounds from the direction of the front door greeted my ears; I closed my eyes again for a brief second, to get the full thrill of the ethereal music. Four or five instrumentalists of the first order seemed to have got to my door this morning to delight my ears. I rubbed my eyes and jumped up from bed and curiously approached the front door.

The sight was unexpected, but moving. My younger brother was playing furiously on the mouth-organ the National Anthem; it was like a one-man orchestra. Standing beside him were my wife and children, all looking skywards earnestly. My eyes also went up and fell on the fluttering Tricolor. I realized it was the fourth anniversary of Independence and felt overjoyed.

A sumptuous feast followed, and then the inevitable afternoon siesta. In the evening I started out, dressed in spotless white Khaddar jubbah and dhoti (I never fail to wear Khaddar on August 15 and on Jan. 26). I roamed the streets for a while to catch the spirit of Independence Day, but becoming increasingly oppressed by the atmosphere of apathy everywhere, I decided to wait for a bus to take me to the Marina, where I could just lie down on the sands and look up at "that inverted bowl called the sky" and let my mind wander at will. I hoped thereby to shake off the depression that had enveloped my being during an hour's walk through the city's streets.

But this day of days seemed to make no difference to the city's transport service; I waited for an hour or so, watching the crowded buses whirr past me, the driver of each looking stonily before him, with an occasional sympathetic spirit waving his hand in consolation. As I was about to start on a contemplation of the vagaries and uncertainties of civilisation, my eyes fell on a dilapidated sign-board hanging over an unattractive

little door—"Nehru Reading Room and Library." On an impulse I walked into the half-dingy room containing a few tables and chairs, a few shelves packed with much-handled books and several newspaper and magazine files. A famished-looking little man, who looked old enough to be my great-grandfather, greeted me with a slight grunt which I interpreted as hearty welcome. I thanked him silently for having taken notice of me and went to the shelves.

Lifting up a huge volume—the 1934 volume of a leading daily of the country—I settled down in a corner seat and was straightaway transported back seventeen years. It seemed a totally different world though many of the names in the news were still recognizable. The whole scene seemed permeated with all-round opulence and leisure and happiness; the mention of an occasional tragedy only helped to emphasize the general feeling of comfort.

The advertisements of a paper are its veins, revealing to the careful reader not only the quality of the ware advertised but serving as an index of the times. In fact, I was stunned at this piece which said: "To Let—an electrified house, No—, South Mada Street, Mylapore. Rent Rs. 25 p.m. Enquire at premises." Another said in bold letters on the front page "Best Nellore Rice: Nellore Paddy Sale Cooperative Society Ltd guarantees supply of unadulterated best Nellore Molagolukulu rice...." This later seemed to be something out of a fairy tale, and rendered me dazed for awhile. It was with some difficulty that I came back to the "rice ration cut to six ounces" and "accommodation wanted" world. As I continued my travels into the past, another advertisement held me by its novelty. It was an insertion under the matrimonial column calling for a bride; among the qualifications prescribed was 'educated' in italics. Those were indeed days when our people were reluctant to send their girls to colleges

and in most of the homes schooling stopped at the third form or, in special cases, with the S.S.L.C. examination—pass or fail. Educated girls were at a premium and unless specially stated a fashionable bridegroom was apt to be shocked by a slip of a girl, knowing a little of music, a little of the three 'Rs,' though homely and well up in keeping the house, and, cultured too. How different these days, when bridegrooms, unable to continue their education for lack of colleges or for lack of funds, breathe freely only after overhearing a remark that the girl who shook him by the hand before the bridal fire was a failed Intermediate while he had just passed the examination. Nor is it possible, though many would like to do it, to advertise for a bride 'uneducated,' and even if a bold soul, mindful only of a happy married life, did so, could he even faintly hope to get any response?

And what an eloquent testimony to the varied tastes in music the large advertisements of gramophone records bore! Musiri Subramania Iyer's "Thiruvadi Charanam," with the illustration of a bhakta lying prostrate at the feet of the Lord; two pictures of women, one making a basket, the other wielding the winnow, eloquently telling the reader of the song "Koodai muram kattuvom" and "Arisi kuthuvomae;" "Panditha Motilal Nehruvai Parikoduthomae" with the picture of the artiste illuminating the advertisement, and so on and on. Can you expect even one such advertisement these days, when thanks to the radio, which abets half-baked artistes in playing ducks and drakes with music, though happily a turn of the knob does help to restore peace of mind in the harassed listener? The radio has killed the individual propensities of the hearer and has converted him into an automaton, who either must listen to what is offered or else close down the shutters. But in those olden days the gramophone record gave the individual full scope to satisfy his particular tastes. Indeed, the conversion of gramophone plates into pansupari plates does mark a turning point for the worse in the history of music.

That the good old days were leisurely was evidenced by column after column of legal proceedings. Ques-

tions by judges, counsel's answers, examination and cross-examination, arguments and judgments were run practically fully. I was myself a member of the bar, and, even now I am able to recall the suffused face of the advocate whose name had appeared for the successful litigant who had won a case, which appeared in "The" the previous day, as he acknowledged the praises of a few others like him. I cannot also forget the reverence in which the scribes who reported the court proceedings in the papers, were held and the courtly gestures made towards them by some members of the bar so that when they happen to win a case their success should not be overlooked by the dailies. It is impossible to expect such things nowadays, for 'the scarcity of newsprint and the consequent restriction on space' has driven the bosses of newspapers to conserve every inch for "news."

And as I looked into the obituary columns, the memory of an uncle of mine came back to me. This uncle always went to the newspaper only after every other member of the household had digested its contents (and some of the paper too), but he was very much put out if he was not given the paper first for him to have a glance at the obituary column—he said he wanted to know which friend of his had given up the ghost. And even as I read some of the "Obit" reports their length seemed to indicate to me that people must have died in those days in a leisurely way; not like the present days, when somebody dies leaving somebody else to put in an advertisement about his departure to a better world.

Coming to the lighter side of things, I found an article on how to win the third test match at Madras against the M.C.C. team led by D. R. Jardine by bringing psychology into play. The writer, evidently an eminent psychologist, in one and half columns of reading matter had detailed a plan which advocated—(1) the use of the boorkha by both sides; as a boorkha concealed the identity of the player by enveloping his features in it, the Indian had to face only 'somebody in a boorkha' and he could have no reason to be afraid of this 'somebody'; (2) the Indian team must consist of the fattest and heaviest of the land,

whose rotundities would surely prevent any ball from hitting the stumps. Of course, it will be impossible to win a match as the ball will rebound only for a yard or two, but by this method the opponents could be forced to a draw; and (3) every Indian batsman must have a trial ball, and this consideration could be extended to India as she was new to test cricket.

As to the value of money in those days, it was enough to run through the list of donations paid for Bihar earthquake relief when even subscriptions of four annas found a place. But even a beggar these days looks askance at a four-anna piece.

As I rose to go home, suddenly the thickness of the bound volume struck me. How big it was! In those days a daily issue cost half an anna or at the most an anna. And what an amount

of reading matter and incidents of daily life filled those pages! It is a pity, pity indeed, that for more than treble that amount you get, if you are lucky, news for half an hour's reading and your wife grumbles that a month's subscription does not secure even a viss of paper.

As I wended back home the fireworks of Independence Day were visible afar; but on the morrow the frantic rush towards living death would start again. But in those far-off days, whose happenings were brought before me during the two hours in the library there was not so much shouting and fireworks; but there was much contentment, much leisure for the dignity of man to come out in the various walks of life. Will those days ever come back? One wonders.

EDUCATION ON A WAR FOOTING

By CHANAKYA

THE future strength and advancement of our country is to a great extent dependent on the extent to which we are prepared to allocate funds from our public revenues for educating our children to be loyal to our Constitution and to understand democracy with special reference to its strengths, weaknesses and enemies. Obviously it is not enough if we simply allocate the funds, but we must also find the necessary personnel to put our ideals into practice. The accomplishment of this great task lies in the hands of the teachers and managers of our schools, but have we ever fully realised the importance and magnitude of this task which concerns the future of a whole nation? I should say we have not.

The success of any educational system, however good it may be in theory, depends on the quality of its teaching and supervisory personnel more than anything else. Teaching as a profession must carry a high prestige and good salaries in order to attract and retain really efficient personnel. But what is the position in our country now? We talk glibly about introducing compulsory ele-

mentary education and at the same time hear our financial bosses in the Government explain how they cannot find any more money to allot for the education of our children. What is the use of talking about universal compulsory education when we cannot lift even the existing members in the teaching profession from their half-starved condition?

Recently a deputation led by the Mayor of the City Corporation met the Education Minister and appealed to him to revise the scale of pay of the Corporation elementary teachers from Rs. 30-1-55 to Rs. 35-2-65. Presumably these unfortunate teachers are expected to be a little qualified! In these days when even an illiterate manual labourer will not accept a job for anything less than Rs. 2 a day and a skilled industrial worker gets anything between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 a day, what is the status of these teachers who are asked to live on a mere Rs. 30 plus probably a small allowance? What will these teachers do with this Rs. 30 when two meals alone in a middle class hotel cost Rs. 30? When it is remembered that a teacher can have no other source of professional

income other than his salary, it can just be imagined what a terrible life the members of this profession are compelled to lead.

A combination of unsatisfactory conditions has made teaching an unattractive profession to many capable people. To be able to devote the necessary time and show interest in teaching children, teachers must be free from economic worries. But, strange as it may be, in relation to other professions, the teaching profession today occupies the lowest status in the matter of salary. The existing salary level of teachers, particularly in view of the present high cost of living, is disgracefully low. Considering its importance in the social set-up of a nation, teaching is a profession which can claim the same status as that enjoyed by doctors, lawyers or engineers, but our sense of justice has degenerated to such a level that we are not even prepared to consider them in the same rank as an office clerk or a skilled industrial worker in the matter of salary. Salaries in all other professions have increased considerably during the past 10 years, but the teaching profession is still in the same unfortunate position as it was 10 years ago. Long years of low salaries have discredited teaching to such an extent that no ambitious man or woman will ever think of taking up this profession, and yet we want

decent and educated people to take up the job of teaching!

I think the time has come when the members of the teaching profession must stop looking to the Government for their uplift, but rather appeal to the general public direct to put the necessary pressure on the Government through the legislatures. They will find that the members of the public, who after all send their children to schools, are more susceptible to sound reasoning and can be educated much quicker than the Government bosses. Any citizen aspiring for the welfare of the future generation will accept cheerfully such taxes as may be imposed by the State for the education of children.

In the United States special taxes are levied throughout the country to pay for the maintenance of the free public schools. Our State Governments are also imposing every possible kind of tax and fritter away the revenue thus collected on less urgent schemes. Cannot prohibition, zamindari abolition and nationalisation wait? After guaranteeing adult franchise in the Constitution, how long are we going to keep the bulk of the population illiterate? The problem is not so easy as we all seem to think. As a matter of fact it is so important and urgent that, as Mr. Kotiswaran, Secretary of the All-India Federation of Educational Association, said the other day, it ought to be viewed on a war footing.

SURVEY OF TRADITIONAL CRAFTS AND DESIGNS IN ANDHRADESA

THE Institute of Art in Industry of which Sri Harekrishna Mehtab is president, has resolved to carry on a rural survey of traditional Indian crafts and designs as existing in Andhradesa and Mysore State and collect as much material as possible. This survey should, to some extent, be oriented towards the prevention of deterioration or extinction of existing crafts. The Institute has taken this survey as part of an All India scheme to prepare (1) a complete dictionary of Indian designs, and (2) an Encyclopaedia of Indian crafts. This scheme was approved by Sri D. P.

Roy Chowdhury, Sri R. Chakrabarty, Dr. Kramrisch, etc.

Mr. Sudhansu Kuman Ray, former Craft Surveyor, University Museum, Calcutta, has been appointed by the Institute to carry on the survey. He arrived in Madras on 15th August. The survey is to be held during a period of 2 months, from 20th August to October 20th 1951, in the districts of Andhra and Mysore State.

Special search will be made by Mr. Ray for the ancient types of embroidery called Bontha in the district of Vizag and for traditional paintings by Muchipuvadulus in the districts of Nellore and Cuddapah.

LONESOMEST PEOPLE ON EARTH

By MARTIN SHERIDAN

The Bonin islands have now come into the news on account of India's decision not to participate in the San Francisco Conference. One of the reasons for India's non-cooperation was the non-return of the Bonin islands to Japan by the U. S. Government. This article on the inhabitants of Chichi Jima in the Bonin islands will therefore be of interest to readers.

THE lonesomest people on earth live on Chichi Jima in the rarely visited Bonin islands, about 650 miles south of Tokyo and 150 miles north of Iwo Jima. Contrary to popular belief, these folks don't wear grass shirts or speak pidgin English. They wear clothes, ordered from a catalogue, and speak excellent English with a slight New England twang. And practically all the 135 islanders are descendants of adventurous Nathaniel Savory, a whaling fisherman and native of Bradford, Mass., who came to this idyllic spot in 1830 seeking peace and contentment.

Five principal families—the Savorys, Webbs, Gonzales, Gilleys and Washingtons (including a George Washington)—live on Chichi Jima today. Through the years all have intermarried and now everyone is related. They are literally one big family—a family of forgotten people who still have relatives in the U. S.

During the recent war the Japanese didn't want them because they resembled Americans and spoke English. Now the U. S. reluctantly classifies the people on Chichi Jima as "enemy nationals", who were permitted to return to their home island at their own request.

Rear Admiral Charles A. Pownall, U. S. N. governor of Guam and commander of the Marianas, being deeply interested in the story of these people, arranged a special stop at Chichi by a large navy transport so he might meet them, learn their problems and aspirations first-hand and see if there were a practical way of assisting them. The writer was permitted to join the admiral's small party.

Toys For The Children

The tiny colony was caught unprepared for the visit of the highest ranking naval officer since Commodore

Matthew Perry stopped there in 1853. They had not received a message dropped from a plane dispatched from Iwo a few days before. But most of them gathered quickly on the beach to meet Admiral Pownall.

Admiral Pownall presented the president of the local council, Clark Gonzalez, an eifel wood gavel and pounding disc, a symbol of democratic government.

Next the admiral presented the islanders with several cases of hard candy and chocolate bars for their youngsters and navy nurse Eleanor M. Gallagher turned over a carton of toys from the ship's nursery.

The background of these islands is vague and out-of-focus. There are reports that the chain of islands was discovered by the explorer Villalabos in 1543. About 50 years later the Japanese voyager, Ogasawara, made his way ashore and named the group the Munins, meaning the uninhabited. Through the years they have become known as the Bonins.

As a whaling fisherman, Nathaniel Savory had visited the Bonins in the 1820's. Impressed with the good soil and cool dry climate, he planned to return to escape the problems of mankind. Savory chartered a schooner in the Hawaiian islands for his trip. With an Englishman named Piilenchamp, two other men named Chapin and Mazarro, and a few Polynesian women, Savory hoisted sail for his island paradise. The little expedition arrived off what is now called Chichi Jima on June 26, 1830, and set up camp ashore.

Two other settlers, a Portuguese named Jiachim Gonzalez, and an English whaling fisherman, William Gilleys, soon joined the co-operative. They fished and farmed, feuded occasionally, but were presided over wisely by Nat Savory. It was a compara-

tively peaceful life they led, at least until Capt. Barker sailed his British vessel into the harbour for provisions. That night, his armed men invaded the colony, raiding the farms and running off with the settlers' women, cattle and provisions. Then Savory realised this little empire was in danger. The raid could happen again.

Japanese Took Over

The next time, however, they were prepared for unwelcome visitors, having hidden their money in the red earth. Apparently they did not recover all of it for, after wartime bombings, a number of coins were found in the debris. "Uncle" Wilson Savory showed me three coins of U. S. Canadian and Spanish origin. They were dated 1801 and 1826.

When Commodore Perry stopped by the Bonins in 1853 with the warships *Susquehanna* and *Saratoga* he paid Savory \$50 for the title to 1,000 yards of waterfront property to be used as a coaling station for steamers operating in the Far East. He promised Savory the protection of the U. S. Government and helped to establish the local government which elected the Massachusetts man its chief magistrate.

In 1861 Japan notified the U. S. Minister, Townsend Harris, it intended to occupy the Bonins, and landed a small group of settlers. Old Nat Savory's pleas for aid were ignored by the State Department, probably because the U. S. was embroiled in the civil war and possibly because it wanted to appease Japan for opening her doors to world trade.

In 1873 Secretary of State Hamilton Fish declared Nathaniel Savory and his followers "expatriated persons". He said their occupation of the Bonins had never been approved by the U. S. Government and the colonists had not received any promise of U. S. protection.

That was all the Japs needed to complete their occupation. They moved colonists down in force to the main island, renamed it Chichi Jima, claimed sovereignty over all the Bonins and declared the inhabitants Japanese nationals.

Nathaniel Savory, stubborn to the end, continued to fly the U. S. flag from his home. Broken-hearted because the U. S. had not exercised its

right to take over the Bonins, he failed rapidly and died in 1874 at the age of 80. Thirty years later the Japs declared the Bonins closed to all foreigners and started to fortify them.

By 1941 the Japanese population had grown to 8,000. Chichi had good roads, a power house, schools and hospitals, shops, museum and a 120-room hotel. Even after the declaration of war the Savorys, Webbs, Washingtons, Gonzalez and Gilleys continued to fish and farm.

Some 30,000 garrison troops were sent from Japan to defend the Bonins against invasion. They treated the Caucasian-looking residents fairly well though restricting their movements and preventing them from approaching the many military installations. U. S. war power began to increase mightily and by mid-1944 the first carrier task force attacks were conducted against Chichi Jima. The destruction was so great that the Japanese commissioner ordered all the civilians evacuated to Japan two weeks later.

After the war, Frederick Savory, great-grandson of Nathaniel Savory and a translator at the war crime trials on Guam, petitioned General MacArthur's headquarters for permission for the Savory-descended residents to return to their island. Eventually the request was approved and 135 men, women and children—all screened by the Intelligence Section—were landed on Chichi on October 17, 1946.

During the past five years the colony has made considerable progress toward economic security. They have formed the Bonin Islands Trading Co., with each able-bodied man owning a share on a co-operative basis. They have already netted a profit of \$10,000—kept in the Bank of Guam—from the sale of dried tuna fish and vegetables to the people of Guam.

They have voluntarily banned the importation of liquor. They do not have a police force. Most of the followers of the simple life are Protestants. They still call their community Yankeetown and, like thousands of rural folks, order clothing and equipment from a U. S. catalogue.

These English-speaking people do not need money, food or clothing, but they do crave news from the outside world. They are lonesome, painfully so.

WHO WILL SUCCEED TRUMAN AS PRESIDENT?

By Dr. P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK CITY: After watching the fluttering of the political pulse, especially with those not-so-coy hints President Truman throws out at his weekly press conferences, the trial balance as of today, 11 months before the political conventions is obvious enough. Truman will again be the Democratic nominee. The Republican race will be a bitter battle between the Taft and Eisenhower forces.

It is the unanimous opinion of American political pandits that a change is badly needed in the White House and their reasons are recorded here.

On the day when President Truman leaves the White House the American Nation may well be facing, or be in the midst of, the greatest crisis in its history. The fate of the country, and perhaps of all humanity, may be in the hands of the man who succeeds him. A word, a nod, a shake of the head by that man, may determine whether civilization is to survive or perish.

No matter whether you are a congenital optimist, or such a pessimist that you believe all roads lead to disaster and that Doomsday lies just ahead, you must be impressed, if not terrified, by all the accumulating indications that we are approaching critical climaxes both within the borders of the U.S.A. and throughout the world—climaxes with which the man who succeeds President Truman in the chief executive's job will have to deal.

With higher taxes and greater Government deficits continuing to pile up; with employment and consumption problems growing more acute; with private monopoly, Statism (public monopoly), and free enterprise (little business) battling for supremacy as never before; with world markets becoming harder and harder to hold (except through give-aways); with powerful pressure groups becoming more and more unconcerned about and blind to, the general welfare—with

all these and many more undermining forces becoming more and more threatening to our old ways of life, we certainly are facing strains and stresses at home more acute than any we have ever before encountered.

And it is hard to see how the most vital of the world problems facing the Truman Administration can be solved in a way that will not leave still more vital problems facing the man who succeeds Mr. Truman in the White House. There will have to be expert hands on the job and a master boss in the directing saddle when it comes to harvesting our post-war sowings throughout the world. Whether the yields turn out good or bad, we shall have to harvest the productions of the Truman Doctrine, our tenures in Germany and Japan, the Atlantic Pact, and the re-arming of Western Europe, along with those of our muddled efforts to contain Communism in Asia.

The cold war with Russia, if it has not got out of hand and already headed civilisation towards complete destruction in a hot war, will continue to call for leadership of the greatest wisdom, vision, patience, and diplomacy.

Certainly, if Mr. Truman isn't able to put in operation policies which will enable us to make atomic energy the chief hand-maiden of civilisation rather than just an agency which can be used to produce its destruction, his successor will be called on to do so—and will probably blow up all the works if he doesn't succeed.

If Mr. Truman himself were a superhuman leader, and if he should stay in office long beyond his present tenure, all this would be so. If he had surrounded himself with the ablest advisers in the world, if he could entirely resist playing politics with crises, if he could control Congress as a lion-tamer controls his wild beasts in a circus arena, this would be so. Yes, even though he were such a master, that he could "draw the moon from heaven with a scarlet thread," the future going

would continue to look rough and difficult.

Even if, through some stroke of genius or blind luck, Mr. Truman's administration could eliminate all the dangers of war and insure peace throughout the world, with Europe back on her economic feet and the American economy more securely and more buoyantly afloat, the problems facing his successor would still be so momentous as to demand a leader of wisdom, courage, vision, and humanitarianism rarely produced in history.

This is so because never before in history has civilization faced such mass awakenings of peoples, or such ideological struggles as are now going on—and which must go on for many years to come. All the talents, all the genius, and all the idealisms of a Washington, a Jefferson, a Jackson, a Lincoln, a Woodrow Wilson, and a Franklin D. Roosevelt will be needed to insure perpetuation of our democratic ways of life—to insure such successful functioning of our system of society that there will be no question about its ability to stand up to the challenges of, and eventually triumph over, Communism and any other ism which may become threatening.

Where is such leadership to be found? Who's the man? Who among the prospective candidates for this job of such great responsibilities should be chosen? And how will the choice be made?

The general picking procedures are well known. First, the major political parties choose as their standard-bearers the individuals that their delegates (guided and manipulated by the party bosses) consider best suited to head their tickets.

Both before and after the candidates are named, the so-called institution of information and enlightenment go into action. These include the press, radio commentators, publicity bureaus, and the propaganda spreaders of all the pressure groups. Finally, after the candidates have been presented to the electorate in all the lights and shadows that the agencies of information and enlightenment can devise to make them look like gods or demons, the citizens who take their responsibilities of citizenship seriously enough to go to the polls and vote make the last-word deci-

sion. Many conflicting, overlapping, confusing influences complicate the picking. Selfish interests and the general welfare come to clash head on.

Out of all this, the groups trying to pick a new leader and put him in power have to find a man (conceivably it might be a woman) who can command the respect and confidence both of the powerful special-interest groups and of the masses of voters. He must be acceptable to the political party bosses. Big business interests must consider him "safe and sound." The institutions of information and enlightenment must consider him a glamorous figure, or one who can be glamorized through publicity.

The ideal candidate of all "king-making" groups is a man who is safe, sound, conservative, and level-headed, who is already popular with the masses—one already something of a hero because of his display of leadership talents in some other position.

Such a man, unless he is a General Sherman, may find himself catapulted into national leadership, even though he may have no particular yearning for the job, and may, deep down in his heart, feel that he is not qualified. And such a man, again unless he be a General Sherman, may, when enough pressures and persuasions are put upon him, finally come to look upon himself as a sort of Lincoln or Jackson, and come to believe that it is his destiny to prove that Sam Foss was right when he wrote:

*The plain man is the basic clod
From which we grow the demi-god;
And in the average man is curied
The hero stuff that rules the world.*

Who is this man we asked the political pandits? Their answer:

As of today, there is but one man outstanding in the public view who meets one and all of these qualification requirements—just one man who is all but a flawless natural as a candidate who can be easily built up to take over the presidential job whenever Harry S. Truman voluntarily, or by mandate of the people, gives over. This man, of course, is General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe.

SQUALLY WEATHER AND COSTLIER CIGARETTES

LONDON: As I write this note, the rain is pouring down at the end of a damp week in Britain. Gales are forecast, and summer would seem to have left us, temporarily at least. It is particularly unfortunate that the early autumn rains should be premature this year, for we had a long winter and crops were late in their sowing. The farmers of Britain have been hoping for good weather the next few weeks to make up for the late start they had. Cereal crops are affected more than any others. When the crops ripen, it is a common sight to see the farmers and their workers in the fields from early morning to late at night. Normally, this would have taken place during August, when the days are long and there is no excessive early morning dews. As it is, they now have to contend with shorter days and with the morning dew, which adds a further delay to their harvesting. The farmer cannot get more than ten hours work in each day, whereas three weeks ago he could have managed an hour to an hour and a half extra. In most parts of the country there were "growing rains" in early July. These have improved the crops, but at the same time they were the cause of further delay, making these next weeks more important than ever for the farmer.

The Ministry of Agriculture must be looking anxiously at these rainy days. This year there are 4 lakhs fewer acres under cereal cultivation than there were last year, and though there might be more barley we must expect less wheat, oats and mixed corn. There is, in fact, likely to be about half a million tons less wheat than there was last year. Converted into food, this means enough bread for a million people for a year. Which is a lot of bread! Fortunately, the food situation has improved considerably in recent weeks, thanks to increasing supplies of meat. But once again the snag has arisen that more meat costs more money, especially when the basic price is increased.

There are reports already of people not taking their meat ration, because they cannot afford it. It is the old bogey of the cost-of-living, which shows no sign of decrease as yet, though the rise is probably not as steep as it has been in the past year. This week there has been a reduction in the price of British-made carpets, but another increase in the price of cigarettes.

The new price of cigarettes—they are now 3-7d for twenty for the more popular brands, this is about Rs. 2 annas 5,—will not affect the smoking habits of those who already smoke. The increase is only of 1d on each twenty. It is interesting that this is the first increase of cigarette prices which the makers have made since 1931. All the increases which have resulted in cigarettes jumping from one shilling (ten annas) for twenty to the present price, have been the result of higher rates of import duty, except this last penny. Although the consumption of cigarettes on account of price is not affected by present changes, the consumption might well be reduced following the publication of the findings of some committee or other that has been investigating the relation between cigarette smoking and cancer of the lung. This committee found that in fact there is a definite link between the two. I read a report of the effect this report had on Russians. The consumption of tobacco has been cut by 10%. The report has appeared in most of the British newspapers, but has not received any major publicity, so it may not be as effective here as it has been in Russia. Many of my smoking friends, however, have read the report and have either cut down or stopped altogether their cigarette smoking. In Britain there are societies for most good causes, for civil liberties, for prevention of cruelty to children and to animals, for total abstinence from strong drink, and for Sabbath observance. As yet, though, there is no society, as far as I know, that would

try to prevent people from smoking. So the fact of the influence of tobacco smoking on the lungs is not likely to become as widely known as it ought.

Reading my newspapers, especially the one I see each evening that is published locally, and the three-half penny popular paper that comes into the house, one contrast I note to the papers of India is in the amount of space that is given to court proceedings. As someone said to me recently, "If they did not report crimes, what else could they put in the paper?" I showed them some copies of Indian newspapers, as well as the *Times* and *Manchester Guardian*. Maybe it is because there is so much crime reported, from petty offences in the magistrates' courts to the major crimes in the Assizes, that I seem to be reading of more and more cases of murder. There was, I think it was about a couple of years ago, an attempt to have capital punishment abolished in Britain. The 'realists' in the argument asserted that if this should happen, there would be an increase in murder. I do not know what this year's crime figures will reveal, but it appears that murders has in fact increased since it was decided not to abolish capital punishment. I think there is little relation between the punishment by death and the murder in the mind of the murderer at the time of his crime. The punishment is bound to be grave, whatever form it takes, and most, if not all, murderers, are insane at least at the time of their crime, so that they would not

hesitate from fear of consequences. A recent publication has brought before us the views on this subject of a great authority on punishment. It is "Paterson on Prisons," the collected papers of Sir Alexander Paterson. He was in favour of capital punishment. He said, "It is better to break a man's neck than to break his heart." Paterson does make one very important point on the use of imprisonment as a punishment for criminal offences, one point amongst many other good ones. It is that it is imprisonment itself that is the punishment. A court sentence is less or more severe according to the length of the term of imprisonment. This principle is important in considering the treatment of people who have been sentenced to prison. Their time in prison is its own punishment, therefore they should be trained whilst there to be able to live a useful and honest life when they are released. This is an answer to those, and there are still many people with this attitude, who would have prison life and diet as hard as possible. A recent experiment in the women's section of Manchester Gaol would have pleased Paterson. It has been arranged that certain prisoners shall leave the prison in the morning, in ordinary clothes, under the care of a warder who is also in plain clothes, and shall go to work in one of the local cotton mills. The experiment is in its early stages, but first results seem to have justified what might be a revolutionary experiment in the treatment of prisoners in British gaols.

From the Indian point of view, there are practical grounds for reluctance to fall in with the American approach to the Japanese treaty. The terms of the treaty, the Indians argue, should be "so framed as to enable all countries specially interested in the maintenance of a stable peace in the Far East to subscribe to the treaty sooner or later." Probably the most important Indian objection is that the Chinese Government has not been consulted in the drafting or invited to sign. Although it is unfortunate it is not surprising that the Indian and the British decisions on this question should diverge. India, as a land Power in Asia, has to have relations with the Chinese Government in actual control of the territory of China, whether her leaders approve of the present leaders in Peking or not. A settlement with Japan in which the rulers of China have no place is plainly incomplete in fact and to subscribe to it might complicate Indian foreign relations as much as, in other ways, it simplified them. The Allied Powers have chosen to by-pass the question whether the Government of China resides in Formosa or in Peking, leaving it for the future. Mr. Nehru, however, may understandably hold that, for India, at any rate, the subject is not one for tact—and the acceptance of a diplomatic liability—but for the recognition of facts.—*The Times*.

ASIA'S 'HOT CORNER'

By ANDREW ROTH

LONDON: "The difference between British and American policies on Asia," one of Labour's most intelligent M.P.s told me, "is that the Labour Government realizes that while a Communist dictatorship would be a reactionary step for Western Europe, a Communist regime can be a step forward for many Asian countries." He insisted, under challenge, that this is the attitude not only of Labour intellectuals of the *Tribune*—*New Statesman* school but of cabinet members as well. I asked why, then, the British Government, and particularly its Commissioner-General for Southeast Asia, Malcolm MacDonald, so strongly favoured the Baodai regime in Indochina over that of Ho Chi Minh. He replied that the necessities of defending British interests in the area—and particularly Malaya—overrode Labour's grasp of which side was better for the people of Indochina. "But," he underlined, "we do not kid ourselves."

This attitude of "doing the necessary" out of military-economic weakness while discreetly holding one's nose partially explains the paucity of comment on the implications of the Japanese peace treaty. As the *Tribune*, Aneurin Bevan's mouthpiece, points out, "it is strange how little discussion" there has been on the Japanese treaty "in this country." It strongly suspects that Mr. Morrison brushed aside demands to debate it in the Commons or to explain his position "fairly or openly" to the Labour movement because he was in the process of accepting completely America's Asian policy. In particular, it accuses Mr. Morrison of jettisoning completely Britain's recognition of the Peking Government. "China suffered longer than any other country from the assault of Japan," *Tribune* points out. "The Government of China in Peking is officially recognized by us. With our connivance it is not even invited to participate in the making of a Japanese treaty. And if the Soviet delegate at San Francisco rises to protest against this exclusion, what retort is open to us?...It is hardly

possible to conceive of actions better calculated to solder the alliance between the Chinese and the Russians, and to encourage the belief in China that the real aim is the restarting of the Civil War, and to make infinitely more difficult the chance of an eventual settlement in the Far East in which the China we have recognized is able to join."

In view of the paucity of comment on the Japanese treaty there is little wonder that there has been almost complete silence on the vital but secondary issue of the invitation to the treaty conference of the French-sponsored Indochinese States (Baodai's Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos). The brief visit here of the U. S. Minister to Indochina, Mr. Donald Heath, was ignored. And the Foreign Office has kept mum about its endorsing the U. S. invitation to these States, or the implications of this invitation.

Le Monde, which has approached becoming a spokesman for the Quai d'Orsay with the recent purge of its 'neutralist' editor, was remarkably frank in analyzing the true significance of the Indochinese invitation to San Francisco. A front-page editorial in its August 22 issue insists that the three French-sponsored little States are helping fill the gap left by India. *Le Monde* fully accepts the possibility that those who sign the Japan treaty will become part of an anti-Communist Pacific coalition "whose leadership will inevitably be taken by Japan." *Le Monde's* brilliant foreign editor, Robert Guillain, has been emphasizing in his current series from Japan that Mr. Dulles is pressuring the Japanese to rearm as the advance echelon of an American-sponsored anti-Communist Pacific coalition. In the "present conjuncture" of international events, *Le Monde* claims, no other choice is possible for Indochina. "Since a Communist China will confront an anti-Communist Japan the most exposed Far Eastern countries will have to choose one or the other."

Indochina Is The Crux

In the Western press Indochina and its problems get the same scant cover-

age accorded to Korea before the outbreak of war or to Persia before the oil nationalization crisis. But, with them, Indochina qualifies as one of the "hot corners" of Asia. Strategically, Indochina is more important than Korea because its loss to the West would not only be significant in itself but would open up the whole oil-tin-and-rubber-rich area of Southeast Asia to Communist infiltration. Bordering on Communist China, it provides a test of Peking's intentions. It is an equally striking test of American ability to produce an anti-Communist resistance in an Asian country still under-going a colonial struggle without taking on itself the full disadvantages of supporting a colonial power.

Indochina's crucial character was shown by the crises produced there by the Malik suggestions about a Korean ceasefire and the subsequent Kaesong negotiations. Close observers of Asian affairs looked to Indochina to see whether this did, in reality, signal a new Asia-wide tactic on the part of the Communists. They were not disappointed. On June 11 Ho Chi Minh had warned his army political workers that they must prepare for a "long and arduous war" to oust the French, indicating that there would be no large-scale aid from Chinese "volunteers" and only limited supplies from China. Early in July, Yves Farges, the head of the Communist-led "Partisans of Peace" movement in France got a message from his opposite number among the Indochinese Communists to push again the "negotiate with Ho Chi Minh" theme, which he did in a speech on July 15 at Mutualite. On July 24 the Indochinese Communist radio repeatedly broadcast the proposals of *l'Observateur*, French neutralist weekly, that the Indochina war be ended by Chinese-Indian mediation.

Confronted with the possibility that the Korean war might end, freeing large forces of the Chinese Communists, the French Government has acted with the completely split mentality which has always characterized its approach to the interminable and insoluble colonial war it is conducting in Indochina. France's position is a product of its inability to either win or extricate itself gracefully from the

Indochina war. Even to hold its present position it has to spend \$3 million a day, including a third of its military budget. It uses over half of its professional officers and non-coms in Indochina—and suffers heavy casualties among them—making it impossible to produce North Atlantic Pact divisions at anywhere near the rate desired by General Eisenhower. To fight more effectively it has to rely more and more on the United States, although the interference of a foreign power in a French overseas territory is something which is pathologically resented by almost all Frenchmen. The most recent example of this was the French Government's refusal to counter-sign an agreement between Baodai's nominally sovereign State of Viet Nam and the American Economic Cooperation Administration on the excuse that the French President had not been given enough notice although the treaty had been negotiated for over six months. This puts the U.S. in the unenviable position of being suspected by the French of "imperialist designs" while being disliked by the bulk of the Indochinese population as the supplier of napalm bombs and bombers to the unpopular Franco-Baodai regime.

These conflicts in French policy produce contradictory positions. The public attitude, for outside (and particularly Washington) consumption, is to raise an alarm about the increased threat to Indochina and the need to aid France in defending it. At the Singapore conference in May the flamboyant French commander General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny ('DDT' in Indochina) emphasized a theme he is likely to repeat in Washington in September: Indochina is the key to the struggle against Asian Communism and the battle there must be helped by all anti-communists. Gen. de Lattre is expected to request a formal American guarantee in the event of Chinese intervention. Before then he wants jet fighters to add to the B-26s and napalm bombs already supplied, in order to counter the Indochinese Communists' anticipated September offensive. French officials are also talking about the need for a politico-military pact in Southeast Asia so that everybody can help France defend Indochina.

France's *private* attitude is quite different. On August 19 M. Letourneau, the French Minister for Indochina, spoke at a ceremony for the return of over 300 French bodies from Indochina. His emphasis on France's desire for peace in Indochina is not new. Last fall Premier Rene Plevin attempted to contact Ho Chi Minh's spokesmen for peace talks before going to Washington to get support for continued war. And now again the new cabinet of Premier Plevin has discussed the possibility of peace negotiations in Indochina. But the cabinet comes up against the same old obstacle of Ho Chi Minh's demand that French troops be withdrawn. Without the 70,000 metropolitan French servicemen and the 60,000 troops from other French colonies Baodai's regime would collapse very soon.

Despite their alarms the French do not really expect the Chinese to attack unless they are provoked and for this reason they are anxious not to incite them. The *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon has reported that the French are worried about the American desire to utilize the Kuomintang forces which have escaped to Southeast Asia. The French have disarmed some 20-30,000 Kuomintang troops, in accordance with international law, and stationed 11,000 of them on an island off the southwest coast. The Kuomintang authorities in Formosa have attempted to secure control of them, with the tacit support of the Americans. Maj. Gen. W. C. Chase, head of the U. S. military advisory mission in Formosa, was going to fly to Saigon in July to attempt to secure their release. But the French became jittery because of the re-entry of Kuomintang troops into Communist-controlled Yunnan from Burma, which they were sure was done with the help of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. They fear any similar help by Indochina to Chiang Kai-shek may incite Peking. They therefore had Gen. Chase's trip to Indochina indefinitely postponed.

"DDT" To Washington

As General de Lattre travels to Washington at the invitation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff he carries these two visages of France in his knapsack, although he may only show that of

the militant anti-Communist to his American colleagues. The dashing French general will not have to impress the Pentagon with the importance of Indochina. Way back in 1949 when the U. S. National Security Council "wrote off" Korea as not worthwhile defending it decided that Indochina was the vital spot on the periphery of Communist China. This helps explain America's early recognition of Baodai after pressure on France to clothe him with a semblance of authority. During the Korean conflict Washington expected a Chinese expedition into Indochina, and such inspired columnists as the Alsop brothers even provided us with the date of the Chinese invasion—last January 15. When the Chinese refused to oblige, the Alsops subsequently boasted that the U. S. had frightened them off, although in actual fact the date they set was the date of greatest American weakness, as testified to in the MacArthur hearings.

Washington has the highest regard for Gen. de Lattre because it was his verve and generalship, combined with U. S. shipments of B-26 bombers, Hellcat fighters and the terrifying napalm bombs, that stopped the Communists' January and June offensives in Tonking. Chinese Communist training and artillery enabled the strengthened Indochinese Communist forces to shift from guerilla warfare to a war of manoeuvre for the first time. American supplies to the Franco-Baodai forces plus French reinforcements have re-established the old equilibrium on a new level. Seldom has a small amount of American equipment been used more effectively in Asia.

Le Monde's Washington correspondent has warned that if Gen. de Lattre asks for an American guarantee against Chinese intervention Washington will demand a French promise that it will put the matter before the UN. This shows that the tremendous increase in American official personnel in Indochina from the half-dozen there in 1948 to the more than 200 there now has revised some of the naive sentiments on which U.S. recognition and aid were first based. The French have always maintained that the UN has no business in Indochina because the conflict there is an

internal French Union matter. Similarly, they have insisted that American aid must go *primarily* to strengthen France in Indochina. There have been a number of bitter squabbles over pressure by the American military mission to funnel equipment to the indigenous Baodaiist military forces instead of to the French and French colonial forces. Every U. S. action has been considered by the bulk of the colonial French as an effort to push out the French and install the Americans. If the U. S. Army is to go into Indochina it wants to make sure it is not under French command. American command, covered by a United Nations mantle, would be much more convenient.

The proposal advanced by French and Baodaiist officials that the Baodai regime become part of a politico-military Pacific pact has considerable attractions for Washington. It is in line with the whole U. S. tendency to tie itself down to clear-cut defence pacts and arrangements such as are

now in the process of development with Japan, South Korea, the Kuomintang forces in Formosa, the Philippine Government and Australia and New Zealand. But the Pentagon is now under no illusions as to the sort of military support they can hope to develop in Baodai. The Vietminh's three-division attack in the Red River delta in May and June suffered losses but severely strained the forces of the brilliant Gen. de Lattre. He had to stretch his B-26 bombers, Hellcat fighters, their napalm bombs, his greater mobility and fire power, and his *imported* troops to even maintain his position. Although Baodai's forces number about 150,000 they have nowhere near the striking power of Ho Chi Minh's 150-200,000 regulars and 200,000 local forces. Baodai's forces have a small core of well-trained and equipped regulars. It is still composed to a considerable extent of armed religious sects, particularly in the South where the Baodaiists contribute the largest

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chunk. Furthermore they seriously lack officer material because the educated youth has either thrown in with the Communist-led Vietminh or preserved a fence-sitting attitude. It is this which has compelled the imposition of selective conscription. But conscription is no substitute for the fundamental lack of popular support for the regime.

Recent arrivals from Saigon agree that there is little improvement in the situation which the *Times* correspondent described last February as "a political vacuum.... There is still no Assembly, no Constitution, no Budget.... The French still administer the country." Although the Northern Catholic minority is friendlier to Baodai, it is still true that among the Indochinese "the majority are sitting on the fence, awaiting a political or military decision." There are only a handful of squabbling Indochinese rightwing nationalists willing to work with Baodai and Gen. de Lattre under present conditions. As a result it took over a month for the old warhorse Tran Van Huu to form a cabinet last winter, only to have it collapse the first day because the Baodaiist sect didn't want its forces to serve under the designated Defence Minister Nguyen Huu Tri. Subsequently Nguyen Huu Tri, one of the most efficient serving administrators, resigned his post as Governor of North Vietnam and left for Hongkong. In July the Governor of Central Viet Nam resigned.

The failure of this squabbling tottering regime to win wide support is reflected in several recent incidents. In June 2,500 Baodaiist troops deserted Baodai to go off to Cambodia. Indochina had its own "West Point

Scandal" when, on June 24, the Dalat military school had a second group of cadets desert to the Communist resistance with their equipment, although all had been recommended by someone in Baodai's entourage. This sort of infiltration also affects supposedly pro-Baodai organisations like the National Youth Movement. From this group came the assassin who blew himself to bits to kill the French commander of the South Vietnam ground forces as well as Baodai's governor for that area.

The invitation to the Baodai Government to attend the San Francisco Conference was intended in part to persuade Baodai's subjects that he does have sovereign status. But surely Vietnamese judge their country's status by who runs the military, police and economic affairs of the country—still Frenchmen—and not by whether it is invited to international conferences. It was interesting to note that the director of the "Surete of Indochina" who accompanied Gen. de Lattre to Singapore in May was Pierre Perrier, the same French policeman who has held that job for years.

There is a strong possibility that French-sponsored Indochina will emerge from the San Francisco Conference and Gen. de Lattre's visit to Washington as part of an American-formed Pacific military alliance. It is difficult to see what the U. S. has to gain from sinking any deeper into the Franco-Baodai mire. But an alliance with Baodai is certainly no more foolish than one with Chiang Kai-shek. They have equally thin chances of downing their Communist opponents.

The standard of conduct imposed by the leader of the political movement (Mahatma Gandhi) was so high that the bulk of his followers could not lift themselves up to it, with the result that their acceptance of his doctrine was superficial. Moved by his personality they became fired with emotion and followed his lead. Emotion, however, is transitory, and, when it dies down, leaves its subject, morally, exactly where he was before he felt it. It does not impose upon him that deep discipline which, permeating the mind, burns away all dross. Hence, with the success of the movement, in many of its prominent followers there remained nothing but the original man; and the original man, more especially when enthroned in power and endowed with moral phrases, in a number of instances, acted according to his nature rather than according to the tenets he had ostensibly accepted when emotionally inspired by his great master.—Gurwala Report.

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.

The Headmaster's Resignation

Most headmasters have to face the problems akin to those mentioned in the article published in *SWATANTRA* of the 25th August. It is to be regretted that the headmaster has tendered his resignation of the post, as the offshoot of the enquiry may not enable him to take up the office again. The enquiry into the conduct of the Commissioner should be conducted by the Director of Public Instruction and the Inspector of Local Bodies. The Minister for Education and the Minister for Local Self-Government must be appealed to so that disciplinary action may be taken by the departments concerned.

It is stated that the District Educational Officer, Tanjore, issued a circular that no failed candidate shall seek readmission into a high school. Such a circular has not been issued in other districts. Admissions of failed students into the S.S.L.C. class have been made in many schools. It should be enough if the district educational officers and divisional inspectors simply carried out the D.P.I.'s proceedings and the provisions of the Madras Educational Rules. It is not clear why D. E. Os are permitted to issue circulars on their own initiative, so that procedure in different districts varies. In certain districts, admissions are prohibited after 1st of August, without the permission of the D.E.O.

Headmasters of local bodies can boldly fight their cause, as security of tenure is ensured for them, and they cannot be removed from service without the orders of the Government. Headmasters of aided schools must possess wonderful talents of adjustment with the management. To the municipal commissioners and correspondents of aided schools, the following sentiments expressed by Sir John Mauld, Secretary to the British Ministry of Education, should prove helpful.

"Educational administrators should constantly remember that their chief concern is to serve the teacher and all who do the actual work of education and that the more free the educators are, and feel themselves to be, the better they will educate and the better value the public will get for its money. I pledge myself and my colleagues in the Ministry to resist the occupational disease of self-importance. The chief end of education is individual personality, and the chief means to that end is the teacher. As the service that civil servants like myself owe the public is to promote education, I declare myself

unreservedly a servant of the teacher."

High principles like the above are beyond the perception of administrators who think themselves to be born bosses.

R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Coimbatore.

Swami Sitaram's Fast

Though the motive that has prompted Swami Sitaram of Vinayashream to undertake a fast is laudable, I am constrained to say that he has not chosen the proper time for his Satyagraha campaign. Taking a practical view of things, one would feel that his fast is likely to do more harm than good to those whom he seeks to serve.

Swamiji must be knowing that a separate Andhra State is not an end in itself. It is true that the popular demand in Andhra for a separate State has become persistent on account of the feeling widely prevalent there that the present Madras Government has been adopting a step-motherly attitude towards the development of the Andhra areas of the Madras State and the welfare of the Andhra citizens. The Andhra masses are seething with discontent. But the agitation for a separate Andhra State would appear too sentimental and unreasonable if the protagonists of the Andhra State do not care to ensure its stability and financially self-sufficiency. Do Andhras want a separate Andhra State for its own sake or a stable and financially sound and strong State so that it can be a means to an end? If they prefer the latter, as they should, they should realise that they cannot have it overnight—I mean in haste because it requires the most careful study of the various vital issues like the demarcation of its boundaries, division of assets and liabilities, etc. Any hasty decision on these matters would seriously affect the interests of the parties concerned. It is not in the interests of either Andhras or the country as a whole, from the point of view of sound administration and good governance, to have financially weak and unstable States. Any arbitrary settlement of these issues through hotchpotch agreements among leaders of a certain political party, would inevitably render either the Andhra State or the Madras State from which the Andhra State is to be carved out, weak and unstable. Human nature being what it is, no party concerned can be trusted with a fair and just approach towards settling these issues, and the result would be

bitterness and recrimination between the people concerned. The States proposed to be separated are not the personal properties of the Congress leaders so that they can come to an agreement on matters like assets as they please. To ask these leaders to decree the fate of millions of people between themselves is against all canons of justice and democracy. The best and the most democratic principle is that these issues should be decided by impartial tribunals or commissions composed of men of integrity whose verdicts or awards should be final and binding on all the parties concerned. Had the Government of India adopted this procedure in the beginning itself, the Andhra State would have been a reality long ago. But this procedure takes time and cannot be completed in a month or two, as Swami Sitaram insists.

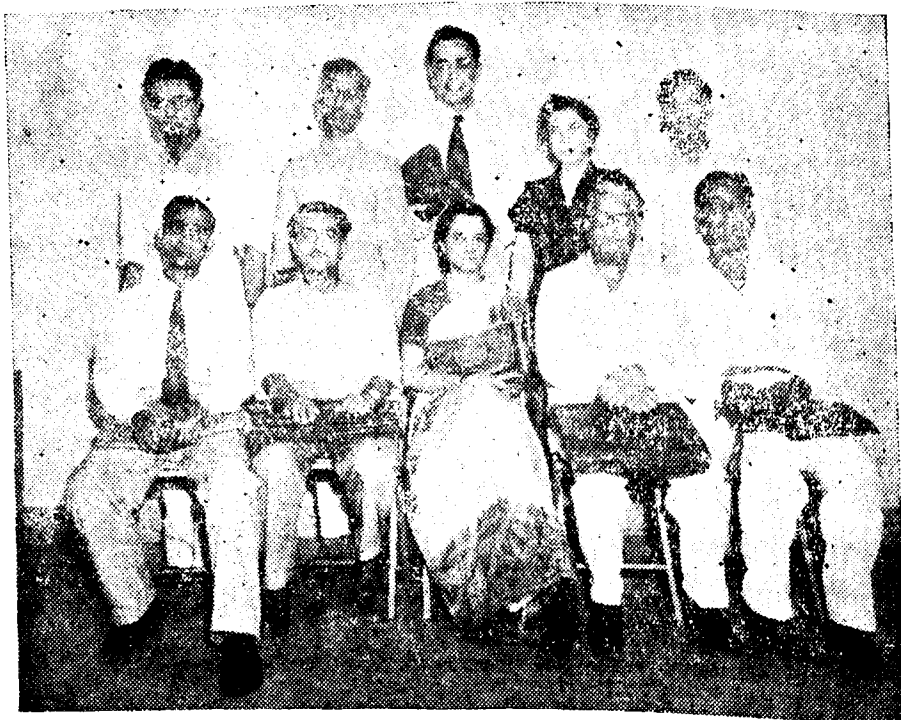
The Andhra State would have run bankrupt in three months, as Sri Prakasam pointed out, if it had been created in accordance with the recommendations of the Partition Committee of 1950. It is really audacious on the part of Sri Kala Venkatarao to still harp on the discredited report of the Partition Committee. How could he maintain that as far as the linguistic States in South

India were concerned there was "a large measure of agreement as could be seen by the Madras Partition Committee of 1950," while the fact is that it was because there was a large measure of disagreement among the parties with regard to the various matters connected with the separation of the Andhra State that the Government of India scrapped the report to the great relief of the Andhras. Sri Venkatarao may have "faith" in the report, but others, a majority, do not have any faith in it.

It is, therefore, not wise to insist that the Andhra State should be created before the general elections ignoring the important aspects of the question. Swami Sitaram's robust and unshakable faith in the infallibility of the weapon of Satyagraha should dispel the fear that when once the elections are over, the question of the separation of the Andhra State would be neglected and shelved for ever. Swamiji would do well to postpone his fast for a propitious and opportune time after the general elections, because it is impossible for Andhras to get the State of their dreams before the general elections.

K. S. SUBRAHMANYAM.

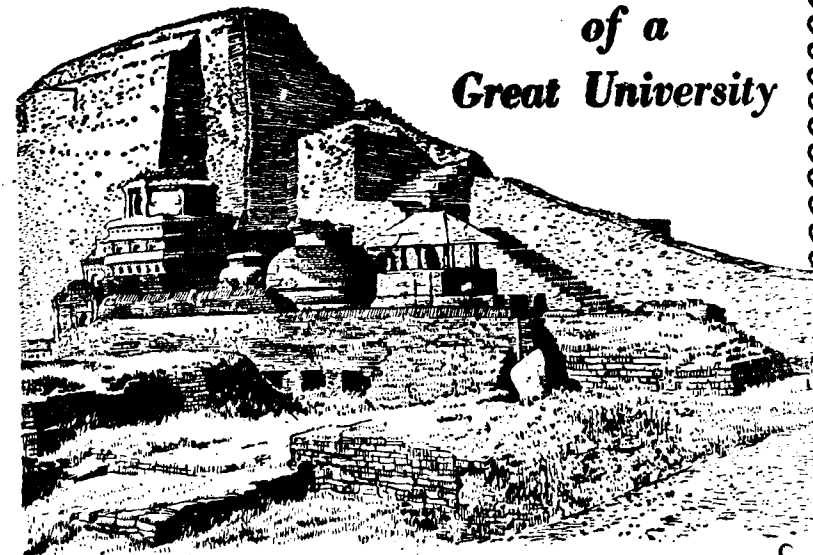
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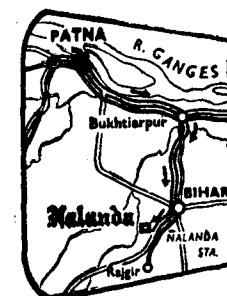
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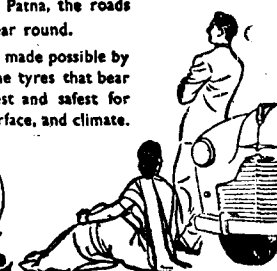
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SWATANTRA

VOL. VI. NO. 31.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1951.

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SWATANTRA

VOL. VI
No. 31

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1951

ISSUE
WEEKLY

NEUROSIS

By MANJERI S. ISVARAN

On the asphalt pavements,
on the walls of the City,
whitespatter'd,
tarbrush'd,
O, how coarse,
how cretinous the words,
as if the sewers below had spew'd:
Smash the brahmin supremacy!
Begone, you northerner!
Tamilnad for Tamils!
Scrawl'd in white,
scrawl'd in black,
every such word is a gibbet
which misguided little man,
too little to love or hate,
erects to hang himself.

AFTER VICTORY, WHAT?

IT is now clear that the AICC will back Pandit Nehru and not Sri Tandon. The Congress President is no vote-getter. Pandit Nehru is unequalled as a vote-catcher. On the eve of the general elections, it is the votes that count and Pandit Nehru has a value to the Congress which none else possesses. Any resolution put forward by Pandit Nehru is sure to be passed by the AICC with a substantial, an overwhelming majority. It is after victory at the AICC that Pandit Nehru's real difficulties will begin. This is because there is no substantial body of Congressmen left in the key positions of the organisation, capable of supporting him in the practical affairs of the government. Hypocrisy has permeated the Congress to such an extent that many of its prominent leaders have no compunction to avow policies which they are in advance resolved to violate when the opportunity comes. For example, the most violent denunciations of corruption come from the corrupt themselves. If, as Sri Gorwala has pointed out, the only real remedy for the present deplorable state of affairs lies in raising the calibre of the legislators, the existing Congress machinery for choice of future legislators should be completely reconstituted. If the rest of the Congress machinery remains intact, no purpose can be served by a mere reconstitution of the Working Committee at the top. Provincial Congress committees entrusted with the work of the coming elections are even more unsatisfactory than the Central Working Committee which Pandit Nehru has been so bent on scrapping. Many of the pro-

vincial committees seized with the business of elections are the products of an indefatigable labour of intrigue on the part of the very elements that have filled Pandit Nehru with disquiet and impelled him to surgical action through a crisis.

To give significance to the crisis he has forced on the Congress, Pandit Nehru should take on himself the entire burden of selecting Congress candidates to serve as future legislators. No quarter should be given to legislators or ministers suspected of having abused their positions even if, with clever manipulations, they might have succeeded in working themselves up into important committees charged with the conduct of the elections in their respective States. The name legislator having become a term of opprobrium rather than of honour, existing legislators (in particular ministers) should not prima facie be deemed entitled to the Congress ticket in the coming elections. Just the reverse should be the case. Pandit Nehru is not a party organiser in the sense in which Sardar Patel was. He is not addicted to the practice of welding lieutenants of his own into groups or gangs to spread his power across the barriers of the States. In one sense, this is an advantage, as the mission of purifying the Congress can be carried on by him solely on the basis of individual character in complete freedom from prejudices of any kind. Every State can certainly boast of a small number of devoted patriots of high calibre who can be depended upon without fear or favour to discriminate the worthy from the corrupt, and these Pandit Nehru

should single out and associate with himself on an *ad hoc* basis, in the task of selecting suitable candidates to represent the Congress in the legislatures. It is the dominance of the discredited in power and office under Congress auspices that appals the common people and has driven so many choice spirits to resign and go out. If Pandit Nehru takes firm action against the discredited holders of Congress authority, many present dissidents will be induced to return. The important thing is that betrayers of public interest under the Congress umbrella should not be enabled, under its shelter, to continue their work of destroying the nation.

Egypt-Israel Wrangle

THE Security Council has called upon Egypt to stop interfering with shipping through the Suez Canal. The decision came in the wake of a complaint from Israel, after several Powers had interceded with their good offices for a settlement, and failed. Though the Security Council's vote was carried without opposition, there were three abstentions—India, Nationalist China and Soviet Russia. India's abstention has roused the particular wrath of the British Press. *The Times* comments on it caustically that "this is another disappointing instance of Mr. Nehru's entirely doctrinal approach to east-west affairs." The smart of India's abstention from the Japanese Peace Treaty is apparent in the comment of *The Times*. But the two instances are poles apart in context and character. India's main objection to the Japanese Peace Treaty is that it seeks to inveigle Japan into American military projects, embroiling her with China and forcing her into the absurd position of recognizing Chiang Kai-shek as China's representative. Nothing that has been said from the American side or by its British supporters, has shattered the soundness of the Indian case. On the other hand, just minds all over the world are being forced into tardy recognition of the unassai-

lability of Pandit Nehru's standpoint. In the Suez Canal dispute the position is very different. Egypt and the Arab States are actuated by a desire to cripple Israel economically in revenge for having survived their hostility to its existence. The only fair ground on which Egypt could interfere with shipping in the Suez Canal was in pursuance of her right of defence against an aggressor or invader. Such a ground being untenable against Israel, abstention from voting on the part of India, does not seem to conform to the essential spirit of dynamic neutrality. It conforms to neutrality in appearance, but it has the effect of leaving a wrong unredressed. Our neutrality should not cost us the right of timely intervention in international disputes when with mere moral pressure the victim of an injury could be saved. The Security Council's vote would have been very effective with India's support. Too frequent lapses into ineffectiveness of international agencies like the Security Council would doom the UN itself as the League of Nations was doomed before it, and this, it seems to us, is far from the result that Pandit Nehru would like to promote. There is room for reconsideration of India's viewpoint in the Egypt-Israel wrangle.

Deceptive Ban

THE authorities in control of the A.I.R. have banned all parties from using its broadcasting facilities for election propaganda. The comprehensive impartiality of the A.I.R. decision is deceptive. In effect it will only mean that the Congress Party alone will have access to the radio. Our ministers have not learned to discriminate between Government and Party. It is the rule and not the exception for Government resources to be freely used in the promotion of Congress Party interests. Congress leaders are not infrequently accompanied by district officials when they go out to collect party funds. The scandal of ministers touring at State

expense for party propaganda, continues undiminished. The fact is the ministers have the roof of the radio. Few of them are honest enough to desist from using it for purposes banned to other parties. Air time is

divided between political parties in England in order to assure a fair deal to the electors. The contrary course adopted by the Congress in India illustrates the unfairness of Congress standards.

Sotto Voce

THE SUPERCILIOUS SECULARIST



"THE possibility of Stalin embracing Buddhism in the near future should not be considered a 'mirage'," said a Ceylonese enthusiast addressing his brothers in the faith. Even the downright propagandists of the Kremlin cannot hope to demolish that elfin suggestion with a simple nay. The Ceylonese lecturer asserted that there were thousands of Buddhists in the country. And with the simple logic of the zealot he may have reasoned within himself, "If Henry IV of France considered that Paris was well worth a mass, might not the Man of Steel also adopt the same diplomatic line?"

Nearer home, however, our Ceylonese friend's logic would just "gang agley." The architects of India's secular democracy are made of sterner stuff; they are not agitated by the religious tribulations of the mass. Temples and shrines are broken and desecrated by the score in Travancore and Cochin; but the Moghul in Delhi cannot be bothered about such childish things. "It was a matter which primarily concerned the T.-C. Government," said the States Minister. He was told that that Government had stated that the Government of India were investigating. He passed the ball back with the bland reply, "I do not know what statement the member refers to."

The Nehru Government are gravely perturbed at the suggestion that they

are indifferent to the fate of Muslim shrines in India and of non-Muslim shrines in Pakistan. Should not the destruction of Hindu temples in Travancore cause them at least as much concern? The States Minister seems to think that he has disposed of the matter when he says that his department had "remitted all representations on the subject to the State Government." But it is the T.-C. Government that is in the dock; and you do not remit a case to the accused for trial and judgment. A life-time of bureaucratic training apparently does not go for nothing.

The States Minister marshals pros and cons with a massive dispassion. He would not dogmatise as to the motive behind this organised vandalism; all he could say was that in some cases men not belonging to the community to which the shrine was sacred had taken part in the desecration. Against this must be set the fact that "in the earliest stages one or two Christian churches were also supposed to have been desecrated." Again in some cases loot had been the object; but the Minister thought—though he gave no reasons—that it must be dacoits, not Communists as somebody suggested. He did not seem to think it necessary to ask himself why this specialised form of dacoity should have suddenly become so popular.

Dacoits don't go about breaking

idols with crow-bars, pulling down and burning temples, piling up rotten fish in the sanctum. And men have been tried and convicted of all these offences in Travancore and Cochin in the few cases which the hybrid Ministry of that hyphenated State saw fit to take to the courts. A Christian ex-President of a Congress committee figured in the rotten fish exploit—and he was fined Rs. 25! In another place a Christian official caught in the act is said to have escaped by paying the cost of the 'suddhikalasam.' Elsewhere a clergyman was involved and he was let off with a nominal fine. And yet, when a Socialist pointed out the coincidence of this epidemic of vandalism with the advent of Congress to power, our non-Congress States Minister saw nothing incongruous in resorting to the humorous *tu quoque*.

Numerous and serious are the allegations of shirking of duty and shielding of culprits that are being made against the authorities. In July, 1950 a famous Sasta temple was desecrated. A Christian was arrested but was

released—so it is stated—on Ministerial intervention on the ground that his services would be useful in a pending by-election! In January of this year a Kali shrine was broken into and the idol removed; a mass meeting of Hindus demanded action, but in vain. In a large number of cases either no action was taken or nothing came of it.

These allegations may be just the result of fevered imagination. But they must be investigated and shown to be such; they cannot be ignored. I have heard it said—it may be mere malice—that there are enlightened Ministers in T.-C. who go about saying that the vandals must be thanked for striking a blow against superstition. Others, it seems, take the equitable view that we need not make a fuss over the fate of village godlings. Local papers have alleged that the Government of India are anxious to play down the whole business. That may be sheer libel; if it is, ill-timed facetiousness and Jovian disdain are no answer to it.

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THE MENTAL FAMINE

By **ANDREW ROTH**

LONDON: When foreign correspondents meet in London the conversation of all but the Scandinavians and North Americans is likely to be sprinkled with initials like "F.O.B." and figures ranging between £100 (\$280) and £150 (\$420). Almost all West European, Middle Eastern and Asian papers have pressed their London representatives into service to hunt up an increasingly rare and valuable commodity officially considered "an essential raw material," namely newsprint.

Indian newspapers have been particularly hard hit and their publishers have helped make United Nations and American officials more conscious of the difficulties of operating with soaring prices and a 20% deficiency of supply.

Unless you frequent the newspapermen's pubs around Fleet Street you no longer hear much about British resentment about the newsprint famine. Britain has had a diet of six or eight page papers for so many years that it seems to have adjusted to it just as to its meat ration. Only occasionally now does a British newspaperman voice his frustration at hunting up a meaty news story which finds no space in the thin paper or is dehydrated to a couple of "pars" (paragraphs) by a fiendishly clever sub-editor.

Only when the screw is turned tighter do the British newspapers holler. This occurred last May when the penny newspaper disappeared—to be replaced by the 1½-penny paper—after the largest of a long series of increases in newsprint costs, bringing its price to six times what it was in 1938. Another yell was heard this summer when reduced newsprint rations made it necessary to reduce 8-page daily papers to occasional 6-page issues and 12-page Sunday papers to 10-pagers. Newspapers protested that the Government should not have reduced its contract with Canadian mills on the chance of reducing dollar expenditures. Frustration on these matters is particularly deep in organizations like the *Daily*

Mirror-Sunday Pictorial group, which owns forests and mills in Canada but cannot secure adequate supplies of its own newsprint because supplies are uniformly rationed.

Although their own existence is at stake, few newspapers have treated fully the subject of newsprint. It is a striking story, illustrating two of the crucial problems of relations in the non-Communist world: first, the absolute economic dominance of the U.S., and, second, its insensitivity to the resentment aroused by this domination. According to all specialists, the current newsprint crisis is limited to the non-Communist world. The U.S.S.R.'s somewhat limited newsprint consumption of 360,000 tons—the size of Canada's and half of Britain's—is a 50% increase over pre-war, but apparently production has kept up with needs. Since no space is devoted to advertising or popular features, the Soviets usually consider 4-page papers sufficient. Newsprint production in most satellite countries is also reported to have kept pace with demands. China, having no forests, has had to import newsprint, most of it from Hongkong.

American domination of the newsprint world is illustrated by the amazing fact that 6 out of every 10 tons of newsprint produced in the world are fed into the giant presses of U. S. newspapers. Although the U. S. has 6% of the world's population, it gets ten times its proportion of the world's newsprint. Putting it differently, the average American consumes 80 pounds of newsprint, while the average Briton consumes 30 pounds, and the average Indian less than half a pound.

"The rich get richer and the poor get poorer," summarises the post-war newsprint situation. The U. S. has increased its consumption from 3.9 million tons in 1946 to 5.9 million in 1951, the increase being almost one and a half-times the total increase in world production. Although the U. S. has attracted this newsprint because of its ability to pay in dollars, it has actually suffered comparatively little from the postwar infla-

tion in costs which its demands have helped produce. As the dominant purchaser, able to buy great amounts and offer long-term contracts, the U. S. was able to hold down price increases to about 6% between the spring of 1950 and the spring of this year. In the same period the cost to Egyptian papers skyrocketed by over 70%!

Impact On West Europe

The decline of Western Europe's newsprint consumption from a pre-war 2.6 million tons to a present 2.0 million tons—or from 31% of world production to 20%—is a clear symptom of its weakened ability to pay for its needs. It is no secret that the visit of President Auriol to Canada last spring was undertaken not only to strengthen the traditional ties between French Canada and France but also to plead for an extra allotment of newsprint. The newsprint crisis in France has been apparent to those who have seen France's leading newspaper, *Le Monde*, reduced to 8 half-size pages. This produced the striking situation where *Le Monde* was one-third the size of the Paris-printed "International Air Edition" of the *New York Times*, which averages 12 full-sized pages! In France, the increase in newsprint prices was largely responsible for killing off the

many journals. *L'Aube* and *Le Populaire* is reported to require a subvention to keep alive. In Belgium 149 publications have gone out of business in two years mainly as a result of economic difficulties. In West Germany the Government has had to give an allotment of \$1 million to purchase newsprint to keep German papers from going under. In several countries the very existence of papers without strong commercial or party support is threatened. Particularly vulnerable are the financially-weak moderate-left journals. In France, for example, many newsmen insist that *Franc-Tireur* exists only because of its friendship with the U. S. Embassy.

The high cost of newsprint has cheapened the contents of many papers of Western Europe. In Britain *Reynolds News*, the organ of the Co-operative Party, has felt it neces-

sary to try to expand its 700,000 circulation to keep up with mounting costs. It has jettisoned much of its political news, replacing it with sexy photographs and serials and sensationalism of various other sorts. Throughout Europe such popular features and enlarged advertising sections are tending to push out serious news. The few papers which resist this do so at considerable financial sacrifice. *The Times*, for example, uses its limited newsprint allotment for 10-page papers, thereby sacrificing the possibility of broader circulation through 6-page issues.

Although many papers have cheapened their contents, almost all have increased their prices. This has produced a situation which was graphically described by Mr. Orla Rode, President of Copenhagen's Newspaper Publishers Association: "The common man, the worker or employee, is gradually ceasing to be able to afford to read his daily paper. Newspapers in Denmark are in the process of becoming a privilege of the well-to-do class; this represents a great danger to a democratic country."

Asia, Africa And The Rest

If the comparatively stable Press of Western Europe has suffered so badly, it is not surprising to find that the blows have fallen even harder in South Asia, Africa and Latin America where average incomes are one-tenth of Europe's. In these underdeveloped, largely-illiterate areas, few newspapers have had the economic resources to enter into long-term contracts with Canadian or Scandinavian newsprint suppliers, even where their countries could afford the hard currencies involved. The Press of these more vulnerable countries has been hit the hardest. It is not merely the fact that Asia, Africa and Latin America, with 67% of the world's population have to be content with barely 10% of the world's newsprint. These poor areas have to pay, on an average, more than twice what the wealthy U. S. pays!

"Inequalities in newsprint consumption are far greater than for any other commodity of like importance," comments the UNESCO-sponsored study 'The Problem of Newsprint'. Newspapers in the "backward coun-

tries have had to scramble for newsprint despite their almost microscopic demands. The whole of the Middle East consumes 25,000 tons of newsprint which is less than that used by Ireland alone. India, Pakistan and Ceylon together, with almost a fifth of the world's population consume about 73,000 tons of newsprint, less than the amount consumed by Holland. Southeast Asia consumes 14,000 tons, about the same as Portugal. India is scheduled to get some 60,000 tons this year, or slightly less than it consumed two years ago.

Although this small newsprint consumption may at first be thought to be due to limited literacy, this is a secondary factor. India has about as many literate people as Britain. But its consumption of newsprint—like its average income—is one-twelfth that of Britain. Even before recent increases a daily newspaper was a luxury which comparatively few could afford. Recent newsprint price increases have pushed up newspaper prices and made them even more of a luxury. This is very unfortunate in a period before the general elections in India in which 170,000,000 people are to partake.

U. N. Faces The Problem

Like every previous meeting, the recent Paris meeting of UNESCO in July gave its urgent attention to the newsprint problem. The Belgian and French delegates expressed the concern of Western Europe in a resolution demanding greater production and more equitable distribution. India's Khushwant Singh emphasized the special problems of Asia's "have-nots". U. S. and Norway, representing the "haves", argued that this is a matter for the International Raw Materials Conference. Since then this group has met and made emergency allocations of 25,000 tons which, with Canada's co-operation, has alleviated the worst difficulties in places like France and India. But the problem is not an easy one to solve.

Back of the world scarcity of newsprint stands a world scarcity of its raw material: wood-pulp. Woodpulp for newsprint comes almost entirely from fir trees. About 150 million trees must be felled every year to feed the maws of the pulp mills. And



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since it takes upwards of 40 years to grow the fir trees used, there must be more than another 6,000 million trees a-growing. It is an index of the problem that the *New York Times*' 200-page Sunday edition alone requires the cutting of 85 acres of Canadian woodland weekly. To sustain such a cutting indefinitely a forest area of 500,000 acres is reserved. It is not surprising that well-forested Canada, Finland, Sweden and Norway are—in that order—the great exporters of woodpulp products.

Increased newsprint production therefore requires an increase in accessible and suitable woodlands or the discovery of suitable alternate materials. Experiments are being carried out with elephant grass and, above all, with bagasse, a sugar cane waste. In August tests at the U. S. Forest Products Laboratory showed that bagasse can produce stronger and whiter newsprint than woodpulp at about the same price. But one cannot expect the established newsprint producers to rush at this new raw material since their whole organization is built on the ownership of tremendous fir forests.

At present Canada dominates newsprint production as completely as the U. S. overshadows its consumption, producing 54% of the world's newsprint and accounting for 81% of its exports. The U. S. accounts for 10% of world production but this satisfies only a sixth of its own consumption. Britain produces 6.4% of the world's newsprint supply but consumes 7.2%. Only the Scandinavian countries join with Canada in having an exportable surplus.

The next substantial increase in newsprint production will probably come from the building of mills close to the source of bagasse. But a newsprint mill represents a tremendous investment and takes five years to complete and put into operation. To operate profitably it requires both a sure supply of raw material and an assured market. That is why the Canadian industry, the biggest and most rapidly expanding in the world, bases itself firmly on its own vast forests and the insatiable and profitable demands of the U. S. market. Currency restrictions are another

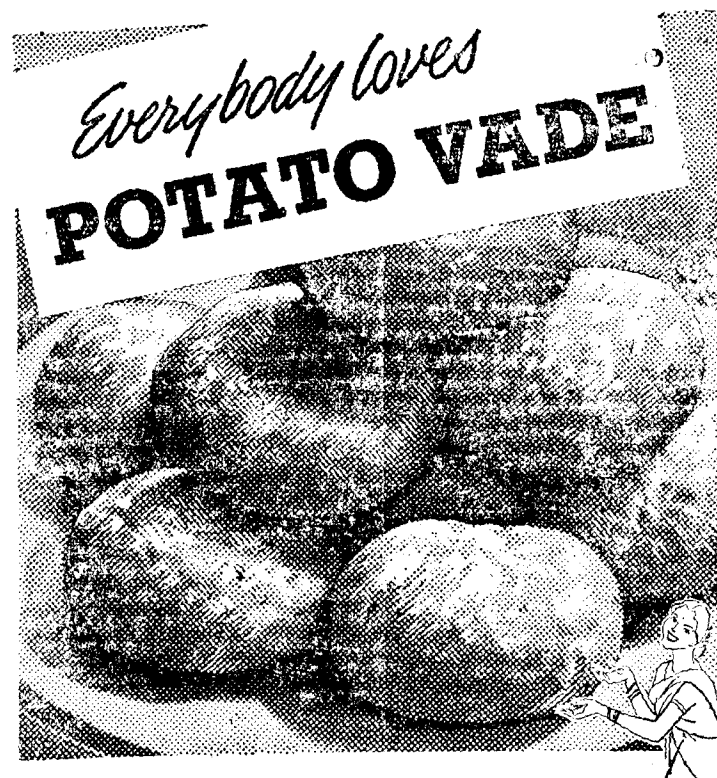
hobble on production. Britain had an average pre-war production of 1,100,000 tons, 400,000 tons more than produced today. Britain does not mill its full capacity—and has in fact converted much of its newsprint mills to other purposes—because it cannot afford the hard currency to import sufficient pulp, despite Marshall Aid. This shortage of hard currencies limits the wood-pulp and newsprint sources of most countries.

Hunger Amidst Plenty

The editors of newsprint-hungry European and Asian papers were rather startled to hear Charles F. McCahill, President of the American Newspaper Publishers Association tell the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers here last May that, although the U. S. consumes 60% of the world's newsprint, "we are still very hard up for newsprint." It was a striking example of the tremendous expansion of the U. S. economy that U. S. papers could profitably consume another 2% of world production.

Foreign editors are not inclined to be sympathetic because they feel it is largely the unrestricted demand of the U. S. presses which is responsible for most of their own problems. American editors should expect skepticism among foreign newsmen, when they call on others to make sacrifices. Devadas Gandhi, son of M. K. Gandhi and editor of the *Hindustan Times*, has estimated that the newsprint problems of the rest of the world would be solved if U. S. publishers volunteer to cut their own consumption by 2% (120,000 tons). The International Federations of the Technical and Periodical Press was even sharper at its Paris meeting in June, when it called it "a mockery for people to proclaim themselves champions of freedom of opinion whilst at the same time suppressing the material means of expression."

American editors with a belief in unfettered 'free enterprise' may feel this does not represent fair comment. But this prevailing attitude helps explain why so many handouts by U. S. information services find their way into the wastebaskets of newsprint-hungry newspapers.



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AMERICAN YOUTH OF TO-DAY

By Dr. P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK CITY: The American teen-ager and young adult today is a very different person from his parents when they were his age.

He has grown to awareness in a different world.

His future is eminently uncertain. The shadow of another great war is always on his horizon. Even without an actual war he may be drafted. He has been assured that the shores of the U. S. no longer are secure.

Fear of the future is not the only factor in making him what he is. There are others—parents, a different moral tone, the examples of misconduct in high places and so on.

As a result, the people who know him best today draw this composite picture of his main traits. They say:

1. He is impatient for money and quick success.

2. He feels that the world owes him something, that somebody, somewhere, ought to take care of him.

3. He is better informed about most things—including sex—than his parents were at a comparable age.

4. Consciously or otherwise, he is following a be-merry-for-tomorrow-we-die philosophy.

These are generalizations, of course. They do not apply wholly to every American boy or girl.

But over and over again, with astonishing unanimity, probation officers and college officials, teachers, civic leaders and clergymen, come up with the same answers.

One of the most prominent men in America in sports who recruits high school athletes for his college, said:

"Formerly, the best inducement was to assure a boy of a chance to get started in his own field after he finished college. But that doesn't interest them today. They want cash on the line. Not tuition, or jobs later. They want to know exactly how much right now."

Irving W. Halpern, chief probation officer of the Court of General Sessions, has been studying youthful offenders for 41 years. He drew some comparisons:

"Crimes of violence and ingenuity used to be committed by older men. Today, kids are in all kinds of crime. The age-scale is going down. The reason, as I see it, is a lowered moral tone generally. They're all out to make a quick buck, the quicker the better."

Margaret Spaulding, a department store executive, interviews and trains thousands of college graduates every year. She characterized them as "bright and interested, but terribly restless, impatient for promotion and money."

Army statistics indicate that young men today are more intelligent than their predecessors in the 1940 draft. They tend to score well above "average" in the aptitude and ability tests. But most professional soldiers say:

"The hardest thing for an American kid to take is discipline. They just don't seem to have met any before."

None of the men and women who deal with youngsters blame them alone. They paint a disturbing picture of young America, but they say the causes lie more in the world than with the young people.

This Happened In New York

In Cicero, Ill., a mob wrecked a whole apartment house when a Negro family attempted to move into the all-white town. In nearby Chicago, hit-and-run hoodlums have burned or vandalized a score of buildings purchased or rented by Negroes. In Birmingham, Ala., Ku Kluxers have bombed a dozen Negro homes in "marginal" areas.

What happens in New York City when a Negro attempts to escape from the Black Belt?

Dr. Stanley E. Nelson, at 35, is a quite successful young Negro dentist. He lives with his wife, A'Lelia, a Columbia University graduate, and two children, Lynne, 2, and Stanley Jr., 2 months, in a small but neat apartment in Washington Heights. His mother, Mrs. Florence Nelson, is also with the family.

For three years, Nelson has been trying to rent a larger apartment, preferably in some less-crowded

neighbourhood, for his growing family. And, almost daily, for three years:

"I have been courteously promised apartments—and courteously denied them. I have been asked curtly why I wished to live in a 'white' house or neighbourhood. I have been told flatly a Negro has nerve to even ask for such accommodations."

He paused, and added wryly:

"And I've found out this. Despite New York's supposed liberality, despite all our laws against discrimination, there is nothing I can do legally about it. A dozen landlords have stressed that point to me."

\$325.6 Billions

According to the Department of Commerce the second quarter of 1951 saw the production of goods and services in the United States running at the highest rate (in dollar terms) in the nation's history, in peace or in war.

On an annual basis, output for the three months, April-June, is estimated at a total of \$325.6 billions. This figure for the indicated annual "G. N. P." (gross national product)

compares with \$319 billions in the first quarter of the year and with \$303.7 billions in the final quarter of 1950, when the \$300-billion level was crossed for the first time. The April-June quarter rounds out the first full year since Korea, and the combination of economic expansion and inflation in that period makes the contrast with the previous twelve months unusually striking. For the twelve months immediately prior to hostilities in the Far East the dollar value of national production was \$263 billions; for the ensuing twelve months it was \$309 billions, an increase of \$46 billions; or between 17 and 18 per cent.

Atomic Electric Power Near

U. S. scientists have achieved another epochal atomic first.

They have accomplished the history-making feat of producing electric power by atomic energy.

The fabulous development is taking place experimentally at the Atomic Energy Commission's power reactor plant at Avco, Nev. Official announcement of the far-reaching event is slated for next month.

CRISIS IN THE CONGRESS

By P. N. SAMPATH

THE present crisis in the Congress Party was not unanticipated or unforeseen, though Pandit Nehru's resignation from the Working Committee has been rather peremptory. Not only does politics make strange bedfellows: it just as often causes the best of bedfellows to fall out. The long incubated disagreement between Nehru and Tandon had at last broken into active dissension. Their differences have recrudesced at a time when unity in the organisation is an imperative necessity. When they should be devoting their undivided attention and energy to the details of the superstructure, they are waddling through controversies which threaten the stability of the foundations.

Nehru continues to be the darling of the nation's millions. The masses are carried away by his taut ensemble

of dignity, daring, sincerity and general irresistibility. This fact is so well established that citations do not need to be adduced in its support. It is futile to question or doubt his popularity. If Gandhi was the prophet of our freedom, Nehru is its breviary. Both in his utterances and writings, Nehru is a great democrat. He is a strong-winged soul, with prophetic lips hot with the blood-beats of sound commonsense.

Though he does not possess half the stature of Nehru, Tandon is not wanting either in sincerity or sacrifice. He has an inflexible will which will neither bend nor break. Except for his fanatic expansionist zeal for Hindi, Tandon has no fads harmful to the rest of the country. The late Sardar Patel had backed him into the Congress Presidentship only because the

Sardar had reposed faith in him. Tandon may be dogmatic but is never undignified.

Both Nehru and Tandon are old campaigners. They had fought British Imperialism shoulder to shoulder. Both had earned their civil liberties the hard way. Both are fearless public men. There is no personal animus between them, but a fundamental antipathy of mind. But, while Tandon is too utterly fearless to be reasonable Nehru is too reasonable to be utterly fearless. Their methods are qualitatively different and can never converge.

Nehru is afraid of the rotten state of the party in power. He feels that there is not merely the risk, but the certainty of losing the elections if certain individuals are allowed to run the affairs in the organisation as heretofore. Nehru has been beating his wings like an ineffectual angel. He was always thrown back when attempting to wing high by the irrevocable concave of the limitations of some of his fellow-Congressmen. It is not a wickedness in politicians to be concerned about votes, because, as Sir William Beveridge remarks, "that is their business in democracy."

The Congress has reached the nadir of its reputation. There are visible signs of an inward obsolescence. People have been thoroughly disappointed with its record in power. Promise had outrun performance. It has become an El Dorado for a grasping, pushing, bustling breed of go-getters for whom democracy is but a means to the all-absorbing end of self-aggrandizement and self-enrichment. As mottos, power and pelf have replaced service and sacrifice. To be mincing words now, on the eve of the elections will be criminal folly on the part of Nehru or for the matter of that, any responsible Congress leader. It is a pity that Tandon does not have the eyes to see the writing on the wall.

How a slight gulf of difference between lifelong colleagues can be magnified into a chasm by the unthinking utterances of their satellites and supporters is evident from the way the friends of Nehru and Tandon have been dragging on the controversy through the Press and the platform. Thus, for instance, Pandit

Mishra, known for his highhanded Home administration, has said things of Nehru which no Congressmen to-date had yet dared to utter. Mishra was skating on rather thin ice when he characterised Nehru as a dictator in embryo. His statement was full of bitterness and malice prepense.

Nehru has been the first anti-fascist. When Churchill was laudatorily patting Mussolini on the back, Nehru had declared his uncompromising stand against Fascism in all its facets. Fascism is a complete theory of anti-democracy and, as such, an enemy of Fascism cannot at all be a dictator, in a democratic republic such as ours. Nehru is ruthlessly outspoken and is one who cannot feign what he does not feel or feel what he does not believe in. His whole life is a repudiation of Pandit Mishra's innuendo.

On the other side, there is Hare Krishna Mahatab knocking about the country and vociferating like a Mark Antony eulogising a Caesar in flesh and blood. This is also indecorous.

Pandit Nehru is indispensable at the helm of the administration as also of the organisation. He is an international statesman of renown. No alternate leader of his calibre is forthcoming. As Bernard Shaw had pertinently remarked, "leadership is not a plug of tobacco that can be passed from one man to another." Leaders of his stamp are born, not made.

Despite its manifold and manifest failures, the Congress is the only organisation which has the strength to do something to the people, and Nehru is the most proper person to lead it to victory in the coming elections. Traces of its greatness still linger on. Nehru can still raise it to its former greatness.

The whole nation awaits the results at the coming Working Committee meeting. Any frustration at the meeting will force Nehru to resign his Prime Ministership. Such a misfortune will be but the precursor of worse to come. It is true that the Congress has withstood many shocks in the past; but in its present anaemic state it cannot stand another shock. Congress without Nehru would be Congress benighted. Congress contesting the elections without Nehru would be like a surgical operation in the dark.

WANTED A CHANGED MENTALITY

By J. C. KUMARAPPA

President, All India Village Industries Association.

THE technique of, how the rich exploit the weak was spotlighted at the time of my visit to New Delhi to attend the Planning Commission Advisory Board. The Planning Commission office is located in the south wing of the Rashtrapathi's Bhavan. From the station I took the tonga and after dropping my luggage at my lodging place asked the driver to proceed to "the Lot Sahibs' Mahal." The driver replied "I am a poor man. I shall get into trouble if I drive you there as tongas are not allowed." I assured him I would see him through. He took courage and drove on and went past the two Secretariat blocks and was about to turn left to the Viceregal Lodge gates when a Sikh young man authoritatively commanded the driver to get off that road. I told him that that was a public highway and I had every right to use it and asked what authority he had to turn me away especially as he was not even in police uniform to regulate traffic and I ordered the tongawalla to proceed. The intruder now climbed down and explained that "Panditji" was to pass that way to preside over the Planning Commission meeting and he was only clearing the way for him. Then I informed him that I too had to be there before Panditji got there so that I could have the privilege of standing up when Panditji enters. Laughing at my retort he allowed the tonga to proceed.

A few yards further, at the forbidding gates was a military sentry, bayonet, boots brass buttons all complete. He stood across the road and ordered us to get outside the railings as tongas were not allowed inside these sacred precincts of the first citizen. I countermanded that order to the tongawalla. The sentry demanded a pass from me. I replied I held no such thing. He told me I could not enter those grounds without a pass. I explained that I had been summoned to attend the Planning Commission meeting and so I had to go. He replied

that he had orders to let the invitees to go in but not tongas! I refused to get off and walk the distance. When the altercation was well on, a police officer intervened and brought some reason to bear on the military orders. I was then allowed to pass.

A few yards further the traffic policeman also stopped the tonga. On my explaining the situation and strengthening my position by pointing out that at the first entrance he had noticed that a police officer had passed me, he agreed to let us proceed.

The last hurdle was another military sentry a few yards from the entrance to the office. There too we were held up till the Planning Commission office attendants rescued us.

In spite of my protest to the Secretary and his subsequent communication with the Military Secretary this performance was repeated the next day also when I arrived in a bullock cart! I pointed out that it was the height of absurdity and absolute lack of planning to hold a meeting at a place to which the members had no free access.

At the afternoon session that day the question of roads came up. On being invited to offer my remarks I recounted my experience of getting to the meeting in a tonga. I told Panditji that a bullock cart driver in a democracy is as good a citizen as the Prime Minister himself and it is an insult to deny him the use of a public road as is done in New Delhi in such roads as Perozeshah Road.

Then Jawaharlalji interrupted to say he fully agreed that every citizen is equal in a democracy and no privileges can be denied a bullock cart driver. But he submitted that I had misunderstood the purpose behind the notice board "Bullock carts not allowed." He suggested this restriction was placed in the interests of the bullock cart drivers themselves as those roads were frequented by military lorry drivers and accidents might happen in which the bullock carts

would be the worse sufferers. I replied "Sir, you are a lawyer used to special pleading but to a simple man like me your argument looks upside down. When there are two persons in a public place and the presence of one is likely to be a menace, it is that person that should be excluded rather than the possible victim. Accordingly I would put up a notice 'Motor cars and lorries not allowed' and thus protect the bullock cart drivers!" This evoked a peal of laughter.

This incident shows how even a simple situation is twisted out of recognition to suit the vested interests and the under-privileged is told that he is being deprived of his rights acquired at his own cost, in his own interests! This was the old British trusteeship argument still perpetrated under our "Freedom." When will these frauds on the public cease and citizens be allowed to enjoy the newly acquired rights of full equality and justice.

SNAKES AND SNAKE SERUM

By Dr. G. W. DEKKING

PORT ELIZABETH, situated on South Africa's south coast, is the proud possessor of a unique park—the Snake Park. The actual park in Bird Street is a fairly big piece of ground, surrounded by a wall, where the snakes live in captivity out in the open.

On the inner side of the wall is a moat three feet in breadth, which keeps the snakes out of reach of the public, and serves also as a swimming pool for the reptiles and an aquarium in which goldfish and other fishes, as well as frogs, crabs, and the like live and breed. In the centre of the park is an oblong pond, covered with a variety of water-plants. The enclosed land is partially grown over with soft but hardy lawn-grass, and several huts are set on suitable foundations. They provide shelter for the snakes at night, and, when the weather is cold and rainy, during the day-time. A number of South African aloes and shrubs grow round the centre pond. These add to the natural appearance of the park, and provide opportunities for the snakes to climb about and roost on them, which they are very fond of doing.

The snakes are all South African, and the number fluctuates according to the season, from 100 to 1,000, two-thirds of which are of the venomous species. The poison apparatus is not interfered with in any way. The snakes are as venomous as when in their wild condition.

The only species operated on are the Ringhals Cobras and Black-neck-

ed Cobras, as these two species have the peculiar and dangerous power of projecting their venom in a fine spray to a distance of several feet; it is obviously necessary to destroy this mechanism before placing such reptiles in an open enclosure where they are visited by an average of 130,000 people in the course of a year. The snakes are perfectly at home in the park, and, after their timidity and fear of the onlookers has been overcome, they crawl from their huts and move freely around and bask in the sun's rays. Their fondness for water during the summer-time is surprising; Puff Adders are especially fond of bathing. When tired of swimming, they often lie and rest on the water. The head and two-thirds of the body float, and a portion of the tail-end hangs more or less perpendicularly in the water. Often the body is partly supported by water-plants, and in this position the reptile often lies all day. However, they can, at will, float freely without any artificial aid. The Puff and Night Adders are to be seen at all hours of the day during the warmer season of the year, either on the water or on the grassy edge with their bodies more or less submerged. When the sun is sinking upon the horizon, the different species of snakes in the Park retire to their huts, with the exception of the Adders; while some of these latter go to rest, others remain outside and continue to be active, both on land and in water, often until late into the night. They are especially lively on balmy moon-

light nights. Snakes are decidedly eccentric in their feeding habits. Some of the snakes, even in the presence of their natural living prey, prefer to remain on hunger-strike and die of starvation. Others feed actively. The Cobra is more cannibalistic in its feeding habits than any of the other species. It feeds on all other kinds of snakes. It seizes its victim, and, holding grimly on, continues to inject venom until its prey has become inoculated with sufficient to induce paralysis of the nerve centres.

It is interesting to observe the snakes moving alertly on the close-cut grass along the inner edge of the moat on the look-out for frogs. If the frogs remain perfectly still, the snake invariably passes them by unobserved. Rats will sometimes sit quite still in the grass, or even on the bare ground, and the snakes will crawl past them, sometimes within a few inches. If the rodent makes the slightest movement, however, it is seen, and a swift stroke from the snake terminates its life. The venom of the snake paralyses and kills all warm-blooded prey, such as rats and birds, in a very short time. After being bitten, a large rat staggers for a few minutes and dies painlessly. This is due to the fact that the neurotoxin (nerve poison) in the venom produces an almost instantaneously fatal effect. When a cobra seizes a rat, it usually holds it in its jaws. The victim struggles for a moment or two and dies. The Puff Adder sometimes retains the victim, but as a rule it is bitten and immediately released. In the case of a rat, the reason may be to avoid a bite from the sharp teeth of the rodent. Non-venomous snakes kill their prey by constriction. The victim is seized by the snake, and instantly two or three coils are thrown round its body. The prey is so powerfully squeezed that it dies of suffocation in a few minutes. When dead, it is swallowed head first. Pythons seldom eat voluntarily. They are kept alive by forcible feeding. During the winter months, the snakes are more or less lethargic, and the mortality is high. They seldom frequent the water. In the wild condition, snakes retreat into holes, crevices, hollow trees, or the like, and

hibernate during the winter. At this time they do not take food.

The non-venomous snakes are extremely valuable allies in the struggle against rodents—rats and mice—for the reason that their food consists chiefly of these pests. The snake is able to penetrate into the secret hiding-places of rats and mice and there destroy them and their young.

Snakes are evolved lizards, or lizard-like creatures with legs. Today, in South Africa, there are living types of lizards in the various transitional forms. Some have snake-like bodies with four small legs, which are also rudimentary. Others have only one pair of tiny legs, which are obsolete and are fast disappearing, others again are devoid of legs. These lizards are invariably taken for snakes. The South African Python is a living example of the evolution of snakes from reptiles possessing legs. The Python has two horny spurs near the vent. These are vestiges of legs, for, on dissection, it is found that immediately beneath and buried in the flesh are the leg bones, proving conclusively that the ancestors of the Pythons had legs. The Python is one of the great snakes, and its ancestors were doubtless far more bulky. Snakes are, as a rule, inoffensive. Unless attempts are made to capture them, they rarely show any disposition to attack man.

The venom of the snakes is a neurotoxin, or nerve poison. It poisons the nerve centres controlling the lungs, causing the latter to collapse. At the same time, it paralyses the inhibitory nerve which regulates the pumping of the heart, resulting in a wild rapid beating of that organ. A singular fact in regard to Cobra poisoning is that, for some time after the lungs have collapsed and the victim has ceased to breathe, the heart is still beating. If brought into actual contact with the poison, permanganate of potash will destroy it, but it cannot follow up the venom and neutralize it in the blood. Its only beneficial action is in destroying any venom that may still remain in the vicinity of the wounds, two small hardly-noticeable punctures in the flesh.

After many years of set-backs and disappointments, a reliable antidote

has been prepared by the director of the park, Mr. F. W. Fitzsimons. This is a serum from horses rendered highly immune to the venoms of South African Cobras, Adders, Boomslangs—Tree Snakes—and Mambas. It is a long and expensive process to produce a serum of a high degree of strength, protective against many species. It takes two years, and over, to raise the immunity of a horse.

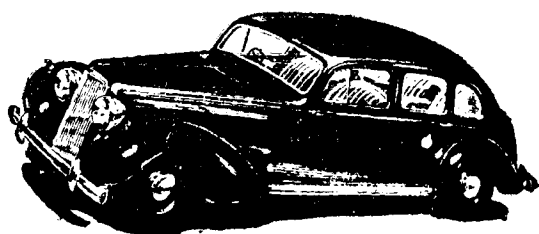
The serum is made in the following way: A horse or a mule is bitten artificially, that is, it is given an injection of serum of insufficient quantity to kill it. When the animal recovers, a larger dose is administered, and this repetitive process is carried on for a period of about two years, the dosage being increased with every injection as the animal attains a rising degree of immunization. The final dose is sufficient in quantity to kill at least 100 animals not immunized. A vein is now opened in the neck of the animal a silver tube is inserted, and blood is run out through a rubber

tube into a pail. A star-coloured fluid is pressed out when the blood is subsequently coagulated and is called lymph or serum, and this is the antidote to all, South African poisonous snake bites!

Johannes, the far-famed native attendant, every day of his life causes hearts to beat faster when, in a most casual way, he scoops up a handful of wriggling and hissing snakes. For eight of his thirteen bites, Johannes has required serum treatment, the others being of a nature mild enough to permit of his recovery. A charge of venom which would very quickly kill an ordinary man would leave him unharmed in view of his comparative immunity.

This is the story of the snakes in the Port Elizabeth Park and the Park itself, a story of unending research and experiments, and unremitting work directed towards the service of mankind.

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Short Story

ANANDMATH

By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

1770. The year that saw gay prosperous Bengal writhing in helpless misery. This year Nature held back her resources and a great famine raged throughout the land. Disease, pestilence, death followed in the wake, reaped a rich harvest and wiped out a third of the entire population. Those who survived formed a veritable crowd of skeletons. Hunger and want had gagged their finer sentiments and knocked them down to the lowest stage of existence. And then came the final blow from man himself.

It was the unkindest cut of all. Those were the days of power without responsibility. The welfare and protection of the country were nobody's business. The Britishers, who had just set foot on Indian soil, had not yet taken charge of internal administration and were primarily interested in revenues. How the revenues were collected, they did not care.

Nor did Mr Jafar, the then Nawab of Bengal, who was all anxiety to save his own skin. Revenue affairs were the sole charge of Md. Raza Khan who put the people of Bengal under the yoke of heavy taxation and never worried about their suffering. And thus between two cruel forces the people of Bengal were torn—the greed of the foreign merchants and the more direct thrust of oppression from the officials.

The great famine had levelled the distinction between the rich and the poor. Otherwise, a wealthy man like Mahendra Singh would not have left his village in search of better prospects. With his wife Kalyani and a little daughter, he left for the town.

During his temporary absence in a way-side inn, Kalyani and her daughter were kidnapped, while he himself was arrested on false suspicion by certain armed sepoys who were carrying local revenue to the Calcutta

treasury. For a time it looked as though there were little hope of their re-union. But they were saved by the members of a powerful organisation around which this story is spun.

With a powerful army at their command, Bhavananda and Jeevananda, two members of this organisation, crushed the entire regiment that was carrying Mahendra as a prisoner. And yet they were clad in *gerua* clothes, which at once showed that they belonged to the *sanyasi* sect. Mahendra thought that they were robbers in disguise with eyes on Government money. Whoever could associate sanyasis with violence? He tried to escape unnoticed.

Curiously, however, the robbers showed no anxiety to recapture him. On the contrary, Bhavananda offered him further help. "If you will follow me, I'll take you to your wife and child," he said.

"Is this man omniscient?" Mahendra thought. But there was no time for thinking. The words carried big hope and he followed him at once.

Their path lay across a wide stretch of land. It was night. Silence reigned in the country-side and a silver moon had turned it into a dream-land. The landscape worked on Bhavananda like a magic wand. He forgot his immediate past, he forgot the present and became lost in himself. Suddenly his lips parted and he started singing:

*"Vande Mataram
Sujalam Suphalam
Malayaja Shitalam
Shasya Shyamalam
Mataram....."*

"Hail to thee, Mother—the bounteous Mother dressed in a garb of green foliage, and fanned by the south breeze."

Strange, unheard-of words these were for Mahendra's ears. "Who is the Mother?", he cried, but his words

were lost in the wilderness. There was something in the song that made Bhavananda weep in ecstatic emotion. It was a riddle to Mahendra. Only half an hour back he had seen Bhavananda chasing the sepoys like a ferocious wolf and now the very same man was moved to tears by the words of a song. What sort of bandits were they? He could not restrain himself any longer and asked, "May I know who you are?"

"Sons."

"Sons! Whose sons?"

"Sons of the Mother."

"But you sung the eulogy of the Motherland?"

"To us the Motherland is the Mother."

"Is it worthy of the sons to rob the King's money?"

"When the King does not look after his people, he is not entitled to the public money."

To curse the nature-made famine was futile, but was it not within the power of man to redress man-made misery? It was maddening to see half-dead men living on the carcasses of dead animals; it was provoking to see them crouching under tyranny and taxation. And so these sanyasis had organised themselves into a strong body.

They founded a new Faith, took oath and dedicated themselves to the Mother whom they wanted to re-install in all Her resplendent glory. They took the law in their own hands and recruited members from the healthiest sons of the soil. *Vande Mataram* proved to be a great uniting force. The peasants and other inhabitants of the country made common cause with them, made the collection of revenues difficult, and the whole rural administration was unhinged.

Anandmath, the abode of the sanyasis, lay in the heart of a dense forest. This was a double advantage. On the one hand the famine had not affected this part of the country very adversely, and second, the forest proved to be an admirable hiding place for secret, seditious activities. Both the British and the Nawab's officials were aware of the existence of a secret service but neither knew the whereabouts of these rebels.

Bhavananda took Mahendra to

Anandmath, where he found to his great relief that Kalyani had already been saved by Satyananda, the head of the institution. Now he could not think of the welfare of his family alone; the strange song on Bhavananda's lips had cast a spell on him. Some irresistible impulse urged him to devote his life to the service of the Mother.

But how could he do it so long as Kalyani was with him? The foremost and perhaps the most cruel injunction of this order was that the initiated Sons must not see their wives and children as long as their mission remained unfulfilled. It was a sacred pledge from which there was no relaxation. When Mahendra was being tossed upon the horns of a dilemma it was Kalyani who solved the problem for him. She took poison.

In the meantime the sensational news of the plunder had reached the capital and batches of sepoys were despatched in hot pursuit of the culprits. Just when Mahendra was moaning over the 'dead' body of his wife, Satyananda consoled him. The sepoys broke in and arrested both him and Satyananda. This incident infuriated the Sons. In tens and thousands they collected in Anandmath and vowed to free their master. Their object was achieved, but at a huge cost. In retaliation, a battalion of Pargana sepoys attacked Anandmath and meted out a crushing defeat.

Satyananda at once realised that their defeat was due solely to the want of arms and ammunition. The idea of establishing an ammunition factory had already been there in his mind. Now he translated it into action by initiating Mahendra and entrusting him with this work. Mahendra returned to his own village as Satyananda considered it to be the most suitable site for running a factory. Mahendra knew that his wife was dead, but miraculously, with the help of certain medicinal herbs, Bhavananda had brought her back to life and taken her to a private house. He kept it a secret from everybody including his colleagues. What led him to go against his creed, his conscience, and his religion was a mystery even to himself. Perhaps it was a case of the eternal conflict between the head and the heart, and the heart had triumphed in Bhavananda.

The heart played a trick with Jeevananda as well. This staunch devotee, in meek obedience to the dictates of his religion, had scrupulously avoided all contact with his young, beautiful and loving wife, Shanti, whom he loved dearly. He had made arrangements for her maintenance and left her with his sister, Nemai, but he himself never met her.

A meeting, however, did take place when Jeevananda, with Mahendra's little daughter, went to Nemai's place and pleaded with her to rear up the child. Nemai was fully aware of the unyielding restrictions on Jeevananda, but she could not bear the idea that after traversing a long distance Jeevananda should go back without seeing Shanti. Jeevananda was in a great fix. It was a sin to court a secret meeting with his wife, and to deceive Satyananda. But Nemai was persistent and at last prevailed over the brother.

And what a tide of emotion swelled in Jeevananda's heart when he saw her! Feelings of remorse, sympathy, love and hope held him fast. Shanti was in rags! In complete self-denial she had been waiting patiently for the fulfilment of her husband's mission. Her sweet, pale face chased away all scruples and made him forget his vows.

He had forsaken everything for his religion, he was driven about with the unenviable task of chasing sepoys and causing bloodshed. Their goal might or might not be achieved. And what did he care for it when he could turn a few yards of land into a haven of peace and happiness with Shanti by his side? What if he stayed back and never returned again to Anandmath?

But Shanti would not let him down. Amidst all her sufferings, she had one bracing thought—that she was the consort of a strong heroic man who dedicated himself to the greatest cause, the cause of the Motherland. And thus sweetly but firmly, she persuaded Jeevananda not to give up his life of sacrifice, self-restraint and devotion.

It was not for a wife to look to her own interests alone. Her most sacred duty was to her husband. This belief was so strong in her that immediately after her meeting with Jeevananda, she secretly left for Anandmath in

the garb of a young sanyasi. But in spite of the disguise Satyananda recognised her at once.

Nevertheless the object with which she came to Anandmath was fulfilled. She passed all the tests, including those of physical strength. Trained and brought up in the company of boys from her very early years, she had developed manly habits. She had a keen interest for study, was exceptionally strong in physique, and lived the life of strict celibacy. These were rare qualities for a Son and Shanti was readily initiated.

"My only anxiety was to serve you, to share your religion, to assist you in your pursuits. This is the most sacred duty that I can perform as your wife. I have not come here to tie you down to household life. I am happy even now" she said later to Jeevananda, explaining her sudden decision to leave her home.

Inspired by the tact and valour of Shanti, Jeevananda, Bhavananda and a few more, the sanyasi army quickly gained power. But the enemy was not lying idle. Elaborate arrangements were being made by Warren Hastings to bring the rebels to book, and one night the sanyasis were taken unawares by a huge battalion led by Captain Thomas.

The British guns boomed and barked and thousands of sanyasis were massacred. Total defeat seemed to be a certainty when one man came to their rescue. He was Bhavananda. He saved the sanyasi army, he saved their prestige and their religion, only he did not save himself. He led his army with a pre-determined resolve to die. That was the only way in which he could expiate his sin.

The moment he had seen Kalyani, an exotic emotion had swayed him: It was a desperate conflict. He tried to stifle the emotion in him, but it was no use. He went so far as to make immodest proposals to Kalyani, and was refused. Repentance and anguish now goaded him and drove him to this rash end.

But he died with the happy knowledge that in spite of his weakness, he had the blessings of his Master, Satyananda. The last words on his lips were *Vande Mataram*.

But this victory was only temporary. Bhavananda's death was a heavy loss to Satyananda and the mission, but there was no time for mourning. He knew that another attack was imminent and his apprehensions came true.

Another British army led by Major Edwards attacked the Sons with redoubled fury. Inspired by the melody of *Vande Mataram* on Shanti's coral lips, again the sanyasis won the battle. But this time with a still heavier loss, perhaps the heaviest. Of late Jeevananda who was being gnawed by self-remorse and had no respite from the distracting anguish that he had sinned against his faith, now made an offering of his life. With a courage that only the spirit of self-sacrifice brings with it, he led his army to a decisive victory, and was himself lost in the heaps of dead bodies that strewed the battlefield.

Just after the battle was over, Shanti, with the help of a physician found out the body of her husband. Jeevananda was severely wounded, but there was still a flicker of life in him. He was recalled to life. But

where could he go now? To Anand-math?

"No," was Shanti's reply. "What you call your sin has deprived you of your right to serve the Mother. There lies your true expiation and not in death alone. And further, we are now both dead in the eyes of the Sons. What else can we do? Let Satyananda and Mahendra maintain what you have achieved at the cost of your life. Let us go to the Himalayas where we shall pray for the Mother."

The physician who made his appearance on the battlefield appeared before Satyananda and these were his words: "The days of tyranny are over and your mission is fulfilled. God has willed that the British should set foot on Indian soil. They will remain in power so long as the sons of the country do not once again become great in knowledge, virtue and power. True Hinduism is grounded not on the worship of thirty million gods and goddesses but on knowledge, both internal and external. The British people will give us the latter. Refrain, therefore, from fighting and follow me to the Himalayas." (Copyright C.P.M.)

THE TALL AND SHORT OF IT

By P. N. S.

IT has been written that in the hands of Dr. W. G. Grace the cricket bat looked like a toy; in the hands of Bobby Abel it looked like an encumbrance; and in the case of Jack Hobbs the willow seemed to be an extension of the player—they were 'of a piece.' All the three were great players, each in his own way. Grace made all bowlers look silly by his mighty batterings; Abel's was a 'triumph of art over matter,' and when Jack Hobbs was at the crease all bowling looked so easy that even a novice felt he could go in and stroke the leather.

We in Madras were privileged to see Jack Hobbs, with his great partner, Herbert Sutcliffe, stealing singles in their inimitable and world famous style. But we have not witnessed the giant form of Grace eclipsing all else in the field by figure as well as by prowess; or the tiny Abel flourishing the bat with such conspicuous success that one felt surprised how such a man could wield the willow so well. But at Chepauk and elsewhere we had been fortunate to enjoy and applaud the doings with bat and ball of six-footers as well as little men, who looked like tiny tots in flannels. It is the purpose of this article to flick back the pages and recapture some of the pleasure which these men gave to us during the days under the sun.

And the tallest player that immediately comes to mind is L. E. Nagel of Victoria and Australia. Nagel made a sensational entry into the Australian team for the first Test against Jardine's team by capturing eight M.C.C. wickets when they played against Victoria. This medium paced swinger was not such a success at Madras but we could discern in the high delivery and perfect length some of the qualities that swept the Australian selectors off their feet to include him in the Test.

All those who had witnessed brown-haired Clark of Northants deliver the expresses at the batsmen can never forget the grand swinging run up to the crease, then the coiling of the legs and arms as of a spring and the final perfect release unleashing the

ball at a tremendous pace—an object lesson in the science of fast bowling. Nor can we forget his equally perfect answer to somebody from the crowd who threw a stone at him during play in the third Test at Madras against N.C.C. in 1934. In the opening overs India's Naomal in trying a big hook off one of Clark's shorter balls mis-connected and was badly injured over the eye. The crowd mistook the bowling for 'body line' and booed both Clark, and his skipper, Jardine. And as the bowler, after finishing the over walked back to his position near the fence a big stone was flung at him. At the end of the over Clark stooped down, picked up the stone, and slowly walked towards the crowd. One can even now feel the eerie silence that filled the air during these minutes and there were not a few in the multitude who feared the worst. But with commendable coolness Clark crossed the boundary, placed the stone on the ground, and returned to his task, making us bow our heads in shame at the cowardly act of one of our brethren.

Words can never recapture the genius of Amar Singh. As the tall, dark six-footer shuffled a few feet and then released the ball with the most innocuous delivery, no batsman expected that such a small missile would be possessed of so much devilry. It can unblushingly be said of Amar Singh that he made the ball talk its way to the stumps. Supremely confident of his skill, Amar Singh paid scant respect to any batsman, however great; he treated them as mere toys to play with, with a childish delight and then threw them away, torn to pieces. Nor had he the least respect for bowlers when he wielded the bat; it is impossible to efface the memory of Amar Singh walking down the pitch with great contempt and smiting the ball all over the field, and this when Clark and Verity were bowling! And all the mischief which this superb cricketer was up to was covered by the biggest of smiles, innocent too.

C. K. Nayudu was not only one of the tallest of cricketers but he was

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the tallest of all batsmen that ever played for our country. We have seen C. K. as a carefree hitter of sixers, and, at a mere call from the crowd, during Gilligan's team's tour. Then a few years later we witnessed the polished batmanship that earned the tribute "Beyond doubt one of the finest living cricketers....An artist who happens to look the part....A grand performer" from Charles Fry and "Nayudu at the wicket is comparable to a right-handed Woolley. Both remain masters of execution of every shot the game knows," from the most critical Jardine. The gorgeous pull to the on, the delicate late cut charming the ball away to the ropes, and again the lovely leg-glance were a few of the richest strokes that C. K. gave to the game. Nayudu was also a brilliant field at close-in positions and a cunning bowler too. It would be no exaggeration to say that the while he was in the field he occupied the whole of it. From the springy walk speaking of extreme physical fitness to the flick of the finger as he moved a man to position with precision there was the stamp of greatness. Wherever he played and whenever, Nayudu has been applauded for his admirable qualities as player and leader and has come to occupy an enviable niche in the hearts of the lovers of the game the world over.

During the test match between England and India during the 1933 tour, the Yuvaraja of Patiala, as he will always be known to cricket, covered himself with glory. It was enough for the slim, tall figure immaculately dressed in silk with a pale coloured turban on his head and with flashing pendants from his ears to step into the ground to capture the imagination of the public. Those were still the days of the princes and there were many who paid obeisance by their bow to royalty, some even touching his feet in reverence. But will this lithe figure nurtured in luxury stand the batterings of a Clark was the question on everyone's lips as the Yuvaraja moved in to face the express bowler. But who can forget the grand sixty and odd runs which the Prince rattled off England's attack of Clark and Verity, especially the masterly cover drives of Clark when that bowler was in one of his most dangerous moods and had let go a couple of

bumpers that nearly knocked off the pale coloured turban. By virtue of this excellent knock and as well by his two splendid catches at gully—it must be remembered that doubts were expressed about his fielding—the Yuvaraja became a favourite of the crowd and the critic. Indeed there was deep regret that such a fine cricketer and sportsman should be lost to the game when the Prince packed up his kit and entered the pavilion of politics.

We have witnessed at Chepauk many big scores and double centuries too, but in point of artistry and stroke-making the two hundred and odd runs of M. Sathasivam of Ceylon against a Southern XI stands high, very high indeed. The name of Sathasivam had reached our shores when even as a schoolboy he had made mincemeat of many a bowler, and it was with eagerness that many of us flocked to Chepauk to see him play. Tall and well proportioned, Sathasivam used his feet and reached beautifully to all manner of bowling and played with such perfect ease that one felt he could go on for ever in Bradmanlike manner. Though it will be invidious to compare such a great batsman to any other, it can be said that Sathasivam's art was a delightful mixture of the masterfulness of Amarnath with the charming audacity of Mushtaq Ali.

We generally find that the stumpers of the game are little men but two of the best we have witnessed—H. P. Ward and Clyde Walcott—stood over six feet. Ward, till a bad knee forced him to cast away the gloves, was a great keeper and his taking of the balls on the on side was always brilliant. In combination with that gifted bowler A. G. Penfold and Howlett and M. J. Gopalan, Ward proved to be a terrible destructive force of teams that visited the city time and again. A hard-hitting batsman and an astute leader of his team he was one of the best loved and admired of Madras sportsmen who graced the field at a time when our cricket was brimful of brilliancy. Walcott is still green in the memory. Taller than Ward, Walcott seems to have plenty of time behind the wickets, the result, perhaps, of the easy and polished manner of his work. Of course we did not see much of the West Indian,

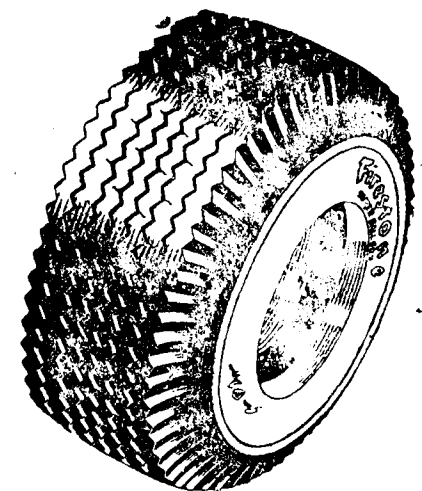
as a batsman but there was one powerful hook which in its lightning course to the ropes on the evening of the first day of the Madras test with the West Indies, threw a lot of light on the forceful nature of his hitting.

A little less in inches than Walcott, Frankie Worrell, also of West Indies, has thrilled us with his superb skill as a wielder of the willow. But this is not a sensation that sweeps us off our feet when we see the crashing drive of an Amarnath or a Gopalan, but something soothingly pleasant as the ball flows off the bat with a caress and the stroke seems to have ended only when the ball was lost in the multitude at the ringside. Indeed it has been our good fortune to have been witness to the "unhesitating, unhurrying batmanship of Worrell" which was "the realisation of the infinite in cricket."

Then we witnessed two England captains, Jardine and Yardley—Jardine, grim and intent on the rubber, but always playing to the rules, a grammarian of a cricketer; and Yardley, hat askew, with a cheery smile, bringing in all the colour of the English game onto the fields of India. Who can forget the deadly battle of tactics which Jardine waged with Amar Singh, when every time the Indian changed from over to round the wicket and vice versa the Englishman had the sight screens moved to the left and then to the right, the tenseness in the air meanwhile getting lessened to the advantage of the batsman? Nor can we forget as he and, apparently under his instructions, Hedley Verity reeled off maidens to Amarnath and Amar Singh, while the crowds clapped for the bowlers, got their eye in and then proceeded to knock the runs to retrieve their side from a bad corner to a good score. We saw Jardine at his best then, as a strategist and as a purist of style, perhaps as great as he was in Australia the year before when he planned and won the Ashes for his country. Everyone present applauded his grand effort though his seeming arrogance and superciliousness failed to put warmth in our applause.

We can go on flicking back the pages of our memory and picture again and again Whitcombe of M.C.C.

as tall as Nagel sticking like a leech at the crease, Wellard of England lifting the ball high and over the ropes as nonchalantly as if drinking a cup of tea, and also with a graceful action swinging them into the batsman when his turn came to bowl; and Keith Miller, tall and stately, who wields the 'straightest blade with the greatest power', but a tragic failure at Madras, and our own Manoharan. And as the tall, powerful figure of Manoharan comes before our eyes, we picture the mighty sixers he used to hit over square and long leg with a swish of the willow, especially of fast length balls. Inside that towering frame beat a heart full of love for his brethren and we can vividly remember his words of greeting to one and all "Enna, brother." It was not surprising that Manoharan, who once played for the Rest in the Pentangular tournament, forsook the bat and the ball and took to the preaching of the love of Jesus, which he so much displayed on and off the field.



Firestone

BEST TODAY—
STILL BETTER TOMORROW

"SOLIDLY BEHIND PANDIT NEHRU"

A SKIT

ON behalf of forty million Indian Muslims, Professor Dilkush Jung Bahadur of Metropolitan College at Bagyanagar stood "solidly behind India's Prime Minister." At a time when a ferment in Congress politics had resulted in a ferment in people's loyalties and a violent shake-up in the minds of Congressmen themselves—whether to back up Panditji or Tandonji, it must cause great satisfaction to the Prime Minister of India that there was a Muslim leader in Bagyanagar who gave his unreserved support to him in his effort to found a secular State in India.

Professor Dilkush Jung became famous after the advent of freedom on account of his periodical statements to the Press. These statements were in the nature of rebuttal of "Pakistan's lies" and an affirmation of faith in Panditji's leadership. He concluded each and every statement with the sentiment that "himself and forty million Muslims of India stood solidly behind Pandit Nehru."

To be fair to Professor Dilkush Jung, he stood solidly behind Pandit Nehru literally metaphorically and photographically. When the Prime Minister visited Bagyanagar after liquidating the communal administration in the State, he stood behind him in a group photograph that was taken on the occasion. The wag of a photographer whispered into the ear of one by his side, who suppressed his giggle under a handkerchief, that it was important that Mr. Dilkush Jung stayed in his place. If he strayed ahead and "stood before Panditji" he would not only cover him up but also the Chief Minister to his right and the wife of the Chief Minister on the left. For Mr. Dilkush Jung Bahadur was of ample proportions. With a tight-fitting sherwani buttoned from collar to the abdominal region, perilously near the bursting point, he made his appearance at all public functions offering his tin of Three Castles cigarettes to all about him. For generosity there was no peer to

Mr. Dilkush Jung. He was endowed with a heart as large as his person.

Dilkush Jung's propensity to issue statements went back to the time when Mr. Jinnah was labouring hard to carve out Pakistan for Muslims. At that time, Mr. Dilkush Jung agitated for the establishment of an Islamic State in the Deccan under the aegis of the Nawab of Bagyanagar, "extending from the Vindya Hills to Cape Camorin, washed by the Bay of Bengal, comprising French India, Portuguese India, and the islands of Bombay and Gohelote." He added that the "Muslim ruler of Bagyanagar would prove to be the rallying point against Communism in India and the Islamistan movement would safeguard Humanity, Democracy and Civilisation in India and East Asia."

After the integration of Bagyanagar with India, Professor Dilkush Jung turned over a new life in his career, and held forth that "the greatness of India was the quintessence of the greatness of Hindus and Muslims, that Hindus and Muslims should work out their salvation as loyal citizens of the Indian Republic and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the stalwart patriot and statesman, should receive the homage of all Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and Christians."

When Gaurishankar, Staff Correspondent of the *Daily Times* met Mr. Dilkush Jung one day, he complained to him that his statement on the story of Muslims being roasted on an iron pan had made him poor by twentythree rupees and four annas.

"I told you that the statement had been unduly delayed," Gaurishankar grumbled.

Gaurishankar read out to Mr. Dilkush the letter he had received from his Editor: "You were asked to obtain the reaction of a prominent Muslim in your place to the story published in the *Sunrise* of Pakistan that Muslims there are being roasted on a red hot pan. Your report reached us seventy-two days after the alleged incident.

It could not be used for obvious reasons. After twelve years of experience in reporting, you should understand that we are running a newspaper but not a chronicle of past events. Ordinarily we would have asked you to seek fresh fields and pastures new, but in view of your long connection with us, we hereby administer you a stern warning. The charge of the Press telegram (rupees twentythree and annas four ONLY) is debited to your salary for the current month."

When *Sunrise* published that exclusive story from their Special Correspondent at Bagyanagar, the *Daily Times* telegraphed to Gaurishankar to obtain an official denial, preferably from the Home Minister. He was also asked to follow it up with a reassuring statement from a Muslim leader that Muslims are alive and kicking in the State of Bagyanagar.

Gaurishankar at once dispatched an interview with the Home Minister. The *Daily Times* splashed it under the headings: **PAKISAN CANARD EXPOSED. "MISCHIEVOUS LIE" SAYS BAGYANAGAR HOME MINISTER.** He then scratched his head over the other assignment. He thought of Professor Dilkush Jung Bahadur, than whom no greater friend of India, Indian Muslims and Pandit Nehru could be found from the Himalayas to the Cape Camorin.

"I am busy correcting a lot of examination answer books," Mr. Dilkush Jung murmured, puffing at a hookah and inhaling sweet scented fumes gurgling their way through a small column of water. "Kindly make a draft for me."

Gaurishankar retired to another room. He was provided with writing materials. He read over the draft to the Professor. Mr. Dilkush made a few changes. "The Editor of *Sunrise* should be ashamed of his conduct" was changed into "The Editor of *Sunrise* should expiate the sin of having circulated a pernicious lie by forthwith committing suicide." He added a sentence reaffirming that "forty million Muslims of India stood solidly behind India's Prime Minister in his effort to found a secular State for India."

"I shall show it to the Vice-Chan-

cellor and pass it to you tomorrow," Mr. Dilkush stated.

"Why should you?" Gaurishankar snapped out. He was keen on putting it on the wires immediately.

"I had suggested in my last statement that it was high time that Muslim girls offered their hands in marriage to Hindu youths in a secular State," Professor Dilkush Jung explained. "The Education Minister was upset about it. He instructed the Vice-Chancellor to censor my statements from that day."

"The Education Minister was furious over your last statement to the Press" exclaimed the Vice-Chancellor perusing his latest. "It has created matrimonial complications. Fancy your suggesting that Muslim girls should marry Hindu boys! It has caused a flutter among Hindu girls."

"If a newspaper published a false report," the Vice-Chancellor continued, "it is for the Government to contradict it. How do you and I come into the picture?"

"I beg to differ from you, Sir," Mr. Dilkush adopted a low deferential tone. "It is for a Muslim to make it clear that Muslims are happy here. The Pakistan lie should not go unrefuted."

The Vice-Chancellor peered at the ceiling for a few minutes.

"Any way I shall play safe by submitting it to the Education Minister", he affirmed.

The Education Minister appreciated the statement but he felt that the Chief Minister was the competent person to decide the issue. The relations between India and Pakistan did not come under the portfolio of Education.

"Suppose the statement is published in the Press and the Government of India did not like it," the Chief Minister raised a doubt. "If Mr. Dilkush had sent the statement himself, it is his funeral. But if I pass it, it amounts to his having obtained my approval. Therefore, either he should withdraw the statement or I should forward it to the States Ministry for their views."

A fortnight later the States Ministry returned the statement to the Chief Minister of Bagyanagar asking

him to obtain the views of the Home Minister of the State. They would like to know whether any incident of the kind reported in *Sunrise* or bordering in detail on it had occurred in the State. If not, had the State Government denied it?

The Home Minister informed the Chief Minister that the *Sunrise* report was a deliberate falsehood, and it had been contradicted by the Government of Bagyanagar. A copy of the Press Note on the subject was also enclosed. The Chief Minister submitted the file to the States Ministry.

The States Minister perused the correspondence with great care. At a time when an attempt should be made to promote friendship with Pakistan and prevent an armed conflict between the two countries the States' Minister wondered whether it was necessary to rake up an ugly controversy by issuing a rejoinder to a report published by a rag in Pakistan. He felt that it would be a jolly good thing to consult the Prime Minister himself on the subject.

The Prime Minister was duly consulted and Mr. Dilkush Jung's statement came back to the author seventy-two days after it was composed by Gaurishankar. Within another hour the man at the Bagyanagar Telegraph Office was busy tapping across the five hundred word statement of Mr. Dilkush Jung Bahadur to the *Daily Times*.

Four days after Gaurishankar had got a stinker from his Editor in respect of his delay in the dispatch of Mr. Dilkush Jung Bahadur's statement, he peeped into his bungalow on his way to the Secretariat. The bungalow was vacant. The servant told him that the Sab and his family had left for Madras.

The next-door neighbour, a Hindu zamindar, gave him the tip that the Professor and his family had sneaked away to Pakistan.

Gaurishankar worked up the story. He sent a graphic dispatch that the Professor and his family left Bagyanagar by train to Bombay disguised as Marwaris. In Bombay they managed to obtain Pakistan National Permits and boarded the steamer for Karachi. He gave a piquant touch to the story by pointing out that Mr. Dilkush Jung made a speech in the Town Hall four hours before he boarded the train, exhorting the people of India to "stand solidly behind India's Prime Minister."

The *Daily Times* congratulated Gaurishankar on his exclusive coverage of the incident to the paper. In view of the smart bit of work, the Editor added that he cancelled his order debiting to his salary the cost of the Press telegram about Mr. Dilkush Jung's statement. The amount would be credited to his salary for the current month and remitted to him in due course.—*LONGBOW*.

HAPPINESS TIP FOR THE MARRIED

Dame Sybil Thorndike, famous British actress, 68 years old and married for 43 years, recently told the Marriage Guidance Council in London the best way to have both a happy marriage and a career. Here is her advice:

"Don't be a cushion for your family. Be partly home-birds and partly community-birds.

"There must be give and take all the time if you are to have a happy marriage and a profession.

"Be stimulating to each other. Don't try to be sweet all the time; there is great refreshment in a good loud explosion provided you can kiss and make up afterwards.

"It must be the most difficult thing in the world to be a marriage guider because there never was anything that was more of a toss-up than marriage.

"One of the things that is the real basis of a happy marriage is to have had a happy home.

"If you have something you are interested in you are stimulating to your children. If you are only thinking about them all the time you become a bore.

"You know how it is if you are in love and the man is thinking about you. He is a bore. It is a happy marriage if you are stimulating to each other."

REVENGE IS MINE

By Vishwa Varma

THE battle of Haldighat was about to begin. Rana Pratap, alone of all Rajput kings, had refused to bow down to Akbar, and the latter had sent an army to subdue him. And Shakta Singh, younger brother of Rana Pratap, was fighting with Akbar against his own brother.

"It is unjust".

"What?"

"Your taking up arms against your own brother," said Shanta, girding his sword to the waist of Shakta Singh.

"An insult is yet to be avenged," replied, Shakta Singh.

"What! Revenge between brother and brother? Can't you forget the boar hunt episode even now?"

"How can I, Shanta?" replied Shakta. "How can I? The arrow once shot can't be returned. The word once spoken can't be withdrawn. The insult received can't be done with. Revenge is the only remedy."

He recalled how they both went on hunting and after a long chase brought down a boar. After the initial sense of triumph, the discussion had arisen as to whose lance, his or Pratap's, had killed the boar.

Yes, Shakta Singh remembered clearly—and bitterly—how Pratap had haughtily forced his point and rebuked him and called him impertinent.

How could he bear that? Particularly when it was his own lance that had pierced the boar? Pratap was elder no doubt, but he did not have to be so uppish and rude and insulting.

A Rajput is never true to his salt if he can bear so much insult silently... and in spite of being brothers, they had drawn their swords till the purohit had intervened and got killed in pacifying them. But even the sacrifice of his life by the puro-

hit had not subdued their anger and bitterness.... and today was an opportunity to teach Pratap a lesson.

"Shall you then live to see your own brother degraded?"

"Because there blazes a fire in my heart."

"Shall you bear to see your own motherland enslaved?"

"Because my motherland did not dare undo the injustice done to me."

"You shall be branded a traitor," spoke Shanta with tears in her eyes. "Traitor who fought against his own kith and kin to enslave his own native land, to destroy his own religion. Could there be an insult greater than to be fingered here and after death as one who played the most treacherous game with the destiny of his land in its dark gloomy days?"

"But I shall be branded coward—coward in the annals of Rajasthan," answered back Shakta, with fierce red eyes. "In my veins runs the blood of Shaktawata and what more poignant thing could there be for a Shaktawat than to take an insult lying down? I of course can't."

Drums were beating. Horses were in a trot. Drawn swords were glittering in the bright dazzling rays of the sun. Guns and cannons were being brought into line. Cavalry was trying the chargers. March to the battle was just to commence.

In the valley of Haldighat 22,000 brave sons of Mewar assembled to defend their country against the numerically superior army of Akbar. Armed with bows and arrows, clad in martial dress, with confidence in God and in the destiny of their motherland, they waited for Maharana Pratap. With resolute faces, they looked at the dais from which the Rana had to give them his last message. Suddenly the sky rang: Maha-

Rana Pratap Ki Jai, Amar Mewar Ki Jai. Then silence, pin-drop, death-like. The Maharana was speaking.

"Brave sons of Mewar! We are all assembled here to defend ourselves—to fight against the aggressor bent upon devastating and plundering our land, destroying what we hold in esteem, and yoking on our necks the horrible burden of domination. It is a crime to enslave a country or a nation and greater still is the crime for a nation or country to get enslaved. And I hardly need remind every Sisodia of Mewar that freedom and death go hand in hand and that it is a thousand times better to die an honourable death than survive a wretched dishonourable life in a slave country.

"We know we are not well-equipped. We also know that we are not as much in number as they are. But one thing we all know and it is that we are all equipped with the great weapon *Resolve* and with courage."

"Any of you who may have any doubt or be home-sick may quit the ranks and I did him hearty God-speed. We have to fight with our might and main. Indeed can any battle be won with faltering and unsteady marching or fighting?"

"Be brave. Be strong. Show them that when a Sisodia takes up the sword he takes it to cause havoc. Know that the destiny of the country lies in your hands. I again remind you never to fall back an inch, never to turn or show your back. Make for them a strong iron wall of your chests to dash against and perish. *Shri Ek Ling Ji* may bless us all."

The cloud of the dust rose in the distance. It grew and grew and as it came nearer, from it emerged the great moving mass of the Mughal army. The Rajputs waited. They stood watching them advancing and then rushed forward.

The battle ensued. The dance of destruction began. Cannons roared and sprouted fire. Bows rained arrows. Swords clinked and gleamed in the brown dusty field of Haldighat. Life had become cheap.

Pratap rode on his charger, Chetak, like lightning. He swept clean his enemies in any direction where he

reached. In one of his furious searches for Man Singh, he encountered Salim sitting on his elephant. He halted Chetak and drew its reins. It stood on its hind legs with forelegs on the forehead of Salim's elephant. Rana Pratap charged. The mahawat fell dead. But the spear could not assail and pierce the steel hound. The elephant got enraged with the furious assaults and fled away with Salim.

The danger around Pratap increased. Red with rage seeing Salim in danger of death, the Moghuls surrounded Pratap thrice and thrice he cut his way through them. But the waves of Mughal army increased in fury and dashed more furiously against the rock which was Pratap and could have torn it to pieces, but for the most glorious and noble sacrifice of the Raja of Jhalawar who made as if to escape with the helmet of Pratap on his own head to bear the brunt of assault. Needless to say, he met his death in no time at the feet of his master.

The battle was lost. Pratap turned the weary Chetak towards Mewar.

Badly wounded and tired it carried its master at a furious pace from the field, followed by two Moghuls. Shakta who saw Rana's flight and the pursuing Mughals, could bear it no more. Before him moved fast the picture of his grand palace in bygone days where he and Pratap played, ate and slept in the same room; when he took out his lance and sword on the boar hunt issue; and, last, when the round moist red eyes of Shanta barred his way, entreating him not to accompany the expedition. A chill ran across his body and a pang through his heart. He could bear it no more.

At a small stream Chetak stopped when Pratap heard some one calling from behind. Pratap looked back and saw Shakta coming at a gallop on his charger. He kept down his sword and addressing Shakta said, "Shakta! Is your sword still thirsty?"

"Mine could have been, Dada," replied Shakta taking the dust from the feet of Pratap on his head, "had it not tasted the blood of the Mughals who followed you."

"Mughals! Were they following me?"

"Yes. Salim had seen you leaving the field and had deputed two soldiers to chase you. It was my good luck and of Mewar to have seen them, to give them their due."

"I owe you my life then, Shakta," said Rana Pratap with his eyes wet.

"No, to Mewar, Dada," replied Shakta.

"And what can I do for you, Shakta?"

"Forgive me" answered back Shakta, faltering, with tears rolling on his cheeks and bent down low at the feet of Pratap. Pratap picked him up and both brothers embraced each other.

When Shakta returned to the Mughal camp, he was immediately taken to Prince Salim.

"Where had you been so long, Shakta?" enquired Salim, rather gruffly.

"Out seeing the wrath and vengeance wrought upon the proud Sisodias by your Imperial Majesty," replied Shakta.

"Shakta, where is your charger?" asked Salim sternly.

"It was killed in action."

"And where is your sword?"

"It was broken on the field."

"Shakta, Rajputs are rich of their words and true to their promise."

"Yes, they are, when they are true Rajputs and really mean business."

"It means what you informed me is false, only meant to hoodwink me," put in Salim in anger.

"It is open to you to verify," was Shakta's cool reply.

"If it proves to be false, your head shall sit no longer between your shoulders."

"The course of law is indeed open to you to pursue."

"Shakta," said Salim soothingly, "I mean no harm to you. I know you too well to harbour any misconception about you. I know the facts. I want you to endorse them lest I take any wrong step unpleasant to Shahanshah.

I pledge you my word as a true Mughal not to cause any harm to you."

"My brother Pratap, while fleeing to Mewar, lost his charger, Chetak, and I gave him mine for his safe departure. In the way, in an encounter with the Mughals who were chasing him, my sword was broken."

"In the military code of law there is death for treachery," warned Salim.

"Conceptions are different. What you call treachery is most noble patriotism for me."

"Conceptions are conceptions. But as I have given you my word of honour—the word of a Mughal, I respect it and beg you to leave our ranks, Shakta."

In the dark midnight Shanta was sitting in her balcony thinking of earth and heaven. She seemed to hear the groanings of millions of people who lay dead or wounded on the battle-field of Haldighat. She was thinking of the lot of those poor widows, mothers and sisters who must have sent their husbands, sons and brothers with smiles on their faces and tears in their eyes—never to see them alive again.

She heaved a long sigh for numerous homes whose lamps had been extinguished prematurely. And then before her eyes the distant hills of Arawali from whose deep valleys emerged the long arrays of graceful maidens, whose red vermillion was gone and whose bracelets were broken, advancing towards the pyres of their beloved to reduce themselves to ashes from whence they had sprung. She shuddered.

As the horse came nearer, her heart began to beat violently for the tidings which may be in store for her. Her fate was in the balance.

Suddenly there was a knock at the door.

"Shanta!"

She went downstairs. She knew Shakta had come back.

"Shanta!" said Shakta embracing her, "you are victorious. I am vanquished. I have had my REVENGE."

SIMPLIFYING THE CALENDAR

By DONALD B. ROBINSON

CHRISTMAS will always be a Monday. Easter will always be on April 8, and your birthday will always come on the same day of the week if a group known as the World Calendar Association has its way. It is vigorously campaigning today for the adoption of a uniform, perpetual world calendar that would do away with the year-to-year fluctuations of the present calendar.

Already the Governments of 17 nations, ranging from Afghanistan to Uruguay, have given their approval to the proposed new calendar, and the Governments of 21 other countries have indicated their support. A resolution calling for endorsement of the world calendar by the United Nations has been introduced at the U. N. headquarters in New York. R. J. Alfaro, chairman of the Panama delegation, dropped the resolution into the U. N. hopper.

"The Government of Panama gives its support to calendar reform in conformity with the sensible and scientific system embodied in the new world calendar," he told Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the U. N.

The world calendar, as laid out by the World Calendar Association, a non-profit organization with headquarters in New York city, would standardize the days, weeks and months so they would always be the same, year in and year out. Every year would still have 12 months, and the months would have the same names. However, the length of each month would be standardized to achieve uniformity.

The plan provides for the division of the year into four quarters, with 91 days in each quarter. The first month of every quarter—January, April, July and October—would have 31 days and the remaining two months in each quarter would have 30 days apiece. Since each quarter would begin on a Sunday and end on a Saturday, all dates in it would inevitably fall on the same day. Thus, New Year's Day, Jan. 1, would invariably come on a Sunday.

Actually, as the World Calendar Association points out, this would not mean too radical a change in the current calendar. The only persons really inconvenienced by it would be those with birthdays or anniversaries on March 31, May 31, August 31 and December 31. Those days, of course, would be eliminated under the world calendar, and the people marking them would have to celebrate (as do people born on February 29) on the preceding day.

"Life Would Be Eased"

One major change would have to be accepted, however. This would be the inauguration of a new holiday, for all the nations on earth. Since the earth takes 365 days to circle the sun, and the four 91 day quarters of the world calendar total only 364 days, one day would remain unaccounted for. This, the proponents of the world calendar wish to make into a new holiday. They suggest that the day following December 30, every year, be known as World's Day and be an international holiday dedicated to world peace and unity. It would not bear the name of any day of the week; it would just be December W.

Like the current calendar, the world calendar would also have an extra day every leap year. Every four years it would come on the day following June 30, and would be known as June W. It, too, would be an international holiday.

The advantages of this world calendar plan are summed up in this way by Frank Gass, a distinguished naval officer in World War II who recently became executive secretary of the World Calendar Association: "Disorder and confusion result from the calendar we now have. With dates falling on different days each year, records are complicated and statistics difficult to compile. With the new world calendar, all dates would fall on the same day and make the scheduling of events simple and permanent. Life would be immeasurably eased. It would bring order, balance, harmony and stability to the calendar and to

the hundreds of millions of people who live by it."

The present calendar, Gass notes, has not been modernized since it was first introduced by Pope Gregory XII in 1532. "The world deserves something new in the way of a calendar," Gass feels.

Spearheading the campaign for the world calendar is white-haired, kindly faced, 66-year old Elizabeth Achelis, a wealthy spinster who has devoted the past 13 years of her life and more than \$500,000 of her money to this drive. It is a personal crusade with her, as she recently explained to a foreign statesman whom she was trying to interest in the project. After she had outlined her plans to him, he remarked: "Interesting, but no one would die for such a cause."

Immediately, Miss Achelis replied with complete sincerity, "I would."

The daughter of a millionaire rubber manufacturer, Miss Achelis became interested in the question in 1929 after she heard a talk on simplifying life by simplifying the calendar. Then, in 1931, she stumbled on a plan for a perpetual 12 month calendar originated by an Italian priest, Abbot Marco Mastrofini, in 1834. She determined then and there to make its adoption her life work.

In 1931, she founded the World Calendar Association, and has led its fight ever since, winning such advocates to her cause as Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, President James R. Angell of Yale, Gerard Swcepe, president of General Electric; Lord Riverdale and William Randolph Hearst.

Back in the '30's, it looked for a time as if the world calendar might soon be coming into existence. The old League of Nations agreed to study the matter and, in 1937 went so far as to present a convention on it to both member and non-member States. At that time, 14 nations accepted the plan in principle.

World War II started, however, and the drive for the world calendar had to be suspended. In recent years, it has again gone into high gear.

Support Seen Spreading

According to the World Calendar Association the "defects of the pre-

sent Gregorian calendar are that: "Government loses by it in that its fiscal year always begins on a different day of the week, complicating its records and making tax collections unduly difficult. Industry loses by it in that it cannot co-ordinate its production schedule, what with some months containing 24 working days and others as many as 27. Labour loses by it because its pay days are irregular and do not coincide with the end of the month when bills must be met. Transportation systems lose

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THROAT,
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chest and lung troubles.

by it through the necessity of constantly drafting new timetables. Colleges and schools lose by it because they have to make up new scholastic schedules every year."

These "defects" the association claims, would be eliminated by the "benefits" of the world calendar. These, it says, are: "The Government would benefit through standardization of the calendar since custom receipts, taxes and interest on Government bonds could be more easily computed. Industrialists would benefit through the standardization of months, with 26 working days in each. Workers could figure wages and expenses more accurately. No longer would railroads and airlines have to change their timetables every year. Colleges and schools would benefit because their study schedules could remain constant, and no longer would conflicting events occur through the annual shifting of the calendar."

Today, organizations affiliated with the World Calendar Association are pressing for the change-over to the world calendar in virtually every country in the world. The topic has been debated in the Australian Parliament. In Brazil, a commission was set up to study the matter. In France, over 30 important newspapers have given it their support. Recently, the Government of Saudi Arabia and Syria gave it their official blessings.

Within the past few weeks, Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee introduced a bill in the U. S. Congress calling for U. S. adoption of the world calendar. A similar bill has been

introduced in the Canadian Parliament. Arthur J. Hills, former chairman of the National Labour Supply Council and now chairman of the National Joint Conference Board of the Canadian construction industry, is leading the world calendar campaign in Canada.

That support for the new calendar is spreading is indicated by the thousands of endorsements pouring into the World Calendar Association's offices in New York. Hundreds of chambers of commerce in the U. S. and Canada have passed resolutions backing it. So have scores of labour organizations, among them the Canadian Congress of Labour.

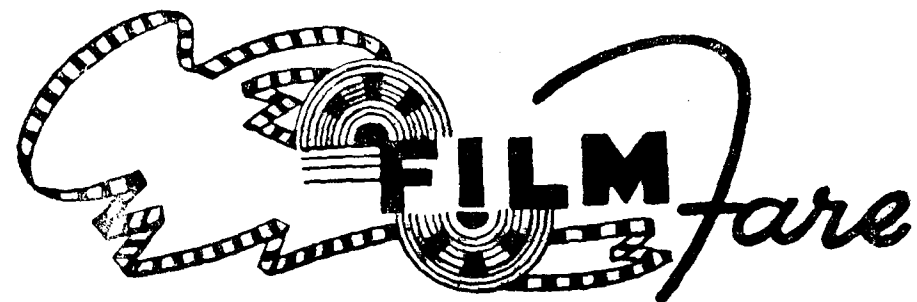
A. D. Creer, registrar of the Association of Professional Engineers of British Columbia, wrote the World Calendar Association in behalf of his group: "Like the advocates of the daylight-saving movement of the early part of this century, you have a long, hard row to hoe, but I am sure you will get there eventually."

There has been some opposition to the world calendar programme. Although many individual Roman Catholic priests and organizations have endorsed the plan the Vatican itself has been opposed. It objects to the fixing of a date for Easter on the ground that it would cause dissension among various Catholic elements.

Some orthodox Jewish groups have also expressed their opposition. Numerous Jewish organizations and rabbis, however, have endorsed it.—*N.N.F.*

The phenomenon of journalistic chains is assuming direful proportions. Without any of the safeguards provided by the established journalistic tradition which serves to keep chains within reasonable bounds in a country like Britain, a potentially vast public which is just being inducted into literacy might prove an irresistible temptation to unscrupulous adventures who seek a short cut to power through the control of the means of propaganda. This might be partially countered by a requirement that the name of the proprietor of a paper should be displayed on it as conspicuously as possible. Every paper belonging to the Kemsley group in Britain bears the legend on the top of the front page, 'A Kemsley newspaper'. This would be far more useful than the meaningless requirement that the Editor's name should be declared; almost the only use of this has been to bring into existence that curious hybrid called the Managing Editor.

—The South Indian Journalist.



By V. P. SATHE

FOR the first time, an International Film Festival is being held in India. By sponsoring this festival, the Government of India have earned the goodwill and gratitude of the film industry which has already assured fullest co-operation to make this festival a grand success.

At a Press conference held on Friday 31 August Mr. Clifford Agarwala gave an outline of the festival. Incidentally that was the day on which the organising committee held its first meeting. The committee includes many representatives of the film industry like V. Shantaram, B. N. Sirkar, Chandulal Shah, K. M. Modi, J. B. H. Wadia, M. D. Chatterji, H. M. Reddy and S. S. Vasan.

The festival which will last for five weeks in all will be held at Bombay (2 weeks), Madras (one week), Calcutta (one week) and New Delhi (one week). During the festival, films selected as good from all the countries participating in the festival will be shown at different theatres. Certificates of merit will be given to the films entered for the festival and awards will be given to the best films. The selection will be made by specially appointed judges. Over 25 countries are expected to participate and over hundred and fifty films will be entered for the festival out of which only the selected pictures will be exhibited to the public. Only 'unreleased' foreign films will be entitled for contest; in the case of Indian pictures unreleased as well as pictures produced during 1950-51 are eligible. Incidentally, a special award will be given to the best Indian picture. The awards will be given to both feature and short films.

Explaining these details Mr. Agarwala appealed for the co-operation of the Press. He also revealed that leading film personalities from abroad like Charlie Chaplin and Laurence Olivier will be invited to participate in the festival.

Exhibition of film equipment and lectures and meetings also form the part of the festival during which the studios will be kept open to groups of visitors.

Mr. Mohan Bhavnani, the Controller of Films Division, who is acting as the secretary revealed that they are trying to get a television transmitter and a number of receiving sets from abroad. If they succeed, the important events of the festival may be televised.

If all the plans chalked out materialize there is no doubt that the International Film Festival will be a big success. To the connoisseurs of films, this will be the first opportunity to see films produced in Italy, Switzerland, France and other countries for the first time. And since a special award is being given for an Indian film it may act as a great incentive for our producers to make good pictures.

Star Of The Week

Talking of the International Film Festival, it is interesting to note that the first Indian film star to visit the Soviet Union will be Durga Khote, rightly called the first lady of the Indian screen. She left Bombay by air for London on Friday 31st August en route to Moscow. She is one of the six film personalities invited by U. S. S. R.

We do not know whether she is

carrying with her some reels from her different pictures as did Cherkosov when he came to India. But we hope she did. For, one of the greatest actresses of India, some of her pictures would give the Soviet people a correct idea about the development of Indian films. One also hopes that Durga Khote will be given the same honour in the Soviet Union which Cherkosov received in India.

Durga Khote is not only a great artist but an ideal actress. For two decades she has been acting in films and for all these years she has kept up her dignity, fair name and acting standard. She has always been aloof from party politics and controversies so rampant in the film industry. As a result even today all the producers hold her in high esteem.

Commanding great respect as she does, she has set an example in her business and moral conduct that our other temperamental stars will do well to emulate. Though many producers may have deceived her she is never known to have harassed a producer. And she has always kept the distinction so necessary between her private life and film career.

Now in her forties she has amazing vitality. One of the first stars to take to free-lancing she has managed to work at such distant places as Poona, Kolhapur and Bombay and kept up the schedule. In addition, she has found time to act on the stage at regular intervals. The interest she has been taking in Marathi drama festivals for the last three or four years has amazed even the stage enthusiasts.

She was interested in the stage from her student days. During the twenties, thanks to her father who had an interest in Gandharva Natak Mandali, she had an opportunity to watch Balgandharva on the stage in female roles. And, Balgandharva was a great craze in those days, so much so that even women copied his style and mannerisms.

The influence of Balgandharva is evident even in Durga Khote's acting. Later, it was Bhavnani who persuaded Durga Khote to make her debut in films. The first picture, however, was not a great success and Durga Khote looked too plump and flabby.

Later when Shantaram signed her for the role of Taramati she slimmed a great deal and became a star overnight in *King of Ayodhya*. Since then she has always been in the forefront. In the thirties, her most remarkable pictures were *Amar Jyoti*, *Seeta*, *Rajrani*, *Meera*, *After the Earthquake* and *Maya Macchindra*.

Like all stars, she was also tempted to become a producer. But her maiden effort, though she was only a partner, proved a failure. Moreover, she lost her husband in rather unfortunate circumstances, during this period. This was the period in which she appeared in a romantic role in Chowdhury's *Kul De Baul* which was banned by the censors for sometime.

Without any apparent commotion she quietly changed to character acting and revealed her versatility in a comic caricature of the mother-in-law in *Charno Ki Dasi*. Since then she has been mostly playing the roles of mother; in fact today she is considered as an ideal mother of the Indian screen. Thus though she is adept at comedy she is generally called upon to give emotional characterizations. Her performance naturally is not always great; but it is always competent. Only in a few pictures like *Hum Ek Hai* and *Zamin* she has risen to great histrionic heights. But then the fault lies with the roles allotted to her and not with her acting. Westernised, she has always craved for typically Indian roles. Happily married again to Mr. Rashid, she has two sons who are both well-placed in life.

Wishing her bon voyage on this happy occasion one hopes that this trip to the Soviet Union will be a fitting climax to a glorious career.

Picture Of The Week

Before I saw Sadiq Productions' latest *Saiyan*, I was told that the picture was just a copy of *Duel In The Sun*. But after seeing the film I think it would be erroneous to dub *Saiyan* a copy of any foreign picture. True, the last scene in which the hero and the heroine shoot at each other, and the contrast in characterization of the two brothers bear some similarity to *Duel in the Sun*. In fact, it is possible that Azam Baidpuri started writing his script with an idea of adapting the foreign pic-

ture; but once he started writing he seems to have forgotten all the salient features of that film and developed an innate illogical, and what is worse, artificial romantic triangle melodrama bereft of any life whatsoever. There is, for instance, no justification for the peculiar behaviours of all the important characters of the picture; they just appear to be puppets moving in any direction that the writer may command with the result that not a single situation appears plausible or genuine and the shooting climax appears to be a great parody of *Duel in the Sun*. In addition the dialogue is so pedantic, so theatrical that it only kills the emotional impact of the drama.

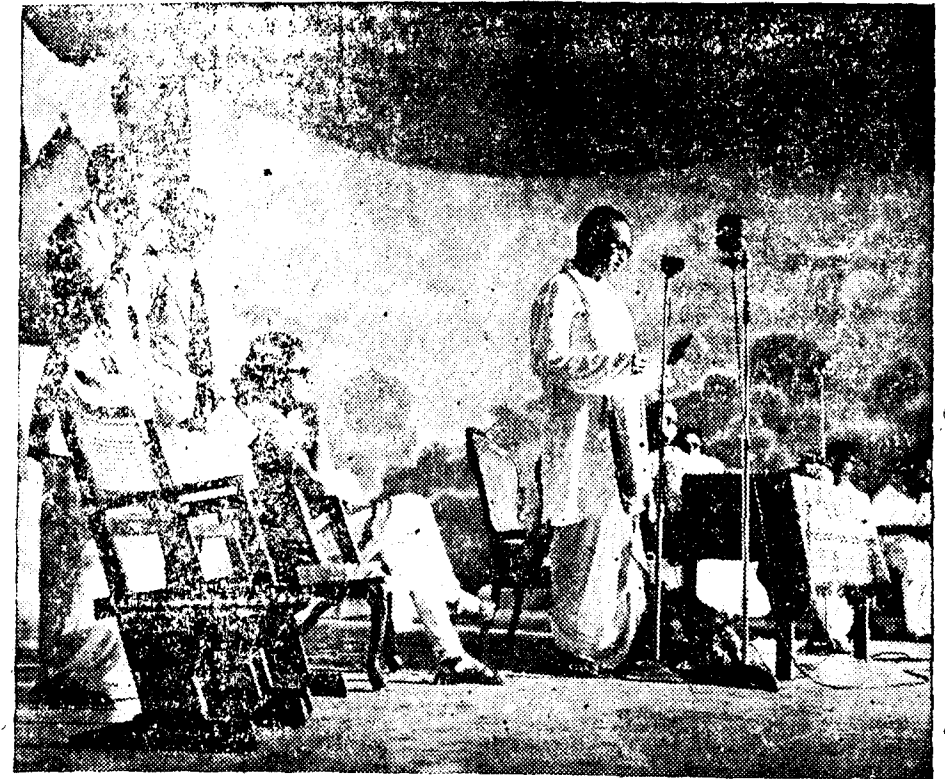
But for this grave basic defect as a picture *Saiyan* is as good as any other Sadiq picture. The production is first-rate, the direction is competent and the acting by Sajjan and Madhubala commendable though both of these appear to be self-conscious and theatrical at times. The music frankly is not catchy. Whatever

effect Sajjan was striving for, he has not been able to achieve it. Only one thing that can be said in its favour is that it is different and original.

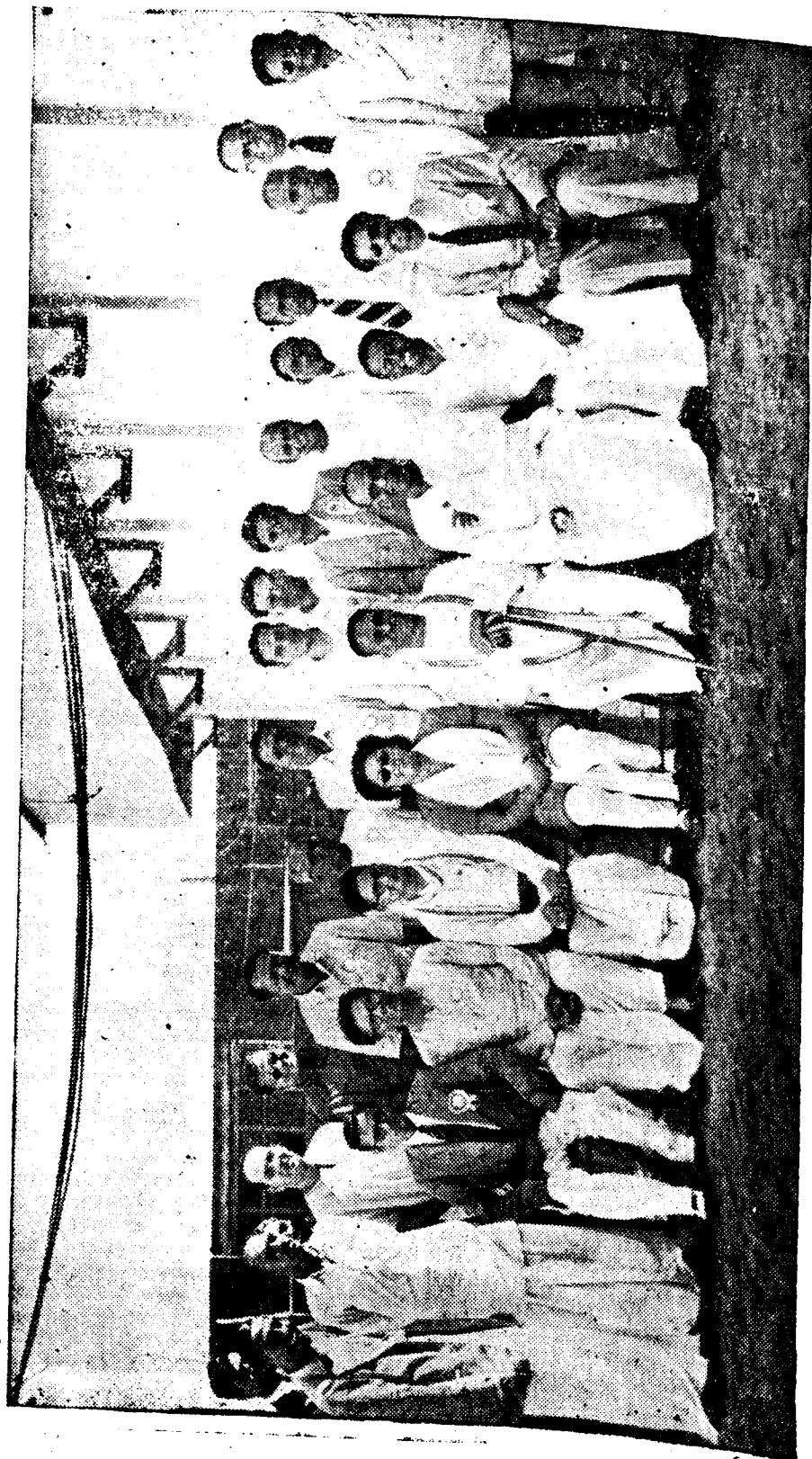
News Of The Week

—The closing date of the Kardar-Kolynos-Teresa contest has been extended by two weeks. At a Press conference the sponsors divulged that comparatively there was a poor response from girls, and discussed various ways to encourage prospective female entrants to the contest. Personal interviews have been arranged at Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and other places; the clause of fluent Hindustani has been modified and the Italian trip has been made optional with bright prospects for the girl's guardian being also provided with a free trip. As a result of all these steps it is hoped that more deserving girls will enter the contest.

—Sohrab Modi has also invited applications from new comers for appearing in his next picture *Jhansi Ki Rani*.



Chief Minister Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja inaugurating the first All-India Cine Technicians' Conference held at Madras last Sunday.



Group photo taken on the occasion of the first All-India Cine Technicians' Conference held at Madras last Sunday.
—Photo by V. Kutumba Rao.

INDIA & THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

By HARRY HEAP

IF there is any one matter about which India and the Western countries seem never to be able to understand each other, it is the attitude of India towards the Allies and their enemies in the last war. This lack of mutual understanding is the cause of further supplementary misunderstandings. Mr. Churchill, for example, regards the sterling balances in quite a different light from that of people in India and, for that matter, the Labour Party in Britain. Mr. Churchill argues from the idea that the Allies saved India from invasion, that India prospered, relatively, on that account, and suffered none of the horrors of war. Therefore, he argues, much as the West, Britain in particular, owes India, India on her part has a debt towards the Allies. I imagine that Mr. Churchill would say that these two debts just about cancel each other out.

A further misunderstanding has arisen over the Japanese Peace Treaty. Again, the Western countries have been regarding India as a willing and fully-co-operative ally against Eastern nationalism in its most extreme form. There is no recognition of India's sympathies towards all Eastern countries which show signs of independence, of economic independence in particular. Japan was as fanatically nationalist in the East as Germany was in the West. Moreover, at Pearl Harbour, they attacked the United States of America without any known provocation, merely because they thought they would be able to get away with it and so, eventually, be able to spread themselves. Their attitude was more imperialistic than that of the Allies. I recall the attack by Italy of Abyssinia. I was in some company which included a man who condemned the aggression out of hand. Others present brought forward as an argument the manner in which Britain had acquired her Empire. "I agree that there is much to be deplored in Britain's history", the man who criticised Italy said, "But today there is the League of Nations".

He was laughed at, but I maintain that he was right. Imperialism today is a much more serious evil than it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, because we should all know better. In any case, since the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain has been divesting herself of her imperial responsibilities as hard as she can go, much to the regret of some of the old die-hards.

So with Japan, there was, as we see it, an outbreak of twentieth-century imperialism. This had to be resisted, as well as the ideology which was at the root of Japanese ambitions. In the war that ensued, many British and American service personnel and civilians were killed, wounded and imprisoned. Much was lost materially, particularly in Malaya and Burma. More still would have been lost if Japan had managed to enter India. In the course of the war, Britain lost her money and suffered in many other directions even more painfully. In addition, the people of Lancashire, and of the Midlands of England, recall Japanese competition in the pre-war days, competition which, on account of sweated labour, the copying of Western designs and trade-marks, the use of the names of British towns on their goods, might well be considered as unfair competition. Also, the Allies did win the war, a war brought upon them by Germany and Japan. No-one can possibly say that the Allies started the war or wanted it, particularly if they recall the days of Munich. More than one ardent pacifist in Britain was disillusioned after Munich, after seeing pacifism rejected so scornfully. Why, therefore, should the Allies not take certain security measures for the future peace of the world? Why should we say that all is forgotten and forgiven and that Germany and Japan can stand just as they did before? There are many of us, and we are not necessarily followers of Lord Vansittart, who believe that only if a defeated Germany and Japan recognise fully that they were defeated, that war, aggression,

twentieth-century imperialism, does not pay, can there be hopes of a long peace. Such are the thoughts that India should bear in mind when trying to make the peace treaty of the Allies seem harder than it might be.

It should not be thought that there is no sympathy with India's outlook. Mr. Harriman voiced what many of us have long realised, that Eastern nationalism is not bad, nor must it be underestimated. Also, there are many of us who feel as India does about Chiang Kai-shek, about Formosa, and the other islands of Japan, though we would ask India to be wholly consistent and ask Russia about the islands which are in their hands. There is much yet to be understood about the last war, and if India can see how her position was regarded by the West, and if the West can only recognise that India has a point of view also, there might be better hopes for good relations between all the East and all the West than there seem to be at present.

Cricket

On one point, at least, there is common interest, and that is on the subject of cricket. Mr. Anthony de Mello's defeat for the Presidency of the Board of Control has been much talked-about here. So are India's prospects, not for the winter tour, but for the tour by India in Britain next summer. When the West Indies came here, the professionals in the Lanca-

shire League teams all played for their country. The question is being asked as to the intentions of some of India's professionals. It is reported that Umrigar has already signed for Church for next summer, and Mankad has signed for Haslingden. They are to receive about Rs. 750 a match for their services. It also seems likely that Phadkar will sign for Nelson. Is the Board of Control prepared to compensate these players if they join India's touring team? And what about their contracts anyway? One thing can be said, however, following the Commonwealth tours, and the coming M. C. C. tour; There can be no doubt the qualities of India's cricketers are well-known in Britain and there are high hopes of a grand season's cricket next summer. I should say, also, that I think India is rather more downcast than need be over the M.C.C.'s team for this winter. True, Hutton is not playing, but he deserves a rest. I have seen regrets that Washbrook is not in the side. He was not in the side that played against South Africa this season, nor did he want to go to Australia last winter. Ikin would have been there but for his illness. You have a young side coming out there, one which will, in my judgment, give great pleasure, and one which contains players whom you will be glad to have seen when they become the stars of British cricket in the coming years.

POLITICS HAS BECOME MARKETING

Now, Nehru is almost the sole force of contact with the people. It is easy to prove intellectual or administrative ability in a complex democratic process and enjoy the prizes of public life without the sweat and dust of it, while Nehru has to bear the burden of obloquy for others' failures. It is the measure of the present Congress that the Working Committee and even the panoplied ministers cannot and do not attract the masses. Politics have ceased to be of the people and become marketing. It is not that Nehru should be deified because of some magic he might possess. He is a powerful medium of mass contact, through which mass aspirations and feelings can be inducted into the Congress, so that it may organizationally and ideologically grow and not sleep under the soporific effect of a philosophy as dull as dust to the people. It is for a growing, vital organisation that Nehru is struggling, an organisation which will abide by certain values not only with him but after him. Others are seeking to save their souls and skins through formulas and fetters for the present and for an expanding, erratic future after Nehru.—*The National Herald*.

NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

PANDIT NEHRU was asked at his Press Conference why the Congress Party was a Party of old men; why no young man ever joined the Congress Party. He told Kailash, the questioner: "Your questions always lead me into interesting bylanes of thought." Panditji said that it was a curious phenomenon that young men—not only in India, but all over the world—between the two World Wars and afterwards as well, took no interest in politics. I don't think the Prime Minister is correct, because a large number of young people are all the time joining the Communist Party. The President of the British Trade Union Congress said in his Presidential address (on Monday) that he was alarmed that the Communist Party strongly attracted the youth of England. The truth is that young people no longer have faith in the wisdom of the old. Instead of packing his Cabinet with able and energetic young men in their thirties, Pandit Nehru has overloaded it with old, gnarled men, with flatterers and sycophants, most of whom have not the faintest notion as to what the problems of the country are.

The Prime Minister displayed the old spark of divine fire because his office was in danger. It is only a spark, and it may set nothing ablaze. Can the Jawahar dynamo do anything more than generate an occasional spark? As soon as Nehru's fight with Tandon is over, indications are that Nehru will cool down. At the prospect of a (Ministerial) life-and-death struggle, the Prime Minister's ideas seemed to be clearer than usual. He was smiling instead of frowning as usual. He displayed calmness instead of the usual impatience.

The Prime Minister spoke confidently of his power to rouse the masses. I asked him whether he did

not know that he would be able to "rouse the masses" much more effectively if he left the Congress Party. He asked me what was meant by rousing the masses. (I was merely quoting his phrase, word for word.) If it meant rousing them for a riot, he said, it was a different matter. An individual, he felt, had to function through an organisation. He could therefore function only through the Congress Party. Members of the B.B.C. Brains Trust always had an opportunity for expressing their "second thoughts." Let us hope Pandit Nehru will have his second thoughts. Unless he secures the dissolution of the Congress, Pandit Nehru will not fail to succumb to the vested interests that control the Congress. The Mahatma referred to such interests in Madras as "the clique" that controls the Tamil Nad Congress.

The B.O.A.C.'s Brains Trust must be having second thoughts now. The absolute disorganization that prevailed at Palam Air Port when the jet-propelled "Comet" paid us a visit is obviously the exception which proves that the B.O.A.C. is one of the best organized airlines in the world. It was most unfortunate that we got the impression that the British had once again taken over our country. Sir Archibald and Lady Nye were the first to get into the aircraft, and nobody grudges that. Mr. A. V. Pai, Secretary of our Communications Ministry, was following them, but was stopped by one of the burra-sahebs of the B.O.A.C. I told the burra-saheb that Mr. Pai was the Communications Secretary, and that he at least should be invited to inspect the aircraft from inside. He replied that those who stopped Mr. Pai obviously knew who he was. A few minutes later, Mr. Pai

was in. (Pai, incidentally, is the gentlest officer in the Indian Civil Service).

The best laid plans of mice and men do oft miscarry. We should not be prejudiced against the B.O.A.C. because of the mess they made. Hundreds of people came to watch the "Comet" land; but ninety-nines of them could not get even a sandwich at the Restaurant—and it was lunch time too! The landing of the jet was a wonder. We have seen jets before, when we displayed our military might on Independence Day: but we have not seen them land—except, of course, in the news-reels. The most astonishing thing about the jet-plane is the absence of the propeller in front of the nose of the plane. Its presence somehow seems to explain to us the principle which makes an air-plane fly. Sir Ben Lockespie, Aviation Adviser to the British Ministry of Supply, spoke fascinatingly to us more than once about the principle of the jet-aircraft and "super-sonic speeds" when he visited India a few years ago. We thought we understood what he was saying, until the late Sir Gurnath Bewoor, who was then Secretary of the Posts and Air Department, asked Sir Ben: "Is it possible to fly faster than sound?" This question came at the end of Sir Ben's lecture on "Super-Sonic Speeds."

Ambassador Gjergja of Yugoslavia subjected himself to cross-examination by the resilient minds of the members of the United Nations Students' Association of the Delhi University the other evening. Ambassador Gjergja hardly knew any English when he arrived in India two years ago. Now he speaks English as fluently as any one of us. If his replies were not as full as the students expected, he said, that was not on account of any political or diplomatic reasons. The reasons were purely linguistic. But the students pointed out that his English was simply excellent.

Ambassador Gjergja was convincing in his replies to the students, some of whom implied that Yugoslavia was joining the Western Bloc. "We do not believe in this Bloc or that Bloc. Whoever attack us, we will fight. We fought like that against Hitler. We lost one man in every nine during

our war against the Nazi-Fascists." The Ambassador was asked a large number of questions on the position of women in Yugoslavia by Miss Savithri Varma and other girl-students of the University. The students were pleasantly surprised when they were told that there were nearly half a dozen women as Ministers in their Cabinet. There is perfect equality between men and women in Yugoslavia, said the Ambassador. Any inequalities that existed, according to him, were only in the heads of some old people, but they had no basis in fact.

The Pakhtoons are one of the most courageous and freedom-loving peoples of the world. In New Delhi and in Moscow, Ambassador Najibullah Khan and Ambassador Sultan Ahmed Khan have pledged the support of Afghanistan to the struggle of eight million Pakhtoons for independence. Pakistan appears as the villain of the piece. Maulana Mohammad Akbar Khan, President of the All-India Pakhtoon Jirga, pointed out that Badshah Khan and Dr. Khan Saheb, who were the real representatives of the Pakhtoon people, were shut up in jail by the tyranny of the oligarchic rulers of Pakistan. This seems to imply that all the supporters of the Pakhtoon movement are democrats and socialists. This, however, is not true. Those who support freedom-movements support them for their own reasons. India's own freedom movement was supported by vested interests so that their profit-making powers may be increased. They have today got complete grip of the Congress Organisation.

Badshah Khan was in some ways the most impressive personality in the Congress. When he spoke, you had a feeling that you were listening to Jesus Christ. He spoke direct to your heart. The leaders of the Congress Party had good reason to support Badshah Khan and to insist on a fair deal to the Khan Brothers before Pakistan was created. But they were only interested in jumping on to the seats of power. Now they appear in the role of the Old Man of the Sea, sitting on the shoulders of Sindbad

the Sailor, and tightening the stranglehold round Sindbad's neck. It was clearly the duty of Nehru and Patel to have suggested that the people of the Frontier Province should be free to decide on one of three alternative courses: 1. to join Pakistan; 2. to join India; and 3. to be a free State. We remember to have put such a question to Pandit Mountbatten as well as to Lord Nehru; but both of them evaded the question separately. Mountbatten indicated that the Congress Party leaders had not made such a suggestion, while Nehru thought that might lead to difficulties. That is to say, he preferred that the Frontier Province should go to Pakistan rather than that it should remain as an independent State. All Governments somehow hate the idea of anybody being free.

The All-India Pakhtoon Jirga passed a resolution blaming the Frontier Government for their policy of vindictiveness against the Khan Brothers. They also condemned the Nehru Government for their failure to protest to the Pakistan Government. The Congress Party leaders always created trouble for India and her friends by their sheer foolishness. In Hyderabad they had, by letting the Razakar menace grow, subjected the people to untold sufferings. In Kashmir, by their failure to drive out the raider and the Pakistan invader when the numbers were few, our rulers have landed the country in an economic mess. The Frontier Province today would have been an independent State, if only our Congress rulers were firm and determined. But the mess

of pottage (power) would have come two minutes late in that case!

The liberal outlook of the British does not always continue to be liberal when it leaves the British Isles. Six of the accused, including Musa Husseini, are to die for the murder of King Abdullah of Jordan. Dr. Grijia Mookerjee, author of that remarkable account of *This Europe* during the Second World War, mentions Husseini and his uncle, the Grand Mufti, in his book. Husseini is a man of refinement, and is not the type that involves itself in crude things like murder. But the British had long ago decided, according to Middle Eastern observers in New Delhi, that one of the members of the Grand Mufti's family should be deprived of his life as a punishment for the anti-British traditions of the family. Husseini was on the friendliest terms with Subhas Chandra Bose and members of the Indian National Army. A Middle Eastern observer told me that there was hardly a man in the whole of the Arab world who shed a tear at the assassination of King Abdullah. Newspapers in India carried fantastically long accounts of Abdullah because he was a puppet of the British, and because *Reuter* is our mentor of foreign news. Husseini gave an interview to the *Hindustan Times* over ten years ago in which he advocated a Cairo-Calcutta axis against the British. The prestige of the British is not likely to go up in Asia as a result of such frame-ups. Let us hope that the British Government will be granted the wisdom in good time, and that the innocent will not be murdered.

NO TAKING CHANCES

This is not a time for taking chances. Every dollar to back up Europe now means that security will be acquired just that much quicker. America cannot afford to clip the edges off what is required. It is our job to supply the substance for the military and industrial material that Europe needs to hold the front line against Russia. Our voice, in this matter of dollars, should be loud and uncompromising. The Congress, speaking for the American people, must let the world know in the most emphatic terms that we mean business. Aid in every form must be provided in swift and uninhibited volume. The need is for this country to supply all its concentrated might at once, and win the decision for the West now. To hem and haw over a billion dollars may be fatal. If there is any real reserve of leadership left in the White House or in Congress, let it take aggressive command at once.—*New York Herald Tribune.*

SIDELIGHTS :

IT was announced in the newspapers on September 1, that a "plea to sanction immediately the execution of the Krishna-Pennar Project, a major irrigation scheme in South India, has been made by 13 Madras legislators and ten Members of Parliament from Madras in a joint memorandum to the Planning Commission." Sri Ramnath Goenka tops the list of signatories to the memorandum, and next after him comes Sri O. V. Alagesan. There is no Andhra name in the published section of the list, though it was stated in the memorandum that 83 per cent of the benefit of the project would go to the Telugu country, leaving only 12 per cent for the Tamil districts.

Andhra Prabha is a Telugu daily newspaper owned and run by Sri Goenka. The issue of *Andhra Prabha* dated September 2 carried a vigorous editorial condemning the supporters of the Krishna Pennar Project. Here is a translation of the concluding part of the editorial:

"The principle that the needs of the people inhabiting our river valleys should be placed on a par with those of others, is intolerable. There should be no delay in resisting such a principle as this. Perhaps the authors of the memorandum feel that if a separate Andhra State were to be formed, their plea for common enjoyment of the waters of the rivers would become futile. That is why they urge that the Krishna Pennar Project should be implemented immediately. Therefore, beware! (*Thasmath, jagratha, jagratha.*)"

Sri Goenka speaks with two tongues; as a politician with an axe to grind under obligations to the Ministers of the Madras Government (vide Bosetto episode) including Sri Bhaktavatsalam, the present protagonist of the Krishna Pennar Project, he supports the project; as a newspaper magnate with an eye on circulation, he allows the project to be condemned. Which of these two attitudes is the honest one? When contradictory views are simultaneously countenanced in the same quarter, trustworthiness fades out. It will not matter whether a man supports a pro-

ject, or opposes it, as neither will have its source in the pure untainted spring of disinterested conviction. Sri Goenka's advocacy of the Krishna Pennar Project is nullified by his newspaper's denunciation of it. Newspapers too will not count as organs of opinion when their owners use them as pawns in commerce or in politics. In Sri Goenka's chain of newspapers, at one end one paper has given full support to the Congress, while another at a different centre got pledged to an anti-Congress campaign. The result is that nobody takes seriously any view on any subject voiced by any member of the Goenka chain of newspapers, or any utterance of the owner of the chain. Sri Goenka's support of the Krishna Pennar Project means, in the circumstances, nothing. As for Sri Alagesan, he is a close relative of Sri Bhaktavatsalam and a considerable beneficiary of the Madras Government, whose bus transactions came in for prodigious exposure at the time of the Assembly debate on Sri Prakasam's charges.

The late Sri S. Srinivasa Aiyangar used to dream of linking the Ganges with the Cauveri. He thought of the country's rivers as an endowment of nature for the benefit of the whole population. Such magnanimous speculations are entirely different from the speculations of narrow-minded profiteers in office whose visions of State enterprise are bounded by preferential zest for their own paternal acres. One is in the eighth heaven of joy spending some lakhs for a cement road to his village. Another like a modern Bhagiratha wishes to carry a river itself on his head to pour its fertilising waters first on the region where he and his relatives possess land. To a third, family enrichment is indistinguishable from national industrial regeneration. In this corrupt set-up of the Congress regime, signatures do not count. If there be only one who can place the public interest foremost, he is worth more than all commandeered signatures.—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.

The Mayuram Incident

It was with no small dismay that I read the article by Sri T. V. Ramachandran in *SWATANTRA* of the 25th August 1951 about the manner in which Sri N. S. Krishnamurthi Aiyar, the reputed headmaster of the Mayuram Municipal High School, had to quit his assignment. The Mayuram school has been known for its high record of achievement and the high standard of instruction reflected in its near-one hundred per cent S.S.L.C. results. Parents from Madras are known to have sent their boys to Mayuram for this reason. The credit for this, in overwhelming measure, belongs to Sri N. S. K. Aiyar. I can personally vouch for this gentleman's high sense of loyalty to the school and the pride he took in building for the school the great halo that surrounds it. I waited for a fortnight after publication of Sri Ramachandran's article for a contradiction from official or unofficial sources—for, the story looked too sadistic to be true. But none has been forthcoming. That a Municipal Commissioner should have brandished his big stick—all for the purpose of playing the arch-saboteur of a municipal institution is somewhat difficult to swallow even when we are being treated to a copious daily fare of indiscretions of an infant democracy. Why should the student public—whom the politician and the patriot are fond of flattering by calling them the architects of future India and who rarely get efficient headmasters of the type of Sri N. S. K. Aiyar—be held to ransom by the caprices and the manoeuvres of a Municipal Commissioner of the type, that has by this single act of breath-taking malice, forfeited his right to hold public office?

Sri Krishnamurti Aiyar is reported to have transferred the scene of his fruitful labours to another district on better remuneration. There is therefore no need to make a special pleading for a personal cause. The loss is that of Mayuram. The Commissioner may well contemplate this with equanimity, as he may have no roots in Mayuram and may be transferred by the L. S. G. Department to another town. But the Ministry of Education owes to the public of South India and to the public of Mayuram in particular an elementary duty—of not allowing educational institutions to be brought into contempt by their becoming the playthings of petty bureaucrats responsible to another Ministry. Will the Education Minister take the matter up at once and see that repara-

tion is done to the student public of Mayuram?

S. NARAYANASWAMY.

Managing Agency System

Industry in India earnestly yearns for fairness, equity and justice.

But owing to some black sheep existing among the Managing Agents, as everywhere, the whole system that has been responsible for the growth of industry in India is being condemned by the public and indirectly penalised by the State by drastic legislation, such as the one now before the Parliament.

It is unhappy that many companies are not worked for the benefit of shareholders. It is also a pity that the remuneration taken by the Managing Agents in many cases far exceeds the total dividend declared to the shareholders and in a few cases it over-balances the total salaries and wages paid to the staff and labour. It is also regrettable that sometimes the large remuneration appropriated (or misappropriated) by Managing Agents adds to the heavy loss of the company. Again it is sad to see that companies are floated by laymen who contribute neither character nor capital nor technique entitling them to manage the company and in such hands industry suffers not a little. All this is worthy of lament.

Therefore, a suitable legislation to protect the investors from such abuses is very necessary.

So a simple legislation—that the shareholders should get a minimum dividend of 6 per cent on the subscribed capital before the Managing Agents become entitled to any remuneration, that their remuneration should not exceed the total dividend declared, that they should have a holding of at least 25 per cent of the subscribed capital to ensure their interest in the company, that they should not continue in office if the company fails to declare a dividend of less than 3 per cent for a consecutive period of 3 years and the like—will protect the interest of the shareholders to a large extent.

KARUMUTTU THIAGARAJAN.

Madura.

Prohibition

Total Prohibition will not find a place in the Congress Election Manifesto. A move to include it was stoutly opposed and was defeated by a two to one majority. Such a veteran Prohibitionist as Sri Rajagopalachari managed to keep silent

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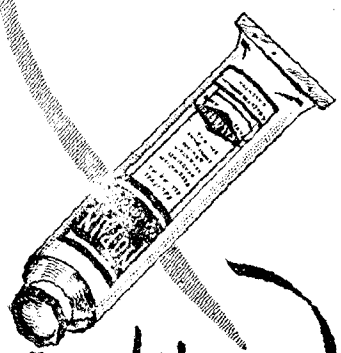
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THE ETERNALS

DEEP in a forest glade
Sheltered from wind and heat,
A sylvan shrine I made
Where God and I could meet,
He hear, I pray.
He heard. He struck a match.
It lit my wooded patch.
My shrine of bole and thatch
In ashes lay.

I built a shrine of stone,
Immovable, austere,
Where I could pray alone,
And none but God should hear.
He heard. He frowned.
Earthquake and thunder spare
No thought for builder's care.
My strong-set place of prayer
Littered the ground.

I made another shrine
Of carven sandalwood.
By pictured forms divine
Long lighted candles stood
For God to see.
He saw. He breathed. He blew—
And storm's loud-laughing crew
Into perdition threw
Prayer's artistry.

Then I, persistent I,
In my own secret mind
Stood up where God stood by
Seeing Himself enshrined
Past mortal sense.
Destruction I defied—
God smiling there inside.
My lifted head denied
Omnipotence.

If, in long time's intent,
Into oblivion lurch
Worship's impediment
(Temple and mosque and church),
One thing is sure:
Maugre the shortening breath,
Maugre the threat of death,
The God within me saith:
We, God and I, endure.

SWATANTRA

VOL. VI
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1951

ISSUED
WEEKLY

AFTER THE STORM

PANDIT NEHRU has lost valuable time by not announcing the personnel of the Working Committee yet. He has emphasised the importance of setting up men of ability and integrity as Congress candidates in the elections. So far as Madras State is concerned, the machinery has already been set up for selecting the Congress candidates, but it cannot be said that it is in the hands of men of integrity and ability. Our information is that some men of no integrity whatsoever have begun to enter into deals with aspirants for legislative seats, converting politics into a sort of commerce. If the Prime Minister means to be firm in his objective of purifying the Congress organisation, the existing machinery of selection, which is corrupt to the core, must be relieved of the responsibility of selecting our future legislators. The State Ministry itself must be brought under critical examination. Lately the Ministers have become progressively disinterested in their administrative work. They have taken to excessive touring bent mainly on electioneering propaganda. Time and energy which they are expected to spend in their offices and which belongs to the Government, they have diverted to their party, committing misappropriation of a gross kind that would entail dismissal to the meanest of their subordinates. The Ministers are paid at public expense but they do little public work. They tour at public expense on party electioneering campaigns. They collect funds for

their party with the aid of district officials. At this rate they will be presently employing the vast army of Government servants to canvass votes for their party. The distinction between party and Government has been practically abolished to the fullest extent to which the Ministers could do so, and yet Sri Gopala Reddi goes on talking nonsense about "fair elections." There is no fairness in the manner in which the Congress election campaign is being carried on except in the imagination of the State Ministers who, puffed up with the arrogance of a brief authority, have become chronically addicted to patting themselves on the back. Most of these Ministers have become a liability to the Congress, and if Pandit Nehru is to develop the asset side of the organisation, the discredited Ministers should be put out of the power of doing further mischief.

Pandit Nehru has also been deploring the hypocrisy of Congress leaders in voting for resolutions which they violated in practice. The grossest violation of Congress principles has been committed by Ministers who perverted State power for personal benefit of various kinds, and then proceeded to rear ramparts of communalism to confuse and debase the public mind and escape the consequences of their misdeeds. Our Delhi Diarist refers this week to the unique rectitude of Sri Tandon who would not allow his son to be selected for a coveted post at the expense of a less influentially placed competitor of greater compe-

tence. How many of our Congress Ministers can show a comparable record? Congress ministerial rule is replete with administrative injustices of the gravest kind that have brought disgrace on the good name of the Congress, and there is a very clear case for a Gorwala enquiry into the corruption of the Ministers. The public have to be saved from corrupt Ministers more than from any other evil, and if Pandit Nehru's effort for Congress renovation is to bear fruit, the Ministries should be filtered so as to exclude from further responsibility the unworthy. In Madras State, the Chief Minister, the Harijan Minister and one or two others have clean records. The rest are besmirched with scandals that have lost them the public respect. These should be excluded, however expert they might be in their use of the pawns of the political game.

Pandit Nehru will rouse against himself very powerful elements in the Congress organisation which have been battenning on nepotism, communalism and the like, and which will be threatened with extinction if his heroic endeavour for purity in government makes headway. Organisationally he will be at the mercy of just those whom he will have to supplant if the Congress is to be saved for national service. On whom will he depend, with so many high-minded critics of the Congress, already out of

it in sheer disgust? The Prime Minister will have either to lapse into futility after the storm he has raised, or he will have to strive for effectiveness with a new party pledged to specific principles, working on a clean state.

Two Voices

SRI C. V. Rajagopalachari's letter, printed in this issue of *Swatantra*, divulges a characteristic illustration of the double-dealing which has now become such a disgusting feature of Congress rule. Sri Bhaktavatsalam tells the Assembly that there were rules framed to guide the disposal of applications from the public for use of Rajaji Hall. The Additional Deputy Secretary to the Government, Public Works Department, swears in an affidavit before the High Court that no rules had been framed to regulate the use of the Hall. In between the two statements, it is evident there is perjury somewhere. What faith can the people place in their present rulers, when in such a simple matter as this, they cannot desist from speaking with two voices? The two voices are there because the Minister concerned has divided humanity into two classes, supporters and critics, and the supporters are to get all the favour and the critics all the kicks. Rules appear and disappear according as there is a favour to be conferred, or a rebuff to be administered.

SPORT AND PASTIME ANNUAL

One of the choicest delights of sportlovers is the possession of volumes containing the portraits of their favourites. This rapt gazing at pictures is a form of hero-worship indulged in by everyone, irrespective of age. To such patrons of the sports, the "Sport & Pastime" Annual comes as a boon. It is a 70 page number and almost every page is adorned by photographs of cricketers, soccer-stars, table-tennis players, and wielders of the cue, among many others. A full-page portrait in colour of Hazare is on the first page and is fit to be framed. There are not many articles, but Fingleton's advice to Indian cricketers and Gurunathan's survey of the year's sport make good reading. Portraits of popular stars make the Annual complete and a sure-purchase for fans too. The Annual is well printed and is priced at only one rupee.

Sotto Voce

CROWN OF THORNS

MR. TANDON has been shown his place, as Subhas Bose was long ago. But Gandhiji, for all that he protested that he was not even a four-anna member, could be as purposive as he was ruthless to those who would not lie on the bed he made for them. Mr. Nehru, on the other hand, grew under the shadow of the Mahatma as the rebel who was never happier than when playing the returned prodigal. It was by a series of graceful submissions that he was confirmed in the reversion to the national leadership. The boldest of ideological critics was also the perfect *chela*.

His admirers have argued that the Prime Minister has none of the stuff that dictators are made of. They are right in this sense, that if he had a dictator's power he would not know what to do with it. But that is just the opportunity which potential Mayors of the Palace lie in wait for. Mr. Kidwai has not been slow to express satisfaction at Mr. Tandon's downfall; nor has he shown any false modesty in proclaiming his terms for coming back. All Mr. Nehru has to do is to throw out the "reactionaries" in the State Congress bodies,—all that is, who figure in the black books of the Lucknow boss—and at the same time effect a purge of the various Governments—of course, in a non-violent way.

Mr. Kripalani too has spoken, but only to declare that he is not interested in a divorce in his neighbour's house. His lack of enthusiasm is

easily explained: he is not built to be Mayor of the Palace to anybody. Nor is Mr. Nehru exempt from the weakness of most popular leaders in whom Narcissism takes the form of intolerance of other stiff-backed men. I suspect that even Mr. Tandon galled not so much because he was the stereotype of all that the Prime Minister's Progressivism told him he must hate, but because he was not sufficiently respectful to the nation's idol. And Mr. Kripalani is a far worse sinner in his lack of reverence.

Mr. Nehru has declared that his acceptance of the Congress Presidentship is a stop-gap arrangement and that the Congress will meet shortly to elect a new President. It is not unlikely that there will be found some optimist who would not be deterred by Mr. Tandon's fate from accepting that crown of thorns. In any case the Congress in plenary session is not likely to give more trouble than the Congress in Committee and it is always useful to retain the forms of democracy. On election eve, particularly, a Congress jambooree would be good fire-works; it would provide a colourable imitation of that "revolutionary fervour" which rouses in Mr. Nehru the wistful longing that other men have for a Golden Past that never was.

When Liaquat Ali Khan accepted the Presidentship of the Muslim League many a Congressite nose turned up in disdain. He was accused, not of giving to party what was meant for mankind, but of having exposed his own



pretensions to national leadership by identifying himself with Muslim communalism. Those same noses would not, you may be sure, admit that they have been put out of joint by Mr. Nehru's *putsch*. Their owners will say, "Oh, but this is a very different thing, you know. The Congress is the nation and it is vowed to fight communalism tooth and nail. Who could more appropriately represent it than the nation's idol?"

There is a slight flaw in the argument. The Congress never *was* the nation; and it was never less the nation than it is to-day. This should be apparent from the desperate way they cling to one man. Not that they really believe in their heart of hearts that he speaks with plenary authority for the people of this country. No doubt most knock-kneed Congressmen feel that he and he alone could bring off the electoral miracle. But the party bosses in their own minds size up his value somewhat

differently. They feel they must humour him because then they might safely count upon a free supply of Papal indulgences.

Fighting elections calls for cunning. You may pretend that there are no parties in the country but the Congress; but the Election Commissioner has allotted symbols to a round dozen of them. So with specious impartiality you deny all of them, including the Congress, access to the radio; but twenty times a day A. I. R. may conscientiously tell the world that Jawaharlal Nehru—who is news—said that Congress was unique, irreplaceable and irresistible. Likewise election meetings must not violate the ubiquitous Sec. 144 C.P.C.; but Jawaharlal Nehru can summon monster rallies of the faithful and shed upon them the halo of his immunity. So, if the wilful baby cries for the Hindu Code, give him the bauble and keep him quiet.

VIGNESWARA

S. I. J. F. MEMORANDUM ON PRESS BILL

The following Memorandum on the Press Bill was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern India Journalists' Federation at its meeting held on 8th September 1951.

I. The need for a separate (Incitement to Crime) Bill for the Press is not established:

India generally follows the British system of jurisprudence which assumes that the Press has neither more nor less rights or liabilities than the individual. It should, therefore, be governed by the same civil and criminal law as the rest of the community.

Practice of other countries: This is well understood in Britain and the other countries of the Commonwealth. In Australia all legislation affecting the Press is "incidental to the exercise of more general power." In Canada freedom of information exists "within the limits set by the civil and criminal laws" of the country. In the United Kingdom the legal position has to be ascertained from common law, statutes and case-law; but the principle is that a newspaper like an individual may publish anything it please and take the consequences.

In the U. S. A., which has a written Constitution, freedom of speech and the Press is explicitly declared; but four general categories of restrictions have been held to be not unconstitutional. They deal respectively with libel, slander, obscenity and the protection of the State against "internal disorder" and "external aggression"; in other words, with such crimes as are comprehended in the general Civil and Criminal law.

There are one or two countries which have special Press Laws. The most notable of these are France and Sweden. In France freedom of the Press is embodied in the Declaration of Rights and given body and shape in the Act of 29th July 1881 on the subject. This Act, it is claimed, eliminates "all preventive measures and all administrative control as regards expression of ideas per se or communication of facts" and reduces "to a minimum the formalities before publication." It also strictly defines Press responsibility "by means of an exhaustive list and a rigid definition of Press offences." The French Press Law at the same time purports to provide against encroachment on Press freedom by "those who, possessing economic power, may seek to monopolise all media of information for the protection of private interests." It has adopted, besides, a number of "temporary

provisions" for dealing drastically with those who 'collaborated' with the Nazis in the last war.

In Sweden the Press is governed by Art. 86 of the Constitution and the Press Act of 1812 which is "one of the fundamental laws of Sweden." The latter Act is, besides, "exclusive and overrules any legislative enactments and regulations that conflict with its provisions." And it lays down qualifications for Editors and lays exclusive responsibility on them.

From this brief survey it will be seen that there are two broad trends. Either a country has special Laws which have exclusive jurisdiction over the Press and which aim not merely to restrict anti-social activities but also to promote positive social ends by regulating the performance of the Press; or, as in the case of the predominant number of democratic countries, there is Press freedom to the same extent that there is freedom of speech and expression for the individual, either implied or explicitly declared, subject only to the same restrictions and prohibitions as are applicable to the individual. The attempt, made in the present Bill, to erect a special law for the Press and also to declare (see Cl. 32) that the operation of other laws is not barred, is unique and unsustainable.

From the survey of the history of press legislation in India in Chapter II of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee Report it will be clear that the adoption of these special laws was inspired by the anxiety of an alien power to buttress the authority of an army of occupation. Their rigours were mitigated from time to time by the accident that Englishmen brought up in the tradition of liberal democracy happened to be in power. But such manifestations of the national will to freedom as the Rebellion of 1857, the Bengal terrorists' activities of the first decade of this century and the beginnings of Gandhian non-co-operation in the 'twenties were immediately followed by a tightening up of these special laws. The power to demand security from any newspaper was taken under the Press Act of 1910. But this and the Newspaper (Incitements to Offence) Act of 1908 were repealed by an Act of 1922 on the recommendation of a Committee of the Legislature which pointed out that these were emergency measures, that incitement to murder and violent crimes was rarely found in the



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ZAM-BUK—WORLD'S GREATEST SKIN OINTMENT

Indian Press, but this was not due to the operation of these laws and in any case such incitements could be dealt with under the ordinary law. That, almost thirty years later, a popular Government in independent India should consider that the revival of the powers thus extinguished is necessary, is a piece of grim irony.

The present Bill in fact goes much farther than the Acts of 1908 and 1910. It reproduces most of the odious provisions of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931 as amended by the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932. The first Act provided for forfeiture of security or of the press only for two reasons: (1) incitement to murder or any cognisable offence involving violence; and (2) expression of admiration of any such offence or offender. It was the second Act that added seven other categories of offence. A comparison of the legislation of 1931-2 with the present Bill is instituted in a later paragraph in respect of these various categories. Here it is sufficient to point out that the provision for demand and forfeiture of security for these offences was looked upon, at the time these Acts were passed and long after, as emergency powers necessitated by what the British rulers thought was nothing less than endemic rebellion of a people held down by force. They were originally intended to be in force for only one year and then were extended from year to year. It was the Criminal Law Amendment of 1935 that made them a part of the permanent law of the country and proclaimed the intention that they were to be utilised "for the better control of the press." The present Bill, though it does not proclaim that intention overtly, aims at something more than preventing incitement to crimes of violence. Though, in passing orders on the Press Laws Enquiry Committee Report, the Government took the stand that there was no "particular advantage to be gained by repealing the 1931 Act and spreading out its provisions in other Acts," that is more or less what they now propose to do. But, contrary to the decided recommendation of the Press Laws Enquiry Committee, they propose to keep alive the reactionary and anachronistic provisions empowering the Government to demand and forfeit security and to incorporate them in the ordinary law of the land.

Recommendation: The S.I.J.F. is strongly of the view that the Act of 1931 and all other existing special press legislation should be abolished and only such amendment of the ordinary criminal law should be made as is found absolutely necessary to fill up lacunae in it with a view to providing for punishment of incitement to cognisable offences involving violence.

II. The Bill's insistence on prior registration and formal declaration is vexatious and unnecessary:

It is proposed to retain, by Clause 2, the requirement of a formal declaration under the Press Registration Act for both presses and for newspapers. This is a requirement that has been dispensed with in many enlightened countries.

Writing in 1835 Macaulay pointed out how odious the idea of a licensed press was; the question before us, he said, "is not whether the Press shall be free but whether being free it shall be called free." Now that the Government have acknowledged the impropriety and injustice of demanding a security even before a paper has committed any offence, there is no meaning in insisting on prior registration and formal declaration. Failure to comply with this formal requirement would make the press "undeclared" or the publication "unauthorised" within the render it liable to a drastic penalty which may include forfeiture of the press (Cl. 14).

In its memorandum to the Press Laws Enquiry Committee the A.I.N.E.C. made four suggestions with regard to the rules for publication of newspapers, three of which the Government have since accepted, while turning down the fourth on the ground that it was not supported by the P.L.E. Committee. Actually the Committee did not support any of these recommendations which it rightly regarded as tending to "regimentation in regard to declarations or names of newspapers." The A.I.N.E.C. suggestions were (1) that a declaration which is not followed by the publication of a newspaper within three months should become void; (2) that in case of newspapers which cease publication for a period of twelve months or more the declaration should become void; (3) that provision should be made for the compulsory cancellation of the old declaration before a new declaration is accepted; and (4) that power should be given to a Magistrate to refuse acceptance of a declaration of a newspaper if it bears the name of an existing paper anywhere in India or at least in the same language. The first three suggestions are not calculated to subserve any public purpose. They illustrate, on the other hand, the undesirable ways in which registration may be used to bolster up vested interests. The A.I.N.E.C.'s proposals are calculated to reinforce the tendency on the part of existing newspapers to put difficulties in the way of new papers being started. If registration is to be continued there might be some justification for accepting the fourth suggestion, which the Government turned down, as established newspapers have a just claim to be protected against attempts to exploit

their names by new-comers. The need for devising appropriate procedure should offer no difficulty, as the registering officer may call for objections by publication in the Gazette and proceed to register if none are forthcoming within a prescribed time.

Recommendation: The S.I.J.F. recommends that the present procedure of formal registration and declaration by owners of presses and newspapers should be scrapped and nothing more than a mere notice of the actual establishment of such should be required. In the Indian Post office Act and in the provisions of the Company Law there are ample means for obtaining as much information as is necessary for public purposes.

The S. I. J. F. considers that it is necessary in the interests of the reading public and of working journalists that by these existing means more complete information should be made available than is now forthcoming about the ownership, the paid up capital and reserves and the controlling authority of every organ of public opinion. There is precedent for this in the practice of quite a number of countries. Thus in U.S.A. newspapers and periodicals enjoying second class postal rates have to file a semi-annual statement with the local post-master giving names and addresses of Editor, Managing Editor, Publisher, Business Manager and owners as well as a list of persons holding more than one per cent of "stocks, bonds, mortgages or other securities." Some such requirement, incidentally, should dispose of the difficulty which some have sought to make much of, that is, that it will not be possible to take action under the ordinary criminal law so long as it is not possible to locate responsibility in a particular person.

The S.I.J.F. thinks that the publication of the annual balance sheet should be compulsory, be a paper a proprietary concern or a joint stock company.

III. The Bill does not abolish preventive action but only postpones it by one stage:

Under Clauses 4 & 5, 7 & 8 of the Bill security may be demanded only after the commission of an offence established by judicial enquiry. This is an improvement on the existing position. But the odious incidents of a demand for security would still largely remain. The judicial enquiry is to decide (1) whether the matter complained of is 'objectionable' under Cl. 3 & (2) whether there are "sufficient grounds for demanding a security." Though it is provided under Cl. 19 that a jury of journalists and publicists should be empanelled if the accused press or paper so desires, the jury's verdict may be ignored and the case submitted to the High Court by the Sessions Judge. That

suggests that neither in regard to the alleged objectionable character of the matter complained of nor in regard to the existence of "sufficient grounds" would the opinion of the jury be decisive. The result may well be to vest in the Judge a large discretion without ensuring that its exercise would be regulated by such requirements, in respect of rules of evidence and rigorous proof, as are indispensable in regular criminal trials. It cannot be an accident that the legal procedure prescribed is described as an 'enquiry' and not as a 'trial'. The requirement in Cl. 3 that the Government which moves that a security should be demanded should also specify what the amount of security should be goes to support this presumption. The Judge may be unconsciously influenced into thinking that, if there are grounds for asking for security, those grounds might justify asking for the sum specified by the Government. No upper limit for the amount of security that may be demanded is prescribed; the Bill is to that extent worse than even the Press Emergency Act of 1931.

Every press and every newspaper would prefer to have offences clearly and closely defined and to have concrete penalties fitted with some degree of exactitude to the offence as the Penal Code does. The definition of 'objectionable' matter in Cl. 3 covers a great variety of offences. The Bill authorises the judicial machinery prescribed to demand a security, whatever the nature or gravity of the offence. The amount demanded may vary, not according to any prescribed schedule, but at the discretion of the Government and of the Sessions Judge. And the demand for security is in fact designed effectively to prevent publication of facts or expression of opinion.

The further provisions made in the Bill for the forfeiture of security, the demand for fresh securities, the imposition of heavy penalties including forfeiture of the press for failure to comply with the demand for security, the ban on the use of the offending press for any purpose so long as the offence continues—all these reinforce the impression that the aim is not so much to punish offences as to prevent freedom to publish facts and opinions. Thus the Bill in its crucial provisions keeps alive the essence of the Press Emergency Act of 1931, while discarding some of the ancillary powers taken thereunder. In Britain such attempts to muzzle the press fell into desuetude as long ago as 1835. No country with any pretensions to democracy has press laws with provisions for demanding security.

Recommendation: If it is decided that there should be a special press law,

the Bill should be radically recast, omitting the provisions for demand of security and providing only penalties for proved offences.

IV. Definition of "Objectionable Matter" is so wide and vague as to reduce the freedom of speech and expression to a shadow and make honest criticism of maladministration and corruption as well as of Governmental policies practically impossible:

The definition in Cl. 3 (iv) is identical with those in Sections 4 (1) (c) and 4 (1) (d) of the Press Emergency Act of 1931. Cl. 3 (v) is the same as Sec. 4 (1) (g) of that Act, except that it makes no reference to inducing a public servant "to resign his office." Cl. 3 (vi) is identical with Sec. 4 (1) (h). Cl. 3 (vii) is identical with Sec. 4 (1) (e) except that it omits any reference to causing 'annoyance'.

Of the other sub-clauses, sub-clause 3 (i) is directed against incitement to "violence or sabotage for the purpose of overthrowing or undermining the Government established by law in India or in any State thereof or its authority in any area." Cl. 3 (ii) is directed against incitement to all other offences involving violence, including murder. These correspond to sub-clauses 4 (1) (a), (b) and (d) of the Press Emergency Powers Act. The principal differences are these: (1) While the Act of 1931 has a separate sub-clause 4 (1) (b) directed against expression, direct and indirect, of approval or admiration of acts of violence, the new Bill evidently takes the view that 'incitement' or 'encouragement' and 'tendency' to do either of these things are terms wide enough to accommodate power to punish such expression of approval or admiration; (2) While the old Act speaks only of 'cognisable offences involving violence' the Bill goes one better by providing inclusively against incitement not merely to "any offence involving violence" but also to "sabotage." 'Sabotage' is not defined in the Bill, except that by implication it need not include the element of violence. It may be taken to mean anything which the Judge in his discretion might choose to regard as likely, directly or indirectly, to impede or weaken executive authority. (3) Incitement to murder or violence for political or subversive ends did not directly figure in the old press legislation but had to be looked for in the penal provisions of the ordinary law. The Bill erects such incitement into a separate press offence. But, while it does not explicitly reproduce the 'sedition' Section 4 (1) (d) of the Act of 1931, it creates a new offence—inciting resort to violence or sabotage for "undermining the Government... or its authority in any area." This is so all-comprehending and

so elusive that not only bringing the Government into hatred or contempt or exciting 'disaffection' against it but almost every criticism of the State or its servants might be plausibly made to show as coming within the mischief of this definition. At the same time, the power under Sec. 124 (A) of the I. P. C. would also be available to the State, as the Bill does not propose to exclude press writings from the scope of that section. Likewise the power available under Sec. 153 (A) I. P. C. will also be available to it in addition to that proposed to be taken under Cl. 3 (vi)—to deal with promoting enmity or hatred between different classes of persons.

Even more indefinite and wider in its scope and implications is Sub-Cl. 3 (iii) corresponding to Sec. 4 (1) (f) of the Act of 1931. Like that sub-section it is directed against incitement to "interference with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order." Further, while that Sub-section was directed against incitement to specific and serious offences widely prevalent at the time the Act of 1932 was passed—such as refusal to pay taxes, rates and rents—the present sub-clause would class as 'objectionable matter' all interference with "the administration of laws regulating the supply and distribution of food or other essential commodities or services." The more and more the public sector of industry grows and the more and more the controlling and regulating powers of the State over the nation's economy increase, the greater will become the scope of the offence that is sought to be created, of incitement to 'interference' with the administration of these laws. The Press will find it impossible to raise its voice against the maladministration and corruption that the exercise of controls even in their present partial form have so largely brought in their wake.

Sub Clause 3 (viii) has no parallel in the Press Emergency Act. It aims at putting down writings etc. which are "grossly indecent, or are scurrilous or obscene." The laws of most countries provide against indecency (including blasphemous libel) and obscenity. Sections 292-294 of the I. P. C. deal with offences against decency and morals, and Sections 295-298 with offences against religion. There seems no justification for reduplication of these provisions in the special press law.

As for 'scurrilous' writings, libel is the essence of their offence, though they seek to draw attention by libelling the highly placed. The Indian law of libel is based on the British law, but throws even more onerous responsibilities on the Press; vide statement of the legal position by the Government of India on pp. 230-231

of the U. N. publication on "Freedom of Information," Vol. I. In Britain it has been a long-standing complaint of the Press that the libel laws are so stringent that newspapers tend to play for safety instead of doing their duty of exposing grave abuses. The Porter Committee on libel laws has made proposals for liberalizing the law. In the circumstances it would be distinctly retrograde for India to try to reinforce the severe libel laws which are applicable to everybody, including the press, with special laws for the press alone which would constitute cognisable offences. There is intrinsically no justification for the Government taking the initiative for setting the law in motion because the persons libelled happen to be prominent men whether in or outside the Government. Scurrilous journalism can only be eradicated by raising the standard of the Press through internal action and the level of public taste by education.

Recommendation: The reference to "maintenance of law and order" and the administration of law governing essential supplies and services should be omitted from Sub. Cl. 3 (iii). Sub-Clauses 3 (vii) and 3 (viii) should be totally left out, as there are ample provisions in the ordinary criminal law for dealing with blackmail, obscenity, libel and indecency. The definitions in the other Sub-clauses, suitably modified, might be embodied in their appropriate places in the criminal law to the extent, and only to the extent, that lacunae in that law can be shown to exist.

V. The procedure for Judicial Enquiry and for revision by the High Court is defective:

The jury's decision on facts should be final. Whether this is the intention is not at all clear. The High Court is authorised, on appeal, to look only into the question whether the matter complained of is 'objectionable', not whether there are, in addition, sufficient grounds for demanding security. The High Court should have power to go into all the issues both when it sits in appeal and when it considers a case referred to it by

the Sessions Judge because he is not inclined to accept the jury's view.

Cl. 21 providing that reference may be made to any previous or subsequent issues of a newspaper as evidence to prove the nature or tendency of the matter complained of would amount to a dangerous straining of the Law of Evidence. The tendency of a particular article or passage must be judged, not from the tendency of something else that appeared in the same paper before or after, but from the impression it makes on the fair-minded and competent men who form the jury.

VI. The penalties provided for failure of a press to furnish security (Clause 6) are too drastic:

They involve a ban on the printing, not only of the offending newspaper or other publications, but of "any newspaper, news-sheet, book or other document." Infringement of this ban may, under the Bill, be punished with forfeiture of the press. This would be to impose a constructive responsibility on owners of presses, who may be worthy but not well-educated or informed men, which they are ill-equipped to bear. And immobilising the press indefinitely may result in starving an honest man if a sum of money which he is too poor to furnish is demanded of him as security. This practice of vicarious punishment is repugnant to the principles of natural equity and justice and at variance with the predominant practice in all civilised countries.

The powers of search for, seizure and forfeiture of objectionable literature, the power to interfere with the transmission through the Post and the Customs and other powers given to the Executive need to be more rigorously qualified. Cl. 11, which gives Customs officials power to detain books, newspapers etc., suspected to contain "objectionable matter", corresponds to Sec. 181 A of the Indian Sea Customs Act, 1878. But it omits the important safeguard contained in that Act which requires that notice of detention shall be given, where practicable, forthwith to the consignee.

RIGHT OF FREE EXPRESSION

Liberty is experimental, and experiment implies trial and error. Debate itself could not exist unless wrong opinions could be rightfully offered by those who suppose them to be right. For social purposes, the cutting edge of the right of free expression is its demand for what is called "toleration" on the part of those who see, or think they see, error in others. What is required is something more positive than toleration—respect for the process of self-correction as against any authoritatively imposed correctness.—Hutchins' Report on Freedom of The Press, Chicago University.

LILLIPUTIANS OF CRICKET

By P. N. S.

WE are never surprised at the success of tall men at sports because we feel that nature has endowed them with the necessary build for such activities. But when we see a little fellow, whom we are apt to ignore and laugh at contemptuously, flabbergast us by his unexcelled skill on the field, we gasp and look for an explanation. But we never arrive at one unless we feel satisfied with the famous Tamil saying: "You can trust a thief, but never the short man."

The most famous of this fraternity among those who visited and played at the Chepauk grounds was the Governor-General of cricket. Small but well-built, with an evening hat slightly aslant, Charles Macartney stepped into the field with the nonchalant air of the master; he scored only thirty and odd runs against Madras, but during the brief stay he revealed glimpses of the genius of his youthful days—when on a rain-affected wicket against England he illuminated the dull English atmosphere by a dazzling array of strokes to reach the hundred before the luncheon hour. One cover drive off Gopalan stands etched in the mind alike for its poise and brilliancy, while one could only vaguely follow the course of another lightning stroke that flashed past mid-off, past M. Baliah at the boundary and rapped the steps of the pavilion (or mounted it step by step!). After that brief hour of glory Macartney got run out, and even as the little great man traced back his steps, a neighbour in the gallery shouted derisively "Look at the fool and how he ran! Yet, he has the cheek to advice our boys about running between the wickets"—and Macartney had been covering the tour for a local daily.

And what a bowler he was! A few quick steps, a quick swing of the arm, the ball fell pat-a-pat at the spot after a seductive curve—now a little higher, now a little lower—for Ram Singh to lunge forward to be hopelessly beaten and stumped, and for Amarnath to try his famous cover-drive and to get caught by one of the

array of well-placed fieldsmen. Such glimpses of the Governor-General only kindled our everlasting regret that we were not fortunate to see him in his youth and at the height of his glory—a glory which dazzled Nottingham one English day for four hours during which he scored 354 runs, and, which moved Cardus to call him the D'Artagnan of cricket.

From that same country we were fortunate to see Lindsay Hassett, the Mickey Mouse of cricket. It is said that Hassett in his perambulations in many parts of the world has left behind not even one enemy. Well can one understand this! Even as the small figure of 5'6" casting little more shadow than his bat, with eyes blinking innocently, made his way to the wicket, the spectator was instinctively drawn to him. If we loved Hassett for his lovable personality we admired open-mouthed his incomparable skill at the crease as and when he scored the memorable century in the final test against the Australian Services XI. The fluency of his strokes as he cut, and as he clipped the ball after ball off his bootlaces towards the leg, the precision of his placing, and the unhurrying manner of his batsmanship, bespoke the masterful artist "who played O'Reilly better than anyone else." And he handled his men on the field without ostentation or the showmanship of Amarnath or the austere aloofness of Jardine; instead, there was a quiet dignity coupled with the rare capacity to be "one of the boys as he led them." It is a great tribute to the man and the player that even as we all cheered our side at our victory in the 'test' we did it with a tinge of sadness that Hassett's side should be defeated. There is no doubt that when he left the shores of India he left us feeling a little warmer towards Australia than before.

The third little man is also an Australian, by name George Tribe; we witnessed him perpetually wheeling his left arm at one end and producing leg-spinners, wrong 'uns and the 'chinaman' to baffle many a star batsman. We would not have seen Tribe

but for the fact—or his ill-luck—that he was one of the refugees of post-war Australian cricket, who, finding that the Test arena was chockful of brilliant youngsters, rendering his chances of representing his country very slender, moved over to England to play and to earn in the Lancashire League. Tribe was one of the best left-arm spinners we have been privileged to see; and indeed one of the best sights at Chepauk during the recent years was the small figure, loosely attired, with his unkempt brown hair waving in the breeze, tying into knots stalwart batsmen of the calibre of Hazare.

India too has had her share of this wonderful lot. The powerful figure of S. M. Hadi, Cambridge blue at tennis, was one of those who had reaped a harvest of runs on the lovely Chepauk turf. This short man never made a 'Christian stroke' in his life, but bowlers failed to find the blind spot for him, as he most unorthodoxly shuffled forwards and backwards at the crease. Hadi could really hit hard and his best stroke was the hook. Like his famous brother S. M. Hussain, Hadi could move quickly and was an excellent fieldsmen. He also represented his country in cricket when he accompanied the 1936 Indian team as Treasurer, and due to various reasons, played in the Third Test Match against England.

Our little players have been invariably fine fielders; and, it is in this way that we have cause to remember J. N. Bhaya and Hemu Adhikari. A swift pair of legs, the ability to pick the ball on the run and an accurate throw in enabled Bhaya to earn the reputation of a brilliant fieldsmen. He was a good batsman too, but of this Madras was fortunate to see only glimpses. Adhikari's skill at cover needs little delineation; he has earned warm praise from friend and foe as India's brilliant cover fieldsmen. Much as one could appreciate this trait of his, we were time and again non-plussed at the stern immobility of his batting, especially as we remember, that five or six years ago, Adhikari was one of the brilliant hitters of the game in India, from whose bat centuries and double centuries flowed constantly. No doubt most of the times he had to come in at a critical stage of his country's affairs

to stage a stubborn fightback and perhaps, as in the case of Lindsay Hassett, this role has benumbed his stroke-making powers. But the question has often arisen, whether he could not have shaken off the coils of the situation and used the bat like a rapier to cut his way to victory.

In those far-off days when the Presidency match between the Indians and Europeans was the event of the season, there was a Macartney-like figure also in evening hat by name Uggappa Shetty. He used to open the innings against Howlett and Penfold with a stance that showed the straightest blade to the bowler. Even the crowd writhed in agony as Howlett's express deliveries caught Uggappa's thighs and body repeatedly with a thud, but the short, stocky man moved aside only to rub the affected part and then resumed the innings. We rarely saw Uggappa make a stroke, but his solid defence and brave spirit enabled him time and again to run up a good score, give his side a lead and soften the way for stalwarts like M. Venkatramanajulu, N. N. Swarna

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and C. Ramaswami who came lower down.

This list of little men of the game can be lengthened as we pass by Mackinnon of the M.C.C. who measured as much breadthwise as lengthwise, but was amazingly quick on the field, till we come to the shortest of the Lilliputians, Ramdas Mardi. But before that we have to take a wink at George Duckworth. Of course, we were not lucky to witness the famous 'quack-quack' walk to the stumps, the squatting in a mass behind it and the full-throated roar which accompanied a brilliant catch or a more brilliant stumping and which, as Cardus put it, seemed to say to the batsman 'hey, how dare you stand there, you are finished, turn back to the pavilion.' But we saw little of the feverish activity when Duckworth, as manager of the Commonwealth team, rushed out from the pavilion when Umrigar had made a catch of Worrell's hit, and tried to disprove it!

Speaking of Duckworth reminds us of another of his vocation, a member

of the cricketing fraternity of Madras. This player also quack-quacked to the wicket and always moved in in full awareness of his skill and as if he wanted the others also to notice it. In his palmy days colleagues of our 'Duckworth' say that he was a first-rate keeper who never got his deserts. But this little player has taken it all sportingly, and perhaps with the view that others like him should not wax because of neglect he takes great delight in imparting the A.B.C. of wicket-keeping to the youthful aspirants of the art.

The long and short of the whole story is that a man's build has little to do with his prowess. A brave heart can always overcome the shortcomings of nature, ride in triumph and earn the applause of the multitude. Or else how can you explain the success of a Macartney or Edrich or Sandham; or of Dilawar Hussain, whose uncouth build seemed not only to encumber his movements but made it look as if the man himself was an encumbrance to the game.

KASHMIR'S DESIRES DO NOT COUNT TO PAKISTAN

Sri T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar writes:

SINCE the dispute over Kashmir arose, Pakistan authorities have said many times that Kashmir is required for their security and that Kashmir should belong to them. So according to them Kashmir's desire should not count. Why does not Pakistan vacate the area of Kashmir now under their control and have the plebiscite taken? Pakistan is not quite sure of the Kashmiri vote in her favour. Surely Pakistan does not believe that the vast majority of Kashmiri Muslims can be coerced against their will to vote accession to India. Pakistan is not without apprehension that the Kashmir Muslims may be inclined to join India for economic reasons and for India's more tolerant attitude in politics. It must

not be forgotten that the Kashmiri Muslims have nothing in common with the aggressive Punjabis or the fierce tribal Muslims.

I have heard from the late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that it was not uncommon to have a joint family consisting of a Muslim and a Hindu branch with the manager of either religion impartially arranging for the marriages of the children of either branch according to their respective ideas, with only this difference that the Muslim guests had a pull at the Hindu hookah and Hindu guests at Muslim hookah as a mark of hospitality, women of both branches taking part in their celebrations. That is a feature of tolerance which you will find nowhere else, dividing the Kashmiri Muslims from the rest of the fanatical Moslem world.

FOOD AND BEVERAGES

By BHIKKU

WHEN I signed on in the offices of James & Sinclair & Company at Calcutta for service as ship surgeon 32 odd years ago, a greenhorn straight from homely Madras, where foreign travel was getting into that stage of a forbidden thing when it is exhilarating but not too irksome to do and dare, one of my stipulations was that I should have vegetarian food served for me on board. The young European representative who dealt with this work for the firm stared hard at me, swallowed something that came into his mouth to say, leaving only a twitch of the lips which may have been a smile and contented himself with a brief nod of assent. The ship was to fetch a 'consignment' of Chinese immigrant labour from Hongkong to Singapore and a pretence of concern for the health and welfare even of Asiatics was sanctimoniously established by a maritime regulation which required a doctor with a registrable qualification to be engaged when there was any transport of human cargo in steamers. European doctors, besides being very exacting and expensive in terms were still largely undemobbed from the army of world war No. 1 and doctors of other nationalities were much dearer than Indian, good as the consideration was for them according to the standards then prevailing in this country. The boat, a small 3000 ton affair with a Chinese name and Chinese crew was loading in Kidderpore docks and was a pandemonium of dust and noise with its cranes clattering into the hold loads of sacks and boxes, as I made my daily afternoon visits to it. The uncertainty of the date of its departure was responsible for a specious impression of a considerable margin of time still ahead and I spent more of it elatedly in showing off to such friends as I had, the amenities of an officer's cabin and in entertaining them with such chaste hospitality as tea and toast and cake as were served to me during my brief calls, than in what I had intended to do: laying in a store of South Indian pickles and chutnies that will miti-

gate the insipidity of the European provender. I had however gathered some in my dwelling but had not yet moved them into the boat when on one of the, as I thought, usual afternoon visits, I was informed by the chief officer to my utter consternation that I cannot leave the boat as the ship was expected to move any time. As the evening wore on and I stood wistfully looking at the gangway in forlornness at such a hole and corner slinking away, unadieued and unprovided, a friend of a friend, with whom I had a nodding acquaintance casually stepped up for an inside view of an authentic steamer. I do not think his squat ungainly figure was ever as welcome as it was to me then. Hearing of my predicament his curiosity abated and he kindly turned ashore to his rooms to fetch for me the only culinary preserve he had, being a hotel dweller: a vaseline bottle full of salted and condimented chilli powder! This vaseline bottle of salted and condimented chilli powder was nectar and ambrosia, a touch of which with the tip of my index finger on to my tongue assuaged the pangs of my palate during 3 long months of its wrestle with the savourless food that was its portion.

The boat left its moorings only at about midnight. My delight was great the next morning as I awoke to see the moving green banks of the river as the ship glided on and I walked fore and aft as the deck was being hosed and rubbed of its dirt and grime of the last many days, to savour the sensation in all its possible keys. The rough and tumble of the sea was to be only 24 hours later when the boat left the Diamond harbour. I have sailed since in many seas and in many boats, but the wine of that morning's tingling was more heady than any that I have since felt in sea travel. Soon however mealtime came and with it an unblissful shake up to realities when the Chinese boy brought for food what even my meagre knowledge could not fail to see was portions of meat swimming in a plate of brown liquid followed by

one with cut sections of fish. My remonstrance that I was to get vegetarian food only evoked a grin and a denial of all knowledge thereof. A reference to the Chinese steward was transferred to the Chief Mate with a smirk and the chief in his turn sent me up to the captain barely concealing his contempt for a being so lost to civilisation and normality as to make a fetish of a herbivorous feed. To the captain then in all his high perched seclusion in the bridge, I went up several step ladders in much trepidation, for he was a choleric beefy man of the bull dog brand, a glass of whisky always handy beside his long deck chair.

'Captain,' I said, 'when I signed on at the office I was promised I would be given vegetarian food on the boat.' The words came out in a high pitched excited key and trailed off to a mumble at the end.

'A what? Speak louder' he roared. 'A vegetarian food. And I am not getting it and I can't eat the stuff that is brought' I responded, doing my best to muster courage and this time the voice was louder than it need be and the words tumbled on each other.

'I have never heard of a thing like that in my boats and you, I suppose, are the new doctor Babu. If I had a word of this ashore I would never have had you.'

Seeing my distress and my greenness and remembering that doctor Babus did not exactly grow on hedges to be had for the plucking, he relented and called up the steward and between the three of us a workable compromise was arrived at by which I was to get a certain quantity of rice, potatoes, yams, vegetables when near shore and an allowance of 'pickled onions' as a shadowy collateral to my secreted bottle of chilli powder. Even so, what actually happened was that I no doubt had the allowed items but they came so flavoured with bits of meat and fish by the inadvertant--was it!--carelessness of the steward and the boys that I had perforce to sift each dish in an attempt to eschew the grosser elements and make shift to get on as best as I could get my stomach to negotiate the rest. Thus was I inoculated willy-nilly into a tolerance for omnivorous dietary although the immunity took a long time to grow. Meanwhile, during all

the three months of my first sojourn on a boat in the Far East, except when on shore in Singapore or Hong-kong or Kobe, where I could meet Indians and sometimes my own compatriots from 'khas' Madras province, my one sheet anchor was that Vaseline bottle of salted and conditioned chilli powder. May the soul of the friend of my friend who gave it to me in the hour of my need be given a meed of whatever elixir there be in the astral region to which he has long since gone, in memory of his kindness.

Bigotry of the old order, though on its last legs in those days, did not pass by my apostasy, blameless as it was, unnoticed. A respected and high placed gentleman from the South in Bombay would not dine in the same room with me and being a special centre in whose orbit I was by the writ on my forehead placed for a while as a minor planet, his great hospitality to the domiciled from the South made for an irritating barricade between me and my hitherto undifferentiated kind.

Many years later, Dhyanchand, a Jain and ergo, a virulent vegetarian and myself struck out from Marseilles by rail although we were through passengers on the boat to England, so that we may put in a day at Paris enroute. Dhyanchand incidentally wanted to have himself at least two days of that depressing sea-sickness of which he was never free ever since he left Bombay. Two Egyptian youths also slid into our company on hearing that Dhyanchand had a French professor friend in Paris who would meet him at the station and generally act the cicerone. After a breathless round of sight seeing, the professor took us to a restaurant in a class locality in the vicinity of Madeline church, to stand us hospitably the midday lunch. The waiter brought us the drinks card to choose from; but our host's apologetic translation of our teetotalism and desire for vegetarian food so perplexed him that he had to fetch his boss to tackle with the abnormal situation. Drinks were not merely beverages but matters of principle in that city of red wines and scarlet predilections. The boss after a harangue with our host so far mitigated the rigour of custom as to allow us to have 'Vichy water' in lieu

of drinks and an assortment of viands of which spaghetti was the chief ingredient for food. The poor Egyptians not much out of their teens didn't either have the gumption to strike out for themselves or were too courteous to differ from us. The younger of the two, however, being thirsty with the whirl of taxying, took the glass of Vichy water, misled no doubt by the terminology and had just one sip when out he brought, in an uncontrollable paroxysm, all that he had inside him since he left the boat at Marseilles to our dismay and extreme embarrassment amidst the titter and concentrated gaze from all the tables round. Vichy water is a plausible cousin to that talisman of the chief mate in one of my early boats, a cure-all for the ailments of Khalasies (ship's Indian crew), in which cod-liver oil, quinine, epsom salt and castor oil formed the base on which unknown ingredients tiered a superstructure—an emulsion which so glued itself to the inside of the mouth that hours of gargling would not rinse it out. It is a fact that no malingering was known on that boat.

Speaking of coffee, one of South India's strong points in the world market of taste, I remember a day in the port of Jeddah, early in the twenties of the century, not long after Lawrence's days there—an afternoon of the usual Arabian heat of white shimmering incandescence which I spent inside a patrician reception room of the place. Jeddah used to be an unlovely composite of sand, dirt, camel dung, flies, ragged awnings, direlict Indian pilgrims and buildings of baked clay with occasional oddly drunken balconies of shapes unknown to geometry, made mostly of dealwood cases and kerosene tins. My host's dwelling though generally conforming to type externally, was not without elegance in the reception room, strewn as it was with carpets and dimmed with hangings of rich material and harmonious and subdued tints that rested the eyes and mellowed the heat. A white divan seated us and a highly chased brass bowl cooled the smoke of the hookah which was passed round, while a negro slave brought a tray of tiny porcelain cups of sugared black coffee, without milk. In flavour it was everything that the exactingest could desire but palate

had to get accustomed to the milkless brew. A few minutes of settling down and taking stock of the surroundings—and another black being came with another tray of coffee cups. A tentative pourparler through an Arabic speaking Indian Moslem companion with me was just under way when a third genie passed around a third series of coffee cups. The double filter of conversation through my indifferent Hindi and my intermediary's mis-shapen Arabic was difficult and I was still not quite past the preliminary overture of courtesies when lo! a fourth tray of coffee cups was taken around. The series was practically a coffee version of chain smoking in terms of cigarette and if ever a human was drunk on coffee, I was, that evening as I returned to my ship anchored a mile away in the shark-infested Jeddah bay.

Conversely, the way Indian cuisine strikes foreign susceptibilities is no less illuminating:

One of the wireless operators was a Scot named Mac, short for Mackenzie in his case, who gravitated rather more frequently to my cabin than others. Happening to have made a private arrangement on this trip with an Indian seaman on board to provide for me Indian food I invited a few including Mac to partake of my fare as a change. He alone among the guests was unfamiliar with Indian food and its bite on the tongue. With the first taste of the chapathi and highly flavoured 'dhall,' Jock turned to me and said 'Doc, it is no doubt tasty but it is hot.' On a second mouthful his tongue started smarting and his eyes to redden. In a dilemma between discourtesy and swallowing of this burning pungency, he barely put into his mouth a third portion, when huskily excusing himself, he ran for the buffet where he swallowed one sweet drink after another to assuage the fever in his throat.

The London policeman, besides being very efficient, is a wag in his way and once when I asked him for directions to an Indian restaurant in the vicinity of Charing Cross he said 'Five minutes straight on—turn to the left and the smell will lead you for another five to the spot!'

It requires many more years of sojourn for a foreigner to appreciate the differences between the diverse

styles of food preparations in India than to recognise from the terminologies of names and modes of dress the different communities and provinces to which people belong in this sub-continent. I myself am partial to the Guzarathi menu, where the poori is prepared with very deft fingers, only after the guests are on their plates, and served hot and melting straight from the oven. One of my prized episodes is a period of a month when I was fed from Sardar Patel's house in Ahmedabad during the influenza epidemic when he was little known to the outside world, being overshadowed by his brother Vittalbhai. I know of a millionaire of Bombay who would water in his mouth scenting the aroma of our rasam, alias pepper water, alias 'mulangitanni,' which is the European perversion of an in-offensive Tamil name. I verily believe that it is the Bangalore rasam of the South which has unconsciously coloured the judgment of the millionaire in his replacement one by one of the personnel of his entourage including his chauffeur and secretary by South Indians.

Apart from the luscious delicacy of rasagulla and sandesh, it must require a congenital aptitude or at least a breaking in from infancy to appreciate the Bengalee style with its mustard oil pabulum. Delectable as are the

mango pickles and 'patchadies' of Andhra country, there is a universality of pungency in the style for other palates to endure undiluted for long.

But these diversities of taste born of natural differences of soil and climate which gave piquancy to travel are fast giving place to a conglomeration which is not the resultant of any voluntary approximation in the inter-play of give and take in the different styles but of the tragedy of insufficiency and want which has made rationing of basic food materials a necessity and the procurement of the accessories on which variations depend, a luxury only possible for the wealthy. Not that we are going to be regimented into a grey sameness so long as we have inventive geniuses who broadcast about mango-kernal flour 'uppuma' and jack fruit stone 'vadai.' I dare say we shall soon hear of tamarind seed 'appalam' and drumstick rind 'dosai.' It is quite on the cards that the coming generation would wonder at the parochialisms of the palate that prevailed in the early part of the 20th century in this land and conceivably may ascribe it also to the machinations of the British overlordship. But I as an individual thank Providence that science has so far not been able to average a man's hold on existence to beyond three score and ten years.

QUESTION TIME IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

By GUY EDEN

OF all the customs in a democratic regime. Question-time in the House of Commons is, in my opinion, one of the most powerful and important. That may, at first sight, seem an extravagant statement, but, with more than 25 years' experience of Parliament, I make it unhesitatingly.

The opportunity to question the Government is, few will dispute, one of the greatest powers that can be given to any Member of any Parliament, for it makes it virtually impossible for the Government to hide any error, to gloss over any fault. The custom has been in vogue in the British Parliament for many years, and it has been the means of setting right many injustices, exposing to the

public view many things which a Government might have preferred to keep hidden.

And this applies not only to great affairs of State, or major items of policy, but also to the troubles or grievances of some obscure citizen in a back street. I have seen many lively scenes in Parliament over the failure of some elderly woman in a provincial town to get the pension to which she was entitled. Indeed, hardly a day passes without some such small personal matter figuring on the Question-paper.

Hour A Day

The first hour of each day's sitting, on four days of the week, is given up to Questions. The only limitation is

that they must all be on some subject for which a Minister has direct responsibility—some action of a local authority, for instance, over which no Minister has direct control, would be ruled out as subjects for Parliamentary questions.

Any Member of Parliament wishing to question a Minister has to write out his question and hand it in to the officials of Parliament. It is then printed officially, and becomes available to the Press—often before the Minister concerned has seen it. The chance of any successful official attempt to "hush-up" the subject of the question is thus completely ruled out, and the Minister is faced directly with the need to produce a good explanation of the matter under question.

The list of questions, numbered and printed in full, is circulated to all Members of Parliament and to the Press in advance, to be dealt with on a named day. When the day arrives, the questioner has to be in his place, to ask the question—which he does by calling out the number. The Minister has been provided by his Department with a detailed reply, which he reads to the House of Commons—or the House of Lords—and has then to submit to "supplementary questions."

Verbal Queries

This is perhaps the severest ordeal of all to a Minister who has anything to hide, or who is not completely competent. Any Member, from a party leader to the obscurest back-bencher, is entitled to ask a short verbal question designed to clear up any matter in the original reply. These questions have to be answered from the Minister's own knowledge of the matter in hand, or from such additional information as the expert advisers have provided, foreseeing the supplementary questions.

The number of these verbal questions allowed is in the discretion of the Speaker, the strictly neutral President of the House. He makes his decision on the degree of interest shown in each question, not on its supposed "importance" to the world at large.

Thus it often happens that some small local trouble in a village in Scotland or Wales will occupy more time than a dispute between nations. There will, clearly, be other opportu-

nities to discuss at length the great policy problems, but the small local problem—which may be very important to those immediately concerned—might never be considered at all, but for Question-time.

The procedure of Question-time is strict but informal. When the name of a Member who has put down a question is called by the Speaker, he or she rises and says: "Number—, Sir." The Minister concerned then reads the full reply, which sometimes completely deals with all the points the questioner wants answered.

Knowing the power of Members to put supplementary questions, most Ministers seek to bring out all the facts in the major answer, thus perhaps depriving the questioner of a chance to score a political point by appearing to bring out something the Minister or his Department wished to conceal.

Urgent Matters

In addition to the formal question asked after due notice, there are "Private Notice" questions. These are intended to deal only with matters of urgency, when the normal 48 hours' or more notice cannot be given, and are subject to stricter rules. The Speaker has to authorise each question personally, deciding whether its urgency is such that the normal procedure is not applicable. His decision is final.

Private-notice questions, unlike those printed on the agenda paper, are actually read out in the House, by the Member putting the question. The Minister replies in the same way as to a printed question, and there is the same right to put supplementary questions.

But perhaps the greatest power any Member-leader or obscure follower—has arises directly from the right to put questions. If the answer given by the Minister is adjudged unsatisfactory, the questioner can give notice that he will raise the matter again, "on the adjournment." This enables him, in the last half-hour of some day's sitting, to present his grievance again, in detail, and to get a more detailed reply from the Minister.

There is not the slightest doubt, to my mind, that, of all Parliamentary institutions, Question-time is the most important—at any rate to the less prominent Members.

ANCIENT INDIAN REPUBLICS AND THEIR PROBLEMS—III

By H. RANGACHAR

IN the two previous articles appearing in *Swatantra* of the 25th August and 1st September, the problems and difficulties of the ancient Indian republics, as revealed in histories, the accounts of those associated with their working and the treatises of ancient political thinkers and writers, were dealt with. The views of some ancient writers and thinkers on the strong points of republics and the conditions necessary for their strength and stability will now be briefly considered.

According to the Maha Parinibbana Sutta, the great Buddha taught the Vajjians or the people of the Lichchavi Republic the following as "the conditions of welfare" of the Republic and impressed it on them that "so long as those conditions shall continue to exist among the Vajjians, so long as the Vajjians shall be well-instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline but to prosper." (Rhys David's Translation. Sacred Books of the East Series.) These are as follows:—

1. To hold full and frequent public assemblies. Buddha thus emphasises that republics should be democracies and that frequent sessions of popular assemblies should be held frequently to consider all matters affecting the republic and to transact public business. All matters, except State secrets, were to be brought up at these assemblies. They were open to all citizens and there are some instances of very important decisions, affecting the fate of the republic, being deliberated upon and decided by the vote of the assemblies. It was, for instance, the Sakya Assembly that decided to open the gates of their capital, Kapilavasthu, to the invader, Virudhaka, with all its fatal consequences.

2. The second condition is that the people should "meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord." This has already been dealt with in the previous articles. Buddha emphasises

here the great importance of unity and harmony in the policy and administration of the republics.

3. The third condition for the welfare of republics is that they "should enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has already been enacted and act in accordance with the ancient institutions... as established in former days." This draws attention to the necessity for maintaining, as far as possible, ancient laws and institutions. It warns against hasty legislation in such matters and hasty amendments to laws already made, especially fundamental laws. The idea underlying this, no doubt, is that in a republic composed of varying interests and diverse states, laws which affect any state or interest or give room for disagreement and discord should not be enacted, except where it is unavoidable.

4. "To honour, esteem and support the elders... and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words." This has already been dealt with at some length in the previous articles. Buddha stresses here the necessity for entrusting the administration of the republics to leaders of experience and ability and for extending all support to them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

5. The next condition is to honour women and not detain them "by force or abduction." It is a remarkable feature of the ancient Indian republics that they accorded to women a place of honour. Women in most republics had all privileges as citizens, though the exact extent of it is a matter of some doubt. In some republics, women were enrolled as warriors and there are accounts of their unflinching heroism and spirit.

6. To "support the old shrines in town and country" and "allow not proper offerings and rites to fall into desuetude" is the sixth condition. Allied to this is the other condition—extending "rightful protection, defence and support to the Arhats." Though the ancient republics were

based on the concept of Dharma and of upholding the same, their ideology was not that of a theocracy but was more akin to that of a secular State in so far as there was no State religion as such and there were no political or other disabilities to which the followers of any religion were subject. The State extended equal privileges to all religions and their institutions. This has been particularly the case with the republics in the time of Buddha. Vedic religion, Buddhism and Jainism—all received equal patronage, irrespective of what the religion of the majority of the people was. In fact, Buddhist and Jain literatures claim, in some cases, the same republics as patrons of their particular faiths.

The republican form of government has a long and honoured history in India. Powerful and progressive republics existed in the time of Panini and of Mahabharata; there were many flourishing and prosperous republics during the time of Buddha and after. From the accounts of Greek writers, it is clear that at the time of Alexander's expedition there were in Punjab and Sind several republics which were militarily powerful and offered stiff and unrelenting resistance to the invader. The empire of Chandragupta Maurya comprised some republics and the policy in regard to them recommended by Kautilya is to absorb those which can be conquered and make alliances with such others as were powerful. It is recorded that some republics which could not withstand the Mauryan imperialism emigrated to deserts, the regions covered by the present Rajaputana, and founded republics there which flourished with varying fortunes between the 2nd century B. C. and the 4th century A.D. These were finally subjugated by the Guptas, after which republics seem to have disappeared.

The republics of ancient India must make a particular appeal to us on account of their intimate association with two of the greatest and noblest sons of India and of the world, Krishna and Buddha, and also on account of the great contribution they have made to the culture of India and of the world. Buddhism and Jainism flowered in these republics and spread from there. The

republics of the time profitted very much by their contacts with Buddha and Mahavira, the interest they took in the republics and the guidance that they, particularly Buddha, gave them in political matters. Extant records show that Buddha formally inaugurated the Parliament House of the Pava-Malla Republic, called Ubbhata. He also inaugurated the opening of a new Parliament House of the Sakya Republic and gave a series of lectures in connection with the celebrations. Buddha's own religious order or sanghas were closely modelled on the democratic republican forms of government then existing.

The ancient Indian republics seem to have been, as a rule, well-governed and economically prosperous. Some of them were noted for their wealth and some as centres of learning and culture. Most of them were noted for their strong love of independence and for their democratic spirit of equality. These republics, comparatively small, surrounded by ambitious monarchs and their States, knew full well that they could retain their independence only by developing their military strength and their defence measures to the fullest extent possible. The republics were able to raise, train and maintain large and efficient armies, even in the time of Buddha and Mahavira, they did not allow any ideology of non-violence to slacken their military strength, efficiency and preparedness.

History records that in wars, the republics put large armies on the field who fought with the bravery and heroism which only soldiers fighting for the independence they value could put forth. The small republics of the Punjab put up a very determined and stiff resistance to Alexander during his return expedition, inflicting great damage, as the Greek writers themselves have testified. The Malavas ("Mallai") and Kshudrakas ("Oxy-draki") organised opposition with an army of 90,000 foot, 10,000 horse and 900 chariots. In addition, all towns in the Malava Republic organised resistance. As observed by Dr. R. K. Mookerji in his Hindu Civilization, "At one of these, a town of Brahmans, the Brahmans left their pens for the sword and died fighting... with few taken as prisoners." Another tribe, the Arjunayanas ("Agalassoi") fought

heroically with an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry. "We are told that in one of their towns the citizens numbering 20,000 cast themselves with their wives and children into flames, anticipating Rajput heroism". In some of these, women fought along with men. The ancient Indian republic have thus a great record of achievements to their credit, which constitute a glorious page in the history of ancient India.

The history of these republics is not without their invaluable lessons to us, the new Republic of India. A cynic has observed that the only lesson of history is that history's lessons are never learnt. It is to be hoped that this will not be the case with us and that we will profit by the experience, the achievements and the failures of the ancient republics in our attempts to build a strong, prosperous united Indian Republic.

KISSING ON THE SCREEN

By "NAMBS"

SIR CLIFFORD Agarwala, Chairman, Central Board of Film Censors, told Patna journalists last month that "kissing will not be allowed in Indian films." He also disclosed that embraces and bodily contacts like hugging will not be allowed in Indian films. He is also reported to have said that these ideas will be slowly introduced and strictly enforced later.

Is this attitude justifiable? We are living in a fast moving world of ever changing ideas. For instance, the place of woman in society is undergoing a terrific change. The "equality" protagonists are deluding themselves by putting woman into all sorts of places and avocations. Men and women are today competitors for existence, instead of being complementary to each other. "Equality for women" means really superiority or additional opportunities for women, because the woman always gets the privilege as "the weaker of the two sexes." Twenty years back our gentlemen would not have thought of even taking their wives or grown up daughters with them to functions, parties or parades, even of a select gathering. Today charming young girls are made to dance on the road piloting the Republic's President on his way to lay the foundation stone of the Damodar Valley Project. In functions organised by Government or private bodies we find the tactical use of woman volunteers in strategic places to add beauty and charm; even to attract audiences.

Inhibitions always have a serious reaction. Everyone is not made the

same way. Variety is the spice of life. Some see things, some hear of things, some read of them, others dream of it. Many kinds of such human desires and aptitudes are, according to psychologists, satisfied by the escapist attitude of men and women. The cinema plays a very important role in this regard by providing relief from mental agonies and making life enjoyable, quite often seeing one's dreams on the screen. Many foreign pictures which give such mental relaxation to young men and women draw large audiences even when they do not otherwise understand the picture. The human impulse of sex is thus given an escape without danger to society, for in its emotional exposition on the screen the person gets satisfaction and mental relief. There has been also a steady demand for Indian pictures that they may give relief to those who are "physical saints but mental sinners."

"Sringara" rasa has been handed down for ages in the literatures of all countries. Love is the supreme symbol of happiness. Art expresses it and expounds it. In paintings we see the artist taking liberty in poses and expositions, for that provided emotional escape and appeal to all who saw it. In novels, short stories and dramas, kissing, hugging, bodily embraces are freely described and discussed. Shakespeare wrote "Venus and Adonis". The openness about sex and the public discussions about birth control, have of late changed the whole atmosphere. The cinema will only help to

remove the inhibitions on such activity and will provide mental relief to those who would otherwise be tempted to translate their dreams into reality with disastrous consequences to society.

The Greek and Roman epics refer to kissing. In the East the Chinese and the Hindu civilisations did not look with disfavour on "osculation."

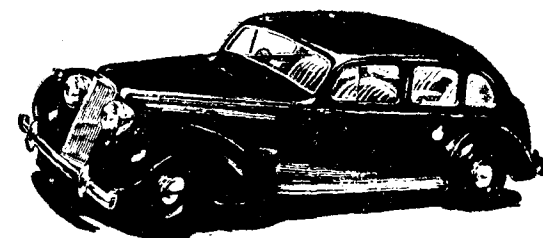
If the Indian censor disallows kissing, hugging and embracing in Indian films it will do harm in many ways. It will drive away more and more of cinegoers from Indian films to the foreign films. Again, the increasing interest in sex, birth control and such things would cancel the emotional escape that films provide today and would provide in the future. The

Indian film would be prevented from exhibiting the realities of Indian social life, the pattern of which is fast changing.

There is no justification for an attitude of prudery to Indian films. We should be prepared for new ideas and go ahead with them. The standards of yesterday cannot be the standards of today, or of tomorrow. Even some foreign films are made without any kissing scenes. There will be some pictures in India too of that type. Each type shines in the presence of the other. Without such freedom it will be dull and drab. There is thus a very strong case for progressively introducing kissing on the Indian screen and the censors should allow it, if they care for the millions who pay to see pictures.

Let advocates of violence, sabotage or murder, promoters of communal ill-feeling, indecent and scurrilous writers and all others whom it is rightly proposed to restrain be exposed to the ordinary law of the land. If that is considered insufficient, let the law be fortified and the penalties raised, leaving to judicial discretion to inflict the maximum where necessary. A free India deserves a free Press. If there is a risk, it is one well worth taking.—*The Statesman.*

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THE SAINT

By M. V. Sundaram

THE morning newspaper on 9th November carried the following news item:

"Early dawn, Mahatma Rama entered *samadhi* at a place near Belur Math. Large crowds waited patiently and had an all night vigil to view the great event. The great yogi will be shut up in an air-tight, tomb-like chamber built underground and will come out of the *samadhi* on the Full Moon day, exactly a fortnight hence."

Reading this tit-bit of news, I smiled. For I knew the inside of this great man. My friends would curl their lips in contempt and express surprise and disbelief if I should say to them that the Mahatma was known to me intimately and..... But I am anticipating.

Ramu and I were born and bred in Kumbakonam. We entered the same school and were placed in the same class. Of our friendship, studies, recreations, successes, failures and all the petty events connected with school life—I need not dilate upon them. It is enough to say that we both came out successful in the final school examination.

We, the inseparables, joined the same college and in due course got the coveted, so it seemed then, B. A. degree. We were in high spirits then, and thought the world was at our feet waiting to be conquered. Alas! what an illusion it was. It took us two years to know what a mirage it was. Life was grim and bitter.

It was Ramu who made the suggestion that it would be worthwhile to try our luck in Calcutta where Madrasses, it was said, were praised for their careful industry and indefatigable assiduity.

"Why not," I said. "That's a good idea." And off we went to Calcutta.

We hired a room in Ballygunge and

started on a job-hunt. Ramu was luckier than I and he soon got a cushy job in a firm. But it did not last long. One day he returned home with the word "fired" written all over his face.

"I will be blown if I have to lick his hands and be servile to that nincompoop of a boss. I am not a dumb mute and I won't stoop to concur with the boss always."

Dejectedly, he continued, "What's the use of this blasted education. Seems to me, it leads us nowhere. With what high hopes we started to plan our career and our success once we finished off our education. Look now! We can't even earn a decent livelihood. This is all because we are slaves."

"Stop it; old chap. Don't work yourself into a tirade. Let's consider the next step. It's true we came to Calcutta with a broad grin and though it is painful to view, we have no choice but to return home."

Ramu interrupted me. "I will be blasted if I go home now!"

"Ramu, don't be foolish. Let's return home while the going is good and look after our ancestral property. At least we can till the remaining acres of our precious soil. Though it is prosaic, let us go home, plough the soil, marry a girl, raise children, grow adipose in tranquillity."

"No, no, the life you envisage is not for me. I want adventure and romance."

"Seems to me that you are going to have all the adventure soon after spending the few rupees we have, and as for romance, is not uncertainty its first condition, its pre-requisite? And that we will have in plenty—uncertainty of when and where our next meal is going to come from."

"Bah! You are pessimistic. Why

not we cross over to Ceylon and try our luck there?"

"Oh! You've got a scheme in view already! At this rate we will become globe-trotters."

"Don't be absurd. Anyhow that idea of yours, globe-trotting, is not bad at all. If it comes to the worst, we can try that. That will be a splendid life. You should not get frightened by a few obstacles and failures."

"The stiff upper lip, eh?"

"Let us try our last chance in Colombo."

"It's O. K. by me. Before we quit India, how about making a trip to Benares?"

"Ensuring a safe passage to Heavens?"

"Don't sneer. Having come so far why not we go to Benares, only a few hundred miles from Calcutta. You are a great student of history and there is much to learn in Benares. Sarnath, sacred to the memory of Lord Buddha, is also very near to Benares. You can see that too and learn about Asoka's edicts."

"All right, all right: When do we start?"

Between us it was I who entertained purer thoughts while we took the dip in the Holy Ganges. Ramu was railing bitterly against the superstitions and beliefs of the people and the vicious practices and powers of the priests over them. It was then that he got the great inspiration. Suddenly, he clutched at me, or rather my head while I was just coming out of the water. I again went under and spluttering forth, came up.

"I say! I say! I've got an idea. A sizzling one. Why not we..."

"What the devil are you spouting, you very nearly drowned me."

"Shut up and listen. Let's pretend that we are yogis."

"Yogis! Pretend what! Don't catch you."

"It's like this. I got this brain wave after seeing these *sanyasis* roaming about here in Benares. Let us pretend that we two are yogis and sit under a banyan tree. Soon money will come rolling to us in plenty."

"How,"

"People will give all kinds of offerings for the welfare of their bodies and for the uplift of their souls."

"But is it not dubious? It is earning by false pretences."

"I knew you had a conscience. To get over that difficulty, let us not voluntarily ask for money. You know how credulous these people are. You can't help it if they shower money on us. The plan is like this. You will be the Master and I will be the Disciple."

"No, no. You can have the star part in the drama. Let me be caught only as an abettor in this crime. Anyhow, you fit the part of the Master. You have a commanding appearance; you are very tall, nearly a six footer. You have a fine personality, charm, a handsome face. You can be the Master."

"Handsome face be blown, for you've to grow a beard and so it won't make any difference if your face is handsome or not."

"That finishes it. Not for anything will I grow a beard. I will prefer to be a disciple and I don't think a disciple need sport a beard."

"Only it will have a more realistic touch. Anyhow we will waive that. So it is fixed that I should be the Master. So I will be sitting pretty, with my eyes closed, on a tiger's skin or a deer's skin for that matter, under a *peepal* tree. All you have to do is to hover about me, be solicitous, and edge into a credulous crowd if it hangs around me and spout about my saintliness, etc., etc., with bated breath and in awed whispers."

"I think you are joking."

"What! You fat-head! This is a scheme of a life-time."

"But you don't know to what you are letting yourself for. Once we take to this saint and disciple act, we will have to cut ourselves adrift of our earthly pleasures."

"It is only for a year or two. Once we collect the money, let us say a few thousand chips, we do the vanishing act and with that we will start something. I always wanted to be a journalist. We will publish a newspaper. Anyway with this role we are independent and if we go to a metropolis, we will have to work under somebody and be servile to him. About this dubious way of living rest assured, my boy, the people offer money in the

nope that we will feed ten thousand souls. Instead let us feed our two souls; it's labour-saving, more economical and everlasting."

When I perceived that he was in earnest, I did not use arguments to dissuade him from this mad, risky scheme of cheating the people. I knew the cold logic of facts and experience would deter him soon. So we wandered about on the Grand Trunk Road to the west of Benares just to give time for Ramu's beard to sprout up. After two months we returned to Benares which we proposed to be the scene of our activities.

Early morning we selected a sight on the bank of the Ganges east of Kashi. There Ramu sat under a peepal tree, crossed his legs, closed his eyes, imitating the pose of Lord Buddha when he sought inspiration under the Bodhi tree. He really looked a *tapaswi*. Though his countenance was hidden by his black beard it showed serenity and repose.

That which arrested attention was his eyes. They were like two brilliant balls of fire, charged with the dynamic, unctuous, religious fervour. In short, if I was not a partner in his game and so knew that he was a shallow pretender, I would have asserted that he was a real yogi.

On that pleasant, cool morning, crowds of devout pilgrims saw a yogi (he looked so young!) in meditation sitting under the cool shade of a tree, while another person clad in saffron garments was hovering about the *tapaswi* respectfully.

"Probably his disciple," conjectured the pilgrims and went on their way to the bathing ghats.

At noon our hero opened his eyes. "How goes the poor world," he asked.

"Merrily, O Great One! Not one among the poor mortals stopped to gaze at you or your bushy outgrowth." And I continued angrily, "What about our food?"

"Ever the glutton. Do have patience. Are you expecting quick results? The path to salvation is not a primrose one."

"Don't be funny and cut that lofty tone of yours. Really you don't expect me to live on pure air and H₂O."

"Now you are getting difficult. All

right, you go into the city and feed your beastly stomach. I will stay here and meditate."

I went. I wanted to teach him a lesson. I thought the prospect of starvation, if he sat there all the time with eyes shut and with nothing to do, would make him think and ponder on his rashness in undertaking this job. For I was absolutely sick of this escapade of his; I wanted to kick myself for agreeing to his plan at first. I wanted him to say quits so that we could go home. Anyhow when I returned, I carried a few fruits to him, for I could not be so callous.

Nothing happened in the afternoon except that we repeated the act of the morning, he closing his eyes, and I respectfully hovering. The sun set in a blaze of glory, and darkness crept in silently. I tapped his shoulder and he opened his eyes. Possibly he was enjoying a little nap.

"Don't be frightened. You've not become blind, what with your eternal closing of your eyes. It is only the moon riding the sky and nature is calling us to sleep. Now, where do we sleep?"

"Why, here, of course."

"What! Not in the open with no bed to sleep in. You are the limit."

"For *sanyasis* like us who have renounced the world there is no comfort to think of and earthly luxuries are tabooed for us. The meadow is our bed, the grass is our pillow and the sky is our roof."

No amount of cajoling and threats would deflect him from his set purpose. He was adamant and I had to accept the situation. I did not want to leave my friend in the lurch. I slept a bad night.

A huge concourse of people was waiting in the outskirts of Benares to have a last glimpse of that Saint Rama, that Great One, that Mahatma, that World Redeemer. For was it not true that he was leaving Kashi that same evening on foot for Sarnath where, like Buddha, he was going to seek truth. It was said that he was leaving, for he felt himself disturbed at Benares.

When eighteen months ago he came to Kashi accompanied by his one and only faithful disciple, nobody was

around him to pester him with attentions. After a few months everybody started paying attention to him though he never troubled to break his vow of silence as far as they were concerned.

Slowly and surely a band of followers collected around him and his rich disciples built for him a big Ashram. But he never spoke to the world. Offerings of all kinds poured into the Ashram which was ably managed by his faithful disciple who came with him from the snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas. How fortunate was this disciple! He was the only one, it was said, with whom the Saint communed. What priceless treasures of wisdom and truth he would have received!

The Saint gave his *darshan*. The seething humanity went down on their knees and broke into pious exclamations at the sight of him who was surrounded in such a halo of glory. Truly it was a great moment for them and to them the meridian in religious ecstasy had been reached.

I smiled. This was a perfect triumph for Ramu. This crowning achievement of success was the *piece de resistance* in our game of pretence, duplicity and humbug. For didn't I know that this great saint was returning home instead of going to Sarnath as his purpose was fulfilled. But the poor, credulous people before us believed in the Saint. I touched the Saint lightly. He turned and smiled. He walked back to the Ashram.

"Well, Ramu, or shall I call you Mahatma, what next?" asked I gaily.

"Why, to Sarnath, of course."

"Ah! Ah! Ah! Of course Sarnath, what a joke!" I laughed pleasantly.

"My friend, you should not be flip-pant. Here we are disturbed. In Sarnath we will enjoy quiet and spend the rest of our life in search of truth."

I was alarmed at the way he spoke these words. He seemed earnest and his eyes sparkled with excitement.

"What arrant nonsense! Ramu, don't tell me you are going to continue the game any further, you fool!"

"Maybe, I am a fool to seek the truth, but imbecile or wise, I am going to do it."

I became really angry.

"Stop this fooling. Rogue! Have you started believing yourself. Don't think you are a saint because the silly crowd outside fell for you and worshipped you. I know you, you pretender."

"I know that you know what I was once. But you do not know me now. I am cured. I am really a saint. No, I don't mean that, but a humble seeker of truth. Now don't jeer at me. You have not observed me closely the last few months. I have renounced the world, my son. I know what the world is. It is Maya. Come with me."

I got frightened. I became hot and cold. Violently I blurted out that I would expose him as a fraud, cheat and rogue. He said he did not mind even being lynched because of my expose. For hours I talked and argued with him. I stormed. I raved. But it was of no avail. Really and truly he had caught the fever and believed himself to be a true seeker.

"Anyhow," finally said I, "I'm not coming with you. That's definite and certain. Understand? Let it sink into your crazy brain, you silly mutt! I can't stand this. I am going home." I thought that would deter him completely.

"Really I am grieved," calmly he answered. "You were my staff in this materialistic world. If you do want to go, gladly you can go. Only you are leaving me crippled. But I presume a cripple also can seek truth."

I was moved, for I knew how dear he held me. Tears welled up in my eyes. I thought I could not persuade him. My only chance was to ask his mother to dissuade him. I determined to bring her from home and I thought a fond mother's pleading would bring him to his senses. So I told him that I was leaving him for good and that I was not taking a single pie from the Ashram funds.

Benignly he smiled and said, "Go. Only I warn you, you are running into inevitable danger and misery. You are exposing yourself in the age of weakness and innocence to all temptations of vice. You are going into the world only to set out in search of errors, foibles, misfortunes, trials, tribulations, snares, delusions, slavery and death. Come with me. Be my

companion and let us seek light and truth."

For once I was firm and though the separation was sad and bitter, I steel-ed myself.

I was received with open arms at home. I was the prodigal son return-ing home. Everybody was jolly glad to find me back with them. I was glad to be back again among my parents, sisters, brothers and friends. Only I was worried over Ramu.

I told Ramu's mother all. I asked her to come with me to the North, so that she could persuade her son to return home.

"No," she replied firmly and with a mother's glow of pride and exultation. "Ramu is really sincere and he is great. He is a saint. If he has been born to seek God and spread the mes-sage afterwards to us poor mortals I

am not going to stop him." That's that.

All this happened six years ago. I shook myself and stopped thinking of the past happy days of companion-ship with Ramu. I found that I was still clutching the newspaper. I start-ed reading the latter half of its cor-respondent's version of Mahatma's doings:

"To the vast gathering that assembled near him the Saint addressed thus: "For many years I sought after truth all alone in primeval forests. Now I know that there is nothing new to discover. It is here before us all the time. So I am not going to give you any new message or any new religion. Only I am entering samadhi to pray unsullied to save our Motherland from external aggression and internal strife and to give us humans all over the world more and more humanity."—(Copyright—P.M.)

SWAMI SITARAM'S FAST: SOME SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS

By D. V. RAMA RAO

WHETHER one views Swami Sita-ram's fast over the Andhra State issue with approval or not, the fact that an ardent Congressman and Gandhian devotee, widely respected for his earnestness, ascetic simplicity and selfless service should have taken recourse to so drastic a step as an indefinite fast followed by his disciples ought to provide cause for serious reflection as to why such a deep sense of frustration, of which the fast is but a pointer, has come over the Andhras,

It is not as if the Swami has flung a sudden surprise at short notice; the fast, indeed, is the culmination of fruitless efforts carried on persistently for the past forty years by the Andhras who, it may be noted, form the second largest language group in the country next only to that of the Hindi speaking people. And, during this same period, less viable units than Andhra have emerged and been enlarged as separate administrative units on the linguistic basis. It may be recalled that Sri V. P. Menon, the then Political Adviser to the States Ministry, was reported to have said

that the decision to merge Mayur-bhanj with Orissa was linguistic. It is also known that the main considera-tion for dividing the ex-State of Sirohi and merging a portion of it with Sourashtra, with the approval of the late Sardar Patel, was linguistic. Naturally, the Andhras feel puzzled that while linguistic affinity has largely been observed both in the formation of new States and the merger of ex-States with neighbour-ing units and while the majority of the existing States—in fact all except Madras, Bombay and Madhya Pra-desh—happen to be broadly speaking linguistically homogeneous, why it should be considered fissiparous or narrow-minded when the same prin-ciple, in which the Congress has been repeatedly professing its faith, is sought to be extended to the Andhra area also.

Secondly, it is not merely senti-ment that is behind the aspiration for the Andhra State, but there is a genu-ine feeling that regional development schemes, however well merited, so far as the Andhra area is concerned, have

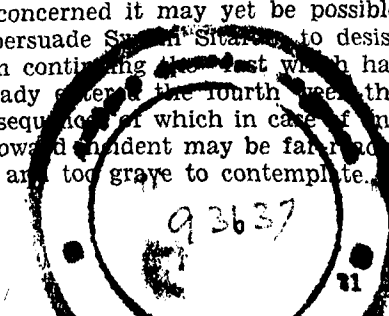
not been receiving adequate attention and that the formation of the Andhra State would provide better opportu-nities for sponsoring development pro-jects like that of Ramapadasagar which, if completed, it is said, would solve the food problem of South India, and in securing Central aid as, for instance, Orissa could in the mat-ter of Hirakud and other projects.

Thirdly, as long as discriminatory policies with regard to matters such as domicile and language are pursued in some of the existing linguistic States much to the hardship of the lingu-istic minorities of such States and the repeated protests continue to be ignored both by the Press and Govern-ment concerned, linguistic minorities of bi-lingual areas who find them-selves helpless and ineffective with none to take up their cause, however just, naturally come to think that unless they too have a linguistic State their grievances can hardly have a chance of being sympathetically viewed. By way of illustration, it may be pointed out that in the half a dozen or more high schools, in the bi-lingual regions of Orissa, where the percentage of Telugu pupils ranges between fifty to cent per cent, hitherto the Orissa Government was not recognising Telugu as medium of instruction although the Utkal Uni-versity was recognising Telugu as medium for answering Matric exami-nations; now, however, as per the Central Education Board's resolutions, the Orissa Government recognises Telugu as medium of instruction in such schools but the Utkal University has announced that Telugu will not be recognised hereafter for answering Matric examinations. Similar dis-abilities of the Oriya and Bengalee linguistic minorities of the bi-lingual regions like Singhbhum and Purulia in Bihar have also been reported. Apart from the unsoundness of such policies from the educational point of view, as has been well pointed out by Sri W. B. Rao, an experienced headmaster, in a thoughtful and lucid article that appeared in *Swatantra* recently, (issue D/11-8-51) such policies inevi-tably make the demand for linguistic States and re-adjustment of State boundaries more insistent. No doubt,

the formation of linguistic States will not by itself solve the problem of bi-lingual areas, but it should be remem-bered that it is not so much the for-mation of linguistic States but the tendency to view a State as the exclu-sive homeland of a particular langu-age group that is deplorable and that really aggravates the bi-lingual prob-lem and encourages separatist tenden-cies. So, the least that those that deplore separatist tendencies should do is not so much to decry the aspira-tion for linguistic States but to check narrow parochial policies based on the identification of a State Government with a particular language group or community. But, both our leaders and the Press for the major part seem to acquiesce in such policies.

Besides, it is not unoften that we find a leader or leading journal con-demning the agitation for linguistic States and in the same breath vehe-mently demanding that such and such a territory should be added to a parti-cular State on grounds of language! It appears to be the case that quite often a good many that decry linguis-tic States are actuated by no more lofty motive than that of perpetuating the privileged position or furthering the interests of their own language group.

It is the inconsistency, confused thinking and apparent want of sin-cerity in tackling the linguistic issue fairly and squarely that has led Swami Sitaram to take so serious a step as fast unto death. There may be practical difficulties in the way of immediate formation of the Andhra State but the offer and assurance of Swami Sitaram to have all disputed points referred to such impartial and worthy persons as Sri Vinoba Bhave or President Rajendra Prasad would, it is to be hoped, set at rest any doubts as to the reasonableness of the Swami's attitude. With a sincere approach and goodwill on the part of all concerned it may yet be possible to persuade Swami Sitaram to desist from continuing the fast which has already entered the fourth year, the consequence of which in case of any untoward incident may be far reach-ing and too grave to contemplate.





By V. P. SATHE

ON Saturday 8th September 1951 about thirty screen writers met at the offices of Progressive Pictures, Dadar. The purpose of the meeting was to form a writers' association. This was not the first meeting of its kind; but this was the largest gathering of screen writers. The meeting began with Pandit Sudarshan in the chair.

Narendra Sharma, the well-known poet and writer, commending the idea said that the writers had two questions before them—first, to ascertain their rights; second, to understand their duties and responsibilities. Shakil Badayuni supported this idea while Qamar Jalalabada in a long speech put forth the difficulties of the writers in getting recognition from the producers. He narrated many incidents in which he revealed how writers had to compromise with the producers. After all it was a producer or a director who made the final decision and the writer had to accept it.

Ramayya, who is writing the Tamil version of *Aan* and *Anandmath* warned the writers to set their own house in order. He asked, how many of the screen writers of today were really qualified to do their job? In his opinion, unless the writers develop their inner strength, they would not be able to assert themselves.

Balraj Sahni, Shakil Badayuni, Jagdish Sethi, Madhusudan and Pandit Sudarshan were the other speakers. Summing up the proceedings Pandit Sudarshan observed that in the interest of the development of screen writing, an institution was necessary where writers could exchange views not only on their material rights but mental outlook

and develop the art of writing in such a way that our films will improve in the right direction.

Most of the speakers referred to plagiarism and one of them pointed out that the poor writer had no alternative. When a writer went to a producer with an absolutely original story, he was told that the producer would find time to hear it after a week or so; when he approached the next producer he did not commit the same mistake, he told him that he had an adaptation of such and such a foreign picture and the producer evinced keen interest. Can the writer under such circumstances be blamed for resorting to plagiarism instead of writing an original screenplay?

Of course, every writer present on the occasion was in favour of forming the association; though it was generally felt that the association should not take a form of trade union—at least not for the present! And the important fact is that the association was formed; a rough constitution was adopted and an executive committee elected with Madhok as the President, Pandit Sudarshan and Mahesh Kaul as Vice-Presidents, Madhusudan as Secretary, Narendra Sharma and Hasrat Lucknavi as Joint Secretaries and Shakil Badayuni as the Treasurer.

If the association proves even just a meeting ground for the film writers, it would serve some purpose. But if the association succeeds in bringing the writers together and forging a common front on the basis of artistic progress, it would benefit the entire film industry.

Picture Of The Week

On Saturday night I went to Majestic (Bombay) to see Shantaram's

latest picture *Amar Bhoopali*. As I entered in, I saw Nitin Bose in the lobby. He had just seen the evening show and was coming out. When he saw me, he came and embraced me and told me "Sathe, I have seen this picture thrice and I am going to see it again twenty-seven times. It is so great. Everybody must be made to see the picture." Nitin Bose has been so impressed by this picture that he is supervising its transcription into Bengalee. And I am told it is also being transcribed into Telugu. Hence, though it is a Marathi picture, I am reviewing it in these columns.

At the outset, I must make it clear that the language is no barrier to understand mainly a musical picture of this type. Here, the story is told not just through the spoken word—though one must admit that the dialogue is rich, poetic and refreshingly realistic—but through visual images and music. As Nitin Bose says, the silence in the picture at times is more eloquent than spoken words.

It is essentially a story of a poet and Bhoopali, the morning song he composed. He was inspired to compose songs first by hearing the *Katha* of Lord Krishna's childhood and later to write Bhoopali while watching the panorama just before the sunrise.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, he came to Poona and under the influence of a singing girl who pretended to be naive and simple he wrote love lyrics. And when he found that the girls for whom he was writing songs was cashing in on them he gave his song to all singing girls and joined the *Tamasha*. In a beautiful montage Shantaram has shown how dissipated and demoralized the people had become with the soldiers throwing away their spears and swords and using the shield for 'Dholak' to sing cheap songs. Even the Peshwa Bajirao II was busy hearing lyrics instead of indulging in politics. Though it would be historically wrong to say that Lawni, a form of sexy love lyric, was responsible for the demoralization of Maratha rulers and people, it was, no doubt, a symptom of it and no one could have portrayed it so vividly as has Shantaram through song and music.

Indeed, the history and personal story of Honaji are brilliantly inter-

woven till the climax in which the Union Jack replaces the "Bhagwa-jhanda" of the Marathas.

Thus we see the Holkar looting Poona on the night Honaji, the poet, is singing before the Peshwa, and his mother deserting him because of the degeneration of his poetry. Later, when apprised of the British plot to march over Poona, we find Honaji mobilizing the people to fight for freedom through an inspiring ballad. But, alas, Bajirao ran away and the British won.

Keeping his vow, Honaji decided to end his life; but a timely reminder by the singing girl who loved him genuinely inspired him to finish Bhoopali. And yet, before he could finish it, he was attacked by the traitors who envied him because of the singing girl's love for him. Dying in the arms of his mother, he composed the last words. What a moving tragedy.

But Shantaram has not ended the picture on a depressing note. Instead, he has sublimated the tragedy by emphasising the fact that like the Maratha Empire, the British Empire also has crumbled. India has become free again and the 'Bhoopali' of Honaji is still sung in every home and every hut of Maharashtra. The 'Bhoopali' which is sung so beautifully has a nostalgic appeal to every Marathi-knowing picture-goer; and its sweetness and melody is so inspiring even to those who do not know Marathi, that they are also moved by it.

Simple, realistic, it bears the imprint of Shantaram's genius who has given us the true *Indian* picture we have always been clamouring for. But for certain lapses in obvious theatrical melodrama in case of dialogue, there is hardly any blemish that even the most hardened critic will be able to find out. Technically, this picture is a model in sound cutting; never before music has been so brilliantly utilized to create dramatic and emotional impact as in this picture. And the harmony between the movement of the camera, music and the composition creates a rhythmic poetic effect.

As usual with Shantaram's picture, the heroine, the singing girl, played superbly by new comer Sandhya who dances beautifully with a gay aban-

don never before witnessed on the Indian screen, dominates, the picture. Comparatively Panditrao Nagerkar who plays the poet appears rather lifeless. Lalita Pawar as the mother of the poet of course, steals the acting honours.

Yet, all said and done, *Amar Bhoo-pali* is a triumph of writing, direction and music for which Shantaram, Vasant Desai, author C. Y. Marathe and scenarist Vishram Bedekar deserve the highest plaudits. It is an Indian picture in essence and as such no Indian proud of his cultural and artistic heritage should miss it.

Star Of The Week

We do not know whether any astrologer had told Sajjan that 1951 will be a lucky year for him. But he has every reason to thank his stars for the sudden change in his fortune this year.

Sajjan is not a new comer to films. His first contact with the film industry was as a journalist who edited a Hindi weekly. I still recall the days when he used to come to the office of an advertising agency where I was working to canvass advertisements for his periodical. Later he joined Prithvi Theatres and became one of the principal artistes of the stage and he had his first opportunity to act on the screen in Famous Pictures' *Mera Sohang*. Since then he has been alternatively acting on the stage and screen; but without much popular success. Of course, there never was any doubt about his acting talent which he had disported so well in plays like *Deewar*, *Pathan*, *Ghaddar* and *Ahooti*. But these acting triumphs did not brighten his prospects as did his portrayal in *Saiyan*.

As a piece of acting, as I have already remarked before, his performance in *Saiyan* suffers from over-acting and self-consciousness. But apparently the picturegoers—or at least the producers—have liked his work. As a result, there is suddenly great demand for him and he is now

starred in more than half-a-dozen pictures including *Sheesha* and *Poonam*.

Thus Sajjan has become a star in the film world. And as he has shooting talent he will be able to exploit fully the opportunities he has been given at last.

News Of The Week

—Nitin Bose performed the muhurat of his maiden independent production on Saturday, 8th September 1951 morning at Central Studios (Bombay).

—K. K. Kapoor, the Managing Director of Kardar Films, has left for a ten day tour on 11th September 1951 to hold personal interviews with girls desiring to enter into Kardar-Kolynos-Teresa contest and win two years' contract from producer Kardar and a free trip to Rome with escort. Mr. Kapoor will be visiting Delhi, Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Jullundur, Amritsar and Simla. Those girls who have been shy enough not to send their photographs will do well to take advantage of this opportunity and meet Mr. Kapoor personally. The interviews, we are told, will be held in strict confidence.

—Incidentally over five thousand entries have been received by now, and by 28th September 1951, the last date, several more hundreds of entries are expected. The standard of the contestants is so good that one can look forward to many new star discoveries out of this contest.

—Prithviraj performed the first show of his new play *Kalakar* on Saturday 8th September 1951 at Opera House (Bombay).

—Prabhat has decided to produce the film biography of Lokamanya Tilak. Vishram Bedekar is being entrusted with the task of writing the screenplay and directing the picture.

—Qamar Jalalabadi will produce a picture under the banner of Famous Pictures Ltd., for which Husanlal and Bhagatram will give the music.

BOQUETS TO GAITSKELL

By HARRY HEAP

THE Trades Union Congress is holding its annual meetings in Blackpool as I write. Full reports of these meetings and the speeches made on the occasion will have appeared in your daily papers. The tone of the Conference was set by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech. Mr. Gaitskell has received many bouquets for that speech, particularly from the *Manchester Guardian*. In fact, almost the only paper which played down Mr. Gaitskell was the Labour Party's own paper, the *Daily Herald*. You will remember that he stressed the importance of re-armament, warned against hoping that all the money could be obtained from "soaking the rich," and prophesied continued austerities for Britain. He also suggested consideration of what was the Liberal policy at the last election, that of co-partnership in industry. The speech has been regarded as realistic and it has been said that if the Labour Party is going to tackle its problems in the spirit of this speech, then the Conservatives will have to do some quick thinking to counteract it.

The left-wing comment on the Chancellor's ideas is based on what it calls Mr. Gaitskell's syllogism. The whole speech assumes that re-armament is necessary on the scale to which Britain is committed. The Left would say that such re-armament is not necessary. Their argument is that re-armament is only necessary when there is a threat of war or aggression. They see no evidence from Russia, or anywhere else—except the United States of America—that there is any country prepared to face a war. All evidence from Russia, they say, points to the people wanting peace above anything else. Therefore, all the economies, wage restrictions, potential inflation, and what-have-you, are following the false assumption of the need to re-arm. An interesting follow-up of this is being provided by Mr. Aneurin Bevan himself. He has been spending his summer holiday in Yugoslavia and has met Marshal Tito. It is reported that Mr. Bevan is now saying that re-armament is the wrong policy if one takes

a long view, but there is an immediate need to be strong in the West. If he can persuade the powers-that-be in the Labour Party that Tito has convinced him to this extent, he might well be back in the Cabinet if the Government continues through the winter. I understand that the Editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, Mr. Kingsley Martin, is also holidaying in Yugoslavia. One wonders if his comments on re-armament will change at all after he has had a talk with the Marshall? We shall have to wait and see. It seems that Marshall Tito would be a most welcome addition to the Conservative Party these days!

The Trades Union Congress has been holding its meetings in Blackpool's Opera House, a magnificent theatre where, in the evenings, there has been a large-scale musical show. Blackpool paid the Congress its supreme compliment. The annual illuminations were due to start on Friday, September 7th, but so that delegates to the Congress could have a full view of the lights, the official opening, or switch-on, was brought forward by twenty-four hours. So the Congress members could see Stanley Matthews switch on the lights, and follow half the population of Blackpool on the grand tour of the seven miles of fairyland, that the lights have made of the Promenade.

Whilst the T.U.C. has been meeting, there have been two major cuts announced. One has been to the effect that we shall be in a bad way this winter as far as electricity and coal are concerned. This we expected. The other cut is in the supply of milk. I recall meeting the Editor of *Swatantra* after his visit to England. I suggested to him that he must be glad to be back in Madras so that he could once again enjoy his own Indian food. He replied that there was no need for him to go hungry in Britain, as the milk was so rich in quality that it was a food in itself. That is so. When the bottle of milk is out on the doorstep in the mornings, about one third of it is seen at once to be rich cream. This milk, however

is now showing signs of being hard to get. The reason is said to be merely a seasonal drop in supplies, but there is the suspicion that there is another and more important reason. Last winter, there was a great shortage of meat in Britain. This was helped out, to a large extent, by farmers killing cattle which might still be producing milk. The farmers could hardly be blamed. At that time they could get good money for meat and there was also a general demand for all the meat that they could supply. Today, the meat situation is good—too good, in fact. We cannot now afford to buy all the meat that we are allowed! But the milk supply is going to suffer and, as my wife, and other men's wives, are saying, "We might manage with a little meat, but there is so much that one can do with milk to make up deficiencies in other directions."

There has been some adverse comment in Britain on the report that there are to be no facilities for broadcasts by political parties before the coming elections in India. It is felt that through radio, those parties that have not the large resources of Congress could be heard by the mass of voters, and that all parties ought to

be allowed to have that right. It is well-known here that Congress has a fine and powerful organisation. Some of us have also realised that in other directions Congress has been able to show itself to a wide public. I remember well the Information or News films put on in the cinemas in Madras. These were very often films showing the activities of leading Congressmen, showing the projects which the Government, which to many is synonymous with Congress, had planned. They seemed to me dangerously near Congress propaganda. Congress, or Government, speakers have been using the radio over the past few years to explain what the Government has been doing or wanting to do. One would have thought that the other political parties should have their share of radio time as the elections approach. It is essential that these coming elections should follow the precept laid down for justice—it is not enough that justice shall have been done, but it must be seen to have been done also. It is not enough that the elections in India should be fair, but everyone must be able to see that they are fair. Suspicion has been aroused by this ban on broadcasting.

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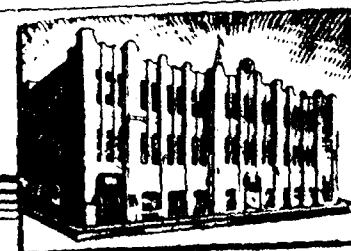
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NEW DELHI DIARY

By V. V. PRASAD

RAJARSHI TANDON displayed a rare sense of honour and dignity in the way he conducted himself during the past few days. He was not afflicted with indecision. "When I resign," he told us at his admirable Press conference, "I mean it to be accepted. I do not know how to speak or act in such a way that it may be interpreted in different ways." Those of us who came to the Press conference to scoff at him were prevented from remaining to pray only because we had been asked to have tea with Dr. Graham immediately afterwards. And tea is any day more important than prayer.

The contrast between Nehru and Tandon was quite clear. The Rajarshi explained how many times Pandit Nehru refused to join his Working Committee and how many times he agreed to join it. We have it on the authority of Mr. Kidwai that Panditji had said that he would not serve on the Working Committee if Tandon was elected Congress President. Tandonji explained: "Immediately after the Nasik session, I approached Jawaharlalji and asked him to join the Working Committee. He declined because (he said) he desired to give a 'shock' to the Congress. I proceeded thereafter on the basis that Jawaharlalji will not join the Working Committee. But when I came to Delhi I learned that some of his friends had some discussions with him as a result of which Jawaharlalji agreed to serve on the Working Committee. Again, after some time, he told me that he would not join the Working Committee. He came in some time later." Panditji's shock-tactics would have had some meaning if he had announced his Working Committee before the A.I.C.C. concluded its session. But he is letting things slide in leisurely fashion.

Tandonji is a man of integrity. He

is the superior of everybody else in the department of Nepotism. He is almost the only Congress leader who does not practise it. When his son was chosen for a post by the Public Service Commission in preference to a better-qualified candidate, Tandonji took up the cudgels and insisted on the decision being reversed. As Speaker of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, he was extremely scrupulous about the use of the Speaker's motor-car. His sense of scruples often misled him into unduly restricting the use of his car. He would not use the car even on some occasions when it was quite legitimate to use it. One of Tandonji's nephews complained to me about his uncle's scruples.

The defect of Tandonji is his lack of modernity. He simply does not understand how money-power can influence and control Congress politics. Somebody has obviously explained to him that the capitalists can control the Congress Party by contributing to its funds. He therefore told Panditji: "I shall not ask you to get any money for the Congress since you happen to be the Prime Minister. I would prefer Congress Ministers not making any collections for our party fund. That work should be done by others, for example, heads of the Pradesh Congress Committees and the Congress President." But whoever contributes to the Congress Party funds gains control over the Congress Party, whether the Prime Minister receives it or the Congress President receives it or a Minister or a Congress leader receives it on behalf of the Congress Party. The man who pays the piper calls the tune. And the individual who receives it on behalf of the Congress Party gains in influence within the party to some extent—as Sardar Patel did. The Prime Minister cannot consider himself free from the influence of those who contribute to the party funds simply because this

filthy lucre is collected by others. The Prime Minister probably thinks he will be free. Mr. Tandon is definite that the Prime Minister will be free. And he does not see anything wrong with collecting funds from very questionable sources. A goodish bit of the evaded income-tax may flow into the Congress Party funds. What is lost to the country is gained by the Congress. This is quite in order in a One-Party State. There is no Congressman who does not think that serving his own interests is the best way of serving the country's interests.

Tandon is not a Twentieth Century man. Nehru is. The Prime Minister is in fact the only Twentieth Century man in the Congress Party. That is his greatest merit. But he has also got many of the maladies of the Twentieth Century man. Indecision, inaction, introspection; these are his traits. He can do nothing by himself. What he needs is a capacity to follow the advice and guidance of others. Panditji today is too proud to listen to anybody's advice.

Following the decision of the Praja Party, there is a general realisation in the country that the system of applications from aspiring M.P's and legislators is fraught with grave consequences. Self-seekers and place-hunters abound in Parliaments as a result. The Prime Minister has also realised the need for choosing candidates on individual merit. The Socialist Party, I am sure, is not keen on putting up candidates who lack merit. That being so, it would perhaps be not impossible for Pandit Nehru, Acharya Kripalani and Jaya Prakash Narayan to get together and put up a joint-list on behalf of the three parties put together. This will not involve the need for the dissolution of any party, and is therefore a practicable proposition. This is the only way by which the country can be got out of the rut it has got into. It will save the country from degeneration. A country like India is bound to degenerate when it goes through elections of the type that are prevalent in India. None but the richest people can afford to stand as candidates. More than fifty per cent of the votes are cast as a result of illegal gratification. The sale of votes is just as bad as the sale of men and women.

Elections in India are only a reminder that every man has his price. It is degradation.

The *Hindustan Times* describes this columnist as a "Nehrute." The paper's ace-columnist and most powerful editorial executive, *Insaf*, writes: "Constantly outmanoeuvred, the 'Nehrutes' played their trump card. They created a fear complex that after the elections the P.M. would be discarded as a sucked orange and that since he was the winning card at the coming elections he must be on the top." This diarist is not a Nehrute. His criticism of Nehru is, however, tempered by a sneaking admiration for the P.M. We want Nehru to select candidates on grounds of merit. *Insaf* is himself a potential candidate for Parliament from Delhi, and he has been using the *Hindustan Times* effectively for his electioneering. It is natural that Nehrutes should want Nehru on top. But we, non-Nehrutes know that whether we want him or not he will be there. We therefore want to mould him according to our needs. Nehru does not like



Firestone

**BEST TODAY—
STILL BETTER TOMORROW**

it; but he seems to be slowly realising that he is losing all his dates with Destiny.

The Mysore Palace Orchestra, which has been giving a series of excellent Concerts of Western and Indian music in the Capital, is a poignant reminder of the sad plight of talented artistes in this country. During the old days, these musicians were the recipients of patronage from the Rulers of Mysore. With the so-called liquidation of the Princes, it is the musicians—and not the Princes—who are facing liquidation. The Princes no longer think it their responsibility to give a subsistence allowance to the musicians. There is worry written large on the brows of the members of the Mysore Palace Orchestra, for their future seems to be gloomy and uncertain.

The new patrons of art are the people themselves. The President, who is at present supporting innumerable useless people in his personal staff, should be able to take over such a very useful Orchestra. All India Radio should have its own Orchestra of Western Music in Delhi. It is in the national interest to see that the Mysore Palace Orchestra is not disbanded for lack of financial support. General Cariappa deserves the gratitude of the artistes in the country for his genuine concern for their future. But for his efforts, the Mysore Palace Orchestra would never have been brought to Delhi.

Many foreign hearers were surprised at the remarkable skill with which the Mysore Symphonic Orchestra played Weber, Mozart and Dvorak. To our own unexpert ears, the players seemed wonderful: this impression has since been confirmed by those who are experts. Mrs. Tara Ramadhyani and Mrs. Shanno Kurana of the Music Society organized a recital

by the Indian section of the Orchestra, which played before an enthusiastic audience. Conductor Ramayya was in charge of the orchestration. The vocal refrain, it was noticed, was not satisfactory. The Orchestra played full blast most of the time. A number of variations with several permutations and combinations of wind instruments, stringed instruments and percussion instruments would have rendered a more pleasing effect. This improvement can be effected without any difficulty.

The Indian audience believes in informality at a concert of classical music. The listeners chat with each other; they sit—as the Germans do—in a comfortable position. Joad records in his autobiographical *Book of Joad* that the German believes in what he calls "his right to expectorate." So does the Indian. The Englishman, says Joad, goes to the concert as though he is going to Church or to a funeral. He is dressed in black, sits stiffly in his seat and is both motionless and expressionless while the concert is in progress. He cheers only at the end of a piece. Since Joad gave his impressions, the Englishman seems to have changed considerably. He appears cheerful at concerts, and believes in a whispered word to his neighbour.

The Indian audience at the Symphony Orchestra at the Irwin Stadium cheered once or twice in the middle of a piece. The Conductor, Fernandes, was slightly put out, because—of course—the cheering was done by those who did not know that the piece had not ended. Indian musicians are cheered in the middle of the playing, but those who cheer do know that the piece had not come to an end. Both the Ustads and their accompanists on the tabla graciously acknowledge the cheering.

Trans World Airlines received the National Safety Council's award for flying more than four billion passenger miles with a perfect safety record.

Ralph S. Damon, President, in expressing gratification for the award, noted that the National Safety Council had cited TWA for flying 4,420,434,000 passenger miles without a single passenger fatality on TWA's entire coast-to-coast and international route system, which links the United States with Europe, Africa and Asia. TWA thus became the second airline to achieve this safety record and led the list of 43 scheduled airlines receiving the Council's awards.

JAPAN WANTS BRITAIN'S BODY

By ANDREW ROTH

LONDON: Britain is walking into the first year of Japan's renaissance as a world power with all the imperturbable calm of a sleep-walker approaching a precipice. Japan's re-emergence threatens to undermine disastrously Britain's position in India. Japan is to concentrate on India, hoping to develop with her a new 'third force' movement. Furthermore Japan hopes to participate extensively in India's industrialization. India's absence from San Francisco makes her no less attractive to Japan.

Until recently most observers considered the San Francisco treaty conference as an important hurdle. Attention was devoted to whether India and other Asian states would cross that hurdle in step with the U. S. Additional interest was aroused by speculation over whether the Soviet bloc would restrict itself to barking at those who jumped when the Americans asked them.

But the San Francisco conference was little more than a fence dividing the past of an occupied Japan completely dependent upon the whim of the U. S. occupation authorities from the present, renaissance Japan well on its way to restoring its position as a world power. This rebirth of Japanese power opens up great chasms of uncertainty and danger for all those concerned with South Asia.

It is a striking fact that the American diplomats who have sponsored Japan's debut are fully conscious of the tremendous risks involved. Their viewpoint was clearly stated by James Reston, the *New York Times'* top Washington diplomatic correspondent, who wrote on September 2nd that "to meet the menace of Soviet militarism and expansion, the United States is willing to take its chances on the revival of Japanese militarism, just as in Europe, for the same reason, it is willing to risk the revival of German militarism." Three days later the *New York Times'* distinguished military expert, Hanson Baldwin, pointed out that while the U. S. hopes that Japan will serve as "a counterpoise.... to the Soviet Union and

Communist China...we should be wise to recognise that we may be sowing the seeds of a whirlwind in Japan. A Japan, powerful in her own right, will determine her own destinies, and no man now can say that Japanese actions always will support the United States...."

Although this Japanese 'gamble' has been launched by the U. S., it has become increasingly evident that the Japanese are aiming first for economic stakes held by Britain—particularly those in South Asia. This zone is Britain's 'key economic area.' It includes half the trade of the sterling area, most of its dollar-earning capacity, half of Britain's markets and all of the Commonwealth's Asian dominions. If Persia is, as Mr. Bevin described it, the "throat" of the Empire, then assuredly South Asia is its "body"—and one that Japan covets.

Japan's first diplomatic emissary to Britain in a decade is surprised how little anti-Japanese sentiment he finds here—as well he might be. He is Koishiro Azakai, dynamic head of the six-man nucleus of the future Japanese Embassy to the Court of St. James. This group is renewing old contacts and looking for an embassy building somewhere near Grosvenor Square, locally known as "little Washington" because it is the centre of the many-buildinged U. S. Embassy. Japan's Embassy here will be small because Japan is not so much interested in the "head" of the Commonwealth here as in its South Asian "body".

Lebensraum

The forces driving Japan toward South Asia are strong and compelling. It is only in that rich area of 600,000,000 people that Japan can secure the political and economic 'living space' (*lebensraum*) to make its full restoration as a world power possible. Without a strong foothold in South Asia, Japan must choose to be a satellite either of the Americans or of the Chinese and Russians. With a strong foothold in South Asia, Japan can hope to play off the Americans

against the Chinese and Russians.

South Asia is essentially a "soft" area into which Japan can escape from the "hard" choices now offered her in East Asia. The U. S. now offers Japan a military alliance against continental Asia in which Japanese troops will eventually provide the infantry now lacking to counter the manpower of the Chinese and Russians. What ever Japanese leaders say publicly, the Japanese are not anxious to be used as cheap cannon fodder. Nor would they be happy, in case of a general war, to be dependent for their defence against nearby Communist bases on the U. S. navy and air force operating at the end of 9,000-mile supply lines. American strategists no longer say—as they did in 1949—that it would be impossible in wartime to provision a nation of 86 million people across waters infested by Soviet submarines. But the Japanese have not forgotten.

The Extreme Alternative

The extreme alternative, an alliance with the Communist mainland against the U. S. masters of the Pacific is even less appetizing, particularly to the shrewd conservatives who rule Japan. The scars left by American air and naval power are too recent to be comfortable. Therefore Japan shares the fear of World War III which has motivated much of the 'neutralism' evidenced last winter by the Arab-Asian block. Japan is likely consequently to attempt to link itself with this South Asian block to form a 'third force' for its own purposes.

The economic reasons for the South Asian link are even more compelling. Japan is like Britain—only more so. It is an industrialised island kingdom with poor natural resources. It must import most of its food and raw materials and sell its manufactures abroad to support its population. Being a loser, the war impoverished Japan even more than it did Britain. It lost all its empire and all its foreign investments. And its volcanic islands must support 86 million people, 72% more than Britain's isles.

The 'cold war'—now turned 'lukewarm'—has been very expensive for Japan. Japan used to rely on China for a third of its foreign trade. It

imported vital coking coal and iron ore from China and exported manufactured goods. Japan gets a small amount of coal from China now, but much of its coal is supplied by the U. S. at three times the cost. Japan's exports to China have likewise almost dried up.

Economic Strains

These economic strains were hidden as long as the U. S. was in occupation because Washington contributed over \$2,000 millions to help bail Japan out. The Korean war has earned Japan another \$315 millions annually as the advanced base for the U.S.-U.N. forces. But both these sources seem likely to dry up considerably.

Japan is forced into South Asia to find cheap sources of food and raw materials and ready markets. Already the area supplies one-third of Japan's raw material needs; Malaya supplies rubber, Indonesia rubber, copra and nickel, Siam rice and tungsten, Burma rice, India iron ore, coal and manganese, Pakistan cotton and jute. And Japan is hoping to get more of these and additional raw materials. From Malaya, Japan hopes to secure iron ore. The U. S. is encouraging Japan to turn to South Asia to make it less dependent on U. S. economic aid.

Already Japan has made big inroads into South Asian trade. Nearly half of Japan's exports go to the sterling area, the bulk of it to South Asia. This year Indonesia has been Japan's best customer after the U. S. which ranks first. Japan has become the world's greatest cotton exporter and is pushing other exporting countries out of South Asian markets.

Present plans are to expand this trade considerably. Japan is rebuilding its merchant marine. A new airline is planned to tap most South Asian countries. Hundreds of salesmen are pouring out of the Kobe-Yokohama area—Japan's commercial centre—to open up new South Asian territories. Wrote the *Manchester Guardian* on September 1: "The recent expansion in Japanese exports to the sterling area is likely to continue. Details which have reached London of the new Anglo-Japanese payments agreement signed in Tokyo show that Japan expects to earn

large amounts of sterling in Commonwealth markets." The next day the *Sunday Times* carried a dispatch from its acute Tokyo correspondent, Richard Hughes, under the headline "Japan Prepares for S. E. Asia Trade Drive." He predicted Japan would cut wages and re-establish the old *Zaibatsu* cartels to resurrect the war-time "Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Japan's best hope of achieving this, strangely enough, is behind the facade of the British-sponsored "Colombo Plan". Britain's inability to supply enough technicians, capital or machinery to execute these plans gives the Japanese a big opening. Japan has many technicians who can work at fractions of what British or American technicians would cost. And Japan has the prestige of being the only non-Communist country in Asia to industrialize extensively and inexpensively.

Return To Asia

Early last year I met my first post-war Japanese technicians in Karachi advising Pakistan on textiles. And recently two expert missions have been offered India for textiles and chemicals. India has apparently been given up as a market for Japanese textiles, but the Japanese hope to monopolize the Indian market for textile machinery. As the *Asahi*, Japan's leading paper, said recently: "We are not returning to the community of Western nations. We are returning to Asia by signing the peace treaty."

Japan's dynamic re-entry into South Asia threatens to undermine Britain not only economically but in terms of prestige and politics as well. Although the Japanese representatives are moving slowly and carefully at present, they are expected to utilize soon the many political openings offered by the complex South Asian scene. Britain can counter this dual penetration by trade quotas and denying visas in directly-administered colonial areas. But this is no longer possible in the new dominions which welcome Japan as a new string to their bow. In short, Japan is making the bid to "inherit" Britain's "key economic area" which many expected the U. S. to make.

This comes at a particularly bad time for Britain because rearmament eats up the materials and manufacturing capacity needed to maintain its South Asian markets. Japan, of course, faces the same problem. If it rearms, as the U. S. requests, it will have less to export to South Asia. This helps explain the Japanese Premier's insistence that rearmament is "financially impossible."

Since "export or die" has been the slogans of the British economy, Britain's apparent lack of concern about the looming menace to its key market has puzzled all observers. Some explain the limited efforts to hobble Japanese economic penetration by British complacency that it can compete because Japanese wages are higher than pre-war. Others feel that the key decisions concerning Japan were taken just after the British Cabinet lost its experienced Foreign Secretary and President of the Board of Trade. But the most persuasive reason is that Britain's leaders have their eyes so firmly fixed on the menacing glint of the ascendant Soviet star that they are capable of stumbling into a chasm.

This danger was illustrated on September 9 by the *Observer*, whose thinking frequently parallels that of the Foreign Office. The *Observer* applauded Japan's re-emergence as "an active Great Power" chortling that now "the American-Japanese combination is undoubtedly supreme" over the "rival Russian-Chinese combination...." "It is unthinkable," the *Observer* continued, "that a restored Japan could tolerate the domination of Korea by either China or Russia, and there is little doubt that she will soon have it in her power to prevent such a domination." The hope is clear: that Japanese troops will take over U.S.-U.N. commitments in Korea, freeing Western troops for Europe. This exercise in wishful thinking does not explain why a militarily and economically weak Japan should want, at this stage, to involve itself in war with a strengthened China—and simultaneously invoke the Sino-Soviet military alliance. Would it not be more attractive to make considerable penetrations into the "soft" body of South Asia without risking war?

SIDELIGHTS :

Turn him to any cause of policy, the Gordian knot of it he will unloose, familiar as his garter.—SHAKESPEARE.

SRI BHAKTAVATSALAM told a Press conference on Tuesday that the Pulichintala Project "had not been investigated in detail." But the Madras Government state, in their communique issued three weeks earlier, "The Pulichintala Project was investigated and prepared between 1908 and 1911." Evidently there was investigation, but no detailed investigation, an absurdity despite the Minister, since without going into details, there could be no investigation at all.

"He could not accept the statement that 16 lakhs of acres could be irrigated under the project without a complete investigation," declared the Minister with authoritarian finality. Complete investigation, having by him been self-confessed as non-existing, how could he "not accept" what he has not completely investigated? Pertinently, the Executive Committee of the Krishna Valley People's Welfare Association ask the Minister, "Why do the Government hasten to condemn a project, which, according to them, requires re-investigation? They could have got this re-investigated and then only pronounced their verdict on the feasibility or otherwise, of the project."

The Krishna Valley People's Association is an outcome of Sri Bhaktavatsalam's public works administration. The Association has behind it the strength of the roused anger of the people of the Krishna valley who have come to realise that the Minister's Krishna Pennar Project, if implemented, "would spell permanent disaster to the people of the valley." Distrust of Sri Bhaktavatsalam and his project has spread from the Association to the whole public of the Andhra districts. Swami Sitaram's demand for a caretaker Government has undoubtedly something to do with the Krishna Pennar Project, and quite naturally Pandit Nehru could not grasp the relevance of the demand. What does he, straight,

clean man, know of the mysteries of the content of intrigue that fills so large a part of the grandiose projects of Madras State? The Prime Minister can never understand the meaning of Swami Sitaram's desperate importunity for a caretaker Government in Andhra until he learns to plumb to its depths Sri Bhaktavatsalam's machiavellianism. The Andhras fancy they have done this already. What will not a Minister do, they seem to think, against whom the very rivers are not safe, and may have their waters transported to the vicinity of his patrimony, hundreds of miles away? Sri Gopala Reddi's stock, never high, has fallen to a record low, owing to a political deal he is supposed to have made with Sri Bhaktavatsalam. On the other hand Sri Chandramowli is credited with being the only Andhra Minister dead set against the Krishna Pennar Project. Report has it that he will resign if the project is persisted in.

The Executive Committee of the Krishna Valley People's Association have put to Sri Bhaktavatsalam a few questions which even that clever casuist will be hard put to it to answer satisfactorily. The Minister in his communique had quoted some remarks of Colonel Ellis to prove the unpromising nature of the Pulichintala Project. The Committee turn round in reply and ask, "We would like to know as to why the Government included the Pulichintala Scheme in the list of projects they submitted for consideration by the Planning Commission, in the face of these observations. Were they not aware of these observations by Col. Ellis when they pleaded before the Inter-State Conference for the water required for the Pulichintala Project? The objection to the Project seems to be only an after-thought, necessitated by the fact that the Government have made up their mind for pursuing the Krishna Pennar Project which alone requires for irrigation purposes more than the entire share of Krishna waters now allotted to the Madras Government." Then comes this damning indictment: "In their

anxiety to rush through at any cost the Krishna Pennar Scheme, the main object of which is to divert Krishna water into another valley, the Government of Madras surrendered a part of Krishna water, to get the acceptance of the Bombay Government for this diversion."

While the controversy goes on between the respective advocates of the Pulichintala Project and the Krishna Pennar Project, what of the water supply to Madras City, so precarious now, and so urgently in need of replenishment? Raising the question in a Letter to the Editor, Sri T. V. Ramamurthi writes:

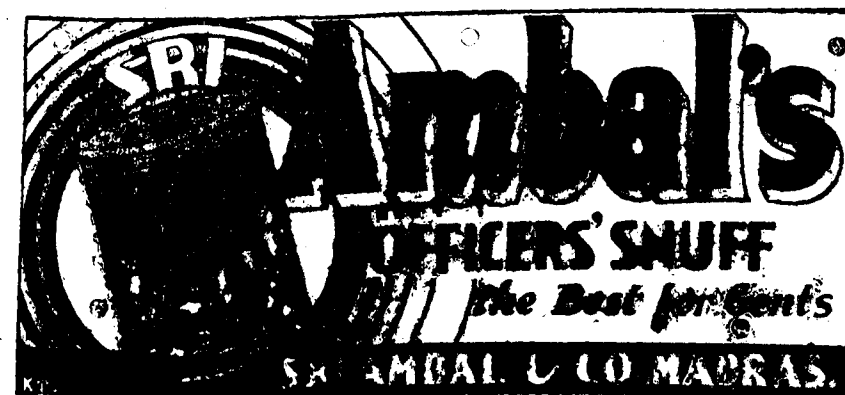
The Sidelights of Saka do not, as far as I can see, throw any clear light on his personal opinion on the Krishna-Pennar Project. One thing is, however, clear. There is prejudice against the scheme because there is a suspicion that the persons promoting it have a personal advantage to serve in the matter. I believe that Saka has no "paternal acres" to be irrigated by the Krishna-Pennar Project. I know I have none.

But both of us have an interest in the water supply of the city of Madras with its population of well over a million and a half, which is likely to increase even further in the near future. The health of this large population consisting of men and women with Telugu and Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada as their mother tongues, is a matter of common and immediate necessity. I, therefore, feel that the project in so far as it brings water up to Madras should be non-controversial. It will also be obvious that up to this point such irrigation, as may be possible, will be of lands lying overwhelmingly in the Andhra area.

Whether the project should be extended further would depend on the amount of

water available after irrigating the lands nearer to Krishna-Pennar valleys. At this stage I would not like to raise the larger question of the administration of river waters in the Indian Union for the benefit of all the citizens of this Union. Sometimes one is tempted to ask whether, at any time, we in this country shall learn and feel that we are citizens of one Union and not the inhabitants of a divided lingual Tower of Babel.

Water for Madras City is on a different footing from water to the neighbourhood of Sri Bhaktavatsalam's lands. People of all linguistic denominations in the State will contribute joyfully from their resources to add to the amenities and comforts of Madras City. But the trouble lies in the apprehension of the public, to which the Committee of the Krishna Valley Association have made pointed reference, "that the Madras Government is depending on the advice of a single Chief Engineer." The Chief Engineer fancied by the P. W. D. Minister is not the best that the State can boast of. The ablest of the engineers in service are unloved. One, among the most talented that the country has produced, has left, in disgust at pinpricks. Another, a by-word for integrity and ability, is relegated to second-rate tasks. The Minister's favourite is a superannuated mediocrity. Sri Bhaktavatsalam is hostile to Andhra engineers, and everything Andhra, and as he has no use for Andhras except as his tools, he has lost the goodwill of the Andhras and his projects are viewed by them with suspicion. He is the most distrusted of the Ministers, and for such a one neither Public Works nor Publicity is a suitable portfolio.—SAKA.





I HAVE BORNE MUCH: By C. P. Matthen, "Amphill," Harrington Road, Chetput, Madras. Price, Rs. 7-8-0.

That Mr. C. P. Matthen waited for 13 years to bring out his publication is an undoubted testimony to his anxiety to eschew from the written word the white heat of passion and prejudice. A man with a grievance is most dangerous—to himself when he seeks to invest the incidents which gave him cause for grievance with historical interest—unless he has allowed the emotional storm to blow over and allows time the healer to assuage acerbities. Mr. Matthen has distinctly benefitted by the 12 year interval he placed between the tragedy and the narration.

Mr. Matthen's story is really the story of the building up of the two banks which were merged in 1937 and called the Travancore National and Quilon Bank. The promising beginnings, the spectacular strides, and the wide spread of usefulness of the institutions are vividly portrayed. The dramatic developments of 1938, with its whispering campaign and the official ukases of the Travancore Dewan at whose door Mr. Matthen lays the blame for the final shut-down of the Bank are narrated with great power. The extradition warrants, the litigation that followed, the final extradition, the trial, the conviction and the unsuccessful appeal are the subject of vivid pen pictures. While it is possible that most of the figures and financial statements with which Mr. Matthen seeks to prove the soundness of the Bank will come up for inadequate appreciation by those unfamiliar with accounting, the broad fact remains that in the liquidation, there was forced sale of large assets in Travancore at ridiculous prices—in fact too ridiculous not to look deliberate. That in spite of such considerable political ransoming of poor depositors, the liquidators paid over 12 annas in the rupee to the depositors proves the ultimate solvency of the Bank.

On the material and records furnished by Mr. Matthen—and here he has shown an excellent sense of proportion—it is not necessary to leave to posterity the verdict on whether the Bank closure was or was not a command performance. It was an unwise command performance—for it involved great suffering for small depositors wholly unconcerned in controversies raging in the south-west corner of the peninsula.

The chapter on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar seems to be the weakest in the book. After tracing all his misfortunes to Sir C. P., Mr. Matthen should not expect the reader to accept his appraisal of Sir C. P., as either objective, or as unprejudiced. His literary adviser to whom Mr. Matthen refers with gratitude in his preface should have advised against Mr. Matthen attempting a thumb-nail sketch of his pet aversion. Animadverting on the acceptance of office by Sir C. P., he says with engaging naivette: "We may for want of a better name call it (here he refers to the British Government's strategy) the policy of individual appeasement. In essence, it was that of selecting men who were in the forefront of the Indian political movement and testing by indirect means whether any of them could be won over by the lure of office. Let it be said to our eternal credit, renegades from the ranks of Indian patriotism, were remarkably few. Let us admit with shame that there were a few exceptions, the Indian homologues of the Quislings and Laval's of a later day. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was one of these rare exceptions." (Page 48).

Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Justice M. G. Ranade, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and a host of others, acknowledged to be among the exalted founders of Indian Nationalism held official positions in their time. Mr. N. Gopalaswami Aiyangar and Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh hold key positions in the Central Cabinet today, because of their proved integrity and executive skill and we should have had little opportunity of knowing these sterling qualities but for their holding offices earlier in a bureaucratic dispensation. All these eminent men will come within the new class of political untouchables which Mr. Matthen has created by his above somewhat emotional utterance—and surely Mr. Matthen did not intend it. Further it is clear that he did not hold such extreme views even about Sir C. P., in 1937, when he and his bank colleague arranged a garden party in Sir C. P.'s honour. (Page 65).

In the narration of his jail experiences and his account of fellow-prisoners, Mr. Matthen reaches great heights. The statement in court and Mr. Mitter's opinion if somewhat sensational for the disclosures made, are very relevant as annexures to this readable and interesting book.

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.

Railway Rates Tribunal

There appears to be a very serious mistake in the article on the Railway Rates Tribunal in *Swatantra* of Aug. 25, which makes the whole argument in the article fallacious.

On page 15 is written: "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 calculation is a gross mistake. 400,000 tons is one-fifth of 2 million tons, whereas the writer has spun the article around a 2%. A single consumer taking 20 per cent is well worth some consideration.

Madras.

TAMBAN.

EDITOR'S NOTE: On Sri Tamban's letter being sent to Sri S. Rangiah Naidu, the writer of the article, he replied: "I thank you for drawing my attention to a typographical error in my article on the 'Indian Railway Rates Tribunal' which appeared in 'Swatantra' dated 25th August, 1951. The quantity of 4,00,000 tons should read as 40,000 tons, which is about 2% of the entire annual production."

Chinoy And Lysenko

Mr. V. V. Prasad, under the "New Delhi Diary" (*Swatantra*, Aug. 25th) has given very encouraging news about the visit of an Indian botanist to Russia. Prof. J. J. Chinoy is perhaps the first Indian scientist, if I remember right, to have an audience with Lysenko. He is still more fortunate in having been able to talk over things with Lysenko, and examine his various experiments. Such eminent British scientists as Prof. Julian Huxley, Prof. Eric Ashby and Dr. Harland have repeatedly complained of the difficulty experienced in getting an interview with Lysenko. They were also unable to comprehend Lysenko's arguments and they in their turn felt they were not properly understood by Lysenko. In view of these precedents, we are forced to conclude that the type of treatment meted out to Prof. Chinoy by Lysenko is singular. There might be several reasons for this and if we are allowed to guess, Lysenko might have considered it easier to convince an Indian scientist than a British or American scientist.

At any rate, in view of the unique ex-

perience which Prof. Chinoy appears to have had in Russia, it is suggested that he should publish a detailed account of his discussions with the Russian scientists and his own observations and ideas about graft hybridisation in particular. Lysenko and his followers have made far-reaching claims with regard to their own achievements and those of Michurin in graft hybridisation. On the other hand, western scientists have expressed grave doubts about the experimental methods adopted by Lysenko and his supporters and also regarding the manner of interpretation of the results. If, therefore, Prof. Chinoy can now bring forth convincing evidence in favour of Lysenko's claims in this line, as a result of his personal observations, he will be doing immense service not only to Lysenko but also to the science of genetics.

R. L. N. SASTRI,
Andhra University.

Rajaji Hall Dispute

The public has taken considerable interest in the proceedings before the High Court of Madras regarding the use of the so called "Rajaji Hall".

The facts may be mentioned briefly as under:

In the month of March this year, in my capacity as Secretary of the People's Civil Liberties Union, I applied to the Secretary, Public Works Department, Government of Madras, to allow me to use the Rajaji Hall for two days in the month of May for the purpose of holding the annual meeting of the People's Civil Liberties Union. My application was rejected by the Government without assigning any reason. Thereupon I filed a petition in the High Court for the issue of a writ of mandamus directing the Government to comply with my request. This petition was dismissed by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Venkatarama Iyer, on 6th September, 1951.

My contention was that the renaming of the former Banqueting Hall as Rajaji Hall and the talk of Ministers in those days led to the popular presumption that the Hall had assumed the status of a public hall. The Hall had since been let out to various organisations and individuals on a daily rental basis to hold public meetings and conferences, even music and marriage parties. Hence, the refusal to allow me to hold the annual conference of the People's Civil Liberties Union was arbitrary, discriminatory and

contrary to Article 14 of the Constitution.

I relied on the statement made by Sri Bhakthavathsalam, Minister for Public Works, on the floor of the Assembly, on 20th March, 1951, that there were rules which guided the disposal of applications made by the public who sought permission to use the Hall. The Minister stated: "The Government have not restricted its (Rajaji Hall) use only to organisations connected with the Government".....I do not think there is any difference in the matter of the rent charged, but according to the rules recently framed, dramatic performances or musical entertainments are not allowed."

The judges did not agree with my contention that the existence of the rule referred to by the Minister for Public Works amounted to the creation of a right to the public to claim the use of the Hall. But their Lordships hold that since the same Minister had also stated in the same statement that the "Rajaji Hall" was not a "Public Hall", it was merely Government property like any other property of the Government to be used at the discretion of the authorities.

My further submission was that even granting that the former Banqueting Hall still retained its original status as mere Government property and the farce of dedication as "Rajaji Hall" was only a

make-believe to throw dust in the eyes of the public, the Government must have framed rules for the letting out of the Hall to the public, which rules must apply equally to all citizens without discrimination as to party affiliations.

The Hon'ble judges were inclined not to agree with me but decided in favour of the Government.

I desire to draw the attention of the public to the authoritative pronouncement of the Government in the counter affidavit. The Additional Deputy Secretary to the Government, Public Works Department, swore that the Banqueting Hall renamed as "Rajaji Hall" in 1948 had not been dedicated to the public and that no rules had been framed to regulate the use of the Hall for public purposes and that the Government were entitled to allow the use of the Hall by any organisations or persons at their sweet will and pleasure.

Now, it is clear to everybody that the discretionary powers vested in the Executive have been used not to serve the interest of the people as a whole but to patronise organisations and individuals who are well disposed towards the party in power. This is barefaced nepotism.

I have sent a copy of this statement to the Hon'ble Sri Bhakthavathsalam, who is also the Minister for Information.

C. V. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

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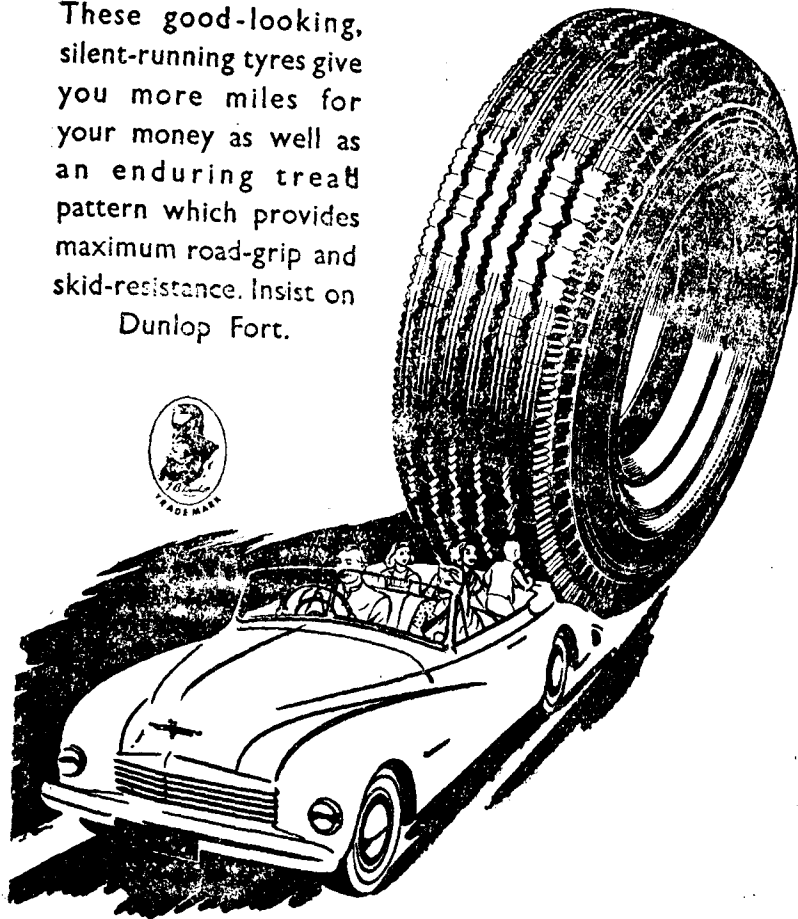
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SWATANTRA

VOL. VI
No. 33

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1951

ISSUED
WEEKLY

AFTER THE SHOCK TREATMENT

THE hope that Pandit Nehru would renovate the Congress with his "shock" treatment has been destroyed by his choice of members for the Working Committee. The new Committee is in no respect superior to the old. Sri Kalā Venkata Rao must be adjudged an angel in comparison to Sri Mallayya who supplants him. South India on the Committee is represented by Sri Sanjiva Reddi and Sri Kamaraj Nadar, the Presidents respectively of the Andhra and Tamilnad Pradesh Congress Committees. The affairs of these committees have not been conducted hitherto in such an exemplary manner as to justify the inclusion of their presiding officers in the central executive of the Congress, when the avowed objective of its reconstitution is the regeneration of the party organisation. Sri Sanjiva Reddi is not without some attractive traits. His gentle demeanour encourages goodwill. He is free from the arrogance and offensiveness which have become an inseparable part of the manner and speech of Sri Gopala Reddi. It was thought that he was a puppet of Sri Kalā Venkata Rao as he owed his election to the Presidentship of the Andhra P. C. C. to that arch-manipulator's initiative and efforts. But when he resisted Kala's importunities in support of Sri Tandon in the Nehru-Tandon tussle, he outlived that stigma and established himself as a leader with a will of his own not incapable of taking an independent stand of his own against powerful adversaries. Sri Sanjiva Reddi exchanged a seat in the Madras Cabinet for the Presidentship of the Andhra

P. C. C. with a reputation none too favourable. He was one of those who sought commercialisation of their alleged patriotic services in 1942 with applications for gifts of land. Though a rich man he was given and accepted while he was Minister 12 acres of land in reward for participation in Congress activities of the pre-Independence era. Had even Pandit Nehru acted likewise, he would have fallen from that pedestal of non-acquisitive devotion to national service from which he shines as the admired hero of millions of his countrymen. Others cannot hope to fare better. Sri Sanjiva Reddi should shake off the sordid fruit of the land-grabbing drive sponsored by Kamaraj Nadar for the material benefit and moral cheapening of Congress Satyagrahis, if he is to prove worthy of the honours that in quick succession have devolved on him. It is evident that he is endeavouring to rise in stature with the rise in position and responsibility that has come to him by accident and fortune. In the turning point of life at which he stands, he should wipe out with valiant resolve blemishes of the past that subtract from his worth, and as a first step he should renounce the paltry land gift which rewards him less than it defiles. The disgrace of the Congress has come from ministers, legislators and the like helping themselves shortcut-wise to property and the good things of life, taking advantage of political power in the shift of events. Nothing would galvanise the dissipated morale of the Congress so well and so quickly as the renunciation of ill-conceived gains by a stalwart beneficiary of the stamp

of Sri Sanjiva Reddi gracing the gadi of the Andhra P. C. C. The Congress needs not only redemption from wrong but also examples of reparation for error.

As for Sri Kamraj Nadar, he has established himself as a master tactician not easily to be dislodged from supremacy in Tamil Nadu Congress affairs. He too is not without some elements of greatness. His simplicity of style and living is charming. There is a certain consummateness in him not easily to be deflected into the facilities of talk, small or big. In the little things of tactics that matter to maintain voting strength undiminished, he has proved himself a genius without peer. He has had power, but what he has done with power has contributed little to social welfare or the dignity of public life. One of the latest reports is that a rich man who is one of the leaders of the Opposition parties in the Madras Assembly is to

be helped with Congress connivance to a seat in the legislature in the coming elections in exchange for a munificent donation. Sri Kamaraj has brought into the legislature a large number of undesirable men apparently in order that with their docility he may build for his sovereignty an unimpaired continuity, and it does not appear that he has changed his practice in response to the Prime Minister's appeals for integrity.

While Sri Tandon has shone through the controversies of recent days as a leader of exemplary balance and dignity, Pandit Nehru who has supplanted him as Congress President does not show promise of any better fulfilment. He has had an exhilarating experience in talking grand. All the talk has collapsed into a spiritual orgasm. The routine goes on, the same as before.

Sotto Voce

KHADDER-CLAD CAESARISM



MR. C. Rajagopalachari is credited with the intention of striking his tents and departing homeward shortly. Meanwhile he has avowed a modest ambition. "I wish to leave behind me," he said, speaking on the Press Bill, "a law that should comprise the essential 'Don'ts' for printed stuff." So might the promulgator of the Mosaic Code have unburdened himself to a crony before he went up Mt. Sinai. But immutability is hardly reckoned a virtue in law in these degenerate times, as witness the lite-

rary odium that still pursues the almost mythical Medes and Persians. As for "Don'ts," who shall frame them for the politicians?

"We cannot afford to let people's minds be poisoned," said the Home Minister with a portentous assumption of authority which has a familiar ring about it. The Press can only say, "Amen!" from the depths of its sinking heart. The State that conceives it has a duty to inoculate men's minds ends by sterilising them.

The Britisher at his worst did not dream of consigning the Press perpetually to the status of prisoner on parole. It was left to the Mahatma's understudy to turn Rousseau's dictum upside down and say that the Press was everywhere born in chains and in India it must continue to wear a good few of them for its own good.

It seems that we belong neither to the East nor to the West and therefore "our laws must be of our own pattern." Wherein lies our peculiarity, you ask? "We have the strongest feelings based on class or religious classifications." Wherefore the luxury of a free press is not for us; in America they may safely go in for it, one supposes, because the he-American of the Southern States hugs the Negro in fraternal embrace and his brother in the democratic North is madly in love with the Communist. Another of our distressing deficiencies is that "we are generally poor and liable to the temptations of poverty alongside of an exotic culture demanding a high scale of expenditure." And so the State has a pious duty to inculcate plain living by a blanket ban on thinking.

Mr. Rajagopalachari impressively reminded us that "we have illiteracy at a high percentage." One would think that the newspapers, however full of guile, were powerless against that triple armour. But the Home Minister is apprehensive, not of the illiteracy which provides our beach orators with their mammoth audiences, but of the unsettling effect of literacy. Every morning, he groans, two million copies of newspapers are read by probably five or six times as many persons. And they might put dangerous ideas into those noodles. And "on top of it we have adult franchise and a republican Government where no particular man has high authority or power." Could the case for Caesarism be put more succinctly?

Mr. Rajagopalachari declares as his "humble opinion" that Section 144 Cr. P. C. "has served more than any-

thing else in this country to preserve order." Note that well; it is not the innate goodness of our people for which he has perfunctory praise, nor the civilising influence of that *ahimsa* which the Congress has so long preached, nor even that famous diplomacy of C. R.'s for which his admirers have claimed a Chanakyan astuteness, that has staved off chaos. The lathi is the flaming sword of the Archangel that has guarded the innocence of the policeman's paradise that was and is India. After that thundering tribute to their wisdom and humanity, the souls in Valhalla of long-forgotten bureaucrats should sleep well.

Mr. Rajagopalachari scouts the suggestion that newspapers should be put on a par with the individual citizen in respect of rights and duties. "Would you govern motor cars by the laws applicable to bullock carts?", he asks with that genius for irrelevance which is the wonder of our age. With equal cogency he contends that a newspaper, being a corporation, not a *corpus vile*, cannot be birched on its behind. But, oddly enough, all his chivalry is roused by the spectacle of that rather unbelievable damsel in distress, to wit, the State. "The right of complaint is given to every one who is wronged," he says with the suspicion of a tear in his eye; "shall we deny it to Government in the case of a newspaper?"

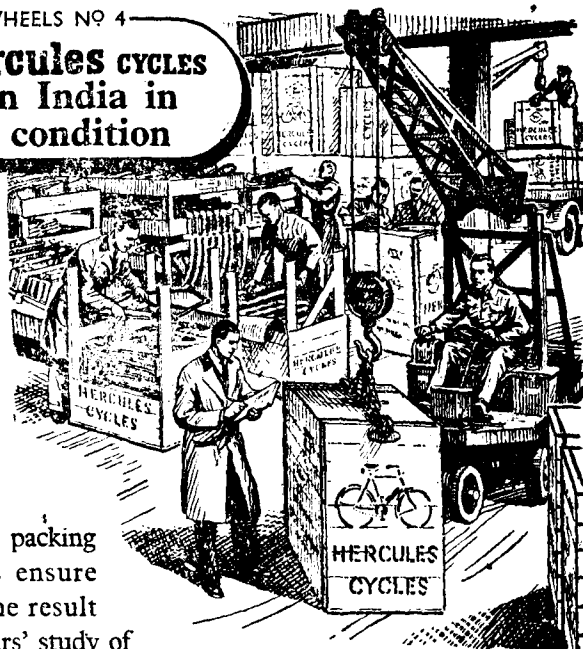
That the intellectual operation of reasoning could thus be reduced to acrobatics is a measure of the deadly cynicism that is consuming the Congress. Every one of the Home Minister's specious pleas for muzzling the Press was, in an earlier day, denounced by him and his fellow-paladins as an affront to commonsense and a sin against the light. The sabotage which the August patriots so easily reconciled with their non-violent consciences owed nothing to the instigation of the Press; still, it did help them to climb to power. And is it not the most natural thing in the world to kick the ladder by which you rose?

VIGNINESWARA.

The sole function both of law and legislation is to secure to each individual the utmost liberty which he can enjoy consistently with the preservation of the like liberty to all others.—James C. Carter.

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POLITICS BEHIND KRISHNA PENNAR PROJECT

By T. VISWANATHAM, M.L.A.

THE Press Communique issued by the Government of Madras on the Krishna-Pennar Project is misleading inasmuch as it exaggerates the usefulness of the Krishna-Pennar Project and grossly under-estimates the feasibility and the usefulness of the Krishna Reservoir (Pulichintala) Project. It is reported that the Hon. Minister for Public Works, Government of Madras, stated that "no politics or sentiment weighed with Government; that their policy was to

take up schemes which were feasible and regarding which investigation was fully completed and that above all the schemes should be capable of yielding quickest possible results." If these are the criteria I would say that the Pulichintala Project is by far superior to the Krishna-Pennar Project.

The particulars of the Krishna-Pennar Project may be summarized as follows:

	Full Stage Plan		First Stage Plan	
	Area. Lakhs of Acres	Cost. Crores Rs.	Area. Lakhs of Acres	Cost. Crores Rs.
1. Krishna dam		15.93		15.93
2. Pennar dam		21.00		21.00
3. Krishna-Pennar canal linkup (118 miles)		19.60		19.60
4. Barrage below Pennar dam		1.33		
5. Madras canal (195 miles)	3.68	9.00	3.68	9.00
6. Kanupur canal (37 miles)	1.14	2.20	1.14	2.20
7. Kavali canal (40 miles)	1.22	2.43	1.22	2.43
8. K. P. Canal				
9. K. P. West canal		7.00		7.00
10. K. P. East canal		7.00		
11. Pennar south canal thro. Pundi to Vellar		42.00		
12. Pennar north canal (Chembarambakkam)		20.83		

Areas under items 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 could not be furnished as information is not available.

Item 9. K. P. West canal is now brought to the first stage plan to meet the criticism that the scheme is intended more for others than for the Andhras.

The particulars of the Pulichintala scheme as originally planned are as follows:

	Area. (acres).	Cost Rs. lakhs.
1. Dam at Pulichintala:		Rs. 310 lakhs.
2. Upland canal:	6 lakhs	296 "
3. Krishna delta extension works:	3 "	36 "

Pulichintala site is about 40 miles above the Bezwada anicut.

Length of the dam:	10,475 ft.
Head regulator:	6,998 "
Level top of dam:	230 "
Full reservoir level:	224.5 "
Capacity of reservoir:	185 TMC.

But we need not stick to this small reservoir at Pulichintala. Its capacity can be increased by raising the height of the dam so as to make the storage capacity 260 TMC which will completely serve the needs of Krishna and Guntur districts. The cost of this dam, if calculated on the same basis taken for the construction of the dam at Siddheswaram under the proposed Krishna-Pennar Project, would be only Rs. 15 crores, and the cost of excavation and construction of the upland canal contemplated under the original Pulichintala scheme will be at best Rs. 12 crores at the present price level thus bringing the total cost of the scheme to Rs. 27 crores only. This project commands an area of about 15 lakhs of acres—6 lakhs of new area in the upland taluks of Guntur district, and over 9 lakhs of the existing Krishna delta for second crop purposes. Therefore, the Pulichintala dam is certainly more economical and superior to the Krishna dam proposed under the Krishna-Pennar Project. Besides having a dam at Pulichintala another can be constructed at the proposed site of Siddheswaram with a storage capacity of 120 TMC to serve the needs of about 5 lakhs of acres in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool. The proposed Someswaram reservoir on the Pennar can be limited to a storage capacity of 120 TMC as originally contemplated. This will serve the needs of Nellore district. So, in my view, the construction of these reservoirs of Krishna and Pennar rivers separately, without linking up each other, is much more economical both from the point of view of cost and quicker results and of immediate usefulness for second crop purposes in the existing delta areas of Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts, and will besides bring under new irrigation an area of over 16 lakhs of acres in the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Nellore and Guntur. This is also the most economical way of benefiting areas which, if the project were not executed, would continue to be hopelessly barren and backward agriculturally, industrially and in every other respect. Of course this may not serve the purpose of carrying water to the other southern districts of Chenchulput, South Arcot, North Arcot, etc.

The Ramapadasagar Project was

designed to serve 43 lakhs of acres at a cost of 129 crores finally. The irrigation portion of this project would cost only 80 crores. The Krishna-Pennar Project is designed to serve 42 lakhs of acres, assuming it can serve them, at a cost of 166 crores. Which is cheaper, I ask, even according to the estimates of the Government? There is still another point. The first stage plan of the Krishna-Pennar Project is going to cost nearly 80 crores, not 60 crores as was at first reported, but would serve only 12 lakhs of acres. I ask which is more economical, Ramapadasagar or Krishna-Pennar? Let there be independent examination before we are committed to this vast expenditure.

Originally when the Government wanted to shelve the Ramapadasagar Project they informed the Legislature and the public that the Krishna-Pennar project would cost only 60 to 70 crores which was about half the cost of the Ramapadasagar Project. Having shown out an ostensible advantage then, they have now worked up the scheme so as to cost 166 crores. In deference to public criticism, I suppose, the Government have now put down the cost at 148 crores, and then at 133 crores reducing the indirect charges from 15% to 9%, at the same time also showing more acreage as being commanded by the scheme so that the scheme could be made to appear attractive. Even the sandy and saline areas along the coast from Ennore to the mouths of the Pennar are shown in the stage plan as irrigable areas just to show a large acreage. One wonders how calculations change overnight.

Now it is said that there is so much water in the Krishna river which is going to waste and therefore this Krishna-Pennar Project is intended to utilise a portion of it. It is stated in the Press Note that the first stage plan is intended to irrigate about 7 lakhs of acres of first crop and about 14 lakhs of acres of second crop. Where is this land, in what districts and in what localities is it existing? Is the entire area in Krishna, Guntur, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Nellore districts, or is it outside these districts, and what is the extent of the land so lying? If the lands in Guntur, Krishna, Cuddapah and Kurnool are served, there would be no water left

to be carried to the Pennar reservoir; and if Pennar waters are utilised for the lands of Anantapur, Cuddapah and Nellore districts there would be no water to be carried to the south. In such case why include the Madras canal in the first stage at a cost of 9 crores, if the intention of the Government is to give first priority to those districts which are entitled to it?

The Krishna reservoir dam is expected to store 260 TMC feet of water and the Pennar reservoir is likewise expected to store about the same quantity. Assuming liberally that 5 acres can be commanded by every million cubic feet of water the area that can be commanded by the storage of Krishna waters at Siddheswaram is about 13 lakhs of acres. As against this we have an area of over 9 lakhs of acres which requires water for a second crop in the existing Krishna delta, and over 6 lakhs of acres of fertile land in Guntur district commanded by the Krishna river, making a minimum total of 15 lakhs of acres requiring that water immediately. But the storage can serve only 13 lakhs of acres and two lakhs of acres in that area itself remain unserved. Besides this, water is also required for over 5 lakhs of acres in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool along the canal proposed to link the Krishna with the Pennar. Where then is the water to be carried even into the Pennar river, let alone the southern districts? No doubt the first stage plan mentions Krishna delta among the areas to be benefited by it. But from the examination of the supply position, if water is taken south, which of course will be done, there would be no water for any appreciable area in the Krishna delta.

Now let us examine the position in Nellore. The proposed Pennar reservoir will have a storage capacity of about 260 TMC which can command an area of about 13 lakhs of acres. Nellore has at present an area of 7 lakhs of acres which has to be irrigated by the Pennar waters. Water for that area and another 25% for future extensions has to be stored at Someswaram, particularly in view of the Upper Pennar project contemplated in the Anantapur district in the five year plan. Whatever that may be, Nellore has a first charge on water

needed for the first and second crop irrigation of about 9 lakhs of acres. That means that 180 TMC of water in the proposed reservoir should be left for Nellore. If there is water over and above that, it is a matter of policy to be considered on what terms it can be let down further south, a matter which the future Andhra State alone can settle in the light of the circumstances that come into existence after the project satisfies Krishna, Guntur, Anantapur, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore districts. Until Madras or a portion of Madras taken out in proportion to the Telugu population resident in it, is conceded to the Andhra State, not a drop of Krishna or Pennar waters can in equity or law be brought south of Nellore district.

Let us look at it in another way. The area under cereals in the districts commanded by the Krishna and Pennar rivers is as follows:

Krishna:	9 lakhs of acres.
Guntur:	14 "
Kurnool:	13 "
Cuddapah:	7 "
Nellore:	12 "
Anantapur:	11 "

The total area therefore to be served by the Krishna and Pennar rivers is 66 lakhs of acres. Assuming that all the waters stored in both the dams proposed to be constructed under the Krishna-Pennar Scheme will be utilised only in the districts of Krishna, Guntur, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore they would be enough to serve an extent of 25 lakhs of acres only. What then is the meaning of taking away waters from the mouths of these districts providing for other districts in the first instance?

From the above discussion the following points are clear:

1. Politics intervened to shelve the Ramapadasagar Project which was fully investigated and ready for construction.

2. The inclusion at the last moment of the Ramapadasagar Project in the supplemental plan with a token amount of about a crore of rupees shown against it, is merely a political game and an eye-wash.

3. The Pulichintala Scheme which was investigated although 40 years ago is quite feasible from an engineering point of view; any statement to the contrary is based on prejudice.

4. The averment of the Government that it requires fresh investigation is only an expression of their unwillingness to look into the obvious.

5. The statement that the Krishna-Pennar Project is the only feasible project is not true as the other projects are more feasible and much more economical.

6. Taking up of the Krishna-Pennar Project, although not fully investigated, is being recommended only for political reasons, and its first stage plan is definitely intended to deprive the districts of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Nellore, Krishna and Guntur of their natural legitimate riparian rights.

7. This principle of natural priority is conceded to Bombay and Hyderabad when it was agreed to limit the storage to 47 units at Siddheswaram under this scheme. It must be equally conceded to Andhra, which in fact is a separate State and is soon going to be so. Unless and until the needs of the districts drained or commanded by the Krishna and Pennar rivers are actually satisfied, it is wrong to carry their waters to the southern districts. The wrong is all the greater as the scheme is being hustled through with a view to forestalling a separate Andhra State and blinding it beforehand.

8. Separate reservoirs at Pulichintala on the Krishna, and Someswaram on the Pennar would come into existence sooner, store more water and yield the quickest possible results inasmuch as they would bring almost all the first crop areas in the existing Krishna and Pennar deltas under second crop.

But are the Government really anxious for quick results or for fair play?

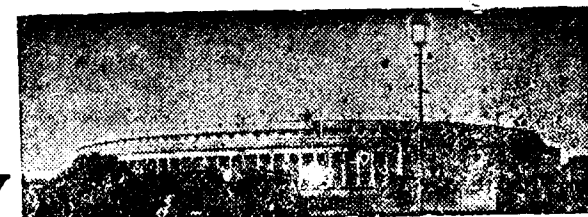
Let me make clear my position. I want a dam at Siddheswaram with capacity to serve Kurnool and Cuddapah and feed Gandikota. I want a reservoir at Pulichintala with capacity to serve Krishna and Guntur districts. I want a reservoir at Someswaram with capacity to serve Nellore. These will be cheaper and productive of quicker results. If then excess water is available, by all means carry it south as stated already. But I do not want the Krishna-Pennar Project as conceived by the Government; now, for the reasons stated above, for you

may take away a portion of the produce under certain conditions to the south but you may not take away the means of production and destroy the natural priorities of the people living in the areas commanded by the Krishna and Pennar rivers. If the city of Madras wants drinking water, an infiltration gallery below the Nellore dam can be constructed and water led directly into the mains in the city; for this will not injure the agricultural interests of Nellore district.

I asked for the particulars of the scheme from the Secretary to Government, Public Works Department; he said he could not furnish them till October as they are undergoing revision and are not ready. The P.T.I. correspondent at Delhi, however, seems to be in a more favoured position and his message published in the papers says the Madras Government is expected to send a revised scheme with particulars stated in the message. The P.T.I. at Delhi is in possession of information not yet sent but expected to be sent by the Madras Government to the Central Government. Apparently there is a private axis between Madras and Delhi working side by side with Government. A scheme good in itself does not require this kind of management.

The Madras Government knows that the scheme is not remunerative and the Planning Commission do not want unremunerative schemes for the purpose of getting a loan from the International Bank. Therefore they are hard put to show higher return and lesser investment. The cost of the scheme is shown now at the reduced figure of 133 crores instead of 185 crores and the yield is stated to be two million tons of rice from four million acres. It is well known that in India the average yield of rice is less than 900 lb., per acre. If this is so, 2 million tons of rice can never come from 4 million acres, or one million tons of rice from the 2 million acres which are proposed to be brought into cultivation under the first stage of the project. The Planning Commission will have to take all these facts into consideration before they approve of a scheme which on the face of it is not remunerative and which benefits areas which have no priority to the detriment of those which are entitled to them in the first instance.

NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

IF I were Nehru, I would not use the site for the Diplomatic Enclave as the venue for the Congress Session. *The Statesman* reports that the Prime Minister, accompanied by local Congress leaders and by officials of the Central Public Works Department, inspected the site. The paper adds that C.P.W.D. officials have been asked to carry out certain work in order to prepare the grounds for the holding of the Congress Session. This is highly improper. How can I ask the Government machine to operate on behalf of my party? The expenses will be borne by the Government for work done for the convenience of the ruling Congress Party. If this is not a one-Party State, what is?

The Information Minister has pompously declared that All India Radio will not be allowed to be used for election-propaganda by any political party. In actual fact, however, the Congress Party will be able to make a free use of the facilities of the Radio. Every news bulletin of A.I.R. carries a tremendous amount of propaganda for the Congress Party. Every speech of the Prime Minister is recorded and broadcast. And the Prime Minister speaks about party matters as well as other matters. Every Minister of the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces gets ample opportunities for broadcasting on the air. When the country was threatened with a Railway strike, only Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar had an opportunity to put his case on the Radio. Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan had to content himself with publicity through the printed word alone.

The news bulletins of All India Radio, it must be admitted, have for some time past been giving a minute or two for parties other than the Congress Party and the Cocktail

Party. Recently, for instance, they broadcast the substance of the Election Manifesto of the Ram Rajya Parishad Party. This amount of fairness in the bulletins I attribute entirely to the fact that the News Division of All India Radio has an exceptionally able Director in Mr. M. L. Chowla. The news bulletins, however, continue to be heavily weighted in favour of the Congress Party; they are bound to be, as long as the dictatorial spirit of the late Sardar Patel continues to hover over the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It must yield place to a more liberal spirit.

The B.B.C. was extremely fair to the political parties of England during the past two General Elections. It has also other merits. This sometimes makes us enthusiastic about converting All India Radio into a similar Corporation. But our Corporations are just as bad as our Government organizations. A bad Corporation is always worse than a bad Government department. Unless the Prime Minister makes a particularly happy choice of the Directors of the Corporation, A.I.R., would become a colossal flop. Excellent men to take up such positions abound in this country, but they are never chosen by the present holders of power. A Corporation will be in a better position to improve the quality of the programmes. It will have no qualms about getting rid of gargoyle-talkers and gargoyle-musicians. Most of these gargoyles were introduced into the Radio by the recommendation of a long line of Ministers and Members in charge of Information and Broadcasting.

Pandit Nehru, despite a thousand defects, is good enough to be the

INDIA'S STAND ON JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

TRUMAN INDIGNANT WITH NEHRU

NEW YORK CITY: *The real scare for Truman and his State Department as regards the Japanese Peace Treaty was not created by Russia but by India.*

The note sent by Prime Minister Nehru explaining India's reasons for not attending the conference was a bombshell that threatened to undermine the whole conference. It infuriated not only the officials planning the conference but President Truman himself. Written with great skill and subtlety, Nehru's note was a kind of signboard reading beneath the niceties of language "Asia for the Asians."

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister and Indian Ambassador to Washington, had gone back to New Delhi persuaded of the merits of the treaty, and she told officials she would urge her brother to go to San Francisco to sign it. Then out of the blue came the note, delivered by an Indian attache to John Foster Dulles.

As Dulles read it, he grew more and more indignant. What stirred his ire most of all was Nehru's charge that the treaty, which is remarkably benevolent in its terms, failed to meet the desires of the Japanese people for contentment and independence.

"How can this be said," Dulles demanded angrily, "when I have gone to Japan three times during the past year to try to work out terms that would let the Japanese people develop their own capacities, both political and economic, to the fullest extent? They have denounced me in other capitals in Asia because this treaty is too liberal. In Manila I was burned in effigy. And yet you presume to..."

Unable to sleep, Dulles got up at five the next morning and on a pad of yellow scratch paper wrote out a reply to the note. The Nehru note and Dulles' sizzling reply were both sent to the White House.

The President's ire was at least as great as that of Dulles, one reason being that only a few weeks before Mr. Truman had gone all out to

persuade a reluctant Congress to appropriate money for grain to relieve famine in India.

As he read the Nehru message, the President pencilled indignant notations on it. "Oh, yeah?" "Who says so?" "Who won the War?" Truman himself drafted a reply that was equally as hot as the one Dulles had written. The latter had previously been combed over by the State Department and most of the adjectives taken out. The President's draft was similarly censored before it went off to New Delhi.

Even the amiable Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt feels strongly on this point though she takes exception to some of her fellow countrymen branding the Prime Minister of India "a Communist stooge," "lost leader." She says:

"Undoubtedly, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, feels that he is taking a stand for peace. To the outsider, however, it does not look as though much effort is being made at pliability, and pliability seems essential to the preservation of peace in the world today.

I object very much to the attitude of some of our columnists and people who seem to feel that, because of what we have done for India, she must respond by doing whatever we ask of her. I do not think the decision of what is right or wrong for any nation can be based on favours received. I do think that a careful scrutiny should be made of the values involved and where one's action might lead."

Amidst all this criticism of Nehru there are a few American voices raised in support of the Indian Prime Minister. Frederick J. Libby, Executive Secretary, American National Council for Prevention of War says:

"The Lost Leader," meaning Nehru, seems to me to call for a companion piece on "The Lost Leadership," meaning the United States.

What is our objective in Asia? Are we trying to win Asian peoples or to subdue them?

If our purpose in Asia is to subdue the two great and ancient nations, China

and India, and, so to speak, "bring them to heel," the best observers, regardless of nationality, tell us that it cannot be done. Asia's day of submission to imperialist conquerors is over.

If our purpose is to win the peoples of Asia to our side, commonsense tells us that our Government is taking the wrong tack. "Face" is universally understood to be more precious than life to the Chinese. Is there any object in General Ridgway's dismissal of the request of the Chinese negotiators for a more careful investigation of the alleged bombing in Kaesong other than their humiliation?

As for Nehru having lost his leadership in Asia, this certainly has yet to be proved. What seems more likely is that he has expressed the feelings of most of the Asian peoples in resisting our Government's economic pressure. He is not our enemy. He is our faithful friend.

Isn't it your own best judgment that from now on we should neither try to buy Asian friendship nor to scare Asia into friendly relations with us?

The principle of equality in the preamble to the United Nations Charter must not be an empty phrase. We of all nations should take meticulous pains to practise it.

Washington Certain Of War In 1952

There are more political soothsayers in Washington than anywhere else in this wide world. To be fair they are not all of them Americans. This is what quite a few of them predict.

Behind the current strategy and tactics of Moscow and Peking lies one frightful, mounting possibility—that the Communist command has made the decision to risk a major war, that the date has been set for the Spring of 1952 (or sooner, depending on what happens in Korea), and that everything that takes place from now on will be calculated to fit that determination.

Despite the sporadic head-patting to which Stalin subjects us, and to which we even yet respond too purringly, it must always be remembered that, to the Communists, war with the capitalist world is still considered inevitable. For 1952 to be the obvious year of Communist decision makes dire sense on one other ground: for that will be before we have gained our maximum strength, and it will also have given Stalin time to perfect his own atom-bomb production and to

fashion a fresh army bolstered by satellite troops. It is the year of the Logical Gamble.

There may even be one other, horrible factor; Stalin, the aging dictator, may well have decided, as did Hitler, to have war in his time.

No. 1. Japanese Problem

Japan's old problem still remains—too many people, too high a birth rate, too little land, too few natural resources.

So despite Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's joy over signing of the peace treaty, his satisfaction and gratitude over the return of sovereignty and equality to Japan, his pleasure over erasure of the stigma of "enemy," he concedes he is plagued by the problem of national survival.

But he also thinks he has the answer, a steady expansion of export trade on which, in the long term and exclusive of American aid, Japan's level of living depends.

Despite American aids and benefits, the basic problem is the same—to make exports pay for imports. Exports must not only pay for a large part of the raw materials that go into production for export, but also must pay for a large part of the raw materials that go into domestic production. That is the long-range problem.

Woes Of Rita Hayworth

Rita Hayworth and her material troubles with a Moslem Prince are still being headlined by a number of American papers. At random we pick the following items.

DISCORD: Rita Hayworth's legal residence is and will remain in Nevada. Technically, her current stay in Hollywood is only temporary, while she makes a movie for Columbia Pictures. This will enable her to sue for divorce in Nevada whenever she wishes and also protect herself against possible financial demands by Aly Khan, if anything should happen to her—for under California's community property laws he'd be entitled to half her earnings since their wedding. Aly has no income other than the hand-outs from the Aga Khan... His main complaint, incidentally, is she left him and he thereby suffered loss of face in the Moslem world. He wants a reunion—so that he could leave her.

MONEY: The Aga Khan is scheduled to visit America within the



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next few weeks. Rita Hayworth's attorneys will subpoena him for questioning regarding the funds he has on deposit here. The Aga weighed in at \$3,000,000 on his last birthday, the gifts in diamonds from his loyal subjects. Inasmuch as Aly Khan draws on these N. Y. funds while he's here, the Aga will be questioned about the ownership of the accounts... A unique legal problem will arise, for the Aga Khan will claim diplomatic immunity as a sovereign. But he's a novel kind of sovereign for, though supreme, he travels on a British passport.

PLAN: The disruption of the Hayworth-Aly Khan marriage also disrupted a plan conceived by Harry Cohn, president of Columbia Pictures. Vice-president Jack Cohn tells of the company's acquisition of all the rights to the Rudolf Valentino movie, "The Sheik." And it had been their plan to persuade Aly Khan to star in a re-make of the movie, playing the Valentino role.

India Story: Popular In U. S. A.

The writer sat along with tough American movie critics to preview *The River*, the first American motion picture to be filmed entirely in technicolor in a New York theatre. At the end of the picture there was loud applause which is unusual. There is no doubt in the minds of any one of them that this picture will be popular in U. S. A.

Kenneth McEldowney who produced it says:

"India had always fascinated me. I know that the real India had never been brought to the screen and I had an idea it might interest others too. But to find a story which would bridge the wide gap between East and West and still bring the feeling of this way of life was a problem.

"All in all, it was an experience never to be forgotten by those of us who travelled to India to make *The River*. But the only thing which is important is what we brought back on the film. We are proud of the results of our work, for we feel that we have pioneered in more than the practical, physical accomplishment—we feel that we have brought to the screen a picture new in its approach to people's emotions and understanding of themselves and each other."

—P. G. Krishnappa.

SWAMI SITARAM'S FAST

By Major D. V. RAJA RAO, M.B., B.S.

THE vexed question of an Andhra State is again brought into limelight by the fast undertaken by Swami Sitaram and others. The fast has gone for over four weeks now and from the reactions of the Governments, provincial as well as central, and more significant than that, from the reaction of the people of Andhra to the fast, it can be safely surmised now, that an Andhra State is not likely to be realised by this fast nor in the near future thereafter.

The Madras Government takes the stand that they are willing for the separation, that they have already done what all they can and it is for the Central Government to do the rest. The Central Government take the stand that they have already conceded the principle of linguistic States and where there is an all-round agreement between all the parties and on all the issues involved, they are ready to implement the partition. They do not want to guide, arbitrate or force the settlement of issues over which there is difference of opinion between the parties. This they assert is Democracy strict to the curve of the letter and they also fancy that the disruptive forces likely to be let loose by linguistic division will be reduced to the minimum by such a policy.

The British enunciated the same democratic principle of common consent amongst all peoples of India as a condition precedent for giving us Independence. What havoc that principle has done to our unity and what social, communal and political upheavals it brought us in its train are not only matters of recent memory but we are still struggling out of the hang over they left. Such a condition about all-round agreement always encourages the vested interests, opportunists, and mischievous agitators to exploit it to their own advantage. Tamilnad which has been having a lion's share of the finances of the State for its own development during the last century or so would now be loth to lose that advantage. It would naturally find every possible objection for agreement on every

issue that is likely to affect its vested interests adversely.

It is common knowledge that when members of a joint family separate, they rarely do so on common consent between themselves. The differences between the parties are more deep and irreconcilable to the extent their social status and financial needs are disproportionately served by the joint resources. A mediator enjoying the confidence of all the concerned parties often arbitrates in the division. More often they end in a long litigation ruining everybody and making bitter enemies of erstwhile brothers. If the State machinery of judiciary to do justice and the police to enforce it are not there, men will be solving their differences in primitive natural ways which would make social and corporate living impossible. Human nature is essentially selfish and it is one of the fundamental conceptions in having a Government that it should be the means of compromising human selfishness with public good and social peace. It is unnatural that the differences between Tamilnad and Andhra can be solved by common consent. They can be solved only by impartial arbitration. It is the duty of the Central Government to arbitrate. They cannot escape this duty without giving rise to wide-spread suspicion and discontent amongst the Andhras.

Unfortunately, there are differences amongst Andhras themselves over this subject. The chief and the most important of these being the differences between Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra. The people of Rayalaseema feel that they are backward economically, socially and culturally as compared with the coastal people. Perhaps there is no denying this fact. But that is mostly due to natural causes. That the great rivers of Godavari and Krishna formed their deltas in the coastal districts but not in Rayalaseema is beyond human responsibility. So is it that the Deccan plateau—one of the oldest lands in the world—is rather rocky and barren. So far as the exploitation of available natural resources goes, perhaps the coastal districts

suffered more neglect by the Madras Government than Rayalaseema. It is strange that the coastal people who could not help themselves should be blamed as obstructing the development of Rayalaseema. It is as irrational as the complaint of the Muslims in the pre-independence days that Hindus were responsible for their backwardness when the imperial British power in India was keeping everybody backward irrespective of religion. Similarly the insistence on the grievances of the people of Rayalaseema against the coastal people is only a strategy for gaining bargaining advantages for preferential treatment for themselves in the would-be Andhra State. In a representation sent to the Prime Minister by the Committee of the Rayalaseema Maha Sabha they said: "If the protagonists of the Andhra State are keen on having a separate State, they are welcome to have it leaving the districts of Rayalaseema alone. They will thereby have a compact and limited area without any elements of discontent and problems demanding their attention." It is very magnanimous of them to relieve the coastal districts of their burden. But if it is a challenge to the formation of an Andhra State without conceding their ever increasing fantastic demands, it is better to take up the challenge. The coastal Andhra can be formed into a more viable State than Orissa. With its rich resources, it can soon be developed into a prosperous State as well. Backward as it is, and with its poor resources for development, Rayalaseema is a dead weight to any State it forms a part of. They can reasonably expect a more sympathetic treatment from an Andhra State because of linguistic, historic and sentimental ties between them and the coastal Andhras. They can easily be convinced of this if they do not allow themselves to be influenced by the mischievous machinations of politicians outside Andhra and the vested interests in the Madras Government. But if they want to exploit these ties and obstruct the formation of an Andhra State till all their fantastic demands are conceded, they will have to be stopped and put in their place. Appeasement cannot be endless. The sooner the limit line of appeasement is drawn and they are

made to face realities the better it would be for them as well as the coastal people.

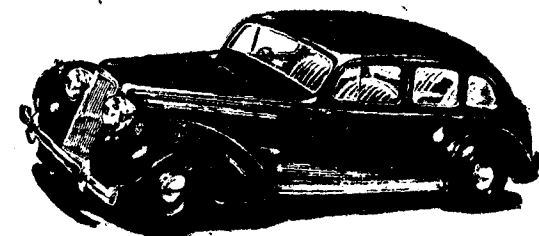
Above all these things, there is an inherent weakness in our demand for an Andhra State in as much as there is no convincing proof of the demand coming from a determined people. Though the demand for the formation of an Andhra State is over forty years old, the struggle for freedom overwhelmed us before this demand got beyond the stage of finely worded resolutions at the yearly meetings of the Andhra Maha Sabha. We allowed the question of our State to be subordinated to the more urgent question of our independence. We were content with the Congress conceding the principle of linguistic provinces and hoped to get our State automatically as a matter of course with the advent of our independence. We became alive to the forces against the realisation of our ambition, for the first time, when an unanimous recommendation by the Cabinet of the first popular Congress Government at Madras to the Secretary of State for India, for the formation of an Andhra State was sabotaged by the then Chief Minister of that Government itself. Since that time, the question of an Andhra State became more a pawn in the power politics of individuals or groups both in the Congress and the Madras Ministry than a popular demand. With the common man it is nothing more than a sentiment and a hope. The why and wherefore of it is not fully understood by him. That is why we allowed our interests to be bartered out by our leaders for positions of power in the Congress and in the Government at Madras. So long as we give our support to these betrayers of our interests, it cannot be said that there is a strong popular urge behind our demand. The plea for separation at any cost is a sign of our weakness besides its being misleading and mischievous. The political opportunists who have betrayed our cause for their own benefit having realised now that they have dangerously offended the popular sentiment want to stage a come-back into our body politic on this plea. But it is a beggar's attitude derogatory to our self-respect. Our claims are either just or they are not. If they are just the people should stand by them and dis-

credit those who are prepared to compromise on them. The coming general elections will be an opportunity to enlighten the people on the issues involved and take their verdict. National issues apart, in Andhra the issue of an Andhra State with all its controversial problems should be made the main issue for the elections. A verdict from the people thus got cannot be resisted by anybody.

Swami Sitaram is one of the oldest and most sincere Congressmen of Andhra. His sacrifice and work in the cause of the country, though not spectacular, are most sincere and voluntary. He is modest and he never sought publicity for his work. He has never been a power politician. His demands are just, sincere, honest and entirely in the interests of the Andhras. As a true Satyagrahi he may be prepared to submit them for impartial arbitration but he will not

compromise on them in a spirit of defeatism or weakness. It is frivolousness amounting almost to sacrilege to speak of his fast as coercion. It is the depth of his conviction in the righteousness of his cause that prompted him to undertake this fast to carry his conviction to the people and stop the irresponsible, selfish and unscrupulous power politicians from the harm they are doing to the cause. If that is not the way for a true Satyagrahi, in this land of Mahatma Gandhi, it is hard to understand what Satyagraha can be. His fast may not get us our State in the time he fixed, nor soon thereafter. However, if it can infuse real conviction and enthusiasm amongst the people for his demands and purify our politics and throw out selfish opportunists from it, the fast will have served its purpose amply and his martyrdom will not go wasted.

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100 YEARS OF PROGRESS IN JOURNALISM

THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE New York Times, celebrating on September 17 the centennial anniversary of its founding, has travelled far since the night in 1851 when its first issue was "put to bed" in a ramshackle building at 113 Nassau Street.

In the words of an early chronicler of *Times* history, the paper was made up in a building with "open lofts, destitute of windows, gas... and general conveniences. All was raw and dismal. The writer remembers ... a flaring candle held upright by three nails in a block of wood... the city editor, the news man, and the reporters, all eagerly scratching pens over paper."

Since then the *Times* has occupied a number of buildings, consistent with its growth. The well-known Times Tower, from which New York's famous Times Square takes its name, was completed in 1905. Eight years later the *Times* found it necessary to build a large annexe nearby which, with additions from time to time, has become the newspaper's great plant. In 1945, the most recent structure, an 11-storey addition to the main building, was started. The *Times* now has one of the largest modern publishing plants in the world, with more than 637,000 square feet of space.

The *Times* employees number approximately 3,540, of which 525 are members of the editorial and news staff. They prepare news stories from domestic sources in all the principal cities of the United States and from the farthest corners of the world.

For national news, the most important source is in Washington, the national capital, where the *Times* maintains a bureau of about 20 reporters working under the direction of a chief correspondent, with a large staff of clerical and other assistants. This bureau is organised like a miniature newspaper staff. One man covers the White House, another the Department of State, others the U. S. Congress and other key points

throughout the government structure. For international reporting, *Times* correspondents are scattered throughout the world. At least one correspondent represents the *Times* in each of the major world capitals, while three or more may work in many of its principal foreign bureaus.

Latin America is covered by staff correspondents stationed at Mexico City, Havana, the Canal Zone, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires. Special correspondents are maintained in virtually every capital of Central and South America.

This distinguished staff of editors, reporters, and correspondents has won a notable share of the most coveted journalistic awards in the United States—the annual Pulitzer Prizes. Since 1918, the *New York Times* has received 24 Pulitzer prizes. They were given to the entire news staff for "meritorious service," to individuals for "distinguished reporting," to some for special reporting in the international field; and to others for outstanding series of articles and for stories on special events.

News from all *Times* sources—local, national, and international—pours into the *Times* news room and "wire room" by as many as seven different methods of modern communications: radio, telephone, telegraph, Hellscriber (an automatic radio receiving machine), teletype, telephone, cable, and short-wave radio. Two leased telegraph wires connect the Washington Bureau of the *Times* directly with the home office. Dispatches from the Washington Bureau may range from 15,000 to 30,000 words a day. Dozens of the automatic teletype printers are maintained for news stories from the various wire services subscribed to by the *Times*.

The *Times* organisation is divided into coordinated departments, some of which have their own offices off the main news room. This big "city room," where most of the local news staff works, is a block long. The

"morgue," or reference-file room, constantly consulted by writers for reference, background, and verification, contains press clippings on more than 40,000 different subjects, with 1,000 new topics added every month. Biographical folders cover 1,037,000 personalities.

One objective of the *New York Times* postwar building expansion was to provide each of its editorial writers with a quiet and secluded office near the library, which is described as the "hub" of the editorial floor. The library contains 24,000 volumes, 3,500 pamphlets, and regularly receives hundreds of periodicals.

The women's department, which serve the interests of thousands of women readers are similarly grouped together on one vast floor. Here are offices of the editors for women's activities, fashions, foods, gardens, home decoration and improvement, and a Parent and Child Department. The *Times* test kitchen is under the direction of a home economist and dietician, who tests new recipes published in the *Times* food pages.

One of the most important functions of the *Times* editorial staff is turning out the Sunday edition which, in addition to regular news coverage, provides a wealth of background information that gives added meaning to the flow of news during the week. The Sunday department has its own reporters, its own correspondents and editorial desks. Among the most popular features are the *Times* Magazine and Book Review, both issued as separate sections of the Sunday *Times*. Articles in the magazine are written by some of the notable figures of the country, in addition to special articles by *Times* staff members. The Sunday *Times* is actually a national newspaper in itself, its sales from coast to coast averaging more than 1,160,000 copies.

Important to the news operation of the *Times* is its editorial art department, one of the largest in the newspaper field. Staff members include 20 artists, of whom seven are map makers. The department handles all news and feature photographs for all sections of the *Times*, daily and Sunday. A modern photo-engraving shop with 52 employees speeds the processing of more than 40,000 pictures published yearly in the *Times*.

Setting the flow of *Times* news in type keeps a 570-man staff busy in a composing room which stretches the length of a city block. The newest type-setting machines are in the composing room's battery of well over 100 machines. The press room contains 68 Wood and 18 Hoo presses capable of turning out 350,000 48-page papers an hour. As much as 2,350 tons of newsprint may be consumed for the Sunday edition. Ink flows from three new 7,000-gallon tanks.

Finally, lined up before the doors of the mailroom is a fleet of trucks, waiting to speed the paper to all parts of the world as it comes from the presses. Trucks are on hand from 10:45 p.m., when the first edition goes to press, until after 3 a.m. for the various editions. Some trucks go to airports, others to railway stations, while others will divide their stacks of papers for local delivery in New York and the surrounding territory. A block-long enclosed driveway from the *Times* plant enables its delivery trucks to eliminate much delay from New York street traffic.

Not the least of the *Times* departments are the business offices, which handle 35,000,000 lines of advertising per year. Another big job is that of the circulation department, which must meet all the distribution problems of a metropolitan newspaper as well as those of national and international distribution. Forty "ad-takers" are kept busy in the classified advertising department, which handles more than 2,000 telephone calls daily and over 9,000,000 lines of advertising yearly. To speed the job of the "ad-takers," the *Times* has provided new plastic telephone headsets weighing only two ounces.

Not all the activities and facilities of the *Times* plant are devoted to the publication of the newspaper. The comfort, welfare, and recreation of employees are an important consideration in policy and planning. The *Times* maintains a \$100,000 restaurant and cafeteria for employees, a circulating library, game rooms and club rooms. The medical department occupies an entire wing of one floor, the staff including a medical director and several specialised assistants and nurses.

The *Times* service facilities also extend directly to the general public. Its Public Information Service answers thousands of calls every week for information of all kinds and supplies facilities for checking facts in back issues of the paper. This service has been advanced through the introduction and use of microfilm copies of the *Times* from the first edition in 1851.

Men Behind The Times

Henry J. Raymond, was the founder and first editor of the *New York Times*.

Raymond was a protege of Horace Greeley, famous editor of the *New York Tribune*, under whom he began his journalistic career.

With two associates, George Jones, a fellow employee on the *Tribune*, and Edward B. Wesley, a New York broker, Raymond founded the *Times*, its first edition appearing on September 18, 1851.

Its prospectus, prepared by Raymond, declared that the *Times* "is not established for the advancement of any party, sect or person... will seek to be conservative in such a way as shall best promote needful reform... will endeavour to perpetuate the good, and to avoid the evil... to encourage and advance education; to promote economy, concord and justice in every section of the country; to elevate and enlighten public sentiment; and to substitute reason for prejudice, a cool and intelligent judgment for passion, in all public affairs and in all discussions of public affairs."

Raymond early announced that his paper's policy would seek to "inculcate devotion to the Union and the Constitution, obedience to law and a jealous love of personal and civil liberty."

Raymond preceded foreign news stories with a crisp summary not unlike today's front-page feature in

the *Times* under the heading "World News Summarized."

After Raymond's death in 1869, his associate founder of the *Times*, George Jones, took over his duties as publisher and adhered to Raymond's basic policies. The *Times* remained uncompromisingly a supporter of the Republican Party of Lincoln until the Republicans nominated James Blaine for the presidency in 1884. After consistent warnings that he was unsuited for the office, the paper reluctantly supported the nominee of the Democratic Party, Grover Cleveland, who won the election. Since then, the *Times* has been politically independent.

The *Times* was beset with financial difficulties after the death of Jones in 1891, and in 1896, it went bankrupt because of the general hard times in the nation. The paper was then taken over by Adolph S. Ochs, a young publisher who had recently purchased the *Chattanooga Times*, in the Southern state of Tennessee, one of the foremost newspapers of that region.

Ochs began to modernize the *Times*, with improved type and format, and introduced new features, including a weekly book-review section. A new building for the newspaper, called the Times Tower, was completed in 1905, the famous Times Square of New York taking its names from the building.

Ochs, known as the "father of the modern *New York Times*," died in 1935. His son-in-law, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, succeeded him. As the present publisher of the *Times*, he has maintained the high standards of his predecessors.

Raymond's decision to create a newspaper that would be as complete a human record as possible has endured for 100 years.

PRESS BILL

The Press Bill proposes to keep alive some of the most objectionable of the press laws which the British found necessary for propping up an unpopular alien administration. They should have no place in the laws of a country which claims to be free and civilised. The press as such must be subjected to no repressive or restrictive laws which do not apply to the private citizen; such practices as demanding or forfeiting securities are unknown to the laws of a democracy like Britain. It is in the light of this fundamental principle that the legislature, the leaders of public opinion and the press should scrutinise the Bill.—*South Indian Journalist*.

ROLE OF WOMEN IN UNIVERSAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

By CHANAKYA

"ALTHOUGH the aim of the Government is to introduce universal, free and compulsory elementary education within the State in the shortest time possible, they are not in a position to do much all at once, in view of the heavy expenditure involved and the difficulties felt in obtaining the army of teachers required for the purpose and the very large number of buildings necessary for housing the new schools." In these words, Mr. K. Madhava Menon, our Education Minister, recently explained to a member in the Legislative Assembly how it was not possible for the Government to liquidate illiteracy even within the next ten years. Probably this would be the answer that would be forthcoming from the Education Minister of every other State if the question raised in the Madras Assembly was put to him. Introduction of universal elementary education in this country is admittedly a major national problem and I imagine any solution suggested to tackle any aspect of it would be of interest to the authorities in charge of education in all States.

The Madras Minister has summed up the difficulties of his Government as three-fold, namely finance, staff and buildings. The problem of finance and buildings, although extremely important and serious, is such that it can be tackled in a matter of months if there is the necessary initiative and enthusiasm on the part of the public and Government, and, as I suggested in a previous article ("Education on a war footing"—*Swatantra* dated 1st Sept. 51) the whole project is worked up on a different footing. The problem of staff, however, is not so easy to tackle. It is really tremendous and does embarrass many educationalists because we require a huge army of elementary school teachers to introduce universal, free and compulsory elementary education throughout the country. Now the question arises, is it at all possible to raise such an army of teachers within the next 10 years?

I think it is possible, but on condition that the Government in every State is prepared to take the necessary steps immediately, soliciting public co-operation where necessary.

Before we actually start thinking about the recruitment of personnel to this army, we have to find out why there is no enthusiasm now on the part of the educated community to join the teaching profession, especially in the elementary cadre. As I have already pointed out, long years of low salaries have completely discredited teaching and no ambitious man or woman wants to enter this profession. The basic answer to our problem therefore lies in unequivocally raising the social status of elementary school teachers by raising their basic salary to a minimum of Rs. 50.

I do not expect anyone to think that by raising the basic salary of elementary school teachers to Rs. 50 we shall be inundated with offers from members of the educated community to enter the teaching profession, because no such thing will happen. To achieve our objective we shall have to make yet another great change; this time in the composition of the elementary school teaching staff, and that is to unreservedly proclaim and carry out the policy that in future elementary education shall be handled entirely by women teachers and women teachers alone. This proposition may sound strange and probably impracticable also to some, but I shall try to explain how this is the only course open to us, as also how it can be achieved.

Even if the basic salary level of elementary school teachers is raised to Rs. 50 it shall still not represent an adequate amount to run a family, however small it may be. For instance, if a male teacher receives Rs. 50 and if he has a wife and two children, is it possible for him to lead a dignified life, especially in towns? The answer is "No". This means that he will be compelled to accept some other part-time job in

his leisure hours to meet the gap in his family budget, of course if he can ever get one! Even this will not lead him anywhere near economic self-sufficiency to maintain a family of four members. What will be the result? He will lead a most disgusted life and lose all initiative and interest in teaching the little ones left under his care.

On the other hand, if a woman earns this amount of Rs. 50 she can either supplement her parents' income if she is unmarried or her husband's income if she is married, instead of being faced with the problem of running a whole family with it. Even if she has to live independently it will be possible for her to lead an average middleclass life with this amount, and if she is a little industrious she can easily learn and make use of such arts as needlework, music, etc., to supplement her income.

Apart from the economic standpoint, it is a universally accepted fact that women are more temperamentally suited to handle elementary school children. The affectionate care which a child deserves at the age of 4 or 5 cannot be got from a male teacher, who is often forced to spend most of his time in thinking out ways and means of earning enough money to make both ends meet.

Now the problem arises, how can we induce the educated girls in our community to enter the teaching profession in large numbers? Have we done anything substantial to induce them to do so? The academic qualification necessary for an elementary school teacher is only graduation from high school and therefore we have to see how we can persuade the girls graduating from high schools to enter the teaching profession, after of course receiving the necessary training in the art of teaching. I think the existing social circumstances are favourable towards those who really want to tackle this problem. To understand the situation clearly we shall have to analyse our present social set-up a little.

Now-a-days girls hardly get married at the age of 14 or 15, which incidentally is the age when they usually graduate from the high school. Parents are thus faced with the problem of keeping them engaged in some useful work until they reach the mar-

riage age, which at present seems to be anything between 18 and 22 in most parts of the country. This leaves a gap of 4 to 5 years. Those who can financially afford it, send their girls to college, not always with the intention that they should earn a degree and seek some job, but purely to keep them engaged in some work until they get married. This is apparent from the fact that many graduate girls marry on completion of their college course and enter family life. Neither the girls nor the parents are to be blamed for this state of affairs, but the fact remains that so much college accommodation is wasted when there are hundreds of boys waiting to get a seat in a college. Even taking it for granted that most of these college educated girls enter the teaching profession, they are most definitely not going to offer themselves as elementary school teachers! This incidentally also answers those enthusiasts who may suggest that the problem of finding more elementary school teachers can be solved by opening more women's colleges. So much about the girls who can financially afford a college education.

What about those girls whose parents have to sacrifice a lot of their comforts to educate their daughters even up to the high school standard? Getting them married immediately after their graduation from high school is not practicable because the parents generally cannot afford a dowry. It is from this class of high school graduate girls that we must expect the bulk of our future elementary school teachers. When they get trained and enter the teaching profession, they will either be able to supplement their parents' income or help their husbands to maintain a balanced family budget. It is also high time we took note of the fact that, with the attraction of dowry slowly vanishing and cost of living going up at the present rate, men would in future prefer to get married to ladies who are employed or who are at least qualified to take up a job if the necessity arises, and what can be a more nobler profession to a woman than teaching young children?

What is the machinery required to turn our high school graduate girls

into qualified teachers? The answer lies in the opening of elementary teachers' training schools attached to every girls' high school in the country. The girls, after their matriculation course, could be given two years training in teaching, without any tuition fees if possible, and a teachers' diploma may be issued after two years of practical training in an elementary school. The first two years need not be spent in learning only how to teach. Half the time may be devoted to receiving instruction on home nursing, child care, food and nutrition, cooking, sewing, home man-

agement and personal grooming. Such a post-high-school course, if introduced immediately, will, after four years from now, turn out every year thousands of young elementary school teachers. We shall soon have an army of young girls well qualified to enter the teaching profession and also sufficiently educated to run neat modern homes. In other words, every girl coming out of this course will be a good wife and a good teacher. She can then decide her future—either teach others' children and earn, or teach her own children and her husband, if necessary, at times!

STEEL INDUSTRY FOR SOUTH INDIA

MR. G. D. NAIDU, the noted industrialist of South India, speaking at the Madras Institute of Technology, referred to the pioneering efforts that were made 18 years ago to start a steel industry in South India, and pointed out that had the industry been started and helped by the Government and worked in the period of the war boom, South India would have "minted money in wagon loads." Mr. Naidu cited the example of the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works of Mysore which cost only about Rs. 8 crores until the war, but which was now worth more than Rs. 50 crores. It is gratifying that efforts are again being made to give new life to this industry in the South.

The Minister for Industries, Madras, disclosed in the Assembly that the Government have taken up the question of setting up an iron and steel factory in the Madras State. Tests have been completed about the quality of ores from Salem and Sandur, and the question of exploitation has been examined by a Norwegian firm, whose report is promising. A further investigation has been ordered into the Salem deposits, and the reports received indicate that the Sandur ores could form the basis of developing a first-class steel industry. The Government now propose to examine with the Government of India whether it would be possible to start the industry under the Point Four Aid Programme.

This question of establishing a steel industry for Madras is bound to crop

up again in the near future since more than one member stressed during the Assembly debates the importance of the industry for the economy of the South, whose claims have been continuously neglected so far in spite of various natural advantages. One member even urged the Government to utilize the Revenue Reserve Fund to start a steel industry, securing technical aid from foreign countries. When the matter is taken up again, such important factors as the availability of power, labour, transport facilities, nearness to market and regional development as against concentration should not be overlooked. As regards the policy of the Government of Madras, the Minister has already declared in clear and unambiguous terms: "In respect of organisation of industries, the Government are not committed to nationalisation. Our share in industries is only to help by leadership and example."

The target of import of iron and steel fixed by the Government of India for 1951 is 500,000 tons, but it is doubtful whether we would be able to get even half of it. Since the Korean War, prices also have increased by 80 per cent in the U. S., 100 per cent in Japan, and 25 to 30 per cent in U. K. and Europe. Steps are, therefore, being taken by the Government to increase the production of iron and steel. But, as Mr. Mahatab pointed out in Parliament, the Government have no finances at present to set up new steel plants. When the

finances become available, the Minister said, the first steel plant would be erected in Madhya Pradesh. But if the industry gets started first in the South, thanks to private enterprise or under Government management, it would be a distinct gain to the country in view of the worsening international situation and difficult import position.

A new integrated steel plant with an ingot capacity of 1 million tons a year and which would cater to the normal requirements of the country would cost Rs. 113 crores, according to Mr. Peter V. Martin, the American technical expert who was invited to India to advise the Tariff Board some time ago. Such expenditure is justified, since the production and consumption of iron and steel is the criterion of industrial activity in any country. There are only three major iron and steel production units in our country, and there is scope for the establishment of new units to meet

the annual gap of at least 500,000 tons.

Sir Padamji Ginwala, industrialist and steel magnate, said in an address some time ago at Calcutta that there was no better industry than iron and steel as an instrument which the Government could use to revive investment. "It will be easier and more in accord with our self-respect", he said, "to raise Rs. 80 to Rs. 100 crores in this way than to go begging hat in hand to induce the foreign capitalists and experts whom we had frightened out of the country, to come back, by offering them better and better terms." It may be pointed out in this connection that though India today occupies the lowest place among the great steel producing countries of the world, in the pre-war period we were producing the cheapest pig iron in the world and exported hundreds of thousands of tons to the U. S.A., Britain, Europe and Japan—T. R. SHANKAR.

Historical Story

MARTHANDA VARMA

By C. V. Raman Pillai

AN aged Maharaja, a weak government, rebellious feudal chieftains, a young heir-apparent with a powerful rival claimant—circumstances which clearly foreboded disputed succession and civil war—this was the condition of Travancore in the third decade of the eighteenth century.

The rival factions of Prince Marthanda Varma and of Sri Padmanabhan Thampy, a scion of the royal house, were always in a state of undeclared war. They kept up appearances while at Trivandrum, the capital; but elsewhere fighting occurred frequently. Sri Padmanabhan Thampy was strongly supported by the powerful Ettuveedar (literally, members of eight houses), while Prince Marthanda Varma's party consisted of one or two loyal Nair chiefs, besides a Muslim merchant prince who had an eye on the country's trade.

By far the most important of the Royalists was Thirumukhathu Pillai, one time Chief Minister to the old Maharaja. This Nair chieftain had lately retired from public life because of a personal calamity. His only son Anantha Padmanabhan belonged to the Prince's bodyguard, and one day it was reported that the brave young man met his death in a wild part of the country. His body was never discovered. There was some mystery surrounding the whole affair and conflicting reports were current at the time concerning the event.

There was one person whom the news of the death of the gallant young warrior affected even more deeply than his old father. This was Parukutty, Anantha Padmanabhan's sweetheart. She wept bitter tears and vowed lifelong fidelity to the memory of her lost lover.

However, the girl's mother had other views. No less a person than Sri Padmanabhan Thampy now

appeared as a suitor. The ambitious matron readily fell in with the proposal, and a day was fixed for a visit from the bridegroom-elect.

The mother felt confident of overcoming the girl's opposition, but she found out her mistake only too late. The girl showed unexpected firmness.

It was the very evening fixed for Thampy's visit. The mother begged, cajoled, threatened. It distressed the poor maiden, but failed to persuade her. Baffled and angry, the proud woman rushed out of the room, flinging down the ornaments she had brought with her for her daughter's use.

Thampy came and was sumptuously entertained. He also had a personal interview with the girl and fell violently in love. A heavy rain came as a welcome excuse for prolonging his stay, and he spent the night in the house.

In the morning Parukutty was found lying in a swoon accompanied by high fever. Friends of the family began to call. Among these was Subhadra, a young woman somewhat older than Parukutty but a great friend of her.

She had beauty, wit and intelligence in an extraordinary degree; but it was her misfortune to earn a bad name among people. A sad fate seemed to attend her from her very birth. She had never known who her father was, and her mother died in her infancy. She was brought up by her maternal uncle who was at that time the acknowledged leader of the rebel chiefs.

The orphan grew up into a most beautiful maiden, and Sri Padmanabhan Thampy began to cast longing eyes on her. However, she was soon married off to another, but Thampy continued his attentions. The young husband became suspicious, and one day he disappeared leaving no trace behind. From that moment

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rumour did its work so well that Subhadra now had not a shred of reputation left among her acquaintances; with perhaps the sole exception of Parukutty, who continued to cherish a warm affection for her.

While Subhadra was attending to Parukutty, who still remained in a state of coma, the discovery was suddenly made that the ornaments which the mother had flung down when she left the girl's room in anger had vanished. This set Subhadra thinking. She inferred that somebody had visited Parukutty's room at night after the interview with Thampy, and that it was fairly possible that the illness was due to fright. She knew that Thampy and his retainers slept in the house the previous night, and she had a hunch that that circumstance might have had something to do with subsequent developments.

Soon afterwards she paid a visit to Thampy. Her purpose was to pump him with regard to his movements during the night he slept in Parukutty's house. By adroit questioning Thampy was led to reveal that at dead of night while all else slept, he had crept stealthily into the girl's room. He raised his arms to embrace the sleeping maiden, when suddenly he was seized from behind and pushed out of the room.

"Who was it?" asked Subhadra. Thampy's answer was the least expected.

"The Ghost of Anantha Padmanabhan."

Now another line of enquiry was opened. Subhadra learned that on the night of Thampy's visit a stranger dressed as a religious mendicant had drugged an old servant of the house, who when he awoke from his stupor missed a key from his pouch and later found it in the lock of a door which gave access to a secret passage inside the house. At the instance of Subhadra, the old servant traced the suspect to the neighbourhood of the camp of the Muslim merchant, the ally of Prince Marthanda Varma.

This merchant used to visit the country periodically. He was accompanied by his nephew; his two nieces, Fatima and Sulaikha; Bairam Khan, the husband of Fatima; and another

young man, named Shamsuddin who acted as dubash to the party.

Sulaikha was in love with Shamsuddin, which the latter was slow to return. The old merchant had great regard for Shamsuddin, and it was on the young man's advice that he had entered into an alliance with Prince Marthanda Varma. But his employee's apparent coldness towards his favourite niece enraged him. He regarded it as ingratitude on the part of one on whom he had bestowed great benefit.

The old servant sent by Subhadra hung about the camp and at last came upon an individual whom he at once marked down as the wanted man. This was promptly communicated to Subhadra.

Parukutty had now made some progress towards recovery. She confidentially imparted to Subhadra that she remembered as in a dream that on the night of Thampy's visit her room was entered by a stranger who before he touched her was seized by another and shoved out of the room. In the new comer she had detected the features of her dead lover. Subhadra drew her own conclusions and continued her investigations. The theft, which now became of less moment, was successfully traced by her to a retainer of Thampy.

Meanwhile events in the State were fast moving to a crisis. The old Maharaja had passed away. The rival factions were now preparing for a trial of strength; each party only waiting for adequate reinforcements to arrive. Royalist forces on their way to the capital were intercepted by the rebels and defeated.

This was a heavy blow to Marthanda Varma. Now his one remaining hope was Thirumukhathu Pillai, the former Chief Minister. But this nobleman had been keeping an inscrutable silence, and did not even reply to his urgent requests for help. This puzzled Marthanda Varma. He did not know that cunning men had been at work to estrange the faithful old chief from his side. They set afloat a rumour that his son Anantha Padmanabhan was killed at the instance of Marthanda Varma, and piled up bit after bit of circumstantial evidence to prove the fact, until at last the old man came to believe in the Prince's guilt.

Thus Marthanda Varma was now almost friendless while the conspirators waxed strong daily.

At last the zero hour struck. The rebel forces under the personal command of Thampy and the Ettuveedar made a night attack on the royal palace. It was a complete surprise. The palace was ill defended, and the rebels made an easy entry. They searched the palace from top to bottom, poking into all possible hiding places. But Marthanda Varma was not found! This was indeed a disappointment.

More and more troops arrived on the rebel side. Some of them on their way to the palace met Subhadra with some servants going towards her house. She belonged to the house of the head conspirator, so nobody thought of suspecting her, of course.

Subhadra stopped in front of her house. A stranger now appeared on the scene. It was no other than Thirumukhathu Pillai, the ex-minister. Forgetting his personal grievances, the old chief had come at the last moment with what forces he could muster to help the royal house in the hour of its direst peril. He had no difficulty in seeing through the disguises of Subhadra's servants.

The encounter was unexpected on both sides. Marthanda Varma milcily remonstrated with the old man for delaying his help. Thereupon the latter roundly accused him of basely murdering his son in a quarrel respecting a courtesan! Marthanda was stunned by the accusation, and could do nothing more than protest his innocence. The old chief was far from convinced.

Subhadra, who as a near relation of the head conspirator, had had means of knowing who the real culprits were, now spoke up. She revealed that it was Thampy's men who had attempted the murder of Anantha Padmanabhan. For some reason her words only incensed the old noble all the more.

"Shameless jade! Have you become so very friendly with the murderers of your own brother that you take their part?" blurted out the irate old man.

"My own brother!" It was now Subhadra's turn to be surprised. "For heaven's sake, for the sake of my dead

mother's honour, how is it that you speak of Anantha Padmanabhan as my brother?"

Now the truth had to come out.

"My poor daughter! This unnatural old man is your father. We married secretly, but my loyalty to the royal house was my guilt, and we were forcibly separated by your uncle, and the matter has remained a close secret ever since."

Subhadra felt the burden of shame she had been bearing all her life roll off her mind. Moreover she was gratified that she had quite unknowingly hated the enemies of her father and helped the royal house which he had served so faithfully although he had ample cause for hating Thampy on her own account for causing her husband to desert her.

She now imparted to her newly found father what she had come to gather from her enquiries starting from the theft in Parukutty's house, namely, that Anantha Padmanabhan, so long supposed to be dead, was still living in disguise with the Muslim merchant for some unaccountable reason.

Their conference was cut short by the approach of the rebel forces. In the fight which followed, the troops brought by the ex-Chief Minister, who were joined by the remnants of the loyal forces who had been defeated on the way, and also by the small but well-equipped soldiers sent by the Muslim merchant, won a decisive victory. Marthanda Varma was now firmly established on the throne of his ancestors.

The story of Anantha Padmanabhan now became fully known. Thampy's men who waylaid him left him wounded and dying in a wild place. The Muslim merchant who then had his camp nearby found him and nursed him back to life. In return the patient was made to promise not to reveal the fact that he was living to any of his people. When the merchant left for his country he was also taken with him.

Matters were further complicated by the beautiful Sulaikha falling in love with the interesting patient. When they again returned to Travancore the young man accompanied them under the name Shamsuddin. Bound

as he was by his oath not to reveal his identity, he was obliged to assume various disguises to help Marthanda Varma and to obtain news about Parukutty. On the night of Thampy's visit he gained access to her bedroom by drugging the servant, in time to save his love from being outraged by the unwelcome suitor.

Marthanda Varma and his father now prevailed upon the old merchant to release him from his oath. Sulaikha, the generous, high-souled maiden, bade him adieu, though with a broken heart, and the long separated lovers were at last restored to each other.

All were now happy except one person. During her investigations which established the existence of Anantha Padmanabhan, Subhadra had accidentally come to know that her husband was still alive but for ever separated from her. She bore this secret sorrow in her own heart without imparting it to anybody. Subhadra's uncle, the head conspirator, one day suddenly appeared before

her. He had learned of the part played by her in helping the enemy of his family, and had come prepared to take his vengeance.

He seized her and raised his sword to strike. Another person ran in just then but too late to prevent the fatal sword from falling in a death stroke on the young woman's neck. The new comer now threw away his own sword and came and stood before the furious old man. It was Bairam Khan, the husband of Fatima.

"Kill me too, who wrongly deserted this my faithful wife on mere suspicion," said he.

The other would have taken him at his word and cut him down, but for the timely arrival of Anantha Padmanabhan who felled the murderer before he could strike again. Thus the pure soul of Subhadra passed away, but her end was peaceful in the knowledge that her name was cleared in the eyes of all, including her misled husband.—P.M.

PAPER PLAN FOR ENDLESS DISCUSSIONS

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

THE Planning Commission has recently published the draft outline of the First Five Year Plan involving a total outlay of Rs. 1,793 crores on various sectors of national development. The plan is evidently a valuable document containing a fund of data and statistics regarding the different phases of reconstruction in India. It is the first attempt of its kind in this country and cannot be dealt with lightly in a spirit of indifference. The draft outline contains several hopeful and sound features of economic development and social evolution. Its emphasis on agriculture, rural uplift, small-scale and cottage industries, basic education, decentralization of political, economic and administrative power is indeed to be welcomed. But there are several other features of the Plan which cannot be called satisfactory from the standpoint of India's national reconstruction.

The basic defect of the Five Year Plan is its failure to present a clean-cut picture of future economic development. This is partly understandable because the Plan has been drawn by a Commission more or less committed to develop the economic policy of the present government of India. But I have always strongly maintained that a plan must always be such as cannot be ignored by any Government that might come into existence; and in order to make the people enthusiastically cooperate with it, it should be one which, after being once set in motion, would be worked out by the people themselves as much as possible. We, therefore, expected that the Commission would try to present a bold and definite plan for Free India, a plan that should be in conformity with India's indigenous culture and traditions and, thus, catch the imagination of the people. The present Plan, I regret to say, is not capable of making the masses feel the glow of freedom and Swaraj. It is supposed to believe in 'mixed economy'. Mixed economy is bound to be a hotch-potch of several princi-

ples of economic reconstruction, often contradictory and, therefore, making for confusion. In the modern world, there are two main economic ideologies, namely, Capitalism and Communism. These two ideologies are at war with each other and threaten the very existence of humanity. In India, Gandhiji has shown a third ideology which beautifully combines the good points of the other two. It is now recognized by eminent thinkers that the only alternative to Communism can be Gandhism. The Gandhian way of life is not a "fad" but a sound and scientific pattern of socio-economic re-orientation. If the Plan had been able to envisage such a new order in our country it might have been possible to present an attractive but practical picture not only for India but for the whole world.

The other chief drawback of the Plan is its rejection of the aim of "full employment" which is the ideal of all modern economic planning. The Constitution of India also guarantees to every citizen the "right to work" and "the right to an adequate means of livelihood." I, therefore, honestly feel that the Planning Commission in laying emphasis merely on greater production rather than on full employment has gone against the fundamental directive of the Indian Constitution. In fact, any plan which does not try to provide employment for all citizens as the topmost priority cannot be called a plan at all. In order to achieve the objective of full employment in India, it is essential to organize decentralised cottage industries on the widest possible scale and as the very basis of economic planning. With the exception of the basic industries which ought to be owned and managed by the State, all the consumer-goods industries including cloth, oil, sugar, paper, rice and matches have to be organized on a small scale in the rural areas so that the nation may have "fields, factories and workshops" for solving the problem of unemployment, and what is even more, under-employment.

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As regards the details of expenditure in the different sectors of national economy, the Plan has attached too much importance to "grandiose" schemes of multi-purpose river projects and development of transport and communications. Out of the total outlay of 1,493 crores of rupees, in the first part of the Five Year Plan, the power and irrigation projects will consume Rs. 450.26 crores. While the importance of irrigational facilities and cheap power supply cannot be underrated in any plan of economic development, the fact remains that the nation cannot afford to rely on long-term and centralized projects which might ultimately prove to be "white elephants" for the poor cultivator and artisan in India. A decentralized plan of irrigation with a countrywide network of village wells, tube-wells, small canals, tanks, reservoirs and similar other devices would have been more practical and useful. Improvement of railways, roads, shipping, and civil aviation, according to the Plan, will involve an expenditure of Rs. 388.20 crores. This huge amount could also be reduced by about Rs. 100 crores which could, instead, be more profitably spent for providing better social services.

Rs. 100.99 crores have been earmarked for the development of large-scale, small scale and cottage industries. Out of this amount only Rs. 16 crores are to be utilized for small-scale and cottage industries. Moreover, the Commission maintains that "programmes for cottage and small-scale industries cannot be viewed in isolation from programmes relating to the corresponding large-scale industries. The Plan, therefore, recommends 'common production programmes'." This clearly shows that the planners do not visualise a decentralized type of economy for its own sake; they favour cottage industries only for the sake of certain immediate advantages and expediences, particularly relating to capital and investment.

Social services, including education, health, housing and social welfare, have been allotted Rs. 254.08 crores in the first part of the Plan. This is, surely, inadequate in a country which is proverbially poor and which desires to grow into a Welfare State. No lasting socio-economic reconstruction is possible without a radical

change in the educational system. It is, therefore, surprising that the Planning Commission should have dismissed the vital problem of education in such general terms.

The sources of finance envisaged in the Plan are by no means very certain. The Plan also admits that the items of public loans, small savings, and additional revenue due to fresh taxation are "a matter of speculation." Under the prevailing money-market conditions it is very doubtful whether the expectations of the Commission are reasonable. Even if these expectations are realised, there will still be a gap of Rs. 375 crores over five years. The Commission has indicated the possibility of "deficit financing" to the extent of Rs. 290 crores. This would "impose a definite strain on the economy" of India by setting into motion the inflationary tendencies. The Plan further mentions that "if foreign aid is available for financing development expenditure, the sterling balances can be used for importing consumption goods and thus bringing down domestic prices." The use of sterling balances in the manner mentioned above appears to be highly unsatisfactory.

In regard to the Food policy, the Commission urges that during the next few years annual imports of food-grains to the tune of 3 million tons should be planned for, and adds that in exceptional years imports may have to be larger. So, this is the brilliant picture of the much-boasted national self-sufficiency programme!

What is the future of the Plan? The Commission has so far been able to publish one draft outline which is to be finalized only after "further consultations," with the Central Ministries, State Governments and its own Advisory Board and panels, and Members of Parliament. This procedure will easily take several months. By that time, the country will be in the grip of election fever. After the general elections the altered strength of different political parties at the Centre and in the States might necessitate a change in the personnel of the Commission. This would mean a further revision of the Plan and a fresh chain of consultations. So, unfortunately, the Plan bids fair to remain only a paper Plan for endless discussions.

BRITAIN'S COST OF LIVING SHOWS DOWNWARD TREND

By HARRY HEAP

THIS last week has seen quite a change in the trend of life in Britain. For a long time now we have been used to reading of rising prices, of finding that our money has been going nowhere at all. A man who is earning about 300 rupees a month has discovered that his wife needs every penny of it, not for luxuries, not to be able to save, but in order to pay for the essentials of her family. I met a man recently who told me that all he spent on himself was on sixty cigarettes a week, a moderate number, and an evening a week at the local public-house with his friends. But these modest treats cost him about 13 rupees a week, leaving his wife short of money for her household needs. This week, however, there has been a reduction in the cost of living. Prices have certainly begun to fall in woollen goods, they will be falling in cotton goods, and leather is also said to be becoming cheaper. Carpets have had their prices slashed and there has been a reduction of up to 40% in some quarters in textiles. To cap it all, yesterday Dr. Hugh Dalton advised people not to buy yet, as prices will fall still more. Various big stores have reacted violently to Dr. Dalton's suggestion. There is no doubt that people are now holding back in their buying for the winter and Dr. Dalton's suggestion will make us even more cautious in our spending. I notice, too, that the Association of Small Shopkeepers has advised its members not to hold large stocks. They can then avoid the danger of being caught with stocks when prices fall.

For many of us, there is an instinctive, and probably selfish, delight in finding prices being reduced. We ought to look a little further, however. Humour has it that there are large stocks of textiles accumulating in warehouses. If this is the case, and it is quite likely to be with the present caution which the housewife is exercising, then the time will soon come when production will have

to be cut. This again leads inevitably to unemployment and so to trouble. A reduction in prices was needed, but it must not go too far or it will get out of hand altogether and the results on the wage-earner, as distinct from the salaried man, will be disastrous.

There are many people who believe that unemployment is a good thing. I have heard that opinion expressed many times by both Conservatives and Liberals. I heard this week of a firm that needed an urgent job doing. They called on some men who were already at home after their day's work. The men demanded certain wages for their overtime, and for the loss of their evening's pleasure. Because they were key men, their terms had to be accepted. My informant condemned these men, to some extent with justice. But I had to point out that not so long ago the employer could have demanded that the men do the job on his terms, or could sack them and get some of the millions of unemployed to do the job for him. Granted, the pendulum might have swung over too far to the side of the worker; but it must not be allowed to swing back to where it used to be. As for full employment, which, some say, is the cause of slackness in British labour, a slackness which is not reflected in our production figures, I would rather have the lazy man doing only half-a-day's and getting full pay for it, than see thousands of men standing at the centre of a town with no work to do and with no prospects of work. That was certainly the case in Lancashire in the 1920's and early 1930's.

I mentioned in a recent article the fear of some British industries of Japanese competition. There has been an example of what Britain has to fear in the pottery industry. The Japanese are producing a type of cup and saucer similar in design to those made by a firm in Britain. The quality is said to be good, but the price of

the Japanese article is much cheaper than the British article. The reason is the low wage-rate paid to the Japanese worker. It is said that the Japanese pottery worker is paid about 65 rupees a month against the British worker's 300 rupees a month. The suggestion has therefore been made that all treaties concerning trade between countries should have some agreement, on international lines, on wage levels. Whether this is practicable or not, I do not know. There might be the case that more workers of one nationality are required to do a job than workers of another nationality. Anyway, it is one more problem that the economists of the world will have to solve before long.

Of the borrowing of books in Britain, there is no end. The libraries continue to have great demands made on them. It is interesting to see from a report on the Manchester Public Libraries just which books people are reading. The most popular author for adults is Dorothy Sayers. It must be many years now since Dorothy Sayers wrote her Lord Peter Wimsey detective novels, yet one assumes that it is this side of her writing that attracts and not the religious writings of her later years. Dorothy Sayers is followed by Sir Hugh Walpole. This, again, is, to me, surprising. Walpole's most popular books are the Rogue Herries series. These are long books, not as well-written as that near-classic, Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill, and dealing with one part of England, the Lake District. Leslie Charteris, of "The Saint" fame, John Buchan, who, in my opinion, is the king of all adventure writers, and Agatha Christie, follow on the list of popular authors. In the case of books for children, it is inevitable that Enid Blyton should lead comfortably. Every child reads Enid Blyton. Almost every child reads the second most popular writer, too, the author of the "Biggles" books, W. E. Johns. I must

I have no other object but to preserve the necessary condition for peaceful progress in desiring to leave a law behind me that should comprise the essential "don'ts" for printed stuff. It was called a parting gift or a parting kick in sheer and criticism. But, let me say, I don't mind these criticisms or these sneers. It does not matter. What I want to do, I know. It is to leave a law that should comprise the essential, minimum 'don'ts' for printed stuff. If it is there, with Courts to guard the canons of just and fair interpretation not only of the law, but of whatever is printed or complained about, a code of conduct for all sections of the press of our country will grow out of it, I am certain.—C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

admit that when my son is safely asleep and I feel that *The Times* has been read, my work finished, and I can relax, that I sneak along to his shelf and slip away with the latest Biggles book that he has been reading. I cover myself with the excuse that I ought to know the type of books he is reading, anyway. But to be honest, I enjoy the stories!

During the week, four million Britshers have been designated "insomniacs." We were the four million (and I was one of them) who switched on our wireless sets at three o'clock on Thursday morning to hear what was happening in America between "Sugar" Ray Robinson and Randolph Turpin. Never was there such ballyhoo about a fight. Now that is all over, one thing stands out, and it is that the men who did the fighting were almost worth all the shouting that had gone before. The one was a good loser and the other was, what is not always the case, a good winner. There has been the inevitable discussion as to whether the referee should have stopped the fight, but that is being lost in the admiration on all sides for the boxers themselves. Certainly, the fight aroused more interest than any fight that I recall, and the next day it was the one topic of conversation. Coming out of my office, I overheard two busy housewives. One said "sugar," and I knew at once (and I was right) that she was not discussing her shopping but the American boxer. Immediately afterwards I stopped to give some friends a lift. One was an officer in the Fire Service, another an officer of the Court. Their first words were, "But the referee did not know there were only eight seconds to go, did he?" So once again a sporting event has given us light relief from the oil of Persia, the Conference Table at San Francisco, and our genuine concern at what appear still to be tense relations between India and Pakistan.

HOW THE ENGLISH BEHAVE

By MATTHEW HALTON

THE English—are they human? That was the title of a famous book written by a Dutchman some years ago; and for centuries the puzzled foreigner has been asking the same question. But the question can now be answered. Evidence has come to light to show that the English are very human indeed. They even have habits and customs, like the lesser breeds—and many of these habits are bad ones.

They smoke like chimneys; for every dollar they spend on clothes they spend 80 cents on tobacco and cigarettes. They drink intoxicating liquids; for every dollar they spend on food they spend 35 cents on alcohol. They gamble like mad; they spend over \$2,000,000,000 a year on the ponies, the dogs, the football pools and other forms of wishful thinking. They steal more than they used to. Their sex life is becoming more promiscuous. And they are going to church less than ever before.

These and many other facts about the renowned islanders are published in a new survey which has rather startled the English themselves. It is the result of long work and research by two prominent sociologists, B. Seeborn Rowntree and G. R. Lavers. It is called "English Life and Leisure" (published by Longmans). It discusses many aspects of English leisure, from the noblest of the arts to the grossest forms of self-indulgence; and in doing so it finds much that will shock the complacent.

Books could be written also, of course, about the virtues of the English in 1951. Books could be written to prove that in many ways the whole life of England is better, cleaner and nobler than ever before. Today there is only a fraction of the cruelty, misery, squalid poverty and brutal vice that disfigured the smugger England of 1851. And few would deny that there is more good citizenship in this country now than ever before. Yet English life, like life in other countries, is far from perfect, as the new survey shows. The decline of religious belief especially will startle

the reader who thinks of a Christian England.

Gambling In Billions

But let us look first at the main amusements of the English, if you can call them amusements: drinking, smoking and betting.

Drinking is not synonymous with drunkenness, and the number of convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales fell from 183,000 in 1913, and 45,000 in 1938, to 29,000 in 1948. But more people are drinking about 29,000,000 barrels of beer a year, and 9,000,000 gallons of spirits, and 11,000,900 gallons of wine. The people spend over \$2,000,000,000 a year on alcoholic beverages, which is much more than before the war. They spend a quarter more on alcohol than on rent and property taxes, five and a half times as much on alcohol as on books, newspapers, and magazines of all kinds, 20 times as much on alcohol as they put in the savings banks. They spend a third as much on drink as on food.

The drink industry in England employs over 340,000 people full time and many others part time. It consumes 900,000 tons of barley a year. A third of the people are regular beer drinkers and a tenth are regular drinkers of spirits. The figures are not at bad as they sound, because only 8.7 per cent of the English drink beer every day and only 1.5 per cent drink spirits every day. But the average consumption of beer and spirits is higher in England than in Canada or the United States.

Take smoking. Though the survey does not say so, I believe the English smoke more than any other people in the world. Four men out of five and two women out of five over the age of 16, are regular smokers. The consumption of tobacco in 1948 was 214,000,000 pounds, 17 per cent more than before the war. The country spent over \$2,000,000,000 on its smokes. That is twice as much as it spent on fuel and light, and four-fifths as much as it spent on clothes! Four

times as much was spent on tobacco as on all forms of entertainment.

The English, moreover (like the rest of us), cannot stop smoking. They can fight the demon rum, but not tobacco. It has become a need. "It is certain," says the survey, "that if the supply of cigarettes were greatly reduced, industrial production would undoubtedly be lowered." And there are many familiar case histories: "Artisan in factory. Aged 35. Smokes 20 cigarettes a day. Cannot afford so many because he is married with two children, but cannot do without. Has tried several times to give up smoking, but becomes so irritable that home life is impossible, and his wife begs him to start smoking again." Yes, the English are human, all right.

But the English vice (or sport, if you like) which has increased most phenomenally is gambling; especially on horse-racing, dog racing and the foot-ball pools. The gambling industry employs between 300,000 and 400,000 full-time workers, almost as many as Britain's great cotton industry and twice as many as the total strength of the Royal Navy. Before the war the country spent about \$1,000,000,000 a year on betting, now it spends over \$2,000,000,000. In 1949 the English spent \$1,200,000,000 on horse-racing, \$600,000,000 on dog racing and \$180,000,000 on the football pools. Fifty million bets are made every year on the dogs. About 11,000,000 people take part every week in the football pools.

Well, so what? What's wrong with gambling? Can't a man have a flutter if he wants?

Messrs. Rowntree and Laver suggest there is a good deal wrong with gambling. On the economic side, it is a huge waste of manpower and money in a country which is short of manpower. And ethically, they say the harm of gambling "lies in the implicit abandonment of reason. The gambling man is an ignorant and unreasonable man, for he either neglects to inform himself about the nature of the odds against him... or, knowing the odds, he deliberately makes himself believe that the figures do not mean precisely what they say. Thus gambling... is a rejection and betrayal of the long and painful progress of man from his primitive ani-

mal state. It is a formidable enemy of the intellectual order on which civilization is based."

Which is exactly the conclusion I had reached independently at the Derby this year when the horse I had backed finished last.

On more serious subjects than even drinking and gambling, the Rowntree-Lavers survey makes an attempt to assess standards of morality in England today in regard especially to honesty, sex and religion.

Because of the long years of unquestioned integrity, say the authors, "the British have come to think of themselves as an absolutely honest nation, and to a very large extent that idea still prevails." And with some reason. The general standard of probity is still high. "Taking the country as a whole, the standard of honesty in business in Great Britain is higher than in any foreign country." They gathered that there is the same standard of commercial honesty as before the war; and that civil servants and the professional classes in general are still incorruptible.

Petty Pilfering Increases

Yet their figures show there has been a great increase in petty thieving in this country, in the past few years. The number of indictable offences in England and Wales in 1937 was 266,000; in 1948 it was 522,000. There is a shocking amount of petty pilfering, especially among the young. "I see, I want, I take" is described in the survey as a common attitude of youth today. British railways, say the writers, cannot provide hand towels on trains because of the rate of loss through thefts. A seaside hotel catering to the upper middle class lost 10,000 coat-hangers in 15 years. One London store loses 5,000 dresses to shoplifters every year. A chain store loses \$1,000,000 worth of goods to pilferers every year.

Petty theft may be worse in some other countries, but that is not the point. It is disturbing to see an increase of it in a country famous for its honesty.

In the field of sexual immorality it is always hard to get reliable information, but, as the authors say, Government statistics alone show an immense increase in sexual promiscuity.

in England during recent years. These figures show that immediately before the war 30 per cent of all first-born children in this country were conceived out of wedlock. One bride in every six was pregnant on her wedding day. And since then illegitimacy and promiscuity have greatly increased. Moreover, the attitude towards sexuality has changed. The majority of the English no longer believe that promiscuity is wrong.

The increases in both dishonesty and immorality are due, the authors believe, to the decline of religion. And on this subject their investigations have revealed trends of the greatest significance.

What they reveal in short, is that England can no longer be called Christian in the sense that it accepts the Christian religion. Three-quarters of the English people are either un-Christian or actually anti-Christian. This is a land of religious tradition, the land of the beautiful cathedrals and the lovely village churches—but few people go to them.

Take one city, York, the seat of the famous cathedral. Fifty years ago, when York had a population of 43,000, some 7,000 people attended the Anglican churches there each Sunday. Today, though the population is now 78,000 only about 3,000 go to those churches.

Living on Spiritual Capital?

Many of the English are thoughtful agnostics, and the thoughtful agnostic is often a conscientious moralist. But many of the people are now cynically and even bitterly anti-Christian, and according to the survey they have a special contempt for the clergy. Here are some typical comments gathered by the authors.

"Nobody believes all the nonsense they read out in the church. The persons just do it to earn their living."

"Don't talk to me about parsons!

They've got a pretty soft job, if you ask me. Telling decent working folk how to behave! What do they know about it? Never done an honest day's work in their life, most of them."

"A working-class family that is religious is working against its own interest. Everybody knows religion isn't true, but the nobs try to make working folk believe it is, so they won't kick up a fuss."

There is a great deal of that. And the authors conclude: "It is inconceivable to us that the Protestant churches will ever again be a dominant force in the life of the nation."

All this is not to say that England is now a nest of paganism and vice. On the contrary, it is pointed out that though most of the English ignore or distrust organized religion, they still conduct their lives on the lines of Christian ethics. The levels of public morality and good citizenship are probably higher in England now than ever before. There may be less church-going than there used to be—but there is more social conscience. Mass starvation, mass unemployment and mass injustice are not tolerated.

I put that point one day to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Is it not true," I asked, "that though religion is declining, England is better socially and even morally than she used to be?" Dr. Fisher replied: "That may be so, but are you sure that this high standard of conduct will continue? Is there not a grave danger that we are living on our spiritual capital—and ploughing nothing back?"

That danger may well exist. It may be true that the average run of human beings will not behave morally without religious sanctions. Or it may not be true. Time will tell. At the present day, however, the English people are not noticeably on their way to the dogs—despite the sins and peccadilloes I have just reviewed.

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TOMORROW'S CITIZENS

They love getting up in the morning. They have tremendous appetites. They see a joke round every corner and an adventure in every experience. They have an insatiable passion for noticing. They notice with their eyes, ears, noses, tongues, joints and all their musclesthese are Britain's 3,000,000 under-fives, of whom a woman official of the Home Office's children's department recently gave the above composite portrait.



By V. P. SÂTHE

SINCE 1939, when the Motion Picture Congress was held in Bombay to celebrate 25 years of movies, no film festival was held in India. And now suddenly we find that not one but three film festivals are in the offing. The International Film Festival sponsored by the Government of India as already reported in these columns, is being held in December 1951.

In addition a film festival is being held at Mussorie. It is not strictly a film festival; it is rather an autumn festival with several other attractive features. But a film festival is also a part of it. The secretary of the festival is in Bombay these days to secure co-operation from the producers; and the producers have responded quite well. Such important pictures as *Daheez*, *Dastan*, *Naujawan*, *Deedar* and *Humlog* have been entered into the contest.

For, we are told that a panel of judges is being appointed to award prizes to the best film, director, cameraman and stars during the festival. Only those pictures censored after April 1950 are eligible for this contest.

The third festival is being organised at Delhi in April 1952, the details of which have already appeared in the Press. But, unfortunately, IMPPA is not co-operating with the sponsors of this festival, and as such it may not achieve the expected success. Besides, after the international festival in December, this festival may lose all its glamour.

Meanwhile it is interesting to note that for the first time in the annals of the film world, films produced in Asia have secured international recognition. A Japanese film has won the

first prize in the Venice Festival while *River*, a film produced in India has won the second prize. The Indian documentary film *Rajasthan* has won the first prize at Venice and the second prize at Edinburgh. Is not it creditable?

Incidentally, the Film Federation of India is reported to have decided to give an annual award for the best picture of the year. These are all healthy signs and they would go a long way in providing the incentive to produce a quality picture to our producers.

Personality Of The Week

After about twenty years experience in the film industry Zia Sarahadi, poet-scenarist director, averred at the premiere of *Hum Log* that it was his first real picture.

So apparently Zia had to wait for twenty years to get a real chance to make a picture in his own way. That is hardly surprising since Zia Sarahadi wanted to make a special kind of picture which the producers generally have not got the courage and sincere desire to make.

The idea of joining films came to Zia twenty years ago when he was on his way to China to meet his father. At Singapore, he decided not to go further and spent many months wandering in Singapore, Colombo, Madras and Bangalore. He had his first offer to join films in Bangalore. In Bombay he met Mehboob, who was then just an ordinary artiste. But his first film job was that of an assistant director in East India Film Co., Calcutta. The job did not last long and he returned to Bombay in 1935 when Mehboob was planning to make his first picture for Sagar. Zia and

Mehboob used to discuss the story of *Al Hilal* together; but Zia had to go away, and he was not associated with the final script.

Believe it or not, Zia who is a great protagonist of progressive themes and realism began his career by writing the screenplay of a stunt picture entitled *Deccan Queen* which was directed by Mehboob and which marked the debut of Sarahadi as a writer. Since then Zia must have written about fifty film stories by now. In addition he has also to his credit dialogues and songs of about an equal number of pictures. And some of these pictures like *Manmohan* and *Jagirdar* have been great hits.

In addition to writing scripts and songs, Zia has always evinced interest in direction. He began his career as a director when he made *Postman* for Sagar, following it up with *Poor Sweethearts*. Later he made *Yatim* for Central Studios. But so far he has not made a great name as a director though he is quite renowned as poet and scenarist.

Now after years of comparative inactivity he is staging a comeback as director. In fact *Hum Log* is the first picture to be directed by him after *Yatim*. And there is a long story of waiting, heart-breaks and perseverance behind the making of *Hum Log*. The idea of the story occurred to him when Zia was negotiating with Filmistan for a chance to write and direct the picture.

Those were the days when he was going through a crisis. Yet he made a strange decision that he will make a picture after his own heart. He wrote a story—trying to be sincere to his own art and social outlook. He went to different producers with it and ultimately he found in K. Asif, the right man who appreciated the story and who was willing to give Zia the chance. But, unfortunately, the plan did not materialize. The production of *Hulchul* was prolonged so long, that Zia found it impossible to wait indefinitely with the result one day when Chandulal Shah asked for a story, Zia agreed to relate it to him on two conditions, viz., that he will direct it and that he will not be asked to change the story to suit the box-office. After hearing the story Chandulal agreed to both his conditions. True,

he suggested some changes; but they were helpful.

Zia took comparative new comers like Nutan, Sajjan, Shyama, Manmohan, Balraj Sahni for star roles and started the shooting of the picture. During the production he had to encounter many difficulties; but as far as Chandulal was concerned he gave him a free hand and all possible help. After fourteen months of struggling work the picture was completed and it was released at Liberty Cinema (Bombay) last week.

Will this picture succeed? This is a question which distributors have been posing before the release. If it does, it will encourage directors like Zia and producers like Chandulal Shah to make such bold experiments. Thus, those of us who criticise the present lot of Indian pictures, will do well to see the picture at least and offer correct guidance. Meanwhile we wish Zia's evidently sincere efforts all success.

Picture Of The Week

Indeed Ranjit's *Humlog* is a challenge to picturegoers who have been clamouring for realism in our film. For, it presents the canny side of life in its starkness without any glamorous trappings to adorn it. And if the people can stand the realism which some people are likely to abhor as ugly, they will like the picture.

The realism is evident in sets, in costume and incidents. It is the story of a poor family, an old man who draws a salary of Rs. 80 per month, his wife and his three children, the eldest one of them an unemployed youth bitter against society, the second a frail girl suffering from tuberculosis, the third a boy who cannot go to school. There is romance in the life of the youngsters, but not the kind of romance you see in films; the consciousness of poverty and disease lends an air of tragedy and sobriety to romance.

Marking a bold departure from the average run of pictures, Zia has created a picture remarkable for its power in exposing the present day condition of the world. There is hardly any story in the accepted sense of the term in *Humlog*, but it is through characterization, the symbolic treatment and the terse dialogue that Zia conveys his theme.

The most live character in the picture is Kundan, a loafer who believes that everyone in the world is a cheat and he betrays his friend Raj by running away with the thousand rupees which his friend had stolen from his father, who in turn had to go to jail for failure to account for the money entrusted to him by his employer. But he feels uneasy when he loses that money in gambling and returns to his friend only to find that Raj does not rebuke or reproach him for his betrayal. Kundan's suicide and Raj's death in court after an impassioned speech in which he says "Man has reached for the moon, but man has forgotten to care for his comrade who lives just next door to him. Man has attained everything but lost the greatest thing in life—Man's love for man. That is the tragedy of the present world."

There are many passages in the picture which will shake the audience with the hard-hitting truth they contain. Obviously to give a note of hope in the end Zia has not ended the picture on the bitter tragedy of poverty, but a hopeful song on the stage which envisages a better future for the poor people.

Zia has also had a sting at the public and film producers who feed their patrons with cheap inconsequential entertainment. Here again he has posed a question to the public: Do you really prefer the stuff you get or do you want realism, tragedy and idealism in films?

Zia has been mostly successful in his effort of making a really realistic picture based on the economic factors of life. Artistically, the picture has many commendable features. The photography, setting, the atmosphere of the slums, the acting by Anwar Hussain, who steals the shows as Kundan, Balraj Shani, Nutan, Durga Khote, Shama, Sajjan and Kanhayalal are all superb. Even the music is aptly sombre and dignified. And yet the picture may not prove so popular mainly because its tempo is inordinately slow at places and it relies more on dialogue than incident to convey the theme. Excellent as the

dialogues are they can never be effective as dramatic incidents which are so lacking in this picture. Besides, the indulgence in philosophical dialogue, especially by Balraj Sahni lend an air of artificiality to the very realism that Zia is trying to create. Indeed, the reference to Duniya and Zamana in every third dialogue gives a tone of sermonising to the picture, which could have been easily avoided.

A progressive realistic picture can only become a phenomenal success if the writers and directors like Zia Sarhadi recognise the importance of dramatic incidents and rescue themselves from the temptation of playing upon the spoken word of which Zia seems to be a master.

Barring a little stress on theatrical verbosity at places, *Humlog* is an exceptionally well-made, powerful and realistic film which will leave an indelible impression on the mind of every intelligent picturegoer.

News Of The Week

—Ashok Kumar is expected to return to India by 18th September. His wife will be coming by ship. Nalini is expected back by 16th September.

—Nayantara, the "Indian Rita Hayworth" has been called by B.B.C. to give a talk on her experience as a film artiste.

—Shammi Kapoor, Raj's younger brother, is making his debut in Pancholi's *Aasun* which is being directed by Zia Sarhadi.

—Shantaram is seriously considering the proposition of making a Hindi version of *Amar Bhoopali*.

—Ashok Kumar and his two younger brothers Anoop Kumar and Kishore Kumar are being assigned the role of brothers on the screen in Gyan Pictures' *Sarhad*.

—Qamar Jalalabadi will be writing and producing a picture for Famous Pictures, which will be directed by Shanti Kumar. Husanlal and Bhagatram will give the music.

—Anil Bishwas has been signed by Filmkar to give music for both *Shikwa* and *Anarkali*.

—S. M. Yusuf has announced his plan to produce *Tipu Sultan*.

SIDELIGHTS :

The politics of courts are so mean that private people would be ashamed to act in the same way; all is trick and finesse, to which the common cause is sacrificed.—LORD NELSON.

IT was announced in the papers this week that the Madras Government will submit to the Central Government and the Planning Commission a revised scheme of the Krishna Pennar Project by the end of this month. The prospects of the Krishna Pennar Project were ruined before it was born by Sri Bhaktavatsalam's mishandling. It was a dead child that was delivered. This particular Minister's administration is the subject of constant condemnation and exposure in a Tamil daily run by a veteran journalist. Enough has been disclosed to provide a prima facie case for a sort of Gorwala enquiry into the internal secrecies of Sri Bhaktavatsalam's transactions as Public Works Minister. As the Krishna Pennar Project concerns primarily the welfare of people in the Andhra districts, their goodwill and confidence is essential for the success of Governmental operations, of the gigantic magnitude of the Krishna Pennar Project. But never was there such a commotion over any contemplated official scheme as there now is over this ill-fated project sponsored by Sri Bhaktavatsalam. It was a fatal blunder on his part to have linked irrigation in Chingleput district with utilisation of Krishna and Pennar waters. The fact that close relatives of the Minister are considerable landowners in Chingleput gave a bad odour to the scheme at the very start. The impression was given that here was a Minister who would take the rivers themselves and put them in his backyard if only he could. Andhra-Tamil animosities which had been slowly dwindling after the excitement of the Partition Committee's endeavour of two years ago, flared up into renewed virulence. Swami Sitaran's fast at this juncture set the final doom on Sri Bhaktavatsalam's hopes of disposing of the Krishna and Pennar at his will. With the Andhra State brought to the verge of imminence, it will certainly not be Sri

Bhaktavatsalam who will be empowered to inflict his fads on the river valley projects pertaining to Andhra territory. Let the future of the river valley schemes within the confines of the Andhra State to be, be left to its own concerned Minister, and let not Sri Bhaktavatsalam persist in monkeying with them, still further worsening the atmosphere, already overcharged with suspicion. The Andhras have deep distrust of Sri Bhaktavatsalam and they can never be persuaded that good to them can accrue from any handiwork of his. Even in Tamil Nadu, his stock is not high, judging from the diatribes in the newspapers. The Chief Minister will be well advised to transfer the portfolio to someone less acquisitive, not addicted to building more than one house.

If the Krishna Pennar Project is not to be countenanced, what of the water supply to Madras City? My comments on the question have apparently aroused keen dissatisfaction in some quarters. Read, for instance, what Sri T. V. Ramamurthi says in a letter to the Editor:

The comments of Saka on the question of water-supply to Madras, I regret to say, lack his usual clarity and vigour. It is consoling to know that "Madras City is on a different footing" and that "people of all linguistic denominations in the State will contribute joyfully from their resources to add to the amenities and comforts of Madras City." But this is not enough. Adequate water-supply for Madras City is not an amenity or comfort, but an urgent necessity and immediate action is necessary.

There is qualified engineering opinion—not that of the Chief Engineer criticised—that water can be brought to Madras in a period of three years if the Krishna-Pennar Project is taken up on a compartmental basis by first providing a channel of about half the width provided for in the full scheme. Such a channel in its course will also irrigate areas in the districts of Cuddapah, Kur-nool and Nellore. This further advantage must commend the scheme to all the citizens of Madras State and especially to those who strongly urge the formation of the new Andhra State.

In this context the "Machiavellianism" of Ministers, the merits of engineers and the priority of Pulichintala have no

I am in the evening of my life.—JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

relevance. The Krishna-Pennar Project can go forward on this basis without spelling disaster to the people of the Krishna valley. If the question should be one of choice between irrigating the Krishna valley or the Chingleput district, I have no doubt that the Krishna valley would get the preference even after the completion of the Krishna-Pennar Project up to Madras.

Under the circumstances may I respectfully submit that it is unwise to cut off one's nose to spite another's face. Saka would add to his valuable services for the people's welfare by strongly supporting this view which commonsense and common humanity alike dictate.

The article of Sri Tenneti Viswanadham printed on page 7 of this issue of *Swatantra* supplies the answer to Sri Ramamurthi's question. Says Viswanadham:

"I do not want the Krishna Pennar Project as conceived by the Government... for you may take away a portion of the produce under certain conditions to the south, but you may not take away the means of production and destroy the natural priorities of the people living in the areas commanded by the Krishna and Pennar rivers. If the city of Madras wants drinking water, an infiltration gallery below the Nellore dam can be constructed and water led directly into the mains of the city."

Sri Bhaktavatsalam cannot supply water to Madras City by any diversion of waters of Andhra rivers, as a representative of Andhra assets or interests. He is associated with the sabotage of the Ramapadasagar Project, and Andhras, riven as they are with disagreements, are agreed on one point, that Sri Bhaktavatsalam is a man to beware of and to watch with caution. Of course in a multi-lingual State it would be intolerable if Ministers are not accepted as representatives of the whole State. I have found it possible in practice to move on terms of the friendliest intercourse with all varieties of people irrespective of their language, caste, economic condition or cultural level. So can any Minister. But the devilry of power politics has in some cases brought into favour a policy of accentuating hatreds in order that one might be established as a champion in a limited circle. Such a policy makes a Minister shrink in representative worth. Sri Bhaktavatsalam

has with his record got ousted from every right to speak for the Andhras, and cannot therefore deliver the goods in the matter of water supply to Madras City. He irritates when he speaks of deploying Krishna or Pennar waters. The problem of water for Madras City can be solved only through the co-operation of the Public Works Minister of the Andhra State, after Sri Bhaktavatsalam is put out of the power of meddling with the river valley projects of Andhra Desa.

Portraits of Sri Vavilla Venkateswara Sastrulu and the late K. Vyasa Rao were unveiled by Sri K. P. Viswanatha Iyer at the Southern India Journalists Federation on Tuesday. Sastrulu has been an invalid for six years but from his sick bed he has been directing an astonishing amount of activity. The printing of not less than a thousand books stands to his credit. Some of these are resuscitated manuscripts on cadjan leaves which would have been lost but for his research and industry in discovering them and transforming them into presentable forms with the aid of scholars and pandits. A devotee of the late Lokamanya Tilak, Sastrulu had a broad tolerance of outlook and was a generous friend in need to many politicians in distress before quick prosperity began to smile on them with the advent of Congress Raj. He was a pioneer in that sort of journalism which subserved independence by not conforming to any set pattern, and Sri Raghunatha Aiyar, President of the Federation, in his tribute, laid special emphasis on the need and preciousness of such non-conformist specimens in these days of mechanical and stereotyped multiplication of newspapers and journals. The President also recounted many a charming anecdote from the days of his association with Vyasa Rao, when they both worked on the *Daily Express*. Vyasa Rao should have been in the I. C. S. but a fall from a horse while riding lamed him and marred his chances. The frustration of this mishap clung to him for life but he was not defeated by it. He was a man difficult to get along with, but his invectives were flashes in the pan that died out as quickly as they flared up, committing no harm. He was one of the most knowledgeable of journalists. — SAKA

BRITAIN'S BUFFOONISH "SENATOR MCCARTHY"

By ANDREW ROTH

LONDON: For Britons one of the most difficult things to understand about the United States has been the tremendous impact of Senator McCarthy's charges on the political atmosphere and political policies of Washington. As a result this correspondent became very fond of Sir Waldron Smithers soon after landing here. When puzzled British friends asked me to explain the political phenomenon of McCarthyism, I had the pat reply: "It is as if the press and people in Britain took Sir Waldron Smithers seriously." At this, every questioner laughed and nodded comprehendingly.

Many outside Britain heard about Sir Waldron for the first time recently when he proposed in Commons that Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury, be tried for treason and hanged. But in Britain itself Sir Waldron Smithers is widely known and popular, even among those he attacks most bitterly and who regard him as a "paleolithic man."

Sir Waldron Smithers is Britain's most determined uncoverer of "Communism" in high places, making charges fully as extreme and unsubstantiated, as those of Senator McCarthy. Sir Waldron attacks Prime Minister Attlee as a "fellow-traveller" and alleges that the BBC is "riddled with Communism." But in mature and socially stable Britain such ridiculous charges are treated as jokes and Sir Waldron is indulged like a slightly senile grandfather. Thus in 1947, after Sir Waldron had charged Mr. Attlee with being a "fellow traveller" Communist M.P. William Gallacher interjected: "If the Communists did not exist, Sir Waldron would be struck with vocal paralysis." Replied Mr. Attlee: "Not so long as bulk purchases exist," referring to another Smithers phobia. Once humored, the "big lie" turns into the "big fib."

Sir Waldron Smithers' opposition to anything left of center is simply the response of a Victorian Conservative

fighting the 20th century. Interviewed about the government he would like to form if he had the chance, he answered: "Who is there besides Churchill? There is Lord Salisbury, I suppose... But I am the only real Conservative left you know."

The Conservative Party leadership, long fond of Sir Waldron's defense of the Victorian age, is now wondering how he can fit into the new modernization of the Party, and its pose as a forward-looking center party. He is perfectly capable of arguing seriously that the British Labour Party's gentle socialism is a "copy of Hitlerite National Socialism" or that "there is no difference between the policies of Hitler and Stalin and the present Government." He does not restrict himself to taking newspapermen aside and telling them that Prime Minister Clement Attlee is a Communist. In the House of Commons he has called the Prime Minister a "fellow-traveller" for refusing a royal commission to investigate Communism similar to the U. S. Un-American Activities Committee. In Sir Waldron's last election address he warned that Mr. Attlee intended to establish, by revolution if necessary, "a government similar to that tyrannizing over Russia." He further warned: "If the Socialists are returned with a majority at the election, we will never have another (one). They will do away with the House of Lords."

Secretary of State for War John Strachey, having once been a Communist sympathizer, is a natural target for Sir Waldron. This year Sir Waldron asked Mr. Strachey to assure the House of Commons that he would not use a course on "The Communist Attack in the Contemporary World" for "Communist propaganda, at which he was in the old days a first-class adept." He has also attacked Mr. Strachey as a "panic-stricken mountebank" and organized a petition campaign to have him dismissed. Sir Waldron has capitalized on the failure of the "groundnuts scheme" which

The resignation of Mr. Bevan from the Cabinet has provided Sir Waldron with more accusation. He long described Mr. Bevan privately as the "undercover" representative of the Cominform in the Cabinet. Now he simply adds that the "diabolically clever" Mr. Bevan is out to win power for himself.

Sir Waldron will frequently voice the hope, as he did recently about a statement of his in Commons, "I hope that every newspaper in the country will print it." He is intensely press-conscious, and every parliamentary correspondent has some story of being telephoned by Sir Waldron to be fed some choice tit-bit. He is amusing to interview because he continually leans over your notebook to make sure you are writing down every golden word he utters, even when they are stale witticisms left over from some by-gone political campaign. Unlike the American press' handling of Senator McCarthy, no newspaper really takes Sir Waldron seriously here.

Last April Sir Waldron suffered from his most difficult recent problem when he received his census form. He was thrilled to learn that one of his constituents was throwing it into his fire. Sir Waldron wrote to his local newspaper denouncing the census as an "inquisition." "It's downright disgusting," he added, "a blemish on our birthright." He was asked specifically what his objections were.

Finally Sir Waldron decided to fill out his census form. Perhaps he was helped in his decision by the knowledge that he would be fined £10 if he did not. "Well, I'm a law keeper, you see," he muttered.

Sir Waldron is, in actual fact, fighting in defense of the Victorian Age into which he was born. His every action marks back to that period when life was good and simple for the English gentry. He himself was born in 1830, the eldest son of a Conservative M.P., Sir Alfred Smithers, and had all the advantages of a "substantial family." He was educated at Charterhouse and at Anjou in France, where he learned the idiomatic French slang of which he is still a master. He became a prominent cricketer. He was given an excellent musical education, learning to play the cornet and organ. He has been the organist of his local church since 1900, and, when he gets angry, he usually cools off by playing the organ at St. Margaret's in Westminster.

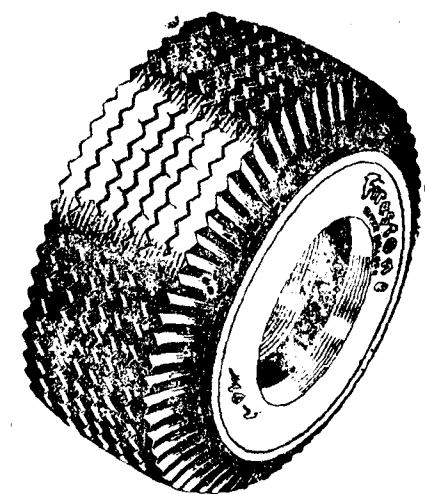
Like many Victorians, Sir Waldron is very much a church man. He admits: "I did have an ambition to go into the Church but it was not to

When Mr. Waldron came of age he joined the family stockbroker firm of Ackroyd & Smithers. He has long since lapsed into inactivity in the firm. But he repeats all of the adages one would expect from a Victorian stockbroker. There are, he told me, "two honorable motives in life—the fear of loss and the hope of gain. The fear of loss has been taken away by the Welfare State. And the hope of gain is taken away by penal taxation." "The only salvation for England," he continued, "is to take off all controls, free the pound, end bulk-buying, and restore the nationalized industries to private enterprise."

He continually harks back to the Victorian period when Government was cheap and taxes low. He complains that now, in Labor's "materialistic utopia" the Government "explains that now, in Labor's "materialism." However, his own way of fighting the Government certainly increases its cost. His form of guerilla warfare is to put questions to Ministers which under British Parliamentary practice, they are compelled to answer either in oral or written form. It is estimated that in his 27-year Parliamentary career he has asked almost 2,000 questions at a cost estimated at at least £2 a question. Early this year, for example, he asked the Minister of Food "the average time during which meat and poultry are kept in cold storage before delivery to the butchers; and if he will give details of the varieties of meat, quantities and the longest and shortest time they have been kept in cold storage." In this case he got a direct answer, but sometimes the Minister involved answers that "such a record would serve no useful purpose." Sir Waldron is so fertile at spawning time-consuming questions that a limit has been placed of two questions per member per day. Recently, when Sir Waldron asked the Food Minister how many rationing enforcement officers he

Sir Waldron asked James Griffiths, when the latter was Minister of National Insurance, whether his department would not be wholly unproductive. Replied Griffiths amidst loud laughter: "Oh, no, our scheme will not be unproductive. I hope it will produce a retiring pension for the honorable Member (Sir Waldron Smithers) very shortly."

Two years ago Sir Waldron's constituents gave him a new car in celebration of his 25 years in Parliament. He is more than the M. P. for his rural Kent Constituency. He is more a local pillar, being on the boards of the local hospital and orphanage as well as church organist and "model farmer." Wrote the *Liberal News Chronicle* about him



Firestone

**BEST TODAY—
STILL BETTER TOMORROW**

recently: "Fortunately no change of government will ever deprive the Chamber of this endearing personality. His Orpington seat is as safe as the Bank of England." He won by 10,000 votes last election.

Although the Liberals and Labor love Sir Waldron as a symbol of the Victorian roots of the Conservative Party, his fellow Conservatives are sometimes embarrassed by his uninhibited antics. He first achieved prominence as the "Singing Fool" of the Conservative Party. He wrote new lyrics to the tune of "Sonny Boy" for the Conservative campaign of 1929. It ran:

*England for the free, Stanley Boy
You're the man for me, Stanley Boy
You've no way of knowing
But I've a way of showing
What you mean to me, Stanley Boy!*

This rhyme was distributed in ten million leaflets and ten thousand phonograph records. Stanley Baldwin lost the election. In 1934 Sir Waldron was knighted for "political and public services"—after the Conservatives came back into power.

During the '30s he was a devout follower of Neville Chamberlain. When the Russians were proposed for the League of Nations in 1934 he warned: "They will use Geneva as a valuable world forum for their policy of disorder." At the time of Munich he was enthusiastic about Hitler.

During the war his old-fashioned patriotism got a full workout and he invented in 1941 the "Big Ben Minute Observance" which meant that at nine o'clock people paused and prayed for victory. It was the end of the war, however, and the certain political conflict in Britain that really whetted his appetite. In 1944 he started a Fighting Fund for Freedom to secure a "maximum of free enterprise and minimum of state control as soon as possible after victory comes." He worked 16 hours a day, sleeping in

his office. He raised over a million pounds sterling, including one cheque accompanied by a letter thanking God "that someone has taken the lead. The Gentlemen of England have gone to bat." Unfortunately for Sir Waldron, his side struck out badly partly because he insisted on attacking things like the Beveridge Plan for social security as akin to Hitler's "National Socialism."

Today, Britain's bright younger Conservatives do not attack the major achievements of the Labour government, but simply claim that they can administer these reforms more effectively. They are somewhat irritated with the plain-spoken and old-fashioned imperialism of the brilliant old Conservative leader Winston Churchill, who sometimes demonstrates in the House that he is no longer up to his old form. They are growing less enthusiastic about Sir Waldron. The sharpest example of growing displeasure with his buffoonish and partisan Toryism came on the dramatic day last April when Aneurin Bevan explained to Commons why he resigned from the Cabinet. The Conservatives were very silent while he spoke, trying to fathom the implications of Bevan's revolt. The moment Bevan finished, Sir Waldron was on his feet, demanding the Government resign. Several Tories snarled at him: "Sit down!" It is not that they love him less. But in times as tricky as the present, many of the younger Conservatives of the Eden variety are wondering whether the party can carry a man whom the *News Chronicle* cartoonist Vicky satirizes as attempting to drive "backwards across the country" a racing car named "Progress" which is "solely equipped with a reverse gear!" When Sir Waldron not long ago described a Conservative party document as "milk and water Socialism" he provoked Conservative leader Harold MacMillan to describe him as one of "those for whom time runs backwards."

Winston Churchill tells this one: A man went to see his doctor with a complaint that the sleeping tablets he had prescribed did not cure his insomnia. "Can't I have some of that twilight sleep they talk about?" he asked.

The doctor snorted: "Twilight sleep! Why, that's only for labor." His patient came back in a disgusted tone with: "Isn't there anything for us Tories?"—Irving Hoffman in *The Hollywood Reporter*.

SIR M. VISWESWARAYYA

By G. RAJANNA

NINETY-ONE year old Sir M. Visweswarayya does not use glasses, even while reading, walks without a prop and with perfect ease—rare qualities in a man of such ripe age. The only thing that tells you of any physical infirmity is his ear which he holds with his hand a little to receive the vibrations of your tone if you happen to speak to him or about him in his presence. His spinal cord has bent slightly just below the head so that he walks with a bend but even then it does not betray the stoop of old age but adds grace to his stature.

His eagle eye penetrates you; his large ears, standing like sentinels on either side of his head bespeak of wisdom; and his aquiline nose, thin lips and conical face with a broad forehead remind you that he is not only of the stuff of which great men are made but has the stuff with which to make others great.

What, however, interests Andhra readers is that Mokshagundam Visweswarayya is a full-blooded Andhra and has not forgotten his mother-tongue, despite his acquired habitation in Mysore and despite his having spent the best part of his career in Bombay State.

Last Saturday I had the rare privilege of meeting him and talking to him at one of the most impressive functions arranged in that aristocratic hotel, the Taj, to felicitate him on his ninety-first birthday. The function was got up by the All-India Manufacturers' Organization which he founded ten years ago and over which he still presides.

Speakers of diverse interests, men intimately associated with the industrial development of our country and who came under his spell and hence could speak with authority on his merits, spoke on the occasion. They were Dr. John Matthai, Sir C. B. Mehta, Mr. M. A. Master, Mr. G. V. Puranik and Mr. L. C. Jariwala, captains of industry. They spoke prose, no poetry, for they gave concrete instances of the admirable work done by Visweswarayya in the matter of the industrial growth of India.

One and all they said he was a seer, a genius and a truly great man that India had produced at the turn of the century. There was no hyperbole in what they said, because they illustrated his unique talents with specific instances. Turn to any industry in India—automobiles, textiles, ceramics, shipping, aviation or any other—you will find the impress of the great man's mind, his planning and direction.

He is a hard taskmaster, one of the speakers said, and he would not be satisfied with the work you do and if you tell him that there are difficulties in undertaking any task, he would say that they shall be removed and for removing them, he would give solid suggestions which, acted upon, would open before you a new achievement, a new vista and a new glory.

The most significant part of the function was that the working committee of the Manufacturers' Organization gave a written pledge to the nonagenarian that they would donate and collect donations to the tune of Rs 10 lakhs for the establishment of an industrial, scientific and economic research institute for the development of industrial India. This they did, because Visweswarayya was not the man to be won over by words but deeds. He insisted on planning, work and progress. "I will keep myself working even if I have to live to a hundred years," he declared in his speech and therein lay the secret of his supreme greatness.

After the function had ended, I fell into a sort of reverie. I felt as though all our great men and women were discovered outside Andhra, down from the days of Thyagaraja, father of Andhra music to the days of Chintamani, doyen of Indian journalism. Yes, they had all been discovered by others, not Andhras, and we praised them only after others had praised them.

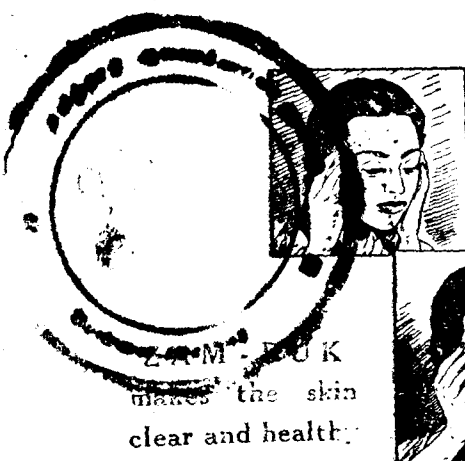
Our Thyagaraja was discovered in Tamilnad, our Jagannath Pandit in Delhi, our Yellapragada Subba Rao in America, our Radhakrishnan in Calcutta, our Sudama in Bengal,

our Chintamani in Allahabad, our Alladi in Madras, and Aney in Berar, our Niyogi in Nagpur and our Visveswarayya in Mysore. Is there any curse on Andhra that she is too small to contain her tallest sons and daughters? Or, is the popular atmosphere vitiated that Andhras, if they do not stone their prophets, they drive them out?

In a brilliant character sketch of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. John Matthai says: "If he (Mr. Rajagopalachari) laboured for the public good, he seldom lost sight of what was good for himself." Perhaps, Andhras have in him the antithesis of this trait. If they labour for the public good with all their characteristic zeal and universalism, they always lose sight of what is good for themselves and that appears to be the reason why they cannot themselves utilise the talents of their first-rate men. Indeed, the saying goes that they would rather

deify a third-rate fellow from outside than pay homage to their first-rate leaders.

Sir M. Visveswarayya started in an humble capacity as an assistant engineer in Bombay, retired in 1908 as superintending engineer, had a brief stay in Hyderabad at the request of the Hyderabad Government, came back to Mysore, worked as Chief Engineer and then as Dewan for six years (1912-18) and rang in the golden era of Mysore's industrialisation and prosperity. A glorious record, by any count. But more glorious is the fact of the worshipful reverence with which he is listened to and followed by leading lights of the industrial world. Instead of being caught in its own myopia, the Government of India would do well to consult this pioneer and be guided by his advice. Visveswarayya's name, the pride, not only of Andhra but of all India, shines in letters of gold in the history of modern industry.



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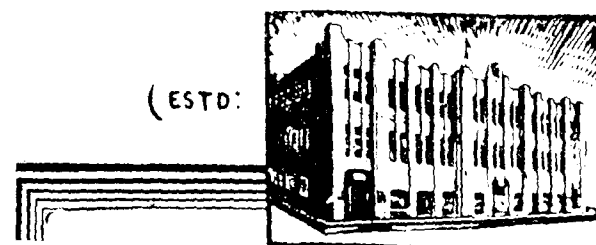
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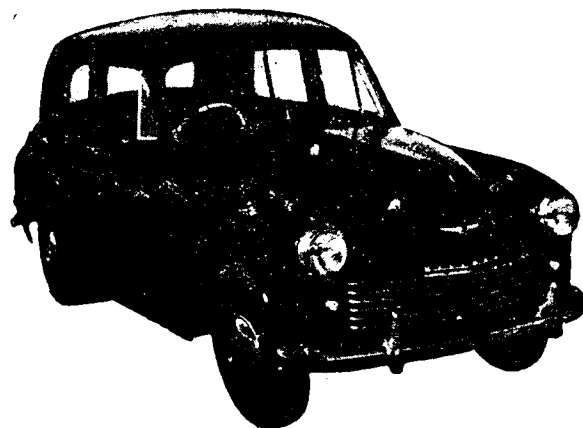
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