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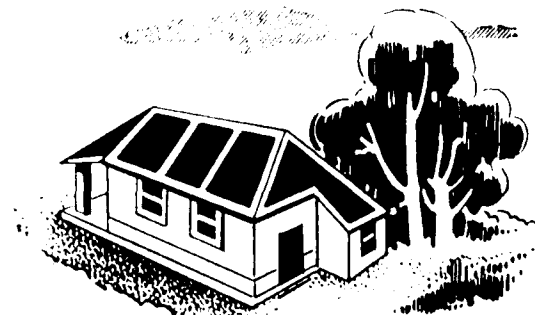
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VOL. VII. NO. 39.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1952.

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VOL. VII
No. 39

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1952

ISSUED
WEEKLY

RACE RELATIONS

THE racial issue in South Africa is inseparably connected with a constitutional crisis which arose last year. The Government then passed a law providing for communal representation of the coloured people of the Cape who had previously been on the same electoral roll as Europeans. It was contended that this was unconstitutional as it violated a safeguard imbedded in the Constitution. The Supreme Court upheld the contention. Dr. Malan retorted that he would not allow the sovereignty of Parliament representing the will of the people to be flouted by the Supreme Court. He got the Parliament itself converted by an act of the legislature into a super court with appellate authority over the Supreme Court. As might have been expected, this super court lost no time in revalidating the unconstitutional discriminatory provisions of the Separate Representation of Voters Act that had been earlier invalidated by the Supreme Court. The struggle for supremacy between the Government acting through Parliament and the Supreme Court still goes on.

The next phase in the struggle will be at the time of the next general election. If, in that election, Dr. Malan wins, the victims of his discriminatory policies will be entirely at his mercy. It does not follow from this however that the will of the people of South Africa will have been established as giving its solid backing to Dr. Malan's racial hatred philosophy of *apartheid*. The fact is that the majority of the population in South Africa consisting of natives and

coloured people, is practically disfranchised. It is the whites that are predominantly represented in Parliament almost to the exclusion of the rest of the people. Parliament reflects not the sovereignty of the people, but the power of just a section of them, the whites, constituting numerically a minority. When Dr. Malan affects the language of democracy he misrepresents the realities of the South African situation. The Government is not a democracy at all but a ruthless oligarchy holding under its iron heel the vast majority of the inhabitants, discontented, rebellious, and fighting with all their will to get rid of the white domination grinding them down.

When Dr. Malan seeks to dispose of his *apartheid* as an internal affair beyond the pale of interference by outside powers, he behaves like a Rip Van Winkle blind to the revolutionary insurgencies of the modern world. Persecution and misgovernment wherever found are no longer the domestic affairs of their regional perpetrators. They affect the peace and fortunes of the whole world. The plight of Indian untouchables became a matter of international concern to civilized powers before the conscience of the country's leaders was touched. The whole drift of American policy nowadays is removal of the distress of backward people through economic and other aid. In the days of British rule in India, the quitting of the country by the ruling British was considered indispensable for the peace of the world and by none so firmly as their own allies in the last war. It is

argued by some that the problem in South Africa is unique. They say, "England could abandon India, and France could abandon a colony when the position became untenable, but the Europeans here cannot give up South Africa."

Such an argument reflects, no doubt, the mind of the Government of Dr. Malan, but Dr. Malan has no more power of checking the onrush of elemental forces than any of his predecessors from the days of King Canute. This universal truth, applicable to all times, is expounded with admirable clarity by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his presidential address at the All India Convention of Race Relations held in Bombay last week. The Convention, he said, is equivalent to a referendum of human values, an attempt to resolve deadlocks not by the mode of direct approach by one Government to another,

but by one people to another people, a process in fact of quickening the conscience of people at large all over the world: "May people come together, may they discuss matters in unison and thus let them attain unity of mind leading to unity of action." It is gratifying that reverberations of the Convention have gone round the globe stirring up kindred spirits to a new determination to extirpate the rancours of racialism from all its still surviving haunts. Mr. Oswald Pirow, a former South African Defence Minister whom Sir C. P. quoted in his address, holds that the white population in the Union has about five years "to save themselves and to make allies with the Africans." Within that period will also be decided the fate of the United Nations Organisation: whether it will justify exceptions and flourish as an instrument of inter-racial harmony, or break under the strain of its tasks.

Sotto Voce

THE HOME OF CHIVALRY

HAVING just returned from a hectic week in Rajasthan I suffer from a glut of impressions. I used every mode of conveyance excepting the famed ship of the desert. Curiously enough I saw fewer camels in this their natural haunt than round about Delhi, where, yoked to the Persian wheel, they seem to gyrate round the hidden well as if they were sleepwalkers treading the maze of a half-forgotten ritual. But the horse still does a good job here. The tonga in a city like Jodhpur gives you the savour of the place as few faster mounts can,

and the tonga-wallah is inordinately proud of his beast. Mine said and I think honestly believed that he could beat the upstart automobile every time.

The roads are first-class. That is true not only of Jaipur which is trying to modernise itself, painfully conscious of its 'pramukhi' responsibilities, but also of Udaipur which disdains the raw urgencies of the civilisers. And in Jodhpur they have a positive passion for cleanliness. The splendid new railway station pro-



claims and lives up to the doctrine that cleanliness is next only to godliness. Even more impressive is the toy railway—the only one of its kind in India, I believe,—which rounds up and carts away the city's refuse efficiently.

The regions bordering on the desert suffer from a cruel lack of water. But Nature's niggardliness has taught them thrift. Almost every drop of rain that falls is collected and used. In and around Jaipur city alone there are forty-five reservoirs; while Udaipur revels in the opulence of its enchanting lakes and would not barter them for all the wealth of the world. The austere three-hundred-year-old palace on the Picholi blends with the blue sky in the glassy calm of its waters, as it unbends to the elfin grace of Jag Nivas and Jag Mandir, those marvellous white lotuses in which marble has bloomed.

Rajasthan is a symphony in ivory and pink. Its marble and sandstone are beguiling media which have submergered the sterner qualities of architecture in the seductive curves of sculpture. The old fort of Jodhpur which dominates the city is magnificent. The new Umaid Bhavan, typically mid-Victorian in its geometrical symmetry and interior gloom, which confronts it only serves to set off its massive grandeur. But as a rule the buildings, with their Mughal halls and courts which contrast oddly with the tortuous passages, reminiscent of times when life was held lightly, serve but as frames for the masterpieces of file and chisel.

You find everywhere the love of tracery and delicate pattern and glowing colours. The ever recurring motif of the flowering bush seems Jaipur's special gift. The passion for plastic beauty is as evident in the cornices of a peasant's hut as in the controlled exuberance and petal-like freshness of the exquisite ceilings of Dilwara. I discovered that the famous Palace of the Winds was flush

with the street in one of the most crowded thoroughfares of Jaipur. And I did not experience the slightest feeling of incongruity in the siting. It was a wonderful facade—hardly more, as you saw it from the side—but in its airy lightness and grace it fitted in perfectly with the environment. So in its different way does too the great Jayasthamba amidst the immortal ruins of Chitorgarh, where Rajput chivalry lies in state.

In the streets and on the waterfront you happen upon men, six feet tall, slender as a willow but straight, unbelievably straight, stalking along as if they were unconscious of the world at their feet, not supercilious but lofty, men who might have served with Ranchood and Rana Pratap. The boatman who was to row us over Pacholi put himself at our service with a grave courtesy which might have done honour to a King. And as we went round watching the sunlit water playing hide-and-seek with the cool shadows of Jag Mandir we came upon him, bathed and clad in his wet dhoti, offering his prayers to the Sun-god, the tutelar deity of the Sesodias.

Of course you meet other types too—as is inevitable in a land suffering from multiple frustrations. There was the imposing person, with the sowar turban and the creased pants, whom my genial but bluff and truth-loving host blasted with the inclusive statement, "You are thoroughly unscrupulous people." He did not so much as turn a hair, but with great aplomb retired saying, "Thank you, sir." And then there was my guide at Chitor—patriotic, proud of Mewar as chronicled by Todd, outrageously boastful, and with a pretty satirical gift which he exercised without stint at the expense of the new regime. It seems the guinea-worm is a fearful pest in these parts. In the slang of the streets, he informed me, it is always described by the name of a very great Congress leader!

VIGNESWARA

SIDELIGHTS :

SRI C. Rajagopalachari made a very fine speech the other day at the party got up in his honour by the Mayor at the pavilion of the Corporation Stadium. "They should not", he said, "encourage the new slogan that more and more powers should be taken away from the executive officers and vested with elected chairmen or presidents." Very sound advice, this. Madras, in particular, goes by the principle of communal rotation in the choice of its mayors. The system of annual election prevents the mayor from getting properly qualified to play an effective part in the administration of the Corporation. By the time he gets to know the ropes the period of his office expires, and just when he might begin to be useful he has to retire. Under existing arrangements the mayoralty is a mark of honour passed on from one novice to another to gratify personal and communal vanities, and not an office for attempting any serious tasks of municipal government. It is on the commissioners that responsible work devolves. Without the commissioners, or if the commissioners had to kowtow to the councillors or the mayors, there would be chaos and confusion.

Our city fathers have not yet learnt to act responsibly. A glaring illustration of their grossly irresponsible standards of doing business was provided when they made their recommendations recently for appointment of the Educational Officer. The post carries with it the power of administering an annual budget of Rs. 35 lakhs, and their choice for it fell on a demoted deputy inspector of secondary assistant's grade with a far from savoury record. I am told that votes were held up to auction to secure preference to this prodigy. The public have to be thankful to the Commissioner and the Education Minister for the failure of the conspiracy to hand over the municipal education budget to a dreadfully incompetent nitwit.

Another idea of the Chief Minister

that I particularly liked was in regard to slum clearance. He hit the thing on the nail when he said that slum clearance was not a matter of transferring people from one place to another or substituting pucca buildings for huts. There is real beauty and picturesqueness in huts maintained in cleanliness in the midst of artistic surroundings. With proper drainage and water supply, huts with gardens attached could contribute both comfort and beauty and enable the city's housing problem to be solved at one-tenth the cost. There was freshness and originality and a certain daring in the Chief Minister's suggestions and much good will accrue if they are not lost on our town-planning and city-improvement authorities.

In view of the felicitous impression that C. R. is capable of making when he speaks naturally, it is regrettable that there should have been so many lapses into fantastic artificiality in his public utterances since he became Chief Minister. Nothing ever flabbergasted me so much as a declaration of his at an election meeting that only on that day he had realised the full length of distance that separated the southern extremity of Madras city from the north. Declarations of this kind bubbling with a sense of discovery are believed in by nobody and with their hyperbole they disturb trust and confidence. So enormous has been the output of the Chief Minister's wordage in speeches lately that often he could not exercise the care and caution expected of one holding so high an office, and the result has been a diminution in credit compared with the starting time of his present adventure. There is risk of frittering of both energy and trust in volubility, and administrators whose main power lies in the prestige they build round themselves, will do well if they conserve themselves, and indulge much less in talk.

Joseph Harsch, writing in the American journal *The Reporter*,

draws a distinction between the martial technique of war and the civil offensives of politics: "The object in politics is not the annihilation of the enemy, but the attraction of the maximum number of potential voters from the opponent's camp. And the end purpose is not government by and for the victors, but government in the interest of the general community." It was probably because he could not always keep this distinction in mind and acted sometimes as though a Republican victory will result in government by and for the victors, that General Eisenhower sent many independent voters "streaming into the Stevenson camp." A like fatal blunder is being committed by C. R. The interest of the general community is being lost sight of by him in the passion of belligerent enthusiasm for lesser objectives of a partisan type. The State has ousted the Nation and the Tamilian has ousted the guardian of the multi-lingual State. His usefulness is shrinking in proportion to the exclusions advertised by him, and he is ceasing to be representative of the

whole State with every pronouncement emphasising sectional identification with one warring element in contra-distinction to others. This is both abuse of power and bad tactics.

C. R. has been deviating from constructive statesmanship into destructive controversialism. It is the destructive controversialists in politics seeking to mobilise voting majorities to establish themselves securely, that are responsible for the ferocious separatist movements spreading all over the country. Free India has no need of them. The occasion demands leaders who can bring people together and not divide them further with every artifice of power and propaganda. The craze for linguistic States will have sooner or later to be abandoned. Is it to be abandoned now, or after we have paid the full price for it and it has fulfilled its possibilities by decimating the country into hostile States? Division of territory on any principle other than administrative convenience will breed hostility in the divided units as the Partition has amply demonstrated.

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WANTED: A COHERENT ECONOMIC POLICY

(By A Special Correspondent)

FIVE years after independence, and two and a half years after the appointment of the Planning Commission, the Nehru Government is still to formulate a coherent economic policy.

In the first flush of freedom Ministers of the Central Government, notably the then Labour Minister Mr. Jagjivan Ram, went about the country proclaiming the goal of nationalisation of industry within five years. It was not that they realised the implications of a nationalisation programme, the resources in money (if any compensation was at all to be paid) and in technical skill that Government would need to implement such a programme. They were merely repeating the stock slogans of modern radicalism. Without being genuinely scared by the slogans, our industrialists found in this an admirable excuse for not risking open investment of their war-time undisclosed income in industry. They found it much more profitable to invest the black money in hoarding and speculation.

Irresponsible talk of nationalisation has now ceased. By gradual stages it has given place to an indefinite reprieve for private enterprise. Nevertheless Mr. Nehru is not quite free from prickings of conscience at abandoning the good old Socialist prescription of which he was the leading exponent in the days of struggle for freedom. The Prime Minister's hesitation, I understand, is the chief obstacle in the way of implementing a plan being canvassed by some of his Cabinet colleagues for a Rs. 100-crore steel project.

Foreign aid for a new steel plant will probably be indispensable, and the World Bank has indicated its willingness to help. Participation by private capital from America and Japan is also known to be available if reasonable terms are offered for such participation. The main difficulty is to find the Indian share of the investment. Even in the revised Five-Year Plan transport and power-irri-

gation projects claim the lion's share of the total outlay of Rs. 2,000 crores. The allocation in the revised plan for the development of basic industry is less than Rs. 40 crores, the sum of Rs. 40 crores being earmarked for basic industries as well as any additional projects for the development of transport.

The allocation being less than a new steel plant would need, the plan favoured by some of Mr. Nehru's colleagues envisages the mobilisation of domestic private capital through the offer of a guaranteed return and by entrusting the major responsibility for running the plant to some reputable private steel interests in India. They are confident that private investors can with ease be induced to invest more in such a project than Government can hope to raise from taxation and loans. Yet the plan is hanging fire, seemingly because the Prime Minister's sentiment is against entrusting a big new unit of basic industry to private enterprise.

Failure to realise that control over industry is a good substitute for nationalisation carries a double disadvantage: it inhibits private enterprise without adding to the State's capacity to invest in industry directly. But the prevailing doctrinaire attitude to nationalisation is only one among the factors making for the present confusion in economic policy. Government is yet to make up its mind on the usefulness or otherwise of a limit on land-holdings as part of land reform, and the effect of land distribution on the problem of employment. The role of cottage industries, and whether they should in effect be subsidised at the expense of modern industry as a means of fighting unemployment, are again questions that are yet to be answered. These apart, the problem of controls is the most glaring instance of the lack of a coherent policy.

This problem is currently gaining much publicity because of the dramatic efforts by Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

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to refashion food policy on the basis of almost complete decontrol. It is public knowledge that the Planning Commission, of which Mr. Nehru is the chairman, is deeply disturbed by Mr. Kidwai's one-man campaign for hastening decontrol. But the Food Minister claims that the Economic Committee of the Cabinet, of which Mr. Nehru is again chairman, agreed in principle to his plan to decontrol millets first and wheat next before he started the round of talks with State Food Ministers in Bombay.

The fact is that the Prime Minister is not sure of his own mind on the question, nor will he allow himself to be guided by the qualified economists among his colleagues rather than by rash politicians such as Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. Mr. Nehru has permitted himself once before to be persuaded by one individual—no other than Mahatma Gandhi—to abandon controls, much to his later regret and the country's cost. Will he repeat the policy decision of 1947, and, if he does, will it again prove a costly blunder?

Most of Mr. Nehru's economic advisers think it will. They are not impressed by the ancient argument trotted out by the Food Minister that decontrol will increase the "purchasing power" of the rural population who constitute 80% of the total. The argument rests on the assumption that these 80% of our people produce enough food to feed themselves, and have a surplus to sell to the urban population. The fact is that about a half of the rural population have to buy at least part of their food requirements. It is difficult to see how higher food prices will increase the purchasing power of the millions who are now going to gruel centres and rural fair price shops because they cannot afford to buy food even at the prevailing market rates. Nor will they like having to pay more for essentials such as cloth, whose price is bound to rise along with any increase in food prices.

The Planning Commission believes rightly that its effort will go to naught if the price line and cost of living are not held, not to speak of their being brought down. It will be interesting to see whose view prevails, the Food Minister's or that of the Planning Commission.

HEALING THE SPLIT

SOME time ago, a student of religion urged us to discuss the problem of Evil. We made some sort of attempt, as we recall, but one that probably gave as little satisfaction to our readers as to ourselves. The subject is portentous and ponderous. It is possible, if you are so inclined, to be engaging about sin, but not about evil, and certainly not about upper case Evil.

It ought, however, to be discussed. People write and read articles about frustration and anxiety, but they are really concerned with the mystery of evil. For the evil in human experience confronts us with the basic challenge of life: Are we able to look upon the world and our role in it as a rational affair? The greatest religious philosopher of all time, Gautama Buddha, addressed himself to this question, finding an affirmative answer. We think it hardly possible to improve on his answer, yet times, the forms of human experience, and the moral vocabulary of man have greatly changed during the twenty-five hundred years since Buddha lived. The wisdom of the ages may be preserved in the great classics of religious thought, but its understanding has always to be in terms of the local idiom of time and place.

Our version of the problem of Evil, then, will be in the contemporary idiom, but whether or not it will square with the Buddhist canon we have no clear idea.

What precipitated this plunge into metaphysics (you can't discuss Evil without metaphysics) was a letter from a reader which sets the general problem of the contemporary man of social and moral intelligence. It is so deftly couched in the terms of today's commonly acknowledged values that it is worth quoting almost entire. He writes:

As a modern-type liberal, I am imbued with opposition to dogma of any nature, and this feeling seems prevalent in the intellectual stratum in which I move. The results, however, don't seem to be so hot. As a practicing scientist, I can agree with Dr. Mather's remarks (quoted in "Manas" for July 2) in that I fail to see why "science" should have a philosophy at all. To me it

seems that the scientific method is a tool, pure and simple, and that, as he says, is neither moral nor immoral. However, the use of any tool has implications which do involve evaluations and the refusal of the scientist, *qua* scientist, to attempt to evaluate the effects of his work, seems to me as indefensible as the attitude of the individuals who originally started our dust bowl. A few, such as Dr. Einstein and the Atomic Scientists, have made attempts in this direction, but my impression is that the vast majority of practicing scientists and engineers have far less social consciousness than any equally highly educated group in the country. This relates to my original point in that the abandonment of any dogmatic philosophy seems to have led to the abandonment of any philosophical education whatsoever for the students. In the four technical institutions with which I have been associated, the reasons for pursuing a scientific career were stated as (a) it is interesting and/or (b) there is a lot of money to be made at it. I don't know how this strikes you, but I find it discouraging.

Your review of Motley's "We Fished All Night" brings back to mind "Knock on any Door," which I read some time ago. This seems to me one of a series of recent novels reflecting much the same spirit, among which I would include "The Naked and Dead," "The Young Lions" and, more recently, "Missing." I can't for the life of me see that these books, well-written though they are, have any justification for being written in the first place. All they seem to say is that whatever one does, nothing good comes of it and the only characters in them who avoid destruction are those who are quiet and inconspicuous enough to keep from getting caught in the works. I am getting a little hot up about this because this type of art form seems to be spreading and has, within the past few months, invaded my favourite recreational reading: science-fiction.

Maybe we are, as you suggest, passing through the doldrums, but it seems to me that if I can't find anything great and noble to do with my life, I will devote some to digging a blasted good ditch or running an elevator with precision and *clat* and get some satisfaction out of it. I can't believe that a society whose leaders and writers ignore the positive values in what we have, is in any position to receive any great philosophical notions. Some appreciation of the smaller values must precede appreciation of any larger ones.

and I think that in this, if anywhere, lies the salvation of our country, though I'm blamed if I can figure how to work it.

This is something more than a plain man's account of Evil. A plain man will wonder why taxes are getting so high, why the war in Korea threatens the lives of his sons, and why, from an over-all view, there just doesn't seem to be much of a future for anything, any more. But here, in this analysis, we have an account of a basic split in our lives—a cultural split, if you will—between, on the one hand, our intuitively felt ideals, and, on the other, our theory as well as our practice.

Our society is riotously wealthy in the practical means to what we suppose is the Good Life. Technologically, that is, we are the most rational people in the world. But, using these means, we don't seem to make our lives very good. We are not reaching ends we can be proud of. Our correspondent doesn't go far toward defining the best ends, but he indicates clearly enough the feelings of a large number of people with respect to the existing patterns of living.

What we lack, then, after the most favourable assessment of what we are and have, is a sense of genuine satisfaction, a conviction that our lives, singly and collectively, are moving toward worthy ends. By means of the spirit of freedom, we have broken out of two closed systems of absolutism—religious absolutism and political absolutism—and we swear by the principle which set us free—the principle of “opposition to dogma of any nature.” Yet gaining freedom, we seem to have lost the sense of direction which we hoped would take us to ends that our freedom would make it possible to reach. We seem to have kicked over and broken up into kindling our Jacob's Ladder to the stars. While we have rid ourselves of the theories of Cosmas Indicopleustes—we no longer believe that when the angels weep, it rains on earth—the H2O theory of rainfall is as uninspiring as Cosmas' war ridiculous.

Back in 1943, Richard M. Weaver, in *Ideas Have Consequences*, put his finger on one aspect of the barrenness of modern thought. He wrote:

It is characteristic of the barbarian, whether he appears in a precultural

stage or emerges from below into the waning day of a civilization, to insist upon seeing a thing “as it is.” The desire testifies that he has nothing in himself with which to spiritualize it; the relation is one of thing to thing without the intercession of the imagination. Impatient of the veiling with which the man of higher type gives the world imaginative meaning, the barbarian and the Philistine, who is the barbarian living amid culture, demands the access of immediacy.

The poetry and imagination in some scientific men burst out in various ways, but are always carefully suppressed in relation to the “things” with which science itself is primarily concerned. “Thingness,” for the scientist, is the sacred attribute of scientific reality. To draw in any sort of transcendence would seriously threaten the scientific method, opening the door to all sorts of apparitions, theological and otherwise. So, the poetry of the scientist is not *serious* poetry, but more in the nature of “esthetic expression,” or simply “escape.” Serious poetry reaches after inward or transcendent reality; it dares to declare and to affirm matters of immense consequence for human beings. This tends to antagonize the scientist, *qua* scientist, for how can he have confidence in an approach which implies that *his* method of exploring “reality” is of negligible importance?

We can hardly blame the scientists, however, for wanting to hold on to their victory over dogma and blind belief. And just where would we find a check on extravagances of the poetic imagination, if we abandon scientific definitions?

We can hardly blame the scientists, however, for wanting to hold on to their victory over dogma and blind belief. And just where would we find a check on extravagances of the poetic imagination, if we abandon scientific definitions?

The dilemma becomes extreme when we search other and past cultures for evidence of what is missing from our lives. Richard Hertz, in *Man on a Rock*, has some passages which convey the temper of cultures which were not split by alternations between oppressive tyranny and aimless freedom:

Chinese peasants, moving into the mountains every morning to gather tea, sang a hymn in honour of their enter-

prise, which they compared to a pilgrimage to the Western paradise. The Volga boatmen “accepted the universe,” and the women of Madagascar acted, when they cultivated the rice fields, like bayaderes trying to please a god....

The medieval fraternities of workers in Flanders and Lyons...rolled the stone from the tomb of their narrow space; their triumph over the refractory material of the world was not mere routine, but was understood by them in its vast metaphysical connotations. Work interpreted as spiritual discipline gave these people a superhuman patience, detachment from results.

And what, after all, is our correspondent's attraction to “digging a blamed good ditch,” or “running an elevator with precision and *clat*,” but a twentieth century quest for a way of pleasing “the gods”, with or without “hymns” or “vast metaphysical connotations”?

The ancients held that the origin of evil lay in the severance of primordial Unity, in the emergence of the Many from the One. Always, they said, there is that in the fragment which hungers after the whole, and being only a fragment, it must learn to recover the whole through harmonious relationships with all the rest. Evil is only the dissonances men make in trying to satisfy that hunger, which is an intrinsic expression of life as we know it.

In past ages, the harmony was sought in ritual and through the

symbolism found in daily activities—a man's work was somehow connected with the larger relationships of life, mirroring the laws and processes of nature. A sense of the meaning of existence was generated by human activities which refined and revealed the essences of experience—a kind of alchemy. This was best accomplished by heroes, who stood as ideals for the rest of mankind.

Today, however, we stand amid the ruins of the symbolic structures of history. This seems to have come about, partly as a result of the misuse and perversion of symbols by the teachers of religion, and partly from an acceleration of intellectual development which has rendered us almost incapable of accepting a merely symbolic explanation of our lives. So, we are confronted by a new version of the primordial rift. The old bridges from the Many to the One will not support the weight of our doubts, and we now experience the deep feeling of evil which isolation always brings.

If we turn from religious symbolism to Idealist philosophers, we are instructed that the Whole is not some far-off reality, but is within ourselves—that, in fact, we have never left it, but only *think* we have. And here, they say, is the secret of both our evolution and the ubiquitous One Self. This may be metaphysics, but is it “philosophical dogma”? It does not sound so to us.—MANAS.

FIRST WORLD INDABA

By HUGH P. BELLANTI

THREE thousand five hundred scout leaders from 50 countries took part in the first world “Indaba” held at Gilwell Park, Essex. The main purpose of the “Indaba”—a Zulu word meaning “meeting of tribal chiefs and counselors for discussion”—was to provide a camp for men and women Scout Leaders over the age of 18 for the informal exchange of ideas and information and the promotion of international friendship.

The Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth and Empire, Lord Rowallan, opened the meeting in the presence of the diplomatic represent-

atives of the fifty countries attending the Indaba. He shook hands with the leader of each contingent and later visited each national camp-site and chatted with the visitors. As Lord Rowallan said during his address of welcome: “The value of this camp will be found in the quiet talks you have with one another.” There were plenty of these get-togethers.

Making Friends

During their eight-day stay in Camp these men and women from nearly all over the world entertained one another to tea or other meals, joined in song and dance, attended



A section of the crowd of Scout leaders at the opening of the Indaba.

religious services according to their creed, took part in national as well as international displays and, above all, met one another talked, argued and made friends, living together on British soil as one varied, colourful but strongly united family. What hope they inspire for the future of human relations!

Their Camp in Gilwell Park was opened to the public on two days during the week and thousands of scouts and their families from all over Britain flocked to meet them and make friends with them. On one of these days an entertaining display was given in the Arena by British Scouts from various parts of the country.

The visiting Scouts also had a day

in London. They visited factories, places of interest and were invited to the Battersea Pleasure Gardens after representatives of each contingent had attended a Government reception in their honour.

One of the Camp Fires at Gilwell was televised by the B.B.C. and broadcast to the nation. While Scouts from Austria, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Greece, India and Pakistan, Nigeria, New Zealand, the Sudan and Britain took turns to entertain their colleagues with song and dance and mime, televisioners all over Britain watched the romantic scene on their screens at home and thrilled to the voices of several hundred men and women from fifty different countries singing together in harmony, in English.

Phytopharmacy is the all-embracing name for the science of crop protection, but the men who study and apply it may be biologists, entomologists, mycologists, plant pathologists, plant geneticists, toxicologists, chemists or even, for machinery plays an increasingly important part in the application of the killing drug, physicists and engineers. It is only the joint and total effort of all these that has resulted in the astonishing progress made during the past two decades in the unceasing battle against the legions of enemies of man's food and—cotton being one of the chief victims—his clothes.—STEPHEN W. POLLAK in *The New Statesman and Nation*.

THE HERITAGE OF INDIAN CRAFTSMANSHIP

By A. S. RAMAN

THE bronzes of Tanjore, the brocades of Banaras, the shawls of Kashmir and the ivories of Travancore, to take only a few examples, which have delighted the world for centuries, are embedded in the rich time-honoured traditions that still survive in our villages. As one looks around in an Indian village, one is at once struck by the fact that a peasant's ploughs and tools, his wife's jewelry and clothes, his children's toys and dolls and his family's gods and goddesses, which reveal a remarkable sense of beauty and utility, are all products of a neighbour's skill and affection.

The Indus Valley civilization was essentially urban and materialistic, and a very highly evolved one at that. We have it on the authority of Sir John Marshall that the domestic architecture of prehistoric India was at least as good as any that a modern city has to offer. He says: "...The average house of the upper and middle class was as well-built and as comfortable as the average house in any modern city. That may sound rather like an overstatement, but it is literally the truth. For the walls of these houses were of exceptionally fine brick-work, thicker than is usual nowadays; the courts and living rooms were commodious; bathrooms were numerous and well-paved; and the house was provided with inner stairways and an efficient system of drainage connecting with underground street sewers."

In the Vedic times it was religion that inspired the Indian craftsman. He was in fact a rishi who would fashion a jar; or *Kalasha* as he called it, "for the pleasure of the Devas (gods)." During Asoka's regime, he worked in an atmosphere of peace and prosperity. Whoever injured him received capital punishment.

To the craftsman in ancient India, his craft remained a mystery; he had learnt it from his teacher; who in turn had received it from his. Ultimately every craftsman believed that

his credit was the gift of gods. No wonder, therefore, that the work produced by him has the touch of the other world about it, as it were (examples: the Nataraja bronzes). Let us now consider a few typically Indian handicrafts.

Textiles

Weaving in India is a very ancient craft. The Mohenjodaro-torso draped in a trefoil patterned shawl points to the sartorial fashions of the day. It is matter of common knowledge that the art crafts of the west, particularly those of Crete, Sicily and Venice, have been very much influenced by the Indian tapestries and brocades.

Metallurgy: The bronze of the Mohenjo-daro dancer represents the earliest specimen of what is known as the "lost wax" process which later, in the twelfth century A. D., reached the height of its glory in bronzes of South India. The image is first modelled in wax. Then it is wrapped in a thick coating of soft clay which is held in position by wires. As the wax model is subsequently melted away, it leaves a "hollow" into which is poured the alloy. The metal is then allowed to cool and settle before the mud wrapper is removed. The figure is finally chased and chiselled. It was religious fervour that inspired these magnificent Saivite bronzes of South India. To quote Colin MacInnes, "The balance of the limbs, the swaying rhythm running through them, and the marvellous adjustment of the planes of the body to one another, reveal the artists' total grasp of the human figure and their gift for making each part of it expressive."

It is on record that the Indian craftsman had a supreme mastery over the forging of large masses of iron which were simply beyond any European foundry before the Industrial Revolution (examples: the iron pillar of Chandra Gupta II, 500-A.D., the beams at Konarak, the gun at Narvar and the columns at Dhar).

Glassware: Glassware was extensively used in ancient India. There is

a reference to it in early Sanskrit works. Taxila, Mathura and Pataliputra were the chief centres of glass work. Mention is made that Indian glass made of pounded crystal was superior to other varieties. In the Moghul period, beautifully shaped glass *hukka* bowls were very much in fashion.

Ivory work: The inscription at Sanchi dating back to 200-150 B. C. contains a reference to the ivory carvers of Vidisa (now Besnagar in Madhya Bharat) who executed one of the pillars of the Southern Gateway of Sanchi. This is perhaps the earliest reference to Indian ivory. In the *Mritichakatika* occurs a description of "high ivory portal of a courtisan's house." The *Kamasutra* and the *Malatimadhavam* contain descriptions of ivory puppets. Paes (1520 A. D.) goes into raptures over the exquisite ivory work at Vijayanagar.

There is ample historical evidence testifying to the antiquity and artistry of Indian jewelry. In fact, gold and silver were very much in use in Mohenjodaro. With the advent of the fastidious Aryans, the Rig Veda tells us, ornaments of gold became very popular. Some of the finest Indian jewelry was found at Taxila. Enamelled jewelry, in which Jaipur excels today, became a fashion with the Moghuls and their feudatory chieftains of Rajputana and the Punjab; red, white and green were the favourite colours, Panini's grammar (400 B. C.), the *Dharmapada*, the *Pattinappalai* and the *Mritichakatika* also give vivid descriptions of varied Indian jewelry. Paes gives a most fascinating account of the jewelry worn by the maids of honour of the Vijayanagar queens. Sir Thomas Wardle observes: "I bought for a few annas a bronze chain anklet, all cast in one mould together, quite a common thing, but so wonderfully made that one of our best foundry-owners told me he did not think anyone could do it in Europe."

Consummate Skill

Jewels in ancient India were worn

The history of the last thirty years would have been different if the advanced industrial techniques of the West could have been joined to the agrarian hinterland of Russia. But it was not to be, and in the meantime the original impetus of the Russian Revolution has been polluted and maimed beyond recognition.—Aneurin Bevan.

to ward off evil spirits (examples *tali*, a special form of bead worn round the neck by a Hindu wife, or *Sumangali* as she is called, and *Karan phool* or ear-rings). South India offers a very large variety of gold chains, "light in weight and rich in effect." In the words of George Birdwood, "The Hindus by their consummate skill and thorough knowledge and appreciation of the conventional decoration of surface, continue to give the least possible weight of metal and to gems, commercially absolutely valueless, the highest possible artistic value.... This character of Indian jewelry is in remarkable contrast with modern European jewelry, in which the object of the jewelry seems to be to bestow the least amount of work on the greatest."

Toys and Dolls: Toys, dolls and other products of folk-art inspire the Indian artist today. Tradition and intuition guide the simple village craftsman. Colour scheme is simple and striking; black dominates. The sweep is well formed. Motifs are prominent. It is to this tradition that every serious Indian artist, thanks to the pioneer efforts of Jamini Roy, thinks of returning today.

"It (Indian art) has no real part in our civic life, and its last refuge is now in the villages and towns remote from European influence. But this last refuge will always be its surest stronghold; when art in Europe gets back to the villages the real Renaissance will have begun. In the villages of India the true artistic spirit still survives, and if we and 'educated' Indians would know what true Indian art is, we must go there, where the heart of India beats, where the voice of her dead myriads still are heard, and learn a lesson that neither London nor Paris can teach." These words are substantially as valid today as they were when they were first uttered by E. B. Havell over forty years ago.—NNF.

MR. NEHRU HERE

By M. S. SRINIVASAN

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru is always and everywhere a discoverer. He was a discoverer in the U. S. A., and is absorbed yet in discovering India, though he confesses that no one can discover her completely. He is qualified to be engrossed in this fascinating enterprise, for he is "a queer mixture of the East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere." It is, however, our discovery this time of Mr. Nehru as a speaker and thinker that has left an abiding influence on our mind and heart.

He has visited the Madras State many times, but none of his visits has been as interesting and unique as that from October 5 to 12. The growing mass of humanity that saw and adored him wherever he went still cherishes him as Nehru the Beloved. They love him as they had loved no one else before for the simple reason that he is a mere mortal moved by the same virtues and foibles as themselves. Gandhi was apart from them, so unlike them that he was an idol to be worshipped; Nehru is akin to them, so like them that to love him is to react to the worthiness of one of the same family.

Moreover, the speeches of Nehru, many times in the past, were known by a strong volubility more than by volume, abundance of words rather than depth of thought. This time almost all his speeches have been marked by the freshness, vigour and originality of thought and expression which are a few of his varied gifts as a writer. In them Nehru the speaker is so near Nehru the writer that without a study of or familiarity with the triumvirate of works, '*Glimpses of World History*', '*An Autobiography*' and '*Discovery of India*', one can know all that need be known about Nehru the patriot, the politician, the historian and the thinker by a mere perusal of them, the stupendous effusion of a week's sojourn.

Mr. Nehru is a child of the Himalayas, "the son of the hills" as he calls himself, in more than one sense. His forbears hailed from the Kashmir

Valley. Whenever he looks at the snow-capped Himalayas he feels "restored", invigorated and refreshed. He calls them "the mountain of my desire" and quotes Walter de la Mare:

Yea, in my mind those mountains rise,
Their perils dyed with evening's rose:
And still my ghost sits at my eyes
And thirsts for their untroubled snows.

It is this familiarity with the rock-bound elevation that helps him as a historian to take a panoramic view of things and events and to launch upon sweeping generalisations on men and nations. It is because of this mountain-habit, if it can be so called, he is too much insistent on "proper perspective" and "looking at all the sides of a picture." To the same source, probably, should be traced his poetic and philosophic bent. What finer description of the scenery and the hills of the Deccan is there than that given by him at Chittoor?

In North India we are used to very high mountains like the Himalayas and generally speaking a vast flat plain. As soon as one comes to the Deccan the scene changes completely and there are neither high mountains of that type nor flat plains. Generally speaking, we have undulating land, downs with small hills. This typical Deccan scenery exists in Maharashtra, parts of Central India, Hyderabad, Mysore, Rayalseema—this undulating land, these extraordinary hillocks standing out of it like islands, full of curious-shaped boulders sitting on one another.... These rock formations denoted strength and some kind of permanence.

Another rather lovely feature of the scenery of the South is the varying colour and hue of the hills. They seem to change colour with every slight change in climatic conditions or the time of the day. Sometimes they are bluish, at other times rather purple. These several colours and ever-changing hues are fascinating to watch. It is the kind of country which should produce as it has done in the past, both high civilisation and hardy men and women.... The one thing I rather miss in the South are snow-covered mountains.

The style of Mr. Nehru is that of great historical knowledge. He has had close and watchful glimpses of the aeon of world's history. He is as

much familiar with the 'why' and the 'how' of movements and revolutions as with the dynamics of the rise and fall of empires. He can move in Clio's mansions with as much ease and freedom as H. G. Wells or Arnold Toynbee. He has a rapid eye for contrasts and analogies, and his speeches are enriched and enlivened by his historical erudition. Thus he expatiates on the unity in diversity in India, insists on the quality of human being for the growth of a nation, and finds the Indian masses cultured. After referring to a Greek historian he observes, "Nothing is so bad for the individual or group as soft life." He also says, "India lost her capacity for growth, because she cut herself off mentally and physically from the rest of the world for several hundreds of years. It is astonishing how India became static and stagnant, taking pride in it and refusing to look at the world.... We must keep the windows of our mind open to the world." "You cannot progress ultimately in a sea of hatred, anger and violence."

The historian's art of telling a story is an art only when it is told to children and they understand and appreciate it. Mr. Nehru is, tested thus, at his best when he is a story-teller. The striking instance is the 'Glimpses'. Three years ago he wrote in the children's number of *Shankar's Weekly*:

What then shall I write about? If you were with me, I would love to talk to you about this beautiful world of ours, about flowers and trees and birds and animals and stars and mountains and glaciers and all the other wonderful things that surround us, in this world. We have all this beauty all around us and we who are grown-ups often forget about it and lose ourselves in our arguments or our quarrels.

I hope you will be more sensible and open your eyes and ears to this beauty and life that surrounds you. Can you recognise the flowers by their names and the birds by their songs? How easy it is to make friends with them and with everything in nature, if you go to them affectionately and with friendship. You must have read many fairy tales and stories of long ago. But the world itself is the greatest fairy tale and story of adventure that was ever written. Only, we must have eyes to see and ears to hear and a mind that opens out to the life and beauty of the world.

Addressing young students at the Madras Corporation Stadium, he nar-

rated deftly the story of the Jats and 'Bharata-Mattha-Ki-Jai' and impressed them, in his own simple, subtle manner, with the hopes, aspirations and dreams of India.

Those who think can pierce beyond an hour. How deeply Mr. Nehru has thought about human problems and public affairs one can understand from his speeches which contain "wise saws and modern instances." He told the gathering of College students:

If a man or woman living somewhere in Buddha's time came back to India two hundred years ago, he or she would find that there was no great change. Yet they would find changes.... It is a very odd thing that while everything, whether it is science or anything else, is after all the product of the human mind, still the human mind, individuals apart, lags behind what it has achieved. It still continues to live in the same past age of thought and cannot cater to the present. That produces difficulty of adjustment. It is one aspect. Presumably, there are certain other fundamental factors which do not change. If you do not get in tune with them, you get into trouble. So from two points of view we get into trouble.

A mere catalogue of his generalisations, especially from that amazing feat of endurance, the speech of the Island Grounds, is itself imposing and educative.

It is when you have an emotional awareness of a problem or of an individual that you begin to understand that problem or that individual.

A good way of solving a problem is that it does not lead to other problems.

In every country the problem they have to face is today versus tomorrow.

A dynamic movement must be in touch with reality and reflect the needs of the moment and the problems of the moment. It must not be rigid; it must be flexible.

In the ultimate analysis what counts in a democratic structure is the reaction of the people generally.

Real wealth consists in things produced by human labour.

Life is a continuous struggle.

Restraint is a mark of culture. The more cultured an individual, the more restrained he is.

It is the power of resistance that keeps you going and not drugs.

The whole point about social work is not so much the doing of the act but the manner of doing it.

Mere shouting of slogans will not help to prevent atomic explosion.

The phraseology, official and non-official was a relic of British days, when there was a barrier between the official and non-official world.

Non-violence is more an attitude of mind, a mental approach rather than sticking to some dogma or creed.

Mr. Nehru is often fond of rounding off his thought with a deliberate antithesis. Here are a few instances.

Being very much a layman myself, I do not necessarily object to any mixture (in the art of dancing) growing up. Sometimes there can be virtue in that too. But, whether we have a mixed style or not, it is certainly desirable to have the pure style also to get some kind of standard.

And from that moment, I am not any like my puny little individual self but a representative and embodiment of the will and determination of the people of India. And so, I have these moods and I draw sustenance and strength from the people of India.

We should not think in terms of south, west, north or east, but of India as a whole.

Supposing people are thrown in a desert island with no government. What will you do? To whom will you send petitions? You will have to work and produce wealth.

Certain sentences are typical of Nehru:

I am not quite sure if I would like too much restfulness, because I have been brought up in storm and tempest. I feel at home in them and would like to meet and not run away from them.

People should be strong enough to challenge the lightning and the tempest.

Anybody with the least knowledge of history and current affairs and also the mind and determination of India must realise, wherever he may be, that there can be only one solution and settlement of this question and no other.

Though it was a 'mercy tour' of the Rayalaseema, Nehru brought to its suffering people his own healing qualities of courage, patience, steadiness of mind, self-help and good humour. Yet this tour of the South has not been without the un-Nehru like pronouncements, shock-therapy as they were called, on plutocratic garlands, society women slumming with a superior air, contaminated atmosphere of beggarmdom and the use of drugs.

He has a strong vein of humour and displayed it abundantly in all his works. In 1935 he wrote in *The*

Modern Review in a mock-serious vein on 'His Highness The Aga Khan':

Much to my regret I have never met Aga Khan. Only once I have seen him. This was in the early non-co-operation days at a Khilafat meeting in Bombay, where I sat not far from him on the platform. But this glimpse of an attractive and remarkable personality was hardly satisfying, and I have often wanted to find out what curious quality he possesses which enables him to fill with distinction so many and such varied roles, combining the thirteenth century with the twentieth, Mecca and Newmarket, this world and the next, spirituality and racing, politics and pleasure. Wide indeed must be the range of Islam to include all this in its unity and solidarity.

Mrs. Krishna Hutheesing in her book *With No Regrets* reproduces a letter written by Mr. Nehru from jail in 1930 when he had forgotten to send a brotherly present on her birthday. He writes:

Wherefore, take yourself to a book-shop and choose some volumes containing the wisdom of the ancients, and the faith of the middle ages and the scepticism of the present and the glimpses of the glory that is to be—and take them and pay for them and consider them the belated, but loving gift of a somewhat absent-minded brother who thinks often of his little sister. And read these chosen volumes and out of them construct a magic city, full of dreams, castles and flowering gardens and running brooks, where beauty and happiness dwell and the ills that this sorry world of ours suffers from can gain no admittance—and life will then become one long and happy endeavour, a ceaseless adventure to build this city of magic and drive away all the ugliness and misery around us.

How full of Nehru is this letter! This sense of humour remained with him in this visit from the time he remarked, "Message? I am no prophet," and "I am in Tamil Nad" the reply to the Madras Corporation Address that the Corporation was 200 years older than himself and he thought it better to keep that distance. Probably, the City Fathers might consider the latter witty rather than humorous.

It is in estimating Mr. Nehru as a politician, especially as the Prime Minister of India that controversy assumes a grim aspect. To many he is a Hamlet with his proverbial poise of "To be or not to be," or a Coriolanus.

nus, his nature "too noble for the world." To a few he is already "tired" and "weak." Judged as a politician and administrator, he might possess all the failings attributed to him by his critics. But this dross is purified, is being hourly purified, by the sacred fire of his patriotism. He is essentially a patriot of the Garibaldian stamp. Politics to him is a tremendous adventure like mountaineering: "the higher one goes the more laborious becomes the journey and the summit recedes into the clouds. Yet the climbing is worth the effort.... Perhaps it is the struggle that gives value to life" (Autobiography). He loves hoary India more than the Athenian loved the City of the Violet Crown and the Roman the City of the Seven Hills. Let him speak:

I am a poor type of politician, or, if you like, my politics is made of sterner stuff than that of ordinary politicians. I am not interested in the game of politics as such. I am engaged in a mighty game, in a great adventure, together with 350 to 360 millions of people.

I have no other great reservoir of strength except the tremendous reservoir of the people of India.

And that immortal peroration to a great speech—a peroration which will be indissolubly associated with Nehru the Patriot:

I have hardly any ambition left. I have been a very ambitious person in many ways. But there is only one ambition now left, and that is that in the years to come, I should throw all the strength and energy that I have into this work of building up a new India and I want to do it to the uttermost till I have utterly exhausted and am thrown on the scrapheap. I am not interested in what you or anybody think of me afterwards. It is enough that I have exhausted my strength and energy in this task.... I do not care what happens to my reputation after I am gone. But if any people choose to think of me then, I should like them to say, "This was a man, who with all his mind and heart, loved India and the Indian people. And they, in turn,

were indulgent to him and gave him of their love most abundantly and extravagantly.

What is this peerless patriotism that re-dedicates itself to the work of building up a new India? It is the patriotism that warned the Englishmen, using the words of one of their great countrymen: "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go." In the name of God they went, but it was Nehru, more than Gandhi, that made them depart in 1947. It is the patriotism that stirred the soul of a drooping nation and gave strength and elation to a disheartening cause. In 1942 he said:

So blood and tears are going to be our lot whether we like them or not. Let us not be afraid, let us not lose our anchor, let us not run away from our post of duty. But rather let us accept them willingly as men and women who go out to meet their heart's desire. The turn of fate's wheel has brought this new ordeal to us, the last ordeal that can face a nation. Whether we remain up or go down, we shall do it bravely and with dignity, thinking ever of the honour of that great and beloved land that has given us birth and sustenance. For each one of us, man or woman, old or young, is a little bit of India and something of her old time story clings about us. Each one of us has her precious honour in our keeping, each one of us may do something to add to that glorious heritage. What we have, what we are, we owe to her; can we ever repay that debt even if we give our lives for her sake? Our blood and tears will flow; it may be that the parched soil of India needs them so that the fine flower of freedom may grow again and its fragrance envelop the land. We shall pay the price, and it will be well with us if we remain true to our faith and do not falter.

The most intellectual patriot has visited one of the intellectual capitals of India. And, in the words of Shelley,

He gave man speech, and speech created thought,
Which is the measure of the universe.

In the British Museum in London one can see 75 drafts of Thomas Gray's poem, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*. Gray didn't like the first way he wrote it nor the second nor the third. He wasn't satisfied till he scribbled it over and over, 75 times.—Carl Sandburg in *HOUSEHOLD MAGAZINE*.

BEHIND THE ATTLEE ULTIMATUM

By ANDREW ROTH

MOST British political thinkers spent the "crisis weekend" of October 18-19 trying to comprehend what led ex-Prime Minister Clement Attlee to demand "unconditional surrender" from Aneurin Bevan just when the latter had made the first major gestures of appeasement. The Attlee ultimatum carried the threat of a split in the world's largest and most decisive democratic socialist party. So seriously did the *Liberal Manchester Guardian* take the chances of a split that it began to speak hopefully of revivifying the moribund Liberals by adding to them the "best elements" of both major parties—presumably the Gaitskells of the Labour Party's rightwing and the Butlers of the Conservative Party's moderate wing.

Few expected Mr. Attlee to take on himself the difficult task of pushing back the tide of leftwing socialism and quasineutralism which has carried power-conscious Bevan almost within reach of the party leadership. At 69, "Good old Clem" is considered by most Labourites a benign and moderate great-uncle rather than a forceful partisan, although clearly his views are those of the Labour rightwing. Mr. Attlee became leader of the Labour Party in the wake of the multiple splits of 1931-2 when the Ramsay MacDonald wing joined the Conservatives, the Independent Labour Party split off to the Left, and the Moseley-Strachey group splintered off to form what became the British Fascists. During the days that followed, Labourites came to value Attlee's desire to represent the consensus of Party opinion and his reluctance to come to a decision unless compelled to by a clear and moral case of Right versus Wrong. Because of his colourless personality and obvious middle-class origin, Attlee could never arouse working class enthusiasm like the earthy trade union boss, the late Ernest Bevin, or the shrewd and folksy Cockney politician, Herbert Morrison. But as a

respected and respectable figure he helped reassure the great numbers of middle class people who voted Labour into power in 1945.

Attlee seemed incapable of such a partisan effort to those who watched him at the Morecambe conference of the Labour Party early this month. He had clearly added years and lost spirit since he handed over 10 Downing Street to Winston Churchill a year ago. His prim and fatherly speech, favouring Good and opposing Evil, at a pre-conference rally was so tepid that it could not arouse even those itching to applaud. During virtually all the four days of the conference he sat on the platform doodling on a desk pad before him and scarcely ever looking up. His principle speech opposing a Bevanite resolution favouring arms reduction, was calm and completely emotionless.

Long-time observers of Mr. Attlee feel that after the conference his highly-developed sense of duty was cleverly exploited by non-Labour newspapers. "It is of course characteristic of Mr. Attlee that he should avoid a struggle," said *The Times*. "Since he became leader of the party it has always been his deliberate policy to cling as closely and as long as possible to the middle of the road, waiting for others to make up their minds before finally choosing his own course of action. This remarkable patience has been the source of much of his strength since 1935: the question is whether he can any longer refuse to offer real leadership...."

Apparently a more decisive influence on Mr. Attlee has been the group of rightwing Labour ex-Cabinet Ministers such as Hugh Gaitskell, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Patrick Gordon-Walker, ex-chief of the Commonwealth Relations Office. It is an interesting sidelight on Mr. Attlee's solitary path that he has not had a serious talk with Aneurin Bevan since the latter resigned from the Cabinet eighteen months

ago; even more strange is the fact that he has scarcely discussed fundamental political problems with Mr. Morrison during the last twelve months; he has, however, talked to Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Gordon-Walker. Apart from their personal prestige and ability they have little strength in the Labour movement, apart from what they can persuade senior leaders like Mr. Attlee to do.

Mr. Gaitskell demonstrated in his speech of October 5 that he has taken on the task of stonewalling Bevanism. Considering his intelligence and gentle upbringing he showed a bitterness more conscious than the crude trade union bosses, Lawther and Deakin. He attacked the Bevanite victory at Morecambe as "mob rule by a group of frustrated journalists." He attempted a Communist smear far worse than anything before attempted by the Conservative press in saying: "I was told by some observers that about one-sixth of the constituency party delegates appeared to be Communists or Communist-inspired." He covered himself by adding: "This figure may well be too high. But if it should be one-tenth or even one-twentieth, it is a most shocking state of affairs..." Since scarcely anyone else noticed more than two dozen Communists or fellow-travellers among 1500-odd delegates many persons were surprised or distressed at this importation of "McCarthyism" into British Labour politics.

Beating Bevan To The Draw

The speed and force of the Attlee-Gaitskell-Morrison attack has surprised the Bevanites, although for some time Aneurin Bevan has believed a split in the Labour Party inevitable. He has felt that under conditions of deepening internal economic crisis and international tension the rift would grow between those on the Right of the party who cling to the Anglo-American alliance and the "Welfare State" as now constituted and those on the Left who want more nationalization and social planning internally and more independence from the Americans internationally.

Since political developments always take a long time in Britain, Bevan has been counting on anything from six months to two years before an organizational split becomes a serious

threat. From his point of view, the longer the split can be put off, the more chance he has of emerging from it in control of the official party machine, with the Right-wingers decamping from the party.

Bevan has counted on the Left-ward swing among Labour's rank and file to bring him victory within the party. This Left-ward swing not only gave the Bevanites 85% of the votes of constituency party delegates at Morecambe. It is now clear that virtually all of these votes were the results of 'mandates,' i.e. preliminary votes in the constituency parties themselves. It was possible to observe this democratic discipline on the floor of the conference when one saw Anthony Greenwood, himself a centrist M.P., voting for Bevanite resolutions because the Rossendale Labour Party had mandated him to do so. Ram-bunctious Bessie Braddock, an M.P. for Liverpool, was repudiated by the branch she was supposed to represent because she voted Right while she was mandated to vote Left. Whereas previous 'rebel' movements in the Labour Party were largely the rebellions of Leftwing intellectuals, the present Leftward swing comes from the rank-and-file and is only channeled by Bevan and his supporters.

Bevan's strategy was clear. Having captured the overwhelming majority of the constituency Labour Party militants, he needs a couple of years before the same ferment will work to unseat Rightwing trade union bosses and thus consolidate his leadership of the Labour Party. Until this ferment has produced its results Bevan has clearly felt it tactically wise to appear tolerant, allowing his opponents to seem intolerant "split-ters"—a despised term since the "MacDonald betrayal" of 1931.

The first thing was to erase the most damaging attack on Bevanism in Labour eyes—that the Bevanites had constituted a "party within a party." While this charge was clearly exaggerated by non-Labour papers and Rightwing Labourites, there is no doubt that the Bevanites constituted a well-organized fraction. In the House of Commons, Bevanite M.P.s met in closed meetings to concert their strategy and decide on their speakers in the meetings of the Par-

liamentary Labour Party (where Labour's parliamentary stand is decided) or in the House of Commons itself. In the House Aneurin Bevan, Harold Wilson and John Freeman retained full freedom to criticize official Labour policy by refusing to offer themselves for election to the Parliamentary Committee (or "Shadow Cabinet") which leads Labour's official policy in Parliament. They also refused to sit on the (Labour) Opposition Front Bench in Commons, where ex-Cabinet Ministers and the "Shadow Cabinet" sit. The Bevanites also sent out teams of three or four M.P.s to win over constituency parties by speaking as a 'Brains Trust' (a popular British radio programme in which the audience asks questions of a battery of experts). Their views have been expressed through *Tribune* which until recently had a circulation of 18,000 and only appeared fortnightly. The Bevanites claim to be only a 'ginger group' within the party, like the 'Keep Left' group which preceded it.

To disarm criticism Aneurin Bevan proclaimed several steps in the *Tribune* which appeared October 16 which Bevanites considered as adequate concessions to their critics, almost certain of acceptance. Bevan said that he and the other Ministers who resigned would offer themselves for the 'Shadow Cabinet' since they could agree to executing the decisions reached at Morecambe. He insisted that the Bevanites' group meetings were a normal part of parliamentary life but threw them open to convince those M.P.s who see "something sinister in these meetings." He insisted that the 'Brains Trust' and *Tribune*—"created in 1937... against the background of the Spanish Civil War"—were vital elements of "Socialist education." He pointed out that the prewar Left Book Club "provided an enormous amount of Socialist education, which was harvested eventually in the Labour majority of 1945."

On the very same day Mr. Attlee demanded unconditional surrender, precipitating the most important internal crisis since 1931. Acting while there were still no Bevanites on the "Shadow Committee" he threatened to resign as Leader of the (Labour) Opposition unless the whole

Parliamentary Labour Party endorsed two resolutions: that the Bevanites discontinue all their meetings for Labour M.P.s, whether open or not, and that both sides cease personal abuse. The first Bevanite reaction was that they would agree to the end of personal recrimination if the Rightwingers would do likewise. They insisted, however, that group meetings are a normal aspect of parliamentary life.

This ultimatum threw the burden of decision upon the middle-of-the-roads, the more than a third of the Labour M.P.s who are not committed to either side. Anthony Greenwood, centrist Labour M.P. with a Bevanite constituency party, tried to prevent the "Shadow Cabinet" from demanding a showdown on Mr. Attlee's resolution. John Strachey, former War Minister and Kenneth Younger, ex-Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, formed a "Keep Calm" group to prevent a split.

There is little doubt the Bevanites, heartened by Morecambe's demonstration of their growth, are growing even faster now. Their journal, *Tribune*, just recently converted into a weekly with a popular format, has increased its circulation by over 35% in one month. Young Bevanites, including *Tribune*'s young managing editor, are being adopted increasingly by marginal constituencies, which means a Labour election victory would introduce many new Leftwingers to Parliament. On the other hand, if the Bevanites are expelled they may, for the first time in Labour Party history, carry a major part of the Party membership with them. Cried out a listener at a Labour Party meeting addressed by a moderate Bevanite: "If they throw you out, we'll all go!"

Despite this threat the *Manchester Guardian*, which has been attacking Bevan with a splenetic fury unusual for it, warns its readers not to "underestimate the natural cohesiveness of Labour. There is something of the amoeba about it; it can split up but it can also fuse. Its capacity for unifying itself for election purposes is immense. Who will be driving the band-wagon, whether Mr. Attlee or Mr. Bevan, two years hence is hard to say."

KASHMIR AND INDIAN CONSTITUTION

PRAJA PARISHAD PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

By M. GIRIDIHARA RAO

NEITHER the Indian Parliament nor any other parliament outside the State has any jurisdiction over Kashmir. We are a hundred per cent sovereign body. No country, neither India nor Pakistan, can put any spokes in the wheel of our progress." This was the declaration of Sheikh Abdullah on March 27, 1952, which stunned the political leaders of India, including Pandit Nehru. The entire press of India, except the Communist organs, condemned this statement.

From that day we have heard something of the activities of the Kashmir and Jammu Praja Parishad which advocates the cause of unconditional and complete integration of the State with India. The Indian press began to give prominence to the news of the Praja Parishad. Previously it had been derided as a reactionary organisation of the Hindu communalists and zamindars of the State who were anxious to retain the Maharaja in his position. Recently the President and General Secretary of the Praja Parishad, Mr. Premanath Dogra and Mr. Durgadas Varma, toured the South to enlighten the public on the complicated issue of Kashmir, and to muster public sympathy for their attempts to integrate the State with the Union unconditionally. The following are the answers they gave to various questions put to them during an interview at Guntur.

Q:—A view that the Praja Parishad does not have Muslims among its members, and that it is an organisation of Hindu communalists prevails in the country. Do you contradict it?

A:—You are mistaken. There are three-thousand Muslims among our members. Mohammad Hussain is one of our working committee members. In the working committee to be formed in the near future we wish to have two Muslim members. We fail to understand how one can dub

us communalists. Probably our strong desire to accede to Bharat may be the reason for it in the eyes of Sheikh Abdullah.

Q:—Is it your principle to maintain the Rajpramukhsip permanently?

A:—We hold no brief for the Maharajas and Rajpramukhs. We firmly stand for the application of the Indian Constitution to the State in its entirety. If the Indian Constitution is amended removing Rajpramukhs throughout the country we will be happy and accept it.

Q:—Why do you oppose elected leadership?

A:—As long as the Praja Parishad is alive we oppose any step which creates an independent republic within a Republic. We disregard the decision of the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir about separate flag, separate president and separate judiciary.

Q:—What is your comment on the Nehru-Abdullah agreement?

A:—We want to remind you of the comments of *The Hindu* of Madras and *Anur Bazaar Patrika* of Calcutta, which described the agreement as a complete surrender of Mr. Nehru before the Kashmir Prime Minister. In one word, it is the beginning of the disintegration of India and undoing of the great and historic achievement of Sardar Patel.

Q:—May we know what you have advised Yuvaraj Karan Singh when you met him recently in connection with the election of the Kashmir President?

A:—One can easily imagine what we must have told him.

Q:—Do you want the system of zamindars to continue?

A:—Definitely not. In our manifesto you will find that we advocate the policy of "land to its tillers." If we were in power we also would have abolished zamindari completely.

Q:—So you don't have any objection

to co-operate with Sheikh Abdullah on this issue?

A:—Only on one point we differ from him. The economic unit fixed by him is 23 acres which is all right in the case of Kashmir Valley where the soil is fertile. But in Jammu where the land is barren, 23 acres are not enough to maintain a single family. So we suggest that the economic unit should be based on productivity and not on acreage.

Q:—Are there any occasions when you have co-operated with Sheikh Abdullah?

A:—We did co-operate with him during and after the invasion of the State. We are ever ready to lend our co-operation if he accepts our proposal that the State should become an integral part of India like all other Part B States.

Q:—Why did you break with him?

A:—Not we, but he himself broke with us by imposing section 50 upon us and thereby suppressing civil liberties in the State.

Q:—Do you expect internal dangers if war breaks out?

A:—As long as the Indian military is there such a thing cannot take place.

Q:—Why do Communists of the State support Sheikh Abdullah and his stand?

A:—They will support any move which will disintegrate our country into many sections. But I wish to warn them, that as long as Praja Parishad is alive they cannot separate Jammu from the motherland.

Q:—How can you allege that Sheikh Abdullah is a Muslim communalist?

A:—He is attempting to carve out Muslim majority areas in Jammu. In the Udhampur district of Jammu previously there were 1,60,000 Hindus and 1,14,000 Muslims. But now Sheikh Abdullah has carved out a new district, Doda which consists of 80,000 Hindus and 1,14,000 Muslims. He wants to include this district in Kashmir Valley.

Q:—Why did you boycott the elections to the Constituent Assembly?

A:—Forty-one out of 59 of our nominations to the Constituent Assembly were rejected on the date of

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scrutiny on very flimsy grounds. In spite of repeated requests the States Ministry did not interfere with the internal affairs of the State. So the only honourable choice left for us was to boycott the elections.

Q:—What steps do you propose to take to achieve your end?

A:—We will shortly take up "further steps" to get the State integrated with India like other Part B States.

Q:—Do you choose violent methods?

A:—No. Whatever agitation we will

carry on, will be strictly constitutional and non-violent.

Q:—How do you find the response at the places you visited so far?

A:—The people are always in favour of a strong united Bharat. It is the leaders who often disregard the desire of the people.

Q:—Do you wish to form an all-India committee of all M. Ps. to gain support for your stand?

A:—This is a nice suggestion which we will certainly try to carry out.

GANDHI BHAVAN OR GAUDY BHAVAN?

By "AISOLA"

NO other Pradesh Congress can boast of possessing such a grand building for its office as the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress. It is the latest addition to the chain of ornamental structures like the Charminar, University Buildings, for which Hyderabad is well known and is justly proud. Any sight-seer to Hyderabad will have to add this giant in brick and mortar to his list of eye feasts.

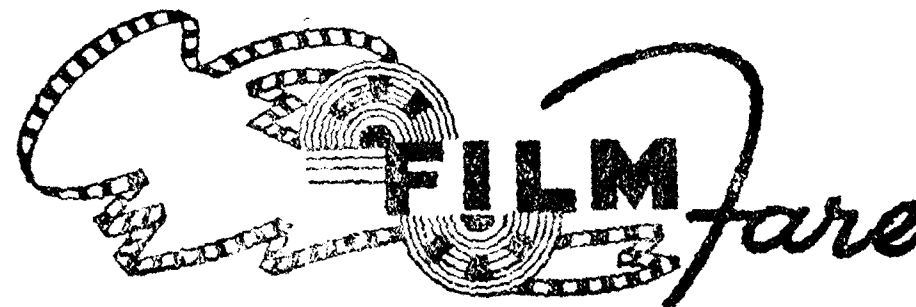
The building possesses a big auditorium, which can accommodate some thousands of people. A permanent open-air auditorium to accommodate many thousands is also under construction. You may not see any point of speciality here, when every maidan is a permanent open-air auditorium. But you will know it when I say that everything in Hyderabad is conceived, planned and erected on a permanent basis. If a road is to be constructed, it will be only with cement. The speciality is that even temporary structures are permanently constructed. Take for example, the so-called temporary Secretariat Buildings. If Mirza Ismail had not come here as the President of the Nizam's Executive Council and blessed them to turn into permanent buildings, they would have been dismantled by now. Or, take the case of the temporary hostels, and buildings in the University Campus. But for the police action, they would not have earned the status of permanent structures. We have also the privilege of possessing a permanent sheltering equipment for the annual exhibition fair and befittingly

the huge structure of the Congress Office with its permanent paraphernalia lies on this exhibition ground.

One may wantonly or ignorantly ask why the Pradesh Congress was so enthusiastic about raising such a gaudy Bhavan for its office while so many Pradesh Congress Offices are functioning in humble huts in a Gandhian way. How it could raise funds for this building is a question and it is prudent to leave it unanswered.

Before the police action, the Congress was almost non-existent in the State and its membership was of the order of a few thousands, if not hundreds. It is only five years since the police action took place. Did all the lakhs invested on the building come from the membership fees collected at the rate of four annas per person? The Congress bosses did not organise a raffle for this worthy cause. There may be some people with doubts about the purity of its basement. But the Congress does everything in the name of Gandhi and it contains so many Swamijees with filtered souls and therefore the manner in which the funds have been raised should not be doubted. Are the Congress bosses not going to spend 10 lakhs of rupees on a four-day-airy-nothing in January next?

Still for a doubting mind, the riddle is not solved so easily why Pandit Nehru addressed the Congress workers at the Shah Manzil, which is a Government building, instead of in the Gaudy Bhavan?



By V. P. SATHI

ALL the delegates who had been to the U. S. A. and Hollywood returned to India last week. They looked happy and exultant. They had nothing but praise for the hospitality with which they were received. As a result of this visit, as Mr. Chandulal Shah, the leader of the delegation, said, there will be a regular two-way traffic of films between India and America. Thus, at last, the long-cherished desire of Indian producers to screen their films in New York would be fulfilled.

The delegates appeared to have gained in weight as well. But though officially the delegates did not complain, it appears that wherever they went in America they were confronted with a pamphlet sent by an Indian film journalist in which he had ridiculed the delegates and affirmed that the delegates did not represent the Indian film industry. This pamphlet spoiled the otherwise happy tour; and though, perhaps, the American hosts did not take the pamphlet seriously, the delegates themselves felt very hurt that somebody from the Indian film industry should resort to this method and ridicule India in the eyes of foreigners. Even agreeing that the delegation was not fully representative, the delegates feel that it was hardly proper for any Indian journalist to make an issue of it.

Admission Rates Reduced

The exhibitors are slowly realizing that their days of power are over and that even to survive they have to change their policy. In Sholapur, four exhibitors have reduced their lowest rate of admission to one anna. In Bombay, theatres like Kamal and Krishna have also reduced the rates

and instead of ten annas and a half the lowest rate would be five annas henceforth. Other theatres will have to emulate their example soon. For it has been found that the high rate of admission is one of the major causes for the fall in collection in first-run theatres.

It has also been realised that with a lower rate of admission the theatres collect increased revenue. As an instance, it is pointed out that in Bombay more often than not the collections of theatres in Dadar area are better than the collections in Lamington Road area for the same picture. Hence one believes that this move to reduce rates is gathering momentum and soon all the exhibitors in Bombay would revert to pre-war rates of admission. Meanwhile, most of them have revised their terms and are offering their theatres at two-thirds of the rents. And yet, they are not getting good booking.

The situation is changing so rapidly that as a distributor ironically remarked the day is not far off when the exhibitor who so far took 'black' money for his theatre-hire will have to offer black money to the distributor to secure pictures for his theatre. The position can be well understood from the fact that this week three first-run theatres are screening second-run pictures.

The Government could have helped the industry by reducing the entertainment tax. But the State Governments are in no mood to lose revenue; the State Finance Ministers who opposed the move of the Central Government to reduce the rate to 20 per cent seem to believe in killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

With no relief from the Government, the exhibitors have to adjust themselves to the changed conditions, however reluctant they feel.

New Pictures

In spite of general deterioration, individual and enterprising producers like Stanley Krammer and directors like John Huston continue to give first-rate pictures.

Stanley Krammer's 'Death of A Salesman' is a very serious study about an old-fashioned salesman who in his old age found himself jobless, unwanted and completely unsuccessful in life. He almost lost his sanity. This penetrating study by Arthur Miller who wrote the original play, is brought to life by Fredric March who in the title role gives an unforgettable performance.

Those who have read the original play will admire the film version all the more; for it fully captures the spirit and the depth of the play which itself depends more on characterization than incident to reveal the tragedy of the middle class people with wrong notions of success and selfishness. Fredric March works as a travelling salesman. He has a notion that personality counts more than anything else in his business. While his wife, who reminds one of a typical Indian housewife, works for whole day at home to balance the budget, he carries on an affair in Boston with a blonde beauty and encourages his sons, rather the younger son, to be a star football player. He completely spoils his son who steals and leads a useless life. The tragedy is that the salesman never realizes his mistake, not almost till the end and this aspect is most poignantly brought out by the artistes and the director in the film-version.

As a rule I do not like Westerns. But I found Stanley Krammer's Western 'High Noon' quite different from the usual Westerns. Generally in Western films people—both men and women—are ready to shoot at the slightest provocation. They are all dare-devils; this picture however shows the other side. Most of these people are just cowards.

The story has a novel technique. It covers incidents which happened only in the running time of the picture it-

self. The story begins at 10-30 in the morning when a retiring marshal is wed and is about to leave town with his wife. Then comes the news that a notorious gangster whom the marshal (Gary Cooper) had caught and sent to prison has escaped death and was returning to the town by the "High Noon" train. Everybody in the town wants the marshal to run away, including his wife. But he decides, otherwise and for one hour and a half tries to mobilize the people to help him to meet the challenge of the gangster. He goes to the bar, he goes to the church; but nobody volunteers to help him. His wife threatens to leave the town by the 'High Noon' train. Ultimately deserted by all, he faces the challenge alone and later supported by his wife fights the three gangsters single-handed on deserted streets. It is only when he has killed the gangster in gun-fight that the people come out. What an irony and this irony of human conduct is brilliantly stressed in this picture. Only the fighting itself appears artificial. For the rest, the picture is authentic and suspenseful.

Baiju Bawra

In history Baiju Bawra might have defeated Tansen in a musical contest, but the motion picture *Baiju Bawra* has at least failed to beat *Tansen* in any manner.

Produced as it has been almost a decade after *Tansen*, *Baiju Bawra* had all the advantages in its favour, especially since it was produced and directed by Vijay Bhatt at a great cost and labour as against *Tansen* which was directed by Jayant Desai for Ranjit.

Vijay Bhatt is known better for his artistry than Jayant Desai; and there is no doubt that he has worked very hard and very sincerely to make *Baiju Bawra* a great picture. But his script is not as good as that of *Tansen*; and what is worse in spite of the combined talent of Naushad, Amir Ali Khan and Palusker, the music is not half as thrilling and melodious as that of *Tansen*. Comparisons are always odious; but when Saigal sang, he swept the audience off their feet to the extent of making them believe in the miracle of lamps burning out of music; when Khurshid sang *Malhar* and invoked the clouds she moved the

audience so much that they believed it was her song which brought the rains. Do Amir Ali or Palusker with all their knowledge of classical music succeed in creating that belief? Singing as they do without any feeling they fail miserably and the musical contest does not give the expected thrills. Even Rafi and Lata who sing with greater feeling than these classicists fail to infuse that belief.

In a picture about music, if music itself fails in its main function what can one say of the picture. *Baiju Bawra* was a challenge to Naushad's genius; but the master of rhythm has failed to be the master of melody. Even in this picture he is too much conscious of rhythm to bother about melody as Khemchand Prakash would have or Anil Biswas or Vasant Desai could have.

The story hangs on one incident. The incident is the final contest between Tansen, so putridly portrayed by Surendra, and Baiju, so sensitively portrayed by Bharat Bhushan. And the romance between Baiju and Gauri, exquisitely played by Meena Kumari, is interesting only in a minor way. The result is that hardly anything happens in the first half and in the second half the story slowly gets into stride and moves up to a climax which unfortunately turns out to be an anti-climax. As if that is not enough, Baiju is brought back to village while Gauri is being married to another man. Both of them meet in a stormy river and die in each other's arms, in Laila-Majnu style.

In presenting this 'weak' story with the aid of unhelpful music but good art direction, photography and acting Vijay Bhatt has succeeded in making the picture pictorially beautiful. The dialogue is scintillating and enlivens the story. But thanks mainly to music *Baiju Bawra* does not satisfy one completely, though compared to the usual rut it is quite a distinguished achievement.

Star Of The Week

Not so long ago the Marathe sisters from Poona were well-known dancers on amateur stage and their father Bapusaheb Marathe appeared as their impressario. Sandhu, the younger sister, was the smarter of the two and though both the sisters made their

debut on screen simultaneously one of them got married and the other worked in Gujarati as well as Marathi pictures.

Sandhu got her first real break in Jagat Pictures *Gauna* in which Amiya Chakraborty gave her a leading role. Sandhu who was known as Usha Marathe now became known as Usha Kiran. The picture unfortunately for her did not succeed, with the result that she had again to play secondary roles. But working in different roles she got not only enough acting experience but a chance to dispart her versatile talent.

In some pictures she played the role of vampish girls and in others the great tragediane. It was as the heroine working in Marathi pictures that her acting gift was put to real test; and she scored one acting triumph after another.

Thus at least in Marathi pictures she attained the top position by sheer merit of acting. Rather plump, she did not always photograph well and so she had to be content with playing secondary roles in Hindi pictures. Even Amiya Chakraborty gave her a supporting role in *Daag*.

Due to depression and demand for new stars, Usha Kiran's star in Hindi films is now rising. Moreover as she is an artiste who can play any type of role and dance delightfully she is in great demand now. Also, she has slimmed. As a matter of fact she is now working in about a dozen pictures and she is, perhaps, the busiest film-star and these are days of production slump.

With her father to look after her business side she is known to be a conscientious worker. Her education was cut short when she was in the high school; but she is a linguist and can speak Hindi, Gujarati, Bengalee, Tamil and English. She is a good housewife, though she is not involved in any romance at the moment. In an interview once she said she would like to marry a highly educated young man who has nothing to do with films.

The long awaited picture of Messrs. Society Pictures, Madras, has been named "The World"—"Ulagam" in Tamil and "Prapancham" in Telugu and will be exhibited in the very near future.

MALENKOV'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT

By UMAKANTHA SARMA

AFTER nearly a lapse of 11 years, the Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) has been held. Even since Stalin came to power, the interval between consecutive Congresses was increased progressively and systematically. From 1918 to 1925, despite many odds, the Party convened a national Congress once a year. After Stalin became the dictator, the XV Congress met in 1927. The interval was two years. The XVI Congress met in 1930; the XVII in 1934; and the XVIII Congress in 1939. The XIX Congress was held after nearly eleven years of interval. Stalin increased the intervals between the Congresses from 1925 to 1939 by one year each time. The systematic increase in the intervals was not accidental; it was deliberately planned. Stalin wanted to completely abolish the convention of the Congresses; but it became necessary for him to convene it now. He wanted to show the world that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was alive, to show that the rank and file members of the CPSU (B) also have a 'say' in the matter of policy of the Party.

Going through the deliberations of the recent Congress one is not surprised to find that every resolution was accepted unanimously; every speaker repeated the same message, all in praise of "the great Stalin" and expressing agreement with the policies of the Central Committee. No word of criticism is to be found anywhere against Stalin's foreign policy. One speaker, Kainberzin, said: "...the Party organisation of Latvia will in the future, too, be a loyal detachment of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, ready to fulfil all the tasks assigned to it ...". This speech clearly revealed that the lower Party organisations were definitely subservient to the Central Committee, that there was no autonomy for the local organisations, and that they would have to carry out only the orders given to them by the Central Committee, which in turn was led by Stalin. Another

instance of the Central Committee's authority over everything was given by the speech of Mikhailov. He said: "The Central Committee of the Party guides all aspects of life, work and education of the Soviet youth." So the youth have no freedom to choose their own life, work and education.

In all, six speakers levelled some sort of criticism against the various departments of the Government and the Party. Even they had nothing to differ from the general policies of the Central Committee. But one suspects that all these criticisms have been pre-planned and broadcast either to make the world believe that freedom of speech exists in Russia or to make some persons who have lost the confidence of the Central Committee scapegoats for the faults of the Central Committee. The latter view finds more justification when one sees the speech of Andrianov who criticised certain ministries "for the weak leadership given to enterprises."

The Congress indulged in cheap flattery of "the great Stalin." When one compares Stalin's and Lenin's regimes we find no indulgence in personal adulation for leaders during Lenin's time. For example, the *Pravda* issue of November 7, 1922, was devoid of personal reference of tributes to Lenin or Trotsky or any other leader. In this issue, it is significant to note, there was no mention of Stalin. In *Pravda* of November 7, 1937, i.e., after Stalin came to power, "Stalin's name occurs eighty-eight times, Lenin's fifty-four times. The adjective 'Stalinist' is used fifteen times. Lenin's name is almost always coupled with Stalin's.... War Commissar Voroshilov is mentioned twice, Kalinin twice, General Budeny once, Dimitrov, head of the Comintern, once." While one goes through the deliberations, one feels that one is not looking into the report of a Communist Congress, but into that of a Congress of toadies.

G. M. Malenkov presented the report of the Central Committee. Everybody

expected Malenkov would give an explanation why during World War II, the Soviet Union concluded a pact with Hitler in August 1939, and with Japan in April 1941. Perhaps Stalin had no answer to the question. Nobody dared to put the question to the Central Committee: What was the reason for the two pacts and why were they broken?

Malenkov in the beginning of his report said that World War II was "unleashed in the East by militarist Japan and in the West by Hitler Germany." Is Malenkov contradicting what Stalin said on November 30, 1940? Stalin said in an article in the *Pravda* of November 30, 1940: "It was not Germany who attacked France and England, but France and England who attacked Germany, thus assuming responsibility for the present war." Who is correct—Stalin or Malenkov?

Referring to Japan, Italy and Western Germany, Malenkov said: "It would be naive to think that these vanquished countries will agree to remain indefinitely under the heel of American occupationists. It would be folly to think that they will not attempt, in one way or another, to throw off the American yoke and live free and independent lives." What was Malenkov hitting at? Did he hint that the Communists of these countries would resort to insurrection and attempt to establish Communist power? His hint also found expression in his hope that "the German people, who are faced with the dilemma of either taking that path or of being turned into mercenary soldiers of the American and British imperialists will choose the correct path—the path of peace," and that "the Japanese people will achieve national independence for their homeland and take the path of peace." Obviously, in Malenkov's opinion, the path of peace was that of alignment with Soviet Russia.

Again, Malenkov in his report referred to India, Indonesia and Iran as "colonial and dependent" countries. Does not Russia recognize the independence of these countries? If not why should Russia establish diplomatic relations with these countries?

Malenkov said: "...the North Atlantic aggressive bloc, formed without the knowledge of the U.S.S.R., and

behind its back, came into being." Did not Russia really know of the North Atlantic treaty beforehand? There is no evidence that the NATO was formed "behind the back" of the U.S.S.R.

Regarding the West European countries, Malenkov said: "Once free capitalist states, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Norway are now in fact abandoning their own national policy and carrying out a policy dictated by the U. S. imperialists, yielding their territories for American bases and military springboards, thereby endangering their own countries in the event of hostilities breaking out. On American bidding they conclude alliances and blocs directed against their own national interests." What about the so-called People's democracies of Eastern Europe? Can Russia show any evidence to the fact that these countries are following "national" policies? Is there a single instance where the East European countries have differed from the Soviet Union in regard to voting in the United Nations Organisations or on any other issue? On the contrary, the West European Governments are asserting their independent foreign and internal policies. This fact was well borne out when England and France recognised 'Red' China, despite the wishes of the USA. Again the recent speech of M. Pinay, the Premier of France, is a clear evidence of the fact that the West European Governments are following independent policies. All this is not to support the policies of the Western Governments.

Regarding Yugoslavia, Malenkov remarked: "...the rulers of Yugoslavia—all these Titos, Kardeljs, Rankovics, Djilas Pijades and others—who long ago became American agents engage in espionage and subversion against the U.S.S.R. and People's Democracies on assignments from their American bosses". A look into the report of the deliberations in the Ad Hoc Political Committee of the UN, on December 1, 1951, will reveal to anyone who really was engaged in 'espionage and subversion' activities.

Communist strategy has been from the beginning to split the opposition forces. They distinguish between leaders and rank-and-file of political

parties, governments and people. Malenkov, adopting the age-old Communist strategy, pictured the West European Governments as "preparing for war" and "fighting against their own people." He also warned that the intention of the U. S. was the "utilization of other peoples who are to serve as blind instruments and cannon fodder in conquest of world domination by the US monopolists." It was a warning to the soldiers of the NATO army. He incited them to disobedience by picturing that America wanted to make "people of other countries" scapegoats to fill the money-bags of their "monopolists."

Malenkov alleged that the U. S. attacked Korea first and then disclosed an open secret that in the Korean war there is actually a Soviet side. He said "It suffices to recall that it was the Soviet side which advanced the proposals that served as the basis for the truce talks in Korea." Really the North Korean side is the side of Soviet Russia and yet Soviet Russia says that it has no hand in the Korean war.

While attacking the Atlantic powers of "masking the aggressive plans and military operations now in progress with demagogic phrase-mongering about peace" Malenkov stressed the need of tirelessly strengthening the defence-might of the Soviet state and to increase "our preparedness to give any aggressor a crushing blow." In

which way does Malenkov's phrase-mongering differ from that of the leaders of the NATO powers?

Malenkov indulged in some propaganda for the so-called peace movement. He declared, "The war-mongers will not succeed in their efforts to label this non-party peaceful democratic movement a party, allegedly Communist, movement." The very fact that the majority of the members of the World Peace Council are either Communists or their fellow-travellers is sufficient to prove that the organisation is a Communist one. If the organisation is not Communist, at least it is a Communist-inspired one. "The fact that the Stockholm appeal was signed by 500 million people and the appeal for the conclusion of a peace pact among the five great powers by over 600 million" does not indicate that it is a non-party movement or that it is popular. Even Franco received a petition with over two million signatures, swearing their loyalty to his regime. Does it then follow that Franco is loved by the Spanish or that he is not fascist?

The former conferences, the Peace Conference, the World Economic Conference, and the like were convened to justify Stalin's "peaceful co-existence theory". The present Congress has been convened to prove Stalin's latest thesis regarding the eruption of internal conflict among capitalist nations, by actually creating them.

HOME LIFE THEN AND NOW

By C. S. SURYA SARMA

THE quaintness of home life through the centuries persists. Only it changes its forms and features. In essence, the tragedies and comedies that are enacted daily within the four walls of a palace or in the murky interiors of mud huts, have a strange family likeness in genus though not in details. The sum-total of the world's frustrations and joys, its hopes and fears, remain undiminished, like the ratio between the sexes or the quantity of water in the seas or the conservation of energy.

The Brahmin girl of two hundred years ago married very young. Often the mother sat with the three-year-old bride in her arms, soothed it with

some candy, while the groom of ten or twelve accepted his future bride and present *de-facto* human doll. One need not speculate as to why he did so in the dim pre-Sarda days. Maybe to sport the "thali" against marauding thugs and torchlight decoits, maybe to claim shares in temple "mamools" that went to the married or to inherit estates or just to placate malefic planets by vicarious astral influence or to satisfy nonagenarian dames at the last post. She did the chores, got tremendous lots of songs, dirges, canticles and folklore by rote, knew all about sex, births, deaths, "junkettings and love" and a lot of home-medicine, first aids, etc. She

was solidly nurtured on realities, including the political realities of murder, loot, rapine, kidnapping, persecution, famine, pestilence and the redoubtable living-philosophy and culture of her race. The schools in the accepted sense were the ballad-lore and rhapsodies—expositions in song of the popularised versions of even abstruse dogmas of religion and metaphysics were common. The cult of compulsory ego and libido sublimation of the virgin widowhood into dedicated social insurance, or service, was a living one. They were days in which, strange to believe, the brides obtained a price from the bridegrooms.

They had their own brand of tyrannies, the mother-in-law and sister-in-law tyrannies, the family-head tyrannies, stifling of personal liberties and ambition under the joint family ownership and the exploitation of the junior members' rights by the seniors. These are not abolished but have given place to metamorphoses and to newer editions of the same thing. More spurious bachelors for life bulk now-a-days and the emancipated widows *cum* alimony ladies merge sometimes into the careeristic woman or cater to the trades that provide a living in sports and pastimes. National and racial vitality has been tainted by stimulants, drug addiction and the inevitable stress and strain of living, consequent on the forsaken village, the rapid urbanisation, hurry and a life from which the philosophic ballet is being slowly jettisoned.

Gone are the sports on land and in water of hefty maidens, gone their lusty horseplay and fun at marriages,

feasts and festivities, gone their brawny arms and ribald songs and vibrant frames, gone their beaming faces, lustrous curls, bright eyes, beautiful teeth and buxom form and features. Art has invaded their domain of callisthenics and artificiality their mind and body. The cult of individualism cuts bothways. Too great a price is paid for the idea of political liberty and too little for the precious substance of ego-integration. The lady then sported the palanquin, rode a horse and charged on an elephant, but her great-grand-daughter at the auto-wheel is too delicate to handle a flat tyre and too tired to breast-feed her infant and too sophisticated to genuinely "relax". And yet they are at the ancient game of ruling the home and assuming authority over the male, with all the arts of love, which the poets and sages taught of yore and now relegated to a course in the practising journals and the marriage guidance clinics. She revelled in home science with real "cows" and sat and milked them and was an adept at the home-manufacture of dairy products, but now she lolls about uneasily with unwanted billows of fat and the antics of the poodle. While her house once beamed with the watchword that its inmates lived in "fear of God," you have now the very real caution "Beware of Dog."

We do not care. The centuries march along and wheels turn full cycle, man concentrates into tabloids all his joys and sorrows. And thus the Brahmin fulfills himself in many ways lest one good custom "should corrupt the world."

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MODERN TRENDS IN EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

By S. RAMANATHAN

THE wealth of a nation does not lie in the undulating slopes and heights of its soaring mountains. It is not to be sought for in its mineral resources, in its coal-fields and gold mines, in its winding rivers and fertile deltas. The children constitute the wealth of a nation, the budding potential resources of a country. Perhaps this was the reason why in World War II when London stood in danger of bombing from German air raids, hundreds of thousands of children were shipped away to safety and security in the hospitable shores of Canada where they could be brought up till the war was over. That is why even at the present day in the theatres of war operations in Korea, schools, nurseries and educational institutions are kept immune from air-raids or attacks on the basis of well established conventions of international understanding.

The present age may be looked upon as the age of the child. It is only from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth that the personality of the child has been recognized and has received the attention and consideration that the problem deserves. In the seventeenth century and at the outset of the eighteenth the children were looked upon as wooden dummies, as clean slates for the veteran educator to experiment upon, for the stern unbending school master to fashion and mould upon. The eighteenth century was primarily the age of the school master, the era of the birch and the rod. The school master dominated the class room like a colossus and the children shrank into a corner like pygmies at the dreaded approach of the cyclop with the single eye. The schools depicted by Charles Dickens in his *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield* are all schools where the school master was all in all and the children were looked upon as chattels or dumb driven cattle without any spark of individuality or distinctive features of their own. The

village school master immortalized by Goldsmith in his *Deserted Village* passing rich with forty pounds a year, with his words of learned length and thundering sound, was a school master of the old type at whose dull jokes and lifeless humour, the urchins were bound to laugh at the point of the bayonet or at the point of his rod. Such school masters knew nothing of child psychology and they believed in dinning and drilling dry unrelated knowledge into the unreceptive heads of the children by the use of the rod or the birch. In fact in those days the school was an infernal reformatory, a house of correction and the children were looked upon as potential criminals sent to the school to be purged of their evil tendencies by the free exercise of the rod. Very often the school master was a petty tyrant or jail warder who believed more in caning or corporal punishment than in teaching or training. Children were sent to those schools as to a place of purgatory where they had to pass through a process of purification in the crucible of the school master. The child was not looked upon as an individual in miniature and there was little or no scope for the unfolding of human personality.

All this is history of the past. Much water has flowed under the bridge since the days of Goldsmith's village school master. It was Rousseau, the fire-brand of the French Revolution, that raised the banner of revolt against the old system of education. His writings and fiery speeches brought about the fall of the French Monarchy no less than the exit of the old type of school master. If his classical political pamphlet *Le Contrat Social* shook the foundations of the French monarchy and inaugurated the era of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", at the same time his educational treatise *Emile* led a revolt against the old system of education and set in motion a sympathetic reaction in favour of understanding the personality of the child. Rousseau's

Emile rang the death-knell of the old type of schools where inert knowledge and unrelated pieces of information were injected into the systems of children at the risk of upsetting their health and regardless of the growing needs of their personality. In the wake of Rousseau came specialists of child psychology like Pestalozzi, Froebel and Doctor Montessori who by their experiments and studies in the nature of children, have revolutionised the system of education. The school at the present day, far from being a place of correction has become a delightful home and the child is allowed to unfold his personality under the sympathetic guidance of the teacher.

Let us now see what are the characteristics of children. What is the secret of their charm, that peculiar charm before which even the hardened criminals of history were not proofs, before which even the iron heart of King John or the cruel infernal nature of Richard III melted as the one was issuing orders to blind the eyes of Prince Arthur and the other was planning and scheming to strangle the two royal princes in the Tower of London? What constitutes the chief difference between the child and the adult? The child is all innocence and charm. The adult is all experience and age. The child knows no pose, wears no mask and he is so refreshingly sweet because he is what he is. The adult poses to be what he is not. Children are so beautiful and bright because they wear the glory of their souls on their faces. The adult leads a double life, one in private and another in public. In the case of the child this divergence is not to be found and this is the secret of its never failing charm, his wonderful freshness. The child differs from the adult in another respect also. He has in an uncommon degree the bubbling quality of wonder or curiosity, which very few adults possess. The child embodies an adventure in the art of existence. He tries to recapture in his own life all the history of the human race, with its ups and downs, with all its joys and sorrows, with all its comedies and tragedies. When a fresh young mind, when a growing healthy child is brought into contact with the innumerable things of this

world, the blue sky, the living air, the bubbling brook, the vast ocean and the colourful rainbow, he is filled with a sense of wonder and the joy of discovery. What he sees, he grabs, and in grabbing or seizing, he learns. Thus he starts on the process of learning by doing. Speaking about this quality of wonder in a child, Wordsworth writes in his small poem "The Rainbow".

My heart leaps up when
I behold a rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began,
So is it now I am a man,
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die:
The Child is the father of the man.

It is about this quality of wonder and its gradual decay as we grow older and older that the poet laments in his *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*.

There was a time when meadow grove
and stream,
The earth and every common sight,
To me did seem apparelled in Celestial
light
The glory and freshness of a dream.
It is now as it hath been of Yore:—
Turn wheresoever I may, by night or
day
The things which I have seen I now
can see no more.
Wither is fled the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the
dream?

It is a matter of common experience that the aged adult loses the keenness of his senses and does not look upon the manifold beauties of life and nature with the colourful vision of the child. This spirit of wonder or curiosity has been the driving power of all progress, the motive force of world's history from the primitive paleolithic age to the present modern world of electricity and atomic energy. The modern teacher should see to it that he fosters and promotes this spirit of wonder in his pupils. It must be remembered here that no teacher can foster a thing or quality which he himself does not possess.

A teacher can be a success only to the extent to which he fosters the spirit of wonder and enquiry in his child. Let him not follow the history of the church wherein the spirit of enquiry was looked upon as a crime and the instinct of curiosity was put down as a taboo. The history of the medieval church has been the history

of a crusade against the spirit of enquiry, one unending warfare in suppressing the instinct of interrogation. The good teacher should remember that every child at the outset of his adventure into the art of existence, when he is confronted for the first time with the wonderful things of nature and life is a miniature Gallileo with an insatiable curiosity to take an interesting peep at the colourful world beyond by means of the optics of the telescope. Every child is a Gallileo in miniature and every question that he puts is a telescope. Let not the teacher, the modern teacher knock off the telescope from the little hands of the child and curb his curiosity by asking him to sit down or to shut up.

The teacher if he is to be a help to the children in fostering the spirit of wonder should himself be full of curiosity and wonder. The children are in the process of growth. They want to see things, touch, explore and feel the joy of discovery. Such children cannot be educated effectively by a teacher who has ceased to grow, by a teacher who is devoid of curiosity. The growing active child and the inert grown-up adult teacher are incompatibles in the class room, unless the teacher takes care to grow in intellectual dimensions and renews his knowledge from time to time so as to keep pace with the budding developing urchins. The teacher who is in the process of learning things himself is in a more competent position to educate the children than the teacher who has become a fossil. In short, the teacher must keep young and cheerful in his outlook and youthful in bubbling curiosity, if he is to prove a success in the class room.

India has never been a nation prior to 1947 and the concept of nation is a modern one. In an ancient country like India, where the caste system runs back to the remote past, the Indian child is accustomed to think only in terms of castes and communities. But today, India has become a secular state and under modern conditions the children should be taught to think in terms of the nation as a whole rather than in terms of sects or castes. In a land like ours teeming with hundreds of castes and creeds, a country which is often torn

asunder by communal clashes of warring sects and religious denominations, it is the duty of the schools to see that communal passions do not intrude into the placid waters of education and poison the young minds entrusted to their charge. Any feeling of high and low, rich and poor should not be allowed to take root in young innocent minds. The child should be trained to become a good citizen with a sense of social responsibility and the will to sink his own immediate interests and the interests of his class in the larger interests of the nation as a whole.

It must never be forgotten that the child is not only a member of a state but he is an individual by himself. The chief object of education is allowing scope for the unfolding of human personality. Such a thing is not possible in fascist states where there is a regimentation of the human being. But India is not a fascist state and nowhere does the Indian Constitution contemplate the establishment of a regimented nation. The Indian child is the legitimate heir to the rich spiritual and literary legacy of the past and it is for him to browse at will upon the accumulated treasures of the ages just like a cow turned loose in a garden of luxuriant vegetation. The cow enjoys perfect freedom but within the four walls of the garden. In an ideal scheme of education, the child enjoys perfect freedom within limitations, the bliss of liberty without however lapsing into license. It is in this reconciliation of freedom with discipline of liberty and restrictions that the triumph of the school master lies.

True education is co-extensive with life. Education does not begin with the school nor does it end with the school. Learning is a process which begins with the cradle and goes up to the grave. The teacher should remember that the school is only one of the agencies of education. In the process of education the home occupies the first place and the mother is the first teacher. From the home the child passes through the streets on his way to the school. The world is there and life with its manifold attractions greets the child as he passes on to the school. Between the home and the school stands life, the irresistible call of the outer world.

HOW THE HUMAN BRAIN THINKS—I

By S. P. MISRA

EVERY one of us really has two brains, the small one and the large one. Much is known about the little one, but nothing about the large one. The best-known portion of the brain is that at the back of the head where are located the nerve-endings of our sense perceptions. The front part of the brain retains its secrets.

The region behind the walls of the temple and all of the front portion of the brain is known as "silent" area because we are not conscious of ever using it. If ever human beings make use of the "silent" area of the brain, it is not known as to what purposes they do so. Prof. Adrian, occupant of the Chair of Physiology at Cambridge, told the Royal Society late 1951 that some advances had now been made in knowledge of the "silent" area to the front.

Thought Centre

The ancients believed that human thought and feelings were centred in the heart! They believed the blood to be the storehouse of human thoughts and memories. They believed the brain contained channels through which ran blood from the heart and so enabled the brain to give expression to the thoughts, memories and feelings contained in the blood!

The ancients' theory of the origin of thought is of course indefensible today. But attempts continue to be persistently made to defend it either on a pseudo-scientific or on a religious-metaphysical basis. For instance, in the *Hindustan Times*, December 1951, Mr. Arthur Moore attempted a defence of the ancients' concept of the blood being the origin of thought -- on a "scientific" basis!

Moore said there was now "an increasing body of modern psychological and physiological support for the ancient teaching" that thought originated in the heart and was carried to the head. The modern discovery of hormones secreted by endocrine glands and discharged directly into the

blood stream, said Moore, "gives a new importance to the heart where breath meets blood". Perhaps the substitutes for blood too are repositories of thought!

Descartes located the seat of the soul in the pineal gland lying behind the bridge of the nose. Moore adduced the fact that the pituitary gland on the underside of the "silent" frontal brain, not far from the pineal, was "the leader of the endocrine orchestra."

Moore's conclusion was that since the pituitary gland regulated release of hormones into the blood stream, it dominated the whole system, regulated and determined both the physical and mental functions of the organism, was in fact the seat of the soul.

Soul, Brain And Mind

The brain and the mind are of course very different. The difference is as that between the pen and writing. The brain, as Lenin pointed out, is simply an organ of thought. The brain does not itself invent the content of thought. It is simply an organ which permits thought, just as the pen does not itself write but merely permits a person to write with it.

The brain thinks thoughts occasioned by something else. The idealist school of philosophy believes that it is the "soul", the "absolute idea", the "universal spirit", which provides the brain with subject-matters for thoughts. Opposed to this is the dialectical materialist school which believes that the brain reflects the objective, real world of nature.

It is not a reflection as in a mirror, not a passive perception of reality as with animals who have no consciousness. It is an active, conscious perception of reality in which man interferes with nature, changes and masters it to serve his needs. The dialectical materialist criterion for correctness of reflection of objective reality is practice. It will become

clearer when we consider as to what constitutes consciousness.

The *Vedanta* philosophy is chiefly concerned with the soul and its relation with God. All ancients of the world, savage and civilised, had a name for the soul. Some of the names given the soul by peoples of the world mean breath, heart, midriff, blood, pupil of the eye. All these were related to the body and were names of material things. It is evidence of the ancients' belief that the soul was somehow related to the body.

Other names for the soul were purely metaphorical, as when called a bird, a shadow, because it was thought to be something perceptible but immaterial.

What Is Fundamental?

The Greek word *psyche* for soul, transformed it into a butterfly. As a winged butterfly emerges from the prison of the chrysalis to fly away, so the soul is often popularly believed to depart from the mouth when a person dies. Plato compared the soul to the harmonious music that can be drawn from a lyre. In the *Vedanta* the soul is God Himself.

Vedanta means end of the *Veda*. The *Upanishads* came last rejecting everything before them, including the *Vedas*. In the *Upanishads* the soul is first *atman* (self) or *jivatman* (living self) and then *param-atman* (highest self) when the person has achieved substantial unity with *Brahman* (One Supreme Being, God).

The original, etymological meaning of the Sanskrit *Brahman* is, however, uncertain. Muller's one conception of it is that which bursts forth, whether a thought, creative power or physical force. Through a simile the *Upanishads* say *Brahman* is both the cause and the material effect, that the world is made by God as also is made up of God.

The dialectical materialist view of everything in the universe is very near that of the *Upanishads*. The dialectical materialist view is that everything is made by nature as well as of nature and that we first exist materially and be a part of nature before we can think. Strangely enough, the *Upanishads* also say, "In the beginning there was *Brahman*", "In the beginning there was *Atman*", "In the beginning there was water", "In

the beginning there was nothing", "In the beginning there was something".

Now, how could there first have been nothing and also *Brahman* and material things simultaneously? The contradiction is reconciled in the *Chhandogya Upanishad* which says that everything was there at the beginning first without a second. It denies the theory of creation.

Mystery Of Life

The origin of the concept of the soul probably lies in the mystery of life to the savage following the ape-man. When the savage killed animals for food or saw his fellows die peaceful or violent deaths, when he observed that all of the material body thereafter as before death, he naturally wondered wherein precisely life resided, just what made the body "tick." He concluded that it was something immaterial but perceptible that made the difference between life and lifelessness or death—the "soul."

The "soul" was immaterial as the difference between life and death was something intangible, not such as disappearance of the heart. It was perceptible as it gave life. The mystery of life baffled the savage. All peoples had some name for the soul but all different from one another as to the meaning. It is evidence of the fact that all peoples found life-process and its origin mysterious and in their ignorance concocted their own different explanations.

In the *Vedanta* the soul is *Brahman*. If by *Brahman* we understand nature, then the soul is the material world of nature. Our material human bodies, including the brain, are parts of nature and our thoughts are in terms of nature. If so, it is dialectical materialism.

As to what constitutes life is no longer quite a secret. So much of it is already understood that Lepeshinskaya in the USSR has successfully developed the beginnings of life in the laboratory from non-living matter. The experiment can be repeated anywhere any time.

The viruses are on the borderline of lifelessness and life. By themselves they are lifeless chemical crystals. But in the presence of nourishment they become alive, eat, grow and multiply. If isolated, they again

become lifeless and remain so until in presence of food.

The human brain is a material object. It may be taken out and broken down into its constituent chemical elements. If the same chemical elements were put together, in the same proportions, the result would certainly not be a brain capable of thought. The reason is not that there is no body connected to it, but that matter has to be organised in a special form for the purpose. In fact the same basic matter derives different properties from the ways in which it is organised. Matter is eternally in motion and takes endless forms and has inexhaustible possibilities. Same is the concept of *Brahman* (simultaneous existence from beginning of "God" and everything material) in the *Vedanta*.

Moscow Experiment

There is evidence to believe that a brain can continue functioning normally unaffected by decapitation. Eminent scientists, including Nobel Prize winners Levi, Cannon, Bakk, Feldberg, Geduoum, Kato, delegates to the International Congress of Physiologists in Moscow in 1936, observed this experiment by Prof. K. M. Bykov in his laboratory.

A revolving knife severed the head of a fish in a fraction of a second so to reduce shock to the brain to the minimum. Immediately next the head was fastened to a cork board. It had to be done with lightning speed as the brain was the first organ to die. The blood vessel to the brain was attached to an apparatus supplying it with a salt solution rich in oxygen. The vein carrying away the blood was attached to a rubber tube leading to a test tube. The result was the transformation of an aquatic into a terrestrial creature.

It is not known how long the decapitated head can be kept alive. In this case it lived for seven hours until nourishment to it was discontinued when the laboratory closed for the day. It was not an experiment by itself but one of a long chain.

During the period it was alive the head of the fish without the body behaved normally as a fish under water though there was no water in sight. It breathed, opened and closed

its gill flaps, rolled its eyes, opened and closed its mouth. The head gave all evidence of being under the impression of swimming in water. It moved its fins, now slowly, now rapidly, precisely as if propelling and controlling its speed in water.

A peculiar aspect of the case was that, having once survived decapitation, the head of the fish appeared to have adapted itself to life in the terrestrial atmosphere. Normally, fish take in oxygen from the water by means of their gills, just as we take in oxygen from the air by means of our lungs. The gills of the decapitated head could not take in oxygen from the air, and it had no lungs to do so. But it was artificially supplied with a salt solution rich in oxygen for the purpose.

Everything is made up of the very same matter. Both gold and lead, for instance, are made up of the very same atomic parts. But their chemical properties differ because the gold atom has 197 protons and neutrons whereas the lead atom has 207 protons and neutrons. In dialectical materialism this is known as change of quantity into quality (and vice versa).

In dialectical materialism, as *Brahman* in *Vedanta*, matter can neither be destroyed nor created—is eternal. Also, matter and motion are inseparable, said Engels. Matter in motion gives energy which also cannot be destroyed or created. Matter and energy are interchangeable. We convert matter into energy, not create it. We do so because it is a natural law. Some astronomers believe the opposite happens in stars—conversion of energy into matter.

What We Are Made Of?

The release of energy in the atomic bomb is due to efforts to break up the atoms, or rather, their main parts, the nuclei which when broken break up entire atoms. The atoms are indeed broken up into fragments but a part is converted into energy in the process so that none of the atoms is destroyed. The energy is in the form of heat and gamma-rays. Heat is molecular motion. Molecules are composed of atoms. The greater the molecular motion, the greater the temperature; the less the molecular

motion, the less the temperature. It is precisely change of quantity into quality—quantity of motion into quality of temperature.

Energy is best understood in the origin of the energy light. It comes in waves or rays. If we hold one end of a rope, with the other free, and jerk it rapidly up and down, a wave passes down the rope. Light waves are started by electrons which circle round atomic nuclei at tremendous speeds. When two atoms collide, at least one electron is displaced. But it leaps back to its original position. In so doing it sets up a wave of light—produces energy. If the length of the leap is long, we have red light; if it is very small, we have blue light. It is the same dialectical materialist law of nature—change of quantity into quality.

As with everything else so human beings too are made up of elements and subject to the same laws of nature. Two-thirds of the weight of our bodies is water which is made up of oxygen and hydrogen. So far known we are composed of hydrogen, carbon, nitrogen, oxygen, fluorine, sodium, magnesium, phosphorus, sulphur, chlorine, calcium, manganese, iron, cobalt, zinc, strontium, iodine, titanium, lead, radium, in a long list of compounds. The list of elements constituting the human body may take fifty years to complete, that of compounds, very much longer.

Properties Of Forms

The way in which inanimate matter acquires properties gives us an idea as to how it performs different functions. Different quantities of matter acquire different properties.

But it is not merely that when we have four atomic parts, we have a helium atom; when we have 12 atomic parts in the atomic nucleus, we have a carbon atom. On the atomic level, no matter what the arrangement, properties of matter differ according to the number of parts in the atom. The reason is that, so far as is known, atoms are symmetrical—so it does not matter how they are arranged. But with the molecule things start being different, complicated.

Molecules are made up of atoms. Suppose we have three atoms in a molecule, two of one kind: AAB. On

the same plane they can be arranged as AAB, BAA, ABA. On different planes they can be arranged in six other ways. If we have three all different atoms, ABC, on the same planes they can be arranged as ABC, ACB, BCA, CAB, CBA and in 12 other ways on different planes. So, the more complicated molecules of which we are made up are asymmetrical. Without change in quantities different arrangements can cause differences in functions. The atoms in molecules are not on the same plane in nature, hence the immense variety in nature.

In nature, a plant or animal generally makes only one kind of molecule. Living plants and animals use only one or two kinds of asymmetrical molecule. To digest what we eat we use enzymes which fit molecules. If molecules do not fit our enzymes we cannot digest food and build our bodies. But some simpler asymmetrical molecules are used by the enzymes for fuel and then are thrown away as soon as possible.

Why Can We Move?

The molecules which make up our bones and muscles, and some other parts, are symmetrical. But those of the organs, the heart, liver, lungs, stomach, are asymmetrical. Symmetry is useful for movement since it gives us organs such as the eyes, nose for judging directions and distances. But certain animals can move about without symmetry. Asymmetry is common in animals and human beings below the surface. There is at present a tendency in favour of asymmetry in evolutionary development.

Much of the mystery as to how we live and function the way we do, when we are made up of inanimate particles of matter as everything else in nature, has now been dispelled. The brain permits thought as the lungs permit breathing. We do not have and do not need a soul to enable us to live, function and think. Life and its functions are implicit in matter.

The attempt here has been to answer the question as to why do we think. The reason is that matter can and does think if in certain proportions and specifically organised. Lenin defined the mind as "the highest product of matter organised in a particular way."

Letter From London:

“THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE”

By SANTHA RUNGACHARY

ALL London is talking of Charlie Chaplin. The magazines and periodicals are full of him, his life and loves, his latest film, his special genius. Chaplin being Rediscovered, as you might say. And the heartiness of British delight is directly in proportion to the temper of the rumours seeping through from across the Atlantic that Chaplin is not quite *persona grata* in some American circles. Well, you hear people saying, after all he is an Englishman. They said it of Bob Hope, that unmistakable American genius, and now they are saying it of Charlie Chaplin who left England thirty odd years ago because he felt there was no future here for him. It is the highest tribute that the reticent British can pay anybody, to claim him as one of their own. It is also in this instance a gesture of retaliatory vanity. America might have *made* Charlie but England produced him. Why, he lived at No. 3, Pownall Terrace and ran errands for Covent Garden marketmen, he helped in the corner barber shop, played beside the river in Lambeth, sold newspapers in Brixton. Yes, sir, he was a feather plucked right out of the British cap, so to speak. And during the last three weeks young scamps in turned-out oversize boots, baggy trousers, disreputable bowler hat, walking stick and false moustache have kept the Chaplin legend alive on the streets of London.

One of them even held up the traffic outside the Odeon Theatre in Leicester Square where the world premiere of *Limelight* was held a few days ago. You should have seen the crowd. It was a gala occasion all right complete with press reporters and television cameras. London's Upper Ten in ermine, beaver and mink drove up to the brightly-lit entrance in long, sleek American limousines. A few walked from expensive flats across the street. The young shop assistant standing behind me had nothing but contempt for these pedestrians. They

should come in a car, she said, not sweep along the roads in those clothes. I am sure that young woman votes Labour and therein lies the paradox of English politics, people who want a Socialist Government and a Victorian aristocracy.

From where we stood on the pavement, gloved hands in our coat-pockets, we could see the elegance of long evening dresses, the shimmer of lovely silver shoes and the gloss of enchanting fur stoles revealing shoulders bare as bare could be. As the carefully made-up faces came under the garish neon lights, rapturous ohs and ahs rose from the crowd. We could see too the snowy starched shirt-fronts of the men and the immaculate formal suits and that last hallmark of the English gentleman, his pipe. Comment ran free and unfettered. Ours was a mixed crowd, thrice as many women as men, shop assistants, barmaids, housewives, secretaries and typists and school-girls all happily pushing and jostling each other, munching nuts or eating chocolate or licking ice cream. They were of all ages, young and old, some in smart clothes and dainty shoes and sheer nylons, others in slacks and shirt and bright woollen cardigan and stout boots--all typical Londoners taking part in a typical London crowd scene. It was a good-humoured crowd, merry, high-spirited, sharp-tongued. Every waitress in that crowd put herself in the Duchess's mink and felt convinced she would fill it better. They evaluated the ensembles of the resplendent creatures as they moved across from their cars into the foyer and reduced it to pounds, shillings and pence with expert knowledge of material, design and cut (It is really amazing how much the London shop girl earning five pound ten a week knows about clothes). They flirted with every male within sight with skittish wantonness. They even flirted with the policemen. You could write a fugue about London police-

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men. Those large, shambling amiable upholders of the law endowed with more patience than imagination, more understanding than judgment, put up with all the giggles, the shrill chatter, the questions, the coy pleading to take off the helmet so that somebody could see better, the annoyance of slow old women who crossed from one pavement to another for no apparent reason whatsoever. Nothing perturbed them, nothing excited them. John Mills, the English film actor, passed in his car and at once a shout of recognition went up from the crowd. "There goes John Mills!" He bowed and smiled and then waved and you could almost feel a thousand hearts fluttering like captured pigeons in a thousand breasts. The women surged forward. "There! There!" said the policemen. "Back to your places now." Douglas Fairbanks came. "Oh Doug!" said a hundred feminine voices. "Now, now!" said the policemen. "Keep your places, if you please!"

We had been there more than an hour and now the cars and taxis came quicker and were moved off hastily. Princess Margaret was coming and Royalty could not be kept waiting in line.

It was then that the man emerged from the crowd. His uneven trouser legs sagged sadly, he twirled a cane and touched his faded bowler to the women he passed. His enormous black boots clattered hollowly as he walked and his trim little black moustache was the last word in jaunty-ness. It was Charlie—almost. The crowd at once took him to their hearts. They cheered him, they patted him on the back. Oh look at him, they said, the spit image of Charlie or I will eat my hat. He marched right along the pavement, this solemn, funny man and then suddenly decided to cross the road. A car came up, he stopped it with a lofty gesture. And then a policeman grabbed him. "You!" he said, "what do you think you are doing?" Breach of the peace, drunkenness, they could have got him for anything. The crowd was furious. Leave him alone, you great big bully, they shouted. He ain't doin' no harm. All the way while the calm policeman dragged his unprotesting victim, the crowd hissed at

him, called him names. This is a free country, ain't it, they said. Fine thing if a man couldn't walk down a street without being nabbed. He had not done a thing, had he? Charlie would have something to say about it if he knew.

Yes, Charlie might. What perhaps many of them did not know was that Mr. Charlie Chaplin had years ago sued a man who had imitated his dress and his walk and a New York court had ruled that henceforth that dress and that walk were to be considered Charlie's copyright and so not to be infringed with impunity. He would not of course need to do it another time. Everybody knew Charlie.

The moment his car turned the corner and came within sight of the first expectant onlooker, the crowd seemed transported with an indescribable emotion. I have seen a crowd go hysterical over Royalty, I have heard young girls and women clamouring outside a hotel for a view of a handsome young popular actor who was resident within, I have heard men and women growling at a political speaker in Hyde Park, but this was different. "Charlie!" And the name went down the crowd like a wave as his slowly moving car brought him into view of other parts of the crowd. "Charlie! Charlie!" they shouted over and over again. And a little white-haired man in a dark suit sitting in a car with his wife by his side and his children about him smiled broadly and bowed and bowed again. So this was Charlie, this dapper, middle-aged man who looked like a successful stockbroker; this was Charlie whom a band of fanatic Japs had tried to murder years ago, who earned two thousand pounds a week in his twenties, this was Charlie whom Shaw called a genius and who has been in America for thirty years and yet looks in a curious way very English; this was Charlie whose line in comedy was an unusual and brilliant insight into the ultimate laugh.

When you ask someone what he

likes in Charlie Chaplin, you often hear the answer: Oh, I don't know, he does something to me. It is only a few who say: Oh, he makes me laugh. Charlie Chaplin doesn't make me laugh. He makes me cry—inside myself. The little exile in the world whom he has immortalised on the screen, with his absurd clothes and the eyes so full of all the hopelessness man has ever felt in the world, has somehow always managed to convey to me a sense of the invincibility of man even when pitched against all the rest of the world put together. This forlorn piece of human wreckage shambling around the wrong end of the cul-de-sac, always manages to survive humiliation and for that you instinctively take your hat off to him. He is the down-and-out in this brave new world, the last word in bad luck and yet in a heart-twisting way he holds himself in against the world and swimming against the tide all the time keeps miraculously afloat. Charlie Chaplin is not merely a comic or a comedienne. He has created a great character which will live in the history of films as the epitome of Man weak in his frailties, but strong in hope standing above his degradation in a dignity inherited from the earth. It is three dimensional in depth. You cannot laugh at him for he in his own, sad, quiet way is laughing at himself. You cannot despise him for he does not despise himself. You cannot hate him for even when he is wicked there is an inevitability about his wickedness as if he was merely the instrument of an unseen motive power.

All great acting should move, they say. Charlie Chaplin's does something more. It teaches. Through the conflicts and tribulations of this pagan spirit, classless, nationless and quite friendless with the weight of his sin hanging heavy on his unrepentant shoulders we seem to perceive a glimmer of a disturbing truth, that life cannot be understood without charity and must not be lived without hope.

He (Charlie Chaplin) was born in London, but that has nothing to do with the quality of his appeal to those queues in the Strand. He is as intelligible to the Chinese coolie or Russian peasant as he is to the city clerk, the Lancashire weaver, or the university don. He is as universal as laughter and as common as tears.—A. G. Gardiner.

TWO AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE U. N.

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

TAKING cognisance of the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, Americans are freely expressing their opinions on the usefulness or otherwise of the organisation. Here are two views worthy of consideration:—

THE U. N. NEEDS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—The seventh General Assembly of the United Nations could make no better move for world peace than to move out of the United States. It should be clear by now that the U. N. made a big initial mistake in deciding to establish its headquarters here, instead of choosing a small and neutral country for its meetings. Geneva, the old capital of the League of Nations, was rejected as a symbol of ineptitude, a reminder of an historic failure. But New York as the capital of the U. N. is becoming something worse. It is becoming the symbol of a kept and captive world organisation, subject to the mindless typhoons and tantrums of American politics.

The seventh Assembly is the victim at the very outset of what might sardonically be described as free enterprise in American politics. Though the American Government is under certain elementary obligations as host and member of the U. N., a powerful Senate committee, the chief instrument of the current American inquisition and heresy hunt, the McCarran Committee, opened hearings on October 22 calculated to smear the U. N. and to hamper its activities.

The committee, under the catch-as-catch-can of the American constitutional system can act autonomously and irresponsibly though it cut straight across the accepted policy of the Government. Bewildered European visitors must hark back for a parallel to the days of feudalism, when headstrong lords overshadowed ineffectual kings.

Truman proposes, but McCarran disposes. And in this case the Tor-

quemada from Nevada seems anxious to dispose of the U. N. itself. An ideological inquisition into the minds and hearts of the U. N. personnel rests on philosophical assumptions completely out of place in an organization designed to embrace divergent systems of society in a new universal order. If it is dangerous to have American citizens tainted with radical ideas on the staff of the U. N., it is no less dangerous to have Britishers, Indians, Chinese, Poles or Russians. No international organization can possibly operate here if subject to political pasteurization by Congressional committees snooping around for so-called "un-American" ideas.

McCarran, in announcing the investigation of the U. N. before the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in Salt Lake City, indicated that the ambit of the inquiry would take in more than American citizens. McCarran said that in looking into "possible subversive influences" at the U. N. he would "deal with infiltration of the U. S. by persons using diplomatic immunity as a subterfuge." This foreshadows more visa difficulties of the kind written into law by the McCarran Immigration Act and condemned over the weekend by some of America's most distinguished scientists, including Einstein. If the "un-American" are to be barred, the U. N. must become an American soliloquy.

The Timing of the McCarran hearings was no accident. Neither was the timing of another, subtler menace to the U. N.'s independence of action. The breaking off of truce talks at Panmunjon exactly one week before the General Assembly was to meet represents another example of that tactic of the fait accompli with which the American Government has made the U. N. its prisoner over and over again in the Korean conflict.

In walking out of the truce talks, and in saying that they would return only when the enemy had submitted a satisfactory offer in writing, the

American military took a step only the naive and uninformed will fail to grasp. They created a situation in which the talks can only be reopened if the enemy accepts a serious loss of face, and is prepared to knuckle under to a virtual American ultimatum.

They also created a situation in which it becomes difficult for the U. N. to intervene without asking the U. S. to back down. The position of both sides was thus frozen, when in the interest of world peace and of the U. N.'s possible role as mediator it should have been left manoeuvrable.

The U. N. has been pushed again into a position where it must sign a blank check for American policy or affront the rich nation on which so many other powers rely for financial aid. Secretary Acheson wants the election triumph of a U. N. declaration endorsing the American stand on voluntary repatriation of war prisoners, and agreeing to stronger action against Communist China. Himself the prisoner of the China Lobby, he dare not treat the problem of Communist China rationally but is impelled by domestic politics to draw the U. N. closer to a hopeless counter-revolutionary crusade which would deepen the split within the U. N. and bring closer World War III.

The basic error of the U. N. goes back to that decision to set up under MacArthur a "unified" command which acts in the name of the U. N. but is not responsible to it. The truce talks, like the "unified command" itself, have been a purely American operation. None of the Allies have been represented on the truce team; not all of them have been represented even on that shadow liaison committee which meets weekly at the State Department for an inadequate "briefing" rather than a joint consultation.

A heavy veil of censorship has kept the truth about the truce talks from the peoples of the U. S. and the U. N. No one knows for example just how far the Chinese Reds were prepared to go before the Yulu bombings in the direction of recognizing voluntary repatriation, nor has the full story of those curiously timed bombings yet been told.

The excuse that purely military

matters were being discussed has been used to ward off U. N. intervention and mediation, but the issue on which the talks have broken down is not military. The American military have turned their back on principles accepted only three years ago by both the East and the West in the Geneva agreement of 1949 on prisoners of war. The idea of allowing prisoners of war to opt for "voluntary" repatriation was rejected at that conference; among other reasons was a fear that prisoners might be coerced into giving up their rights of repatriation.

The first and foremost "moral" question involved is whether world treaty obligations on which the ink is hardly dry are to be disregarded for the convenience of American military men casting about for some new excuse to avoid an armistice.

Not the least of the reasons for putting a stop to the Korean fighting as rapidly as possible with a cease-fire now and negotiations later is that the war has made the U. N. a prisoner of the U. S. Porter McKeeever in the October issue of UN World shows how American policy since 1947 has more and more acted independently and outside the U. N. From the Truman Doctrine to the Atlantic Pact, the course taken has been to substitute American hegemony for international collaboration. The corollary is that during the same period and especially since the Korean war the U. N. has become more and more the dependent instrument of American policy. If the U. N. is to perform that function on which world peace depends, it needs a declaration of independence of its own, and it needs a new and neutral meeting place, free from the steamroller atmosphere of the U. S.

THE QUANDARY OF THE U. N.—It will be easy, having glanced at the programme of the General Assembly, to feel rather sorry for ourselves. There are several hot items coming up, none of them a direct American interest or responsibility, on which we may nevertheless expect to be damned if we do and damned if we don't. We find ourselves, as a matter of fact, between our Allies in Europe and our friends in Asia. We are whipsawed on a series of questions,

mostly African. They are questions which the U. N. are surely incompetent to settle, even if it has to be admitted that they are competent to talk about them.

Moreover, the inability of the U. N. to settle the issues it is unable to settle can only undermine the confidence which is the very foundation of the U. N. For what else but the confidence of mankind can sustain a universal society in our divided and embittered world? Can anything be more destructive of confidence than compelling the U. N. to deal with questions where it must fail?

Remembering that, we need not think that the quandary in which the U. S. finds itself is America's quandary alone. It is the quandary of the U. N. as an institution, and the way in which the delegates deal with it will be a good measure of what they think of the United Nations. There are bound to be many men throughout the world, and to be some in every government, who have no idea that they have any duty to the U. N. They think as a matter of course that they have nothing to do in the U. N. except to go there for what can be had out of it in the way of prestige and material benefits for their governments, and for themselves personally as the procurers of these benefits. They are the pressure groups, the special interests, the lobbies, the machine politicians and the demagogues of the universal society. The U. N. being a human institution, is bound to have its full quota of politicking, proportionately at least as large a quota as in the American Congress, as in the Indian Congress, as in the French National Assembly.

But the American Congress would have become entirely unworkable long ago had there not been in it also enough men who knew how, when it was necessary, to protect the institution against the special interests striving to exploit it. The future of the U. N. depends on men of this kind, on the delegates from all the continents who care more for the U. N. than they do about any disputes and who believe it is their duty to defend and to protect the U. N. against special interests, over-zealousness and

ignorance of the nature of the institution.

The defence and promotion of the United Nations calls for something more than exhortation, more than a plea for moderation, for not forcing issues that are insoluble in the U. N. to the point where they become insoluble by any process. The exhortations and the pleas have to be made insistently. But the time has come, one thinks, to reaffirm the basic realities of the United Nations and to disown dangerous popular deceptions.

The basic reality is that the United Nations is not a world government, and it has none of the attributes of a government. It does not enact laws. It can recommend measures but it cannot enforce them. It is a congress of diplomats. It is not a legislature. There is nothing that the General Assembly can do, or that any organ of the U. N. can do, which cannot be done—if the governments choose to do it—through diplomatic channels. The U. N. is a world institution created by the governments, to facilitate the diplomacy of conciliation in order to prevent war.

To say this is not to diminish the United Nations. The only way to help the United Nations to do what it was designed to do is to stop expecting it to do what it is inherently incapable of doing. The worst thing that can be done to the United Nations is to force it to deal with questions it cannot answer, with problems it cannot settle, with undertakings that it cannot complete, with conflicts in which it is unable to intervene. The result of that is not only failure, not only loss of faith, not only heightened intolerance and intransigence, but also the diversion of the energies of the United Nations from its own constructive, useful and necessary work.

And what is that work? First of all, and most of all, it is to maintain diplomatic contacts between all quarters of the globe. That is why it might be said that the success of the General Assembly depends on whether the volume of serious private conversations among the diplomats is greater than the volume of their public oratory.

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 Middle Class: A Criticism

It is now the fashion to shed tears over the plight of the middle-class, which is alleged to be ruined by inflation, heavy taxes and the neglect by the State of its special interests. It is said to be dwindling in numbers. In fact, while the middle-class leaders of Indian nationalism demanded freedom from the British in the name of the "people", it is mainly this class that has benefited from independence. Except for the abolition of zamindaris, little has been done for the peasant whose poverty used to be attributed to British rule. On the other hand, the middle-class holds all the key positions and has increased enormously in size. One has only to compare the number of persons paying income-tax before the war with the present figure or look at the number of children in secondary schools and colleges or even study the comparable figures of private car owners. It is true that the rupee has fallen in value and that some pensioners and salary earners have been affected by inflation. But the size of the middle-class stratum has expanded because of the rapid growth of trade, industry and the professions.

There is a foolish belief that the Government owes every new bachelor of arts a safe job in the services. This is to mistake entirely the role that higher education plays in a free economy. Higher education is supposed to develop intelligence so that the educated man may use whatever opportunities are available. Supply should follow demand and the educated middle class men should be the pioneers of economic development. Hence the present rush to engineering, medicine or technology. But there are still too many third-rate graduates who pine for security in government service. In a recent report on Kashmir, a correspondent said that many high officials in the Kashmir Government were either strongly pro-Pakistan or pro-India. Reason: integration with either country would mean bigger salaries. That is how politics operates in backward countries and it should be regarded as shameful rather than "natural".

Many short stories appear in the magazines about the struggle of the clerk or the petty official to keep his head above water. But a clerk earning Rs. 100 will spend Rs. 5,000 on a marriage and his womenfolk must be plentifully supplied with silk and diamond. Poor as she is,

India is still a sink of the precious metals, most of this useless wealth being in the hands of the middle-class. No accurate estimates are available but the gold in private hands runs to about Rs. 10,000 crores. The whole picture of industrial development would change if this wealth were put to use. But the ideal of the middle-class in India still remains that of the idle aristocrat of feudal times and not that of the dynamic entrepreneur and pioneer. The middle class today faces alternative paths: either to emulate the richer classes of backward countries, quarrelling over a handful of government jobs (this struggle taking place in the legislatures as well as outside) and resisting taxation, better wages for the poor and all reforms whatsoever, or assuming the leadership of the whole people and opening up new fields of trade and industry by taking risks, eliminating luxuries and concentrating on development. The middle class of America invests in stocks and shares, the middle class in the Middle East lives on high rents and makes money out of opium. But a middle-class which is not dynamic will lose its leadership and prepare the way for revolution and dictatorship. Let us therefore stop winning over the imaginary woes of the middle-class in this country and blaming the Government for what is really our own weakness.

BHASKAR.

Working Hours In Government Offices

Dr. V. C. Chakrapani has offered his suggestion on working hours in Government offices, a controversial subject. If many Government offices actually begin to work later than the scheduled hour, 11 a.m., neither do they cease activities at the stroke of 5 p.m., and there are not a few conscientious workers who carry the files home! It is not the present number of hours nor too many holidays alone that obstruct speedy disposals. What of the red-tapism and the widely prevalent attitude in Government offices towards disposal—in their view nothing is so urgent as to warrant an immediate disposal and thus things accumulate and arrears of work become perennial.

Of course, more working hours would help solve the problem to some extent, but to suggest that Government offices should be brought in line with factories and firms and work from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. is unjust.

For it is well known how many firms pay, when compared with Government offices, almost double the salary. And to commence office work at 8 a.m. is to cause inconvenience to the vast majority of Government servants residing miles away from their offices and impose on them unhealthy hours of eating.

R. MUTHUSWAMY.

II

Mr. Chakrapani is a doctor and must know that mental work demands more energy than manual work and that men required to work with the mind normally get exhausted even before 5 hours.

L. S. NARAYANA.

Wellair.

Kerala State Demand

The demand for a separate Kerala State is as old as that for the Andhra State. But while the leaders of Andhra Desa have been mobilising public opinion in favour of their objective and resorting to active agitation, the votaries of the Kerala State have been passive, if not indifferent, except for some feeble utterances made by the Communists now and then. Now that the formation of the Andhra State has become a certainty it has to be inquired why the prospects of a Kerala State still remain obscure. In fact, the complex problems that delay the formation of an Andhra State do not arise so far as the Kerala State is concerned.

The dispute over Madras City still remains a knotty problem, the settlement of which, as declared by the Central Government, is a pre-requisite for the formation of the Andhra State. In the event of Madras City being exclusively assigned to one State, the creation of a new capital for the other would become inevitable. When two separate Governments come into existence the assets and liabilities will have to be assessed and divided. Accession of Rayalaseema to either of the two States is also a rather complicated question which awaits settlement. The claim advanced by the leaders of Andhra Desa in respect of the Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad State is another important matter which calls for serious consideration, though it has been rejected by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

So far as the Kerala State is concerned, neither the question of a new capital nor the necessity for a new Government arises, for there is a separate State (T. C. State) even now, which has got a capital. As against the dispute over Madras City, no similar question remains

to be settled between Tamilians and Malayalees. In regard to territorial adjustment also, no problems such as that of Telengana and Rayalaseema exist, save the issue of a small Tamil-speaking area in South Travancore which is only an insignificant matter. This minor question can be settled through adjudication if necessary; but in view of the goodwill now prevailing among the concerned parties, they themselves may come to an agreement if only the authorities take the initiative.

The formation of the Kerala State is much easier than that of the Andhra State. Then, why is the issue of the Kerala State sinking into oblivion, while the agitation for the Andhra State is gaining accelerated momentum every day? Is it because the need for a Kerala State is not so keenly felt as that for an Andhra State? The truth is far from it. The demand for a Kerala State is more convincing than that for any other linguistic State for the simple reason that the grievances of a small minority of Malayalees in the midst of the strong people of Andhra Desa and Tamil Nad demand peremptory redress.

Those in authority throw cold water over this burning question because they know full well that with the advent of a separate Kerala State they will not be able to retain their elevated positions; that there may not exist then any chance for clinging to power through political trickery and communal intrigue. As a matter of fact, the sense of duty of these leaders is miserably lost in their over-weening greed for power. Another reason is that the virulent communalists who now have the upper hand in the politics of Travancore-Cochin State hate the idea of a Kerala State because they fear they may not have this privilege in a different political set-up. Except the ego-centred political leaders and the communalists, all people of T. C. State and Malabar and Tamil Nad wholeheartedly welcome a well-integrated Kerala State.

It is incumbent on the leftists and other disinterested politicians and non-party men of Kerala to sound the claim of "Ikya Kerala" so that when the Andhra State comes into being, which to all intents and purposes has become a certainty now, the issue of the Kerala State may not be lost sight of.

Linguistic States will and must come into being today or tomorrow as the people will not tolerate any longer the existence of artificially fragmented territories.

C. O. GANGADHARAN.

Trivandrum.

Amrutanjan

WHEREVER you go, you find a flood
Of anjans and their kindred brood;
But none of them are half so good
As Amrutanjan with its Princely hood.

Knowing not imitation is a praise,
They wish their status thus to raise;
But sound alone can win no prize,
Sans substance it is but form and guise.

Amrutanjan played an established role
And headed the list at every poll,
In curing pain and stopping cough
And healing head-ache or small or rough.

Be it a burn or cut or wound,
Or sore or itch or swell around,
Every kind of pain is bound
To perish in the underground.

The summer heat or winter cold,
Or a change in the rainy season weather,
May upset health or cause untold
Suffering to people hither and thither.

Waste not your hard-earned little wealth,
From deterioration stop your health;
For the former, Amrutanjan is a guard,
For the latter, he is a watch and ward.

He ever awaits your beck and call
From every medical stores and stall,
Though far-reaching in name and fame,
Even to the poor he is "Open Sesame".

G. Satyanarayana, B.A.

SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY NOVEMBER 8, 1952

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ON THE COVER: Srimathi D. K. Pattammal

SWATANTRA

VOL. VII
No. 40

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1952

ISSUED
WEEKLY

U. S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

THE United States has decided its course for the next four years in an unmistakable manner. General Eisenhower is one of America's most popular leaders though he was "never even identified as a Republican until a few months ago." He has avenged his party's five successive defeats by the Democrats and there can be no doubt any longer that the two-party system in the U. S. A. has not outlived its utility. In 1946, when he was the Chief of Staff of the U. S. Armed Forces, Gen. Eisenhower said he could not conceive of any circumstances that could drag out of him permission to consider himself for any political post, "from dog catcher to Grand High Supreme King of the Universe." Two years later if he was less rhetorical, he was specific: "I would refuse to accept nomination under any terms, conditions or promises." If today he is the President-elect of America, he for his part has not remained without offering an explanation. During the early stages of his campaign he said that one of his reasons for becoming a candidate was that millions of Americans, without regard for party, wanted him to run and another was that, like any American who had lived through the hell of war, he wished to work for peace in the post where most could be done.

The presidential election of November 4 was remarkable for many records, the most striking of which has been the unexpected obliteration of the traditional voting patterns. Many Southern States, steadfast in their loyalty to the Democratic Party

almost since the days of its inception, have, obviously, begun to attach importance to either issues or personalities and not to parties. We may see in the years to come the emergence of a powerful force of citizens who would keep themselves independent of politics. Economic interests sustain political parties in America, and it was to be expected that one day or the other the AFL would openly align itself with the Democrats. It lent support to Governor Stevenson, and it remains to be seen what the position of labour will be under Republican rule.

The Republicans have made substantial gains in the elections to the House of Representatives and Senate and Mr. Eisenhower will have a Congress which will not hinder him in carrying out his policies as the Chief Executive. It is clear from the voting trends that the Americans have acted with a resolute purpose and not merely for a change in the administrative set-up. The electorate has heard Mr. Eisenhower talk in his election campaign of "loss of China" and "liberation" of countries in control of Communists in Eastern Europe. It is said than once the election heat subsides there is "nothing like a genuine party responsibility" in America, and so there may not be any startling changes in foreign policy. There need be none. Mr. Truman's foreign policy has largely been shaped by Mr. John Foster Dulles and there are some baffling results of a bipartisan policy. China can be left out of consideration. There was the astonishing Japanese peace treaty to which India

was not a signatory, and in recent times a Pacific pact has been discussed, in which India rightly refused to take interest. Korean armistice negotiations have been going on for over a year and there is still a demand in the U. N. for an inquiry to establish the aggressor. The best beginning that Mr. Eisenhower's regime can make is to bring to a close fighting in Korea. He is to visit Korea and so far no one has disclosed what his plans are. A man who wants to work for peace can be expected to use peaceful means.

For countries who have chosen to abide by democratic constitutions the working of the American political system will always have some significance. India has conducted her first general elections. That was only a few months ago. All that can be said now is we have just begun our experiment with democracy. The American presidential election should have given Indians some surprises. The battle between a liberal-minded lawyer and a soldier started as every election battle starts, only the contestants were reluctant to enter the lists. As the campaign gathered

momentum slander and character assassinations ousted logic and reasoning from speeches and in the scurrilous attacks even religious sentiments were not spared. We saw the curious but understandable behaviour of certain party men. When there was a clash between State interests and those of the Federal Government, they threw overboard the party and the Federal Government. Yet, for all the intensity of the Republican and Democratic campaigns there was a remarkable orderliness in the country and if there was no occasion for police interference it is a tribute both to the people and the administration. Since with Mr. Eisenhower, his running mate, Mr. Nixon, has also been elected, it should be assumed that the electorate either did not seriously consider whether political funds contributed to the success of a democracy or having considered the point reconciled itself to their inevitability. In a country like America where the two major political parties are almost well balanced in influence and resources the operation of political funds may be tolerated as an incurable evil.

Sotto Voce

TRAVELLING HOPEFULLY

IT depresses me to think that the politicians of Rajasthan might possibly get a new toy to play with, upon which they seem to have set their hearts. The Cult of Bigness is fashionable at the moment and it may explain their demand that Ajmer should be handed over to them. But they have not made such a conspicuous success of their job that to this enclave should be extended the



dubious benefits of their rule. And Ajmer has little in common with Rajasthan, whether in physical appearance or in history and tradition.

The eighty miles of straight and well-made road from Jaipur to Ajmer city run through a flat and somnolent countryside. The city itself is full of undistinguished buildings in the later Victorian style, and is just

relieved from drabness by the nobly framed sheet of water known as Anand Sagar. We were assured that the famous Jain Mandir was a 'must' for the sight-seer. It was closed for repairs, but one caught through glazed windows a glimpse of the vast hall crowded with a collection of what looked like clay or wooden models of everything on earth and in Heaven. It was an attempt to portray with naive concreteness the Jain conception of the cosmic order.

There were craftsmen at work here on the red sandstone of the area, as there were others at work in the great Mount Abu Temples on white marble, carving friezes to replace those that had been damaged or lost. While they show skill and devotion they seem hide-bound by a set convention. Could this be due to their being required to conform to patterns prescribed by leaders of the faith noted for their scholarship and piety rather than for their taste? The Jains are rich and generous and I was told that a small panel, a few feet square, costs as much as two thousand rupees and takes a man two years to complete. But one misses in these careful productions that blitheness of spirit which is the happy signative of the Middle Ages.

To most devout Hindus Ajmer is but a corridor to the famous *tirtha* Pushkar, worshipped here as *Jal Narayana*. It is a modest-sized tank like the great Mahamakham tank at Kumbakonam, and much less artistic. The seven-mile road from the railway station is full of ups and downs which the pedestrian may find trying, though not as trying as the attentions of the ubiquitous *panda*. And Ajmer, perhaps as a sign of its imperial status, levies two tolls, one for octroi and the other for road upkeep. The road up to Mount Abu is twice as long, but the tariffs are far more modest.

But to us it is no new doctrine that Mr. Belloc preaches when he says that a pilgrimage, however careless, "must not be untroublesome." So one forgives in the retrospect the speculative toll-keepers and the buzzing *paras*, in the grateful recollection of chance intimations of spirit. Thus there was the rabbit squatting in the geographi-

cal middle of the road, its large ears jicked, and as absorbed as any *yogi* contemplating his navel. The bus swinging down the Abu Road round a sudden curve rolled over it—or so we thought, as with our hearts racing to our mouths we saw the animal momentarily etched in the glow of the headlight and the driver, helpless, let out a compassionate 'Ah!' But the Powers of Pity miraculously took care of that morsel of life and one felt that the pilgrimage had been fulfilled.

In the same expectant, unexpecting mood we set out from Udaipur in the early morning for Eklingji, the shrine established by Bappa Rawal, the founder of Mewar. The old friend with whom we stayed, like Madrasis the world over, could not imagine the day beginning without the matutinal cup of coffee; with the result that the famous temple, guarded as securely as the fortress of Chitor itself by many massive gates along that high and steep way among the hills had closed for the morning a few minutes before we reached it. Here was prime disappointment. But my friend's resourceful chauffeur turned it into unrehearsed opportunity by suggesting that we usefully employ our time by a flying visit to Nathdwara another fifteen miles off.

My friend in his mildy benevolent way gave credit to the unpunctual milkmaid for this piece of luck. I privately thought that a life-time devotion to the *Bhagavata* may have been rewarded this way. That scripture is unremittingly read and expounded in this rich and famous centre of devotion dedicated by the great Vallabhacharya to the Divine Child. As I waited in the forecourt for the door to the inner shrine to open I saw many men engaged in this service, not all of them scholars evidently. One mis-spelt in a drawling chant a simple sloka of the Dasamaskanda and read out a long and otiose Hindi comment with a fierceness of mien totally belying the content. But an old lady, his solitary auditor, continually nodded her head, heaved profound sighs, and genuflected as if Balakrishna Himself stood before her. Of such, assuredly, is the kingdom of Heaven.

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D. K. PATTAMMAL

By P. E. N.

IN the constellation of the present day Carnatic musicians Gana Saraswathi D. K. Pattammal is one of the stars of the first magnitude. She was born in 1919 in the ancient city of Kancheepuram, renowned for its hoary past. The family was then in humble circumstances. Born in prosperity, Krishnaswamy Dikshithar, Pattammal's father, left his native village, Damal, when adversity set in, and went to the nearby Kancheepuram in search of fortune. No stories of the proverbial infant prodigy are woven round the child. But at an early age her gift for music was discovered at a school theatrical. The admiration she won on this occasion attracted the attention of the Columbia Company, the musical dealers. But being devoutly orthodox and rather conservative the father got scared at the publicity the daughter had so suddenly earned and would have nothing to do with Columbia's proposals for recording her music. He did not yield until a kind friend prevailed upon him not to hinder his daughter's chances.

Pattammal was still in her teens. Kancheepuram was then a great centre for Carnatic music. Naina Pillai was at his zenith and all the leading vidwans of the day used to congregate at the annual festival conducted by him and vie with one another for gaining the recognition of the august assembly. This provided infinite opportunities for the young aspirant. Though not in the esoteric circle of Naina, Pattammal, accompanied by her father, used to frequent the house of this celebrity and listen to the music practised there by the teacher and the taught. The deep draughts she had imbibed at this fountain-head account for her mastery over *laya* and the masculine virility that invigorates her music. When she attained some proficiency the family moved to Madras. Her first public performance was at the anniversary of a Mahila Samaj at Egmore. Again it was no easy task for this Mahila Samaj to persuade her father to accede to their request. Due to old notions of propriety Dikshithar was

opposed to his daughter appearing in public as an artist. It was a long time before he could overcome this prejudice and till his last he remained his daughter's zealous guardian. More and more invitations came and were accepted. It was during this period that I first heard Pattammal. The occasion was the inauguration of the Indian Fine Arts Society's annual music conference at Gokhale Hall in 1934. The young girl who was still in her skirts was introduced as an amateur from Kancheepuram and the few songs she sang caused a deep impression on the audience. From such beginnings Pattammal rose like a meteor in the firmament of Carnatic music.

The music of Pattammal is all her own, the fruit of her own joyous experiment. Sri Vaidyanathan and Sri Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, disciples of Ariakudi and Naina Pillai respectively, have in some measure aided her during her formative years. Years afterwards when her mind had matured and her art had blossomed she received some guidance from no less a person than Sangitha Kalanidhi Sri T. L. Venkata Rama Ayyar, now a venerable Judge of the Madras High Court. By her association with him she gained new embellishments in the higher realms of music. But essentially her art is the consummation of her own soul. If one comes to know her one becomes aware that it is not so much acquired by the effort of the intellect as by the reflections of the soul. This is not to minimise the play of the intellect in her art. It is very conspicuous in her *pailavis*. Though her *laya gnanam* is acknowledged to be of a high order it never intrudes on the artistic perfection or the spiritual purport of her music. "An artist with a grand personality produces grand art, an artist with a trivial personality produces trivial art, a sentimental artist produces sentimental art, a voluptuous artist produces voluptuous art, a tender artist produces tender art, and an artist of delicacy produces delicate art" says Lin Yutang in his book *The Importance of Living*. Pattammal's

music is a perpetual reminder of this great observation as it is the expression of her own personality.

Purity of *sahitya* and richness of *bhava* are the glory of Pattammal. Her *sangathies* remind you of the deftness of a master sculptor at his subject and the symmetry of his statues. Words have light and shade and find their proper setting like precious stones in a perfect jewel. Mingling with melody they raise an entire imagery before the mind's eye according to their content. Both her *krithis* and *ragas* are succulent with *bhava* and awaken appropriate emotions. As these qualities are all-pervasive in her music it is difficult to choose among them. Nevertheless, her renderings of *Pakkala nilabadi* in *Karaharapriya*, *Saketha Nagaranatha* in *Hari Kamboji*, *Yaro evar yaro* in *Bhairavi*, *Thookhiya Thiruvadi* in *Sankarabharanam*, *Neelayadakshi* in *Pharas*, *Mana sa guruguha* and *Mari vere gathi* in *Ananda Bhairavi*, *Paramathmuni* in *Bhuvana ganthari*, *Vandanam* in *Sahana* and *Eppadipadinaro* in *Carnataka Devagandhari* are unforgettable. These are only a few.

Among major *ragas*, *karaharapriya*, *thodi*, *bhairavi*, *sankarabharanam*, *Kamboji*, *vachaspathi*, *simhendra madyamam* and *keera vani* appear to be her favourites. Happily free from gymnastics and gyrations they vibrate with *jeeva*. Her major items in a *katcheri*, *ragas* and *krithis* alike, move with the slow dignity of a broad and deep river. In the *raga alapana*s she always hovers round *bhava*, depicting all its phases. There are no pre-meditated patterns or disgusting manne-

risms. She is noted for her *pallavis*. One reviewer remarked that she will be remembered as *Pallavi Pattamma*. Musicians in the audience always expect a new *pallavi* in every performance of hers. She handles any complicated *thala* with confidence and ease.

Pattammal is the delight of the audience when she comes to the miscellaneous pieces. There is an answering response. The rendering of *Bharathi* and *Vedanayagam Pillai* are full of fervour and devotion and popular appeal. They are Pattammal's unconscious homage to these great bards. *Chittam eppadiyo*, *ninaippathu eppo*, *Valikanavan*, *Chinnam Chiru Kiliye*, *Theeratha vilayattu pillai*, and a score of other pieces are eagerly awaited items.

At home Pattammal is a dutiful wife and a fond mother. She fulfils her womanly part with grace and sweetness. She is very modest and instinctively dislikes show or ostentation. She does not seek society and is happy amidst her own friends. If you discuss about other musicians she gives proper praise where it is due but refuses to decry anyone. She chooses to smile when she cannot praise. Her platform manners are exemplary. Vidya Soundari Bangalore Nagarathnam, just two days prior to her demise, speaking about Pattammal to a visitor, said that she was supreme among the lady musicians of the day and that she was after her own heart. In short, Pattammal reminds one of Thyagaraja's famous 'krithi', *Seethavara sangeethagnanam dha-tha vraya valayura*.

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PRESIDENT-ELECT OF AMERICA

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, the President-elect of the United States, is almost as well-known outside the U.S.A. as within. To millions of people throughout the world, "Ike" as he is familiarly known is the man who led the Allied forces in Western Europe to victory in World War II, and who welded together the armed forces of 14 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) nations into a collective defence force capable of withstanding any future aggression.

His well-earned fame is carried with modesty. He is a man who was born into the traditional isolationism of the middle western United States but who matured, paradoxically enough, thousands of miles away in a global struggle to end totalitarianism and secure peace.

Eisenhower has devoted most of his adult life to soldiering in the Far East, Europe and Panama. But he has also kept himself well informed on national and international affairs. In his personal history of World War II, *Crusade in Europe*, he points out that "politics and military activities are never completely separable." European generals and civilians who come into daily contact with Eisenhower have described him in such terms as "politician-general," "peace-general," and "non-military general." In his last post as Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, Eisenhower had to be, simultaneously, diplomat and general, dealing with political and military representatives of 14 nations.

Five days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour the War Department summoned Eisenhower, then a Brigadier General, to Washington to head the War Plans Division. Called "the controlling nerve centre of the Army," the War Plans Division formulated the grand strategy for all theatres of operations. He remained in this post for six months and, in June 1942, was sent to England to command American troops in the European theatre of operation.

In the months that followed Gen. Eisenhower led Allied forces in the invasions of North Africa, Sicily and

Italy, and finally into Normandy. Following the drive through Normandy, Eisenhower directed the successful campaign through France and into Germany until the Nazi collapse. As Supreme Allied Commander, using foresight and great executive ability, he kept more than a dozen nationalities serving under him in harmonious relations, and led all to victory.

He became a full general in 1943, and the following year was promoted to General of the Army, the highest rank awarded in the U. S. Army. Eisenhower commanded the U. S. occupation forces in Germany after the Nazi surrender on May 7, 1945, and was recalled to Washington in November of that year to become Army Chief of Staff.

The General resigned this post in 1948 to become President of Columbia University, one of America's largest educational institutions. Two years later he was back in uniform as chief of NATO. He resigned his latest assignment as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe effective June 1, 1952, and relinquished his military career on June 3.

It was in the midwestern city of Abilene, in the state of Kansas, that "Ike" spent most of his youth. He was born in Denison, Texas, in 1890, the third of seven boys. But two years later, the family moved to Abilene.

As a student in public schools there, Eisenhower excelled in history, his favourite subject. Intrigued by the biographies of great military and naval leaders, he decided to enter the service of his country. His first choice was the Navy, but he was denied admission to the U. S. Naval Academy because he was over the entrance age limit. Instead he entered the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1911.

He was always within the top third of his class at West Point. He was also a good athlete. While playing in the academy football team, Eisenhower suffered a broken leg. Always an active, energetic person, he went horseback riding before the bone had mended and broke it again.



Dwight D. Eisenhower, right, and Richard M. Nixon, President-elect and vice-president-elect respectively of the United States with their wives.

Shortly after receiving his U. S. Army commission as a second lieutenant, Eisenhower was assigned to the 19th Infantry at San Antonio, Texas. There he met 19-year-old Mamie Doud. According to one account, the day after their first meeting, Eisenhower telephoned her 15 times. He refused to confirm this, but admits, "I was persistent." They were married on July 1, 1916—the day he received his promotion to first lieutenant. The Eisenhowers have a son, John, also a graduate of West Point and a captain in the U. S. Army.

Eisenhower has remarkable powers of concentration and the ability to bring his entire energies to the situation, whether it be a military problem, a hand of bridge or a game of golf. He also likes to cook, and is reported to be very good at it. His speciality is vegetable soup made from his own recipe.

Eisenhower has long believed that schools are an important factor in building world peace. In 1943, when his brother Milton wrote that he had been offered the post as president of Kansas State College, Eisenhower

cabled him from overseas: "Take it—a large part of the kind of peace achieved after the war rests on the principles laid down in America's schools." Five years later Eisenhower himself became president of Columbia University.

Here are some of his views on U. S. foreign policy:

There should be no wavering in America's support of the United Nations.

Europe must unite or perish. The United States cannot carry all the load in Europe. Eventually the Europeans themselves must supply most of the ground forces to defend the Continent.

Indo-China, Malaya and Korea are as important as Europe to the defence of the free world against communism.

On U. S. aid to the nations of Asia and the Middle East, Ike said recently:

They should be the ones—from Israel to India, from Syria to Indonesia—whom we should be quickest to help. For they should be the quickest to share our faith in freedom's future—in the brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God.

Eisenhower has also spoken out on important domestic issues.

He is against excessive taxation which he regards as a form of confiscation.

He believes that the primary responsibility for assuring civil rights lies with the state governments.

He is against federal aid to education.

He believes a national farm policy

should take some of the risks out of growing the nation's food.

He is against socialisation of medicine and for a sound public health programme.

In his first major campaign address at Abilene, Kansas, Eisenhower said:

"I believe we can have peace with honour, reasonable security with national solvency. I believe in the future of the United States of America."

SENATOR RICHARD M. NIXON

SENATOR Richard M. Nixon of California, the Vice-President-elect, fills the bill perfectly as the young, "forward-looking" man whom Eisenhower wanted as a running mate.

Only 39, Nixon made his political debut in 1946. The circumstances of his entering politics are somewhat unusual. While awaiting discharge from the U. S. Navy at Baltimore, Maryland, a citizen's committee in California's 12th district ran a newspaper advertisement seeking a young man willing to run against New Deal Congressman Jerry Voorhis, who had represented the district for 10 years. Any young man, a resident of the district, preferably a veteran, with a fair education, no political strings or obligations and possessed of a few ideas for the betterment of the country might apply for the job.

A friend submitted Nixon's name. There were eight other applicants, but Nixon got the job, and in the ensuing election succeeded in beating Voorhis by 15,592 votes. He was re-elected to Congress in 1948, and in 1950 he was elected to the Senate.

During his first term Nixon established a reputation as one of the most brilliant young statesmen to hit Washington in many an election. He achieved nationwide recognition as the able, dogged, unhysterical investigator of communism. As a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he presented the cases against Gerhard Eisler and Eugene Dennis in 1947; he took part in the

investigation of communism in Hollywood; and was co-author of the Mundt-Nixon Bill requiring registration of Communists. He was largely responsible for the resolute pursuit of the Hiss investigation, and repeatedly saved the case from being dropped by going out himself and digging up the facts.

Nixon, however, is no follower of Joseph McCarthy, and favours legislation for giving witnesses at investigations a better break. He has also been active in Senate investigations of government corruption.

On foreign policy, Nixon supported the Marshall Plan, NATO, and the military aid programme, and voted against cutting the foreign aid bill. In Korea, he advocates pursuing the war vigorously or else getting out.

In domestic affairs, Nixon describes himself as a moderate conservative, and is on the record for: the Taft-Hartley Act; voluntary price curbs; the Fair Employment Practices Commission; and giving Congress access to secret files. He is against the poll tax, socialised medicine and federal ownership of the tidelands.

As a politician, Nixon has built up a reputation for the highest integrity and incorruptibility. Favours cannot be bought from him. He is also completely independent—very often his opinions are not those of his voters. One example of this is rent control. Nixon voted for its continuance, although in his own district, with a preponderance of property owners, this was bound to be unpopular.

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Nixon's electorate, however, continues to be tolerant of his actions; they realise that he is thinking in terms of the whole country rather than any one district or state.

Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California, on January 9, 1913. His father owns a grocery store in Whittier, California, which is now run by Nixon's brother, Don. Nixon's boyhood was spent in Whittier, where he was educated in public schools, worked in a petrol station and delivered groceries. In 1934, he obtained his bachelor of arts degree from Whittier College, and in 1937 he got a law degree from the Duke University Law School.

From 1937 to 1942 he practiced law in Whittier. For seven months he was an attorney with Washington's Office of Emergency Management. Later in 1942 he received a commission in the U. S. Navy. He served as a ground officer for the Combat Air Transport Command during 1943-44; was commended by the Secretary of the Navy for administrative work after V-J Day; and was discharged as lieutenant commander in 1946.

In 1940, Nixon married petite, pretty Patricia Ryan, a former high school teacher who helps her husband out as an unpaid secretary. The Nixons have two daughters, Patricia, 6, and Julie, 4.

Hard working and earnest, Nixon is generally liked by his senior colleagues in the Senate. A Quaker, he is deeply religious. He rarely smokes or takes a drink. The Nixons spend their social evenings with other young Senators and their wives. He refuses to play bridge, but loves to go to the movies. He also plays the piano well but doesn't have much time to indulge this talent. Usually, Nixon does vast amounts of research at night to keep abreast of matters in government.

On his appointment as Republican nominee for vice-presidency most people were inclined to agree with his former football coach at Whittier who, remembering him as a youngster who never missed practice even though he knew he would not get a chance to play matches, said: "He'll be O. K. as Vice-President."—*U.S.I.S.*

THE OUT-GOING PRESIDENT

By *SANTHA RUNGACHARY*

DURING the last few weeks when the spotlight has so mercilessly blazed on Mr. Dwight Eisenhower and Mr. Adlai (pronounced Adlay) Stevenson and what started as a gentlemen's disagreement rapidly degenerated into an all-in wrangling match with no holds barred, I have found myself, oddly enough, thinking of the man who will be vacating the White House in a matter of weeks—Harry Shippe Truman, the out-going President, my mind alternating between a feeling of disappointment that he had not contested his high office for a second time and a sense of deep respect for a man who had known exactly when he had had enough. Power might not corrupt but it rarely leaves a man surfeit and honest men standing staunchly and unflinchingly against all the enticements of the earthly life have yet succumbed to the temptation to over-reach themselves. The greater the aspiration often the greater the unweariness of the trap the man has set himself and unless death should mercifully intervene he brings about his own ruin. Mr. Roosevelt was undoubtedly a great administrator and had the personality of a giant but his death was the intervention of Providence.

Perhaps because Mr. Harry Truman was never buoyed up by an exultant ambition but contented himself by merely doing what was required of him as best as he could, he has been given the wisdom to see what the eyes of the ambitious and the self-extolling miss because, incessantly looking upwards, their sight is blinded by the sun. Mr. Truman's exit, like a consummate actor's, is just right. He is getting off the stage just when people are wistfully wishing they could see more of him.

Not so well timed, as we all may remember, was his entrance. The date was April 12, 1945. There were six million Japanese under arms. Okinawa had yet to be fought. MacArthur and Nimitz were feverishly planning to pierce the Japanese mainland. And at the very moment that America's new President was swearing



Harry S. Truman

solemnly to be "a good and faithful servant of my Lord and my people" the Russians were round Berlin and American and British troops were trying to drive deep into the heart of Hitler's Third Reich. It was true that the homey mid-Western boy from Missouri fitted easily the standard success story pattern so dear to the heart of Americans, of Poverty to President. But of his future in the Presidential chair they could at best say that after all he had had some experience as Senator, had always been a regular guy and they didn't see why he shouldn't get on.

He got on but only just managed it. Events flowed in a number and with a rapidity which would have made dizzy even a more case-hardened politician. The United Nations Conference at San Francisco. Yalta. Potsdam. And less than three months after he became President the first atom test in New Mexico. Truman had to choose his men, take decisions which were bound to have trans-Atlantic repercussions, grope his way through the maze of commitments and agreements made between the grand triumvirate, read the mind of Stalin while all the time the world weighed him up against his illustrious predecessor and the Press beat upon

his privacy to look into his home and his soul. What did he drink? What did he eat? Was he a good husband? Who tucked him up in bed when he got tight? What was his daughter's love life like?

During the first three years all that Harry S. Truman could learn was not to let himself be stampeded but to stand up against people, events, laughs and to keep standing. It brought him pain, a little bitterness. It brought him resoluteness. It also brought him enough confidence to want to stand again for President. That was not the gesture of a vain man but merely of an earnest man trying to prove something to himself. And it is a measure of his own growth in office that the American people chose him to be their Chief again.

Three or four things stand out in our memory when we consider Truman's period of presidency. His was the responsibility of giving the final okay to have Hiroshima and Nagasaki blasted out of existence. He would not hesitate, he said calmly, to take such a decision again if necessary. He was the man who recalled MacArthur and received him at the airport and gave him to the millions waiting outside to carry in triumphal procession across the capital. He was the man who formulated a programme later to be called the Truman Doctrine to help the armies of Greece and Turkey with an initial four hundred million dollars and whose signature on other loans has brought half the word in debt to America. Some called the Truman Doctrine Operation Rathole and others the first step to a realistic, dynamic foreign policy. He was the author of Point Four, investment of American idle capital in foreign countries with undeveloped resources. It has kept America prosperous, improved the living standards of the countries of Europe and made Americans the most copied and the most resented of all the peoples of the world.

At home his handling of labour problems has been notoriously inconsistent and misguided. His veto has been overruled in the House and bills like the Taft-Hartley Act passed over his head. He used to believe that all people should be trusted. Now he

has learnt better having paid the penalty for misplaced confidence in men. His China policy has been a total failure and has led even to personal embarrassment. He shut Britain off from American atom secrets as soon as the Pacific Theatre was closed, a move for which Britain has yet to forgive him. He shocked his own party men by opposing tax reduction in 1947. His settling of the railroad strikes the previous year was a masterpiece of mishandling. He waxed eloquent about high prices and advocated wage boosts.

It took him years to acquire even a modicum of the savoir-faire and poise and prudence befitting his high office. He no longer grins as much as he used to nor flaps his arms when making a speech, though he is still far from being an orator of any excellence. During the early years the most indulgent of his own supporters wagged their heads sadly at the things he did. When the national economy was literally being split by strikes, he was in a Missouri County Fair drinking soda pop with old friends and waiting for the dawn to spit in the river Mississippi as old custom prescribed. He joined an organization for the "maintenance of barbership quarters" and wore a striped bow with his dinner jacket starting a sartorial eccentricity which occupied the attention of the tabloid newspapers for days together. He wrote a furious letter in reply to a disparaging review of his daughter's musical accomplishments in the *Washington Post*. "I told him" he admitted gleefully to his biographer, William Hilman, "what I thought of him." He often refused to drive in the White House limousine but tramped up to parties and rallies bareheaded and perspiring. The people loved him for it but it was hardly calculated to raise his dignity in their eyes. He insisted on seeing everybody who wanted to meet him. He over ate at parties and put on weight. He let himself be photographed sitting at a piano with a film-star sitting on top of it. His wife Bess and his daughter Margaret contributed no scandal meat which gossip writers could get their teeth into.

In a word, Mr. Harry S. Truman insisted on behaving like a very ordi-

nary man until the truth was brought home to him over the years that the President of the United States was an ordinary man only to his wife and family but was the holder and recipient of fabulous honours and dignities as a public figure. The burden of this realization has never rested in comfort on Truman's shoulders.

Exactly when he ceased to be a small-town tax-collector and became the flotsam in a tide which washed him on to the steps of the White House, it is difficult to say. Nor would it be easy to judge now what kind of niche will be assigned to him when American history of the last decade comes to be written. It is certain none would call him a great President. He completely lacks emotional and dramatic appeal. His name will be linked with an unforgettable age and associated with world events of unparalleled importance and magnitude. His period of administration would thereby acquire a reflected significance as a historical landmark. Is he great as a person? We may say he is as great as ordinary men sometimes can be great. His achievement is not merely negative as might appear at first glance from the fact that he has not precipitated America into a third world war. But it has its positive side in this that he has consummated an international co-operation and stripped the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union of all the gloss of sentiment and hush-hush and hypocrisy and inflexibly laid out a line beyond which no nation can trespass without bringing

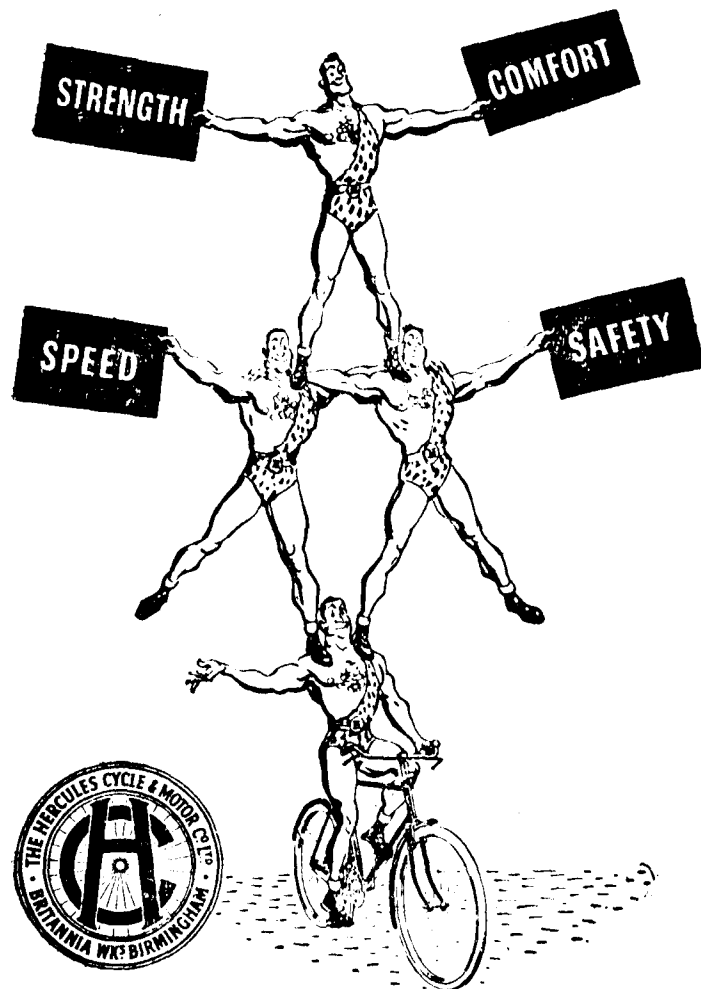
on to its head all the might that an industrialised and mechanised democracy can release. He symbolises more than any living American what is loosely referred to as the American way of life—confidence, good fellowship, generosity, love of good living and a passion of devotion for their country. Mr. Truman believes that the fundamental basis of American law was given to Moses on the Mount and that the American Republic is the essence of the experiences of the Republic of Rome, the Greek ideal of free speech and the British conception of the Bill of Rights. It gives him an honest kick to be able to say that the American appropriation for military business this year is greater than the national income of Great Britain. But he is not merely this. He is something more than a mere typical American which a few million other people are. He is noticeable in stature in that he is humble in heart. "No one man can really fill the presidency," he says and proceeds to refute the theory of the indispensable man—even an indispensable great man—as a menace to the safety of democracy.

He has tremendous courage, this man Truman who would rather "be right than be president."

Woodrow Wilson is reported to have said once that "when men come to Washington they either grow or swell, and most of them swell". It must surely be said that Harry Truman has grown.

And he has done his best. Who does more?

As I look back on the years, I am sure that we Socialists have made a genuine contribution to political education. The march of events and a native American radicalism have cooperated with us in bringing to pass a general acceptance of proposals once labelled socialist. This has found expression in laws and old-party platforms. Only the other day, a prominent Republican leader here in New York stopped me on the street to tell me that I was now conservative, because even his right-wing Republicans had been obliged to adopt so many proposals which were originally to be found only in Socialist platforms. In this field, we democratic socialists have had some success. But I am compelled sorrowfully to admit that we have not made progress in building the organizational strength of the Socialist party and in making it effective in calling a mass party into being. The country is the poorer because of our failure.—NORMAN THOMAS in *THE NEW LEADER*.



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INDIA'S INTEREST IN THE MAN BRITAIN WANTED

By ANDREW ROTH

THE victory of Governor Stevenson would mean that left-of-centre Democrats like the U. S. Ambassador in New Delhi, Chester Bowles, would have a predominant influence on U. S. policy toward India and South Asia. British experts concluded in the last stages of the campaign. The influence of the liberal Democrats was clear in Governor Stevenson's San Francisco speech on September 9:

India is not caught up in civil strife. It can be helped in a way that is natural to us and best for it; help in the ways of peace and of social progress. India has to grow more food. It has to restore its land. It needs new resources of power. In short, it needs a democratic helping hand in the development programmes it has already charted for itself....

Land reform is, of course, fundamental to the problem of Asia.

As the American campaign ended Britain's disenchantment with General Eisenhower was exceeded only by its infatuation for Governor Stevenson. This infatuation was expressed rather discreetly because Britons knew their support for a Democratic candidate could be used against him by the crude nationalists of the Taft variety.

The Times made its feelings unmistakable when it said on October 21 that "in the past three months it has been Governor Stevenson, in a campaign remarkable for a combination of wisdom and wit which has already won him world esteem, who has insisted that the national interest must come first, who has preached race equality in the South, and responsibility to the trade unions, and who has refused to promise tax reductions so long as the free world is threatened." Added the *Liberal News Chronicle* on October 27: "There has never been an unknown candidate who has so swiftly captured the affections of liberal-minded Britons as Stevenson.... He speaks, as Wilson and Roosevelt did, with the accents of a world statesman."

There was little doubt at the end of

October that Governor Stevenson would top the list in any British poll on "The Man From Whom I'd Most Like to Take Orders." One of the difficulties for British leaders in this period of emerging American dominance has been the type of American to whom British diplomats and statesmen have had to defer. President Truman has been accepted, not so much for his own qualities, but—much as the late Ernest Bevin was accepted here—because he brought the weight of his political personality behind policies which mostly conform with Britain's interests. Although Dean Acheson—whose father was a British Bishop—is considered to be gentlemanly and an able lawyer, he is not generally considered to have the depth of either diplomatic vision, social sense or political influence to fulfill American responsibilities in this era.

For the first time since President Roosevelt's death, leaders of British opinion came to see in Gov. Stevenson a leader whom they could genuinely envy the Americans. Stevenson is a political figure whom the British can appreciate fully because his attributes correspond with British ideals. Unlike many Americans, who seem to Britons to be rootless and fundamentally unsure of themselves, Stevenson has the solid roots, broad culture and assurance comparable to the small aristocracy which has long governed Britain. He has a deep feeling for the civil liberties which Britons prize highly and which they felt many American leaders, including President Truman, have not valued sufficiently during this period of the cold war. The courage of Governor Stevenson's convictions has aroused great admiration here, particularly his lecturing the American Legion on civil rights, talking Negro rights in the South and speaking of China in terms of eventual recognition of the Peking Government.

The sharp increase of Britain's interest in Gov. Stevenson was not wholly

disinterested. As the campaign wore on, it became increasingly clear that Stevenson's victory would considerably reduce the gaps between British and American policies—particularly in Asia—into which the Communists have frequently attempted to drive a wedge.

One of the things which has seemed most significant to British leaders is Gov. Stevenson's realistic intellectual grasp of the problem of American leadership. With others of the 'sophisticated internationalists' in the U. S., he feels that the U. S. has a responsibility for leadership of the non-Communist world. But, unlike many American leaders, he realizes some of the limits of U. S. influence. As he warned the *Herald-Tribune* Forum on October 21: "Our past experience gave us Americans a somewhat exaggerated notion of the effectiveness of our power. We had the feeling that our power produced radical shifts in world affairs whenever we decided to intervene. We felt that victory was assured once we made up our minds... that any cause that had our support was automatically assured of quick success." Instead of this vision of easy victories, Stevenson called for the use of American power as a "steadying factor in the world."

Britain's mounting hopes that Stevenson might become a "steadying factor" in American foreign policy were based in large part on his basic foreign policy speech in San Francisco on September 9. Without any wishful thinking about Soviet intentions he expressed the belief that the Soviet leaders would not knowingly risk war: "Even the most ambitious and ruthless men do not deliberately invite destruction on the basis of their power." He expressed his intention to work out some form of peaceful *modus vivendi*: "Co-existence is not a form of passive acceptance of things as they are. It is waging the contest between freedom and tyranny by peaceful means. It will involve negotiation and adjustment—compromise but not appeasement—and I will never shrink from these if they would advance the world toward a secure peace."

Most hopeful to many British observers were the signs of Stevenson's great "maturity" on Asian questions, with "maturity" sometimes

defined as holding the same views as Britain. Considerable appreciation was expressed for the following views uttered at San Francisco:

The strategy of communism in Asia is to pose as the champion—the only champion—of the Asian peoples. Communism has not created the cause or the forces behind Asia's vast upheaval. It is attempting to give direction to those forces. It seeks to impose its own label on the multiple revolutions going on in Asia today by identifying itself with the deeply felt needs and hopes of the Asian peoples.

There's an important difference, it seems to me, between communism as we view it and communism as some of the Asian peoples view it. When we think of communism we think of what we are going to lose. When many of the Asians think of communism they think of what they are going to win—especially if they have nothing to lose....

(The) Communists may well believe that in the inspirations and the grievances of the East they now have the key to world power. They hope, and perhaps even expect, that the West cannot rise to the challenge in the East.

Furthermore, they may not feel the same need for quick and tidy solutions that is felt in certain quarters in our own country. They may believe that they can afford to have a patience equal to the stakes involved.

And the stakes are nothing less than the overwhelming preponderance of power for with Asia under control, they could turn with new energy and vastly new resources in an effort to win a bloodless victory in a weakened, frightened Europe.

He proposed a two-pronged attack on Communist advances in Asia: military resistance where Communism's attacks are by military force—in Korea, Malaya and Indochina. But this was to be "a shield behind which we have the opportunity to assist in the other great task—the task of development.... It would seem to me... that the Republican critics (of the Truman administration) could better demonstrate the good faith of their concern for Asia by doing something about India today rather than talking about China yesterday. I don't think that tearful and interminable post-mortems about China will save any souls for democracy in the rest of Asia, the Near East and in Africa." He proposed that the U. S. concentrate on building up the

resources of underdeveloped countries and encourage land reform without trying "to make their societies over in the image of our own.... We expect to learn as well as to teach."

Even more impressive than this implicit promise to cooperate with Britain in achieving the objectives of the Colombo plan, was the politically courageous suggestion that the U. S. might eventually recognize the Peking Government. He reminded a luncheon audience in San Francisco on September 9: "once we had resolved our difficulties in the last and previous wars, notably in the case of

Italy, we recognized them rapidly." He said he did not think the time will ever come when any country will shoot its way into the United Nations. He also claimed that Formosa should remain "part of our (American) defense perimeter." But he thought it "would be unlikely" that "the (Chinese) seat should remain vacant" and thought it "could not be occupied by a Government no longer in existence." Commented *The Times* correspondent admiringly: "It takes a brave man in present conditions to speak on Asia except in the clichés of 'abandoning China'."

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

By J. B. KRIPALANI

RECENTLY some of the prominent scientists and educationists of India bewailed the deteriorating standards in English in high schools and colleges. This is no new complaint. It was periodically raised even during the days of the British masters. A foreign language was made the medium of instruction for all subjects in high schools and colleges. A foreign language can best be learnt in its home surroundings. That was never possible in India except for a few students with rich parents. The next best thing was that the teachers of all the subjects be the natives of the country whose language is to be learnt; at least the teachers of English language be English scholars. The latter condition was present in the beginning in India. Many high schools and colleges were run by missionaries. Even in government colleges, the principals and some professors were English. As years went on, this English element in Government and even in missionary colleges progressively diminished. There were two main reasons for this. One was that clever and ambitious English graduates went in more and more for administrative rather than educational service. The prestige, power and emoluments of the former were more attractive. The second reason was the number of Indians educated in British universities who wanted jobs, though limited, was on the increase. Also, in increasing numbers

the products of the Indian universities clamoured for jobs. There was a demand for the Indianisation of the services, administrative and educational. English not being taught by English teachers or by teachers who had learnt the language in England, its standards in India went on deteriorating. There was yet another reason which not only affected the standards in English but in all subjects. Foreign education introduced in India in the beginning was confined to cities and to higher castes who had educational traditions of centuries at home. However, progressively students from illiterate village homes and what are called lower castes kept increasing. Moreover, as time went on, English ceased to be the medium of instruction in high schools. All these causes affected adversely the standards of English in Indian schools and colleges.

The complaint, therefore, voiced by some of the scientists and educationists about the deteriorating standards of English is nothing new. It has been a continuing complaint. It has been there for the last three or four decades. Political independence has only aggravated the situation. It has made teaching through the medium of the provincial language compulsory up to the intermediate standard. The teaching of English, though a compulsory subject, has been postponed to higher and higher classes. The pupil is assigned less

THE LAWYER'S TRAVAIL

By S. RAJAGOPALAN

ime than before for learning English. Administrative and judicial work which was being done in the States in English is now mostly done through the medium of the provincial languages. Moreover, in most of the States, the pupils have compulsorily to learn the national language, Hindi. All those who, in the future, aspire to administrative service will have to acquire proficiency not in English but in Hindi. Who in India does not aspire for administrative service? Let a school in the remotest village be not affiliated to the official system of education and it will fail to attract pupils, however otherwise efficient may be the education it imparts.

If then, the standards in English, from the beginning never too high, are to be brought to the old, not very adequate level, the causes that contributed to the deterioration must be removed. This can be done only if English teachers are imported or at least teachers of English in schools and colleges are students of literature from English universities. English must be made the medium of instruction for all subjects from as early a stage as it was originally done. English must also be re-introduced in the administration in the States, as it yet continues to be in the Centre. High school and university education should be confined to city people and to high castes with educational traditions in their homes. These are some of the many steps that will have to be taken before the standard in English can be raised. In the best of days the Indians could speak and write only in what acquired the name of Babu English.

For the present argument I take it that all the conditions that made for tolerable standards in English in India were not only necessary but also desirable. They widened the scope of education and enhanced its efficiency. I do not propose to go into the merits of these assertions here. For instance, for the present argument it is not necessary to deny, as it was done, not long ago, by many, the best politicians, reformers and educationists, that whatever capacity Indian students have of acquiring and increasing knowledge, is blasted by the long years they have to spend in learning defectively a foreign language and also that no true and abid-

ing knowledge could be acquired by the average student in other subjects through the medium of a foreign language. I also would not raise the controversy whether whatever knowledge is acquired through the medium of a foreign tongue can, to any appreciable degree, filter down to the masses, raising the general standards of knowledge and efficiency. These and many other educational and social questions, connected with the use of a foreign language for educational purposes, I do not propose to raise here. I take it for granted the assumption of my learned friends that only through a good knowledge of English is it possible in India to acquire any worthwhile education and to add to its quantity and improve its quality.

If the assumption of our friends is admitted, I submit that the many hindrances to the raising of the standards in English in India can only be removed if we bring back our old English masters and assign to them the position of dominance they occupied not only in political field but in all spheres of our national life. If it is not possible to bring them back and reimpose foreign domination, to recreate conditions for Indian students to acquire a tolerable knowledge of English, what are we to do? We are caught in a calamity which has been brought on us, even as the partition of the country, by political independence. Can we regress to foreign rule? Will the English consent to come back? Can we guarantee that when they come back we shall never again raise an agitation against them or start a new Quit India Movement? If all this cannot be done what is the remedy? One must instead of wasting precious breath make up one's mind and adjust oneself to the new inconvenient conditions and try what best can be done under unalterable circumstances to ease the situation. The learned educationists and eminent scientists should recognise the truth of the common adage that 'what can not be cured must be endured.' They can do even better and console themselves that what is at a particular time is the best. It is the unfolding of history through which God manifests Himself. On that 'best' they should try to build the future.

AT a symposium held in the City under the aegis of the Madras Branch of the British Council, a highly fruitful discussion on the status of the lawyer in our country, was initiated, and numerous problems confronting the legal profession today were thrashed out with a realism and sincerity which both the accredited and non-accredited agencies of lawyers in India would do well to read, mark and inwardly digest. Particularly noteworthy were the sentiments uttered by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and the Chief Justice. The head of the State Judiciary has dealt with nearly all the aspects of a lawyer's life, his aims, aspirations and frustrations. He has spoken of the problem of overcrowding of the struggling junior, of the antipathy of the State and the public, and perhaps, the most moving of all, of the lawyers in the full flood of success at the start, but consigned to the scrapheap at the far-end. Madras knew two of them,—one was a philanthropist to the core—who were giants amongst their contemporaries but had to spend their last days in penury and worse.

The legal profession in India is essentially a British institution; even England borrowed it from Rome—in fact the word "client" is of Roman origin. The Pontiffs in early Rome, who, in addition to being guardians of religion, were also "watch-dogs" of the law and the juris consults, and the Doomsmen in England were what could be styled the earliest type of lawyers. In early times when the sovereign himself dealt out justice in England, and in Arabia and India went out in disguise and redressed private grievances, there could be no room for an agency like the bar or the lawyers. But with the loosening of the king's hold on the courts ultimately leading up to their autonomy, the way was paved for a professional body well versed in law and procedure which could plead effectively and with restraint, a sutor's cause. In due time, such an institution became intimate with the people, sharing their joys and sorrows and even their secrets too. And out of it has emer-

ged the modern lawyer who is expected not only to give "wise counsel" to his clients and compose their differences but guide even public opinion. A lawyer in England or in America or Canada fills many roles, of which actual litigation is but a small part; he is indispensable in conveyancing, taxation, patents, admiralty, estate work, corporations and domestic relations.

In the early years of their formation, Indian lawyers, had in the metropolis, started as appendages to the British barristers who had come and settled down in India. Ultimately they had built up for themselves a secure place, with the goodwill of the English barristers who really were the nurseries of many a legal gem in this country, and not long afterwards supplanted them completely, Madras leading other States in this respect. The English members of the bar were of a category apart from their countrymen operating in the business and political fields. All of them strove for the independence of the bar, and some of them, for Indian Swaraj also.

The Indian lawyers in the early half of the century, rose to eminence by dint of their ability and industry, and eventually became the natural leaders of the people, and the only link between them and the Government; in consequence and also in addition they were closely identified with the social, cultural and political life of the community; and their influence permeated itself in the civic, educational and legislative bodies, as well as in the various humanitarian and religious movements. This was specially so in Madras. It is true that they made fortunes enormously, but it was a fact that like the modern American, they gave away enormously, education being their most favoured object. Dr. Ghose and Dr. Gour in the north, and V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer and in recent times, Mr. V. L. Ethiraj being exemplars of this type. In Madras they were responsible for the shaping of many public benefactions, like the Pachappa's College and hostel, and were in addition watch-dogs of

the public credit and finance. It was a lawyer who established the first indigenous bank in India following the disastrous Arbuthnot crash; and the one who had rehabilitated the Co-operative Bank was another member of the fraternity. Nor was this all. Lawyers, especially in Madras, have done yeoman service to social and agrarian reforms, education, religion, co-operation and fine arts. Their contributions to the English, regional and Sanskrit literatures were immense; they had drunk deep of the piercean springs of Valmiki and Kalidasa, Tagore, Shakespeare and Kamuran, Tyagayya, Dikshitar and Arunagirinathar. And amongst them were to be found eminent politicians, parliamentarians, playwrights and philosophers. Much of the literary awakening in recent years has been due to the lawyers in this country and it is not without significance that the Bharatceya Bavan Academy has been started by two of them. And so long as they were in charge of the civic and education bodies, one seldom heard of deterioration in standards.

Earthly achievement is transitory, and it was not long before the lawyers had to slip away from their pedestal: the Montford reforms hastened their exit. And in recent years their economic conditions too are deteriorating. They had a sentimental value attached to their professional service in days of yore, but at the present time, it is getting to be more business-like. The present day average litigant pays his lawyer least and last; but even in the best of conditions the lawyer's fee is but an infinitesimal part of the value of the issue at stake. Actually a lawyer receives less than a broker or a commission agent, excepting the lucky few who are briefed by the State, the corporations and the public bodies. And compared to the incomes drawn by auditors and accountants, theirs is very negligible indeed, although the popular belief is contrariwise. Even in prosperous countries like America and Canada, the conditions are not far better. The average annual income of an American lawyer is estimated at but £8315 and it is below the doctor's though above the dentist's. In Canada, a recent survey has disclosed that although the yearly average is £5843, nearly two-thirds receive less than

that. And amongst those who do earn, only 11% accrues from actual litigation. Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, has regarded the lawyer as "under-recompensed" and the profession itself as an "unfair lottery." In a profession where 20 fail for one that succeeds that one ought to receive, as in a lottery all that the unsuccessful 20 should get, but that never happens.

The Chief Justice has referred to the antipathy which the executive and chief politicians harbour towards the lawyers. It is a sad fact but true, true not only in this country but elsewhere in the world too. For instance, Mr. Roscoe Pound has recently adverted to certain unhealthy features in American political life, making it difficult for the lawyer and the courts to assert their supremacy. Their critical outlook, conservative spirit and independence, are, as the Chief Justice pointed out, responsible for such a debacle. Lawyers do not plump for sudden social adjustments, and enactments like the Agricultural Relief Act and the Hindu Code Bill have elicited their disapprobation. Their undue emphasis even during grave emergencies, on "civil liberties" necessarily places them in the bad books of the executive. Since the Constitution, the lawyer is dreaded as the harbinger of the writs litigation, although it is not realised that the writs are effective only against judicial orders of the executive and in regard to arbitrary and unlawful acts. As in America there is a popular assumption that the administration of justice can as well be a layman's avocation; and it has been suggested recently that all cases should be referred to arbitration compulsorily. But it is not realised that litigation in the courts had invariably been preceded by abortive arbitrations and panchayats. One, however, hopes that enlightened public opinion will lend support to the Chief Justice's views that the safety for democracy lies through the courts and the lawyers, which is of course not far different from Dean Roscoe Pound's dictum that the "real foe of absolutism is law."

Of the methods suggested for the rehabilitation of the lawyer and his income, a good many depend on the ability of the clientele to pay, which is becoming negligible day by day.

But the State could do a lot to better their lot. Litigation, especially vexatious litigation, will be stamped out not by extinguishing the lawyer, but by making legal advice available to every bilateral transaction. If every document that is registered is made to pass through a lawyer, many pitfalls could be prevented and litigiousness itself would be nipped in the bud. The State should not hesitate to employ lawyers to advise it in its various activities. In America, during World War II, the Navy alone engaged 11,000 lawyers to supervise its purchases and examine its contracts, and it is said that millions of pounds were saved thereby. Possibly if the army

in India too had done likewise, some of the unsavoury things like the Army Jeep contracts could have been eliminated.

To obviate middle-age-unemployment, it would be highly beneficial if recruitment to the judiciary is confined to people with 10 to 15 years practice at the bar, as in England, which certainly would be to the lasting advantage of the judiciary and the State. The present method of sending out raw youths with no adequate experience at the bar, to man the judiciary must be scrapped at no distant date, if the administration of justice is to make headway in the land.

SERVICE BEFORE SELF

By D. ANJANEYULU

IN the bad old days of British rule, it was almost an article of faith with perfervid patriots to pour vials of wrath on the civil service. It was, one was made to believe, full of mercenaries and money-makers who carried a brass farthing who was ruling the land so long as their pockets were full and their children well provided for. Mr. Nehru himself in his *Autobiography* had something far from complimentary to say about the 'steel frame' of the foreign bureaucracy, though he seems to have revisited his opinions a little, after assuming office. The smaller fry, who often made and still make more noise than the big fish, had their accusing finger ever pointed at the brown bureaucrats, who were painted a shade blacker than their white superiors. We were left guessing what was in store for such 'Enemies of the People' for their sins of omission and commission, when freedom was wrested from unwilling hands and the common man—that uncommon commodity—, as in days of yore, once again became master of his house in the dear old motherland.

Signs were not, however, wanting that we had a shrewd perspective and a keen sense of proportion and were not in the silly habit of confusing issues. With a philosophical perception true to our tradition, precept and

practice were scrupulously kept at different levels in the code of conduct. A popular politician, known as the "Triplicane Thunderer", used to bay for the blood of the brown bureaucrats, in the Council Chamber, and he was no mean master of the invective on the platform or in the House of legislature. Like many patriots of his brand, he was a revolutionary in politics, and a true-blue Tory in social matters, where his caste and clan, and sub-caste and *gotra* mattered more than anything on the face of the earth.

Times have changed, as they are bound to; for the better or the worse depends on where you stand in the social scale. But, we are all patriots these days; and why not, when it pays to be so? Is it not the correct thing to be 'patriotic' when it is so safe and fashionable to invoke the Father of the Nation? Sardar Patel was a powerful force for stability and strength of administration and can be called the Father of the I. A. S. It is often recalled that he had saved the country from chaos by assuring the superior services of their position and privileges. It is as well to remember that he put everybody in his place, be he a Rajapramukh or a revenue collector. That is hardly enough for the 'popular' politician, who has now all on a sudden fallen in love with the

superior services, but for whom the country would not be even what it is now. The caterpillar of the Commonwealth has, at a moment's notice, turned into a builder of the nation (at a high but richly deserved price). Let us all praise the famous men who can put their initials on countless files (how tiresome, but all is well and truly done in the service of the nation). If you fail to see a new life and a fresh vigour pervading the corridors of the Secretariat and a consuming passion of selfless service in the superior services (don't think ill of them if they look down on others), your vision must be rather dim and your understanding pretty thick indeed!

Facilities for free travel in First class (is it abolished?) with family (not necessarily planned) if not friends, may be a sharp incentive to patriotic endeavour, but is it not mean to grudge our demi-gods their due? The short sighted and the unimaginative may feel that the pleasant prospect of a sizable pension accelerates the pace of the loyal officer's disinterested work for the welfare of the nation. But the refined souls who have truly imbibed the spirit of *Nishkamakarma* never fail to see that the pension, even when it is the maximum specified is but a pittance for the labour of love for the loftier limbs of the law. Work, it need hardly be repeated, is worship for them. Some of them may go to office late, but are they not making it up by leaving it for home (or club) early? A Chief Minister, who is so old-fashioned as to be a stickler for punctuality may now and then turn his nose at a civilian, who is so efficient that he would like to be a law unto himself. But is he not doing only office work at home among friends at a game of bridge or at the club sipping cool (Prohibition is so inconvenient) drinks and talking about the latest social or political scandal? Routine rules of discipline are only for the N. G. O.s, and why should the high and mighty be bothered about them? Surely they must have an iota of freedom, which is their inalienable birthright in a free and sovereign state. Even in nationalist sentiment, they lead the rest, for have you not seen the exquisite sight of the district collector in

sherwani and *churidar* pyjamas (our national dress, so to speak) with headgear of like distinction at least twice in the year, on the Independence Day and the Republic Day? It matters little if he at other times has a weakness for gaberdine and Harris tweed. Truman jackets also sit well on him like floral bush-coats, but that is another story.

The higher the office and the heavier the allowances, the more readily he places service before self (which he has almost merged in the larger interests of administration, now synonymous with the State and the nation). After a life-time of service, he wants to enjoy a well-earned rest, but the call of the country is irresistible and even a septuagenarian has to put on the harness, again in the interest of the general public and the efficiency of administration, especially when the salary terms are not unattractive. When there is such a wonderful avenue for national and social service (placing service before self) it is not known why Governors and other statesmen sometimes take it into their heads to advise graduates not to be fascinated by the glamour of Government service (the glamour, if any, is only at the top), but try to chalk out their lives in some private profession, and achieve their ambitions with a spirit of initiative and adventure.

Probably, it is according to the accepted idea that free advice is meant more to be given than to be taken. It is equally well-established by now that the duty of a brilliant graduate is to knock at the doors of our own government. If not successful, he can do the next best thing—be a professor and profess to teach others, who are not interested, a subject in which he has no interest or for which he has little aptitude. If he fails again, as a last resort, he might become a lawyer or a journalist (for which no qualification or talent is supposed to be necessary). By the way, to be a writer is often worse and always less lucrative than to sell tooth-paste or ply a pan (or pawn) shop or do anything or nothing for that matter.

Government service (gazetted and preferably Class I Central) is not just one of the professions in our unique land. It is the profession, as your

prospective father-in-law knows full well, especially if he is a pensioner. In less fortunate and less advanced countries like the U. K. and the U. S. the civil service may be one of the avenues of employment for the educated, like the university, the bar or the church. In fact, Lord Beveridge speaks about the triple vow of poverty, obedience and anonymity that is enjoined on the British Civil Service. Here, we are in a far luckier position and property and prosperity are closer to the civil and administrative services than to other walks of life except perhaps the big business and film-acting of the top-notch variety. About obedience to ministers in office, we have no means of knowing. That civilians are far from anonymous is as clear as the day and they bask in the limelight of publicity. They can smile and smile and be the centre of the show, as can be seen in group photos at regular intervals. Only the N. G. O.s do not feel like smiling, being made to feel like hewers of wood and drawers of water, perhaps.

Even among N.G.O.s, there are one or two categories of them, who stalk the land in an aura of social status. The Tahsildar in the mofussil for instance, is as mighty as any of those above him on the official ladder. He is the very hub of the universe in the taluk headquarters, where some people still consider him (at least in his presence) as not only omnipresent but omniscient and omnipotent. He is the best person to preside over any and every function, cultural week, musical soiree, a discourse on *Advaita* or a lecture on 'Lyricism' by the Poet laureate. Irrespective of the nature of the subject, his observations must

be heard in hushed silence. His only rival in the show of power and social snobbery is the local custodian of law and order, the Inspector of Police. Nowadays, the Tahsildar or the Police Inspector would do well in his own interest (and they need no advice on which side their bread is buttered) to pay court to the local party boss who may have a good pull with somebody who counts at the Secretariat. They must also take care to arrange for comfortable stay by the inspecting officer on camp. These two duties diligently done are sure to release them from the unpleasant responsibility of quick disposal of files and courtesy to the general public. Who breathes there with soul so dead as to deny fanfare and trumpets to the shining Caesars of the Secretariat? They may not toil, but they certainly spin—a yarn or two at public meetings and private gatherings. In an infant democracy quality is more important than the quantity of work turned out, as the simplest schoolboy is bound to know. If they do not stay long inside the office-room, that only testifies to the concentrated attention devoted by them to their work, which is their very life-breath. Any time that hangs heavily on their hands is well used for enriching literature or philosophy and their writings often receive favourable notice, establishing them as first-rate writers and eminent intellectuals. Any righteous heart is sure to throb with feelings of awe and admiration at such examples of selfless service at such low cost for the country. Do they not place service before self like a famous club without a local habitation, but a name to reckon with in Society with a Capital 'S'?

Here's some good news for those who want to give up smoking, but who have failed to do so by any of the orthodox systems. It's news of a new method of breaking the tyrant yoke of the noxious weed, which bears the personal guarantee of the owner of a chain of grocery stores in Britain who died a month ago, and whose will was published recently. All you have to do is to decide that you won't smoke again until you have twenty thousand pounds in the Bank. Then when you've got your twenty thousand by kidding yourself that there's a smoke at the end of it, you say 'April Fool!' and postpone the smoke until you've doubled your Bank balance—forty thousand pounds. By this time, according to the patentee of the system, you'll have lost the desire to smoke, and there you are. Of course it may occur to you, as it did to me, that if you give up smoking you don't need twenty thousand pounds. But apart from that, the system does seem to pay reasonable dividends: the man who invented it left three quarters of a million.—SAM POLLOCK in BBC broadcast.

HUMOUR AND THE INDIAN SCREEN

By Mrs. RAJI NARASIMHAN

MAN, it is said, is the only animal capable of laughter; and most people like to get a laugh out of things in general. Realising this inherent weakness, as it were, in us, our producers make hundreds of films every year, passing them off as "humorous."

What is humour? Bernard Shaw describes it as a laugh which brings a tear along with it. In other words, the highest humour has an element of pathos. Chaplin immediately springs to the mind. There is nothing more funny than watching the tramp Charlie, the completely down and out man, but at the same time, the sight of the lone figure braving the world, makes one experience a slight twisting of the heart. The image of him, with his turned up toes, back turned to the audience, walking into the void, can never be conjured up without a lump in the throat.

But perhaps it is too much to expect our screen to produce a parallel to Chaplin's art, and, after all, there has been only one Charlie. However, what valid reasons can our producers offer for the so-called light comedies? Do they give rise to light, wholesome laughter? It is regrettable, but the fact remains that we have nothing to put alongside such comedies, as say, "Sitting Pretty", or "The Lavender's Hill Mob," or "The Farmer's Daughter".

Our screen-humour can be classified under a few broad heads. Physical abnormalities provide never-ending source of mirth to our producers. This is by no means peculiar to the Indian Screen. The American Screen has a standing joke in exhibiting enormous close-ups of Negro faces, not perhaps with any malice, but certainly with the idea that there is something fundamentally funny in the Negro countenance. Even an otherwise excellent film like "Pinky", was not free from this fault; close-ups of Pinkie's grandmother were shown, calculated to produce a chuckle.

Quick to seize the remunerative, even though crude, ideas of Hollywood, our cine-moguls have resorted to the Man with the Belly. He is shown in credible and incredible predicaments, mainly on account of his corpulence. A favourite device is to show him in a dance sequence partnered by a slim light-footed girl, furiously trying to keep pace with her; the contrast is designed to produce laughter. Admittedly, it is a common human frailty to be amused by excessive flesh, but the constant exploitation of it has ceased to produce the desired result, at least when seen on the screen. We forget that this kind of Falstaffian humour requires the genius of a Shakespeare to make it genuinely funny.

Then there is the "Mistaken Identity" joke. This episode usually centres round the heroine, who mistakes a young, handsome bachelor, usually the hero for the man she is engaged to, and behaves accordingly. The "denouement," when it at last comes, mostly finds the heroine boiling with righteous indignation, or better still, fainting with it.

And, of course, there are the eternal squabbles between husband and wife. It should be noted that while in the "Mistaken Identity" joke, the humour is intensified if the hero and the heroine are young and attractive, as they always are, the converse holds good in this case. The older, and consequently, according to our film logic, uglier, the pair are, the funnier the incident is meant to be.

There have, however, been merciful exceptions. "Hamrahi" and many other films produced by the New Theatre Company, have wit, without the slapstick element. Such films are unfortunately rare, veritable oases.

This state of affairs cannot last long. One way out, if the layman might venture to offer a suggestion, is to base our humorous films on uni-

versal, or universally accepted truths. Incidentally, a good deal of the jokes and funny stories have risen out of these truths, or accepted truths. In Western films, the Scotsman's parsimony, for example, has given to innumerable quips; there is a set of jokes resting on the dominant characteristics of the Irishman, popularly known as the Pat and Mick jokes.

"Ninotchka," Director Ernst Lubitsch's film, striding Greta Garbo and Melvyn Douglas, may be taken as a concrete example. Lubitsch takes as his central idea, the rigid discipline of Soviet Russia contrasted with the gaiety of Paris. Most of the humour in the film comes from the clash of two different personalities, brought up under different circumstances, one a Russian, stern and duty-bound and the other a Parisian. The film, one agrees, was caricature, but all caricatures have an element of truth in them. Besides, it achieved its main purpose; it made one laugh spontaneously.

This idea can be suitably expressed on the Indian Screen. Our country, with its wide provincial differences, obviously offers a rich field for the purpose. Any fears that such films will widen the differences, are unfounded; on the contrary, with skilful direction and acting, they will help to diminish the differences. In Lubitsch's film, there was no attack on the Russian people; they are represented as ordinary men and women, and like most ordinary men and women they find the strict supervision of their state irksome. In the long run it tells you that men and women can unite and live together, no matter what the outward differences are. "Differences are only skin deep," it seems to say.

Thus the much talked of and oft recommended idea, "entertainment with a purpose," may be attained this way. Given resources, there is no reason why we cannot expect truly humorous films in the future. It is time the more discerning members of the public were catered to.

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CITIZENSHIP FOR CEYLON INDIANS

By V. SUBRAMANIAN

NEWS from Ceylon about the citizenship of Indian residents is apt to be of an elusive character. Difficulties regarding the obtaining of citizenship rights are often aired, and these are followed sporadically by reports of concessions to get over the difficulties. Often a judgment from the Privy Council might change the entire picture. The general reader in India rarely gets an overall idea from news items, which are alternately encouraging and disheartening.

Citizenship of Ceylon for Indians resident or born there is governed by the Ceylon Indian Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act and the Ceylon Citizenship Act, to be read together. The latter Act's provisions regarding citizenship by descent are rarely applicable to most Indian residents, to whom the other Act applies. That the provisions of this Act were such that they virtually denied citizenship was pointed out in detail by the Ceylon Indian Congress members as well as all other leftist opposition members, even when the Act was discussed in Parliament. The passing years have proved that every criticism levelled at that time has proved only too true. The whole of the opposition voted against the Act.

The Ceylon Indian Congress, therefore, decided to boycott registration under the Act and for more than a year the boycott was very successful, only a few Indian merchants in Colombo co-operating with the Government. During that time the burden of the song of the U. N. P. Government and the pro-Government Press was to call the Ceylon Indian Congress to cooperate with the Government in working the Act, and then point out the difficulties and defects. At the same time, the Ceylon Government was trying to unseat the Ceylon Indian Congress M.P.s with a bill to amend the Constitution, declaring that only Ceylon citizens could be members of Ceylon's legislature. The bill could not secure the required two-thirds majority.

In the meanwhile the Ceylon Indian Congress wanted to give the Act a trial, to absolve itself of the charge of non-co-operation and to leave no avenue unexplored. So in the Matale session of the Ceylon Indian Congress in 1950, it decided to discontinue the boycott and apply for registration under the Act; and before the last date in August 1951, it managed to send all the applications from the Indian residents qualified to register.

But even before all the applications were sent, the Ceylon Government showed its capacity to play a game of hide and seek. In fact, the Ceylon Indian Congress became disillusioned and bitter for various reasons. First, the Ceylon Government refused to countenance officials of the Indian High Commissioner's office helping the estate workers to apply in time and properly. Secondly, the Premier of Ceylon flatly refused to make any amendment to the Act, and to a deputation of Ceylon Indian Congress leaders, he firmly gave a "no" to all their reasonable demands. Later, of course, a minor amendment rectifying a glaring anomaly about the Indians born in Ceylon was passed.

But after all the applications were filed, by August 1951, the iniquities of the Act still remained and with them the harsh method of administering the Act. Each applicant had to prove his Indian origin, to make the Act applicable to him. He had to prove 'normal' residence of his wife and children with him for seven years if he were married, and by 'normal' the Commissioner of Registration meant "absolutely continuous." Thirdly, one had to prove that he had the means of independent existence without state aid, while the Government with its Ceylonization policy was cutting at the very foundations of the Indian employees in Colombo. He could not become a citizen unless he had a job and he could not have a job unless he became a citizen. There was the case of the minor children of the applicant for citizenship. If

they became majors during the time the application was considered, their case went by default since legally they should have applied on separate forms of application. Again if the applicant had passed away after applying, then the application simply lapsed and with it the chances of becoming citizens of all his dependents. These and several other snags were pointed out by the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders even while the Act was being debated but neither then nor till now were their criticisms taken note of.

But there was one hopeful feature. Most of the eight lakhs of Indians resident could fulfil the most stringent qualification. The hope was only a hope since documentary proofs, not easily produceable by poor Indian workers, were insisted upon in each case. When the Ceylon Indian Congress leaders and the High Commissioner of India tried to get out of this difficulty by asking the Ceylon Government to give a list of acceptable documents, they got the evasive answer that it was left to the officer's or department's discretion. In short, if the Act was full of injustices, the administration of the Act was full of graver injustices, a fact which even members of the governing party admitted once.

At last, nearly 13 months ago, came the final Act. All those Indian voters who had not yet been granted citizenship, because their applications were still pending with the officials, were struck off the electoral rolls. They were thus disfranchised, and positively prevented from voting, and yet the Ceylon Government's spokesmen managed to get the *Times* accept their version, that the Indians did not choose to vote. And through out the last three years, the Ceylon Government's spokesmen have done their best to tell the world and their own people that the blame for all this was entirely on the shoulders of the Ceylon Indians and their leaders. When they were boycotting registration under almost impossible conditions the Ceylon Press induced them to cooperate, saying that the Ceylon Premier would remove the hurdles, as and when they were pointed out to him. But the Government refused even to allow help from Indian officials when the boycott was lifted. As the applications were taken slowly

for consideration, the Ceylon Government's spokesmen said strange things. The late Premier, D. S. Senanayake, said in Madras that the Indians were given an opportunity to take a certificate of permanent settlement under the Donoughmore Constitution but very few took it. The truth is that many Indians had voting rights as British subjects and taking this certificate meant losing some protective privileges. All the protests against the disfranchisement by the amendment act went unheeded. And when all of a sudden, the Ceylon Parliament was dissolved early in April for elections anti-Indian propaganda was turned on in full blast. The present Premier, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, excelled all previous records in this campaign of vilification and calumny.

By the time the Ceylon Parliament was dissolved the Indian residents knew that they had no chance to vote in the elections. The belated protests of the Government of India against the year-old disfranchisement only highlighted the disability. It was against this background that one must consider and evaluate the satyagraha campaign launched by the Ceylon Indian Congress. The iniquity of disfranchising and decitizenizing 8 lakhs of Indians, had by its very familiarity become an easily tolerated evil both in Ceylon and India. Even the friends of the Indians' cause had begun to give up hopes of doing anything about it while the public at large had become quite apathetic. In India due to the trickle of news from Ceylon without much background knowledge, the magnitude of the injustice was never fully known. The ignorance of even high officials in Ceylon about the implications of their own Government's Citizenship Act was really strange as evidenced by some of their remarks. It was thus when apathy had made injustice almost a familiar phenomenon to be tolerated that as a last resort, the Ceylon Indian Congress launched its satyagraha.

The satyagraha, of course, failed in its primary objective of restoring all the disfranchised Indian names back again to the voters list. But it succeeded in a still more important objective. It forced the Government of Ceylon and the people of Ceylon to think about the injustice done.

The satyagraha so peacefully conducted, drew the attention of the citizens of Colombo, of the officials, of tourists and lastly reports about it, in spite of blackout, reached other corners of Ceylon as well. The Press in India gave proper publicity to the campaign, and the Government of India was also forced to lodge protests. Indirectly, the Premier of Ceylon had to devote a good portion of his election speeches to it and it was the chief issue in many electorates in the north. Initially, this publicity did some harm to the friends of the Indian cause in Ceylon in the elections but in the long run, it forced the Ceylon Government to take some action.

Much earlier, the Ceylon Indian Congress had tackled the problem from a new angle. It filed a suit against the Government for removing the name of K. G. S. Nair, an Indian voter and secretary of the Ceylon Indian Congress, from the electoral rolls, and sought that the Ceylon Indian Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act be declared null and void since it discriminated against a class of people, against the Constitution of Ceylon. This approach was the only direct way of exposing the fundamental injustice, apart from the individual provisions or the working of the Act by the Government. The case was decided in favour of Nair, in the Kegalle Court, but the Government appealed and got the judgment reversed in the Supreme Court. The Ceylon Indian Congress has appealed to the Privy Council and judgment is awaited.

It is after all this bitter struggle that the Government of Ceylon is now coming out with a few concessions regarding the working of the Act and also proposes to amend a few provisions. It is interesting to note that most of the difficulties, which have been pointed out by the Ceylon Indian Congress from actual cases, are difficulties which were pointed out by them even while the Act was being debated in 1948. The demand for the concessions were made while the satyagraha campaign was on,—in memoranda presented to the Premier. The first of the concessions wanted was removal of an artificial difficulty created by the Act, namely, proving

that the applicant is of Indian origin, before the Act could be applied to him. The insistence on proof remains, but not on an impossible documentary proof. Instead, an entry in the estate register or a simple affidavit is accepted. The second concession, regarding minors, and the third regarding the position of persons in an application, where the applicant has died, are yet to materialize, since an amendment of the clauses is necessary. A minor concession, regarding the use of the wrong application forms, was announced. The promised increase in the staff is yet to be carried out on the ground that the proper type of men are not available.

The concessions are not generous. The amendments to the Act and the increase of staff are yet to be carried out. This would only prolong the period of disposal of about 2,25,000 applications. The actual disposal rate, the method of disposal, and the legal hairsplitting done, are not encouraging to the applicants. The rate at which applications are being disposed of can be gauged from the table for 1952:

	Applications granted citizenship.	Persons granted citizenship from the applications.
January	51	184
February	68	291
March	121	425
April	30	119
May	105	377
June	152	560
July	82	282
August	278	1015
September	368	1179
Total for 1952	3444	12201

So far, about 16,000 applications seem to have been just gone through. As it is, the rate of disposal, even after increase in August and September due to the Premier's concession regarding Indian origin, is not fast. It will take years to dispose of all the applications at this rate. The Commissioner of Registration has, however, promised that in about two years' time all the applications would be disposed of, provided the increased staff is made available. More important than the rate of disposal is the spirit in which the disposal is done. There is little heartening news

on this score. Two examples will suffice to indicate this. Recently the Privy Council gave a decision in favour of two applicants, Badruddin and Cader, that they were entitled to citizenship, because their wives were 'normally' resident at the time of application—and not continuously for seven years as demanded by the Commissioner. About 40,000 applicants might have benefited by the ruling, but as it is it appears that most of these applications had already been rejected and legally inadmissible again for consideration, unless of course each of them files a suit. The Ceylon Government has made clear its intention to amend the Act to insist on continuous residence. That would adversely affect thousands of applications from Indian estate workers. Secondly, the secretary of the Ceylon Indian Congress, Mr. Nair, alleged recently that the Government was working its insurance scheme in such a way as to drive out a number of Indian workers' families back to India, by depriving the chief applicant of employment because of old age in which case he was ineligible for citizenship.

Figures of rejected applications are not available and the Registration Commissioner refused to give me any such figures for the time being. But in July a tentative figure was given, it showed that 2,690 applications were favourably disposed of and 2,637 rejected. The percentage of rejections, fifty, is rather staggering and as disposals are proceeding there is little reason to believe that this will alter favourably. There is even room to suspect that the Government or, at least over-enthusiastic officers, are indulging in planned victimization, since a large number of citizenship applicants have been caught and harassed as illegal immigrants, and some at least deported. From 1940 onwards, the Ceylon Ministers have time and again insisted on reducing the number of Indians in the island, and allegations are made from time to time that the late Premier used to say that not more than one lakh applicants should be given citizenship. One hopes that these doubts are untrue, and that the Act will be interpreted liberally at least during the disposal of applications.

MARRIAGE EXTRAVAGANCE

By Dr. C. S. S. SARMA

EXTRAVAGANCE, ruinous and contagious, on occasions like marriage, is common for the minor as well as major communities, in the length and breadth of this country. A certain amount of ego-expansion is permissible and pleasant. So is a dose of alcohol. But when too high or price is paid, resulting in ruin of body and soul for a delectable hour or two it requires to be halted by statute. Social legislation is no longer limping in this country. Freed from the approach, made *de rigueur* from the days of John company to the British rule and down to the middle of August 1947—wild cat legislation of all types and leaps into the dark are the order of the day. Dowry abolition can and should be easily accomplished. The parents settle the business of marriage. The urge to extravagance is bilateral. It drives the fathers of this especially to distress and ruina-

tion, bickering and bad debts. This is all to the detriment of the contracting couple. The totems and taboos or whatever you may call them, are all on the side of glitter and pomp and the "come-what-may-tomorrow" attitude if today the *sambhandhis*—almost always the bridegroom's party—go away pleased. All this smells of utter disorganization or degeneracy of the community.

It is no comfort to reflect that this community has within its fold the most learned interpreters of the law and philosophy, including the law and philosophy of the Vedas. Its priesthood has ceased to battle to preserve the integrity of the law of custom and social usage. It is content to imitate and pander to the "haves" and follow them to the cities. It ingratiates itself into the good looks of the lower middle class, abandons its pristine village haunts and pays lip-service to

the austere practices of the generations in the immediate past and is finally submerged in the urban melee. Brave and bright men blaze reformist plans, conduct meetings, associations, conferences galore, demand and obtain fugitive collections, but ever after are sucked back by a sad and saddening decree of fate into the obscure groove from which they arose. None but a man cast into the heroic mould of a Gandhiji can rescue this community from utter self-spoilation. It is not a rabid communalism that it wanted but stern discipline, and self-help.

Just how can this be done? Marriage bureaus?

These have been tried and abandoned. Only astrologers and their touts stand to derive a lucrative trade. Professional match-makers abound but they are too crude, grabbing and largely discredited. Friends bequeath out of date collections of horoscopes to other friends, who rummage in the rejection dumps and salvage a few eligibles. Others are left bemusing or stranded and years pass with the domestic peace and harmony destroyed or imperilled by an unmarried girl or two, and the hurrying and scurrying on of matrimonial quests become a hardy annual. The younger children perhaps the more eligible suffer, because of the stagnating elders. Aimless education continues, until the boy or girl is content to sublimate the frustrations into costly social service stunts or hedonistic pursuits. A bunch of relations and friends, well meaning snobs or parasites mostly, sap the economy of two individual members directly and the community indirectly.

Can there be any sentiment in the symbolism and ceremony of this sacramented marriage, when such sanctification is obtained at the cost of such sacrifice and subsequently tacked on to life-long submission to penury, pauperdom and petti-fogging in perpetuity? Sentiment should yield place to common sense.

Group marriages are intended not only for Harijans but I could presume it for the most favoured of fortune too, who should spend literally what they propose to spend in show by inviting their poor relations to come with their eligible boys and girls and make a common function of it. A house-cum-insurance policy may be taken to which both parties may contribute and participate. National Savings Certificates may be purchased and long term investments can be endowed for the couples' sole benefit. Both the rich and the poor can strain to their limit for this laudable end. The visitors to the marriage may be the barest and most indispensable. Religious ceremonies may not be stunted, curtailed or by-passed or jumbled to pay for the show or steal time for vainglorious pomp.

What does this show consist of? If you have been through three or four of them, in a single day, as it often happens—you feel you had been to a third rate coffee bar, a music class for amateurs, a gossip stand near the beach; of course, you annex at each step a packet of the parties, you also behold the faces beaming "achievement" especially on the faces of the brides and their parents. But he that casts the accounts the following day "he Knoweth all, He Knows, HE KNOWS!"

THE BRITISH ATOMIC WEAPON—I

By S. P. MISRA

THE report of the success of the British atomic test at Monte Bello was received by the British press in general as ending the concept of Britain being a second rate world power. The claim emphasises the important fact that imperialist Britain could not emerge a first class world power before the event.

The reason for the decline in British world status is indicated in the contemptuous, if picturesque, description of the British Isles as a "tailor-made" target for US atomic bomb by an American. Obviously, there could be no British military, political, economic, commercial independence of America unless and until Britain ceased to be a "tailor-made" target for the US atomic bombs. The islands could not become a sub-continent. But there could be, and now apparently is, a British atomic weapon superior, tactically deadlier, than the US atomic bomb.

British freedom of the threat of the US atomic bombs is the basis of the British attempt at solvency, security, use of atomic energy for constructive purposes in Britain, Canada, South Africa, Australia, development of India as a supplier of raw materials and a really profitable market for British exports. It is indeed the basis of the British bid for world domination.

But, thanks to the capitalist and imperialist systems themselves, the capitalists and imperialists propose but it is the exploited peoples who dispose. In the Anglo-US internecine rivalry for world domination there is danger to democracy in one eventuality alone. This is that Britain and America may unite in a colossal atomic, annihilating war of aggression on the socialist countries. But it is a remote possibility for two reasons.

First, the socialist countries are prepared for such a war of aggression. Secondly, even if they are not so prepared, they would certainly put up some resistance before being vanquished. This would affect the balance of power between Britain and America

but which cannot be determined beforehand. When the vanquished socialist countries are to be divided between victorious Britain and America it is impossible beforehand to determine which would be the dominant power and secure most of the world's markets.

End Of US Supremacy

The success of the Monte Bello test creates something of a parity between Britain and America. In case of inequality between them, however, the weaker of the two would naturally seek alliance with the USSR and China against the other, particularly when the capitalist system of the weaker is gravely endangered due to loss of markets to the dominant imperialist power. Even in the event of parity in power between Britain and America, each should seek alliance with socialist countries so to tilt the balance of power in its own favour—provided the USSR, China, Eastern Europe, including Germany, are together capable of effective resistance to Britain and America combined in war.

The residual possibility, then, is an internecine rivalry and perhaps war between Britain and America. Such a war may be avoided, but not the consequences of the use of atomic energy for constructive purposes under capitalists, whether by Britain, or America, or by both. But can such a capitalist internecine war or the constructive use of atomic energy by at least Britain be avoided?

Giving his "personal opinion"—"only an opinion, not a prophecy," as he put it, Mr. Churchill said a third world war was unlikely. "There is no reason why the free world should die," he said. "On the contrary, it has only to remain united and progressive." Clearly, in his opinion, for the "free world" to undertake a war of aggression on the socialist countries would be suicide. It would be better to remain united and share world markets for progress.

Mr. Churchill spoke in London on October 14, of all places, at a dinner

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given by the Pilgrims, an organization for promotion of Anglo-US friendship. General Ridgeway, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, was a guest of honour.

The Peoples Dispose

In a third world war, said Mr. Churchill, Europeans would suffer terribly which is what they dreaded most. He meant Europeans, who dreaded America, would fight the USSR to the last European and, in his own unique way, warned America it could not happen.

After the first month of the third world war the havoc would be such that no great army could be moved over long distances by land, warned Mr. Churchill. Government dependent on long land communications would be unable to control events.

On the face of it, Mr. Churchill meant the USSR, dependent on long land communications, would have its back broken in the very first month of the third world war. But, if so, why would such a bean-feast of a victorious war on the USSR be death to the "free world?"

We believe Mr. Churchill really meant that after the first month of the war America would be unable to maintain the long sea communications with Europe and would be unable to control events in Europe which, anyway, sees no reason to suffer horrors and die.

Mr. Churchill believes it possible, or says he does, for the "free world" to remain "united and progressive," that is, united and yet prosperous on foreign markets. We may not dispute it here and suppose it is possible. But Britain intends use of atomic energy for production to become solvent, raise production and rise to world supremacy on expansion of exports. The extremely critical British situation leaves her no other possibility. It may or not compel America to do the same. In any event, it would ultimately ruin the capitalist system.

Atomic Frankenstein

The surprising fact is that the use of atomic energy for destructive purposes, as in the atomic bombs, should benefit capitalist countries. The immense destruction caused by atomic bombs over vast areas would for long provide starved markets for capitalist production for profit. The denuded

areas would be reconstructed in the process of which immense profits would be made by capitalists who created the markets and managed to remain safe.

But the peaceful use of atomic energy would ultimately ruin the capitalists. Fremlin has recently proposed, in the *Atomic Scientists News*, the use of atomic energy for production in a way so as not to injure capitalist interests in coal and oil. That may be quite feasible. But that is not the main problem. It is not the main contradiction to the use of atomic energy for production and construction under capitalism.

The extremely critical British situation leaves Britain no choice but to seek immediate safety and avert collapse of the capitalist system by the use of atomic energy for raising production, expanding exports and capturing world markets, whatever the consequences of it to the capitalist system in the unknown future.

Capitalist production is solely for profit, not for consumption. Those who can pay costs plus profits can alone consume. Profits are added to costs of production. In the aggregate the people's purchasing power consists of wages received for producing commodities for capitalists. The wages paid out constitute the capitalists' costs of production. To these are added profits. A time comes when the people cannot buy goods at costs-plus-profits. It causes a slump in the home market.

The slump in the home market leads to imperialist seizure of foreign markets with or without actual political and military domination of undeveloped countries (as undeveloped perhaps as atom-bombed regions). There is in consequence an internecine rivalry between capitalist powers similarly situated for seizure of foreign markets. In a world already divided, there are internecine imperialist wars.

Imperialism causes rise of national capitalist opposition in the dominated countries, as also the exploited peoples' liberation wars. Such a struggle in turn causes fresh slumps and crises in imperialist economy. It will be evident that mere greater production is not the answer to the

imperialists'-capitalists' prayer for "progress"—prosperity based on exploitation of undeveloped areas.

The only ultimate solution, the only way out of this evil capitalist cycle, is the socialist system of production for consumption. In the socialist system commodities are produced all of which are available at cost of production. Commodities are always within the means of the people.

Use of atomic energy for capitalist production would flood market with goods at the same time as causing mass unemployment. Peoples' purchasing power would drop so low, such would be the destitution, that home and foreign markets sooner or later would both collapse. The ultimate situation would leave the capitalist-imperialists just where they started to build their "progress"—a crisis made worse by violent class struggle.

The Atomic Weapon

The use of atomic energy for constructive purposes would immensely raise productive capacity while, at the same time, cause mass unemployment and impoverishment, ultimately destroying capitalism through internecine capitalist and popular liberation wars. It can benefit the socialist system alone. Since socialist production is for consumption, it would successively raise the standard of living, provide more and more leisure, permit communism.

The basis of the British-visualised imperialist glory, and equally its ultimate violent death, is the Monte Bello successful test on October 3. News agency reports say: "It appeared to be a bomb exploded from a tower." The British Admiralty made the bare statement in London that an explosion had taken place. The British Minister of Supply, Mr. Sandys, described it as an "atomic weapon." Australian Defence Minister McBride also described it as an "atomic weapon."

The *Melbourne Herald* said Canberra officials believed the purpose of the test was to verify new British technique, developed theoretically, for a reduction in the size of the atomic charge to produce a certain and satisfactory explosion. There were two detonations, agency reports said. One for priming and the other the main blast. This led to the conjecture that it was primarily a tactical atomic

weapon that was being developed by scientists.

Americans noted the fact that all Australian authorised pronouncements, before the test, referred to it as an atomic "device" rather than a bomb. High British and Allied officials in Paris said, before the explosion, that Britain then knows how to make several types of atomic weapons. In a Paris British official discussion as to how European defense would be affected, the British official said he believed but one of the bigger strategic types would be exploded.

Scientists' Opinions

The Swedish nuclear physicist, Prof. Karl Siegbahn, said in Stockholm that the political importance of the "British explosion" far overshadowed its scientific significance. We ourselves believe that Britain has successfully developed a very practical atomic weapon. It may not cause indiscriminate destruction in as large an area as does the US atomic bomb. The US bomb is for "strategic" use—indiscriminate large-scale destruction. The British weapon is for tactical use, attacks precise (military) targets in which it is probably far more destructive. The American is a terror weapon; the British, a practical weapon.

We believe the political and economic consequences of the development of this new British atomic weapon are far greater than its scientific significance. But its scientific significance is not to be minimised. Apparently, the British scientists have succeeded in developing a method of releasing atomic energy for a longer duration—greater in time—than is released in the US atomic bomb and that for a smaller amount of fissionable material. If so, it is no mean achievement. We intend going into details of this possibility later. For the present, very important as may be such an achievement, it can have no peaceful use for some time to come. It may be peacefully used some time in the future in polar regions.

The Sydney University physicist, Prof. J. P. Baxter, believes Britain is now "a little" ahead of America in the atomic bomb race. One of France's leading atomic scientists, Duc de Broglie, said in Paris it showed Britain could lead in atomic science.

as in other spheres. The Australian physicist, Mr. W. J. Magini, who watched the test, believed Britain concentrated on producing "a more effective atomic weapon than the world has seen before."

Saha's View

Magini believed it was a bomb of conventional size but spread destruction over a wider area than comparable American blasts. British scientists advised that not much significance be attached to the unusual zig-zag cloud sent up by the Monte Bello blast, unlike the mushroom type cloud formation in the US atomic bomb blast. Prof. A. M. Low said the cloud formation depended on a number of factors, such as the weather and life on the ground.

Low believed "it was probably a smaller explosion than past atomic tests though its effects may be greater." Of the least practical utility were the views of Sir C. V. Raman and the British National Committee of Science for Peace the President of which is Prof. Gregory and among whose members are Prof. J. D. Bernal and Dr. Burhop, all eminent scientists.

Raman, as "a humble follower of the Buddha," simply did not rejoice though he expected it of the British. The NCSP merely protests against the expenditure of some £200,000,000 over its development which might instead have been used to raise the standard of living of the people. The pacifist attitude simply wished the hard fact of the bomb did not exist. But it does exist.

We believe most useful was the indication of possibilities given by Prof. M. N. Saha, M. P., Director, Institute of Nuclear Physics, Calcutta, to a PTI correspondent. Saha thought the Monte Bello weapon appeared to be an atomic missile, rocket-propelled, radar-piloted, exploded by proximity fuse. It was a terrible weapon, he said, if one had been developed.

"With such a weapon atomic warfare can be conducted from distant bases by pressing a button," said Saha. If those possessing stockpiles decided to use them "nothing can save the big cities."

Saha may be right in every respect but is certainly wrong in his attitude of despair.

THE LONELIEST MEN IN THE WORLD

By VERNON BROWN

THE drama of the recent air rescue of 12 airmen who had been marooned in their crashed plane on the Greenland ice-cap has focused attention once again on the perils of the Arctic.

Behind them they have left the loneliest men in the world—the 25 members of the British North Greenland Expedition who are now preparing for their winter stay in the Arctic wastes.

At two points—one at the main base of the expedition at Britannia Lake on the east coast of Greenland where the majority of the members will remain, and another at the forward ice-cap station 300 miles inland—the explorers will stand by waiting for the winter to do its worst.

The greatest ordeal will be faced by the men at the forward station. It will be manned only by a group of

three men, who will remain there 800 miles from the North Pole alone for five months before being relieved. Their chief duty will be to make weather observations 9,000 feet up on the snow-covered mountain.

Yet even at the main base the appalling conditions of the Arctic winter will test the hardihood of the men to the limit. Blizzards reaching 100 m.p.h. are expected, and the temperature may sink as low as minus 37 degrees Fahrenheit.

What will life be like for these men at the forward and main centres?

At least they will be the best-housed men of any Arctic expedition.

Their huts—prefabricated units of plywood—and tents are both of "double-construction." The tents are made of two skins with an air passage between; and similarly, each hut is in reality two huts, one built inside the other.

Snowdrifts will build up against the huts, exposed to the worst weather in the Arctic, and the men searching for still further warmth and protection will dig subterranean living rooms, store rooms and communicating tunnels out of the compressed snow.

Escape Tunnel

One of the tunnels will be an "escape tunnel" burrowed to avoid the risk of being buried alive.

As the days shorten the need for a daily routine becomes vital. Outside forays become more rare. The battle against boredom—greatest enemy of the Arctic winter—can only be won by systematic work.

So the duty lists go up in the huts telling each man his daily task. There is cooking to do, checking and assessment of the stores, care of the huskies and the sledging equipment, and taking readings and recordings from the various instruments.

In such conditions food is of paramount importance. Psychological as well as calorific values have to be considered.

There are plenty of emergency concentrated foods and vitamin pills, but there are also supplies of all kinds of tinned foods. In fact, the explorers will be better fed than many people at home.

Arctic Rations

Arctic rations include boiled beef and carrots, tongue, stewed steak, sardines, butter, biscuits, chocolate, baked beans, jellies, rice, various dehydrated vegetables, tins and tins of peaches, pears, plums, pineapples, pickles, chutney and jams.

To vary the menu still further, hunting parties will catch penguins and seals.

Fresh water presents little difficulty. The usual method is to melt snow in the kettle, but this is a slow process, as snow melts down to about one-tenth of its volume. Pure water can sometimes be got from indentations in the ice.

If life is to remain tolerable men in the ice lands must consider everyone's feelings, particularly slight or serious discords. Trifles such as the way a man sucks his pipe, cracks a boiled egg, develops witticisms, can become the cause of major quarrels to men

whose nerves are under constant strain.

Fun and games, so far as possible, have been planned to keep men's minds occupied in the lonely hours. A favourite device of Polar explorers is the celebration of imaginary birthdays, but spontaneous ideas of this kind have to be backed by the more routine measures.

Entertainment Equipment

Among the equipment of the expedition are draughts, chess, cards and Snakes and Ladders, a football, and, of course, a comprehensive library.

The most debated part of the entertainment equipment was the gramophone. Previous Polar expeditions have always found gramophones a mixed blessing.

This is because it is impossible to take enough records to maintain variety, and the fact that differing choice between the men can easily result in an argument.

In this case the problem has been dealt with by taking long-playing records of classical and semi-classical music. There will be no midnight "blues" in the land of the midnight sun.

Experience has shown that jazz records soon lose their appeal.

Dominating the musical side, however, is Aberdeen-born Dr. C. G. M. Slessor, the assistant physicist, who took a set of Scottish bag-pipes with him.

Clothing Test

As for clothing, both the British and the American navies have for some years been carrying out special experiments in the development of Arctic apparel, and the results were at Commander Simpson's disposal. As a consequence the men of the expedition are equipped with the very latest type, and in fact, part of the purpose of the expedition is to test out new Arctic clothing under the worst possible conditions.

Everything that science and human ingenuity can do to make the winter ordeal of the men as pleasant as possible has been done. The only thing now is to await the progress reports from this gallant body of men now beginning lonely hibernation amid the mighty jewellery of the ice country—*News Chronicle*.



By V. P. SATHE

THE news of the proposed ban by Pakistan on Indian films came as a rude shock to the entire film industry. The day this report appeared in the press, the film people appeared to be in mourning, for, as almost all of them had calculated their budgets and returns on the basis of Pakistan market, they were upset. Without Pakistan market, most of them were faced with certain loss. Only Raj Kapoor was the exception among producers. He was not worried and enraged. In fact, the executive committee of IMPPA suggested, as a retaliatory measure, imposition of a ban on import of Pakistani films in India.

Meanwhile the people wondered what had happened to the goodwill delegation that had come from Pakistan and reached an unofficial agreement with the Indian film industry. This agreement has now proved not worth the paper on which it was written. Apparently, there are two groups in Pakistan's film industry. One of the groups believes that there should be a complete ban on Indian films and that way only lies the salvation for Pakistani film industry. The other group, which mainly comprises the goodwill delegation, believes that Pakistan cannot do without Indian films as well as Indian market. Hence it feels that a ratio of import should be fixed so that Pakistani films would have release facilities in India. That is why the goodwill delegation was anxious to have an agreement with India. But in that delegation there were members of the opposing group who in private talks were candid enough to express their dissatisfaction. This opposing group seems

to have a predominant voice in the Film Advisory Committee which has recommended ban of Indian films.

According to latest reports, the Pakistan Government has not yet accepted these recommendations. And one hopes that in the interest of the Pakistan film industry at least the Government will be wise enough not to ban Indian films. The banning of Indian films would seriously affect Pakistan theatres; and it is impossible for an industry which on an average has not been able to produce more than six pictures a year to fill the gap created by the ban on Indian films which were imported at the rate of 72 films a year. The ban, on the face of it, is ridiculous and cannot last long. The exhibitors and distributors of Pakistan will and must do their best to get this move thwarted. Let us leave it to them.

Apart from the ban, the most-discussed topic of the film press of Bombay was impressions of the delegates who have returned from Hollywood. The delegates seem to be very much impressed by what they saw in Hollywood studios, the manner of organisation, discipline and efficiency. They seem to be also impressed by the importance the Government attaches to the film industry in the U. S. A. and feel distressed to find that even our enlightened Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, thinks that the film industry is not a vital industry for this country. They feel confident that as a result of their visit, the doors of American theatres have been opened for Indian pictures. And if only our Government is helpful, Indian films

may earn the much-needed dollars for our country.

Picture Of The Week

Obviously inspired by 'Lover of Carmen,' Jupiter's *Rani* makes a conscious effort to be different from *Jadoo*, another adaptation of the same foreign film and in doing so introduces many irrelevant scenes and new dramatic complications which make the story involved and long.

The heroine of *Rani* is a gypsy girl; but not a real gypsy girl. She is the daughter of a king whom the gypsies kidnap in childhood—a highly improbable incident. But the moment she grows up into a young maiden, she behaves exactly as Nalini Jaywant did in *Jadoo*. Even the meeting between her and the soldier-hero follows the same pattern, resulting in the same sort of complications. And these scenes, interesting by themselves, suffer due to poor music and staleness of appeal.

Up to the interval, the patterns of *Jadoo* and *Rani* are very similar. It is only after the interval, while the hero is in hiding in the hills that the pattern changes altogether. Then comes a melodramatic pattern far removed from the original *Lover of Carmen*.

Indeed the character of Carmen is changed beyond recognition. And the wilful faithfulness and temperamental beauty become symbol of virtue and sacrifice, for in the end she shows readiness to give her life to save her lover. An ideal heroine emerges. But for a superficial display of frivolity in the first few scenes, there is hardly any difference between the traditional Indian heroine and this Indian version of Carmen. Though Bhanumati gives a very sprightly performance this fundamental difference makes *Rani* a poor and too non-violent an imitation of the original story.

Besides, it is long-drawn out. Yet as Indian pictures go, it is not a bad picture produced with slick technique that one expects from the South. Had it come before *Jadoo* it would have enjoyed more popularity. But released in these critical days, when people want nothing but the best, it has

hardly any chance to win the battle of the box-office.

Personality Of The Week

Much has been already written about Kishore Sahu. He has been hailed as 'genius' and 'acharya' by his friends; he has been ridiculed as a 'goody-goody genius' by his critics. I have been one of his critics. I still recall the day I first met him. It was at the Nagpur railway station over ten years ago when he was returning after the 'divorce' case that I was introduced to him by his former wife Snehprabha.

The occasion was hardly pleasant; hence the meeting did not prove very cordial. Since then I have met him rather infrequently but these meetings have given me a better understanding of the man.

The life story of Kishore Sahu has been published on many occasions. Sahu comes from Madhya Pradesh. He is educated and is a writer of Hindi short stories. Like most of the educated young men of the thirties, he owes his screen career to Himansu Rai, who signed him to play the lead in *Jeevan Prabhat* opposite Devika Rani. Even then he wanted to be a producer. His first experience as the producer of *Bahurani* was far from happy. Though the picture was not bad, he had to abandon the line. And after acting in *Punarmilan* and marrying and divorcing Snehprabha, he was out of picture for some time.

Later he staged a come-back as the director-star of *Kunwara Baap*, and became a producer and made *Raja*. Personally I did not like the picture, and it had a good reception in the North. Since then Sahu has been making pictures for Hindustan Chitra.

It was, however, when he made *Sindoor* for Filmistan that he won real acclaim and became a front-rank director. He also resumed his independent production activities and during the last five years made a number of pictures, *Rimjhim*, *Sawan Aya Re*, *Hamara Ghar*, *Bijlee*, *Kali Ghata*, *Sapna* and *Hami Duniya*.

Sahu is methodical in his work and he is quite a shrewd businessman. Though he has been often wrongly dubbed as a "genius," he does not suffer from any 'genius' complex as far as his work is concerned. He is

not fastidious, expensive or moody. He works as per schedule. He told me that he never took more than four months to complete a picture. That is why Sahu has been able to produce his pictures in time, though, perhaps, in doing so quality has sometimes suffered. But that is only to be expected.

Sahu is a success in life. He has a house of his own; all his relatives are well provided. His second marriage has proved very happy. Slump or prosperity, he has been conducting his production activity smoothly, with the result that he hopes to shoot *Hamlet* in less than three months. On the face of it, it appears impossible; but those who have watched Sahu work, feel he will keep to his schedule.

The people who call him 'genius' and 'acharya' are the people who have really done harm to his reputation. He has neither the air of an 'acharya' nor the pose of a 'genius.' Rld of all these prefixes, he is an intelligent, businesslike producer and a good artiste, more suitable for character roles than the romantic hero. *Hamlet* will be the real test of his talents, both as an actor and director.

News Of The Week

—Shobhana Samarth has been

selected by Sahu to play Hamlet's mother in *Khun-E-Nahan*.

—Bhagwan and C. Ramachandra have returned from Japan after a three-week stay in that country.

—Vasant Desai, the music director, returned from London after completing the musical score of *Jhansi Ki Rani*. K. M. Modi and his wife also returned from London last Friday.

—At a press conference Raj Kapoor declared that in his new picture *Aah* the hero and the heroine do not even touch each other, in romantic scenes. This was his reply to critics who accused him of introducing passionate love scenes. He performed the muhurat of *Boot Polish* on Monday, November 3—birthday of his father Prithviraj—and he was expected to leave for the outdoors of *Aah* the next day.

—John Page of M. R. Lights is in India for the purpose of starting a plant of manufacturing arc lamps and other lights required by the studios in India. He is negotiating with the Government for permission to start a plant in Bombay; this move, it is said, has been opposed by the film trade in Bombay.



Mr. Premnath Dogra, President of the Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, with his host, Mr. H. D. Rajah, M.P., at the party held at the "Woodlands" during his visit to Madras.

THE PLACE OF SANSKRIT IN INDIA

By Dr. UMESH MISHRA

(Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad)

THE study of Sanskrit prevailing in the country at present may be divided under two broad heads: (1) study in modern schools, colleges and universities, and (2) study in Sanskrit 'pathshalas' and 'vidyalayas'. The former will be referred to as modern method of studies, while the latter as traditional method of studies. In the former case, knowledge of Sanskrit is very superficial and generally very poor. It is not based on any sound training. The courses prescribed for the beginners in most cases are not reliable. Step-motherly treatment by the authorities towards Sanskrit teachers has made them disappointed and they do not take much interest in their work. The result is that teachers do not create interest in their students for the study of Sanskrit and students do not know anything beyond their course books. The tendency at present seems to be that the students take up Sanskrit as one of their optional subjects only because it helps them to secure high marks and subsequently, a good division and position in public examinations. Though the subject is so beneficial, yet very few students take it up because of lack of interest in it. Also, due to the lowering of the standard of examinations students having no genuine interest in the subject secure high marks.

Students have been found to avoid reading of Sanskrit texts in case they can get any English translation of these texts. This is also due to their lack of interest in the language and ignorance of the importance it has in our social and cultural life. Thus most of the students remain quite unacquainted with the vast scope of the literature even after obtaining the master's degree in the subject. And the students cut a very sorry figure whenever they are required to answer any question or speak at a public meeting. It is found that without having studied the subject a majority of people pose that they know all that

has been said in the Mahabharata or in the Puranas and speak anything and everything about them most irresponsibly. It is due to these irresponsible utterances of unqualified persons that much misunderstanding exists about the true nature of the contents of our Sanskrit texts.

Wrong Approach

It is a fact that courses of studies prescribed for our boys according to the modern method do not aim at understanding the cultural aspect spread over the vast field of Sanskrit literature. We know that it is not only necessary to teach the language to our boys but also to teach them or show them the path to understand themselves the ideas contained in Sanskrit texts in the proper context and in correct spirit. Hardly any attempt is made by our teachers either at the primary, or secondary or even at the university stage, to impart the teachings of the great thinkers of the past free from prejudices. This is the greatest mistake or calamity. Almost every one of us approaches the Sanskrit texts in order to find out support for our own biased views and for which we try to twist the texts in any manner we like. It must be made clear here that I am not at all opposed to having independent views, but what is meant is that it is our most responsible duty that we should always try to understand the texts as they are, free from our own individual interpretations. After having placed before the public the views contained in the Puranas or the Gita, for instance, we may, if we like, give out our own views separately and should not confuse the two together.

In India, free reasoning has never been lacking or suppressed, rather it has been very much encouraged. All this is possible only if we have interest to learn independently what actually has been said by our great thinkers of the past. We must bear in mind that all that has been said in the Sastras is only a very faithful record

of the direct visual experiences of the great thinkers of the past which have been left for the good and benefit of posterity. We are always free to accept them or reject them, but it is absolutely unfair to misrepresent them to the public. We know that in the Taittiriyaopanisad (I.11) the Acharya himself directly teaches the pupils not to accept and follow such of the teachings as are not found to be good. This kind of hatred towards our past contributions without properly understanding them seems to be the cause of all the present ills. The time has come to revive the sympathetic spirit of our younger generation and the Indian Republic should take a lead in the matter.

Traditional Method

Coming to the traditional method of studying Sanskrit, it may be said that it is most deplorable. The system of examination prevalent at present seems to be mainly responsible for the wretched condition of studying Sanskrit. The examination must have been started in the beginning as a means to judge the comparative merits of the students, but now it has come to be recognised as an end in itself. At present, the students read only those portions and teachers also teach the same, which they consider are likely to be asked in the examination in a particular year. They overlook the rest of a book even though the portions left may be most essential and important for the correct understanding of the subject. This bad habit has become so common that the teachers also do not like to exert themselves. The teachers mostly remain idle or keep themselves engaged in some other work and just a month or so before the examination dictate both important questions and answers to them and students memorise them rightly or wrongly and vomit them in the examination hall senselessly. It is due to this that sometimes students get through the examinations and even secure good marks but have no idea of the subject.

This practice has gained encouragement, so to say, because of the kind and lenient attitude of the educational authorities sometimes in consultation with the type of teachers referred to above and sometimes on their own account.

Lastly, I may refer to the courses of studies also. It has been found that the syllabus is not drawn up for the sake of learning but for something else, too. It should be free from any communal prejudices. The only aim in this should be to impart as much knowledge as possible to students within the limitations of time and capacity of the students. The scope of knowledge should be such as can be utilised for acquiring higher knowledge and also for moulding one's life and character and be as much beneficial to society as possible.

Another aspect of this is that the courses should be made more comprehensive. The course of Vyakarana, for instance, should include the study of elementary books on other allied branches as well, such as Mukta-vali, Vedantaparibhasa, Sakhyakarika, Mimamsaparibhasa, Raghuvamsa, Sakuntalam, Vrttaratnakara, and similar books.

In Olden Days

There was no system of examination in olden days or even if there was any, the students used to show their merits in open *sastrarthas* and could easily obtain laurels publicly both from the pandits and the interested gentry. Since this system has been discouraged, Sanskrit scholarship has very much deteriorated.

Another aspect of Sanskrit studies may also be referred to here. Both the pandits and the students living in the villages used to come in close contact with the public, particularly with the village-folk. The villagers could learn many things of their daily life, as it was found in the *sastras*, from these pandits.

The Sanskritists studied the *Sastras* and imparted knowledge to others from time to time. Since this sort of training has stopped, pandits have ceased to have any connection with the public. The knowledge, if there is any, in the pandits today, is only meant for getting through the various examinations and is of no use, in fact, to others. We have seen that even the students are not much benefitted by their teaching in the sense that they do not get any addition to their knowledge.

In these circumstances, it is suggested that the following steps may

be taken to revive the study of Sanskrit:—

1. Overhauling of the present system of examination and the courses of studies;

2. Introduction of *sastrartha* and revival of it with fresh vigour under the patronage of the Government;

3. Revival of the *Puranakathavacana* in the villages through qualified pandits and introduction of the study of the *Puranas* at various stages of education; and

4. Making Sanskrit a compulsory subject in schools and colleges.

As regards co-ordination of Sanskrit studies in the country the following points are suggested:—

1. All the 'pathasalas' and 'vidyalayas' should be grouped statewide under the control of a board or association or a Sanskrit university, the constitution of which should be approved by the Central Government;

2. These institutions should be grouped into three different standards: (a) those teaching Prathama and Madhyama courses, (b) those teaching Sastri and Acarya courses, and (c) those conducting higher studies for some research degree. For the latter, the Sanskrit universities should have a research department to conduct and guide Acharya and prepare for some research degree;

All students conducting research work on modern lines on Sanskrit subjects in schools, colleges or universities should be sent to the research department of the Sanskrit universities. This will then be the only place where the research students can have the advantage of coming in close contact with the indigenous scholarship of pandits and also the ancient traditions of Sanskrit studies. There is another advantage in this combination of the two types of scholars in one place and for one kind of work. Both the types of scholars will gain mutual benefit—one will supply the scholarship of indigenous learning

and the other the modern critical outlook.

3. For the research student the knowledge demanded of him should be comparative. For instance, researchers in Veda must have full knowledge of Avesta and old Persian.

4. Sanskrit universities in the various States should restrict admission to the research class. The maximum number in the research department in each university should not exceed 100. There should be a general test for admission. Overcrowding of the department will lower the standard.

5. There is another very important question and it is this: should we have only one type of training for all or should there be two different types? It would be advisable to have two different types of training. There should be one kind of training for those who would like to go in for higher studies in Sanskrit. But there are many students who, for various reasons, are not capable of prosecuting higher studies and are eager to learn Sanskrit and earn their livelihood. For such students there may be separate graded courses.

6. All the Sanskrit universities having under them various boards and associations should be linked together with a central board of Sanskrit studies, like the Inter-University Board. The constitution of the central board should be more or less of the type of that of the Inter-University Board with such alterations as may be necessary.

7. The board should be directly under the control of the Central Government. It should have sufficient powers to co-opt up to three experts of Sanskrit studies from different parts of the country from time to time. Its recommendations should have a binding effect on all the Sanskrit universities. It should first of all have courses to be taught on equal standards for examinations all over the country.—(A. S. P.)

The world's fastest passenger boat, with a speed of 50 miles an hour, has been tested on Lake Lucerne. The boat is 43 feet long, carries 32 passengers and is powered by a Diesel engine. At full speed it rises almost completely clear of the water and rides on outriggers projecting from either side of the hull. Swiss engineers say this system reduces water resistance and permits higher speeds in rough weather. Built at the Stansstad shipyards, the boat will be used on Lake Maggiore in Southern Switzerland.

AMBITION INDEED

By ZAFER RIZWANI

ON different occasions and at different stages of our lives, everyone of us has had some ambition or the other to fulfil. As school-children, most of us dreamt of a speedy deliverance from the tyranny of our teachers; and, after gaining a few more years' tolerance we sighed for some charm that could reveal to us, months ahead, the questions that were to appear in the exams. at the end of the year. And after maturing into full-blooded youths we pictured our daring adventures—our rescuing a child from being run over by a motor-car, or our excelling Lawrence Oliver in the college drama or, if we happened to be much more (or less) of the He-men type, our knocking out the town's most dreaded bully in a hand-to-hand fight—all this in the immediate presence of the colourful darlings who had chanced to capture our transcendent love. And I hope that a decade or two hence, when advancing age cripples our youthful hopes and enthusiasm, we shall still be found praying for some chance stroke of luck that would place us in the seat of a Chief Minister and thereby afford us an opportunity of showing the old boys how the government of a state is to be carried on.

Well, all these have been, or are likely to prove to be, great ambitions whose realisation by us has been an impossibility, not because of any short-comings on our part, but because of the convenient excuse which finds expression at an inconvenient length in the "unfavourable course of unavoidable circumstances."

Well, well, well; it is all human, isn't it? Let us hope so.

Now, leaving generalizations apart, the particular ambition of which I had wanted to speak here, was that cherished by my highly esteemed friend, Mr. G—, over a period of many years. He was about thirty years of

age, and although in his appearance and movements, he closely resembled a member of the aristocracy of Siam, he was far from being an Asian in outlook. He was always dressed in illfitting, but by no means unfashionable, clothes cut in genuine Saville Row style; and in his 'conversation' with us, he was never satisfied until he had spoken for at least five minutes in the grandiose and statesmanly language which is the object of unceremonious derision in books such as "King's English." But, it would be, to borrow G's phrase, 'a misrepresentation of facts,' to say that he passed off as a comic character in our midst. He was, as he always ventured to be, a highly respected and ungrudgingly honoured member of our group. He was an office-bearer of some rank in the town's premier public organisation, and he worked harder than anyone else to consolidate his position there. It was a treat to watch him taking part in the meetings of its working committee. On each and every topic under discussion, whether it was the awarding of scholarships or the holding of a public debate, he would refuse to keep silent even if they began to talk about matters over which he was not so well-informed. And he would plunge into the heat of the discussion, not as any ordinary individual would do, but as a seasoned politician condescending to allow the poor assembly the benefit of his wide knowledge and experience. He would stand up, his short and wiry frame erect as a soldier's, and then begin in measured tones, the elaborate speech he had prepared well in advance. "Mr. President," he would begin with emphasis on every syllable of the words, and pause for a minute to have a sweeping glance over the assembly, and then continue, "It is in the fitness of things that we lend thought to this topic, this resolution

urging us to come to a decision at..." and so on and so forth. The mellifluous and highly dignified speech would pour forth from his thin and shapely lips for no less than half an hour at a time. And when he sat down, at the end of this, he would have another sweeping glance at the audience. His small eyes twinkling with obvious triumph, he would smile to himself in a benign manner and get lost in the files he always used to bring into those meetings. And the august assembly would stare on, astonished and spell-bound, and generous in applause. For it always took the poor members of that committee some time to realise that Mr. G's speech had given them no guidance whatever, that what exactly had been the point he had wanted to stress, was still locked up behind the nobility of his brow, that his speech had after all been only a fearful drag on their time.

But whatever the reaction he met with, G. would go home in supreme satisfaction that he was well on his way to becoming the town's most popular public figure. But his one regret would always be that his position in a strictly commercial and rigidly disciplined enterprise stood in the way of his taking an active part in politics, which, to him, was the doorway to a career of sky-rocketing fame.

Nevertheless he contrived always to make the best use of the few opportunities he had of addressing public meetings. He was not the man to go away in annoyance if you had reserved for him only an unimportant item in the programme, like garlanding the chairman or delivering the vote of thanks. G's inventiveness, his phenomenal courage and his resolve to become a noteworthy public figure were such that he always managed to deliver some sort of a speech while fulfilling these insignificant assignments. Always and always his benign countenance would light up with obvious exultation and he would assure himself that he had made a very favourable impression on the audience and that in future he might reasonably expect a torrent of invitations to all the important dinners and select gatherings which broke the spell of drudgery in our little town.

At long last, however, G. had his

mighty chance. His association organised a mammoth meeting to which it invited a 'galaxy' of public speakers, 'Prof. Guha of the State College,' 'Principal Badr of the Science Institute,' 'Member of Parliament Shri Sankara Narayana Mudalliar Avargal,' and 'the illustrious poet, journalist, short-story writer, art-critic, historian, archaeologist, dramatist, scenario-writer Dr. H. V. N. Warrior!' The event was in celebration of the silver jubilee of the pre-eminent association, of which G. was an 'architect,' and it was resolved to hold the function in the town's most spacious hall after decorating and suitably illuminating the same at great expense. And the most important feature of this event, from G's (bachelor) point of view, was that a number of women should be invited to the occasion and special seating arrangements be made for them.

As the long-awaited day arrived, G. took his job in all seriousness and began preparations right from early morning. Full twelve hours before the opening of the meeting, he rose and after a thorough bath, spent a little over two hours in selecting the dress he was to wear on the occasion. As I have mentioned before, G. had a huge wardrobe to choose from—three dozen cotton suits seven or eight bush-shirts of linen, two impeccable (but rather showy) achkans, and one very costly lounge-suit of mauve-coloured tweed. (This inventory was given by G. himself at one of the committee meetings when someone initiated an unnecessary discussion on the regional costume.) After a great deal of arguments with himself he decided upon the costly suit and got it specially pressed by a neighbouring laundry. Then he came to face the most vexing problem he had ever had to tackle: the choice of a neck-tie. For somebody had quite convinced him that the only object of interest that the fair sex found in men's costume was the necktie, and G. was determined that the sort of tie he would wear that evening should steal the show from all the tall and towering fellows who had always been snatching away his prizes. Hence he rejected one after the other all the cravats he had in his possession as they did not quite fit in with the spectacle he wanted to present. He

therefore rushed to a neighbour and persuaded him to give him the loan of a tie; but the latter, although being a perfectly noble-minded person, had not the heart to let the opportunity pass by without his deriving the fullest possible advantage out of it. He pinched a ten-rupee note out of G. as a long-term loan.

After this I need not appraise you in detail of the hundred little things and the thousand little thoughts with which lovable little G. kept his mind occupied for the rest of the day. It would suffice to say that he was on pins and needles throughout the period, constantly looking at his watch, pacing his little room, and relapsing from time to time into spells of day-dreaming—of the success that was sure to crown him that evening. Now don't press me, I pray you, to reveal the fond expectations which made him feel like walking on air. I have not the heart to tell you (since I am myself a bachelor and therefore pledged to guard the secret aspirations of his hierarchy, how G. felt constantly exhilarated as he thought of how he would ascend the gorgeously decorated dais to deliver the all important vote of thanks; of how the audience would applaud him, and the young men present stare enviously at his suit (and necktie); and of how on looking up at the balcony, he would behold the tantalising spectacle of a hundred beautiful damsels, all of them awaiting marriage, looking down at him with enticing eyes—eyes that were afire with admiration of him! Oh, I cannot tell you of all that. G's fancies are much too dear to him to bear ridicule at your hands.

Well, now; it is time we switched to the spacious hall that was to witness G's supreme triumph. If you had been one of those privileged with admission to it, you would never have tried to suppress the upsurge of warm emotion and unbridled enthusiasm in your heart. All those assembled were agog with excitement and were in a mood of rejoicing. The dais was splendid, lit by a blinding array of multi-coloured lights and fluorescent tubes, and the speeches were marvellous. But who cared for the speakers? All eyes were turned to the blessed balcony on which, like beloved fairies peering from celestial heights, a

representative gathering of the town's fair citizens graced the occasion. Their beautiful faces, brightened with glee (and frequent touches of their favourite talcs), and their ethereal figures wrapped in saris of dazzling colours, cast a magic spell over the entire assembly. And G's mouth watered as he forecast to himself the joyous result of the performance he was shortly to make. His hands cold with anticipation, he rubbed them against each other and every now and then applied his silk handkerchief to his broad, smooth-shaven face. But as the hours dragged on and the speakers felt no need to economise on time, G's resistance to nervousness waned. Gloom appeared to descend on him and he felt tortured as the vague fear crept into his heart that he might fail at the last moment to deliver a really 'A-1' speech.

He therefore seriously began to consider an effective remedy to all this unhappy state of affairs. And with unerring inventiveness, he told himself that nothing would stimulate his jagged nerves so effectively as a cup of sweet brown tea. And consulting his watch he reassured himself that he could easily return before the time of his performance came. He turned and as I was the first to catch his eye, invited me to accompany him. And I need not tell you I had not the heart to refuse. The speakers were, all of them, orators of the type that Chesterton has spoken of (as those who either love the sound of their own voice, or are blissfully unaware of what their voice is like). And G's overfilled pockets seemed to hold out promise of a sumptuous snack at a superb restaurant. I went.

Fifteen minutes later, G. and I hurried back to the hall. All the way G. had been repeating to himself in an undertone his elaborate vote of thanks, and his face was radiant with exultation. But as we entered the hall, and our eyes focussed on the stage, G's face fell. A spasm of indefinable terror overtook him and in a voice full of dismay he shrieked out something I could not catch in that suspenseful moment.

Someone other than G., someone totally undeserving of the honour, was delivering the vote of thanks, while great G was.....

“THE HEALING TOUCH”

By J. B. KRIPALANI

WITH regard to the agitation in the country over the latest exodus of Hindus from Pakistan, Sri Nehru is reported to have said at Nagpur that the suggestion of war with Pakistan on the issue was “childish and irresponsible.” This is the first time we hear that any responsible individual or party has suggested war. At least papers reported no such suggestion before Sri Nehru talked of it. Politicians have often the habit of confusing issues to score a point against their opponents. The only suggestion made so far is that some effective measures be taken to stop this oft-recurring exodus that adversely affects our economy, our reconstruction plans, inter-State amity and produces in the country a restlessness which bodes no good for our internal peace.

Having ridiculed the idea of war because, as he said, “no war resulted in any good, not even to the victors,” the Prime Minister went on to say, “I cannot say what will happen tomorrow or the day after.... We have to be prepared for everything. We will not tolerate any humiliation to our country. But we must try to solve the problem in a spirit of co-operation.” If words have any meaning (which they often do not have when politicians speak to justify their policies), Sri Nehru himself does not rule out strong action, may be even war. Only he does not contemplate it today. The difference, therefore, between him and his critics is that of timing. How does this difference arise? Perhaps Sri Jawaharlal does not think that the “humiliation to our country” has been great or continuous enough to justify strong action. That, one may say, depends upon the sensitiveness of different individuals to ‘humiliation.’ There are yet other factors. Those who talk in terms of strong action have come to the conclusion that Pakistan is determined to squeeze out the minority, till the last Hindu is gone. It is also determined to see that those who are there live in destitution, dishonour and humiliation. The critics believe that Pakistan, born

of communal passions, is determined to remain a communal state. It is the question of analysis of an international situation. Nobody in this matter need pride himself on maturity of judgment and dub the opposition as childish. So far the views of the opposition have been justified by events. Very often the Prime Minister has himself admitted that the position of the minority community in Pakistan is ‘not a happy one’ and that it is ‘difficult’. He must have by now realised, as have most of his countrymen, including Congressmen, that it is impossible for a Hindu to live in Pakistan with self-respect. So the question is not one of maturity or childishness in politics but of proper reading of the situation. On this, more people in India will agree with the Government's critics than with Sri Nehru. As for any ‘co-operation’, if it is not a mere word, it implies joint aims and combined effort. Is the aim of Pakistan identical with that of India? Is there any desire for or possibility of co-operation in this matter on either side? The only possible co-operation, if co-operation it can be called, will be for India to follow a policy similar to Pakistan in India!

At Nagpur Sri Nehru made a difference between the government and the people of Pakistan. The latter, he said, “desired to live in peace”. This is theoretically correct. The world, however, knows to its cost that there was no difference in practice between Hitler and the German people, the Fascist Government and the Italians, the Japanese imperialists and the Japanese People. Today those who read the sign of the times know that there is no difference between the people and their governments. Such differences are found in political and sociological manuals and professorial dissertations. They have no place in practical politics.

In his press conference on November 2, in Delhi, Sri Nehru said that though the situation at present was normal, yet, “so far as the other matter, namely the general condition of

the minority in Pakistan is concerned, it has never been satisfactory. It is related more to the basic question of Indo-Pakistan tension."

What is this "basic question"? Has it anything to do with the pernicious communal-state theory of Pakistan or has it any other basis? We do not know what the Prime Minister believes. He was not clear on the point. But the bulk of our people believe that the basic question, as in Hitler's Germany, is that of the pernicious communal-state theory. However, what steps does our 'national' Government propose to take to improve the "general condition of the minority in Pakistan" or solve the "basic question of Indo-Pakistan tensions?" Sri Nehru called the suggestions of his supposed opponents as quack remedies. Let us hear what the scientific doctor has got to say? So far as we can see from the report of his press conference, he says nothing except in general terms that "I am quite clear in my mind that the ultimate remedy for the ills of Indo-Pakistan relation is to apply a touch of healing to them and not the touch of loud shouting. That does not mean that one should submit to wrong things. One should resist evil all the time and should be prepared for any emergency. Nevertheless one should always think of healing the widening breach." (Italics mine). These are all very good sentiments but the trouble is no "healing touch" that produced any effect has yet been applied. We have not seen any particular scientific ointment that has been prepared, or is in the process of being prepared, much less applied. Anyway, Sri Nehru has given no idea of what the "healing touch" is to be. Of course "shouting" is no remedy but will Sri Nehru tell us what else can the public do except 'shout' to make themselves heard by ears that have sealed themselves to reason, to national good or

One cannot help wondering as one reads the street signs in Odessa. For instance, there is a certain Dyukovskaya street. Now, "dyuk" in Russian translation means "gertsog" (duke). A "Duke Street" in a Soviet city—this sounds strange, to say the least. The main street of Odessa is called De Ribas Street. There is no point in disputing De Ribas' services in the building of Odessa (though, by the way, they have been greatly exaggerated by prerevolutionary historians). But Odessa is primarily famous not for the name of De Ribas but for the names of Pushkin... Some other street names, like Kladbishchenskaya (Cemetery) and Chumnaya gora (Plague Hill) have also become obsolete.—THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS.

national honour. We know our Prime Minister is very touchy about honour. But national honour is something different. Confidence and strength are its foundations. Sensibility without action is so much sentiment. What the nation wants is not the talk of "honour" but its vindication by some action and resistance to evil. And only the Government can vindicate national honour and resist political evil. We know what will happen if its vindication is left to the people. Let not the Government put them, the people, to that test.

So far as economic sanctions are concerned, India need not initiate them. They are being progressively taken against India by Pakistan itself. No country in the world, except perhaps Russia, has banned foreign films. In its action Pakistan has singled out India. It has not banned films from any other country. What people want from our Government is not any particular action but action that will meet the situation.

The Prime Minister may console himself that conditions have become normal. But they can never be normal in a situation fundamentally abnormal. The present lull in the exodus was not unexpected. Its appearance at this stage is true to the pattern of Pakistan's policy in respect of minorities. That policy is to apply periodically some irritant to drive away lakhs of people and when there is any outcry in India to slacken the process for sometime, but never to stop the current; a trickle big or small must always continue. Pakistan is not interested today in trying its might-in-arms with India. But it is always at its self-imposed task and its mission. This it tries to fulfil in many ways. It is for a self-respecting and vigilant India to put a stop once for all to this diabolic game that is destructive not only of our national economy but our very soul as a people.

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ISSUED
WEEKLY

U. N. CROSS CURRENTS

MR. TRYGVE LIE'S resignation as Secretary-General leaves the United Nations in a quandary. At the time of his appointment Mr. Lie was Foreign Minister of Norway. His transfer to the United Nations cut short a political career in his own country that might have led him to the top as Prime Minister. The glamour of limelight on the international scene seems to have abated somewhat, and lately Mr. Lie would appear to have been drawn to the idea of a fresh trial at the interrupted fortunes of his political career in his own country. This personal reason did not however figure conspicuously in the statement of the Secretary-General announcing his resignation and the comments that were provoked by it. The more immediate reasons have occupied, naturally enough, the major part of the world's attention.

The first of these is the Soviet attitude to the Secretary-General. Since Mr. Lie gave his support to the North Atlantic alliance, he ceased to be *persona grata* with the Russian Government, and Russian delegates embarked on a policy of aggressive non-cooperation not caring even to address their U. N. correspondence to him as Secretary-General. They choose to direct it instead to a nebulous addressee, styled The Secretariat. The U. S. Government, on the other hand, have been no more agreeable in their dealings with Mr. Lie. Dark suspicions of favour shown to Communists and fellow-travellers in the recruitment of staff to the Secretary-General's office have poisoned the U. S. Government's attitude to him. Apparently he has been constrained

under pressure to dismiss some members of his staff and suspend others, while feeling that such treatment was not justified by the circumstances.

The Secretary-General elevated his resignation to a highly civilised level by saying that it was made in the interests of agreement among the five great Powers; but it is doubtful if any successor can be found capable of steering clear of the pitfalls that have led Mr. Lie himself to resign. The present Secretary-General is neither rash nor tactless. He has won esteem and affection from delegates of almost every nation represented on the United Nations Organisation. He is not deficient in energy, address, charm and administrative competence. He is impelled to leave his office, not on account of any defect in his own character and equipment but because of the impossible nature of the strains imposed on him due to the internal hostilities within the institutions connected with the U. N. O. The fact of the matter is that Russia and U. S. A. pull in contrary directions in U. N. politics and no administrator in charge of the U. N. Secretariat can manage to please one of the parties without antagonising the other and he must inevitably displease both. It is fortunate that Norway, the home of Mr. Lie, is so impregnably rooted in neutrality, that illwill directed against him as Secretary-General has not the slightest effect in dislodging it from that safe mooring. But the position might be dangerously different if the Secretary-General had come from a country more susceptible to international power politics. It is to be hoped therefore that Mr. Lie's

successor would not be drawn from any of the nations falling within the powerful warring blocs.

Dr. Weizmann

DR. Chaim Weizmann who died last week was a scientist of the first rank before the Zionist movement claimed him and launched him on the political career that led to the Presidency of Israel State. Born in Poland in 1874 he had his education in the universities of Berlin and Freiburg. He visited England at the age of 29 and became Reader in Bio-Chemistry in the University of Manchester. The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave him an opportunity to render valuable service to the British Government. The Balfour Declaration which for the first time committed the British Government to the establishment of a Jewish National State in Palestine, was to some extent the outcome of his labours.

In 1934 Dr. Weizmann established a home in Palestine and devoted himself

more fully to political activities. Though undisputed leader of the Zionist movement, his influence was subjected to severe attacks by the extremist sections in the movement who had no relish for his pro-British attitude. Disappointed Zionists, thwarted in their eager desire for a Jewish State, attributed their disappointments to Dr. Weizmann's leadership. His opportunity came at the end of the second world war when it was realised that the settlement of the Palestine question was a matter of urgency and the State of Israel was formed by a quick decision of the United Nations Commission. Dr. Weizmann was offered the post of President in its first provisional Government. He was re-elected to the office two years later.

Dr. Weizmann was a scholar and scientist as well as a politician and statesman. He had command of as many as six languages. He towered above all his colleagues in the obduracy of his faith that the State of Israel he dreamed of, would be realised in his own life time. He lived to see that faith justified.

Sotto Voce

FEUDAL MANNERS AND DEMOCRATIC MORALS

WE live in enlightened times when to be described as feudal is worse than to be accused of all the sins in the Decalogue. And good manners are perhaps a sure symptom of *fin de siècle*. It is nevertheless a pleasant change from the brusqueness which is flaunted by Swaraj India as the outward and visible symbol of a wholly imaginary efficiency when in those backwaters, the ex-Princely States, you find a norm

of behaviour which makes the distinction between gentle and simple meaningless. But this statement is subject to qualifications. To the extent that the new gods have prevailed to that extent the old gods are in retreat, as mild Saturn was before blatant Jupiter Tonans.

For a man whose normal ambition might have been a Deputy Collectorship to find himself invested with



semi-regal powers can be an unsettling experience. Not many of them have triumphantly survived the test. An older generation of outsiders, both administrators and experts, found in these States that scope for talent and enterprise which was denied them at home and their names are household words among a grateful people. There are a few of this breed still left. But they cannot stand the snobbishness of the new bureaucracy. The latter for its part is puzzled and irritated by the spectacle of men who, having lived all their working lives in the stronghold of Feudalism, yet display a freshness and vitality which seems to mock their own pretensions to modernity.

Whether it was the Nero-like revels of a military regime in a premier State or the upstart rudeness of Mr. Pettifog in authority elsewhere, it is clear enough that the effect on local morale has been anything but happy. History is repeating itself: the British overlordship left its most odious mark on just those States where third-rate Englishmen long ruled the roost. In one of these admission to the palace grounds is governed by elaborate sartorial regulations reduced to print. And the guards at the gate interpret them with a dogmatic authority against which there is no appeal and an aggressiveness wholly uncharacteristic of Rajasthan.

The result is extremely diverting. The rule against uncovered heads is as rigid as among the Quakers. It must be sola topee or khadi cap—you see they are abreast of the times—if you wear your hair in European style. If you have a tuft to conceal it must again be sola topee,—though a turban may be tolerated provided it is of the Marwari pattern and you wear your dhoti in Marwari style. And the guards keep a choice collection of greasy, battered topees to help you out for a modest fee of two annas!

It was here, incidentally, that my young companion crowed with delight on coming upon that rather rare thing, a palace library. But his enthusiasm was considerably damped when he discovered a book with the intriguing title of "British Beaus and

Belles" leaning against a set of Kipling bound in vellum. The art galleries and museums exhibited, side by side with priceless illuminated scrolls and Rajput miniatures, Brummagem of the most outrageous description reverently enshrined in glass cases. The one betrayed as surely the bourgeois taste of governesses from Brighton and tutors from Pimlico as the other was eloquent of the refinement of a race which fought valiantly and lived humbly. The descendant of an ancestor who dined on the floor in a room ten feet by eight, its walls covered with pictures of all the sacred rivers to induce holy thoughts, and who earned undying fame as the defender of Hindustan is remembered chiefly for cherishing a water-closet which provided a mechanical substitute for the hand.

But to their unsophisticated subjects these men still stand for Rama Rajya. And they cling to them all the more desperately because they do not like the look of the new demagogues. On the day the no-confidence motion in the Rajasthan Assembly failed, my companion artlessly asked a small town attorney, our *vis-a-vis* in a railway compartment, which was really the better side. The man, beaming, replied, "Why, you can judge for yourselves: it was the Congress, the progressives, against the jahgirdars, the reactionaries." And he stoutly maintained that the Congress was a happy family!

However simple he may be the hardy Rajput is not taken in by this cant. He does not understand paper government. I do not know whether graft and nepotism were ever so great an affliction in these States as today they undoubtedly are in our caucously democratic society. But I could see that officials, high and low, brought up in the old tradition, are more readily accessible and more genuinely helpful. And things get done much more quickly and without fuss. You have only to contrast it with the callous indifference and the crass ignorance of underlings in a cosmopolitan wen like Bombay to realise that our civilisation is going west with a vengeance.

VIGNESWARA

NO DO-NOTHING MINISTRY

By M. S. SRINIVASAN

"We have not been an idle government. We have had an active life, and that is substantially one of the conditions of a happy life."—GLADSTONE.

IT has become the fashion nowadays even with those who are not familiar with the three R's to comment upon and be critical about, what could be called, the three R's of Madras politics, Rajaji, Ration and Rain. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Rajaji ministry is the bull's eye both for its detractors and admirers. Two fortuitous circumstances, however, have aided its advent.

First, the year 1952 has closed the epoch of tremendous news and begun that of the fruitful essay at sovereign democratic republic. Five Independence Days had gone by, and in each one of them India was so much in the atmosphere of kaleidoscopic changes, so much the cock-pit of confusing events, that she could not divert her attention and energy to beneficent purpose. The independence that greeted us in 1947 with utmost celerity; the tragic trek in consequence of a cruel partition; the swollen roar of the stream of carnage and confusion that followed the trek; the marvellous integration of the Indian states, its completeness alone matching its skill; the constitution on the anvil; the thorny problem of Kashmir and Jammu; and the greatest democratic experiment of adult suffrage—these were the burdens that weighed heavily upon her. But this year there is no compelling situation, no focal point in the picture of Indian political life to distract one's mind. It has been drab and peaceful. The ship of the Indian state, thanks to our Captain, the great Prime Minister, is in smooth water. The sirens that bewitched the crew with false notes have gone the way they had come. The shoals and rocks have been rounded off. The tidal waves have rolled back. Even the roaring forties of Pakistan have been quiet and silent as never before.

Secondly, the ministries that have gone before Rajaji's could, like the Bourbons, learn nothing, forget nothing and foresee nothing. Such a lurid

light of alleged corruption, proven incompetence and sordid squabble and dissension had been cast on them that even a ministry of mediocrities that followed was destined to win immortal fame if only it was composed of honest ministers. The elections proved that the faith of the people in the Congress remained unshaken, even though they had lost confidence in certain types of Congressmen. Rajaji, as the head of the ministry, is not only integrating people's morale and patriotism but disproving the thesis that the Congress in this State is a spent force. More than achieving this, he might well become the pilot who weathered the storm of entrenched Communism and material distresses.

In the crucible of the public life of Rajaji what proportion statesmanship bears to administrative talents and both of them to his philosophy of life, it is difficult to determine. The statesman in the administrator brings out his intrepidity and resourcefulness; the administrator in the statesman accounts for his freshness and originality; in both of them the grandest ingredient, or to use the letters of which he is fond, the G.C.M., is the philosopher. The clearness of mind, the decision of purpose, the sense of opportunity, the steadfastness of aim, the spirit of service and self-sacrifice, and the artless art of persuasiveness, in word and in act—these gifts of a superlative statesman he possesses all together and in abundance. His farsight and forethought have always been available to the nation which is poorer now for having brushed them aside when he offered his famous but unfortunate formula on Pakistan. His forte is political courage—a rare virtue among politicians—the ability to be in the van of circumstance, to take, to use the words of the poet, the arrow's barb before the tense string murmurs, the capacity to sponsor and sustain unpopular causes in spite of vehement popular opposition. The more complicated a problem, the clearer is his insight into the issues involved and clearer still the solution which he

offers to it. His contribution to Tamil literature, imposing as it is in quality and quantity, is bound to be as enduring as some of his political achievements. Thus the tap-root of his versatility is his compactness of culture, for he diffuses sweetness and light, lucidity of mind and largeness of temper, even as the Mahatma exhibited them in more giant proportions amidst vaster political arenas.

The strangest and most striking feature about the public life of Rajaji is the attitude of almost the same set of Congressmen of this State towards him a decade ago and now. They bundled out and ostracised C. R., the vigorous and ambitious politician who was staking his all for becoming the Premier of Madras; ten years have gone by, and now those who had arrayed themselves against him importune, supplicate, almost beg Rajaji, the aged ex-Governor-General come home to rest and spend peacefully the autumn of his life, to be the head of a ministry and to repair the political canvas which they had torn to shreds and patches. To what alchemy can we attribute this political transmutation? Time has played its legitimate role as a healer; the sediment of party and group fanaticism has reached the bottom; lack of competent leaders has been revealed in a unique election which weeded out the unworthy mediocres; and more than these, there is the traditional convention of Madras to lionise only those in whom north India has discovered greatness and set the stamp of immortality.

That the Rajaji ministry has caught the imagination of the people is indicated by the small investors contributing to the 5 crore loan and by the belief in certain quarters that the downpour of abundant rain is the sequel to his ingenuity. Though he never claimed a seat next to Varuna in the Vedic pantheon, he drew pointed attention to the cognate value of rain and prayer. A few seem to have prayed, and rain has come for the benefit of all. Here is an instance of effect or result being of more consequence than cause or origin. Instead of confusing themselves by raising extraneous issues and making themselves more miserable after rain than before it, people should hope, if not pray, that more rain would pour so that the famine-stricken areas like

Rayalaseema might get relief at a time when the man at the helm of affairs knows how to benefit by such a bounty of Nature. After all, the difficulty with public opinion is that we cannot say when it is public and when it is an opinion and that it is almost always fickle and indefinite. History shows that the Athenian people attributed the outbreak of plague to his chicanery when Pericles was no longer in their good graces, and exiled Aristides for they were tired of his being called 'the Just'.

Many of the reforms of Rajaji, like those of his first ministry, bear the lion's claws. His present ministry is a commentary upon "agriculture and character."

The decontrol of food and the Tanjore Tenants Protection Ordinance are the first attempts at solving the problem of self-sufficiency in food. The former has broken a vicious economic circle, and courageous as the reform is, it has also removed fear, fraud and falsehood that haunted everyone from the peasant to the procurement officer. The Tanjore Ordinance rebuilds the granary of South India and saves the district itself from the double menace of Communism and feudal villainage.

"Character," says Plutarch, "is simply habit long continued." By sowing a character alone destiny is reaped. Character, good and worthy, does not grow in a fen of stagnant waters, in an atmosphere of violence, cupidity and atheism. To improve the tone of public conduct, the political and economic behaviour of the people, Rajaji is not tired of referring to God, for a faith in His existence is the beginning of wisdom, which is the true foundation of character. No one is so simple-minded as to argue that by prayerful appeal to Him they can solve all their economic and political problems. But it is indisputable that men without character create more problems than they solve.

Of all the ventures of Rajaji his relentless opposition to Communism which is a growing menace to our infant democracy is timely and laudable. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said recently that no one knows anything about Communism and that there are only different degrees of ignorance. Communism is not so innocuous and elusive as the former Ambassador to



FOR EASY
SMOOTH SHAVE

KERALA SOAP
INSTITUTE,
KOZHIKODE

A Division of the
Department of Industries
and Commerce,
Madras.

the U. S. S. R. has made out. Doctrine Communism, like Proteus, might be various and inconstant. Yet the practising Communists, without exception, know, definitely and clearly, everything about the inevitability of the class struggle and the violent means which should be employed to paralyse and overthrow the capitalist structure. It is this technique of hatred and violence which is practised by all Communists with an amazing consistency and definiteness from China to Peru that baffles the democrats of the world. This cult of violence is exotic to the mind and soul of India, especially to a Gandhian India. It has temporary hold on those people who are economically backward, who suffer from poverty, squalor, unemployment and exploitation. The panacea for Communism, therefore, is more character and more agriculture and more industry conducive to public good.

The problems that face the Madras State are above party politics. They can be faced and solved only by a leader with courage, determination, vision and statesmanship. Rajaji has just begun his work with his wonted decisiveness and efficiency. If it is to be completed successfully it is indispensable that all who care for good government, peace and prosperity should strengthen his hands and stand by him.

The Rajaji ministry is no do-nothing ministry. This is not to deny the fact that it might fail and fall more by its sins of commission than by its sins of omission, as did the ministries of Peel and Gladstone. Yet its clear conscience alone should be its meed and the feeling that "duty exists" its spur. For the rest it must await the verdict of history where no one is entitled to the palm without the dust.

Let us offer constructive criticism; let us pull up erring ministers; and let us warn when there is "deviation from constructive statesmanship into destructive controversialism," when "the interest of the general community is being lost sight of in the passion of belligerent enthusiasms for lesser objectives of a partisan type." Let us also extend our sympathy and support to the ministry so that for some time to come the genie of incompetence and inefficiency might not get out of the profane jar.

THE INCOMING PRESIDENT

By **SANTHA RUNGACHARY**

IT has been over all of ten days. The mad whirl has ended though perhaps sanity has not returned yet but people have stopped shaking their



Dwight D. Eisenhower

heads, throats hoarse with hurrying have stopped being sore, the cable-riggers and the technicians and the photographers have gone home. The cliches and the epigrams, the platitudes and attitudes, the hysterics and the histrionics have receded into the discreet dust of newspaper files. The grinning skeletons have gone back into their cupboards or been quietly buried. The Democrat "with a difference" has retreated into his study circle.

And Dwight D. Eisenhower, President-elect of the most sensational country in the whole world, the knight in armour shining still though a little tarnished, stayed in the crowd just long enough to collect the felicitations and have his back thumped and his wife perhaps lingered a while to buy herself a hat and off they went for a vacation to forget about it all and remember only that in three months time they would be moving house.

In Sicily, in North Africa, where for many of the soldiers during the war GI stood for General Ike, people must be asking: What exactly is President? Is it bigger than General?

America is in a mighty pleasant mood right now. It has turned over

a new political leaf. Eisenhower is going to get rid of corruption, stop the war in Korea, bring down prices, keep up the good work in Europe, cut taxes, in short, please everybody.

Ambition, that last infirmity of the noble mind, engineers strange transformations. Only last year John Gunther was writing about him in his "Quarters No. 1" near Paris that there was about as much chance of getting the General and Mamie to a cocktail party as of getting Stalin and the Pope to a fancy-dress ball at the Ritz. During the last four months Eisenhower has been right at the centre of a high-pressure boost racket which tried to seduce as many people as it could in the irresistible name of the General. Never had so many people owed so little to so few. Caught in a snare as much of his making as of others' the hero of Normandy grinned his famous grin right across the country with such unwearying persistence and patience you wondered if it was the same publicity still being passed round over and over again. Perhaps to reign is worth ambition even from the White House.

They said he polled a record vote. It was a landslide for Adlai Stevenson. An avalanche. Flood tide. Cataract. It was a triumphal victory for Eisenhower. It was a triumph for television too. It had sold the General, pancake make-up and all to the public at £700 a minute. Everybody it seems likes Ike. "One reason for his torrential popularity," said one of his biographers last year, "is that he himself likes so many people." He liked Taft and wooed him into his wagon. He embraced Nixon and called him "My boy." He stood on the same platform as McCarthy and permitted himself to get involved in all the things that the Senator left unsaid. Sure, love is a wonderful thing. It certainly makes for strange bed-fellows.

He was terribly upset once years ago when somebody called him compromiser. "Compromiser?" he said furiously. "Compromiser? Ask the Germans if I compromised on Omaha Beach!" In the thick of the dirtiest

war the world has had so far this soldier whose name has woven itself into the very fabric and future of a dozen European countries, never wavered, never compromised. But ensnared in the web of politicians, partisans and power-seekers he has said and done things which make even his most fervent admirers angry with disillusionment. Adlai Stevenson went serenely on studiously sticking to his own convictions. Not being made to heroic measure he did not consider it worthwhile to stoop to conquer.

The whole rough and tumble has been rather like a boxing contest. It began as a gentlemanly fight all the rules observed but somewhere somebody got rather out of control. Soon they were using knuckledusters. And when Harry Truman, the umpire, rather unfairly descended into the ring and let go a few right hooks, it literally became a riot. When the stampede had stopped and the dust settled, it was clear Stevenson had lost the round but everybody agreed he had won on points. They say they might make him President of the Columbia University any day now. The £26 700 a time on TV will pay small dividends. But this gentle intellectual should have known better than to quote Micah and Chester-ton to housewives and farmworkers. He had, moreover, started with an initial handicap. He has not the devastating physique of General Eisenhower. After all, more women voted than men.

Eisenhower has, in another sense, conducted his campaign like a soldier. "Mystify, mislead and surprise," said Stonewall Jackson about the best tactics to pursue in war. Eisenhower has done better. He has confused, compromised and confounded. The result is that Wall Street has had a boom. It is ominous. Another awful pattern of cause and effect seems to be taking shape. Is the Armageddon to continue to simmer?

What I would like to believe is that this is America's way of saying thank you to the man who more than any one other American led them to victory in the last war. They have thus inadvertently pinned him down to a kind of life completely alien to that he has been used to, a suffocating existence among intrigues and strata-

gems, systems and protocols, where a signature on a dotted line can have trans-atlantic repercussions. All his life Eisenhower has been a soldier. His military elevation has been meteoric. He rose from Lieutenant colonel to five-star general in just three years. And in 1942 as Commanding Officer of the European Theatre of Operations he was in charge not only of American and British troops but Canadian, Australian, Polish, Greek, Italian, Norwegian, South African and what have you. And since 1950 he has been the symbol of a revolutionary change in U. S. foreign policy. Western Europe from the Mediterranean to the Arctic has been his military beat. His stature was gigantic, his prestige enormous. What he does not know about strategy and campaigns, tactics and manoeuvres, blood and battles is not worth recording. What he does know about the intricacies and ferments of politics and complexities and perplexities of government is not worth recording either. He could not even make up his mind whether he was a Democrat or Republican. Other people had to do it for him, as later other people had to tell him what to say and do. What does he know of Finance? Or of Labour? Or Agriculture and Transport? Can he read a man from a politician? Can he read the public pulse? Somebody is going to continue to dictate to him what he is to say and do. The vital question is, who will it be, the man or men behind Eisenhower the President?

On the distaff side of the White House, however, there is not going to be any spectacular change. Mrs. Eisenhower is, as far as one can judge from photographs, a younger Bess Truman with bangs and a nice Paris frock. All she has to do is to look demure as a domestic buttercup while Ike beguiles over breakfast, devastates at dinner and captivates over cocktails. After all, it is not likely she is going to be asked to write My Day.

The watchword of SHAPE is *Vigilia Pretinen Libertatis*—The Price of Liberty is Vigilance. Has General Eisenhower by what may almost be described as the desertion of his calling put that liberty in jeopardy?

Or does Ike, being merely human, just want to make a little more history while he can?

HOW BRITONS REACTED TO IKE'S ELECTION

By ANDREW ROTH

"I have recovered from my gloom earlier today," admitted the Bevanite M.P. We were at a farewell party for a leftwing American woman journalist and several Bevanite M.P.s were there to say good-bye ("We are a 'party within a party' " quipped one.) It was the evening of November 5, when both Stevenson's defeat in the U. S. and Labour's defeat at the marginal bye-election at High Wycombe became known.

"I personally think it's all for the best," opined the somewhat Bevanite editor of a popular Labour Sunday newspaper on Ike's victory. "I have always felt that we shall have to learn to stand on our own feet. But we'll never do it unless we have to. Now we'll have to, and it may do us a lot of good."

It was curious on that day that whereas the Tories felt elated early in the day, and the Left of the Labour Party was gloomy about the triumph of the Right in the U. S., afterthoughts reversed the position. The leftwing Socialists, who had been hoping for a Stevenson victory, realized that the caricature of America with which they have been frightening British audiences has come to be a faithful photograph.

"In recent years it has been fashionable to denounce the (British) critics of McCarthyism as dyspeptic 'anti-Americans,'" pointed out a *New Statesman* editor who had himself hoped for and expected a Stevenson victory. "They were told that Joe McCarthy was merely part of the 'lunatic fringe', that Senators Knowland, Jenner, Bridges and Cain did not carry any weight, and that the China Lobby had no influence on American policy. It is unfortunately the Cassandras who have been proved right in the event. McCarthyism has won votes, not merely in Wisconsin, but all across the country. The election of Eisenhower, whatever he himself intends, is a triumph for the witch-hunters, for the American Legion and

the F.B.I., for McCarthy and McCarran, for Karl Mundt and Richard Nixon."

This was meant primarily as a slap at rightwing Labourites, particularly Denis Healey, M.P., who had led the "let's not be beastly to the Americans" school. Mr. Healey had been insisting that the Truman 'Fair Deal' was just an American version of Labour's 'Welfare State.' To make the Anglo-American alliance more palatable to British Labourites, Mr. Healey had insisted that American capitalism no longer existed in reality and that criticizing the Americans is as unspeakable as attacking the Jews. The U. S. election returns rather silenced him for a bit.

The American election returns came as a much-needed shot in the arm for the Bevanites. After their strength among Labour militants had been demonstrated at the annual conference of the Labour Party at Morecambe, their weakness among Labour M.P.s had been used by the Attlee-Morrison forces to compel them to disband their factional group in the House. The Bevanites then, with other Labourites, threw their full strength into the bye-election at High Wycombe. This marginal industrial-cum-rural seat had been won by Labour in 1945 and 1950 but gone Conservative in 1951 by 1700 votes. The Bevanites wanted to win back this seat even more than other Labourites to disprove the rightwing Labour assertion that the Bevanites' immoderate activities, particularly their demands for further socialization and attacks on the United States, were frightening away Liberal voters, who are particularly numerous in this constituency. When the Conservatives retained their seat, with an additional 400-vote margin, it seemed to indicate the marginal voter had not tired of Messrs. Churchill, Eden and Butler, but was apprehensive about Mr. Bevan & Co.

Little wonder, therefore, that

Tribune, the Bevanite weekly, exploited the Eisenhower victory to proclaim to the rightwing Labourites that it had not been wrong in its suspicions of American policy. It bannered its front page with the headline: "U. S. ELECTION BRINGS PERIL OF A SLUMP".

General Eisenhower's sweeping victory in the American election marks a tragic setback to the cause of human decency and political sanity all over the world.

It means the most crushing defeat inflicted on American labour since the unions first acquired political power in the early days of Roosevelt. It means that the retreat of American liberalism which has been so evident in recent years is turned, for the moment at least, into a rout.

The United States administration will now be taken over by men who... have fought almost every project for American co-operation with the other democratic nations on reasonable terms. At the same time they have clamoured for more aggressive action in the cold war; they have denounced the idea of negotiation; they have called for some ill defined showdown with the Soviet regime... little faith can be placed in General Eisenhower's capacity to resist the demands of the Republican right wing.

A number of M.P.s in the centre of the Labour Party share at least part of the Bevanites' apprehensions. Speaking at Chelmsford on November 6, John Strachey warned that Britain now faced a graver "danger of war with China" because of "Chinese aggressiveness, combined with an American refusal to face facts."

The Conservatives, who first greeted the Republican victory as a symptom of a resurgent conservatism, have now changed their tune, although they still like Gen. Eisenhower personally. The Republican victory, warned the *Financial Times'* Washington correspondent, "could easily mean reduced foreign assistance, despite the President-elect's personal knowledge of how vital it is and despite his deep conviction of the need for effective allies in a collective security system." Speaking editorially, the *Financial Times* worried about being forced into a 'shotgun-marriage' with Europe which would be damaging to Britain's economy:

One matter which may have direct repercussions on this country is Mr.

Eisenhower's keen personal interest in fostering the political unification of Europe. He and many other Americans today are impatient about what they regard as the slow progress being made toward the establishment of a European federation. The new Republican administration... will certainly have no hesitations about using American aid funds as a political instrument to support the nascent federal institutions in Europe... Britain's position in relation to these federal plans, even if it is fully understood, is unlikely to be popular."

Perhaps the most typical British reaction, however, did not come from a well-known politician or editorialist. Miss J. E. Lynch captured the general mood in a letter she wrote to the *News Chronicle*: "I feel as if I have had to stand by and watch while a dear friend, whose life is closely bound up with mine, has married the wrong man. I knew I had no right to interfere or give advice, but I hoped very much that she would choose the other suitor. She has made her choice and I sincerely hope everything will turn out all right. But I am apprehensive..."

The Free India General Insurance Co., Ltd., Kanpur

The Free India General Insurance Co., Ltd., was started in 1934 and it has within a short span of 18 years, become the largest composite insurance office of Uttar Pradesh. Its activities are now spread throughout the country with 16 offices besides offices and treaty arrangements in the U. K., France, Belgium, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Singapore and Ceylon. The premium received in the Life Department exceeds Rs. 15,60,000 and the gross premium less refund in the General Department during the year exceeds Rs. 22,00,000. The total Life business in force is now more than Rs. 3 crores and total assets of the company as on 31-12-51 were more than Rs. 89,59,000. The total claims paid upto 31-12-51 in the Life Department alone exceeded Rs. 28,70,000. By reorganising its capital structure from Rs. 10 lakhs paid-up-capital to Rs. 21 lakhs, the financial position of the company has been made stronger than ever before.

AGRARIAN TROUBLE AND THE TANJORE BILL

By "SEARCHLIGHT"

THE Tanjore Tenants and Pannials Protection Bill has been referred to a select committee by the Madras Legislative Assembly. If the bill is to serve the intended purpose of increasing food production, it must undergo radical modifications and simplification of procedure.

The agrarian trouble in Tanjore District was not a general one and was confined to a few parts of the district. Some leaders of labour took advantage of the prevalence of a lower percentage of share of produce for cultivating lessees and smaller grain wages for agricultural labourers, with or without the knowledge of their real causes, and incited the lessees and labourers to agitate for a higher percentage of produce and an increase of wages, which resulted in a few strikes and lockouts.

Like other industries, agriculture requires four things, land, finance, labour and supervision and these cannot and do not generally exist combined in one individual and that for long. As a rule, land is supplied by its owner, finance by either the owner or his lessee mostly by locally borrowed funds, labour by casual labourers of the locality, who have not the necessary wherewithal for cultivation except their pair of hands, and supervision by the land-owner or his local paid agent. There are thus four contributories to production who are more or less equally important. It is possible to dispense with labour, in part or whole, by means of machinery as is being done in several industries, but the other three are indispensable. It is therefore a matter for serious consideration as to which of these four should be treated as producer and whether it is proper to give, as proposed, undue importance to labour by treating as tillers of the soil—the labourers whose contribution generally ceases with receiving wages at the close of each day's work, while the other three contributories have to wait, till a doubtful harvest, for hav-

ing their due share of produce. It should be noted that, as in England and other continental countries, where the law of primogeniture prevails and agricultural holdings continue in tact without fragmentation, there is no distinct professional class of persons settled in villages known as tenant farmers with resources for cultivation, as distinguished from land-owners whose job is farm management. Also, persons engaged in different cultivation operations here are generally landless casual labourers employed for the time being by the land-owner or by the lessee who happens to be a petty land-holder in possession of uneconomic holding, and is obliged to take on lease additional lands close by to make his holding an economic unit for purpose of advantageous cultivation. To call these lessee or labourers cultivating tenants is therefore, a misnomer. There are no doubt a few speculative middle class land-holders or others who manage to get, on favourable terms, leases of big holdings for fairly long periods and sublet them to petty land-holders, but these lessees generally come to grief owing to their inability to recover from the sublessees the stipulated rents or share of produce.

What the land produces must be shared equitably by the four contributories with reference to the value of their contribution and with reference to the actual produce, both of which vary from locality to locality and from village to village according to the nature of the soil, facilities of irrigation and drainage and other factors affecting production. So far as Tanjore District is concerned, wet lands to which the bill relates stand classified by the survey and settlement authorities under twelve tharams with their normal yield varying from 1300 to 350 Madras measures; but as the cultivation charges which are generally paid in staple grain are not so divergent as the yield but vary only between 9 kalams or 216 Madras mea-

asures per acre in the case of more fertile lands and 6 kalams or 144 measures in the case of less fertile ones, the proportion of cultivation charges to the normal or actual yield cannot be the same for all the tharams as shown below.

Per Acre Of Wet Land			
Tharam of land	Estimated normal yield of paddy in m.m.	Estimated cultivation charges in m.m.	Percentage of cultivation charges to normal yield.
1	1300		16.6
2	1150		19
3	1000	216 m.m.	21.6
4	900		24
5	800		27
6	700		31
7	600		24
8	550		26
9	500	144 m.m.	28.8
10	450		32
11	400		36
12	350		41

The disparity or variation in the fixed grain or money rents or lessee's share of produce, now forming the target of attack, is due mainly to the variation in the proportion of cultivation charges to the normal yield as indicated already and not to any exploitation on the part of the land-owner as presumed by persons not acquainted with agricultural economy and by land tenure reform enthusiasts. Similar variations in rents or share of produce are in vogue in the case also of dry lands in Tanjore District as well as all lands in other districts for similar reasons. For a land to be worth holding its income should ordinarily be sufficient to yield a return of at least 4 to 5 per cent on the capital outlay (normal value of the land plus the amount periodically spent to keep it in a cultivable state), 5 per cent on the sum borrowed for cultivation expenses which include the value of actual labour spent plus a reasonable return for enterprise and supervision. If a careful analysis of the shares of produce now in vogue is made, it will be found to generally satisfy these requirements. Except a few persons who have come suddenly by vast landed properties by a fluke of fortune or by free grant made by previous rulers of this country for some services rendered and who have now become supporters of the ordi-

nance without realising its full implications or possible repercussions, the others have acquired the properties by dint of hard work and with their hard earned savings from walks of life other than agriculture and it is wrong and unjust to rob these Peters of their valuable properties or any portion of the income therefrom by means of any hasty and ill-conceived legislation. One other reason for the prevalence of higher percentage of land-holders' share of produce in the case of more fertile lands having higher yield is that these lands have the additional facilities for raising more than one crop in a year and for cultivating, with little cost and with a larger or equal share to lessees, valuable catch crops, besides having other advantages.

The collection of customary fixed rent or share of produce is, as a rule, not generally rigorously enforced but often times waived in part or whole by the land-owner to retain the good will and the continuous help of the generally not solvent or well off lessee, when there is a partial or wholesale failure of crops; and there has been no trouble or hitch in the matter as will be evident from the fact that there has been little or no litigation for recovery of rents or share of produce in ryotwari areas as in zamindari or other proprietary estates. Lease deeds generally provide for remissions when and where necessary.

As land-holders, by reason of possessing either too big or too small holdings or, on account of absence from the village or other disabilities, have to depend on others for cultivation, they do not generally evict a lessee unless he proves thoroughly inefficient in cultivation, or makes continuous default in payment of the stipulated rent or share of produce, though in recent years there have been some cases of eviction or attempted eviction of old lessees on account of the scare created by the so called friends of labour or by the misguided land tenure reform enthusiasts, that there is going to be a legislation to make a continuous lessee, owner of the lease-hold.

If pannials (farm labourers) are paid less than what is paid to casual labourers, it is because the former are generally employed by land-owners or

lessees almost throughout the year (even during non-cultivation period) on work such as cart-driving, manure-carting, looking after the cattle. The pannials are generally given, in addition to usual wages, presents during festive occasions and accommodated with loans, to be finally written off as irrecoverable and in some places free house sites and house-building materials and also a small extent of cultivable land as 'manyam' (rent free) are given in consideration of the lower wages he receives as farm labourer.

The present attempt to fix by means of statute higher wages for different kinds of labour will only result in their large-scale unemployment, due to inability on the part of the employer to pay such higher wages and a general disinclination on the part of labour to accept lower wages than that statutorily fixed.

Neither any large scale co-operative farming nor financing is, for a long time to come, feasible in this country, at any rate in this State, the former due to fragmentation of holdings and want of human materials in the villages to work up the scheme and the latter on account of the general absence of repaying capacity on the part of the land-holders, a fact which will be evident from the growing arrears of loans to be recovered from members in the existing credit societies and the amounts periodically to be written off.

The impression that there are large savings with agriculturists for being tapped or taxed due to abnormal rise in prices of foodgrains and other agriculture produce in recent years may perhaps be right in the case of a few

miserly land-holders owning more than 100 acres of wet deltaic land or 200 acres of dry land under good climatic conditions blessed with small or no family but is wrong in regard to others who form a very large majority either because several of them have little surplus to sell while the rest derive no benefit by high prices on account of the increase in cost of living. It is a notorious fact that good yield and high prices rarely go together and what is gained by high prices is neutralised by low yields.

Any change by means of legal enactment in the time honoured custom of sharing produce or of settling differences between the parties by private negotiation, the desirability of which is being repeatedly emphasised by Sri V. V. Giri, Minister of Labour, will neither be to the advantage of the land-holder or the lessee nor conduce to the increase of production which is so imperative when there is shortage of food. As leased deeds generally provide the terms and conditions necessary between the parties which could be enforced as contracts, no legislation is called for. The present bill if made a law, will widen the split now unfortunately created between land-holders and lessees and also labour, destroy all good relationship and feelings needed between them and divert a good deal of their valuable time, energy and scanty resources from lands to law courts to the ruination of agriculture.

Owing to change of conditions in some places a departure from the time honoured customs may be necessary and this is already taking place gradually and peacefully. If, in spite of

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it, legislative interference to placate the agitators is considered necessary a simple law may be made to the effect that persons who may be dissatisfied with the present rents or share of produce or other conditions of lease may get them settled by a conciliation board to be constituted for each locality when necessary, if the differences cannot be amicably reconciled by the parties themselves.

If however, it is deemed desirable to introduce the system of tenancy farming as in Britain and European countries with elaborate provisions for the regulation of relationship between the land-holder and the tenant farmer, a law may be enacted providing for the following:—

Individual maximum holding:—This should be fixed at an area for wet and dry land separately or both together so as to yield from the staple food crops of the locality an annual net income of Rs. 2,400 which is the minimum required for an ordinary rural family, consisting of husband, wife, two children and aged parents for a fairly comfortable living according to the present day standard. As the income from staple food crop is not uniform in all places, the maximum area would be fixed for each tract separately with reference to the land income of that tract by a land-committee to be created for each such tract. It may not be correct to fix the maximum holding with reference to merely any uniform extent by reason of variable yields or with reference to assessment payable, which is liable to revision at every periodical settlement or even during the interval by the legislature on various grounds.

Surrender of excess holdings:—Every land-holder shall surrender the excess in his holding to bonafide solvent tenant farmer, on application by him, on such terms and conditions as may be agreed to between the parties and any differences between them if

unreconciled, shall be adjudicated by the land tract committee concerned.

Period of tenancy:—The maximum must be five years at the option of the tenant farmer. The period and terms of tenancy once settled cannot be altered at the will of either the land-owner or the tenant except for valid reasons to be established before the land tract committee. Lease is to be in writing and registered and the lease deed to be in duplicate so that each party may have one copy.

Compensation for the value of unexhausted improvements or for unlawful eviction:—In the event of unsettled difference by private negotiations it shall be open to either party to have them adjudicated by the land tract committee.

It is, however, a matter of grave doubt whether the system of tenant farming will be successful in this country where the tenants or lessees are not yet established or solvent enough or have any outside credit to command. The tenant farming system which was in a way functioning in zamindari and proprietary estates with 'kudiwaram' right vested in tenant has proved a failure and necessitated the conversion of zamindari tenants into ryotwari land-holders.

An important point to be considered is the competency of the present legislature to consider a bill of this kind which proposes to seriously interfere with customs of several centuries old without placing it before the 'voters' as an election issue. Members not belonging to Tanjore District will vote on the matter. To enable the present and future land-holders to know their exact position, the Government should first settle once for all their land tenure and land revenue policy by scrutinising the proposals made from time to time, before launching on any piecemeal legislation of the present kind.

If the pre-school period of close parent-child relationship is curtailed or eliminated, there is ground for suspecting a recurrence of the age of governesses who did everything for the child except implant much to learn of the things their children can teach them. And because they need to know these things, and because the learning will be at least moderately difficult, there is often a bit of recalcitrance—at which point the nursery school springs forth with great tidings of rescue from responsibility.—MANAS.

THE PATTERN OF POLITICS IN PONDICHERRY

By A Special Correspondent

SLAVE traders of old had the trouble of catching their victims and carting them across the seas before they could sell them to buyers. But the British, once they had secured a foothold in India, made gifts of Indians and Indian territory to whomsoever they pleased. Thus, Bombay was given away without the Maharattas and Gujaratis and others comprising the population being asked whether they would like to be regarded as the dowry of a Portuguese princess. Similarly the French trading station Puducheri (Pondicherry), once taken away from the French by the Dutch and then given back, was finally presented to the French by the British by the terms of the Treaty of Paris signed on May 30, 1814.

By that time the French had established smaller trading posts here and there at distances of eight or ten miles from Pondicherry. These were not contiguous (nor are they to this day) and they were encircled by British-claimed territory. All these, which later were called *Communes*, together with other trading posts such as Mahe, Karikal, Yanam and Chandernagore were all referred to as French establishments. Though in course of time they came within the jurisdiction of the French Colonial Ministry the French settlements in India were not French colonies. The British stipulated that the French were not to put up any fortifications or to maintain any armed police more than was strictly necessary to maintain the security of the French settlers. The arrival of a French warship in Mahe on October 26, 1948 and the landing of troops there during the municipal elections was in violation of that agreement. (At present there are persistent rumours that Senegalese troops are about to be brought to Pondicherry.)

Among the stipulations made by the British in the treaty was one to the effect that the French were to be allowed "to continue their residence

and commerce so long as they shall conduct themselves *peaceably and shall do nothing contrary to the Laws and regulations of the Government.*" (Italics mine.)

But in case their conduct render them suspected and the British Government should judge it necessary to order them to quit India, they shall be allowed the period of six months to retire, with their effects and property to France or to any other country they may choose. At the same time, it is to be understood that this favour is not to be extended to those who may act contrary to the Laws and Regulations of the British Government.

These terms were never amended and have been in force ever since. In the absence of a new treaty between India and France it is to be understood that these stipulations hold good as between India and France today. Yet, the French, who have been allowed to stay in India on sufferance, talk of French Indian citizens linked to France by indissoluble ties of culture and insist on a referendum to decide whether the people wish to remain under France or join with their motherland.

As for the cultural ties with France—they are the most tenuous. A handful of men, mostly lawyers, have had to go to France to complete their education for purely professional reasons. The two colleges in Pondicherry, Colonial College and Calve College, use French as the medium of instruction. But apart from this and from the fact that the officials and a few merchants speak Tamil as well as French there is no cultural tie with France. Such ties were possible had the French cared for them. Such ties would be possible and Pondicherry may well be developed into a French cultural centre—now that the Sri Aurobindo Memorial University is to be founded there—once the French leave.

The ties we have had with Great Britain were, and still are, far stronger.

English education, a British university degree, being called to the Bar—all these were considered a *sine qua non* for professional and official success. But that did not prevent India from severing her tie with England. Even today there are Indian parents who are keen on sending their children to England for their schooling. But that does not mean that we are prepared to be tied to England's apron strings.

French claims upon the loyalty and affection of the three hundred thousand people who live in Pondicherry and its eight municipal "communes" are the least tenable.

When India became independent on August 15, 1947, such a thrill of elation passed through all the French settlements in India that the people with one accord got ready to bid goodbye to the French and to join their motherland politically as they are joined to her today culturally, socially, and economically. (This last factor, though seemingly unimportant, is, perhaps, more decisive than the others.)

The Bar Association of Pondicherry and Karaikal, representing the politically articulate section, passed on August 30, 1947, the following resolution:

India, our motherland, our native land, became an independent country on August 15, 1947. We are therefore no longer anything but Indian citizens and we look forward to being integrated with the Indian Government.

The French Indian National Congress asked the French to quit India with the least delay. It did not want a referendum.

The Students' Congress asked the French to quit "here and now" because "French India was thirsting for reunion with their own kith and kin of the Indian Union."

The Secretary of the Congress Group in the French India Representative Assembly moved a resolution in the Assembly for consideration of the immediate merger of French settlements with India.

The French got ready to quit. The Commissioner of Pondicherry, M. Baron, had his belongings packed and ready in a score or so huge packing

cases. Other officials sent their wives and children to France or Saigon.

However, under an eleventh-hour inspiration—whether his own or the Quai d'Orsay's, one cannot say—M. Baron flew to Calcutta and sought Gandhiji's intervention. Gandhiji urged the people of Pondicherry and other French settlements not to be hasty but to await a transfer of territory through negotiations. He reminded them further that Pandit Nehru, who had sponsored the independence of Indonesia, would not forget his own kith and kin living in the French settlements.

Th French heaved a sigh of relief. The Commissioner unpacked his suitcases. The French began to consolidate.

India, badly advised, and trusting always to the ultimate good in human nature, entered upon an agreement with France.

The following two paragraphs of the French declaration of the agreement of June 1948 must amply prove even to those who are not diplomats the spirit in which France became a party to the agreement:

Integrated for a long time past in the French community, these establishments at the same time share in many respects the general activity of the regions of India in which they are respectively located. Thus, related at the same time to France and India, these populations were bound to feel attracted both to one and the other and to follow from time to time the varying inclinations of their affinities and traditions.

In view of this situation, which is without parallel in the entire French Union, and convinced moreover that those establishments should in any case constitute the future links between France and the Indian Union, the French Government solemnly declares that it intends to leave to the populations of the French establishments in India themselves, the right to pronounce their future fate and further status...."

Having thus gained time the administration was able to review the position and to decide whom to cast off and whom to build up as political bosses. Their choice fell upon M. Edouard Goubert, a native of Pondicherry, Tamil on his mother's side, and French-Indian on his father's side. He had already served the Administration loyally. As Registrar

of the Lower Court (he had been in the clerical service for nearly 25 years) he was placed in the salary grade of French civil servants because of his French national origin. Today he modestly inscribes under his name "Depute de l'Inde Francaise, Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur." But he is so much the real boss that he could, if he wished, add other titles with no one to say nay.

Why did the choice fall upon him? As an unofficial Frenchman, who now lives in Madras, told me, "Twenty-five years ago when I arrived in Pondicherry things were just the same. The boss then was M. Gabele, a Frenchman, and Goubert was one of his proteges. M. Gabele believed in paternal benevolence and did things just as he liked. He was assisted by a gang of *goondas*. M. Goubert must have learned the methods of his boss."

That seems to be the reason. Only now they are not merely running the show and running their opponents out of town but they are determined to prevent Pondicherry from joining the Indian Union. Taking a long-range view of things one could say this is as futile as Mrs. Partington's attempt to keep back the Atlantic with a mop. But they feel it might be a long range in fact and that the going until then would be really good.

During the last four years what France has done is not to prepare the population of Pondicherry for a referendum but to strengthen the party in power by every means; to make use of their free port for the import of French wines and foreign liquor of all sorts, and French and Swiss textiles and other luxury goods such as watches and fountain pens; to use also the Indian postal service for importing such luxury goods; to enable the Bank of Indo-China to import gold and diamonds far in excess of the needs of the population; to sell these to smugglers (payment being in Indian currency), to create an artificial shortage of Indian currency not only by exporting it to the Middle East and Africa but by withdrawing it to create the impression that the Indian Union is deliberately inflicting hardships upon the poor people of the French settlements; to get duty free essential goods such as vege-

tables, ghee, from the Indian territory; to get the highest quota possible for movement of grains from one enclave to another across the Indian territory, and to carry on the bitterest open propaganda against India. The smuggling of diamonds and gold (247,552 oz. of gold were imported from January to June 1951) and of liquor and various kinds of luxury goods, the duty free import of essential goods from India—all these have benefitted only a very small section of the community comprising the smugglers and merchants and a certain class of officials. (It has to be admitted that among the smugglers and profiteers are Sindhis, Marwaris and Gujaratis who have recently poured into Pondicherry. An international gang whose members belong to one particular race are also operating from Pondicherry. One Levi was recently caught sending by post Rs. 200,000 but was fined Rs. 500 only and the money was returned to him. The seizure was made purely to satisfy the *amour-propre* of a foreign woman whose displeasure Levi had incurred.)

The smugglers and certain others are rolling in money. I was told that over the contract for the supply of jaggery to the Government Distillery one and a half lakh of rupees passed in one evening in the way of palm-grease.

But the poor people are in terrible distress. Of the three cloth mills, one French owned, two owned jointly by the French and Indians, one has shut down and the other two are working in shifts. Of more than 8000 former employees less than half are now employed. Many were dismissed earlier on the plea they were communists. Any trade union activity fell under that category. Of the quotas of rice and millet that are allowed to pass from one enclave to another across the Indian territory little comes to the market. Much of it along with essential goods imported duty free from India—such as dhall, onions, groundnuts, edible oils—is exported to Ceylon and elsewhere. The currency scare has also hit the poor people. Indian currency notes are at a premium. A poor villager offering a French one rupee currency after buying something has to pay an anna.

France which claims to be the **Map of these people** can do little to **relieve their distress** or does not want to **relieve it**. In order to cover up their more than two-century-old neglect of this territory they have started the bogey of an Indian blockade. Actually India would be justified in imposing an economic blockade and in re-introducing a permit system complete with photographs of the permit-holder. India must also tighten her land customs. At present only five per cent of the smuggled goods is seized.

Along with the propaganda of "blockade" the French Administration has started the cry of border incidents. The refugees who have been forced to leave French territory and seek asylum in India are mostly half-starved mill employees or farmers and their employees. They are not of the stuff of which goondas are made. It is possible that on some occasion or another an Indian from the French settlements going into the Indian territory was waylaid and attacked by his enemies. But such attacks are almost always due to private disputes, usually connected with land.

On the other hand goondalism is well organised in the French settlements, and nowhere better than in Pondicherry. The municipal elections of 1948, in which M. Goubert's Socialist Party captured all the seats were proof of it. The observers during those elections—Shri P. Subbarayan, Shri N. V. Rajkumar as well as the French official observer, M. Laugenie—all testified to the mal-practices during the elections and the presence and active interference of goondas. The neutral observers—M. Holgar Anderson (Denmark), M. Francois Perreard (Switzerland), Prof. Manuel Chan (Philippines), and M. Krabbe, (Denmark), Secretary, who were invited by France to visit Pondicherry and the other settlements, and who visited them in March-April 1951, unequivocally testified that "amongst the means employed by the chiefs of the party in power are the groups of

'handymen,' commonly designated by the term of 'goondas' or rowdies recruited from the working classes and who, armed with sticks and clubs, attack political adversaries during elections or during meetings organised by them. It was thus that when the Communists were in power in 1947 the 'goondas' worked for this party, although it now seems that they worked for the Socialist Party in power. It appears furthermore that recourse is had to their services during periods which seemed to the Observers to be perfectly normal and calm."

The latest act in the series of acts of terrorism on their part, with the connivance of the party in power, was the shooting of seventy-year old Mr. Sellane Naicker, the leading lawyer and president of the Pondicherry Merger Committee. He and Mr. Perumal, secretary of the committee, submitted a memorandum to the neutral Observers. (It was the refusal of Mr. Dadala Ramaiyya, a Police Inspector of Pondicherry, to procure a copy of this secret memorandum that led to his having to escape into the Indian territory.)

Under these conditions a referendum is impossible. Not that the people do not want to vote for merger with India but because they will be terrorised before they could vote. They will, in fact, be more than terrorised, if we are to judge from recent incidents in Bahour Commune where Mr. Chinnaswamy Aiyar, the Police Inspector, rules with an iron hand.

But our Prime Minister is against fraud, deception, and aggression. He relies on negotiation. It would need a miracle to make the French move out of the French settlements by means of negotiations. They know they will have to scramble soon but until then they will make things extremely unpleasant. India will need patience, but it must also act, not by encouraging aggressive acts but by an economic blockade, a permit system for travel between the two territories, and a stricter land customs cordon.

PROBLEM OF STUDENTS' INDISCIPLINE

By G. RAJANNA

OF late what is termed "student indiscipline" has formed the subject matter of speeches of educationists, administrators and comments in the Press. While strikes are at one end of the scale, murder or attempt to murder or cause grievous injury is at the other. In between, there are various other forms of indiscipline ranging from trumpeting benches and indulging in cat-calls in class rooms to insulting the teachers or molesting girl students outside the class rooms.

"Any serious challenge to authority has to be dealt with firmly and fearlessly. If students are allowed to think they can challenge the results of examinations, dictate what sort of principals or professors they should have and make all manner of impossible demands—going on strike or resorting to violence, if they do not have their way—the outlook is bleak indeed. There could not possibly be a worse sort of preparation for the duties of citizenship." In these words Sir H. P. Mody condemned student indiscipline in his convocation address at the Poona University last year.

That there isn't that measure of discipline which is expected of students is a proposition to which every one will subscribe except perhaps students themselves. When months ago there was an attempt to kill a teacher in Hyderabad, there was much indignation in the public. When there was an attempt by some students to molest college girls in a public park in Nagpur, the authorities were roused to action and the Madhya Pradesh Government decided on taking strong preventive measures against goondalism. A peculiar manifestation of indiscipline was the instance of a girl student who insisted on sitting with boy students in the class in defiance of a professor's puritanical orders.

Such kind of indiscipline as we are familiar with at the present day was comparatively unknown thirty or forty years ago. If at all there was a stray case, it was one in a lakh or even in a million. The traditional

reverence for the teacher passed for an axiom in the eyes of the students. They confined themselves mostly to their studies and seldom partook in public activities.

No sane man will deny that discipline forms the bedrock of all study and learning and without it, students will fail to learn the most cardinal lessons of life. With the inauguration of the Swadeshi movement in 1905 there was a ferment in all classes of people. Students too were affected. In fact political leaders saw in this evanescent, youthful material a powerful weapon to spread disaffection against a foreign government. Some leaders, however, saw the danger of dragging immature students into the vortex of politics. Among them the most distinguished was Gokhale who held the view that the primary duty of a student was to devote himself wholeheartedly to his studies and that every student, however intelligent, needed proper training and guidance before plunging into politics. He sternly discouraged students from taking active part in the politics of the day, for he viewed it as a loss to the country inasmuch as the students would come with ill-equipped and indisciplined minds.

The advent of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene in 1920 changed the old order in a trice as it were. His appeal to students to boycott schools and colleges brought them directly into the political turmoil. Almost in every movement of Gandhiji's, the students were purposely instigated to defy authorities and leave their institutions for the sake of the country. In the civil disobedience movement of 1930-33 and the 1942 struggle, young school lads and college students set fire to Government offices and did other kinds of sabotage in the hope of winning "Swaraj". It is not so much the motive as the tenor of activity of the student population with which we are concerned. In all this bolsterous, "lawless" activity, they were not alone. Indeed they would

not have worked as assiduously as they did but for the deliberate call on them made by popular national leaders.

Self-discipline is hard to attain. It cannot be imposed from without; it should be cultivated with fastidious care. It will be easily admitted that ninety-nine per cent of the students lack self-discipline. Discipline does not mean confining oneself to the four walls of the class room and refusing to take intelligent interest in other affairs. This was the oft-repeated argument of political leaders during the last three decades to draw students out of their class rooms. Thus the students were exploited for political ends.

Having been subjected to the stress and strain of a sustained national movement for freedom, the students were made to believe wrongly that they could not only discuss but also give advice to the leaders on political issues. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to this tendency in one of his speeches in Bombay last year and advised the students to grasp the essentials of any problem thoroughly before they could be sure of their competency to advise their elders.

The war gave a good opportunity to communist preachers to indoctrinate the minds of the young, especially the students. This indoctrination came into conflict with the national movement and there were cleavages among the students based on what was loosely called "ideologies." Rival organisations of students grew up and to encourage them, politicians gave their praise or dispraise to the one or other. Thus students have, by stages, been wooed, used and exploited by politicians during the last thirty years, so that the impression has gained ground among them that they too are as good as their political mentors and can resort to "direct action" according to their whims and fancies. Some of them—so-called "leaders"—exhibit their gift of the gab; assume the airs of politicians and indulge in a lavish use of the current jargon about national and international affairs, economic and political ideologies. Of course they have their organs of publicity too which, though not regularly issued, are full of the bombast about everything in the world

except their studies of which they should be mostly concerned. In the elections to the executive posts of their organisations they beat even consummate politicians in electioneering methods. In short, barring a few exceptions, students of the present day have metamorphosed themselves into supra politicians.

To be charitable, all this activity is proof of the sensitive awareness on the part of students about the rapid changes that are taking place around them. But when they begin to "act" in order to assert what they call glibly their "rights", there's all the trouble. They come into a violent clash with the authorities. The malady has gone so deep that they plump in for nothing less than a "plebiscite" or a "referendum" for the appointment of a teacher, a Professor or Principal. At times, when you hear them harangue in meetings, or thunder in the columns of their journals, you feel as though it is all sound and fury signifying nothing. I would rather call all this the "political" aspect of students' indiscipline.

Where is the other aspect—the moral. With the advent of Communist indoctrination, terms like "morality", "ethics" and "duty" are poo-pooed by some of the so-called "progressive" students, they are ridiculed as "bourgeoisie" virtues, not applicable to a "progressive, revolutionary" world. No one is worried with this gibberish provided it does not encourage such acts as molestation of girls and debauchery. To them "God", "sin" and "virtue" are anathema. No one is worried again with this base attitude provided it does not call into question their social behaviour *vis-a-vis* public morality.

Thus, while trying to understand the causes leading to students' indiscipline, we are led to the basic characteristics that go to make up social behaviour, individual rights and what is often forgotten—DUTIES. Almost every one of us is in the habit of forgetting that for every *right* we enjoy there is a corresponding *duty* we have to perform. No one is entitled to talk of any right without a duty. Whether in modern or ancient thought, this is agreed upon as the fundamental principle that should govern individual or group activity. To

say, as Sir Maharaj Singh has said, that "mass production methods of our day, over-crowded class-rooms, inadequate facilities for recreation and cultural activities, the miserable conditions in which most of our students have to live whether in hostels or outside, and the inevitable lack of personal touch encourage indiscipline and disrespect to authority" is to state only a part of the real malady. Equally is it so when you state, as Mr. Humayun Kabir has said, that the teachers are more to blame, because they do not know how to manage the students. It is true that there are defects in our educational system as well as in the teaching profession. By simply naming them we would be only "explaining away" things.

The real problem lies far too deep. It is in the fact that the moral fabric of student life comprising the relationship between the teachers and the taught is deliberately snapped by our overzealous "secular" methods. We have come to ridicule religious faith and morality and insist on "secular" learning only in our educational institutions. Instead of making the student feel that he is in sacred precincts when he enters his class room, we have made him think that

he is an automaton that lives, moves and has its being in consonance with the ebb and flow of political currents outside. Unless the students are made to feel that any kind of politics must be taboo for them, there can be no congenial way of inculcating any moral law.

For this, of course, the teachers must not be qualified merely academically; they must be qualified "morally". Cases have been reported recently where teachers cast lustful eyes on their girl pupils and landed themselves in trouble. These are as condemnable as molestation of girls by male students.

So far as the students are concerned, they must learn the fundamental lesson that, as long as they are students, their duty is to learn, train their intellects and cultivate the habit of reasoning and discrimination between good and bad. All this useful mental training must be correlated to the natural inter-relationship between "rights" and "duties." Authorities must remodel our educational system on this moral basis. Not until then can we eschew students' indiscipline which has become a menace indeed at the present day.

BRITISH LABOUR CAN SAVE THE PEACE

By FENNER BROCKWAY

FOR the first time, I feel that the forces on the side of war are stronger than those on the side of peace. Despite the hostility between the two Power Blocks, I have, until recently, believed that Governments, conscious of the disaster of war, would find a basis of agreement before a fatal step was taken. But now I have a great fear.

We have had ample warning. In the past, a rearmament race has always been followed by war. But it was possible to conceive that reluctant rearmament could be accompanied by a positive peace policy which would seize any opportunity for reconciliation.

The opposite has happened. Rearmament has controlled policy rather than policy controlling rearmament.

Consider how policy has changed.

The Western rearmament drive began after the North Koreans crossed the 38th Parallel. United Nations action was justified then solely on the grounds of resistance to aggression. It was a demonstration that nations would collectively resist any isolated act of aggression—from whatever source it came and irrespective of the character of the guilty Government—in order to prevent a wider world war. To hold back aggression was the only justification originally given for rearmament.

Then, under the momentum of the mutual hostility which accompanied rearmament, a second justification emerged. The purpose was to "contain" Communism. The new theory was reflected in the conduct of the Korean war, when United Nations troops, not satisfied with recovering the 38th Parallel, overran North Korea and challenged China by advancing to her frontier.

And now a third justification for rearmament is appearing. It has been expressed by Gen. Eisenhower, and by Mr. John Foster Dulles, who may be the next Secretary of States in America. The object of western policy, they say, should not be to "contain" communism within its present sphere but to "liberate" peoples now under communism.

Mr. Dulles admits that it is now doubtful whether war can be averted. It will certainly not be averted if this third theory of the necessity for rearmament is accepted by the West. Gen. Eisenhower may say that he has peaceful methods in mind. But when nations arm, it is their political objective which finally determines how their arms are used.

It is the responsibility of the British Labour Party to stop this fatal descent of war. It can be done.

America needs Britain. The British Isles are a strategic necessity for defence and attack in war. British territory in Africa and Asia is important. America must take note of British opinion.

Labour is in opposition, but Mr. Churchill's Government dare not proceed decisively in international affairs without the support of British Labour. That is why the Tories were so angry when Labour voted against the contractual agreement authorising the rearmament of Western Germany.

Before long Labour will be in power. But even today Labour could give a lead to the world and avert the danger of war.

We do not have to take new decisions. The need is to put reality into our present decisions by making all our international policies revolve around them. We must declare them before the whole world, and make it clear that when Labour resumes office it will apply a concrete plan.

The essentials of such a plan, I suggest, are these:—

1. Labour will only use arms to resist a definite act of aggression.

2. Labour will rely on the example of Democratic Socialism—its social justice combined with freedom—to "contain" Communism and to influence, in time, the growth of liberty in communist countries.

3. Labour will change the emphasis from concentration on rearmament to a ceaseless endeavour to establish conditions of peace.

4. Labour will insist upon a settlement in the Far East by pressing the claim of the Chinese Republic to membership of the United Nations.

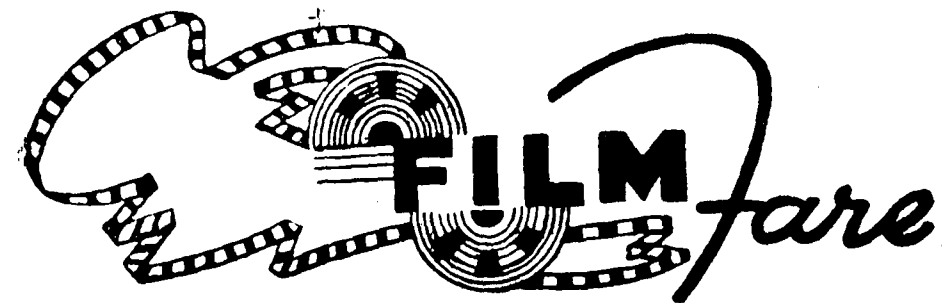
5. Labour will take the initiative in a real endeavour to reach agreement with Russia on the unification of Germany.

6. Labour will make a proposal to the United Nations that an agreed proportion of the expenditure upon rearmament by all Governments should be diverted to a world plan to raise the standard of life of the two-thirds of the earth's population existing in sub-human conditions.

7. In the new psychological situation created by this peace initiative Labour will propose progressive world disarmament under international control and a general settlement of outstanding differences in a comprehensive peace treaty.

The indications are that, if Labour will give this lead, we will have the support of a sufficient number of Governments to provide a majority in the United Nations. We will also have the support of the millions of people of all lands.

"Other people's desires, if we do not share them, always seem absurd, and we are inclined to condemn them as irrational, when all that we have a right to say is that they are not exactly like ours."
BERTRAND RUSSELL in a BBC broadcast on "Reason and Passion."



By V. P. SATHE

IN Bombay, the two first-run theatres in Lamington Road area introduced a five-anna class this week with the release of *Hamari Duniya* and *Sanskar*. The result was longer and better queues at both the theatres. With this precedent, it is only to be expected that the other theatres will also re-introduce the five-anna class and reduce the scales allotted to higher classes which are mostly un-occupied on week days.

In Sholapur, a peculiar situation has arisen with five theatres having a flat one-anna rate for all classes. The owners of other theatres launched a protest against this to the Government officials who expressed their inability to do anything in the matter, though, thanks to this move, the Government are losing quite a large amount by way of entertainment tax. The executive of IMPPA (Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association) has passed a resolution demanding that the lowest rate should be three annas, but the distributors, who have a similar rule, are ready to supply "old" pictures at this rate. And while these one-anna theatres are doing roaring business with old pictures, the first-run theatres are entailing a heavy loss as they are booking pictures on heavy minimum guarantee. These theatre-owners have started a regular campaign in the press against the one-anna theatres pointing out the loss of revenue to the industry and the Government. But so far that campaign has failed in its purpose. The rate-war in Sholapur reminds one of the taxis rate-war in Bombay when small taxis were introduced. And its moral is obvious. Unless the theatre-owners reduce the rates they cannot attract more crowds. If a picture is excep-

tionally good, that is an altogether different matter.

Picture Of The Week

Mrs. Henry Wood's popular novel, *East Lyne* has inspired many of our screenplays. It contains all the elements of a tear-jerker, and the story of a woman's suffering has always been popular with the Indian audiences. The latest screenplay to be inspired by that novel is Kishore Sahu's *Hamari Duniya*. True, the picture is not an exact replica of the novel, nor can it be called an adaptation. But for certain portions the screenplay is quite different from the novel, and while the original is sentimental sob stuff the latest screen version is essentially melodrama with a tinge of murder mystery. The result is that, while it engrosses dramatically, it seldom moves you emotionally.

In fact, it begins with the murder of a zamindar who is poisoned by a man in the hope of gaining his wealth. There are several obvious likely culprits, but the mystery itself is not so intriguing and wisely Sahu has relegated it to the background to recount the tale of the zamindar's daughter who finds herself a pauper with the ancestral house sold to a young bar-rister who ultimately marries her. The post-marriage drama reminds one of *East Lyne* with jealousy and fear driving the heroine out of her own house in an accident, and when she returns as an ayah to her own daughter. She finds her husband married to a woman, who is selfish, arrogant and callous to her step-child, falls sick and pines for her mother, while the step-mother runs away with the villain (as in *Ziddi*) and

meets with a fatal accident. Of course, in the last reel the murder mystery is also solved.

As said at the outset, it is the melodrama that dominates the film; and but for some moving scenes in the second half the author-director has not relied much on feminine sentiments. The narrative is enlivened by two subsidiary but very lively characters—that of Munshiji, played by Om Prakash, and the hero's good sister, played superbly by Kuldip. Both the stalwart artistes invest the picture with refreshing humour and in many scenes they are more prominent than the principal artistes. Kishore Sahu makes a good villain for a change; but having seen him in *Buzdil* his success in this kind of role is not surprising. Bharat Bhushan looks innocent; and he seems to be innocent of all the knowledge of acting. Asha Mathur does well; but one feels she could have done even better and extracted tears from the audience. Baby Naina makes a promising debut. The supporting players have done quite well.

Sushil Sahu's direction is compe-

tent and the entire production has been elaborately made. Shyambabu Pathak's music reminds one of the style of Shanker and Jaikishen while the last song brings back the haunting tune of *Mahal*. The pace of the picture is slow and after the disappearance of the heroine from her house, the threads of the story become loose, which are rejoined when the story reaches the climax. But for this, *Hamari Duniya* is a smooth and absorbing screenplay.

Personality Of The Week

On Saturday, November 8 many film celebrities were present at Famous Pictures Studio (Bombay) to attend the muhurat of New Huns Chitra's *Shri Ram Shabri*. Rajmata Sri Parwati Devi of Sawantwadi performed the muhurat. Speeches were made by D. K. Parker, the proprietor of the New Huns Chitra, the Rani Sahiba and Baburao Pai, but the man who was busy most was Raja Pandit, an old troupier who is now in charge of this production.

Raja Pandit comes from Kolhapur. He has been associated with the films

since the silent days. If I do not make a mistake, he was connected with Maharashtra Film Co. In the beginning he was known only as a comedian and that too as a slapstick comedian. When years ago Baburao Patel, before taking over Filmindia, started Gandharva Cinetone, Raja Pandit was Baburao's chief assistant. One could always see the foursome—Padma, the star of Gandharva Cinetone, Baburao Patel, Pandit Indra and Raja Pandit together. Raja Pandit acted also in Baburao's pictures.

When Gandharva Cinetone was closed, Raja went back to Kolhapur. And after years of inactivity, he made *Dhruva* with a cast of children. I think this is the only picture in which all the roles were played by children. The picture was fairly successful. But like most of Raja's adventures, this ended abruptly.

Once again Raja migrated to Bombay and in association with Pandit Anand Kumar and G. Jagirdar he floated a production unit, Chhaya Pictures, and made *Gora Kumbhar* starring Ratnamala. The picture was a great success but the company was dissolved. Later, Raja joined Rajkamal and worked as Vidushak in Shantaram's *Shakuntala*. He also got married to Ratnamala.

Not being a steady and sober type the marriage did not prove happy. Ratnamala and Raja were separated. Raja returned to his home at Kolhapur and spent three years leading a life of an ascetic till he was lured once again by the films. He came back in 1949 and directed *Pandharicha Patil*, a picture about a Marathi saint. As Marathi pictures go, this picture did well at the box office, though apparently it did not bring any profit to Raja who once again went to Kolhapur in distress.

But a man with a fertile imagination like him cannot go to oblivion. So he is back again in Bombay. This time, he is production in-charge for *Shree Ram Shabri*. As a producer, Raja has never made a flop; though not one of his productions has brought him stability or security. Everytime he had to make a new beginning from scratch; find a new financier and a new party. It is a wonder that, in spite of many setbacks, for which partly he is himself responsible, he has not lost zest. A

wonderful story-teller, he is a great entertainer in private life, if he is sober. His has been a very colourful life and he has wonderful anecdotes of many film celebrities which, if he wrote down, would make interesting reading.

After many trials and tribulations he has got this new chance. Let us hope he will make good this time.

News Of The Week

—Sri S. K. Patil's name has been suggested for the presidency of Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association. For this a general body meeting is being called.

—New Huns Chitra's *Shri Ram Shabri* is being directed by Junnar-kar and it stars Ranjana, Vivek, Raja Pandit and Salvi in the principal roles.

—Mehboob has postponed the colour film idea for some time. Instead he will immediately start shooting of a black and white picture which he hopes to complete within six months.

—Bombay Talkies are making a picture in gavaricolour for which Shanker and Jaikishen will give music.

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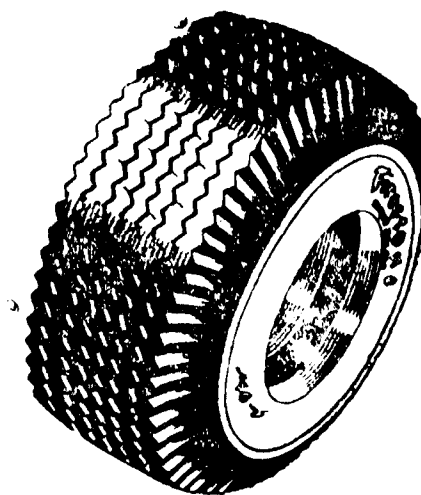
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THE BRITISH ATOMIC WEAPON-II

By S. P. MISRA

IF the British Monte Bello test explosion was a failure, there is nothing to it, it is no subject for discussion. If it was a success, as claimed and generally conceded, the important scientific question is, how precisely can greater atomic energy be released for the same or smaller amount of U-235 than in the US atomic bomb? How it actually has been accomplished is a closely-guarded secret. But the question is, how is it possible on the basis of knowledge of nuclear physics available today generally?

The scientists' opinion we have quoted in the first article (published last week) do not help very much. All available scientific opinion relates to the form of the weapon, and not to the basic question as to how greater atomic energy may be released for the same or less amount of uranium-235. It is obvious that once uranium-235 can be more efficiently exploited, such exploitation may be for almost any purpose desired. The same principle would be utilised differently.

Essence Of Problems

There are essentially two problems. The one is, how can greater atomic energy be had for the same amount of U-235. The other is, how can the amount of U-235 used in the US atomic bomb be reduced?

We believe the first problem is insoluble as such. No greater energy, as such, can be obtained for the same amount of matter. In 1945, however, Prof. A. Zhadanov obtained a Stalin Prize for completely splitting the nuclei of bromium and silver on a photographic plate by cosmic rays. In U-235 chain reaction nuclear fission only one-tenth of the matter is converted into energy. In this Soviet method by cosmic rays all of the matter was broken up. Unfortunately we know no more of Soviet research on this subject. But it is known that the USSR leads the world in cosmic rays research and when the basic elementary particle, the mesotron, splits in one way, a particle is

released carrying 2,70,00,000 electron volts.

Consequently, we believe greater energy for the same amount of matter cannot be obtained by the now conventional chain reaction nuclear fission method. But the same amount of energy can be made to be felt—used for destruction—for a longer period than hitherto.

In the US atomic bomb a temperature of about 100 million degrees is produced, but only for a fraction of a millionth of a second. If the British atomic weapon can produce the same temperature, which we believe cannot be exceeded, but for a longer period of time, say for one-thousandth of a second, the British weapon would be vastly more destructive.

Control Of Energy

In the chain reaction nuclear fission method, the first problem is, whether release of atomic energy can be controlled to produce high temperatures over a longer period of time.

The extraction of energy at high temperatures depends on techniques for the protection of the uranium metal from corrosion. These techniques are problems for metallurgy. In his article, "How the Atom Can be Harnessed for Peace," in *The Illustrated London News*, early in 1946, Prof. M. L. E. Oliphant of the Birmingham University, closely associated with the development of the US atomic bomb, said metallurgical and other problems will be solved and it will be possible to develop peace-time aspects of atomic energy in five years.

In his statement in the Commons on October 23 Mr. Churchill said the British atomic weapon vapourised a naval frigate at the Monte Bello test. The temperature when the flash burst through the hull of the frigate, Mr. Churchill said, was nearly one million degrees Fahrenheit. This is only about one-hundredth of the temperature caused in the US atomic bomb. But in the US atomic bomb about 100 million degrees heat lasts

but for a fraction of a millionth of a second. If, in the British weapon, one million degrees heat lasts even for one-thousandth of a second, it would be vastly more destructive than the US atomic bomb.

On investigation by Colonel Alexander de Seversky, US War Department Consultant, it emerged that US atomic bombs in Japan did not damage even flag-staffs and air-raid sirens, though Japanese paper, paste-board, plywood houses were burnt. Brick, stone, concrete buildings were undamaged. In the British atomic weapon, according to Mr. Churchill's Commons statement, the steel naval frigate *Plym* was completely vapourised, except for some red-hot fragments scattered over a wide area which started fires in the dry vegetation on the Monte Bello islands. Beyond this Mr. Churchill refused technical details of the performance of the British atomic weapon.

Theory Of Control

The main part of the atom is its nucleus. The nucleus is made up of protons and neutrons. Protons carry a positive charge, the neutrons carry none. These parts of one nucleus are used to break other nuclei. But the neutron is far better than the proton for break-up atomic nuclei.

Since the protons carry a positive charge, since an atomic nucleus is also positively charged (its protons giving it a positive charge while its neutrons give it none of it), a proton approaching a nucleus to enter and split it is repelled and deflected away. This does not happen with neutrons. So nuclear fission is easier with neutrons.

Before we go any further it is necessary to be clear as to "isotopes" and "moderators".

The same chemical elements sometimes have different atomic weights. For instance, U-238 and U-235 are the same chemical uranium element but their atomic weights differ. The atomic weight of one is 238 (92 protons plus 146 neutrons is equal to 238 parts), that of the other is 235 (92 protons plus 143 neutrons is equal to 235 parts). Such "twins", "triplets", "quadruplets", "quintuplets", as the case may be, are called isotopes. U-238 and U-235 are isotopes of uranium.

Moderators are necessary for nuclear fission. When the nucleus of U-235 is entered by a neutron it splits up into almost two equal fragments, and also, one, two or three neutrons are released. One of these released neutrons enters the nucleus of another U-235 atom. Then the same thing happens again. In this way there is a chain reaction nuclear fission.

Now, here is where two facts start trouble, but a third fact helps mitigate it. The two troublesome facts are: first, the neutrons released in fission are high-speed neutrons (having velocities in the order of thousands of miles a second); second, U-235 nuclear fission is more probable with low speed neutrons (so-called thermal velocity neutrons).

Problem Of Success

The trouble, in other words, is that the speed of neutrons emitted in fission is so great that they just escape without causing a chain reaction. The bomb would then be quite impossible. There would be no release of atomic energy. But a third fact makes it possible to slow down the neutrons. This is that high-speed neutrons can slow down by inelastic collision with uranium nuclei without occurrence of any nuclear fission. This indicated the solution but immediately raised another difficulty for it to be effective.

The new difficulty was the finding that neutrons emitted in fission are also captured by uranium nuclei without any fission occurring. This had to be prevented otherwise there would be complete failure. But the trouble is that the speed at which neutrons are captured most without fission occurring is between the high speed of neutrons and the low speed at which they will best split U-235 nuclei. The neutrons must be slowed down. But about half-way down to the speed at which we want them to go they are captured and lost for fission.

Suppose the speed of neutrons emitted is 100 m.p.s. At this speed no chain reaction occurs in U-235. It occurs only if their speed is, say, 20 m.p.s. So they must be slowed down and we know how to do it. But at 60 m.p.s. they are captured and lost. Now, how are they to be slowed down

to 20 from 100 and yet not slow down to 60 in the process?

The solution to this problem was found ready-made for scientists. For some years before the discovery of nuclear fission neutrons were being slowed down by passing them through material of low atomic weight. In this way neutrons collided with particles of about the same weight as themselves which slowed them down.

The Chain Reaction

When two bodies collide, one of which is very heavy and the other very light, the one lighter will not dislodge the heavier but itself bounce off it. But if they are of the same weight, they will come to a standstill unless the force of collision is in very great proportion to their weight. The weight of a neutron is the same as that of the hydrogen nucleus. Hydrogenous material is therefore mixed with U-235 to slow down the neutrons in fission.

The nuclei in hydrogenous material are practically stationary. The neutrons coming from the U-235 collide with hydrogen nuclei. So they are safely slowed down past the speed at which they are captured without fission occurring. Heavy hydrogen (deuterium) as "heavy water" and carbon in the form of graphite are good moderators—slowing down agents.

The fission material so developed has to be of a certain critical size otherwise no chain reaction would be sustained. We will come to this problem when we consider the problem of reduction of the size of the over-all atomic bomb or weapon. For the present, let us assume that a chain reaction has been successfully set going.

In one nuclear fission between one and three neutrons are emitted—say two. These cause two fresh fissions. In a chain reaction one neutron splits one U-235 nucleus, two neutrons emerge and cause two fissions, four neutrons emerge and cause four fissions, eight neutrons emerge and cause eight fissions, and so on. In an explosive reaction the number of neutrons multiplies indefinitely. In a controlled reaction the number of neutrons builds up to the desired level

and then remains constant. In a controlled reaction tremendous heat can be produced and maintained at that level for a much longer period than in an explosive reaction.

The British Secret

The problem of controlling explosive reaction down to a desired steady level of reaction depends on controlling neutron multiplication.

Now, there are neutral substances which absorb neutrons strongly, as for instance, cadmium. Rods of cadmium can be introduced into the fission material so as to absorb neutrons and slow down their multiplication and lessen temperature. Where cadmium rods are pulled out, neutrons will multiply and the temperature will rise.

A temperature regulating device is attached to the fission pile. While the temperature is below the desired, the rods keep pulled out. When the temperature starts rising above the desired level, the device automatically pushes in the rods which lowers the temperature. In this way the heat out-put is regulated and maintained up to the desired level.

The power of the ordinary US atomic bomb can be increased by mixing U-235 with deuterium ("heavy water") or tritium ("extra-heavy-water") a few times without serious difficulties. The temperature released can also be controlled and maintained at a sufficiently high level for a sufficiently longer period, by the use of cadmium rods, for greater destruction than in the US bomb.

But an agency report says that there were two explosions in the Monte Bello test, the first appeared to be for priming and the other the main blast. This suggests a bomb within a bomb, such as the hydrogen bomb containing within it an atomic bomb to heat it up before it can go off.

In the next article we propose discussing the possible hydrogen bomb, how it works, the energy released, the types of such h-bombs and the formula for calculation of energies produced in each type.

BELISARIO DOMINGUEZ— MEXICAN MARTYR

By GEORGE YAMADA

AN obscure but courageous doctor rose on the floor of the Senate thirty nine years ago—September 23, 1913—to voice a challenge that has since echoed across the mountains and plains of Mexico:

You would tell me, sirs, (he said) that the attempt is dangerous because Don Victoriano Huerta is a bloody and ferocious soldier who assassinates without vacillation all who act as an obstacle to him. It is not important, sirs. The country demands that you carry out what you should even in danger, with certainty of losing life. If in your anxiety to see peace prevail again in the Republic, you made a mistake; if you believe in the sham words of a man who promised to pacify the nation in two months, and had nominated him President of the Republic, now that you clearly see that this man is an imposter, do you allow for fear of death that he would continue in power?

Fifteen days after this memorable discourse, the man who uttered these ringing words was foully murdered, his tongue torn out, his body riddled with bullets.

Every year, in commemoration of that day, October 7, Mexico honours the memory of one of her noblest sons, Dr. Belisario Dominguez, an unknown senator from the state of Chiapas whose heroism is a poignant reminder of the idealism and passion that surged beneath Mexico's revolutionary struggle for national honour and dignity.

To render homage to the memory of this illustrious figure, the Federal Government each year on the anniversary of his death takes part in a joint assembly of the Senate and the House of Deputies in a ceremony before the tomb of Belisario Dominguez. The official government organ, *El Nacional*, declared editorially: "A great monument shall rise to shelter the remains of Don Belisario Dominguez as already in the monument of the national conscience, is forever enshrined the spirit and example of the unforgettable martyr."

Dominguez had studied medicine in Europe before establishing a successful practice in the village of his birth,

Comitan, state of Chiapas, where he was born in 1863. He was 50 years old when called to the capital to fill the post vacated by the death of the senator elected from his state. Don Belisario Dominguez had previously declined the nomination of senatorship, but was chosen alternate, an honorary title. Destiny intervened to alter the course of his life.

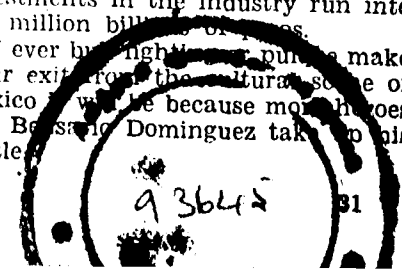
Upon assuming his post in the Senate, Dominguez urged his colleagues to depose the usurper, Victoriano Huerta, who had appropriated the presidency by murdering Mexico's first post-porfirian constitutional president, Francisco Madero, and vice-president Pino Suarez.

A terrified Senate "with very rare exceptions... sold to the grim power" of Huerta listened to the "inconceivable boldness" of this sentinel, so audacious that the official *Diario de los Debates* omitted his discourse and subsequent addresses on the same theme.

But Don Belisario Dominguez went even further. He published his discourse on fliers and distributed it through the city, an action which enraged the satraps. On the night of October 7, 1913, four police officers seized Dominguez in his room at the Hotel Jardin. He was never again seen alive.

Don Belisario Dominguez had distinguished himself in other ways, equally bold and imaginative. Publishing a small review in which his progressive ideas were advocated, he attacked bull fighting. To advocate the abolition of bull fighting in Mexico, even forty years ago, required courage and vision of the abolitionists a century earlier. To abolish full fighting today, like abolishing pulque, the national beverage, is to do battle with entrenched interests whose investments in the industry run into the million billions of pesos.

If ever bull fighting was put to make their exit from the cultural scene of Mexico, it will be because more heroes like Belisario Dominguez took to his battle.



REFORM OF LOCAL BODIES

By T. V. G. PAL

THE question of the reform of local bodies has, in recent months, assumed importance. There has been a persistent clamour by the elected authorities of District Boards and Municipalities that their powers were curtailed, and that they should be entrusted with a wider sphere of activity and enlarged resources if they were to do their duties by the public efficiently. The point was also mooted by many speakers in the Madras Legislative Assembly during the discussion of the Bill to amend the District Boards Act, and the Government was urged to bring in a comprehensive piece of legislation involving decentralisation of powers before the expiry of the extended term of the local boards.

There is, indeed, need for a little clear thinking. Democracy in our country is still in a nebulous stage and local board reform being a perilous experiment, our zeal should not outrun our discretion. It will be reckoning without the host if we launch on grandiose schemes of political experimentations during this period of transition, for the loss and frustration in the event of failure will be irreparable and incalculable. There is much vision and wisdom in C. R.'s observation in the Assembly the other day that "local bodies do not really require political party feelings to render one thing good or another. As far as possible, we should have no politics in local bodies; but the present atmosphere does not permit it. There are certain challenges that have to be met."

The units of Local Self-Government in our State are City Corporations and Municipalities in urban areas, and the District Boards and Village Panchayats in rural areas. The Village Panchayat, under the Constitution, is meant to be the corner-stone of the pyramidal structure of a decentralised national policy. Article 40 of the Constitution says that the "state shall take steps to organise village panchayats, and endow them with powers to

function as units of Self-Government."

The Madras Village Panchayat Act, enforced on April 1, 1951 is, unquestionably, a step in the direction of the establishment of Panchayat Raj in the State. It seeks to create a network of Panchayat Boards so as to cover each and every village in the State, and vests such bodies with powers to ensure a better administration of village affairs.

Under the Act, the Panchayats are divided into class I and class II on the basis of income and population. Those with a minimum population of 5,000 and a revenue of Rs. 10,000 are regarded as major or class I Panchayats, and the rest are categorised as class II Panchayats. The major Panchayats are divided into 5 wards, and the minor Panchayats into two wards for election purposes. The Act also provides for the direct election of the president on the basis of adult franchise so as "to keep him above all parties and cliques of members", and he is entrusted with certain "extraordinary powers", in the administration of the affairs of the Panchayat. The District Boards can no longer wield any control over the Panchayat, and the full power of superintendence and regulation of these bodies is vested in the Registrar-General, who can not only suspend or cancel resolutions, but remove presidents and vice-presidents and members.

There are, at present, in the State about 8,300 Panchayats of which only 450 are major bodies, and the rest are minor ones. It was stated the other day in the Assembly by the Local Boards Minister that the Panchayat elections, for the first time under the new Act, would be held from the middle or last week of this month and that elections to the major Panchayats would be held by secret ballot while those to the minor Panchayats by show of hands. This is a retrograde step, and is tantamount to taking away with one hand what is given with the other. It is true that there is no rule which requires that elec-

tions to the Panchayats should be held only by secret ballot, but the authorities should not fight shy of the grim realities of the situation, and seek shelter under legal subtleties. Under the system of elections by show of hands, the very purpose of the new Act will be defeated, and the establishment of a Panchayat Raj will be a forlorn hope. In the majority of cases, elections are subjected to caste tyranny and the influence of money and little regard is paid to a candidate's ability and integrity, and these evils will manifest themselves only too patently if the ballot box is dispensed with. It cannot also be gainsaid that a sort of feudalism still exists in many villages, especially in those areas which are now sought to be covered by minor Panchayats, and the influence of local bosses at such centres will go a long way in swaying the masses. In the ultimate analysis, such elections, despite the show of democracy, will only enable an oligarchy to control the life of the village through the Panchayat, and the goal of establishing a real government of the people, by the people and for the people, will remain as distant as ever. The Government would therefore do well to conduct elections to the major Panchayats at present, and postpone the elections to the rest until such time that arrangements are made to hold elections through secret ballot.

Further, the very set-up of society in the village is different from that in an urban area. Whereas position and status of individuals form the basis of society in towns and cities, it is the caste system that is the nerve-centre of society in rural areas. If the Panchayats are to flourish and be instruments of public good, there should be equal sharing of power among all the communities in the village, for only then there will be scope for all-round development. All communities, irrespective of their numerical strengths, should have equal representation on the Panchayats so that they might be fully representative bodies reflecting the opinion of all segments of the public. Selfish interests and communal jealousies, which are today taxing the energies of the people leaving little surplus for constructive achievements, will then recede to the background, and

only the interest of the village will be the paramount consideration. The Government would do well to consider this aspect of the question at the time of amending the Act, and provide for the constitution of the Panchayats on that basis. It is also most desirable that certain minimum education qualifications should be laid down in respect of the president of the Panchayat, lest the position should be exploited by unlettered persons to play ducks and drakes with the extraordinary powers vested in them, and become a pest on the village instead of its benefactor.

As regards District Boards and Municipalities, the position is none too happy. They have been the cockpits of unedifying quarrels between parties, and the ratepayer's faith is rudely shaken by the wreckless and undignified manner in which civic affairs are transacted. If local boards are to be free from abuses it is necessary to draw a distinction between the formulation of policy, which should be left to the elected bodies, and the day-to-day administration and the implementation of the policies, which should be the sole concern of well-paid full-time officers. An impartial examination of local administration in our State will prove to the hilt that Municipalities which have been provided with executive officers in the form of Commissioners have been able to give the ratepayer a better return of his money than District Boards. The presence of executive officers has also prevented, to a certain extent, deterioration in the standard of municipal administration, and this salutary principle should be applied to District Boards also to save them from further decay and disintegration.

There is at present, as the Chief Minister has rightly stated, "a fine blending of bureaucratic and democratic methods in our local administration," and this principle should be maintained at all costs in the interests of purity and efficiency of administration. It was the famous resolution of Lord Ripon's administration that laid down in 1882 the vital principle "that the Government should exercise its control over local bodies from without rather than from with-

in." It is a false notion that central control over local bodies is inimical to the growth and development of local autonomy. There is nothing wrong if the tendency is towards control and not towards centralisation. As a matter of fact, even in advanced countries like England, the tenor of local administration has been in the same direction. Ever since the eighties of the last century, the quantum of central control in Britain has been on the increase, and "the local bodies are being brought more and more under the superintendence of the Government of London. The control is carried on in many ways. The Central Government in England advises, inspects, regulates, gives, or withholds approval. It bespeaks of a system of cooperation and advice, rather than of dictation." If therefore any reform is called for in our local administration, it is not towards a relaxation of central control but towards the reinforcement of it, leav-

ing of course, full latitude to the local authorities in respect of the initiation and origination of policies.

There has not been any radical change in the functions of local bodies since their formation in 1871. Communications, education, and public health, have been regarded as falling within the sphere of their activity. The chief handicap of our local bodies is not lack of powers, but lack of resources and maladministration. The Royal Commission on decentralisation which examined the question threadbare stated that the administrative duties already assigned to local boards were quite large enough and "what is really needed is not an extension of functions, but larger resources for the work already falling on them." The Government should provide adequate funds for the local authorities ensuring at the same time adequate superintendence in regard to the proper utilisation of the monies.

THE MUSIC ACADEMY: AN APPRECIATION

By V. P. RAMAN

WITHIN the past three decades several cultural organisations, some of them claiming to be harbingers of renaissances, were born. Most of them are dead today after short, and what was worse, bitter existences. We have now got so used to this high rate of infantile mortality, that it is considered the right and proper reaction to laugh hollowly and express one's condolences to the pioneer who announces a new institution to the world. For an organisation to have lived, and for not one or two but twenty-five years at that, in so unfavourable a cultural milieu is certainly a noble achievement. This sheer feat of survival has elevated the Music Academy, Madras, to among the fittest to receive our greetings on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee.

The year 1927 was a momentous year in the national movement. The Madras session of the Congress that year had declared complete indepen-

dence to be its goal. Together with its political deliberations, that session included a cultural side-show in an all-India music conference. This conference passed a resolution urging the formation of a permanent institution to promote the cause of music. And, curiously enough, unlike other resolutions (for example, the Karachi resolution on land reforms) which remain unimplemented to this day, the resolution on music was concretised the very next year by the inauguration of the Music Academy by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar. However, the Academy's survival cannot be attributed even by the superstitious, to the political auspices of its genesis. The Academy has functioned throughout these twenty-five years as a strictly independent body faithful to its declared ideals, and its academic activities are devoid of any political loyalties.

The reasons, if some must be found,

for the Academy's continued and uninterrupted work lie in the constancy and stability of the clientele to which it caters, and the trustworthy, dependable and efficient character of its executive. The South Madras middle class has very few genuine loves in life, being prone to bask in the sunshine of uncommitted complacency; yet, the few affiliations it possesses, it values. One such is the addiction to coffee and the other is Carnatic music—the more choosy among the lot patronise the Music Academy. The Academy's executive with its preponderance of sober, legal brains has always guarded against misdirected and disproportionate enthusiasm which has led many similar organisations to bite more than they could chew and finally succumb to this self-induced asphyxia.

The Academy has never been an easy prey to new fangled ideas. This is so, not because of an unprogressive or reactionary attitude but rather due to an anxiety to save the pure from contamination. It is a mistaken notion to deem as culturally progressive what is really an abetment of cultural decadence. It is certainly not reactionary to rail against a fall in standards; on the contrary every genuine progressive should object to any attempt at adulterating the aesthetical concepts of our people. The composer who imports Hawaiian syncopation and American jazz into our music and then tries to get away with it by saying "the people like it" is not a progressive but a charlatan. The Academy has never quartered any such nonsense and its concerts have generally tried to exercise a chastening influence on public taste. At the same time, the Academy has taken the initiative in several matters previously thought to be heterodox. It lifted the irrational prejudice against Bharata Natya and by a process of refining the performance and issuing an enlightening programme, to be executed by the very best artists, it has brought classical Indian dance within the limits of intelligent appreciation. The Academy was also the first to allow classical Tamil songs to be sung in the main programme along with *krutis* of the Trinity, instead of being relegated to the post-pallavi period of the concert, that generally attempts to titillate low-brow appetites.

Other features of the Music Academy are its useful conduct of a Teachers' College of Music; and its quarterly journal devoted to music is so unique in content as to draw several appreciations from abroad. The Information Bureau of the Academy has established a reputation for the assistance it is able to afford to earnest students of the subject. The annual conference in December in which practically all the leading musicians participate has always been popular. The academic aspect of these conferences is taken care of by the experts committee at whose proceedings presides an annually elected president who is also the recipient of the title of *Sangita Kalanidhi*. The conferences in past years have usefully debated on the *raga lakshanas* of several *ragas*, and the conclusions reached are to be issued in a booklet on the occasion of the jubilee. One should however like that the Academy is endowed with the necessary sanction, or is at least able to persuade the musicians to adhere to the decisions taken instead of cussedly sticking to individual opinions in the matter even after the experts committee has decided democratically on an issue. This would avoid the ridiculousness that once prevailed when a musician sang *Hindolam* in his own way, the very day the committee had decided otherwise.

The Jubilee conference is to be declared open next month by the Governor of Madras, and Vidwan Sri Sambasiva Aiyar of Karaikudi will preside over the experts committee. Special features of the conference are the introduction of a new classification of musicians to provide berths for the leaders of tomorrow, and demonstrations by the leaders of yesterday. All this with the usual galaxy of Carnatic musicians, the customary guest-performers from the North, and the high brow artists like Flute Swaminatha Pillai, Dwaram Venkataswami Naidu and the members of the Dhanam family, will be there to gladden the hearts of music lovers who will, or so the President fondly hopes, contribute liberally to the building fund. One cannot deny that while the sky is the limit as far as the Academy's achievements are concerned, still it needs to have a roof of its own over its head!

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEATH DUTY DEBATE

(By A Special Correspondent)

THERE was no division, not even a solitary cry of 'no,' when the Finance Minister's motion for reference on the Estate Duty Bill to a select committee was put to the vote in the House of the People on Monday. It was not because the Opposition was indifferent to the measure. It was debated for full three days, and both Congressmen and members of the Opposition groups offered plenty of criticism and expressed misgiving about the effect of the Bill on the traditional Hindu system of the joint family.

On this point the speeches cut across all party distinctions. Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava (Congress) was even more vehement than Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Mr. N. C. Chatterji of the National Democratic Party in objecting to the indirect assault on the joint family system through a financial measure. Why, it was asked, did Government reverse their earlier decision to defer the Estate Duty Bill till the Hindu Code Bill was enacted? Since the measure had been hanging fire for six years since it was first introduced in the provisional Parliament in 1946, could it not wait some time longer?

To the lay man the Finance Minister's reply to this seemed convincing enough. Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh said that on the death of a member of a Hindu joint family the joint property would be divided only notionally, in order to determine his share, and would not be divided in fact.

Though the argument on the proposed levy's effect on the joint family system was the main feature of the debate, my concern here is rather to consider some of the secondary features of the debate which revealed in a striking manner the new temper that prevails among all sections of the House.

It is one of urgent concern with the tremendous economic problems facing the country. This mood has been largely induced by the continuous dis-

cussion during the last month and more of the Planning Commission's revised five-year plan. The Commission did very wisely indeed in inviting representatives of all parties to discuss with them the projects which form the plan and the method of financing those projects. The result has been to bring home to the politicians the need for being something of economists too, if they are to make an intelligent contribution to discussion of the country's problems. There has been evident in the new session of the House a tendency towards soberer and more constructive criticism on the part of the Opposition and a more chastened attitude on the part of Congress spokesmen.

One is not thinking, of course, of the Communists whom nothing short of the establishment of their own dictatorship will satisfy, nor of curious people like Babu Ramnarain Singh, formerly of the Congress and K. M. P. and now an Independent, who thinks the Government is so corrupt that it should be entrusted with no revenue at all, whether from estate duties or otherwise.

Outside this circle of inveterate opponents with closed minds, Government's usual critics put up a creditable performance during the death duty debate. They continued to be critical of Government, but their suggestions for improvement bore the stamp of sincerity. They were not just being rhetorical. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, for instance, characterised the Estate Duty Bill as an "essentially negative" measure, however timely and justified it might be in itself. It aimed at lopping off excessive wealth in private hands, and this was desirable both for the social advantage of reducing inequality and the economic advantage of bringing additional revenue. But it was no answer to the gigantic problems of poverty and illiteracy among the masses, Dr. Mookerjee insisted. Positive action was needed to meet them,

and the Five-Year Plan was not claimed even by the authors to envisage such action on the requisite scale. In addition to the estate duty, which will admittedly not bring any great volume of revenue, why not revive the salt tax, he asked. Dr. Mookerjee also suggested in all seriousness that it was time to review Prohibition policy and modify its application in such a manner that at least half of the annual revenue of over Rs. 40 crores which State Governments have lost on this account may accrue again to the exchequer. Numerous other Opposition speakers similarly welcomed the estate duty as a progressive tax, and only asked that Government pursue an even more vigorous economic policy.

I have said that Congressmen in the House seem to be in a chastened mood. They no longer claim, as Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and others did in the last session of Parliament, that the land will be flowing with milk and honey at the end of the Five-Year Plan. And when Mr. Gadgil claimed too much for the proposed estate duty, hailing it as the herald of an equalitarian society, his own Congress colleagues dissented. Mr. Khandubhai Desai, president of the Congress led Indian National Trade Union Congress, was at one with Opposition speakers in puncturing Mr. Gadgil's claims. This is because of the intensive examination and criticism to which the Five-Year Plan has been subjected in recent weeks, and the discussion both of first principles and specific problems which it has generated.

Only the Communists seemed to sit uncomfortably through the debate. They remained silent during the first two days, and when this attracted comment Mr. Hiren Mukherji rose on the last day of the debate to explain

that he had tried many times to catch the Speaker's eye and had at least once been prevented from succeeding by the intervening "formidable personality" of the Deputy Speaker. The witty remark did not hide his party's uneasiness at being confronted with an obviously progressive measure by a Government which, according to them, represents vested interests. Mr. Mukherji's solution was to dub it a "capitalist measure," insofar as it did not go beyond the limits of the system of private property.

But even the Communists, despite their hyper-critical attitude, made a valuable contribution to the debate. Both Mr. Mukherji and Dr. Jaisooraya made the allegation that Government intended to exempt the princes, notably the Nizam whose wealth they computed at Rs. 500 crores, from application of the death levy. This would be done, they predicted, under the clause authorising Government to make exemptions and reduce the rate of the levy in particular cases. The Communist allegation elicited from the Finance Minister the welcome announcement that princes would not be exempt from death levies, and an offer to consider in the select committee any suggestions for a closer definition of the power of exemption.

It was on the whole a heartening experience to watch the debate. It showed that the idea of equality and the economic emancipation of the masses has caught on, and that even the spokesmen of property have become wiser than to try to repudiate it. There are many men of wealth, including princes, even in the present House elected on adult franchise. That nevertheless there was not a single voice of dissent at the time of voting is surely significant. If we want to avoid violent revolution we cannot afford to have diehards.

I shall always regret that I was not at the City dinner where a famous toastmaster heralded what turned out to be an inordinately long speech by Ramsay MacDonald. Having descended as usual from the intimidating, high monotone reserved for "My Lord Mayor, My Late Lord Mayor, Your Grace, Your Excellencies, My Lords," to the little tonal twist of the "Ladies and Gentlemen," he roared in conclusion: "Pray for the silence of the Right Honourable J. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain."—Critic in the New Statesman and Nation.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

By D. ANJANEYULU

NIL Nisi Bonum. Nothing but good. That is, of course, about the dead. A deep-rooted belief in the immortality of the soul has evidently much to do with the high respect that we pay to the departed. It is deemed to be in good form even to say a few pleasant and harmless lies in the face of death. Whether it be a fourth-rate politician or a first-rate blackmarketer whose bones are being interred the familiar tribute is that it is hard to fill the void left by him and "may his soul rest in peace." It is, no doubt, more advisable to say a good thing (that is not true) about a person than to speak the harsh truth and offend him or his relatives. It is all the more true in the case of those who are no more with us, for death the leveller does not like a discordant voice or an ill-tuned cymbal in the funeral music. Glycerine tears and funeral orations of a strictly formal sort have an important place not only on the studio sets, but in real life which is often less credible than the paint and powder universe.

The passing away of two or three writers in recent months has amply illustrated the eloquence of our dirge-singers and the perennial flow of their crocodile tears. The one who died last was an artist of versatile talents, though he might not have been a genius, as he was readily described by some of his fair-weather friends. A lawyer by training, he discarded the dry and dreary atmosphere of the mofussil courts to blow like the air, "where it listeth." He tried his hand with considerable success, at painting, literature and journalism—in fact, all the fine arts, in general. His interest in the renaissance of Indian art was matched by his unfaltering zeal for the revival of rural folk-songs. He used to sing them with great relish and to the immense delight of his countless listeners. He composed verses and wrote novels and short stories with as much felicity as he dashed off editorials for the newspaper he edited for a while, rather late in his varied life. It is unfortunately true that he was not of the top drawer in any branch of art or literature,

but he was far above the ordinary and the mediocre. Artists hailed him as a poet and poets praised him as a painter. Nothing, however, was heard about him in the last stage of his life until he died in a city hospital. God knows how he spent the last days of his struggle, but no sooner had his soul freed itself from the mortal trammels than the ever-busy ministers and over-worked businessmen, leaders of the bar and well-to-do gentlemen at large vied with one another in laying the flattering unction to the departed soul.

The second, who died of tuberculosis a few months earlier, was in some respects more remarkable as a man and as an intellectual force. He was also a lawyer, a Mylapore one at that, who gave up a steady practice at the bar (that could have given him security, if not wealth) in search of fresh fields and pastures new. From the practice of law to the practice of literature was to him a promotion in the scale of public service. He was a visionary, in the best sense of the word, dreaming wonderful dreams about the rise of the villages, from the present ruin and ravage wrought by 'modern' civilization to the sylvian splendour that was. His conception of rural resuscitation was at once an anticipation and a logical conclusion of Gandhiji's *grama swarajya* or even *Ramarajya*. In the feverish pursuit of his Arcadian *El dorado*, he wrote books and pamphlets, edited a journal, read papers, delivered lectures and toured the length and breadth of India in third class and worked as a rural adviser in a princely state, which he did not like. Just when he cast a spell on the reading public with his polished periods and mixed metaphors which always embellished his books, that celebrate the struggle of a resurgent nation, he did not care to continue his career as a writer in a foreign medium. On the other hand, he began to write in his mother-tongue so that his message might reach the masses. The utopian plans about a rural university on the banks of a sacred river amidst the sand-dunes of his wind-swept and

water-laved village, the site of an ancient city, came to naught like many other well-meant programmes in this vale of tears where Mammon reigns supreme like the king of kings. With no attempt at melodrama, it is no exaggeration to say that the sweet and gentle (too gentle for the rough and tumble of a work-a-day world) one died a sad, broken and disillusioned man. He died poor, the small purse lukewarmly presented to him at the fag-end of his life notwithstanding. Here was one who never hurt a fly, but tried to do good according to his lights, which were by no means dim. He had many rich 'friends', but no real patron.

It is easy to multiply tragic instances of a similar nature. A public spirited journalist who was for a time in the Central Assembly died needy and neglected. This must recall to one's mind the case of the late Mr. Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, a fervent patriot and an ebullient spirit, not without a touch of engaging eccentricity. The name of the Andhra Ratna has, since his death, been a household word in the Circars and there is hardly an important place without a library or public park named after him. His ready wit and quick repartee are recounted in the political legends current among the people and his *Ramadandu* idea is claimed by some as the sublime conception of the *swadeshi* spirit. Though public memory is proverbially short and that of politicians shorter still, there must be some at least who remember that the Andhra Ratna died young (he was not yet 40), poor and frustrated. There is no dearth of platform speakers to sing his praises now, but not many bothered to find out if he required a helping hand (he might not, of course, have asked for it) in a helpless state. Unfortunately or fortunately, he did not live in the era of lands for political sufferers.

The land hunger of the patriot and the political sufferer, presumably, deserves immediate satisfaction. Meritorious service of a non-political nature is, however, on a different footing, with the fitting motto: "Yours not to reason why, but merely to do and die." Such unhealthy pessimism, one may be told, has no place in free India, where the revival

of arts and letters and the renaissance of culture are always on the threshold. Let the pernicious foreigner quit our shores, bag and baggage (or better, leaving them behind) and a new heaven on earth is slyly waiting round the corner. The earthly paradise would flow with milk and honey unaided by the *Kamadhenu* or the *Kalpavruksha*. Poets, writers and artists in all fields could work for the country, practising their pursuits with a patriotic fervour, not worrying about their personal problems and domestic, day-to-day requirements. The glow of freedom might soothe the nerves, but fresh vigour and new life in a painter or poet cannot be conjured up without the daily bread and the sinews of a war for existence. The much-maligned zamindars had a saving grace, which included a liberal, though conventional patronage of arts and letters. At least a few poets and artists could cluster around each petty zamindar and do some work (worthwhile if they were mindful of their ultimate loyalty to their profession) in a comparatively secure and sheltered existence, free from the pinch of abject penury. No one would call it an ideal state of affairs, but even that limited, private patronage has disappeared with the end of the zamindaris. The facile and popular view would have the writer look to the 'people,' who are his patrons in a progressive democracy. No direct patronage is, however, possible from the generality of the people and even indirect patronage is scanty and scattered in a society where there are more borrowers than buyers of books.

The British and the Westerners in general, such of them as could afford it, were in the habit of buying books and decorating their houses with original works of art. The Indian artists were not the losers on that account. The new rich of our own race and colour are interested in more solid and substantial things than literature, painting or sculpture. They are wise, worldly-wise. The capitalism of America and some other Western countries must indeed be of a liberal complexion for an intellectual like Louis Fischer to take cudgels on its behalf. The Fords and the Rockefellers and the Nuffields have famous foundations of educational and cultural importance to their credit. The

Arts Council of Great Britain, which yearly awards attractive prizes for works in all branches of literature and other arts, has millions of pounds at its command. It owed its origin—to a Scottish millionaire who founded the C.E.M.A. (Committee for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts) with a part of his bounty. Foreign observers have taken their hats off to the Arts Council for its honest work for the fostering of the fine arts. Poor writers are sometimes given moderate pensions from the civil list. Though Britain is a small country with limited resources now, the spirit of self-reliance has created many private patrons with critical insight and keen sympathy.

The writers at the top who had made good are sometimes apt to lose their professional fellow-feeling. But, a few of them have proved better than their word. G. B. S., who never wore his heart on his sleeve, very often helped many a literary lame dog over the stile. W. H. Davies, that 'Super-tramp,' acknowledged his debt of gratitude to the sage of Ayot St. Lawrence for giving him the aid he

badly needed and bringing him into the limelight from an obscurity that was not self-imposed. Whenever there was any customs difficulties in any foreign country where Shaw's dramas were enacted, his popular practice was to give away the money to the poor writers of that country.

Our patriotic hearts jump at the thought of royal patrons like Krishna-devaraya, Vikramaditya, Harsha and Bhoja, whose courts were adorned by galleries of great poets and writers. If they had their court poets, we have our poets laureate for each region, too. But a symbolic gesture is different from a sure and sustaining patronage. What about those mentors of society who have more than their fair share of the goods of the world? Are they contented with shedding metaphorical tears and paying empty tributes to the same Kulapatis, Kavisamrats and Vangmaya brahmas whom they help to die surely with an inexorable gradualness of inevitability? Those who do not mind pushing the living man into the jaws of death need not pretend to kiss the empty ghost.

ART EXHIBITION IN MADRAS

By K. N. RAMA CHANDRAN

IN declaring open the Progressive Painters' Association Ninth Annual Exhibition on November 8, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari did a service to the sponsors by giving the exhibition the benefit of the lime-light that always surrounds high placed persons like him. However regrettable it is, the fact has to be admitted that art has to seek adventitious aids to secure popular recognition. And it is all the more regrettable that this exhibition especially had to resort to such a device, because the very high standard and variety of exhibits displayed should have recommended themselves to the public.

Although the exhibition covers all media, the most noteworthy fact about it is the outstanding contributions in the oil colour medium. A marked improvement is seen in the general technique and conception. There is a felicity of expression and an assurance in execution. Some of the outstanding contributions in oils are from the gifted brush of K. C. S. Paniker. He evidently is engrossed in a new technique revelling in the glorious play of colours, which drives home the conviction that painting should basically concern itself with the filling up of space with colours which should be satisfying in details and in sum total effect. Some remarkable effects have been achieved by him in the use of primary colours in which the shadows themselves are as luminous and colourful as the very highlights while the demands of representation stand fully satisfied. "On the Canal" is a typical example of his new technique.

H. V. Ram Gopal, noted for his vigorous sketches, has come out with some very fine expressions in oils. His "Painter" strikes a unique note with its primary colours (applied straight from the tube) and the clever distribution of thick black lines. "Solitude" done in the same style is another very good work of his. "Lady with a Book" and "Mother and Child" by C. S. N. Patnaick are impressive exhibits characterised by a sobriety of colours and broad patterns which smoulder with a sombre glow of life and feel-

ing. "Study for Christ" by Antony Doss reveals an effective synthesis of modelling and a knowledgeable distribution of proper colours. "River Bed" by A. P. Santhana Raj, a large work, is noteworthy for the use of the lighter palette, significant treatment and satisfying atmosphere.

G. P. Pillay has to his credit four exhibits among which his big "Landscape" in oils deserves special mention for the distribution of masses and clever tonal gradations. "Under the Pandana" by Bageswara Sarma is a vivid rendering marked by an originality of conception and vigorous simplicity of technique. "Sweet Morning" by D. G. Patel is a fine effort with its palette knife treatment. In his painting "From the Horizon" N. Sadar has succeeded in expressing the grandeur of vast distance with the towering sky brooding over it. Thyagaraj, in his "Harri's Bridge," has succeeded in investing an every-day sight with an air of romance and picturesqueness.

The Western school of water colour is well represented. "Loading the Boats" by Paniker is a brilliant work with its limpid crystalline sparkle of the water colour medium. It is evident that while satisfying the needs of representation he has been studious of preserving the character of his medium. "Royal Courtship" in lines and transparent washes of limited low toned colours is a picture striking for its rhythm and sway of lines and forms, and effectiveness of composition, and a synthesis of the Western and Oriental styles. "A Street Scene" in tempera by R. Krishna Rao, like other pictures of his, impresses one with its realism which has been achieved with a fluent and easy technique. Thiagaraj has a number of water colours representing South Indian life and landscape executed with vigour and ease. "Boats on the Cooum" by L. Munuswamy is a dramatic picture. K. M. Gopal's "Marble Players" in tempera is notable for the strong unity of colour and design invested with an air of extreme simplicity.

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limited number of exhibits and it is not as well represented as it used to be. Some of them are very good. "Meditation" by S. Dhanapal is an extraordinarily powerful work. Executed in tempera, this picture, with its sobriety of colour and extreme economy of lines, is strangely gripping by its air of immensity and pregnant stillness. "Repose" is another good work by this artist. "Princess with her Attendants" is a masterly line drawing executed direct with the brush with pinpoint precision. "Basket-making" by K. Srinivasulu, executed in tempera, is a good example of stylised folk art. "Ram Kishore" by P. L. N. Moorthy and "Rhythm" by A. Balakrishnan are emphatic pictures with a bold disposition of colour. The studies of Malabar life by Mammen and Venugopal are pleasing efforts. "Mural Painting" by R. Sarangan, the only one of its type in the exhibition, is a very good example of the decorative motif in Oriental style. Among the few sketches displayed, "Portrait of a Mandicant" by Rajeswaran and "Sketch" by Chitta Ranjan Roy are worth men-

tioning. "Sketch," the only work in pastels, is by Ram Gopal and it is very elegant.

Among the sculptures, "Bapuji," a life-size portrait of Gandhiji in a meditative pose, by S. Dhanapal is remarkable for its power of construction. The study of a child's head by the same artist is a portrait study denoting a highly developed response to form and skill of execution. "Nude Study" by C. K. Biswas is a statuette that cannot be ignored. Commercial exhibits, though a few in number, are effective.

There is not doubt that art is making tremendous strides with the Progressive Painters' Association as its nucleus. In this connection the services of Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and the group of art teachers, Paniker, Dhanapal, Ram Gopal and Krishna Rao who with their skill and whole-hearted devotion to art have helped to chalk out a path for aspirants, deserve mention. They, by virtue of their position as art teachers and by their sincere interest in art are contributing a great deal to further the art movement.

WHEN PATIENCE IS NOT A VIRTUE

THE plaintive appeal of the man who wrote "Going Broke on \$10,000 a Year" for the July *Harper's* will not dampen the lashes of many readers. A snort of disgust is the more likely response from us low-brows and proletarians who wobble along on barely respectable fractions of this amount. A snort of disgust is certainly in order, but if it is produced by the feeling that, given the opportunity, we could do very much better than "Jay Taylor" with ten thousand a year, then the disgust may be aimed in the wrong direction.

It seems true enough that if you have to live the sort of life Mr. Taylor says you have to live in order to make ten thousand a year, then ten thousand isn't enough. And the disgust, instead of representing the view that Taylor is a bad manager of really ample funds, ought to be directed at his willingness to live that kind of a life for any money at all.

Mr. Taylor is in a trap. It seems a friendly sort of trap, at first. It is the trap collectively devised by the copy-writers of all the advertising agencies in the country—all the sales managers, and all the self-appointed definers of the twentieth-century style American Dream. Taylor, as he explains it, is compelled by the conventional requirements of "success" "to live by standards I did not set, cannot afford, and must adhere to under a code as rigid as that of Moses."

Here is a sample listing of the constraints under which ten-thousand-a-year men suffer:

My neighbours and my neighbourhood are important, because as an executive I'm not supposed to live just anywhere. I have to have a reasonably good address. That means I can expect to pay \$25,000 to \$30,000—to buy a house, and make a large down payment to start with, or I can expect to pay rents comparably high. I am expected to entertain, so food and liquor charges run on the steep side. Our house furnishings are supposed to be better than average because we have business entertaining to do. I'm not supposed to wear the same shirt or tie two days in a row. When I ask my wife to come into the

city to help entertain customers, she's expected to dress the part of the help-mate of an executive of the company.

And so on—on and on. The sad part of this story is that the writer seems to like what he is doing, or would if he could afford it. The article gives every evidence of being a circumspect if anonymously outspoken appeal from the runners-up in modern business administration to the top-level executives, inviting the latter to raise salaries all around, for the good of the American system of free enterprise. Mr. Taylor seems to be saying, "As one high caste member to another, the way you're treating me just isn't cricket." Quite possibly, with the people he wants to affect, this appeal may carry more weight than reports of actual hunger in depressed areas. After all, the managers of the free enterprise system have a Great Trust.

There is a modest pathos—or is it bathos?—in this legend of the aspirations of America's young executives:

What do we want out of life; Deep down inside we are motivated by a genuine desire to administer, nourish, and carry on the American free-enterprise system of business and government in which we deeply believe. Physically, we want nothing too unusual, considering our responsibilities and our presumed future prospects. We want to own our own homes, our own cars, and enough life insurance to take care of our families when the seemingly inevitable coronary occlusion comes along. We want to send our children to college, take an annual vacation with our families, look and dress well, and save some money to invest, as the advertisements suggest.

We pass from this melancholy vision to another sort of analysis of the *status quo*—this time by a scientist who is probably as successful in his field as Jay Taylor has been in his. The point of the scientist's remarks, however, which were published in the March *Scientific Monthly*, is considerably different. "Cleared for Top Secret" is a description of the unfamiliar and tortuous paths into which democratic administrators are forced when they attempt

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Paid up capital exceeds		Rs. 20,95,000
Total assets at 31-12-'51		Rs. 89,59,000
Life Premium income in 1951		Rs. 15,60,000
Gen. Premium income in 1951		Rs. 22,00,000
Life Claims paid up to 31-12-'51		Rs. 28,70,000

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M. VENKATESWARLU, B. Com.

to guard against subversion from within. Our author, also anonymous, is a monument of scientific patience. When, after four months of being investigated, he was finally cleared for government employment, having suffered direct and indirect expenses of some \$3,000, he wrote a congratulatory letter to the chairman of the Review Board which found him "loyal", expressing appreciation of the way his case was handled. While, in his article, he does not find the methods of loyalty investigation without defects, his general conclusion is that the United States is democratically muddling along through a difficult situation, doing its best to discover truth and to prevent injustice.

Both these gentlemen, sales manager and scientist, are having or have had their troubles. Both, in a sense, are victims of the war—one of the wave of war inflation, the other of the wave of suspicion. Yet neither betrays the slightest breath of objection to the basic causes of the "unpleasantness" in their lives. To try to look behind the facade of immediate causes of their difficulties would amount, in a very practical way, to abandoning what little security they possess—the security that is gained from willing assent to convention. It might be that if a thousand sales managers and a thousand research scientists were to raise their voices in articulate condemnation of the general atmosphere of our civilization, others would be awakened, and something might be done, but the idea of anything like this happening is practically unthinkable. With the dull patience that hopes and bears, the sales managers and technologists play it safe.

This is natural, of course. It is natural for sales managers who "want out of life" what Mr. Taylor says he wants, and for scientists to whom the threat of war gives wider scope for the practice of their specialty, to accept the *status quo* without troubling themselves about anything beyond the most obvious and immediate irritations. And then there are always the pat rejoinders, "Well, is there anything *wrong* with having twelve or fourteen thousand a year, instead of ten?"; and, "National security is important, isn't it?"

There are two answers to these questions. The first explores the "ideals" of the ten-thousand-a-year man, weighing them against the burden of meaningless activities he bears just in order to attempt to realize them. You see these bright and beginning-to-look-oldish young men in all fashionable places. They frequent the more exclusive pubs; appear in their convertibles driving along leafy highways to the beach; you pass them in the corridors of the better office buildings. They are the *unco guid* of America's religion of success. They hide their qualms and frustrations under a cheery smile, a firm grip, and constant expectation that their true merit will soon be recognized. After all, fifty thousand a year isn't so very much, these days.

The second answer neglects the hollow character of the business climber's life, turning to the practical issue of whether the climber has much hope of getting very high. The real force of Jay Taylor's article lies here. The fact of the matter seems to be that the high costs of war have skimmed the cream off even the ten-thousand-a-year man's bottle of milk. The simple factor of self-interest should impel him to take a long look at the kind of a society he is living in, and pledges his life to continue. Even for profit-seekers, the *status quo*, which gets worse with the passage of each new tax law, is not a good business proposition.

The scientist has a more pointed obligation to examine his life. He is not just vaguely involved in the war economy. It is his inventiveness upon which the managers of our society depend to make our war economy a victorious war economy, so that, today, the successful economy is the economy most potent for destruction of other societies. That isn't what we *want*, but, as we glibly explain, it is what the nasty world is making us get ready to be.

The point of the second answer is that, while high ideals may not make us rich and prosperous, low ideals aren't much good in the long run, either, economically speaking. Meanwhile, a poor man who does something worth-while with his life can enjoy at least some happiness, while the not-quite-rich-enough executive and the tethered scientific specialist

working on guided missiles (or something worse) are not likely to be happy at all.

To put the matter bluntly, it seems evident that either our kind of civilization is getting ready for some sort of far-reaching revolution, or it is getting ready to die of moral malnutrition. The difficult thing, while in the midst of a process of this kind, is to know what to do—where to throw one's weight, what to support and what not to support. The web of conventional activities seems so continuous, so inescapable, and, for the most part, so "inoffensive," that breaking out to what? gives small promise of improvement. Yet to go on as we are amounts to submission to the narcotic of the familiar.

The pity of it all is that we have created a culture which has left no place for the eccentricities of genius to survive. Our greatnesses are all culled and cut to size, according to "a code as rigid as that of Moses." The columnist and the informer and the demagogue are the all-powerful arbiters of taste in living, of safety in politics. There is not even room for a "wild, barbaric yawn," to give expression to yesterday's delight in being alive. Who, except little children, ever thinks of taking delight, today, just in being alive?

What we really need is some fiery inspiration, some zealous declaration of principles that touch the heart of our malaise. Or, if we are too sluggish to be stirred from the curiously mixed torpor of being at once too well fed and too depressed by disappointments, then, some shocking disaster which will smash forever the illusory hope that, somehow, just going along with the *status quo* is enough to take us to the promised land.

The grip of the drug is insidiously strong. Suppose you could see the faces of a few million Americans at about eight o'clock in the evening—all of them with eyes glued on television screens thankful for hours in which they do not have to think, in which they can forget. What reflections would the sight inspire? Yet television, we are told, and are sometimes inclined to admit, is the evidence of unparalleled achievement in natural science. Who has ever had the things that we possess? Where,

one might ask in reply, has so much greatness been applied to produce so little result in human values?

It is for such reasons that *Manas*, from the first, has spoken so warmly of activities like the Great Books discussion groups, which leaven, if only a little, the sea of small conforming thoughts with the vigor of great ideas. It is for such reasons that we return again and again to the thinking of great idealists such as Plato, great reformers such as Buddha, and other persistently questioning thinkers of the past and the present. The real hope we have of immortality lies in the contents of our minds. If we think only little thoughts, we shall die little deaths, like bubbles spreading away to nothing on the surface of a great river. Even if we believe, as many do, that the core of soul in the human being is an indestructible essence, destined to seek other births in other lives than this—there is still the common-sense reality to be faced, that there can be no immortality for the wasted portion of our lives, for the energies spent in pursuit of wholly worthless objectives.

Too long have we stifled our hungering after profundities. Too often have "dropped the subject" of the meaning of our lives, losing the thread of reflection in a whirl of money-making or pleasure-seeking, or in a whirl of discontented failure at both. Suppose there is a deeper content in human existence than we have bothered to discover; suppose we have seized the lesser opportunities, only to overlook the greater, the one that might have brought everlasting riches to our hearts. What a miserable disaster it would be if the only "unforgettable character" we ever are able to encounter is in the capsule version of a *Reader's Digest* anecdote!

The ancient dreams of human greatness lie all about, but they are pale with neglect, shadowed by the indifference of an age which elaborates its fears and distrusts far more than any projects of daring and nobility. Where are the heroes? They wear the drab of the conscripted and compelled. What does a truly free man do in our society? What will a free mind say? Nobody, or almost nobody, can tell, for nobody, or almost nobody, is interested.—*Manas*.

Letters To The Editor

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

Madras State And B. C. G. Vaccination

Recently Dr. P. V. Benjman, Tuberculosis Adviser to the Government of India, stated at Coimbatore that, in spite of the Union Government laying stress on the introduction of B. C. G. vaccine throughout the State, the Madras Government has postponed it to July 1953 and that too if only the local bodies with sufficient funds came forward to take it up. It is almost impossible to expect the local bodies with meagre resources to volunteer to work the scheme. It is already an established fact that B. C. G. vaccination is prophylactic against tuberculosis. It is a matter of regret that a State like Madras should lag behind in this respect. Nandyal.

DR. V. THIRUMAL RAO.

'Thiru'

It has been claimed by some Tamilians that the Madras City exclusively belongs to Tamilians because several places in and around the City are known by names beginning with 'Thiru' and also because 'Thiru' is peculiarly a Tamil word. They further say that all places beginning with 'Thiru' are ipso facto Tamil places. Such a claim is untenable.

'Thiru' is a common 'desi' expression in the Telugu land, and is as much a Telugu word as it might be a Tamil word. It has been in common parlance among the Andhras from time immemorial. The names of several persons and of places in the country of the Andhras begin with 'Thiru.' 'Sabda Ratnakaram' by B. Seetharamachari states that 'Thiru' is a Telugu "desia viseshanam." Seetharamachari was born in Tamil Nad and was as great a scholar in Tamil as he was in Telugu. 'Sabda Ratnakaram' is a standard lexicon in Telugu written by him. He is a linguist and if 'Thiru' had been a peculiarly Tamil word, he would not have hesitated to state it as a fact in the Telugu dictionary.

'Thirunalla,' meaning a holy festival is as old as Telugu literature. Krishna Deva Raya has used the expression 'Theppa Thirunalla Ra' in his poem 'Amuktha Malyada.' The name of his queen is Thirumala Devi. 'Thirupathi' meaning holy lord, 'Thirumannu' which Vaishnavites use, 'Thiruveedhi' meaning holy street, 'Thirukolanu' meaning holy lake, and 'Thirukongu' are all expressions which are found in ancient and modern Telugu literary works. In Nellore District a village has

the name 'Thiruveedhipad' and some persons in the district have their family names beginning with 'Thiruveedhi.' Neither that village is a Tamil village nor the Thiruveedhis, Tamilians.

M. S. NARASIMHA RAO.

Nellore.

City Mayoralty

Every year a new Mayor is elected to the City Corporation. It is time the City Municipal Act is amended fixing the tenure of the Mayor for five years. The tenure of one year, as at present, is too short a period for the incumbent to do anything. The Act was passed at a time when the City was small and the problems of the Corporation were not many. By the time a Mayor studies the problems and tries to enunciate some policy, his term of office expires. And it is the same case with the man who succeeds. Thus the City Mayor has been reduced to a figure-head. If the Mayor is expected to be of some service, his term of office should be extended to five years or at least three years.

K. RAGHAVENDRA RAO.

The route boards exhibited on the front and back of certain buses, plying in the City, are not visible at night, even though the boards are illuminated. This is due to the fact that the names of the routes are printed on paper and pasted on wooden planks. The authorities should provide boards of uniform type—similar to those on trams—with white letters on a black background, which will be visible at night too.

P. V. SRINIVASAN.

Madras.

Sales Tax On Inter-State Trade

Whereas Article 286-1(a) prohibits any State from imposing sales tax on the sale of goods outside the State, clause 2 of the same Article exempts from such levy a sale in the course of inter-State trade or commerce. Purchases are likewise exempted in both cases. Both provisions are imperative. However, an explanation has been added to qualify only the former and an exception is provided to the latter, with also a proviso thereto. It is in the interpretation of this explanation that different States have put different constructions and caused many conflicting judicial and administrative decisions.

I do not find much difference, nay any difference, between a sale taking place

outside the State and an inter-State sale. Having denied outright the prerogative of the States to levy the sales tax under all circumstances in clause 1(a), the framers of the Constitution seem to have reverted to the same subject in clause 2 and excepted cases where Parliament by legislation otherwise provides for such right to levy and have also made provision for the continuance of existing rights with the President's specific assent in such States as were having them till a particular date, namely March 31, 1951. The explanation to clause 1(a) was perhaps thought necessary, not for the purpose of watering down the mandatory nature of the restriction but to clarify the implications of a sale outside a State in view of the divergent local laws of different States at the time according to the general mercantile law and the special Sale of Goods Act of each State about what constitutes a sale and when and where delivery accompanying the sale is said to be effected. The explanation could therefore have been meant to serve only the purpose of enforcing a uniformity that, whatever might have been the States' laws regarding the passing of the property in the goods or the time and place for legal delivery effected, the Constitutional restriction imposed in clause 1(a) should apply in any case for the sale outside the State. The intention was obviously to promote greater inter-State trade and commerce.

It naturally follows therefore that the only exceptions recognised are those stated in the Article itself, that is, where Parliament modifies the law or the President's assent is given to States for continuing their already existing legislation from the commencement of the Constitution up to March 31, 1951. After that date, even the President has no power to keep alive the existing legislations in force by giving his assent.

We are thus led to the inevitable conclusion that where State X sells to State Y, wherever the property in the goods might legally pass or delivery effected, neither State X as the "selling" State nor State Y as the "purchasing" State could levy sales tax or the purchase tax on the same goods sold in the one case and purchased at the same time in the other case. Both are one integrated transaction.

All this is apart from another ground of illegality that will arise in the case of any contravention by any State as being a wrongful assumption of extra-territorial jurisdiction in the matter of sales tax levy. Clauses 1(a) and 2 between themselves are sufficient to dispose of the matter that no State in the course of inter-State trade has any jurisdiction to levy sales tax or purchase tax as the case may be under any circumstances for one inter-

grated, inter-State transaction of sale and purchase.
Coimbatore. C. V. NARAHARI RAO.

Private Study And University Degrees

With the number of colleges limited, all the students who desire to join colleges cannot get admission. There are also many brilliant students who cannot join a college due to economic reasons. These young people find themselves employed in different fields or engaged in various activities. Are they ever to remain satisfied with an S. S. L. C. certificate? After practical experience they may be better than graduates in their work and a university degree will be very useful to them to go forward.

Many North Indian universities, realising this, not only permit people to get a degree by private study, but also arrange morning and evening classes for the benefit of those attending offices. The following are the main objections usually put forth in the South for not providing such facilities: (1) Mere passing of examinations is not the basic aim of education. Colleges provides ample scope for various activities and help to develop the personality of students fully and (2) The



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present 'high' standard will be adversely affected.

Four years of college life is undoubtedly the best period in the life of a man. During this period the college is expected to train students to face the practical difficulties of life. But let us not forget that those who want to appear privately would have faced the world and obtained more practical experience than the 'book-worm' at the college. Are there not a good number of young people who have taken to bad ways if not while in colleges at least after leaving them? Should promising young men be prevented from acquiring university degrees just because they cannot afford college education.

There are many in this part of the country who speak contemptuously of North Indian universities. There are others who believe that the standard there is low. We put a straight question to students of economics, politics, history. How many of their text books are written by South Indian graduates? Why are they studying all the books written by graduates of those 'rotten' North Indian universities? In fact, in many of the North Indian universities "economics" is a subject for Intermediate and in Madras it starts with B.A.

We therefore request South Indian educationalists to modify their views and use their influence to have morning and evening classes in colleges for the benefit of people attending offices and to extend the facilities given to teachers at present to appear privately to others.

K. J. ABRAHAM and J. P. MATHEWS

U. S. Presidential Election

Your editorial, although cogently argued in favour of Mr. Eisenhower, has completely ignored the sterling qualities and courage displayed by the Democratic candidate, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, in championing progressive policies. It is true that the American electorate has decided in no uncertain manner. All the same, it is regrettable that the past achievements and personality of a distinguished American should have been utilised by a Party and allowed to cloud the issues at stake.

The greatest headache Mr. Stevenson had to overcome was detachment from the record of the Truman Administration while at the same time accepting the basic policies of the Democratic Party. The party in power has always this disadvantage in that its failures loom large on the political horizon more than its solid achievements. Mr. Truman's costly mistakes in the Chinese and Korean policies have not particularly made the Democratic Party a favourite of the American tax-payer.

Mr. Stevenson stood for a constructive

approach to Asian and world problems in general. That will be the satisfaction of many a peace-loving citizen all over the world. The people of the United States have voted for a good American and a Party that was for too long in the wilderness; thereby they have vindicated their deep faith in the democratic system of Government.

Bombay.

N. R. SUBRAMANIAN.

Sugar Export

South India has not yet attained self-sufficiency in sugar. Supplies had to be received from the North Indian factories to supplement the needs of the public in the State. It is learnt that the Union Government have decided that the sugar produced in the South should be reserved for export on the ground that it is cheaper than the North Indian product which will be utilised to cater to the needs of the State. This step is deplorable. Whereas large stocks of sugar are available with the North Indian factories, which are numerous, the stock in the State is low and will in a way meet the needs of the State. It is reasonable to expect that exports would be permitted from the heavy stocks with the mills in North India. The price of the exported sugar will be brought down because the Government are willing to refund the excise duty to the producer. The transport problem seems insoluble and waggons are scarce. It will take a long time for a consignment to reach the South from a North Indian mill. Also, as this happens to be the monsoon season, sugar will get moist. The price factor is important and it is against reservation of the South Indian product for export.

P. R. MUTHUSWAMY,
Secretary, the Tamilnad
Foodgrains Merchants' Association.

Sunday Post

It is heartening to note that the Central Minister for Communications has been considering the question of reintroducing the Sunday post system. When this system was abolished by Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai there was criticism. Not that the public could not contemplate with equanimity the postal staff enjoying a holiday every week. The opposition to the measure stemmed from a desire to see that the working of the postal system was not obstructed. The Government turned a deaf ear to the various alternative suggestions put forward by the public. It went ahead with the proposal. The essence of a democracy consists in compromising the views of the ruling party so that those of the opposition party are accommodated as far as possible.

M. RAGHAVENDRA RAO.

Hubli.

Amrutanjan

WHEREVER you go, you find a flood
Of anjans and their kindred brood;
But none of them are half so good
As Amrutanjan with its Princely hood.

Knowing not imitation is a praise,
They wish their status thus to raise;
But sound alone can win no prize,
Sans substance it is but form and guise.

Amrutanjan played an established role
And headed the list at every poll,
In curing pain and stopping cough
And healing head-ache or small or rough.

Be it a burn or cut or wound,
Or sore or itch or swell around,
Every kind of pain is bound
To perish in the underground.

The summer heat or winter cold,
Or a change in the rainy season weather,
May upset health or cause untold
Suffering to people hither and thither.

Waste not your hard-earned little wealth,
From deterioration stop your health;
For the former, Amrutanjan is a guard,
For the latter, he is a watch and ward.

He ever awaits your beck and call
From every medical stores and stall,
Though far-reaching in name and fame,
Even to the poor he is "Open Sesame".

G. Satyanarayana, B.A.

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ON THE COVER: Play-Back Singer Lata Mangeshkar.—Photo By *R. Krishnan*.

SWATANTRA

VOL. VII
No. 42

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1952

ISSUED
WEEKLY

RIVER VALLEY DEVELOPMENT

IN his masterly presidential address at the Silver Jubilee session of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, Sri M. S. Thirumale Iyengar adverted to some of the practices indicating a "state of helplessness that may undermine the confidence of our rulers in our capacity to deliver the goods." He referred to a statement in one of the Point Four publications that the Bureau of Reclamation in the U. S. A. is helping India by testing aggregate samples from dam sites, and said it makes one reflect if this is an instance of our engineers losing their initiative. Pandit Nehru who inaugurated the session expressed surprise at the President's disclosure, and asked, in that forthright manner of his, "What are all these laboratories and scientific research institutions here for if you have to send things for testing abroad?" "This matter must be looked into," he declared.

"This matter" must certainly be looked into but it is not the only one calling for the attention of the Prime Minister. There are other portions in Sri Thirumale Iyengar's address that are no less disquieting and should compel from the Prime Minister earnest attention to the points raised therein. Being given to gentleness and mild language, Sri Thirumale Iyengar has a way of making censure sound like an exhortation, and so when he said that engineers "must guard against wastage of public funds," he was not merely indulging in a theoretical sermon, but really underlining a practice that must have driven him to the extreme of professional exasperation. This is clear

from his further remarks on the same vexed theme. "Each project," he said, "must be subjected to the closest scrutiny under every conceivable aspect before sanction was applied for. They should never be guilty of under-estimating expenditure or over-estimating results. Also, in the desire to secure quick sanction for execution, engineers were apt to miss consideration of some salient technical features and rush into construction, before even the ultimate scope of the project was correctly worked out or known, and build works in haste. This should be scrupulously avoided."

"This" should be scrupulously avoided for the reason that it has not been hitherto avoided. The evil is still rampant. Apart from being a detached critic of undesirable trends, Sri Thirumale Iyengar has been refreshingly original in his constructive suggestions. He wants Government not to worry about finance for buying D-10 tractors or starting gruel centres. Man-power is money, and "we must pitch our faith and hope on this human resource." He looks to river valley development in an integrated manner to bring into being river valley administrations that would "conduce to greater harmony and peace among the peoples of different regions who were now steeped in provincialism and blinded by linguistic phobia." On the basis of the topography of the Deccan, with a general fall in levels from west to east and north to south, the ultimate aim, as envisaged by him, is to spill the excess waters of the Godavari into the Krishna valley. "Similarly the excess waters of the Krishna should

be led into the Pennar valley and the surplus waters of the Pennar into the next river basin—the Palar basin.” But he urges that an intensive development of minor river basins should be the fore-runner of the major valley development. Under such a plan, we are told, “by the time the large river valley dams, reservoirs, canals and power systems were developed, we would have a regional development of land and river control systems in all their aspects completed. In any river valley development plan it was therefore essential to have a co-ordinated development of the minor river valleys to produce the maximum benefit eventually.”

Two other suggestions of Sri Thirumale Iyengar contained in his presidential address deserve prompt responsive action from our national planning authorities. One is that the temporary construction camps put up in connection with dam and canal construction programmes “should be planned on a more permanent basis for development into model villages, furnishing an opportunity for housing experimentation.” The other is in connection with the re-settlement of families whose homes and lands are submerged under the waters of reservoirs. It is suggested that in lieu of payment of cash compensation for lands and buildings, there should be “a planned re-location of the displaced families, with everything found in kind.” Sri Thirumale Iyengar has in his address enriched every topic he touched with the vigour of an original mind, the deep concern of a genuine devotee of the public interest and the mature wisdom of a ripe experience. It is an address packed with practical suggestions that go to the very root of rehabilitating our dilapidated population. An engineer of his knowledge, skill, calibre and character is a priceless asset to be cherished devoutly and given every scope for work and planning. But he is dismissed summarily with a curt announcement of having reached the superannuation age, on

the same page on which is notified the re-employment of a still more superannuated engineer under retirement! Our Chief Minister himself is superlatively superannuated. There is scarcely a man under sixty in the top-ranking hierarchy of Congress rulers. Professional politicians can be replaced but not technical experts of renown. These grow in power with experience and their gifts are at the peak just at the time when they are compulsorily put in cold storage. Age is only superficially measured by time, and while some are decrepit at thirty, there are others that retain the full use of their faculties long after they are pensioned off, being compelled to be drones while they could render invaluable service to the community. The waste involved in the retirement of doctors, engineers and the like, good for many more years of useful work is, in the prevailing shortage of technical talent, an offence against the national interest. It is aggravated when a Chief Minister like ours goes on ventilating his favours and prejudices in the administration without a proper assessment of the worth and record of individual officers.

Municipal Finance
THE Chief Accounts Officer of the Madras Corporation, Sri Satyamurthi, presented an able analysis of the financial position of the Corporation at a meeting last week under the auspices of the Crescent Society, presided over by Sri Subrahmanyam, the Finance Minister. The problem of the Corporation, as expounded by Sri Satyamurthi, is that of discovering adequate means for meeting the cost of its growing needs. Though in recent years the revenue of the Corporation has more than doubled, the area of the City has also expanded phenomenally by the inclusion of places like Saidapet, Guindy and Aminjikarai within the municipal limits. These hold a position in the economy of the City's administration analogous to that of poor relations, with this difference,

that they cannot be shaken off. Their demands for amenities like lighting and drainage are not to be evaded, and have to be met inevitably, irrespective of their own contribution to the Corporation's pool of resources. Faced as the Corporation is with responsibilities too burdensome for its income, Sri Satyamurthi put forward a plea for additional sources of revenue and for the grant of permission for a planned policy of borrowing in the open market. It was a sensible plea that deserved well at the hands of the Finance Minister. But he missed the significance of the occasion by branching off irrelevantly into a tirade against supporters of the conception that Madras should be turned into a City State. He drew a ghastly picture of the ruin in store if the conception gained ground and came to be implemented. Much of the panic of the Finance Minister is traceable to the frenzy of a fevered imagination, but its virus of partisanship is more to be deplored than its lack of balance. In a multi-lingual

State, Ministers owe a duty to the whole of the population, and not merely any of its component linguistic sections. Because this principle is violated by no less a person than the Chief Minister, some of his lieutenants have been outdoing him in their outbursts of parochial passion, and instead of devotion to constructive efforts for promotion of public welfare, we are having a prodigious exuberance of propaganda and platform activity to spread illwill and breed bad blood.

No wonder, in this atmosphere, the best the Finance Minister could do by way of response to Sri Satyamurthi's sensible pleading, was to make the city the enemy of the village. This is a cheap form of escapism. Rural people will not be deceived by the Finance Minister's trick of placing town against country. For the tragic fact remains that the distress of life in the villages is not a whit less acute for all the advertised priority of rural over urban needs in ministerial pronouncements.

Sotto Voce

THE RIVER-SOUL



IT is unwise to inquire too closely of the origins of rivers and rishis, says a Tamil proverb. Their beginnings are generally humble, occasionally even disreputable. Consequently there is a danger of your underrating their worth, according to the ways of this snobbish world. But there is more to it than that. The wise discourage curiosity on these subjects, not because it might offend anybody's *amour propre* but because

you can never really know the truth. Narada and Vasishta could not escape the infamy of *samsara*; they were *nitya siddhas* nevertheless. And to me the Kaveri remains the queen of all rivers and the mother-stream of my race though, treading the pilgrim path, I have just traced her beginning to five holes on the top of a modest hill in Coorg.

There is a destiny that rules these

things. When I started on a few weeks' unplanned wandering neither the Godavari nor the Kaveri fell within the ambit of my consideration. On the other hand, it so turned out that I had but an hour of waning daylight in which to catch a distracting glimpse of Ellora's great and marvelous store of beauty of which I had long dreamed. And the caves of Elephanta remained a mocking phantom as the weekly boat that was to take me there left a couple of minutes before I reached the quay. In Nasik I bathed in the sacred pool from which the Godavari streams. (Why is it called Panchavati, when not a single banyan tree is to be seen there?) But Trayambaka, only eighteen miles away, eluded me. Destiny spoke through bungling chauffeurs and crazy time-schedules.

At Nasik the river bank is strewn with bucolic inventions giving a local habitation and a name to the incidents in the Ramayana story centering round the idyllic sojourn of Rama and Sita. Doll-like images, reminding you of the stage-property of a puppet show, are set up in the vicinity of cow-byres and kitchen-gardens to extract the pice of the faithful. At Bhagmandala, where the Kaveri emerges from the parent-rock in an almost hair-like trickle, you are insulted by no such crude anthropomorphism. The water fills a little cistern let in at the edge of a platform and flows into the larger pool below through an unseen opening. And in the holy month of Thula the Mother of Plenty, mystically present in that little cistern as she was in the bowl of Agasthya, is worshipped by thousands with flowers and incense, with sandal paste and kunikum.

Brahmagiri, the steep though not very high hill by the side of the pool, is even more trying to the lungs and the knees of the unaccustomed climber than three miles of crude pathway—so little cared for that it looks like an eroded water-course—that leads from Bhagmandala village to the pool on the top of this spur of the Sahyadri. But you will be amply rewarded if you make the effort. The green

and fertile valley to the right divided by little curtains of hill across which you may on a clear day sight the Arabian Sea, is flanked by a many-flighted terrace, which, in its alluring curves and velvet-like smoothness, reminded me of the Ooty downs. And a gorgeous panorama of wooded slopes, amidst which emerald islets of paddy lie ensconced, sweeps in a masterful curve to the eastern horizon.

A long-limbed gaffer who was almost exhausted by the effort to climb the hill walked about the narrow summit with jaunty footsteps and peered into the five aforementioned holes where you could touch water if you stretched your hand far enough. And he asked an unexpected question. "Has this water come here of itself or did somebody bring water from the pool down there and pour it into these holes?" A man who was offering puja at one of the holes was nettled by the apparent cynicism of the question. He curtly declared that the Hand of God was surely visible there. But a young blood who was standing by unconcernedly remarked, "It must be the high watertable."

While they were arguing about it and about I was teased by the thought of that unique and delightful entity, the river-soul. Not one drop of all those billions on billions of cusecs of water that flowed down its four hundred miles of ministration to the sea was the same as any other. And yet you could not tell one apart from another. The first of them plunged into the sea millennia ago and the last—will there be one? But to me caught in the Eternal Flux and struggling to be myself that infinite series of drops wandering eternally to the sea is something *sui generis*. The Kaveri is the Kaveri and not the Godavari or the Ganga, because my consciousness has moulded her as she has moulded me. He who would penetrate the mystery of Name and Form must bathe in the waters of Life, as we bathe in the Thula Kaveri in the beginning, the middle and the end.

VIGNESWARA.

Leadership—Our Ancient Heritage

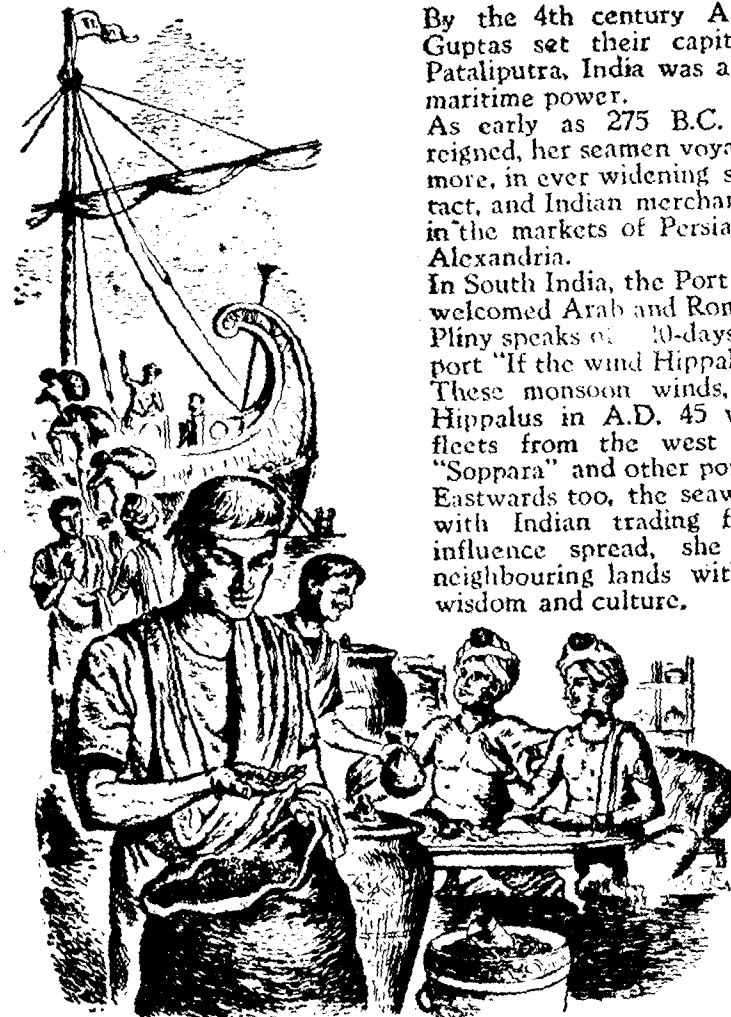
If Hippalus is blowing

By the 4th century A.D. when the Guptas set their capital at ancient Pataliputra, India was already a great maritime power.

As early as 275 B.C. when Asoka reigned, her seamen voyaged 60 days or more, in ever widening spheres of contact, and Indian merchandise was seen in the markets of Persia, Antioch and Alexandria.

In South India, the Port of Cranganore welcomed Arab and Roman merchants. Pliny speaks of a 10-days voyage to this port "If the wind Hippalus is blowing". These monsoon winds, discovered by Hippalus in A.D. 45 wafted trading fleets from the west to "Barygaza" "Soppara" and other ports in India.

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THE PLANNERS WIN ON FOOD POLICY

(By A Special Correspondent)

NEW DELHI: Writing earlier in these columns on the need for a coherent economic policy for the country, I discussed the conflict between the Planning Commission and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on the issue of food controls and said it might prove crucial who won in the end. The planners have won a total and unqualified victory.

The statement of policy made by Mr. Kidwai in Parliament on Monday reveals no departure at all from the policy of controls, or what is left of them after the relaxations effected in various States following the lead given by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Madras Chief Minister, last June.

Mr. Kidwai's plan was to extend to the whole country Rajaji's scheme of zonal grouping of districts within the State within which movement of food grains would be free and their prices unregulated. Any rise in prices was to be checked to the extent possible by the issue of food grains from fair price shops, which would get their stocks not from internal procurement at officially fixed prices but from imports and purchases from surplus States. Mr. Kidwai wanted to link deficit and surplus States in the same manner, free the movement of grains within each zone, and attempt to level prices by issuing imported food (at subsidised prices if the cost of the imported commodity was the same as or higher than the internal market price) from fair price shops.

This grand scheme was outlined by Mr. Kidwai at Bombay during the series of meetings he held there with State Food Ministers last month. It was very quickly abandoned because the Finance Minister just would not have it. The volume of imports needed to ensure the maintenance of the present price level would call for too much expenditure of foreign exchange. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and his colleagues of the Planning Commission made it plain that they would be dishonest to put their signatures to a plan which would fall to the ground

if decontrol should make it necessary to divert a large part of Government's resources from development work to the subsidised sale of imported food.

Mr. Kidwai then changed his line. He said he would leave rice out of the decontrol plan, since its imported cost is much higher than in the case of wheat and since the shortage of rice production in the country is an indisputable and accepted fact. He continued to claim, however, that the millet position had improved so greatly as to justify instant decontrol, and that wheat could be decontrolled next. His chief argument was that the price of foreign wheat had fallen this year to the same level as the internal price. Any imports that may prove necessary would therefore require no subsidy for sale through fair price shops.

The most significant thing about Monday's statement of policy is that it does not really free even millets from control. Price control may be given up by States which have not already done so, but the ban on inter-State movement will stay so far as private trade is concerned. The only relaxation in this respect is that producers can carry headloads to neighbouring markets even if they are in another State. Deficit States will not be allowed to start off a buying spree which will push up prices, but can buy from surplus States in agreed proportions at prices which will bear some relation to the present procurement prices. This is not decontrol.

It is useful to recapitulate the stages by which Mr. Kidwai's decontrol plan has been abandoned, because an impression has been created in the public mind that Mr. Kidwai has been steadily, even if slowly, converting the Government of India to acceptance of decontrol. It is Mr. Kidwai who has been converted.

Does this drama of the last few weeks, which involved the prospect of resignation from the Cabinet of either Mr. Deshmukh or Mr. Kidwai, have any lesson? Surely it indicates

a serious lack of co-ordination both within the Central Cabinet and as between the Centre and the States.

In both cases the origin of the difficulty is the same, namely the lack of appreciation at ministerial level of the long-term economic implications of actions which might appear as attractive solutions to immediate problems. We have at the Centre a Food Minister who would decontrol wheat because the price of foreign wheat has happened to fall this year. The national plan is for five years, and it is only the first of successive plans. The Food Minister, further, proceeds to make a public announcement of his intention without consulting the Finance Minister on its financial implications and securing his assent. He calls a conference of State Food Ministers and is persuaded at the last minute to cancel it. He announces a food policy in Parliament which everyone knows is not his, and makes a speech which the Finance Minister finds it necessary to rebut on its major points and underlying assumptions.

What we need today is a Finance

Minister who will have the same supreme power in economic matters that Sir Stafford Cripps exercised in his time in Britain. In Mr. Deshmukh we have a man fitted for the role. He combines with great ability qualities which are rarely found together in one man. He has immense tact, a real humility, and persuasive power. He has shed his earlier discomfort in the unaccustomed company of politicians, and has quickly begun to feel totally at home in Parliament. He is totally at home in Parliament.

All that is needed is for the Prime Minister to realise the importance of the Finance Minister's role, and to impress it on his colleagues of the Cabinet and party. We need a convention by which every policy decision of any Ministry which has economic consequences should secure the prior approval of the Finance Minister. Even speeches by Ministers on economic matters should preferably be approved by him before delivery. Monday's spectacle in Parliament of the Finance Minister refuting the statements of his own colleague cannot be allowed to be repeated.



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CONSISTENT INCONSISTENCY

By J. B. KRIPALANI

IN his reply to the debate on the situation arising out of the migration of the minority community from Pakistan, Sri Nehru took full advantage of a remark of one of the opposition members, Sri Khare, of the Hindu Mahasabha. Sri Nehru said: "I had wished to speak with restraint, but there can be no restraint when indecent talk is indulged in this House."

Strangely enough, while Sri Nehru cannot maintain due restraint in face of unrestrained words he wants all others to maintain restraint when 'indecent' acts are perpetrated beyond the borders on those whom he himself described thus: "They are one with us and they were one of us. The fact that they are Pakistani nationals today can not scratch out or erase the history of hundreds and thousands of years."

However, it would appear that all the claim of our own kith and kin to consideration is nullified by one individual speaking thoughtlessly. Verily words are more potent than deeds.

Sri Nehru said the question of minorities in Pakistan "was too serious a matter for eloquence... Are we going to consider this question in a highly sentimental way and relate stories which are painful to hear as they must be painful to relate?" Repeating the same sentiment, he said: "Here we are discussing it to some extent in a hysterical way trying to rouse the passion of the House by stories which may be true or which may not be true. Many of them are true of course. It is true that there has been inhumanity and oppression. It is not necessary for stories to be related with modulations of voice. Are we in a theatre or are we in a House of Parliament or the Republic?"

Sri Nehru admits that many of the stories told "are true of course." Does he expect every story coming from behind an iron curtain to be absolutely true? Even in factual history an element of myth and imagination creeps in. If, "most of the stories

are true," the contention of the opposition is fully borne out. Also Sri Nehru admits that there has been 'inhumanity and oppression.' As he has no explanation to offer about the fact of 'inhumanity and oppression,' he quarrels with the manner and the method employed by the opposition members in their speeches. They were variously described; some were emotional, others modulated their voices; some were oratorical, others eloquent; some were dramatic and others denunciatory. What does Sri Nehru expect in a public assembly? Evidently he wants stories of 'inhumanity and oppression' to be related as mathematical and scientific propositions. Can human misery and degradation be described with a detached unconcern employing cold logic? Does Sri Nehru himself live up to such a scientific and logical objectivity? Do oppression and tyranny affect merely the logical faculty of individuals and groups? Is there no emotion and moral indignation involved in it? Then in discussing political issues, does Sri Nehru himself never modulate or raise his voice? Is he never eloquent or emotional and fervid? Is he never dramatic or denunciatory? He indulges in all these attitudes and various mannerisms. The only fault of the Opposition was that the various mannerisms were distributed among many speakers. They were not concentrated in one man of various moods and attitudes. Then Sri Nehru may not forget that most of those who were speaking were from Bengal. They were describing the sufferings of their near and dear ones. So many Hindus in East and West Bengal are as good as blood brothers! To ask them to speak without a tremor in their voice or a lump in their throats, is to ask too much of humanity. Then we may not forget that from icy cold Kashmir it is a long way to the warmth and emotion of Bengal.

The question before the country is not how the Opposition or in this case even Congress members spoke but what they spoke. The Prime Minister in so many words accepted

the contention that many of the gruesome and pathetic stories "were painful to hear as they were painful to relate," and were true and there was 'inhumanity and oppression.' Under such circumstances what can the Opposition members do except talk and not in cold and unimpassioned language but in the language of feelings, not divorced from facts? Many M.P.s on the floor of the mother of Parliaments in England spoke in impassioned, oratorical, fervid, theatrical, indignant and denunciatory language against Hitler and his doings before and during the last war. Mr. Amery, in the course of a debate about Chamberlain's policy of drift and appeasement, told the Prime Minister who belonged to his own party; "For God's sake, govern or get out." Nobody told Sri Nehru: "For God's sake, deal with the question of the exodus from Pakistan which threatens our very national existence, or get out." Even the Opposition members in our Parliament have not developed the quantity and quality of emotion and passion that are common in parliaments with long standing democratic traditions of the countries in the West.

However, if Sri Nehru wants people not to indulge in emotional talk but to act it will not be the M.P.s in Opposition who will be tempted to act, but the unfortunate people; and when they do act through pressure of adverse circumstances, all "healing touch" will be swept away. It will rather be probing the wound which may bleed the patient to death!

After having complimented the Opposition members on their eloquence, oratory, passion, fervidness, etc., Sri Nehru condescended to analyse the situation. He divided the problem into two parts—(1) The working of rehabilitation and (2) the question of keeping the minorities in their own homes in Pakistan.

So far as the work of rehabilitation is concerned, he assured the country that it will be done in a co-ordinated manner. He said, "it was the bounden duty of the Government to do their utmost. That did not mean the problem could be solved by magic and 100 per cent results can be obtained quickly."

Surely magic does not take five years to work! The people, specially the refugees, have waited for five years and will wait in patience for many more, to allow government's plans of rehabilitation to bear fruit. Surely this is not asking for magic results!

However, as Sri Nehru himself said, there is the second and more important political problem, that of keeping the members of the Hindu minority in Pakistan in their own homes in safety and honour with full citizenship rights. What had our Prime Minister to say about this question?

We search for a solution in vain in his whole speech. The Prime Minister rejected war though nobody had talked of it. Against whom was he making this point? Politicians often raise problems out of their own fancy and then demolish them and show to the world how triumphantly they have done so. An exchange of population is inhuman. Economic sanctions are impractical. All that Sri Nehru proposed was this: "I do say in all humility that the problem of India and Pakistan, whether tomorrow or the day after, a year hence or ten years hence, can only be solved by the touch of healing being applied to both the countries."

In this connection several questions arise: (1) What constitutes a healing touch? (2) To whom is it to be applied? (3) By whom is it to be applied? (4) How will it progressively work and bear fruit? On all these questions the Prime Minister was silent. All these questions have to be answered. Otherwise these words have no meaning, except their melodious ring and pious sentiment. Gandhiji when he used such terms clearly indicated how and where and when he was going to apply his technique of love and non-violence. Even then we know how he succeeded with fanatical communalism. In him there was not a trace of antipathy for any community. However, with an organised public authority there can be no single approach. In the solution of social problems both persuasion and coercion are needed. The amount of each depends on a particular situation. Anyway for the last five years Sri Nehru's government has been consistently applying the 'healing touch,' whatever it may stand for.

What has been the result? Take the concrete question of Kashmir. If the Government had merely applied the "healing touch," today there would have been no government of Sheikh Abdullah in that state. Long before, Kashmir would have been a part and parcel of Pakistan. Again, the Government of India applied the 'healing touch' to the Nizam's Hyderabad for a couple of years. What was the result? Some three lakhs of innocent people had to evacuate their hearths and homes and take refuge in neighbouring states. Not only that, but when the Government applied successful coercion there was a reaction against the Muslim community and it had to suffer great misery and humiliation. In Europe, before the last world war Chamberlain and his friends persistently applied the "healing touch" to Hitler's Germany. What was the result? Ultimately the democracies had to fight and when the fight came it was the most ruthless and bitter and from its effects humanity is not free even today; nay, it may never be free. Wise statesmanship takes proper and effective measures at the proper time.

Sri Nehru wants to keep the issue on a purely political level. In the present agitation every effort has been made to keep it on such a level and this effort has eminently succeeded. In Parliament, except for the unfortunate remark of one member, the discussion was kept on a high political level. Nobody deplored the remarks of that one member more than the Opposition members themselves. For Sri Nehru, it only provided an opportunity for denunciation. He took the fullest advantage of it. He said, "The difficulty in dealing with the problem on the political level arises because of the intrusion of the communal approach and irresponsible talk of the big stick and of measures and things that lead to war." If for any effective action Sri Nehru wants a hundred per cent political approach and not a whisper of communalism, it only means that he wants to do nothing. Even Gandhiji did not get hundred per cent non-violence for his satyagraha. We may not forget the origin of this problem. It originated from the communal approach to every national ques-

tion by the Muslim community, honourable individuals apart. We may have accepted partition, much against our will, on territorial basis, but he will be a bold man who would say that the partition and all the difficulties arising therefrom were not the results of communal feelings. As there is individual *karma* so there is collective *karma*. We cannot altogether get away from the historical communal background. We can only minimise its effect. We have been trying to do so and to a very large extent we have succeeded. After all in this defective world ideals cannot be realised in their entirety. The greatest saint has to admit that he is but a sinner; not that he is a sinner but his gaze is directed constantly towards an ideal unattainable in flesh. The saint realises how distant he is, from the highest height. In international affairs he who observes higher standards of behaviour, in comparison to his neighbour with whom he is in conflict, has done well and is to be praised for goodness. There can be no absolute goodness in individuals, much less in communities. As in individual life so in social life, whatever your achievement, you cannot achieve absolute goodness. In the last war the conduct of the Allies too was responsible for much fanaticism and cruelty. However they were generally considered to have done well. Why? Because the conduct of their opponents, the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese, was generally more fanatical and cruel. In this imperfect and defective world moral excellence can be only comparative, never absolute. Nobody says that the communal situation in India is perfect. But it is very much better than in Pakistan. The Prime Minister will be the last person to deny this fact. If he did, his government would stand condemned. A good deal of the credit for this state of affairs must go to him. If, however, inter-communal relations are not better than they are, it is entirely due to what is happening from day to day beyond the borders in Pakistan.

Sri Nehru admitted that the introduction of the passport system was a unilateral action of Pakistan. The 1950 Pact guaranteed free movement. This means that Pakistan has vio-

lated the basic condition of the Pact. If that is so the Pact no more exists. In all political dealings there is mutuality. More so in international affairs. Sri Nehru said that talk of Akhand Bharat was against the 1950 Agreement. May be. But agreements are made between governments and not peoples. A few, politically not very important, people have talked of Akhand Bharat and not the government. In Pakistan the government has violated deliberately the basic condition of the 1950 Pact in spite of our opposition. If the Indian Government had talked of Akhand Bharat and agitated for it that would have been a repudiation of the Pact, and not the talk of stray individuals lacking political importance.

Sri Nehru said: "I am quite certain that a large number of people in Pakistan, the ordinary people, have no animosity against India. In fact they regret the happenings of the last five years." This may be so but the public here have no knowledge of it. Such goodwill and regret have not been publicised nor have these been acted upon by any large section of the Pakistani population. The information of goodwill may be in the archives of the Foreign Department. However, Sri Nehru while saying that the bulk of the people in Pakistan "have friendly feeling" towards the people of India, adds, "except when they are excited and worked up on occasions, as they can be in Pakistan as in India." If feelings can be so worked up, as to turn people from being friendly to hostile, cruel and tyrannical, then such feelings are not deep enough. As regards being "worked up" there is constant and continuing effort in that direction, made not only by the leaders but by the Government with its set policy of eliminating the Hindu minority. The efforts of the Pakistan League leaders and its Government have been eminently successful in this direction. Nations cannot decide their attitude towards their neighbours on theoretical feelings of friendliness. Usually no people have unfriendly feelings towards other peoples. It is the governments that work up inimical feelings. The German people, left to themselves, had no feelings of enmity towards England or America. It was

the Nazi leaders who created bad blood. The Pakistan people have accepted the communal leadership of the Muslim League and its government. They cannot avoid responsibility for what is happening. Therefore, for all practical international purposes we can say that friendly feelings in Pakistan towards the minority community are non-existent. While this is so, in India the people have accepted the leadership of the non-communal Congress and its Government. If the people of India had accepted, like the people of Pakistan, a communal leadership and communal government, say of the Hindu Mahasabha, the friendly feelings of a majority of the Indian people for the people of Pakistan would have been practically non-existent. In politics we do not calculate the feelings of the people on a theoretical but on a practical basis. In practice the Muslims in Pakistan, to put it mildly, show no friendly feelings towards the Hindu minority.

Sometimes Sri Nehru, whenever acts of unusual cruelty have been reported to him, has tried to exonerate the Pakistan Government and blamed the Pakistan people. He cannot have it both ways. It is impossible that acts of brutal inhumanity with a tragic regularity could be possible unless among the people at large there were inimical feelings towards the minority. It is immaterial whether feelings of animosity are congenital or induced by the leadership and the government. The victims would rather suffer less from a congenital sadistic complex than one that is deliberately created by scientific propaganda and action. There are limits to congenital cruelty. One may even deny its existence. But there are no limits to deliberate cruelty for a purpose. If examples are needed they are supplied by the records of Nazi Germany and other totalitarian regimes. Cruelty there is made into a fine art. It is not mere physical cruelty but, what is worse, there is also psychological cruelty, slaying the very soul of individuals and the communities involved. Something like that is going on today in Pakistan against the Hindu minority.

Sri Nehru ridiculed the proposed "East Bengal Day." He and his orga-

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ICP 82

nisation has fixed the all-India "South Africa Day". The problem of the Indians in South Africa is nothing compared to the problem of the minority in East Pakistan, if nothing else, in its quantitative aspect. If the Government's figures are to be credited, the Hindus in East Bengal number more than one hundred lakhs. The Indian population involved in South Africa is only two lakhs and a half. Then, is, Sri Nehru sure that angry, impassioned and denunciatory speeches will not be made on the South Africa Day, and there will be no eloquence, no modulation of violences, no perfervid utterances, etc.?

Sri Nehru has thrown no new light on the solution of the problem. The situation is plain so far as relief and rehabilitation of the refugees are concerned. India has over-passed the saturation point. The hard and helpless lot of those who have already come may not be known to the Government but it is known to social workers, and more so to the suffering refugees themselves. It can be measured by the prevalence of T. B. and other diseases in the refugee camps and the extent of child mortality. Let the Government collect figures. These will be staggering. Any way we cannot accept more refugees unless we are willing to scrap all our plans of reconstruction and permanently injure our economy and thereby jeopardise our hard-won freedom. The further influx of refugees is also bound to create inter-state friction. Already as between Bengal and Behar the challenge of something like war has been issued not by the people but by responsible leaders in the two provinces. The effect upon the Hindu majority here, if the problem is not speedily tackled in Pakistan itself, will be disastrous. It will affect not only the two countries but also the Muslim community here. It may adversely affect human advance. It may mean the triumph of forces of reaction, religious fanaticism and communalism. If such a thing happens Sri Nehru's Government will have to bear its full share of responsibility before history. All that we, who are not moulding the destinies of this unfortunate land, can do is to raise the warning voice and the alarm.

LATE MR. S. G. ACHARYA

PIONEER OF POPULAR JOURNALISM IN TELUGU

By D. ANJANEYULU

MR. S. G. ACHARYA, who died last week at the early age of 46 was not, perhaps, as well known as he should have been, for at least two reasons. Having been of a somewhat retiring disposition, he avoided the footlights and took care never to impose his presence where it was not required. The external reserve was but a tender facade for his innate warmth and essential friendliness. Another reason for his comparative obscurity was that in the last few years of his life there was no paper for him to edit, all the journals that he started having changed hands or become defunct after a strenuous struggle for existence.

If money is often taken as the measure of a man's merit, publicity—with which popularity is equated—is sometimes deemed as the criterion in judging his importance. Mr. Acharya had never rolled in wealth, as no working journalist does or ever can, or basked in the limelight. But, in certain respects, his contribution to Telugu journalism is remarkable. He can well be described as the pioneer of 'popular' journalism in Telugu. Like the late Mr. Gidugu Ramamurti, who was a doughty champion of spoken Telugu in literature, Mr. Acharya was among the earliest to use the language of life in the journals and periodicals he edited from the twenties. This daring experiment, with immense possibilities, gradually gained public favour in spite of an occasional flutter in the literary dovecotes, and has now come into common vogue. The language of speech, not necessarily slang, has become the accepted vehicle of expression for the popular press. To him also goes the credit of introducing the modern methods of news display in Telugu journalism, which have since been further developed by those who try to keep pace with the current trends in English journalism. More noteworthy still was the encouragement he gave to new writers in Telugu. When it was

difficult, or even well-nigh impossible for a writer who was just finding his feet to get his early works into respectable journals, which have a weakness for well-known names and shun



Mr. S. G. Acharya.

unknown or little-known ones, it was given to Mr. Acharya to help the ambitious toddlers on the road to recognition and renown. The sympathetic and conscientious journalist that he was, he believed that no work, small though it be, should go unrewarded and always tried to make at least a token payment for every article published in his papers. Mr. Acharya's interest in the technical side of journalism was as keen as his knowledge of the minor details of typesetting and composition was intimate and accurate. He is known to be responsible for the introduction of the point-type setting which is now used by Telugu compositors. When he was not editing periodicals, he was aiding others to do it with his advice on

the technical and business aspects of the venture. At least one type foundry in the City owes its success to his expert counsel.

It is interesting to recall that though Mr. Acharya made no claims to scholarship or literary craftsmanship, he had the writer's instinct in his blood. *Cacoethes scribendi* caught him young and he was running a manuscript magazine before he left school to plunge into the national struggle. After a spell as a 'sub' in a Telugu daily in the City, he was again in the thick of the freedom movement and was arrested more than once along with his wife, who was his helpmate in more than one sense. In the early thirties, he edited *Janmabhoomi*, a Telugu daily started in the City to promote the freedom struggle. With his flair for the popular technique and a patriotic fervour, he made it a people's paper. Those who were old enough to read newspapers in those days, now fondly recall how copies of the quarter-anna daily were sold like hot cakes along the Madras beach. That was a shortlived affair, though with a shining chapter. His next assignment was on the *Prajabandhu*, a weekly which he made popular, even powerful, with its leanings to the left in the right-left controversies in Congress politics. Leaders of the youth at that time like Subhas Bose, N. G. Ranga, J. P. Narayan and M. N. Roy were the heroes of that weekly. True to its name, it worked for the welfare of the people, with an accent on the have-nots and the under-dogs. While continuing on this journal, Mr. Acharya began to edit *Chitragupta*, a fortnightly of a pungent sort, with a passion for pricking the bubbles. Like its mythical namesake, the fretful fortnightly did not hesitate to take to task our prophets, priests and kings for their many omissions and commissions. Its popular features were the letters from the editor, who used to deliver his straight-from-the-shoulder shots at public men, and the post-card letters from the readers, which were

an incentive to the young enthusiasts to put pen to paper.

His pioneering spirit and versatile tastes found expression in varied journals, including those for women and children. When there were only a few women's journals, one of them being Dr. K. N. Kesari's *Grihalakshmi*, Mr. Acharya felt the need to expand this sphere of journalism. He gave whatever assistance he could to the fortnightly, *Hindu Sundari* and, later to *Chitrangi*. The first children's magazine, *Balamitra*, was started by him, setting the fashion for a plethora of successors in the field. He also made an attempt to run a tiny magazine full of cartoons, quips and humorous skits, but the *Konangi* came to an abrupt end after a precarious existence in the post-war slump. In a way, Mr. Acharya himself was an unfortunate victim of the post-war slump when the countless periodicals that sprouted in the war boom died like mushrooms throwing many able and experienced journalists on the stormy and uncharted seas of an unfeeling world, with no sails to trim and no rudder to steer the course.

But Mr. Acharya was too refined a gentleman to speak of his troubles except to his very intimate friends. Not a few struggling journalists had received his unstinted aid and warm sympathy. There are many, now in safe harbour, who remember with gratitude the good turn he had done them. Friends who enjoyed his hospitality say that he kept open house for stray birds in the profession, badly in need of a warm corner and yearning for the sweet and soothing atmosphere of something like a home. Even casual acquaintances know that the smiling figure in spotless khadi was the pink of politeness, exuding a quiet charm and a restrained gaiety, all his own. To his wife Srimati Annapurna Devi, who shared not only his joys and sorrows but his ideas, aspirations and ambitions go the sympathies of all who cherish his memory.

It is doubtful whether mankind are most indebted to those who like Bacon and Butler dig the gold from the mine of literature, or to those who, like Paley, purify it, stamp it, fix its real value, and give it currency and utility.—COLTON.

WILL IKE HELP DEVELOP INDIA?

By ANDREW ROTH

INDIA will almost certainly lose Chester Bowles as U. S. Ambassador since he is very much a party appointee and represents the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. But it is not yet clear what portion of American policy will remain the same. One of Ike's closest confidants assured the *Financial Times* Washington correspondent that Ike feels U. S. aid to Indian development has been "too timidly" executed, implying that he intends to be much more vigorous. But expert observers of American and Asian politics ask: "Will Taft let him do it?" And for them this is a rhetorical question.

"With a Democratic administration, there were some hopes of an enlightened American policy toward Asia, particularly under Stevenson's intelligent leadership. With the Republicans it seems hopeless, unless they achieve a responsibility in office they never showed in opposition."

This is the consensus of expert opinion in London. It is characterized by a considerable amount of uncertainty about the precise character of Eisenhower's policy toward Asia because of the many questions which remain unanswered.

To what extent were Eisenhower's election speeches mere propaganda without serious conviction? The answer to this is considered vital because Ike indicated a swing toward the "Asia first" school which very much surprised his old friends in Western Europe. Whatever Ike's own real views now, most West Europeans think that the balance of power in Congress will force Ike's administration to give proportionately more funds toward Asia, than hitherto, largely for military purposes.

Which group of Republicans will dominate the Eisenhower administration? Ike's original sponsors for the Republican nomination were the 'sophisticated internationalist' group of Republicans, many of them connected with top Wall Street cartels with international connections. Many of these internationalist big-business Republicans, like Paul Hoffman and

John Foster Dulles have held prominent posts under Truman and supported the Democrats' efforts to stem the advance of Communism. But, of course, they prefer to be senior, rather than junior partners in the enterprise. And some, like John Foster Dulles, think that the "containment" policy is too costly and ineffective. He has been advocating a "roll-back" or "liberation" policy whereby the U. S. would keep the Communist states "off-balance" by supplying anti-Communist bands with arms and finances and by stepping up the provocative and hortatory character of the propaganda beamed at the Communist countries.

How will this be taken by the crudely nationalist (or "isolationist") 'backwoods reactionaries' under the control of Senator Taft, who seems to have consolidated his influence during the campaign? Taft does not mind encouraging anti-Communists to fight the Communists, provided that it does not involve committing American troops. There was no mistaking the haste with which Senator Taft picked up Ike's proposal to withdraw U. S. troops by training more South Koreans. Taft has also made it clear he would like to see Chiang Kai-shek's troops fight the Chinese Communists. He would be willing to support them with American aerial bombardment, and perhaps even agree to naval support. But Senator Taft expects the land-fighting to be done by Asian soldiers, whether South Koreans, Kuomintang Chinese, Baodai Vietnamese or Japanese. And he does not want it to cost the American taxpayer much, as he indicated in a significant speech on June 12 calling for an emphasis on airpower:

We certainly must operate within our capacity—recognize that we have a limited capacity. We have 6 per cent of the population of the world; we can't send American boys to every far-flung point, borders of the Russian and Chinese empires. We have a limited capacity in money... I think if we want to keep freedom here, we've

got to tailor our defense programme to a figure which we can stand over a period of ten years or even..... twenty years....

....they say that we ought to assume the moral leadership of the world if we can....what these people have in mind is rather a planned economy for the world enforced with American money and even American arms if necessary.

It seems to me that...an imperialist idea lies behind most of the foreign programme that we see today....

One thing that both the "retreatist" Taft forces and the "liberationist" Dulles types agree on is that the emphasis in Asia should be on military matters not on economic aid. The recent emphasis on economic aid to underdeveloped areas has been definitely a Democratic baby, and more particularly the offspring of the liberal wing of the Democratic party. It has been liberal Democrats such as Chester Bowles, currently U. S. Ambassador to India, who have

persuaded President Truman to pump some substantial funds into his 'Point Four' proposals, and particularly to help India overcome its agrarian crisis. It is precisely here in 'Point Four' funds that thrift-minded Taftites will want to make their first cuts.

Perhaps the greatest problem regarding Asia brought in by the new administration is that of uncertainty. The *Manchester Guardian* of November 11 made this clear in attacking the uncompromising Soviet stand demanding total repatriation of prisoners of the Korean war:

General Eisenhower, after his visit to Korea, will no doubt feel called upon to fulfil his implied promise to end the war. The Communists may possibly reckon that he will have to give way on the issue of prisoners. But there is another possibility, and a dangerous one—that the new administration will attempt to win the war by extending it beyond Korea. The Communist leaders may gamble on the chance that such an attempt would break up the Western alliance.

RAW DEAL FOR FIJI INDIANS—II

By J. VIJAYATUNGA

BEFORE we discuss the exact contribution made by Indians during the last three-quarters of a century to the development of Fiji, let us refer to the many disabilities under which they have laboured during these long years. Notwithstanding such disabilities the Indians have striven hard to fit themselves to the land of their adoption and they have always sought redress of their grievances in a constitutional manner.

In only one major dispute the Indians could not accept the decision of the Government. The dispute was with regard to the sugarcane farmers in 1941. The Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Government under the Industrial Disputes Ordinance of 1941 reported that the increase in the price of sugarcane asked for by the sugarcane farmers (the All Fiji Farmers Union) could not be granted because the price of sugarcane had kept pace with the increase in the cost of living. The farmers refused to accept this decision and went on strike during the crushing season of 1943. The Colonial Sugarcane Refining Company served notices on a number of their tenants to quit the company's land. These disagreements were temporarily waived when Dr. C. Y. Shephard, Professor of Agriculture, Trinidad, was appointed by the Government to conduct an investigation into the sugar industry in Fiji and to recommend modifications and measures that should be adopted for better relations between the Company and the Indian farmers. His report was published in 1945.

Company's Accounts

The cane-growers of Fiji met on September 23, 1945, and considered the report and discovered many anomalies in it. For example, the Company was said to have sustained losses from 1930 to '34 but during that period it had paid £7,954 as income-tax. This is the first instance of a company paying income-tax on loss! Again the Company reported a loss (according to Dr. Shephard) in 1943 of £705, but

in another table attached to the report the loss was shown as £85,555.

The meeting, after exposing the discrepancies in the Report, moved certain resolutions with regard to land tenure. The conditions under which land has been leased to Indians have been unsatisfactory and to this day this has been a source of major discontent to the Indian population.

Then we come to the subject of education of Indians in Fiji. As far back as 1914 the late Mr. C. F. Andrews pointed out that a little more than one per cent of the total revenue of the colony was spent on education and of this amount nothing was used for the education of Indians. Though the Indians were admitted to Fiji first in 1879, it was not until 1919 that the first Government school for Indians was established. Until 1926 such educational facilities as were there for Indians were those afforded by Christian missionaries. Later Indian organisations, like the Ramakrishna Mission, the Arya Samaj and the Sanathan Dharma Sabha, opened a few schools. The present classification of schools as Government, registered, and recognised, is quite unsatisfactory from the point of view of the Indian settlers. According to the 1946 census, 90.023 per cent of Fijian males of 15 years and over, and 84.459 per cent of Fijian women were literate. Among the Indians 49.51 per cent of males and 16.73 per cent of women were literate.

While in principle there is no racial discrimination as regards entry into the Civil Service, the education scheme of Fiji is drawn up based on racialism. In 1945, while on a Fijian pupil the Government spent £7-17-6 for his education, on an Indian pupil it was only £5-15-5. On a European pupil it was £16-17-2. This was made up of £5-7-2 spent by the Government, and a contribution of £11-10-0 per head made by the Town Board of Suva, which maintains the European school. The Indian children, as a rule, attend village schools to whom the Town Board does not give any grant.

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Nor has the accommodation in the schools for Indians been ever adequate. Sometimes as many as four classes were held in the same room and there were as many as 120 children in a single classroom.

No attempt has been made to teach Indian history. This is due to the fact that the school system is patterned on the New Zealand system and the teachers for the higher school are recruited from New Zealand. There are no facilities whatever for higher education.

The only Medical School is attached to the Suva Hospital where it conducts a four-year course and awards a diploma. Competent observers from India have reported that the training given to Indians in the medical school are only slightly better than that obtained by dispensers and compounders in India.

In no Government record does anyone find that in the matter of appointments the Indians must be discriminated against. The fact is that the appointment of a Fiji-born Indian nurse as a health visitor on £300 a year, and an Indian stenographer in a Government office on an initial salary of £206 a year are the only instances of higher appointments under Government. The senior grades are invariably closed to Indians.

Then there is the iniquitous poll tax of £2 payable by non-Fijian males between the ages of 18 and 60. This tax falls mainly on the Indians and it has been specifically designed to add to their hardships. One cannot say that they are not represented in the Legislative Council. But there are 143,332 Indians in the colony and they are on a par with the European population of 6,126 in the Council.

Though many attempts have been made by the Government to create dissension first among the various Indian communities, and secondly between the Indians and the Fijians, the Indian community has resisted all of them.

When Sir A. G. Murchison Fletcher was the Governor from 1929 to 1936 he encouraged Muslims to demand a separate electorate. From 1937 one of the two nominated Indian members has always been a Muslim. The Hindus were the first to welcome this nomination, and in legislative matters there has been no Hindu-Muslim

rivalry though the Government expected it.

Now we come to the latest scare raised in the Australian and the New Zealand Press and which received notice in the New Zealand House of Representatives.

It is claimed that at the present rate of increase, Indians will require, by the year 2000, seven times more land than they occupy today. An undertaking given by Britain when Fiji was ceded in 1874, has been recalled and repatriation in the next 20 years of Indians and Chinese at the rate of 12,000 and 200 respectively urged.

Besides making a tentative population increase look formidable, allegations are made that the Indians have never been loyal to Britain. This is certainly a libel which the Indian leaders in Fiji can and will refute. As for the battalion composed solely of Fijians sent to Malaya recently, it will be remembered that the Indians of Fiji did offer to send an Indian battalion at the same time, but the Acting-Governor gave official reasons why the offer had to be declined. The next best thing the Indians could do, was to offer free transportation by forty Indian-owned buses for the Fiji soldiers from their training camp to the port.

Not only are there many islands comprising the Fiji group that are habitable, but there are large areas in the interior of Viti Levu suitable for cultivation. In the issue of the "Pacific Islands Monthly" of November 1946 there was an article, "Decline and Revival of Fijian Race." The author, Dr. V. W. T. Mac Gusty, was one-time Chief Medical Officer of Fiji, and Secretary for Indian Affairs. He wrote: "...now when the Indians have actually taken the lead it has also become clear that the circumstances of the two races are so dissimilar that comparison between them becomes almost pointless. The country is still under-developed and under-populated and will hold for many years to come opportunities for Indians and Fijians to prosper side by side, and without racial fusion towards which there has yet been little tendency."

(The first article appeared in the issue of October 25.)

WHAT STATUS FOR PHILIP?

By MONROE JOHNSTON

The author tells how consorts have fared in British history, and discusses the role Philip may possibly play as husband to the Queen.

CONSTITUTIONAL circles here are buzzing with the rumour there is to be a "new deal" for Prince Philip—that Queen Elizabeth's desire that her husband be known as a "king consort" rather than a "prince consort" may materialize. The constitutionalists are also concerned over the small but persistent demand that Philip receive the dignity of a consort's crowning following the Queen's consecration next June 2. Experts are trying to determine whether there is a precedent for such a promotion.

Precedent is as important to England as rice to China, and few scholars would think of acquiescing in any move which would flout it. So they are digging into historical documents and constitutional papers to find whether the Queen's desire can be fulfilled without trespassing on the forbidden ground of constitutional innovation.

First Prince Consort

Mrs. N. O. Jackman, mayoress of Dorchester, could show the experts a document or two. In her town's excellent collection of ancient charters, there is a royal confirmation of a perpetual lease granted in 1557. It bears the name of England's first prince consort, Philip II of Spain. It is a joint seal of Philip and Mary and is inscribed "rex et regina"—"king and queen." It would seem that precedent has permitted a male consort to take the title of "king."

However, as a king consort, Philip introduced the infamous Inquisition to England during an illness of his wife. From that time, the English resolved there would be no more king consorts. So Prince Philip today faces a prejudice of 400 years' standing bequeathed him by his Spanish name-sake.

As for the crowning of the prince consort, it is generally agreed Philip will get no circlet at the time Queen Elizabeth is consecrated.

The Very Rev. Alan C. Don, dean of Westminster and, next to the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, the most important ecclesiastic at the coronation ceremony, told me Philip will participate in a peer's capacity and will be required to swear homage to his wife along with the other great peers, temporal and spiritual.

Dr. Don said: "While nothing definite has been decided, it can be surmised we will refer to the precedent of Queen Anne and her consort, Prince George of Denmark. The prince was not crowned and took no part in the service."

"A Lawless Precedent"

This pronouncement has not deterred some historians from asking whether Prince George's role should be taken as a precedent. They refer to the comments of Agnes Strickland, historian of the last century, who became perturbed over the country's failure to give Prince Albert the separate consort's coronation tendered all queen consorts.

Miss Strickland wrote: "One of the most singular features of the times was that, contrary to every precedent in British history, the consort of Queen Anne was excluded from participation in her crowning."

She argued there was very precedent for crowning both Albert and George. The precedent of William of Orange, George's brother-in-law, was a case where a consort with no lineal rights to the throne was given a sovereign's powers, she said.

Henry VII was another precedent, Miss Strickland contended. His wife, Elizabeth of York, had a far more legitimate claim on the throne than he did and yet he became a sovereign king.

"The fact is undeniable that the English never for an instant contemplated that consorts of their queens-regnant should hold rank no higher than that of Prince George of Denmark," Miss Strickland asserted.

A number of historians today are claiming as did Miss Strickland that

if Prince Philip is not ranked as king "a lawless precedent" is being followed. On the other hand, it is argued Philip is not complaining against his station, so "why not let sleeping dogs lie?"

Prince consorts have built up reputations for chivalry and few complaints publicly pass their lips. Albert, a model of uncomplaining dignity, in his private correspondence revealed his feelings. To his brother, Ernst, he wrote: "The difficulty in filling my place with the proper dignity is that I am only the husband and not the master in the house."

In another letter, he said: "Peel cut down my income, Wellington refused me my rank, the royal family cried against the foreign interloper and the Whigs were only inclined to concede me as much space as I could stand upon."

Early Death

It is claimed that Prince George's chagrin actually was responsible for his early death. Caricatured and lampooned by the British public as "the tail at the end of the dog," George shrivelled under his treatment. While he never lashed back, it is known he grew bitter over a jest which started after his wife's coronation.

At the coronation banquet, the prince consort, who was in rather a convivial mood, was told by the lord Chamberlain that as the Queen was fatigued it might be wise to escort her home. "I am Her Majesty's subject," roared the prince with a laugh. "I shall do naught but what she commands me."

"In that case," chuckled the Queen, "I am very tired and I do command you." Soon the sarcastic rumour of malice was whispered through the streets. "The Queen tells him when to go to bed, she tells him when to get up, too."

History reveals a consort's life is not a happy one. Take the case of Philip of Spain. He is remembered with hate and scorn for his intimate connection with the Armada and the Inquisition. Yet it is forgotten that it was on his orders that Elizabeth was released from the prison in which she had been confined by Mary. It is

forgotten he advised Mary to forget her burning hatred of Protestants and that as a result the fires in Smithfield Market actually went out for a considerable while.

It can safely be said—400 years later—that during Philip's residence in England, he was a model of discretion. Upon his landing in England, he told a deputation from the Council of State he had come to live among them as an Englishman. He showed an amiable desire to adopt native customs by drinking the health of all present in a tankard of English ale. Following his marriage in Winchester Cathedral, he was the central figure in one of the most magnificent processions Londoners have ever witnessed.

In the procession were 20 richly decorated carts containing 97 chests of bullion valued at £50,000. This treasure would be worth millions today. It was brought over from Spain by Philip as a gift to the English people.

Cynics say he wanted to buy something that money can't buy—the love of a nation. Their opponents say that if Philip had wanted to purchase this, his gift, and he could have afforded it, would have been £500,000 not £50,000.

Neither his discretion nor his gift-giving brought him a coronation. When the terms of the marriage contract were shown to the Council of State, they contained a provision promising Philip a sovereign's coronation. The council might have gone for it had it not been for the blustering of Simon Renard, the imperial ambassador. In an offensive speech to the council, Renard demanded on behalf of Charles V and the mighty Holy Roman empire that Philip be given precedence and that his titles appear on all documents of state. The council reluctantly agreed to this. But when the ambassador tried to force the council to honour Philip with a coronation, it demurred.

Mary argued it was not necessary to honour him with a sovereign's crown since he would be satisfied with the diadem of a queen-consort. But Renard's speech had raised hackles and the council strongly resisted the suggestion.

Another attempt was made two years later, this time by Philip him-

self. He had cherished the hope he would secure the succession in the event of his wife's death. Mary's temper had not only alienated her councillors but Philip himself. Since they were both of the same mind, (Philip suggested, possibly they wouldn't object to his coronation. But they did.

The Blow

Nature played on Philip one of the cruellest pranks that can be inflicted on an expectant father. It was announced that Mary was "quick of child...." The nation didn't know whether to be thankful or sorrowful until the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered the Te Deum to be sung in all churches. Special prayers of thanksgiving were offered. The dean of Westminster composed a prayer to be said daily expressing the fervent hope the heir should be "a male child well-formed and witty."

Philip ordered letters to be prepared to be sent to all the sovereigns of Europe announcing the happy event. Some of these letters exist today. Written in French, they are headed "Hampton Court, 1555." The letters "F" were written in with a space afterwards in which could be jotted either "Is" or "Ile." Then came the blow. The royal physicians reported obesity had been mistaken for pregnancy. Embarrassing? Who knows but at that moment the Great Armada was born?

George's lot was not much better. One after one the children he and Anne presented to the nation died. Had any survived, it would have succeeded to the throne. With the death of the last surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, in 1700, it was imperative arrangements be made to continue the royal succession. An act of settlement was drafted introducing the House of Hanover into England. During the debate on the act a proposal was made that, in the event of Anne's accession, the title of king should be conferred on her husband. The motion was defeated.

When Anne became queen in 1702 her first thoughts were for her husband. She again brought up the idea that George be associated with her in the royal dignity. A resolution to this effect was again lost in the Commons.

When this plan went by the boards, Anne tried to have her consort named captain-general of the army. But the title was bestowed on Marlborough. To please the Queen, the states-general tossed the prince a sop and gave him the resounding rank of "generalissimo of all the Queen's forces." This position had absolutely no authority. However, George was in a bad position to complain after Parliament boosted his income to £100,000 annually, double what any previous Queen-consort had received.

Contemporary writers were harsh in their judgment of the prince consort. One wrote: "He is fat, loves news, his bottle and his Queen." The only reference in a history of the times to the prince was the regular "the prince is again down with asthma."

An incognito visit he paid with a companion to Bristol gives a revealing insight into the man himself. He visited the Exchange and remained until nearly everyone had left. Although he had been quickly recognized, none of the businessmen had the courage to offer him hospitality.

John Duddleston, a plain storekeeper, was the last man to leave. He approached the prince and asked: "Are you, sir, the husband of Queen Anne as folks say you are?" George admitted his identity and the storekeeper invited him and his friend home to dinner.

Some time later, Mr. and Mrs. Duddleston visited Windsor and were cordially received by the Queen and her consort. The Queen thanked the Duddlestons for their hospitality to George and invited them to a court dinner. She pointed out they must wear court dress, but she would supply it if they would choose the colour. The Duddlestons chose velvet. At the close of the dinner party, Mr. Duddleston was knighted by the Queen. When they were leaving the Queen presented Mrs. Duddleston with her own gold watch.

Victoria And Albert

Shortly after her marriage to Albert, her "purer, dearer, nobler," prince, Victoria expressed a wish that he be made king. She claimed there was no precedent against it "except Anne's very stupid and insignificant husband." The Duke of Wellington

strongly opposed the suggestion and for a long time relations between the queen and the "Iron Duke" were strained.

Later she again proposed to the Prime Minister that Albert be made king consort. But her private desire found its way into the newspapers and the Morning Chronicle complained the conferring of such a title was "preliminary to a demand for an increased grant." The queen or the prince never brought up the matter again.

The House of Coburg from which Albert sprang was a very adaptable line, and in the last century gave England a queen and prince consort, Belgium a king; Portugal a prince consort; Bulgaria a king and Mexico an empress. This very adaptability raised problems for Albert. The Tories hinted he was partial to Roman Catholicism.

Victoria rushed into the breach with Albert's genealogy chart and, going back to the days of Martin Luther, she proved there had never been a Catholic hidden in Albert's family tree. "He's particularly Protestant," was the way the queen phrased it.

In the early Victorian era, many in England were far from friendly to offsprings of "those Hanoverians." Crackpots made frequent attempts to assassinate the queen and her prince. They were fired upon at least four times. Another time a demented officer took his cane and whacked Victoria across the face.

But the bravery of the young couple elicited admiration and affection. On the third attempt, to eliminate them, the "scamp" who fired the shot escaped - the police. Victoria and Albert volunteered to ride forth again in their coach over the same route in the hope the gunman would reveal himself. He did. He took a second shot at England's ruler and was nabbed by police.

But the esteem won by Albert disappeared overnight as a result of a

vicious rumour. On the outbreak of the Crimean War, it was bruited about that Albert was sympathetic to Russia. Crowds gathered in the streets singing the chorus:

We'll send him home and make him groan

Oh Al! You've played the deuce then
The German lad has acted sad,
And turned tail with the Russian.

As the chanting crowd moved toward the palace, another rumour swept over it. It was whispered Albert's pro-Russianism had forced the Government to confine him to the Tower of London. Some said the Queen had been locked up, too. Thousands swarmed down to the river to see Victoria and Albert brought in as prisoners. The next day the Prime Minister had to summon a special session of Parliament to quash the rumour. Parliament completely vindicated the consort.

But for all the barriers thrown in his way, Albert made a creditable contribution to his adopted country's development. Through his influence duelling was ended in England, slavery banished in the colonies and the British Empire kept at peace with the U. S. during the civil war.

Probably his great contribution to Britain was the Great Exhibition of 1851. Completely responsible for its organization, he had to overcome the antipathy of the Government and industry to carry it out. But it was a tremendous success. More than 6,000,000 visitors poured into Crystal Palace to gaze at the wares displayed on 11 miles of tables.

Albert invested the profits from this venture in museums, art galleries and educational institutions. Some of the great institutions today owing their origin to Albert's foresight are the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Science Museum and Science Library, the Natural History Museum, the Institute of Physics, Royal Albert Hall and the Royal Colleges of Science, Art and Music.—Copyright—NMF.

The nature of economic inequality is a compulsion to respond to effective demand, and this pays no regard to science on the one hand, or to need upon the other. It thinks only of the presence of purchasing power and not of its connotation in terms of social purpose. The whole productive scheme is thereby tilted to the favour of those who possess the power to make their wants effective.—Harold J. Laski.

THE DISCOVERER OF STREPTOMYCIN

"I feel proud in justifying the ancient saying....I forget from where it comes,' And from the earth shall come thy salvation.'"—PROF. WAKSMAN.

THE romance of the discovery of streptomycin was neither dramatic nor accidental as that of penicillin. Whereas a chance observation of contamination of staphylococcal cultures in 1929 by Fleming led to the discovery of penicillin, it took years of hard, patient, well-directed and methodical research for Dr. Waksman and his associates to discover streptomycin, the antibiotic against tuberculosis. Let Prof. Waksman speak for himself: "We examined some 10,000 cultures, obtained antibiotic substances from about 1,000 of them, found some 100 specimens that gave promise of being medicinally useful and finally narrowed the chase to 10 that seemed worth following closely. The first to be studied was the antibiotic known as streptothricin. When discovered in 1942, it seemed highly promising but later tests with animals showed it to be too toxic for medicinal use. Streptothricin was not without value, however, for it led to the discovery of streptomycin."

But once the discovery was announced to the world in January, 1944, by Waksman, Schatz and Bugie, the progress in the study of streptomycin was rapid, thanks to the experience previously gained with penicillin and to the vast organizations that were already in the field ready for large scale manufacture, so much so that by December, 1946, it was available in the general market. The history of streptomycin affords an excellent example of how quickly advances in scientific knowledge can be made when an alert industry is associated with adequate laboratory and clinical research organization.

Selman Abraham Waksman was born in Kiev, Russia, on July 2, 1888, and though he went to the U. S. A. at the age of 22 and has since settled down there as a naturalised American citizen. In 1915, he took his B. S. degree from the Rutgers University

and in the same year began his career in the field of science as research assistant at the New Jersey Agricultural Experimental Station which, exactly after 29 years of hard work and research, was to yield him fruit and win him worldwide recognition and the 1952 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine.

Waksman took his M.Sc. (Rutgers University) in 1916 and his Ph. D. (University of California) in 1918 but it was only as late as in 1932 that he was to direct his attention to the field of chemotherapy. The intervening years were spent in an intensive study of soil and soil microbiology. His book Principles of Soil Microbiology, running to over a thousand pages, was "the most exhaustive work on the subject in any language."

He made *Actinomyces* his centre for further investigations, having observed throughout his bacterial studies that they always won in the struggle for the survival of the fittest against other organisms under adverse conditions. He argued that they might destroy the germs in man as well and how correct he was in his great expectations was proved four years later when he isolated streptomycin from *Actinomyces Griseus*.

Streptomycin is active against organisms (the gram-negative bacteria) which penicillin left untouched. It is particularly effective in chronic urinary infections, plague and tularaemia. But it was its dramatic effect on tuberculosis that focussed worldwide attention on the drug as a great life-saving measure. The early enthusiasm for streptomycin has been somewhat damped by the development of various toxic symptoms such as persistent giddiness and deafness and the fight against tuberculosis is not by any means over. Perhaps a better antibiotic with less or no toxic effects, having greater ease of administration and ensuring quicker recovery, in short, more akin to Ehrlich's dream of "the magic bullet" may yet be found in the years to come.—R. RAMAMURTHI.

PROTECTION TO AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

PLEA FOR ENCOURAGEMENT TO ANCILLARY INDUSTRIES

Messrs. T. S. Santhanam and K. Hariharan, Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively of the Motor Vehicles and Allied Merchants Association, Madras, met the members of the Tariff Board on the 13th instant and discussed with them the question of protection to the automobile industry. On behalf of the Association they presented a memorandum to the Commission. The text of the memorandum is given below:

THE automobile industry is a key industry and it is essential to have full fledged automobile manufacturing industry planned on the most economical and sound lines rendering its contribution to the economic development of our country and above all keeping in view the paramount interest of the consumer. This programme has to be spread over a number of years and properly phased. Before attempting manufacture of complete automobiles we should have ancillary industries. Ancillary industries should be given all encouragement by the Government so that they may make useful contribution to the manufacture of motor vehicles in the near future.

The present policy that all motor vehicles that are imported into this country are to be locally assembled may continue to be in force. A detailed survey may be made of the availability of raw materials for the processing and manufacture of motor vehicle components and an enquiry may be instituted with regard to the capacity and the production facilities in various automobile dealer workshops and engineering workshops who have the resources and facilities for manufacture of automobile components from raw materials to finished products—not only for motor vehicles but for other allied industries.

We may add that an explanatory survey on these lines has already been conducted by the Automobile Expert Committee during 1950 and the data gathered by them will serve as a useful guide for a more exhaustive and thorough survey.

The total number of motor vehicles including motor cycles in use in India at the beginning of this year is approximately 300,000 and if the motor cycles are excluded the total will reduce itself to 280,000. The number of passenger cars may be placed roughly at 140,000, the number of commercial vehicles at 50,000 buses and 90,000 lorries. The average annual offtake of passenger cars, trucks and buses in the six postwar years 1946-51, both years inclusive, is approximately

25,000. In 1952, the imports will be far less, due to continuous increase in the prices in the post war years mainly due to high rate of duty and devaluation in the case of imports from hard currency areas. At the present prices, the annual demand for all motor vehicles will not exceed 20,000 units with a roughly even split between passenger cars and commercial vehicles. This figure of 20,000 is a rough estimate and it is based on the assumption that the duty on commercial vehicles is put back to the pre-1950 level and is treated in a preferential manner apart from the passenger cars as has been the case for several decades.

To increase the demand for passenger cars is not easy to achieve at present. The standard of living has to be raised very considerably and there has to be general reduction in the customs duty as well as the prices of various raw materials that go into the manufacture of a motor car.

There are many makes and models in passenger cars from the tiny 5 H.P. to the big 40 H.P. The design and the styling of the passenger cars are dictated by fashion and this changes from year to year. New mechanical features are introduced periodically such as automatic transmission, power steering, independent suspension, so on and so forth. The retooling of the factory for such major changes is expensive and is not warranted unless there is a large volume of production. Passenger car bodies have to be produced in large volume to justify low cost. The body dies and the body presses are expensive. Further the passenger car body design, chassis design and the engine design are not frozen for a long time as in the case of trucks. Under these circumstances, it is an economic impossibility to produce passenger cars at reasonable prices to suit the purse of the average Indian buyer. The theory of self-sufficiency should not be carried to extreme limits and the consumer compelled to buy commodities at prohibitive prices. The passenger car is not as much

a necessity as a truck for the economic well being of the nation. For these reasons we suggest that there be no immediate protection for the passenger car manufacture and the Government may consider the question of reducing the number of assemblers as recommended by the Automobile Expert Committee and the Motor Vehicles Taxation Enquiry Committee.

There is ample scope for the expansion of the road transport industry. This is a land of villages and there are over 600,000 villages needing communication with the surrounding areas for movement of men and material. We need more roads. Even with the existing mileage of roads the number of vehicles on the roads can be increased for connecting all the villages. It is the heavy initial cost of the vehicles and the heavy incidence of taxation by both Centre and States that impede the growth of the road transport industry. We are of the opinion that volume demand for commercial vehicles—buses and lorries—can be achieved by fostering cheap, rapid and efficient road transport on sound and economic lines. For achieving this, all restrictive taxes which defeat the above ideals should be lowered.

A glance at the prices of commercial vehicles in 1949 and 1952 will show convincingly how the prices have risen during the last three years. Such large increases in the prices in the past three years have arrested the growth of the road transport industry and have postponed replacement of vehicles with the result that there are a large number of older model vehicles resulting in reduced operations. 1951 and 1952 import figures of motor vehicles and motor vehicle spare parts will illustrate that the imports of motor vehicle spare parts has continued to increase.

The effect of the advance protection given in 1950 is that most of the replacement parts come under a high import duty of 90% and a surcharge of 5% and the components for which lower rate of duty is levied are those that are not required frequently for replacement and the majority of them come under the body, sheet metal and non-functional parts. Fast moving engine and chassis parts carry the highest rate of duty. It is, therefore, evident that the road transport industry is being made to foot the bill of advance protection and they are being unduly penalised, raising their cost of operation and impeding the growth of the road transport industry. Until 1950 for several decades, preferential lower rate of duty was levied on commercial vehicles and components. This has been done away with under the guise of advance protection. We submit

that this is neither fair nor equitable to the road transport industry.

It is very essential that ancillary industries are established first before complete manufacture of vehicles is attempted. Nowhere in the world does any manufacturer attempt to manufacture all the components of his vehicles under one roof. If a manufacturer tries to make all the vehicle components himself, though in theory it is feasible, the cost of production will be so high that very few can afford to buy the finished commodity. It is for this reason, in Western countries, well organised ancillary industries have been established and fostered. They are the prerequisite for attempting to manufacture complete vehicles. For example, there are well known proprietary parts manufacturers—Robert Bosch in Germany, Lucas and Automotive Products in England. Even in the United States where mass production originated and vehicles are manufactured in very large volume and sold at low prices, such giants like General Motors Corporation, Fords and Chryslers buy their requirements from several thousand manufacturers who specialise in individual components. There are proprietary firms such as Borg Warner who manufacture 90% of the clutches and transmission. Delco Remy and Electric Autolite who manufacture all the electrical components, A. C., Electric Autolite and Champion who manufacture gauges, instruments, spark plugs, so on and so forth. It is these proprietary manufacturers, who, by their large scale production facilities and the continuing technical resources assist the motor vehicle manufacturers in producing vehicles at low prices. We, therefore, suggest that ancillary industries for manufacture of engine and chassis parts such as pistons, rings, valves, carburettors, springs, spring leaves, shackle bolts, bushings, hangers, axles and hubs, brake linings, brake parts, gears, clutches, radiators, mufflers, universal joints, be established at an early date.

The consumption of spare parts in India is on the increase and there is ample scope for the manufacture of components. The import figures for 1951 and 1952 will bear out our statement as to the increasing demand for motor vehicles and establish a machinery through the Indian Standard Institute for regulation and observance of these standards by all manufacturers of motor vehicles and motor vehicle components.

When the Automobile Expert Committee reviewed the existing automobile production potential in 1950 they reported in three groups of 19, 9 and 18 items in each group and recommended the reclassification of the import customs duty tariff to cover 39 items that are likely to be manufactured in two years i.e. by March

1952. The public is not yet aware of the progress made in production of these components. It may be mentioned that this Committee made it very clear that the components which come under 75 (10) with the highest import duty of 90% are only for certain makes of automobiles. We submit that even the two organisations which are planning production for their own makes of vehicles have not realised their target figures for these 39 items for which protection was sought and conferred. It is, therefore, evident that when these two manufacturers are unable to produce in volume even the 39 items for their own makes of vehicles, they cannot think of manufacturing components for 300,000 vehicles that are operating on the roads of our nation which are of different makes and models and which consume crores of rupees of worth of spare parts. We, therefore, suggest that there must be a planned programme, properly phased, and the manufacturers should strictly adhere to it.

The Fiscal Commission of 1950 have recommended subsidy, in cases where domestic production meets only a small fraction of the domestic demand—as in automobile production. They cited the example of the aluminium industry wherein a half-way price between landed cost and fair selling price was established.

We, therefore, suggest that full pro-

tection may be extended to all those components for which facilities exist for manufacture in sufficient volume to meet the nation's demands and where such parts are manufactured to requisite standards. This protection may be extended by prohibitive import duty which really assists the indigenous manufacturers or it may be done by a total ban on imports of such items as is the case with piston rings. This regulation has to be enforced keeping always in mind the ideals of volume production and standards of quality.

Our Association is of the opinion that the nation's interests demand that priority be given to the manufacture of trucks rather than passenger cars. We suggest that a standard truck with a wheel base of not less than 158" and not exceeding 162" be designed with a payload of 3 tons.

Our Association is of the view that subsidy, more than protective duties, is the answer for the proper growth and establishment of the automobile industry with strict enforcement and safeguard for the tax-payer. May we repeat that the road transport industry is vital for the growth of the nation as the railways cannot reach all our 600,000 villages and the needs of the industry as also the interest of the consumer which is paramount may be kept in view while fostering the automobile industry.

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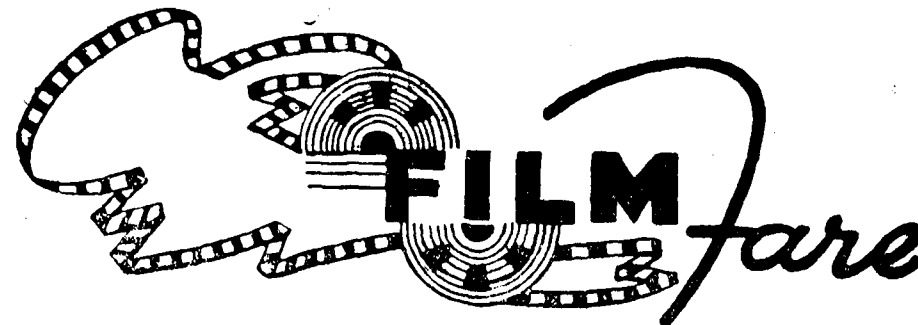
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By V. P. SATHE

THIS week the attendance at motion picture houses in Bombay was perhaps the poorest. The main cause must, of course, be the cricket Test match which drew 'a full house' for four consecutive days at the Bra-bourne Stadium. Seeing the huge crowds of thousands and thousands of people every morning at the stadium, the film producers must have felt that the people had money for entertainment and all that was needed to draw them was some super colossal attraction like the 'Test' match. What was the substitute the producers could offer? Nothing except, perhaps, a colour film like *Aan* which in Bombay at least has proved a terrific success collecting over six lakhs of rupees in the fifteen weeks at Liberty, a record by any standard. And *Jhansi ki Rani*, the first technicolour picture of India, would further demonstrate the attraction of colour.

Meanwhile, the collections of new pictures continued to be most disappointing. In the case of most of the recent releases in Bombay the first week collection at a first-run house was less than ten thousand rupees, and most of the producers and distributors did not get enough even to cover up the publicity cost. The pictures were not so bad as to deserve such tragic fate at box-office. The economic slump alone could explain this tragedy.

Naturally the foremost question to which every person connected with the film industry is trying to find an answer is how long this slump will continue. Is there no solution to this crisis?

And those in the know of things say that there is no ready-made solution for the present crisis, especi-

ally when the Government is not at all concerned about the industry and is not prepared to help it in any way. Right from Pandit Nehru, all the Ministers of the State and the Central Government have no interest in the film industry and the Film Enquiry Committee's report seems to have been filed for good with none of its recommendations likely to be adapted. Yet, the experts feel that the industry's hope lies in the Government—rather in the Five-Year Plan. If this plan is executed, it will help to save the country from an economic crisis and raise the purchasing power and standard of living of every common man; consequently it will enable more and more people to see films, and thus increase the attendance at the theatres. Ironically enough, though the film industry has no place in the country's Five-Year Plan now being finalized in Delhi, its future depends upon this plan, rather the execution of this plan.

Apart from this, there are people in the industry, who believe that astrologically the film industry will have good days after November 18, the day on which Saturn changes its house. This change of Saturn will usher in an era of prosperity. That is what they believe. Let us hope that belief comes true; rather let us pray that this prophecy comes true."

Personality Of The Week

One man who seems to have full faith in this prophecy which has also been made by film producer J. G. Mohla, who is supposed to be an excellent astrologer, is Jaimani Dewan, vice-president of the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association. Jaimani has been waiting for this date to start work on his new production.

Such is his resolute faith in J. G. Mohla's prediction. And for over a year he has just been marking his time, doing nothing, because he knew that the stars were unfavourable and that, with the change of Saturn, the days would change for Jaimani as well as for every one else in the film industry.

Jaimani is not the only producer to have such faith in astrology. Most of the producers, stars and in fact almost all the people in the film industry have belief in such forecasts, though the astrologer may be different for different people. There are others who pin their faith in numerology.

Jaimani's faith in astrology, however, is understandable. For, did he not himself become a great success as a producer overnight? Jaimani was connected with the film business from the exhibition side in Ludhiana before he undertook production during the war days; and it is doubtful whether he could have undertaken this venture had he not acquired the licence to produce a picture during war-time restrictions. In partnership with D. N. Madhok, he made *Rattan*; and Naushad who had been giving music for every Kardar picture struck his best form, so did Madhok himself. The result was that *Rattan* proved to be a great success; though most of the distributors who saw its preview did not anticipate its success. In fact, the Bengal distributors of *Rattan* is said to have sold off the rights at a nominal profit after four weeks run of the picture. In Bombay, Jaimani Dewan did not find a buyer, though later when the picture was a great hit in the North he sold the rights of Bombay for a fancy price.

If *Rattan* brought luck, fame and fortune the subsequent productions, produced with or without the guidance of D. N. Madhok, proved unlucky. Not one picture after *Rattan*, except, of course, *Chaman* proved a great success; and the last production, *For Ladies Only*, was, perhaps, the worst flop. Yet, Jaimini Dewan has survived all these shocks, because of his wise policy of not engaging huge staff and being extra careful about his budgets. Any other producer in his place would have completely ruined himself and earned a bad name in

the industry. But thanks to his tact and economy he still commands respect and a good name.

Apart from his personal career, of late Jaimani has been taking very active interest in the affairs of IMPPA. For the second year in succession he is the vice-president and most likely he will succeed Chandulal Shah as the President of IMPPA. Jaimani commands a majority in the producers organisation thanks mainly to his genial smile and apparent friendliness with all brother producers.

Yet, more than the presidentship of IMPPA Jaimani needs another success—at least a success like *Chaman* if not *Rattan*. May Saturn bless him with success now!

Picture Of The Week

Whether one agrees with the views of Mohanlal G. Dave, the screen's oldest and most prolific writer, one must concede that his screenplays have a definite social purpose and he writes his screen stories not just to entertain the picture-goer but to advocate certain ideas. That way, in India at least he is the first screen writer to use motion picture medium to propagate certain social ideals and achieve success in it.

His success is due to his orthodox ideals which find ready response from the orthodox audience in India. But, of late, his ideals have lost their vigour and his plots have become rather stale, though he has been modifying his ideals to suit the changed social conditions as is evident in *Sanskar*, his latest screenplay.

Not even the most fastidious progressive can take exception to the theme of this picture which stresses the importance of proper upbringing of children by the mother in moulding the character of the child. In other words, a child becomes as good or as bad according to the *Sanskar* it receives from the mother. There is nothing wrong in this.

But in putting this theme in the form of a screenplay Dave has made the westernized woman who leaves her child to the care of an 'ayah' and her ultra-modern daughter who plays with the emotions of different youth as the main target of his attack. Here, too one can have no objection with

the type that Dave has chosen for his attack, though one must point out that he has exaggerated certain things beyond all logical bounds.

His ideal is not exactly orthodox, it is a compromise between old and new—a modern woman with a sort of orthodox, puritan outlook. Naturally, the ideal is also a little exaggerated. The propagandist that he is Dave makes his characters mere symbolic than real and around them he weaves a melodrama full of stock situations, twists and surprises—reminiscent in many ways of his own former screen stories in one form or the other.

This melodrama is presented by director V. M. Vyas who is known more for speed than quality with rather commendable competence. Compared to his other pictures, *Sanskar*, is definitely a less crude and a more polished essay in film-making with a soft, scintillating musical score by Roshan and uniformly good performance by a cast of veterans like Mumtaz Shanti, who gives a remarkably good performance, Pran, Veera, Ishwarlal Murad, Kalyani,

stitution Mirza Mushruff, who repeats his old clownish antics, Shashi Kapoor, Purnima and newcomer Raji.

Had it been only not so long, it would have been definitely more interesting and as it is it is better than most of the joint efforts of Dave and Vyas.

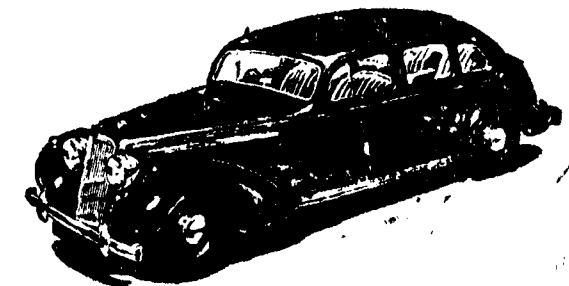
News Of The Week

—Most of the Indian film stars attended the premiere of M. G. M.'s "Quo Vadis" on Friday night.

—Producer-director A. R. Kardar gave a tea party in honour of the Pakistan Cricket team. A. H. Kardar, the captain of the Pakistan team, is a nephew of the Producer. The guests were shown *Bicycle Thief* and *Diwana*.

—Kamini Kaushal is reported to have voluntarily agreed to reduce her price in view of the proposed ban by Pakistan. She has already agreed to give over thirty per cent rebate to the producers of *Aas* and *Jhanzar*.

—Ramesh Saigal is performing the muburat of his first independent production *Shikast* on Thursday, November 20.



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POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN

(By A Karachi Correspondent)

THE struggle for self-expression—both political and cultural—resulting in the creation of Pakistan was essentially a mass movement, organised and directed by the Muslim League. This organisation was founded as far back as 1906. In 1926, Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah was elected President at the Bombay session of the Muslim League. The next ten years saw slow but steady consolidation of the League under his leadership, and the Lucknow session of the League in the autumn of 1937 found it the most authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

Today the League continues to enjoy the same popular support that it enjoyed before partition. It aims at the establishment of the Islamic principles of social justice and democracy and the creation of conditions for the uplift of the masses in the light of the Objectives Resolution. It is by far the most powerful organisation amongst the political parties in Pakistan. The recent elections in the provinces of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier have confirmed the League's dominating position in the country. The Central and provincial ministers are drawn from the Muslim League Party. The Muslim League is also the largest party in the States which have acceded to Pakistan.

The Jinnah-Awami League

Pakistan committed as she is to the principles of democracy has a number of other political parties with varying degrees of following. The Jinnah-Awami League, which has a few thousand members on its roll, mostly in the Punjab, is of recent origin. It was sponsored jointly in February, 1951, by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, formerly member of the Muslim League and one-time Prime Minister of undivided Bengal, and Mian Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, formerly President of the Punjab Muslim League.

The Jinnah-Awami League's aim, in the words of the Khan of Mamdot, is to "oppose all acts and measures which curtail the liberty of the people." The party is also "opposed to the foreign policy of the Muslim League." "This party, if returned to power," claims the Khan of Mamdot, "would advise the Government to quit the Commonwealth. In the event of an international conflict, the party would like Pakistan to remain neutral. The party aims at a more dynamic agrarian policy than that of any other party in the country, an early solution of the Kashmir question, and change in the tariff policy of Pakistan." The Awami League joins one party or the other when expediency demands. The Awami League leaders, for example, participated in the peace convention held in 1951-52 and inspired by the leftist elements in the country.

In the recent elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Awami League secured a dozen seats, mostly from the Lahore urban constituencies. The returns showed that the League had practically no influence in the rural areas or in the interior of Punjab. In the N.-W.F.P. elections, the Jinnah-Awami League was able to secure even less than half a dozen seats. Its influence in Baluchistan and Sind is almost negligible, while in East Pakistan the number of its followers does not exceed 1,000.

The Jinnah-Awami League in East Pakistan is known as the "East Pakistan Awami League." Its president is Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani.

Azad Pakistan

Another party that owes its origin to the 1951 elections in Punjab is the Azad Pakistan Party, led by Mian Iftikharuddin, who at one time was president of the Provincial Congress Party in undivided Punjab and a prominent member of the Muslim League after partition. Azad Pakistan won two or three seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly

In the words of Mian Iftikharuddin: "The Muslim League Party can rightly claim to be the mouthpiece of the privileged class of people in the country, but certainly it has no right to claim to be the representative of the masses." The Azad Pakistan Party would like to see Pakistan completely free of all foreign influences. The party asserts that "the present Muslim League leadership wants to keep Pakistan tied to the apron strings of British imperialism" and that "the economic and political exploitation which began with the establishment of British rule in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent continues even today in Pakistan."

The Azad Pakistan Party, according to Mian Iftikharuddin, answers the people's need for a progressive programme. "The Anglo-American bloc," he says, "wants to use Pakistan as a base against Soviet Russia. It is time that the Pakistan Government resisted such attempts. The only effective way to counter such a move is to build up a strong peace movement in Pakistan."

Islam League

Then there is the Islam League with a membership of under 4,000, mostly in West Punjab. It was founded by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi of Khaksar fame. It seems to revive martial traditions among the Muslims and aims at "defending the Muslims in India. The Islam League would like the whole of the northern India to be annexed to Pakistan since it contains large numbers of Muslims. At present Allama Mashriqi is under detention.

Jamiat-ul Ulem-i-Islam

There are a few political parties whose objects are identical. One of the objects is to place religion above politics. The Jamiat-ul-Ulem-i-Islam, whose president is Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani, with a following of slightly over 1,500 claims that it would inculcate "true Islamic spirit and culture" among the people of Pakistan based on the Koran and the Hadith. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan, which has some influence in East Pakistan, seeks "to protect

Islam to frame an Islamic constitution for Pakistan" and to create "fraternal atmosphere" amongst the Muslim countries of the world. Its president is Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni.

Jamaat-e-Islami, whose leader is Maulana Abdul Ala Maudoodi, aims at "establishing in Pakistan a government based on the dictates of the Quran (Hukumat-e-Ilahiya)." It has a following of slightly over 2,000, mostly in the Punjab.

The Communist Party

The Communist Party of Pakistan owes its origin to the underground activities of certain Communist workers trained in India in the last two decades. Its secretary, Sajjad Zaheer, came to Pakistan in 1949 and carried on his activities underground until his arrest on April 28, 1951. Sajjad Zaheer, in his forties, is the son of Syed Wazir Hassan, one-time Chief Justice of the Oudh Chief Court, and one of his brothers, Mr. Ali Zaheer, was the Indian Ambassador in Iran. An eminent writer and an enthusiastic scholar, Sajjad Zaheer was one of the brilliant Indian students at Oxford. He joined the Communist Party in India about 20 years ago. He edited the Communist weekly of Bombay *Naya Zamana*.

In the recent elections in Punjab, the Communist candidates were defeated by the Muslim League. Indeed, the Communists of Punjab are a coterie of well-to-do intellectuals of Lahore, who seek to influence college and university students.

Since industrial workers are negligible numerically and foodgrains, being cheap and plentiful usually, peasant unrest is absent in Pakistan except in small areas of Sind where peasant unrest is associated with the Kisan (Haris) Party. The Haris, whose membership is believed to run into a good 25,000, aims at redressing peasants' grievances against zamindars.

Owing to its contiguity to West Bengal on one side and to Assam and Burma on the other, Communist influence is not inconsiderable in East Pakistan.—NNF.

When we meet with a natural style we are surprised and delighted, for we expected to find an author, and have found a man.—PASCAL.

WILL COFFEE PRICES COME DOWN?

By C. V. NARAHARI RAO

COFFEE prices shot up unnaturally during the past few months. The rise was not sudden. The poor consumer's voice reached the Union Minister for Commerce, who has assured that he would bring down the prices, if need be by stopping the pool auctions. His warning seems to have had some effect as the reported results of the latest pool auctions will indicate.

In defending the rise in prices, pleas have been advanced that it was due to scarcity of stocks combined with restricted releases by the Indian Coffee Board, export reservation of large quotas and keen competition among bidders by the entry of newcomers to the trade. Let us analyse each of these reasons.

The scarcity of stocks is attributed to production being inadequate to meet even internal demands. The average production per year has been estimated to be about 20,000 tons, but it is stated that this falls short by 4 to 5 thousand tons of the quality needed to meet the consumer requirements internal and overseas, where the demand has grown enormously in recent years. The Indian Coffee Board has been aiming at a target production of 25,000 tons to satisfy the full need, which it has not been able to achieve on an average, though a peak record of 25,500 tons was attained in 1945-46. In the 1951-52 season the total receipts by the pool were 20,700 tons of which 2,200 were set apart for export. This left theoretically 18,500 tons for internal consumption, but officially it is known that only 16,063 cwts. (800 tons roughly) were exported and, therefore, the quantity available for domestic consumption was 19,900 tons which from all accounts should have been sufficient for domestic requirements. For on an average the modest estimate for such consumption has been put around 17,000 tons.

All these figures are on the basis of sale of coffee seeds. A large number of coffee addicts buy powder in the bazar and no one will deny that

a certain amount of mixture or adulteration with chicory or other ingredients, despite anti-adulteration laws, is always there. When people talk of scarcity of coffee seeds they must consider whether adulteration has not increased the quantity available to the consumer. Also, in the past few months one did not hear coffee seeds being not available, as one did sometime ago. Only the prices soared and one could buy coffee seeds or powder if one had the money.

Charges Against Board

It is clear that the reason attributed to scarcity of stocks for the rise in prices does not have much truth in it. But it may be said with some amount of justification that the Indian Coffee Board only releases certain quantities on a monthly basis which are not commensurate with the demand. While it may be true that this causes some hardship in a few local areas, the system could not have led to such general scarcity as to warrant a big rise in prices all round. The Indian Coffee Board has to liquidate the pool stocks in the course of the year, and if there is any basis for charging it with irregular or inadequate releases, efforts should be directed against reorganising the system of releases. With whomsoever the fault lies—the Board or the dealers—an alleged overall scarcity can be no ground for increasing the prices.

Let us now take up the question of exports. I have already stated that the actual export for 1951-52 season was about 800 tons as against a set-apart quota of 2,200 tons, which after all, fetched only a sum of Rs. 55 lakhs and even during the two previous years the foreign exchange earned was less than Rs. 1,35,00,000 each year.

Compare this figure with the figures for tea. India is the largest exporter of tea. Three-fourths of her total production of 620-630 million pounds (280,000 tons) is available always as surplus which needs must be exported. This is capable of earning a foreign

exchange of Rs. 75 crores annually. There is no particular reason why the Government should be charged with any over-anxiety to promote the exportation of coffee at the expense of the domestic consumer. If only a ninth or tenth part of the total coffee production is earmarked for export it should be because of the desire to maintain the foreign contacts which have within the last few years shown much interest in good quality coffee. It was mentioned recently by the Chairman of the Board that there were available in Madras, Mysore and Coorg many thousands of acres fit for coffee plantation which could be easily made to yield about 40,000 tons per year. If by any means this objective is realised in the near future by the Coffee Board with Government assistance, then we shall have indeed a large surplus available for export for which we cannot find a market unless we keep up at least the old established contacts.

It is obvious that exports could be no reason whatever for the high prices of coffee, nor will the Government be justified in following a short-sighted policy of banning outright even the meagre exports. We have to find the reason for the high prices from the internal stock position and its irregular distribution by the auction method with its attendant evils such as greedy competition among bidders, old or new to the trade.

The question of new traders making their appearances at the pool auctions and outbidding the old dealers has to be examined. No bonafide coffee dealer can be prevented; he has a fundamental right. But what seemed to have encouraged everybody was the easy facility given by scheduled banks to borrow money on pledging coffee with them. This bank facility led one

to bid at whatever price for, say, 2,000 tons while otherwise one would not have bid for more than 200 tons, and naturally therefore one had to reimburse himself by suppressing the stocks for sometime and releasing them at a favourable time. Two remedies suggest to my mind. The first is that the Coffee Board should restrict the maximum price for bidding and also quantitatively restrict the right to bid to any one dealer, of course taking into account his past dealings. The other remedy is that banks should be restricted from giving monies readily on the pledging of coffee bought at the auctions. In the latter case it would be good if legislation on the lines of the Madras Foodgrains Order is enacted. It should be remembered that 99 per cent of the total acreage under coffee is in the States of Madras, Mysore and Coorg and the bulk of the consumption is also in the South, where coffee is the national beverage. One might as well say that here in the South, there is every justification for recognising coffee as one of the foodgrains, in which case legislation on the lines proposed on the initiative of the Madras Government, itself is possible.

The bidders, old or new, were responsible for creating the artificial scarcity and the consequent rise in prices. They will have to be guarded against in the future, if the present trend of fall at the latest auctions are to have lasting effect. In this connection I would suggest that the present 2,700 tons which are allotted to co-operative societies at basic pool prices must be increased. Also, in the India Coffee Houses coffee seeds should be sold, in addition to powder, to consumers direct at basic prices at all working hours.

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PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC

By K. S. SRINIVASAN

DEMOCRATIC methods are to be employed to achieve the objectives of the Five Year Plan, viz., a better standard of life and social justice. Public co-operation has, therefore, been emphasised as not merely important but essential. "A democracy working for social ends is based itself on the willing assent of the people and not the coercive power of the State," observes the Planning Commission.

In democratic planning the problem number one is, how to win public co-operation? It is first necessary to understand the public. Professional public relations men analyse the public into specific publics according to their avocation or interest. For instance, the public for agricultural schemes are the farmers; others are significant only in a remote way. The public for industry are, labour, Government, commercial firms, consumers, etc. In general the publics overlap one another because the same person in his capacities as worker, father, magazine reader, and film-goer, will form part of the publics for industry, schools, newspapers and films respectively. It is, therefore, essential to define the public for each activity or scheme of the Five Year Plan.

The next point is, what is co-operation? It is very common for leaders to appeal for public co-operation without defining in what shape co-operation is expected. If, for instance, support of the people is to be enlisted for Adult Literacy, it is not merely sufficient to ask for co-operation. It is essential to say what people are expected to do, i.e., to attend adult schools, or to set up such schools, according to the context.

Before he is asked to co-operate, every individual would like to be convinced why he must do so. Clear knowledge of the scheme and how it benefits him (rather than the State or Society) can alone bring about this conviction which provides the motive force for co-operation. Public opinion surveys have brought out clearly the wide tendency among people to hold

positive opinions favourable or otherwise on almost everything round them, independent of personal knowledge or reliable basis. Wrong notion or prejudice is difficult to remove once it has set root. In spite of proper action in the interest of public, apathy may exist as a result of people's ignorance of what is being done. Responsibility for removing it rests on the State or Organisation. But indifference to public communication always takes its toll; it is inexorable. The 'surprises' of the recent elections are an instance. Referring to reverses, Mr. Nehru said at a Press Conference on February 28, "Where we did not work, we lost. Frankly, we lost in Tamilnad because there were not enough good workers there." It is, therefore, essential to anticipate such situations and provide the widest information possible in the language and idiom most intelligible to the person who is expected to co-operate.

For the task of overcoming 'the ignorance and apathy of large numbers' it is necessary to set up an exclusive organisation of adequate size that will collect, produce and distribute informative material on all the phases of the plan. The existing publicity organisations of Government no doubt 'cover' the major schemes or activities; but the coverage is meagre and in spurts confined to inauguration, opening ceremony and other land-marks. In order to be effective, the flow of information should be continuous, plentiful and geared to suit different audiences—workers, farmers, white-collar, teachers, students, etc. This can only be handled by an exclusive set-up. The need for such machinery and its financial implication appear to have escaped the attention of the Commission. In view of the over-all expenditure of Rs. 1,500 crores planned in the course of five years, a modest estimate for the public relations set-up should involve Rs. 15 crores (one per cent). While every project in the U. S. A. includes a budget (about 5% of the total) for liaison with the public, even big projects in India like the Damodar Valley are usually

without a public relations organisation to support them.

To inform the public, especially when the number runs into millions, it is not merely sufficient to use orthodox methods. No doubt the press will form one of the main channels of communication. This will be supported by pamphlets in many languages for wide distribution. But it must be remembered that even assuming an article is published in every newspaper in every language in the whole of India and that every subscriber of the paper reads the article, the information will not have reached even the 10% of the country's population. The magnitude of the task becomes clear if it is realised that the main accent of the Five Year Plan is on agriculture which engages about 90% of the population, almost wholly illiterate. It is, therefore, necessary to explore every means—radio, films, slides, film-strips, models, exhibits etc.

A highly efficacious means of communication still continues to be the word of mouth. In India the spoken word carries great weight, especially if the source is a widely recognised personality. Local leaders of thought in every village or small civic group should be supplied plenty of literature that will be useful to them as basis for talking. Leaders in this context do not mean necessarily political personages. A school teacher, the head of the clan, the elders of the village are all leaders in their own groups.

The general scheme for dissemination of information should be to break down the whole plan to local units. The average man, especially in rural areas, has severely local interests; any dissertation on the soundness or vastness of the plan as a whole will completely go over his head and miss the mark. It should be enough for him to know that a sound project is under operation in his neighbourhood for his benefit and similar projects are

under way in other parts of the country. But he must be kept informed at all stages and, as suggested by the Commission, must see the results.

While, no doubt, full information regarding State activity should always flow from government to the public it is equally necessary for public opinion to make itself felt. The full weight of public opinion seldom manifests itself in the columns of the press, public meetings or other forums. These merely reflect tendencies and may not always be truly representative. It is necessary to find out the views of the public from time to time. "Their own views about their needs and difficulties and the correct solutions must be elicited and given the fullest weight in making the plans in the execution of which they will be called upon to assist." It can be done satisfactorily by scientific opinion surveys some of which have been already undertaken in isolated instances on a small scale.

This two-way communication will, however, yield results only if the actual execution of the plan conforms to the ideals laid down and to the established trends in public opinion. Fully aware of the problem the Commission observes: "If at the level at which the citizen meets administration he encounters corruption, delay and inefficiency and if he finds no sign of effective steps against the anti-social elements who exploit the community and enrich themselves at its expense, it would be difficult to invoke active support of the people."

The task of keeping in close touch with the public can yield results only if it is approached with enthusiasm, frankness and freedom from official clap-trap. "The plan will succeed in the measure in which Government's machinery is able to reach the peasant in the home and on the farm, to extend a helping hand to him and to evoke from him co-operation and enthusiasm in building his own and the nation's prosperity."

"Theses in the Social Sciences," an international analytical catalogue of theses for doctorates in the social sciences, written between 1940 and 1950, and so far unpublished because of the troubled circumstances during that period, has just been published by Unesco. The compendium of information collected from more than 20 countries, the first of its kind, is intended to be of service to specialists and research workers.

FAMILY PLANNING—THE INDIAN WAY

By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

WITH food shortage in various parts of the globe, and especially in countries like ours, thinking men and women are concerned to find means whereby population will not outstrip food supply. One way that suggests itself is of course to limit population increase through birth control. Also it is well known that the poor who constitute the bulk of our population are altogether incapable of feeding or looking after the numerous children they beget, that our infant and maternal mortality is unconscionably high, and ill-nourished mothers are unable to bear the strain of frequent child-birth. Primarily for these reasons it is held that population should be restricted. But the question is how?

Use Of Contraceptives

The method which at once suggests itself, and which is one of the matters to be considered by those meeting in conference on Planned Parenthood from November 24 in Bombay, is that of birth control through contraceptives. It is necessary that in making up our minds on this topic certain important issues are not overlooked.

1. Physiologically, sex secretion is vital to human development. If you tamper with the sex glands you change a person's development. Castrate a male calf, for example, and his physical and mental development is retarded. He is and looks not unlike a cow in appearance. He is meek and mild with none of the ferociousness that characterizes the properly developed bull. If, on the other hand, you over-work the sex glands also, you impede the development of an individual. Thus people given to sex abuse in their youth are often of poor build, neurotic and weak. Masturbation is condemned precisely because it wastes the sex secretion. And yet what will be the result of the use of contraceptives but the reckless waste of this valuable element? Indeed, from this point of view, contraception appears to be worse even than mas-

turbation, for it involves sex abuse on the part of two instead of one. When there is no fear of conception couples are apt to indulge themselves freely and become a prey to lust, weak willed, emasculated and lacking in vigour and energy. It is well known that excessive sex indulgence leads even to insanity. Is it right for us to put in the hands of our people means which are likely to sap thus the very foundations of their physical, mental and moral development?

2. What, it may be asked, is the alternative?

(a) A practical way of preventing too many births is to cut short the child-bearing period of couples by bringing about late marriages. Public opinion should be built up against early marriage, and even legislation may be adopted for the purpose.

(b) Our people had various devices for checking indiscriminate sex indulgence. Couples were separated from time to time when the girl was sent away to her parents' home for long periods. There were rules laid down, whereby the husband was not so much as to touch his wife during certain days. Couples whose children were married were not supposed to mate and beget children themselves. Widows were not permitted to remarry, although this is something we may not approve of today.

(c) With the spread of education and a higher standard of living, we may expect that people will be reluctant to marry early or bear children, as wife and children mean so much more expense in the way of food, clothes, education, medical care and such like. Everything done to promote education and profitable employment leading to a higher standard of living will therefore act as a preventive to indiscriminate breeding.

(d) Above all, in line with our ancient traditions, we need to revive the ideal of self-restraint. Our ancestors had practised great auto-

ties to achieve mastery over the body. They did not, however, merely seek to deny the flesh its cravings. Such a procedure would have been negative, leading to frustration and nervous disorders, had they not sublimated their sex craving to something which they regarded as supremely worthwhile, whether it was devotion to the Deity, realization of self or attainment of salvation. When, on the other hand, one's life lacks purpose and is drab and empty, as is often the rule under modern conditions, one seeks an outlet through sex. What is required to draw the mind away from sex is, therefore, it would seem, some positive life-purpose which will keep the mind entirely absorbed. Some may find it in social service, some in politics, some in pursuit of truth, some in business or an occupation, some in religion, and others in art. Our aim then should be through our educational system to provide our people with such positive ends which are capable of absorbing their time and energy. This will also enable them to practise self-restraint.

These are some methods which might be adopted to control birth without resort to contraceptives.

But, it may be argued that sex indulgence even apart from parenthood is necessary for marital love and happiness. As against this Gandhiji testified, 'I know from my own experience that so long as I looked upon my wife carnally we had no real understanding. Our love did not reach a high plane. There was affection between us always, but we became closer and closer the more we, or rather I, became restrained. All the time I

wanted carnal pleasure I could not serve her. The moment I bade good-bye to a life of carnal pleasure our whole relationship became spiritual. Lust died and love reigned instead.' (Harijan, 25-1-1936)

Further, Gandhiji's experience was that self-restraint led to beneficial results. So he said, 'I can clearly recall the fact that this indulgence interfered with my work. It was the consciousness of this limitation that put me on the track of self-restraint, is responsible for the comparative freedom from illnesses that I have enjoyed for long periods and for my output of energy and work, both physical and mental, which eyewitnesses have described as phenomenal.' (Harijan, 4-4-1936)

Brahmacharya

Not only so, Indian literature is full of instances of the remarkable powers acquired by the *brahmachari* or one who practises chastity. Our seers and thinkers, who spent long years reflecting over life and human conduct, had for centuries taught self-restraint as the way to attain *moksha* or the *summum bonum*. The West in comparison is like an infant in this matter. It does not have the advantage of centuries of experience and thought that we have. It is impatient and looks for methods which produce immediate results. Owing to the bane of specialization it seeks to solve each problem separately apart from every other, and fails to see that while, for instance, contraception may control birth, it may have disastrous effects on the virility and character of the nation. It behoves us who are heirs to a great spiritual heritage (1) to weigh

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and consider the effect of such methods on human beings, and (ii) to study the methods evolved by our ancestors to teach self-control.

Let us not in seeking quick remedies set at naught our own best traditions. Let us remember that according to us marriage is an *ashrama* or a stage in man's spiritual development, a schooling or process of discipline through which he passes on his way to spiritual fruition. The element of personal infatuation which underlies marriage in the west, and which in the last analysis is nothing but primitive sex urge, is carefully excluded thus from our conception of marriage, so much so that two persons who have never set eyes on each other are often united in our country and expected to get on together. Marriage for us is therefore primarily a social affair, a sacrament, where the individual's desires are of little account. It is instituted merely for the purpose of progeny and discipline. On such a hypothesis, married love or sex indulgence can hardly be an end in itself. Indeed, according to the rule of the *ashramas*, the husband is even required after a certain period of life as a householder, to renounce his wife and children for further spiritual progress. This being so, it is obvious that the view that marriage should mean sex indulgence for its own sake, without reference to parenthood—which is the assumption underlying

the use of contraceptives—is entirely contrary to our own tradition in the matter. With remarkable foresight the founders of our civilization, as already pointed out, had harnessed to higher ends this powerful urge within us, which left to itself is capable of leading to dissipation and savagery. They called self-restraint *brahmacharya* or conduct capable of leading one to *Brahma* or the Infinite.

Should we turn away today from this work of centuries and open for our people the floodgates of sex indulgence through teaching them artificial birth control?

Here is Gandhiji's opinion in a nutshell. 'The reasoning underlying the use of artificial methods is that indulgence is a necessity of life. Nothing can be more fallacious. Let those who are eager to see births regulated explore the lawful means devised by the ancients, and try to find out how they can be revived. An enormous amount of spade work lies in front of them. Early marriages are a fruitful source of adding to the population. The present mode of life has also a great deal to do with the evil of unchecked procreation. If those causes are investigated and dealt with, society will be morally elevated. If they are ignored by impatient zealots, and if artificial methods become the order of the day, nothing but moral degradation can be the result.' (*Young India*, 12-3-1925)

LATE MR. K. SANJIVA KAMATH

IT is a matter for sincere regret that the death of Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath, the well-known public and social worker, has not received more than a passing reference in the daily press. Mr. Kamath was connected with Scout movement for a number of years and was the honorary general secretary of the Boy Scouts Association. He was connected with various other social organisations, particularly the Y. M. I. A. and Madras Seva Sadan. He had great capacity for organising and had a trained band of selfless workers about him.

I had the privilege of being closely associated with him for a number of years. I never saw him rest even for

a while. He was busy always with something or other. He was a regular sea-bather for many years. He was a familiar figure at the 'Wenlock Park, with his characteristic Khadi white shirt and black cap.

His speeches were always marked by moderation and sobriety. He was not a revolutionary in any sense of the term. He was a constructive worker and his advice was always listened to with respect and regard.

During the last few years, one could see he was slowly fading away. He was growing thinner day by day and fell a victim to diabetes.—S. AMUDACHARI.

SIDELIGHTS :

THE appointment of the Press Commission has excited a controversy between journalists inclined towards trade unionism and those who regard themselves not as wage-earners but as members of a cultured profession. Sri M. Chalapathi Rau, Editor of *The National Herald*, is the leader of the trade unionist section. Sri N. Raghunatha Aiyar, President of the Southern India Journalists Federation, is the upholder of professionalism. Chalapathi Rau is indifferent to income and has never bothered about wages in his own case. Precept and example differ in his championship of moneymindedness, the basic tenet of practically every trade union drive.

Great power has been built for labour organisations all the world over round the trade union banner. The biggest trade unions flourish in the U. S. A. All the strength that unity could give, was required to wrest for indigent labour a fair share of the enormous profits which at its expense industrialists made for themselves. Against the owners of a prosperous industry given to rapacity, the only means of salvation for the exploited employees lies in organisation on trade union lines. Where there is surplus wealth, trade unionism will extort it for its devotees. In the absence of surplus wealth, unless it lapses into inaction, it will break the industry itself, and leave its votaries nothing to fight for except life and living in another set-up elsewhere. The fighting power of trade unionism is well placed in environments where industrial undertakings have passed beyond uncertain and insecure stages and got established in strength and wealth on a lasting footing. When it is applied to weak industries, it will kill the industries and tend to stifle the enterprise and adventurousness necessary for economic expansion.

The Indian Press is in a weak and incipient stage despite the large number of papers that we have. It consists of a vast variety of units at different levels of prosperity. At the apex you find one or two dailies

impregably established in sound traditions, and run with qualified and contented staffs that are treated well and get on happily with their owners. In these offices there is no sustaining impetus for any sort of trade union activity. The next rung is occupied by newspapers that are really a branch of commerce. These are the wealthiest in the land as their close affiliations with industrial magnates ensure them an unfailing advertisement revenue. Their rates of remuneration fluctuate with the moods of the owners. Sometimes (and towards some) the owner acts stingily and with meanness, and on other occasions (and towards others) he conducts himself with lavish and astonishing generosity. Often the generosity is forgotten, and the meanness which stings, is alone remembered. The disparities that abound in newspapers of this kind, the favouritisms, the quixotic changes and counter-changes, the spies and the surveillance and the intrigues, fill them with the intensest misery, and life on the precincts is hellish, with a constant rebelliousness on the part of the less tamed or untamed sections of the staff against the crude and never-ending devices of money-power to turn to its purposes the advantages of newspaper-ownership. Here is a fertile field for trade unionism to do its worst, and if Sri Chalapathi Rau's leadership aspires to break the present vicious newspaper chains or drive out the merchants in disguise masquerading as leaders of the Press that now control them, even Sri Raghunatha Aiyar may not be averse to wish him the best of luck.

The largest part of the Indian Press consists of struggling papers unable to make both ends meet. It is not only the largest part, it is of great national and social significance. It is here that you will find genuine pictures of national life and needs, uncontaminated by the distortions and coercive pressures of vested interests. The largest body of working journalists in the country belong to this service. Economically their condition is precarious. But as the work they

do is the making of contemporary history, it has its compensations. In this work there is no high and low, and hardship is the common lot of owner and worker alike. The true spirit of the Press as a harbinger of national hopes lies in the small papers of bold initiative and uncorrupted outlook, but it is little that their service offers in terms of money. Most of them survive in defiance of every economic law, and their survival is due to the existence of journalists with loyalties unmeasured by money. Anyone who enters journalism with a

clock-watching temperament hoping to achieve privilege in restricted hours of work and overtime wages as factory workers do, will let himself in for painful disillusion and continual disappointment. This is a profession in which its strains are its very joys. Discomfort is rampant. Affluence comes but rarely. Merit lies in unpurchasability of judgment and conscience. The material outlook of the trade unionist is not consistent with the defiance of economic prudence which is the very badge of distinction of practitioners in journalism of the highest credit and calibre.—SAKA.

TECHNOLOGICAL RACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE WEST

Professor Arnold Toynbee, broadcasting last week on "The World and the West," said that the success of Communism, so far as it had gone, looked like a portent of things to come.

Russia was now put, through an autocratic ruler, through a forced march to catch up with a western technology that had shot ahead of hers. The result of this competition between Russia and the west was hidden in the future; but it was already clear that this technological race was another of the serious difficulties now besetting the relations between these two races.

TECHNOLOGY is, of course, only a long Greek name for a bag of tools; and we have to ask ourselves: What are the tools that count in this competition in the use of tools as means to power? All tools are not of the material kind; there are spiritual tools as well, and these are the most potent than man has made.

A creed, for instance, can be a tool; and, in the new round in the competition between Russia and the west that began in 1917, the Russians this time threw into their scale of balances a creed that weighed as heavily against their western competitors' material tools as, in the Roman story of the ransoming of Rome from the Gauls, the sword thrown in by Brennus weighed against the Roman gold.

Communism, then, is a weapon;

and, like bombs, aeroplanes, and guns, this is a weapon of western origin. If it had not been invented by a couple of nineteenth-century westerners, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who were brought up in the Rhineland and spent the best part of their working lives in London and in Manchester respectively, Communism could never have become Russia's official ideology.

There was nothing in the Russian tradition that could have led the Russians to invent Communism for themselves; and it is certain that they would never have dreamed of it if it had not been lying, ready-made, there in the west, for a revolutionary Russian regime to apply in Russia in 1917.

In the west, where Communism had arisen, this new creed was a heresy. It was a western criticism of the west's failure to live up to her own Christian principles in the economic and social life of this professedly Christian society; and a creed of western origin which was at the same time an indictment of western practice was just the spiritual weapon that an adversary of the west would like to pick up and turn against its makers.

Spiritual War

With this western spiritual weapon in her hands Russia could carry her war with the west into the enemy's country on the spiritual plane. Since Communism had originated as a product of uneasy western consciences, it could appeal to other uneasy western consciences when it was radiated back

into the western world by a Russian propaganda.

And so now, for the first time in the modern western world's history since the close of the seventeenth century, when the flow of western converts to Islam almost ceased, the west has again found itself threatened with spiritual disintegration from inside, as well as with an assault from outside. In thus threatening to undermine the western civilization's foundations on the west's own home ground, Communism has already proved itself a more effective anti-western weapon in Russian hands than any material weapon could ever be.

Communism has also served Russia as a weapon for bringing into the Russian camp the Chinese quarter of the human race, as well as other sections of that majority of mankind that is neither Russian nor western. We know that the outcome of the struggle to win the allegiance of these neutrals may be decisive for the out-

come of the Russo-western conflict as a whole, because this non-western and non-Russian majority of mankind may prove to hold the casting vote in a competition between Russia and the west for world power.

Appeal To All Men

Discontented Asians, however, are not the only public for whom Communism has an appeal. Communism also has an appeal for all men, since it can claim to offer mankind the unity which is our only alternative to self-destruction in an atomic age.

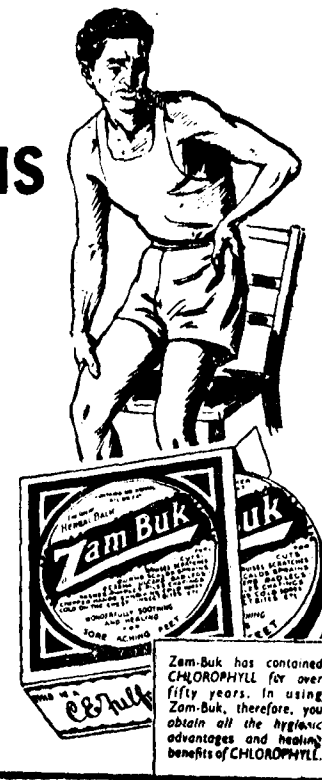
In the encounter between Russia and the west the spiritual initiative, though not the technological lead, has now passed, at any rate for the moment, from the western to the Russian side. We westerners cannot afford to resign ourselves to this, because this western heresy—Communism—which the Russians have taken up seems to the great majority of people in the west to be a perverse, misguided, and disastrous doctrine and way of life.

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ON ATTENDING A TEST MATCH

By N. S. R.

TEST matches have been described by a misanthrope as the fever of cricket. No one in Madras who expects to attend the forthcoming representative fixture between India and Pakistan will be found to agree with this exaggerated condemnation. Superior critics know nothing of the pleasurable excitement which the advent of a Test match arouses in students of the game. However, it is a fact that so many arduous preliminaries have to be fulfilled before one can find oneself seated on the stands that one may well despair of achieving that ambition.

He who would aspire to witness the forthcoming match must combine in himself the intrepidity of Prince Rupert, the patience of Job and the bravery of King Richard. Several acute problems present themselves before him, which must be surmounted with infinite tact and perseverance. It shall be the endeavour of this guide to specify some of them.

The most prominent of these is the acquisition of a ticket of admittance. The flesh shall be mortified and the spirit excoriated before this is gained. The sight of thousands ranged one behind another in a huge winding column, which takes its origin on Walajah Road and which concludes at a distant part of Bell's Road, even before the sun appears above the Board of Revenue buildings is a truly pathetic one. The emotions of suspense and anxiety pictured on the faces of these faithful must melt the heart of a stone. Where one of them attempts to be cheerful, it is forced and facetious gaiety. Those who occupy the middle portions of the queue are consumed by anxiety lest the supply of tickets should give out before they are enabled, panting, dishevelled and breathless, to present themselves before the box-office. The most potent argument for the continuance of cricket in India is the frantic supporter, who, despite having made superhuman exertions, finds himself only in the middle of an everlasting queue, and who nevertheless subsists in the hope that he will be

enabled to gain admittance into the ground.

The next problem that presents itself is the necessity to obtain leave from one's work. It is a common feature that mortality among grandparents is alarmingly high when a Test match is to be played, though nothing can be more admirable than the constancy with which these relatives serve the turn year after year. Luckily, however, there are indications that many employers look but coldly upon natural piety in such distressing cases; some have even been known to question the fact of convenient death. However this may be, the necessity of overcoming these scruples cannot be overestimated.

It is unfortunate that the officials of the Madras Cricket Association have this year failed to publish a diagram of the dispositions of the stands at Chepauk. In former years this used to be studied with the intensity with which sketches of the battle of Waterloo (I note that these engaging diagrams do not make their appearance in modern books of history) are examined in military academies. They served the purpose of inducing a martial spirit in the spectators, who were entitled to regard themselves in the light of those who were going to the wars. It is to be hoped that this grievous omission will be repaired speedily.

The obligations demanded of the spectator by no means end here. At least in the case of some, whom the unsympathetic would consider to be fops but who are quite willing to regard themselves as mirrors of fashion and leaders of the community, grave thought must be bestowed on dress. Nothing can be more obvious than that so august an occasion as a Test match demands of the scrupulous a nice regard for one's appearance. The chief object should be to startle the staid and the conservative. Consequently, violence in colour must be affected. What can be more becoming than (one offers this suggestion in full humility of complete ignorance) a pair of blue coloured trousers, a

Truman "bush shirt", which should sport the colours of the rainbow and all the figures of the zodiac, the entire ensemble crowned by a vivid yellow kerchief tied around the head? It is only natural that the acquisition of these articles of dress should take some care.

The problem of food which is to be consumed during lunch and tea deserves equal care. But, success in this part of preparations accrues naturally to most spectators.

The procurement of a ticket of admittance and leave of absence from work, the possession of a well-filled luncheon basket, and the wearing of as glittering a dress as possible; these are some of the preliminaries which must be satisfied before one can watch in contentment Amarnath and Kardar walking upto the wicket to toss for the choice of innings. These may appear arduous, but there is none who will not willingly undergo tribulation to achieve them.

FUTURE OF CITY CRICKET

By P. N. S.

"IN our days we would have hooked such a ball promptly," said a 45-year-old cricketer watching play in a city match a few days ago. "I think the standard of play has gone down considerably."

Was it mere wistful thinking about his 'good old days' on the part of the veteran, or is the game really in a sad state today?

Looking over the horizon of cricket in the city, it is difficult to pick out players who dominate the game in a manner that would lend character to it by their presence. Barring Gopalan, all have oiled their bats and handed them over to the future. And Gopalan is old and past his best, though he still holds a big say in the course the game takes on the field.

On the other hand, the horizon is studded with more 'flannelled fools' than ever before. It only needs a trip round the city on a Sunday or a holiday to convince one of this fact. There is little doubt that the game has taken deep roots in the country.

But numbers do not mean quality. That the standard of play has gone down very much is a criticism that one has to admit, however reluctantly. It is doubtful how many of the present-day bowlers would have been able to pierce through the defences of A. V. Krishnaswami or A. G. Ram Singh, to name two of the topnotchers of a decade ago. It is equally doubtful whether many of the batsmen would have countered the spin of Ram Singh or G. P., or the speed of

Gopalan. Nor is there one who can hold a candle to the brilliance of S. V. T. Chari behind the stumps.

The reasons for the decline in standards can be laid at many doors. In the first place the youth of today lack examples to copy from. When Gopalan, G. P., A. V. Krishnaswami and Ram Singh were young, stalwarts occupied the field. The Buchi Babu brothers, Bhatt, Baliah and Ramu, B. Subramaniam, C. R. Ganapathi, C. P. Johnstone, H. P. Ward, R. D. Denniston, to name only a few, were heroes that one tried to emulate and in the effort elevated one's own progress. Scan the field today—only Gopalan is there.

The strength of the game a decade ago was the cause of its present-day decline. Apart from the paucity of representative cricket when compared to present times, it was extremely difficult for an up and coming player to find a place in it. Barring one or two places, the teams automatically selected themselves. And as long as these players carried on the struggle, Madras was strong and colourful. Nobody thought of the morrow. Then the time came when the rank and file dropped out from the game for various reasons and a sudden vacuum was created which the Madras Cricket Association is still trying to fill adequately.

The Association must have thought for the future and spent its energies in building up a team instead of merely carrying on things in compla-

cent hope that all will be well. Many youthful cricketers, who were playing then and who would have carried on the tradition with strength and honour, were allowed to waste away their talents for lack of opportunities.

This deterioration in standards is agitating the minds of many, and suggestions have been put forward for improving them. 'Abolish the present League tournament and have a competition on zonal basis' is the cry that has been emanating from some quarters. This is nothing but a cry born of frustration and does not touch the fundamentals. If the same League competition gave the city men of calibre a decade ago, it is unreasonable to lay at its doors the responsibility for the poor standard today. The zonal pattern may be more competitive and may provide more concentrated cricket but it is doubtful whether, considered from all aspects, it can ever replace the League competition.

M. C. A.'s Obligations

The Madras Cricket Association, which is fed year after year with public money, has the primary duty of providing facilities to learn the game to the maximum number who can take to it. Cricket has always been a costly game and today the prices of cricket materials are so high that one is inclined to consider whether a poor country can do anything in this game. The Association is expected to see that cricket does not remain a rich man's game and the League system, which has been in vogue for nearly a quarter of a century has done something in this direction.

If the League system is abolished, many of the clubs will have to wind up their activities, as the cost of procuring playing fields—if available—running the matches, etc., will get beyond their means, and any move that will kill the clubs must be seriously resisted as contrary to the objects of the Association, which is only a combination of such clubs.

The purpose of emphasising the imperative need to raise the standard is not to decry or urge abolition of the League competition but to point out that facilities for practice for members of the Association must be adequate. Avowedly the B. Subramaniam Nets were started so that the various clubs could have practice.

The speeches made at the inauguration of the Nets mentioned this laudable object in unmistakable terms. But the Nets have become the privilege of a favoured few chosen under the so-called coaching scheme. How many of these chosen few utilised or utilise the opportunities specially afforded to them? Meanwhile, scores of others who would like to improve their game are denied the opportunity. It is true the Association has opened a system of admitting such unfortunates to the facilities of the Nets on payment of a fee, but this comes only after the coaching scheme, while the reverse should be the case.

The Nets should be thrown open to the clubs, who can be asked to bring their own kit, including balls. And if a fee is necessary—the legality of the question apart—the clubs can be asked to pay a nominal amount. There is no doubt that most of the clubs in the city would take advantage of the opportunity to get together for practice, which they are denied for no fault of theirs. Only after the Association is able to provide this should it turn to the coaching scheme.

Zonal Clubs

The proponents of the zonal clubs, instead of attempting to destroy the League competition, can consider a proposal. If they are able to get over the organisational difficulties, the zonal club of any division can be made a club of clubs and can relieve the parent body by taking over the organising of net practice; and if a zonal club is able to gather funds, as some of the proponents loudly proclaim, the Association will be only too happy to get rid of some of its financial responsibilities.

The coaching scheme also needs drastic changes. It should be confined only to boys of schoolgoing age, who alone can be moulded by instruction. It would also prevent waste of valuable energy of the coaches which is otherwise spent on players whose game has already become rigid. Another important factor is that the selection of the boys for the scheme must be handed over to an experienced cricketer. Any and every gentleman, simply because he happens to be an official or has pull with the Association should not be entrusted with this vital part of the scheme.

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.

Is India Building 'Potemkin Villages'?

The attention of the U.P. Government has been drawn to an article published in the *SWATANTRA*, dated September 6, 1952, under the caption "Is India building 'Potemkin Villages'?", penned by Sri Andrew Roth, apparently at the instance of Sri Paul Telco, formerly Light Industries Adviser to the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

Lest there should be any misunderstanding on the part of the readers, this statement seeks merely to focus attention on the real facts in regard to the allegations made in the article.

The Government Precision Instruments Factory, Lucknow, and the Government Cement Factory Project, Mirzapur, figure prominently in the article. It is a sad thought that the State Government's pioneering work in the sphere of nation-building activities should be described in the manner it has been and without any basis whatsoever.

At a time when private capital was shy and the need of conserving foreign exchange greater than ever before, the State Government started a Precision Instruments Factory in Lucknow and called out a team of German experts from Switzerland towards the end of 1949. The factory was set up in the premises of Government Technical Institute for a capital outlay of about a million rupees only and was equipped with the necessary machinery to manufacture water-meters and like instruments. Within a year, the factory started producing water-meters which are in great demand not only in this Pradesh but throughout India and have been imported in the past in large numbers from foreign countries.

The need of water-meters in any scheme of urban development is only too obvious. After the factory had been properly erected and production started, the services of most of the foreign technicians were dispensed with and Indian engineers were employed with a view to completing Indianization gradually. The factory is now producing water-meters on a sizable scale and the products of this factory are in demand not only in this Pradesh but throughout the country. The Central Government have also entered into a rate-contract with the factory for the supply of water-meters. It is altogether incorrect to say that the Government have advanced loans to local municipalities for the purchase of water-meters manufactured at this factory. No such loans have been advanced. The meters

have been tested by the Central Government Test House at Alipore and found to be in accordance with the prescribed specifications. There is no doubt that in the beginning production was slow and more or less experimental, but this is not unusual with new industries. There is no other factory throughout India which manufactures water-meters and the Government Precision Instruments Factory is the first of its kind. Besides water-meters, the factory is producing microscopes on a small scale and has also assembled cheap battery radio sets for use in the villages. The factory has provided an avenue not only for employment of labour but also for training to the workmen.

The Cement Factory Project was similarly started a few years ago when cement was in acute shortage. There is no cement factory in the whole of this Pradesh and it has to depend, for its requirements, upon cement imported from other States. Cement is required in large quantities not only by the public generally but also by the Government for its various nation-building projects. Housing (including labour housing) has since the last war continued to be a great problem and both the consumption of, and demand for, cement have been ever-increasing. Rich in raw material reserves, this Pradesh could push up cement production considerably only if the reserves were exploited. There is a 80-mile long limestone belt in the Kaimur Range, south of this Pradesh, crying for use since ages. At a time when private capital was shy and cement in short supply, the Government took upon its shoulders the task of building up a cement factory based on the Rohtas Limestone deposits found in the Mirzapur district and which were ideally suitable for cement manufacture. Orders for plant were placed in 1949 and the project was pushed up with due speed. There was, however, a temporary hold-up owing to the death of the Consulting Engineer, who had been employed by the Government in connection with this project. The project is, however, again gaining in speed and progressing satisfactorily now.

It is absolutely incorrect to say that the site of the cement factory has been selected "on the wrong side of the Ganges" and without any provision for railway connexion. The site selected is north of river Sone, near Robertsganj, which is being connected by rail with Chunar on the main line. The railway is

already under construction. The site lies at a distance of about two miles from the limestone deposits as the crow flies. An aerial rope-way is being erected to connect the quarries with the factory. This is nothing unusual with cement factories. The factory will produce 700 tons of Portland cement per day and this capacity can be doubled at a comparatively small further capital investment. The factory will go a long way in solving the problem of cement shortage. Already civil engineering work is nearing completion and the plant is under erection. The factory is expected to be delivering cement at competitive rates about the middle of 1954.

It is wrong to say that Government has already spent 40 million rupees on this project. Expenditure incurred so far is of the order of 27 million rupees. The factory, when complete in all respects, may cost 40 million against an annual out-put of 2.5 lakh tons of Portland cement. In its trail, the factory will open up and develop an area which is amongst the most backward areas in this Pradesh. Cut away from the rest of the world, the southern pocket of the Mirzapur district contained virgin natural resources and raw materials waiting for the touch of human land. The tract being hilly, scope for agriculture is limited and means of employment, education and medical facilities are not available to the residents. The factory will provide not only a means of employment but also facilitate housing, education and medical attention and will of course also tap and make good use of the available resources. The development of backward areas is amongst the foremost responsibilities of a peoples' Government and the present Government would have failed in their duty had they not planned for the exploitation of the available raw materials.

A reference has been made in the article, to the Rayon Project, Naini. There is no doubt that the project, after a further and a more detailed examination by Government, was abandoned after some preliminary work costing two to three lakhs of rupees in preference to the Cement Project and the Precision Instruments Factory, which claimed prior attention from the limited financial resources of the State Government.

The Government U. P. Handicraft also figures in the article. It is painful to see that a useful institution which affords means to the innumerable cottage workers in this Pradesh for the standardization and marketing of their products has been so described. Uttar Pradesh is famous for its cottage industries and the U. P. Handicraft is a living symbol of these industries. The allegations that articles are purchased from merchants rather than from cottage workers and that ac-

counts are not kept properly, etc., are all unfounded.

As for the journal, *The Cottage Workers*, started by the former Light Industries Adviser, there is no doubt that the journal was not continued beyond its first issue. It was, however, discontinued not on the question of editorship but because the usefulness of a publication in English for the benefit of the non-English-knowing cottage worker was obviously questionable. Moreover, the Government had, as a general rule, decided that no individual department would have its separate publicity organ. Other allegations of a general nature against the Government do not need any comment except that like the above they also are without any truth behind them.

It is hoped that the facts mentioned would clearly show that the accusations made in the article against the U. P. Government are not only incorrect but altogether unfounded. It is not our intention to enter into any controversy. The purpose of this narrative would be served if the readers have before them a true picture of the exact position.

A. D. PANDE,
Secretary to U. P. Government,
Lucknow.

Planning To Avoid Waste

No one can correctly estimate the total amount of money wasted by the Congress administration on unproductive schemes during the past 5 years. Unimportant schemes were pursued at the cost of comparatively more important ones. Beneficial schemes have been hanging fire owing to lack of the wherewithal for their completion. Planning is essential for progress, and Pandit Nehru is evincing great interest in the work of the Planning Commission. Planning assists the Government to take a proper perspective of the various and varied needs of the people and to regulate expenditure to suit the needs according to priority. The Planning Commission is in for a good deal of hard and steadfast thinking with mostly insufficient data to aid them. Sir William Beveridge writes, "Planning under democracy is planning under difficulties. The democratic set up limits the scope of advantageous planning."

The Planning Commission has not yet concluded its deliberations, but let us hope that its final recommendations will help restore order out of the existing chaos in the country's economy. If their recommendations represent a proper appraisal of the needs of the people, and if Nehru succeeds in bringing order and efficiency to a proliferated bureaucracy, he would have set the country on the road to progress and prosperity.

P. N. SAMPATH.

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K. S. VAIDYANATHAN,
Assistant Secretary.

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ON THE COVER: Dame Leslie Whateley, World Director of Girl Guides, who visited the City recently.—Photo By R. Krishnan.

SWATANTRA

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1952

ISSUED
WEEKLY

COMMONWEALTH ECONOMY

THE Commonwealth Economic Conference now being held in London is unlike previous conferences with a similar title. It illustrates how the conflict of interests that used to impede co-operation between the Commonwealth countries, has been rendered ineffective by the march of events. Till recently, as a result of the huge sterling balances piled up in the war there was a debtor-creditor relationship between the United Kingdom and most of the other members of the Commonwealth. The strains of such a relationship were not compatible with the pursuit of common policies in economic matters. But the sterling debts have been brought down greatly of late, and the present position is that no Commonwealth country has more sterling than it needs. The old cleavages of interest are no longer there to provoke distrust. It is being realised that there is enough of common interest between the different units of the Commonwealth to make economic collaboration in the service of common objectives desirable and profitable to all.

Another old cause of distrust was inequality in political status between the different Commonwealth countries. The influence of London was so paramount that no component unit could hope to pull its full weight in any common conference. In cases where imperial control was combined with political influence, lack of enthusiasm for participation in joint consultations was turned into positive distrust and hostility. Prior to independence, India, for example, was counted as a separate unit in every Commonwealth conference, but the Indian representative was a nominee

of the British Government and it was always the will of London that spoke through his voice. Often the voice of India was an echo of imperial interests diametrically opposed to the country's own needs. There was a conflict of interests between the industrialised countries and the underdeveloped countries in the Commonwealth, and for a long time political power was employed as a lever to the detriment of the latter.

The war, however, disturbed the old equilibrium of political and economic power in the Commonwealth, and outside. In the war some of the less industrialised countries changed their outlook, and the more industrialised countries discovered to their cost how helpless their economies were on account of dependence on external sources for primary products. The United Kingdom realised that the development of primary products could also be made to pay handsomely, and on the other hand that no country could be coerced to concern itself exclusively with primary production to feed the economy of more industrially developed units of the Commonwealth.

Tutored by the lessons of experience, the present Commonwealth Conference is expected to abandon the old ideas of siege-economy and national self-sufficiency and to strive for solvency by means of increased wealth and freedom for development and equipment all through the Commonwealth. The release from old political and economic bondage of Asian countries like India and Pakistan is an auspicious factor contributing to its success. The reign of terrorism let loose in the African region of the

Commonwealth is a menace to its utility that will tax heavily the statesmanship represented on it. By relinquishing power in a part of its area, the British Government have created a harmonious atmosphere for the Commonwealth Conference, but by tightening the strangle-hold over another part, they are imperilling its cohesive power and capacity to survive. Recently liberated units of the Commonwealth like India cannot look on indifferently while administration is reduced to inhuman cruelty and barbarism in Kenya and other regions. They have to act within the Commonwealth as a force for liberalising its still uncivilised elements indulging in exploitation and misrule.

P. T. I.-Reuter Partnership

IN his New Delhi Diary printed on another page of this issue Sri V. V. Prasad pleads for termination of the Press Trust of India's partnership with Reuters. He says that "a country cannot be really independent unless it has an independent national news agency." This is a seemingly spirited statement that rings true, but

on closer examination it will be found to be not so axiomatic as it sounds. In the collection of news there is generally a limit to the independence of the collector. News collection is eternally handicapped by dependence on circumstances that are not ordinarily determined or affected by the character of the journalist bent on it. On account of the world-wide extent of the domain covered by news, dependence on external factors is inevitable in the process of gathering it, and it will not do to assume a too heroic pose of independence about it. Without some measure of co-operation with agents outside the country, foreign news cannot be collected at all. The bulk purchase of foreign news from foreign agencies which is the outermost limit at present of the ambitions of the would-be breakers of the Reuter partnership, is a pitiable perversion of the grand concept of independence. There is no spirit of independence revealed in dreading partnership as a sign of subordination. In enterprises of international sweep, our lot will be eventual helplessness and miserable inefficiency if we mistake co-operation with others in common work as dependence.

Sotto Voce

SHARPS AND FLATS

THE Madras Municipal Corporation confesses to levying taxes almost at the maximum limits prescribed. And these limits are as high as in any other big city. On the sacred principle of "soaking the rich," house-owners are made to pay through the nose. Most of them (if you except the slum landlords), who let their houses in whole or in part, are pro-

bably poorer than those who occupy them. The few who can indulge the luxury of living in houses of their own are made to realise soon enough that taxes and amenities have little relation to each other.

There are whole areas in Mylapore, for instance, where municipal water is as ghostly a visitant as the sacred



Ganga in our southern *tirthas*. You can see it only with the eye of faith. But Gandhinagar, the latest efflorescence of suburbia, gets a copious and constant flow in spite of its being at least a couple of miles farther off the source of supply. There may be engineering difficulties which I, a mere ignoramus, cannot be expected to understand. But when the Corporation was already so woefully inadequate to its responsibilities, what was the point in adding to its empire?

The result is oedema. For years I have been fascinated by the struggle for a precious potful of water that goes on at all hours between the worthy rate-payers of a Kodambakkam extension and the slum dwellers of the neighbourhood, at the municipal tap located on the City side of the railway level crossing. It is an unequal contest; for apart from the superior lung-power and the total freedom from inhibitions that characterise the "daughters of the soil", they are virtuously conscious of their rights. In remarkably picturesque language they denounce the shrinking dames of Taylor's Estate as shameless interlopers. But, alas for the ladies, even self-respect must retreat before the alternative of having to scoop water in handfuls from the mud-pools miscalled wells in the backyards of their own bungalows with their overpowering flavour of immemorial tanneries.

Kodambakkam has risen in status, being no longer a satellite of slatternly Saidapet. Though the only tangible gain so far is the dubious privilege of high rates, hope is never purchased at too high a price. But is it seriously expected that Greater Madras will one day be like Greater London? Are we as a people cut out for the life of conurbations? Even if Madras should become another Bombay, should we like it? He who has seen the drawn faces and unhappy looks of the bourgeois bus queue and the drilled mill population of that city will have no hesitation about the answer.

Nature has streamlined Bombay and Victorian industrialism has marked the Island for its own. Like black ants on the march serried columns of wage-earners flow in from as far as

sixty miles away in the morning and in the evening flow back; it inevitably reminds you of the high tide and the low tide in the Back Bay. And, talking of the Bay, the Reclamation scheme was a miracle of technical efficiency. But to my mind it has been a social disaster. When fifteen years ago I first saw it I thought there was some prospect at last of their being able to provide a lung for that over-wrought city something more than that little patch, no bigger than a man's hand, which is called Chaupatty Sands. Today a formidable array of sky-scrappers lowers over the entire length of Marine Drive.

I am unable to decide who is the more to be pitied—the new flat-dweller or the old chawl-dweller. There may have been millionaires among those whom I saw bathing on the shelving beach in the early morning, but I doubt it. Most assuredly the robust youth who was raply engaged in Yoga Asanas on the embankment had nothing in common with the harassed men and women who pay Rs. 150 for a couple of rooms and have to perform the most private operations in the sight of their neighbours in misery across the canyon-like dividing alley. And I have a suspicion that the stuffy gentility of Malabar Hill does not improve on closer acquaintance.

Seen from that eminence Bombay is a vast wilderness of brick and mortar, steel and concrete. But get on top of any tall building in Madras and you will see that, for all the vandalism of the speculator and the jerry-builder, this gracious city is almost hidden in a mass of green foliage. Town planners talk yearningly of green belts. Why don't we preserve those we have, which invest the city with a nostalgic rural charm? If the two railway systems were electrified to a distance of fifty miles, if we had arterial roads as spacious and well-laid as those of Hyderabad and if a sane policy of dispersal of industries were put through, we should be plagued neither by ribbon-building nor by slums. And we might then see the beginnings of a true community life.

VIGNESWARA.

SIDELIGHTS :

THE interpellations in the Madras Assembly on the Khosla Committee Report and the answers to them given from the Government benches, provide interesting testimony on the sovereignty of the legislature in the State. Sri Tenneti Viswanadham asked when the Report was communicated to the Madras Government and whether the Technical Committee which made the Report had called it interim and tentative. These particulars, being of a highly complicated nature, could not of course be furnished straightaway! They called for special study and extra time for consideration. The Minister concerned therefore asked for notice to answer the questions.

At this stage Sri Rajagopalachari intervened. He reduced to nothing the reply of the Minister just given that he wanted notice to answer the questions, by proceeding to answer them without the notice demanded. When Sri Omandur was Chief Minister, his attendance at sessions of the legislature was of rare occurrence. Sri Kumaraswami Raja was present more frequently but his speeches were reserved for the public outside the legislature. He spoke little at question time. Other Ministers deputised for him when interpellations connected with his departments came up for reply. Intentionally or otherwise these two Chief Ministers effaced themselves on the floor of the House and thereby conferred on the Ministers a multiplied prominence. It was well known that Sri Omandur was given to rough handling of his Cabinet colleagues and did not spare them or mince words with them when he felt the occasion demanded it. But his rebukes were not administered in public.

It has been given to Sri Rajagopalachari to make a public exhibition of his Ministers as absolute non-entities. His interferences have become so incessant that nobody nowadays looks up to any Minister to have anything to say. They stand before the legislature paralysed, bereft of initiative. Always the Chief Minister gets up,

anticipating this one or that one among the Ministers, preventing him from thinking or judging, as much as to say that it is he and he alone that counts and none other. The oppressive weight of this demeanour of his, has squeezed out of the Ministers all intelligent interest, and when occasionally they are permitted to speak, their contributions to the proceedings are flat, lifeless and incoherent. It is not pleasant for any lover of human dignity to watch the vigilance with which the Chief Minister seems to delight in humiliating the other Ministers, hurting their sense of importance to the core.

This offensive exhilaration has in a short while gained such swift momentum that it has become a second nature, and he seems to be incapable of shaking it off. One effect of it is the blunting of his habitual cleverness to an unbelievable degree. He said, for example, that the Planning Commission had sent the Khosla Committee Report to the Madras Government, "with a semi-official letter stating that this so-called Report was being sent for further examination." Why so-called? Whoever raised any doubt about the propriety of the Report being called by that name? Is it to the Planning Commission, or to the Chief Minister himself, that we owe the suggestion of defective title for the Report to be so called? Either way, the play of a mind somewhat out of balance somewhere is indicated.

Worse still was to follow. This so-called Report, the Chief Minister has not even seen yet. "I may tell the member that I have not yet seen the Report," he told the Leader of the Opposition. The degree of credence with which this disclosure was received, was revealed in Sri Viswanadham's next question: "Has the Minister for Public Works seen the Report, physically touched it, or read it or at least the title page of it?" The response in belief that one's statements evoke is the stuff of which reputation is made. Whatever the emphasis in words nobody believes the Chief Minister's

statement that he has not seen the Khosla Report.

Another high folly of the moment is the Chief Minister's imposition on the Corporation of his fantastic notions on slum treatment. Hitherto the accepted view on slums has been that they should be cleared and destroyed. The Chief Minister now butts in with the theory that they should not be destroyed but beautified! The worst of a slum is shortage of space with hovels telescoping one into another. They cannot be beautified without more space around, and more space cannot be had without clearance and destruction. Slum-beautification is a contradiction in terms that makes no sense to the realities of the problem concerned. The slums are plague spots imperilling civic safety with the impetus to disease they provide through overcrowding, and it is a lunatic conception that they can be made charming. Nothing can justify the perpetuation of the ugliness on the Marina which the City owes to the Chief Minister.

In *Peda Rytu* Kannamba reaches a

superb level of acting. The stars of the West do not indulge in gesticulation to indicate intense emotion. They speak through the eyes. Their control over facial expression is extraordinary. This can be said of Kannamba also. The story in the earlier part moves rather slow, but towards the end it gathers tempo quickly and abounds in a succession of dramatic situations. It is then that Kannamba is at her best. Shafts of lightning seem to dart from her eyes, and terrible is her look when moved to fury. The words become secondary, there is stillness and no movement, the facial expression is all in all. This is the type of acting that should replace the prodigious rotation of hips and breasts that pass so conspicuously for an excited condition over so large a part of the Indian screen. Anjali Devi's patriotic songs towards the close of the story are thrilling. Lingamurthi as Giresam is consummate and plays the part of the sophisticated villain to perfection. Sri Ramamurthi as Prasad seems to be a new find and holds out high promise for the future.—SAKA.



Letter From London

IN SEARCH OF JERUSALEM

By SANTHA RUNGACHARY

I have always been fascinated by the people who look at a painting in an art gallery with narrowed eyes and then move back a pace and murmur: *Hellenistic, isn't it, with a touch of the classical Egyptian, perhaps.* Or, who exclaim in pained accents: *This is a departure, he has changed, I feel it. But impressionism is just a phase, isn't it?* But alas, poor me, the most I have been able to muster up in appreciation is: *It does look rather nice, doesn't it?* Or, as has been more and more often the case in recent times: *I don't quite understand it, do you?* All of which is most unsatisfying. I once resorted to the desperate measure of putting together all the comments and exclamations made by these Bright Young People at an art exhibition I had been asked to comment on, with the appropriate and requisite number of conjunctions and prepositions and submitted it to my editor as a review. He read it and said: *This smells like somebody else's water closet*, and tore it up.

The miserable fact, let me admit it, is that I am neither an artist nor an art connoisseur nor that sublime godhead, an art critic. I cannot to save my neck distinguish a Cezanne from a Matisse or a Donatello from a Rodin. Michael Angelo? Wait. Wasn't that the man who made Venus de Milo, the one with the broken arms?

And yet I have recognized a masterpiece—not through knowledge, nor by experienced judgment nor after deep contemplation. I merely looked at it with the eyes of a very lay person and knew with that instinct with which the most unlettered among us recognise a Shakespeare or a Kallidasa. You can't escape such a realization anymore than you can escape the wind of heaven touching your cheek.

I saw a collection of Epstein's works the other day in the Tate Gallery with a couple of school-teacher friends. We went round the collection feeling rather at a loss because

there were no marginal notes in the catalogue which could have guided us and hoping nobody would notice how superficial our attention was. And then suddenly we came upon it—*Genesis* in white marble. You might have heard of it. It is quite twenty years old. *How awful*, said one of my friends. *I think I understand now*, said the other, much in the same manner that an earlier scientist said *Eureka*. *Epstein belongs to the Obsessional School. Did you notice the number of studies of pregnancy in the collection? And now this!* Evidently she considered he had carried the obsession too far. This was a larger than life-size figure of a naked woman in the last stages of pregnancy. A woman incredibly ugly. But a piece of statuary incredibly beautiful. And anatomically perfect. The impact of it even on the sight was like a blow. The shock of an unfamiliar recognition set me wandering round the collection again rather in a daze and, incredible as it may seem, the mass of stony heads and bodies resolved themselves into shapes and sizes, some impressive, some merely intriguing but all animated by a spirit which certainly had not been inherent in the stone. There was a certain brutality in the execution and the rough surface finish drained all the gentleness from the faces. But the impression was of a deliberate deprivation, as if the artist had no patience with or sympathy for the gentler virtues. The portraits in bronze with the light playing shadows on the deep, gaunt faces were vibrant as if ready at a mere touch to spring to life out of the stone but there was no humanity in them. Somerset Maugham without his warmth and deep understanding of human nature, Nehru without his devastating charm, Tagore without his susceptibilities. This perambulation inevitably brought me back to the *Genesis* with its huge, uncouth body, its monstrous head and its square-nailed fingers. There was about it an irresistibility as if the

most inartistic of us must perceive the truth of it. In a book published years ago of his conversations with a man named Haskell, Epstein had said of *Genesis*: *I mean to express by this work the feeling of In The Beginning, the commencement of things.* But it is not just an idea turned into stone, not the mere fact of generation brought out in marble. The man who shaped that stone was not merely a sculptor, he was a doctor, a philosopher, a psychologist, even a mathematician. You could see the undulations of the bloated belly as if were you to lay your hand on it the child would move, its whole effect of being weighted down suggested with such consummate enchantment by the drawn-down, mongoloid face, the incurving line of the back, the fatigue of the long, thin arms and the heaviness of the huge thighs. The impression was of burden but the pose was of perfect poise. Its awkwardness mocked you but the very mockery was a challenge. It was an experience merely to look at it. *Nothing*, Oscar Wilde has said flippantly, succeeds like excess. *Genesis* embodies a debauch of passion and emotion which mingling by a strange alchemy turned this graceless creature into a thing of beauty.

I wandered round again. And now I noticed the child studies full of a palpable innocence, the solidity of even his few abstract studies, the towering winged Lucifer, not Evil Incarnate but the Angel Fallen bearing upon his shoulders all the ancient sadness of man. You noticed little touches and wondered what the artist meant, you saw vaguely the men behind the portraits, you even imagined you could see where the sculptor missed his mark. In whatever way you react to the art of Jacob Epstein you are aware all the time of its disturbing quality, its purposeful challenge. You may like him or you may not but you cannot ignore him.

From Epstein to Barbara Hepworth seemed an inevitable pilgrimage. So I made it. And found myself in the Lefevre Gallery surrounded by shapes and forms the incomprehensibility of which made me wonder if by mistake I had come to the wrong place. Their workmanship certainly had a smooth,

thin facility but if they had all been jumbled together in a corner and I had been asked to assist in setting them up in their proper places, believe me, I could not have guessed which was the head and which the feet. The medium was incomparably beautiful, glistening marble, limestone, wood and alabaster but what did they mean, these inward and outward curves, the smooth convolutions, the strings, the holes? The catalogue said *Young Girl* and I found myself looking at a thin, long strip of the smoothest wood with an eye and a nose right at the top of it and an elongated hole in the middle. Where was the girl and where was her youth? Was it her spirit peeping out of the wood? There were the artist's drawings which perhaps, I thought, revealed more than they should. You came upon a rounded hip or a delicious curve of cheek so sensuous and delightful Renoir might have drawn it but you perceive instantly the artist withdrawing into herself and as if in expiation for the sin of disclosure, drawing a crude, inelegant, smudged, incoherent, contourless, straight figure beside it. Which is the genuine impulse, you wonder, in this miasma of self-deception and frustration and escape? Barbara Hepworth is acknowledged the greatest British woman sculptor of the day and her work was chosen to represent British art at the Venice Biennale Exhibition last year. She is the high Priestess of the Art Abstract.

I have no doubt it is abstract and I am willing to accept it as art but what I want to know is—is it necessary? Its interest, as I see it, is more for the psychologist than for the artist. Like the literature of the present time, the novels full of incomplete sentences, the plays with ideas but without the unities. Brilliant, provocative, capable of giving the most intense pleasure for the moment. But not great. There must be something else. But if our grandchildren's grandchildren dug up the art and the literature of today as relics they would be able to reconstruct our time. For, though not orthodox, it is inevitable like all art of all time. We produce what we are. The Greece of the fifth century with its emphasis on physical perfection, its city states, its

peace, its Olympian games, its unbounded religious tolerance, its good living produced Phidias and Polyclitus and others who have handed down to posterity *Zeus*, *Hera* and the *Atheneum*. With political disintegration came individualism, came the Hetaerae, or the institution of the 'female friends' of married men. Praxiteles created his *Eros* which, it is believed, is still preserved in the Vatican. Lysippus romanticised Alexander, a treatment which would have been unforgivable hundred years before. The Italian Renaissance produced Ghiberti, Donatello, Michael Angelo. This century has produced Rodin in France and the Russo-Polish Jew, Jacob Epstein. It has produced the Surrealists, the Cubists, the Impressionists, the Futurists, the Abstractionists. The inference is there to be drawn. The age produces the man. The artist reflects the age but he only is truly great who rises above the age and reflects all time. The Italy of the 15th century produced many other artists who were more popular than Donatello was but in the final distillation of time he stayed while the others went under.

It only brings us to one of those controversial conclusions that there is such a thing as absolute art. The man who achieves that, like Michael Angelo and Shakespeare, goes through time like a flame which all generations in all climes cannot but recognise. Lesser artists go as far as their approximation to the absolute. A work of art may be exquisite but not absolute. *Genesis* achieves this perfection. So does Salvador Dali's painting of the *Crucifixion*.

But not all of Epstein's sculpture. Nor, it seems to me, any of Barbara Hepworth's. I am sure the latter will be studied by students of art rather in the manner of the skeleton being studied by students of medicine. It belongs to the laboratory, to the classroom. It is an experiment, a road to something, but not the destination.

Nor will the literature of the present day endure except as symptomatic of the faithlessness of our age. The artist mirrors the age but it is the age which feeds the artist and what sustenance have we to offer except our machines, our doubts, our fears, our disillusionments, our neu-

roses, our irreverences. America of this era cannot produce great art. Brilliant art perhaps but not enduring. It cannot even gracefully bear a Paul Robeson. Art and Life, I think, have come to the parting of the ways. The result is a Barbara Hepworth and in another sense, an Epstein. Gauguin went to Tahiti. Barbara Hepworth goes inward in an attempt to avoid life, in the pursuit of something she is unable to find outside and produces little blocks of abstraction, so cold, so impersonal, so mute and is bound to reduce herself to an artistic zero like all sophisticates of escapist cults. Epstein, on the other hand, goes backward whittling away from his subjects all that to him seems the encrustation which the age has laid on the souls of men. And deprives them of their humanity.

But in *Genesis* he goes back to the first Man, to the beginning of things. It is elemental, an epic in marble. There is nothing hysterical, or sentimental, or escapist or eccentric or clever about it. It is the living symbol of an eternal truth. It is not Miss So-and-So in the role of a pregnant woman as she sat for Epstein but all child-bearing of all time with its awkwardness and serenity and ugliness and radiance. It is self-explanatory and really rather obvious but it stands like the Sphinx, a riddle and a *mystery*. *Genesis*, I think, will live long after Epstein's other works have begun to gather dust in museums and art galleries.

A vital work, Epstein himself has said, *must shake the spectator out of a state of complacency*. It shook me enough to write this. Which is really saying something because I belong to the age too and subscribe to the sophistication that talking about art or religion is one of those things which is just not done in the best high-brow circles. But you recognise *Genesis* not by a sophistication but by an instinct. No reason, no analysis, just an inevitability. I could have said with the poet that:

Something is or seems
That touches me with mystic gleams,
Like glimpses of forgotten dreams—
Of something felt like something here,
Of something done, I know not where,
Such as no language may declare.

YOUTH LEADERS CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD FRIENDSHIP

By SONIA RICHARDSON

YOUTH leaders of nine nations have recently been the guests of the British National Committee of the World Assembly of Youth (W. A. Y.). Already studying in Britain were students from India, Malaya, Singapore and British Guiana. They were joined by five young men and women from Mexico, Uruguay, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Turkey.

W. A. Y. is an international movement which is non-sectarian and non-political. It exists to enable young people all over the world to learn about each other's problems and to exchange information: the organisation believes that freedom to see how the people of other countries live and work is a vital contribution to international understanding, tolerance and world peace.

U. K. Conferences

In the United Kingdom the youth leaders visited clubs and headquarters, took part in conferences, met Miss Florence Horsbrugh, Britain's Minister of Education, and attended a meeting of the London County Council. They met Boy Scouts, members of the Young Men's Christian Association, groups of religious denominations, political youth groups, and members of young farmers' clubs.

They saw how the work of so many diverse organisations is co-ordinated at national level. They learned how the setting-up in their own countries of National Committees of W. A. Y. can add inestimably to the social welfare of their countries, and bring them into closer relationship with other nations.

This has been particularly appreciated by youth leaders of the Commonwealth, for at the 1952 Council meeting of W. A. Y., held at Dakar, French West Africa, a Commonwealth Youth Council was formed. This is an important development in the progress of W. A. Y., whose Council first met at Brussels in 1949. Representatives of youth organisations from 29 countries then signed the Charter. Council meetings have since been

held in Turkey in 1950, in the U. S. A. in 1951, and at Dakar in 1952, and the number of member National Committees has risen to 45. The ideal of National Committees is to represent every kind of youth organisation—political and religious, young workers, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides—in their respective countries. W. A. Y. is an organisation where all young people, of every race, colour or belief, can express themselves fearlessly.

The need for a Commonwealth Youth Council within W. A. Y. found expression at the 1951 Council meeting. The specially close ties between young people within the Commonwealth were felt strongly at that gathering, where the delegates from Britain and the 12 other Commonwealth countries represented spent much of their time together. After this meeting the British Committee kept in touch with all who had expressed a desire for a Commonwealth Youth Council. When the Dakar meeting took place plans for forming it were complete.

Funds for the journey to Dakar were short, and only six countries—Canada, British Guiana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, the Gold Coast and the United Kingdom—were represented, but Commonwealth countries which could not afford to send delegates gave their enthusiastic support. Officers elected to the new Council were: Guthrie Moir (Britain) chairman; Joseph Ayitiah (Gold Coast) and Coleridge Coker (Sierra Leone), vice-chairman; and Anne Macdonald (Britain) treasurer.

The Commonwealth Council will meet at the same time and place as the W. A. Y. council, probably every two years. A news sheet will be circulated. A gathering will be arranged in London at the time of the Coronation, and regional conferences in different parts of the Commonwealth will be arranged.

(Sonia Richardson is the secretary of the British National Committee of the World Assembly of Youth.)

DOES RUSSIA WANT PEACE IN KOREA?

It is remarkable how widely it is assumed that the disposal of prisoners of war is the "only" issue holding up an armistice in Korea. From current discussion at the United Nations and in world capitals, except Moscow and Peking, it would seem that the nightmare phase of post-World War II politics, with its talk of irreconcilable ideological schisms and conspiracies for world conquest, has passed. We would seem to have returned to the relatively happy days of chance wars which the gallant belligerents called off on an honourable compromise.

Would that it were so, but is it? Is it really as if both Russia and America want to see a quick end to the Korean war if only they, or a third party such as India, could devise an acceptable formula to govern P. O.W.s?

An analysis of the American attitude is more difficult now than before the presidential election, but it is still possible to attempt a reasonable analysis. First there is the important consideration that neither Mr. Truman's Democratic administration nor Mr. Eisenhower's coming Republican Government has anything like overwhelming party support in the U. S. Congress. Opinion may vary as to the degree of genuine bi-partisan support behind American foreign policy. But it cannot be denied that Mr. Truman's foreign policy was largely influenced by Republican pressure and Mr. Eisenhower's will be by Democratic opinion.

Korea was outside the "defensive perimeter" charted by U. S. military strategists when Mr. Truman was confronted with the momentous decision whether to intervene or not when the attack came from the north on South Korea. His decision to intervene against aggression was not the result of foreplanning for the eventuality. It was more like India's decision to go to the aid of Kashmir when the State was suddenly attacked.

The Korean war is not popular with the American people, who want to see

their relatives and friends back from the far-away battle front as quickly as possible. All observers are agreed that at least one factor in the unprecedented popular vote for Mr. Eisenhower was the belief of the American people that the ex-General could somehow bring the war to an end. Mr. Eisenhower himself undertook a pledge to end the war, and to go to Korea for the purpose if elected.

All these point to the conclusion that America would like an early end to the Korean war. There is little to suggest the contrary, unless one were to regard as a serious possibility the future Republican administration adopting as State policy the extremists' prescription for carrying the war into the Chinese mainland by the use of Kuomintang troops. The advance appointment of Mr. John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State and other office nominations by Mr. Eisenhower hardly suggest that the President-elect is a prisoner of the Republican extremists.

What of Russia? From all available evidence it is wholly to the advantage of the Soviet Union that the Korean conflict should continue. On the military plane the strain on Soviet resources imposed by the Korean war is very little compared to the burden it imposes on the U. S. and allied powers who have sent their forces to Korea and are keeping them replenished there across the oceans. The men who are dying in the fighting on the Communist side are not Soviet citizens but Chinese and North Korean soldiers who are so much expendable material to the ruthless planners of the Kremlin. Chinese dependence on the Soviet Union is assured so long as Peking is at war with the non-Communist world.

On the political plane the advantages to Russia of continued strife in Korea are immense. Asian opinion has never been enthusiastic about the United Nations action in Korea, and regards it more as a trial of strength

between the American and Russian giants at the expense of helpless Asians than as a righteous fight against aggression. Asian opinion, again, is overwhelmingly in favour of India's view that U. N. forces should not have pursued the North Korean army beyond the 38th Parallel. The Chinese intervention which followed the crossing of the Parallel is widely regarded as a defensive move by the new revolutionary regime in China, induced by fear of attack rather than aggressive design. Not only Asian opinion but also a considerable body of opinion in Britain and Western Europe is in favour of according recognition to the Communist regime in China, as India has all along urged.

But the Truman administration hesitated long, and understandably so in the circumstances, to recognise the new Chinese Government. It became impossible to do so when that Government engaged in war against American soldiers. The Democratic administration would not, and the future Republican administration is even less likely to, recognise Red China so long as the Korean war continues. So long also, automatically, will the differences between the U. S. and her allies on policy towards China continue. Why should Russia wish to terminate what to her is this happy state of affairs?

The Indian proposal for a Korean armistice proceeds on the assumption that both sides to the conflict seriously desire peace, and that the problem of prisoners of war is what is holding up a settlement. This is of course what all people of goodwill

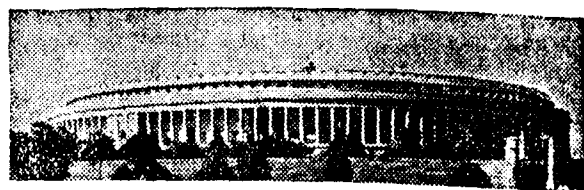
should assume until it is disproved beyond doubt. The Indian plan attempts to respect both the letter and the spirit of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war. It was drawn up in order to ensure that no country held the nationals of another, after a war, for exploitation as slave labour or other unworthy purposes. It therefore made it obligatory for ex-belligerents to restore prisoners taken by them. The idea was to restore freedom to prisoners.

The Communist State is a factor of which the well-meaning signatories of the Convention could not take account. The evidence of communism at work during the last three decades has made it more than conceivable that some prisoners taken from communist armies may not want to return to their homelands. The U. S. wants them to have the freedom not to return. Russia insists on the letter of the Geneva Convention. The Indian plan accepts the principle of freedom, only postponing its implementation until all means have been tried for agreed disposal of prisoners.

The latest available reports indicate that while the U. S. wants the Indian plan modified so as to ensure quick restoration of freedom to non-repatriate prisoners, Russia has rejected the plan altogether. Attention in India is bound to be turned mainly on the rights and wrongs of the two attitudes to the Indian plan. But it also seems important to examine whether the issue of prisoners of war is in fact the main hurdle in the way of an armistice. Do both sides, more especially Russia, genuinely want peace in Korea?—S. R.

The present method adopted by the Government to control prices, is like setting the clock going by constantly turning the minute hand. What we want is to set the mechanism in proper order, then the clock ought to move on its own. This artificial regulation of prices has been largely responsible for black-marketing. The prices have to be regulated automatically, not by a fiat of the Government. The Government has been playing King Canute trying to stop the rising tide of black-markets and profiteering; but the method adopted has been a total failure. In fact great many of the dealers in commodities desire to have the present types of controls on a permanent basis, because it provides the opportunity for black-marketing. Corruption in high places has also been interested in perpetuating controls. It is high time that these matters are set right.—J. C. KUMARAPPA in a memorandum to the Planning Commission.

NEW DELHI DIARY



By V. V. PRASAD

THE Prime Minister has certainly not dispelled the impression that he is given to wavering by his latest intervention in the Food debate. He was pleased to call his Government's food policy one of "a relaxation of controls" with "basic strategic controls." Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, in charge of Planning, chose to describe it in the same debate as "an intensification of controls." Food Minister Kidwai contented himself by describing it as a move towards decontrol. The Finance Minister, replying to Mr. Kidwai as though he was the Food Minister in the Cabinet of some hostile Power, warned him that the food index has been rising in Madras since decontrol and that we should keep these figures in mind when considering decontrol.

We are no wiser after the debate as to what Government policy on food is than we were at the beginning—except that we know that it is much more confused than we suspected. What the Finance Minister failed to mention was that the removal of food subsidies earlier this year—an act for which he was solely responsible—resulted in greater rises in the price of food index in the working class cost of living index than was caused by even the decontrol in Madras. The Prime Minister spoke gallantly of the wrong we did by "thinking in terms of ten or fifteen per cent of the population," but what he seems to be advocating as an alternative is not that we should think in terms of seventy or eighty per cent of the population; he seems to suggest that we should abandon thinking even of these ten or fifteen per cent. It is as plain as a pike-staff that when there is shortage of food, we should not only ration food for the cities but should enforce rationing for the entire population in the country. Indeed, there was some

lip-sympathy paid to this principle when Government spokesmen mentioned that some of the surplus States did not play the game; but they did not lift a little finger in order to secure a uniformity of sacrifice by all the people in the country.

The Prime Minister and the Food Minister (not to mention the Finance Minister and the Planning Minister) will do well to study how the Producer-cum-Consumer Co-operatives worked in Madras during the Prakasam Ministry. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has reported that but for these Co-operatives there would have been a severe famine in Madras, comparable to the Bengal Famine. These Cooperatives represent voluntary control at its best, which is any day superior to any amount of forcible control, however efficiently and thoroughly administered. Controls which do not function as they should are no controls. The present uproar against controls is really directed against the abuses of control and not against controls themselves. It is difficult, however, for the popular mind to differentiate between the two—especially when we have such able spokesmen of Government as the Prime Minister and the Planning Minister.

It is no secret that there is a divergence of opinion between the Planning Commission and individual members of the Cabinet on matters of fundamental policy. The Planning Commission, as Dr. John Matthai had said when he resigned from the Cabinet, is functioning as a parallel Cabinet—if not as a super-Cabinet. This is not to say that the Cabinet is in the right and that the Planning Commission is in the wrong. Quite often, the Cabinet is in the wrong; and equally often, the Planning Commission is in the wrong. Apart from

these differences, the State Governments are at variance with each other, with the Central Cabinet, and with the Planning Commission. There is no single policy on which all of them are agreed. And the Prime Minister always tries to pour oil on these various waters by making declarations which seem to agree with the point of view of each one of them—sometimes as Prime Minister, sometimes as Chairman of the Planning Commission, and yet other times as the Congress President.

Everybody in Delhi knows that Mr. Chintaman Deshmukh threatened to resign from the Cabinet if food was decontrolled. A draft of the letter of resignation was shown to Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, who took it to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister thereupon asked Mr. Kidwai to pipe down a bit. Until then, the Prime Minister himself was in favour of decontrol. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda tried to reconcile Mr. Kidwai's championship of decontrol with Mr. Deshmukh's warning against a rise in prices by declaring that India would be self-sufficient in food by 1955, by which time (he said) the Five Year Plan would have been implemented. As it happens, the Plan has not yet been inaugurated. Probably, the Plan would be launched next year. In that case, the Five Year Plan would come to an end in 1957. But Mr. Nanda declared: "The Planning Commission is expecting a progressive reduction in imports of food so much so that we think at the end of the Plan in 1955 we should have no imports at all." Mr. Nanda said that an additional quantity of 7.5 million tons of foodgrains will be produced in India at the end of the Plan. Of this, about 3 million tons will be required to meet the demands of the additions which would have occurred to the population of India. The Plan itself states that it intends to raise the per capita daily consumption of food to between 14 and 16 oz. per adult from the present consumption, which is calculated to be 13.7 oz. According to the calculations of the Planning Commission itself, "the additional quantity required is estimated to be between 8 million and 16 million tons." The Draft Plan speaks of the possibility of "the increase in output in the Plan envisaged in the

Plan together with three million tons

of imports" making it possible "to raise the level of consumption to about 14.5 oz. per day after allowing for the increase in population." Mr. Gulzarilal's Commonwealth is not unlike Gonzalo's Commonwealth where the end forgets the beginning.

I wrote some months ago that the Press Trust of India had decided to break with Reuters. This was a decision which ought to have been taken on the eve of Indian independence. Experience has clearly shown that a junior partnership with Reuter does not quite work out as the captains of our newspaper industry had imagined. Mr. G. Parthasarathy, who was the Chief of the Indian Desk in London, told me—as he must have told the Directors of the P. T. I.—that there were obvious disadvantages in such a partnership. Mr. Sadanand tried in vain to convince the Government of India in 1946 that a national news agency would answer the need of the hour, but he was a lone fighter at that time for an independent Indian news agency. Those who were opposed to him during the negotiations with Reuter have now come round to his view. A country cannot be really independent unless it has an independent national news agency.

Pothan Joseph has made pointed reference to the Press Trust of India's policy of "commissioning an army disproportionately composed of favourites and novices for work abroad which calls for a high level of objectivity, discretion and independence of outlook." This is obviously a phenomenon for which the P. T. I. alone cannot be blamed. But the P. T. I. cannot afford to load its camel with any more last straws. The Government of India have disapproved of the Reuter partnership, and they should not back out now by developing cold feet. Already there is a rumour in Delhi that Dr. Keskar is being shifted from the Information portfolio and offered the Ambassadorship to France in order to make room for some person who is more amenable to the influence of proprietors of newspapers. Pandit Nehru must resist this influence and let Dr. Keskar continue in his present assignment. Meanwhile, the country has a right to have a look at the correspondence that has passed between the Indian

Government and the Indian Press Barons on this vital issue.

Mrs. Frida Laski met a large number of students and admirers of Harold Laski the other day at a tea given in her honour by the Director of the Delhi School of Economics, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. Speaking with great pride, restraint and delicacy about her husband, Frida Laski gave reminiscences of her husband who died two years ago at the comparatively young age of 56. Her task, she said, became easier because she had lately been going through the galley-proofs of Harold Laski's biography by Kingsley Martin. Frida Laski made it clear that her husband had not been happy about the bi-partisan policy which the British Labour Party had adopted with regard to foreign affairs. As Chairman of the British Labour Party in 1945, Laski had advised Mr. Attlee not to accompany Mr. Churchill to Potsdam as Deputy Prime Minister, but suggested that he might go merely as an observer. "Clem Attlee wanted to go," she said, "and he went as Deputy Prime Minister. My husband

pointed out that Clem would not be present at the talks between Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, but that he would be committed to whatever they might agree upon."

Mrs. Laski went on to narrate how Clem Attlee became Leader of the Labour Party. After the fall of the MacDonald Cabinet, Labour was beaten thoroughly at the polls, and there were merely a handful of Labour M.P.s in Parliament. George Lansbury was their Parliamentary leader. Lansbury broke his leg and had to stay in hospital for a long time. He asked Stafford Cripps to take over the leadership of the Party, but Stafford said that he was rather busy with his professional work as a lawyer. Lansbury asked who could then be leader. Stafford suggested that Clem Attlee could be made leader. Lansbury said that Clem had just left the London School of Economics, where he was lecturer, and he was no doubt free to take up the leadership of the Party—but he had no money, and money was needed to be Leader of the Party. Stafford solved the difficulty by writing out a cheque for £500.

THE NEED FOR LIBERAL VIRTUES

By D. V. RAMA RAO

IN the strange blend of impetuosity in phrase and gesture, and equipoise in general outlook lies, perhaps, a cue to the secret of the intense personal charm that Nehru continues to hold as ever on huge audiences. Nehru's utterances of late, for instance the memorable speeches delivered at Madras, reveal a rich mellowness though not altogether devoid of his characteristic naivety. He could not, for instance, resist the temptation of having a dig at the Liberals and feudalism without, however, making it clear as to what exactly he meant. Addressing the public meeting at Island Grounds he was reported to have said that feudalism was an obstacle in the way of India's industrial progress. If by feudalism is meant landed interests wielding undue political influence and commandeering military or other services from the tenantry, obviously it hardly exists in the country to-day, and even in the jagirdaris of a few former princely states, where it might be said to exist more in the social than political sense, it is on the decline. Further, would it not be more correct to say that industrial expansion tends to make feudalism out of date and to bring about its decline than to say that feudalism is an obstacle in the way of industrial expansion, as a study of British history would show? Were it not so, Bengal with its influential zamindars and Bombay with its semi-feudal jagirdars could not have industrially advanced out of all comparison with States like Madras where feudalism in the strict sense has not been in vogue at least in recent decades.

No Political Privileges

It may be noted that zamindars do not enjoy and have not enjoyed in recent times any special political privileges and the fact that some semi-feudal social conventions such as the tenantry offering gifts or services, and participating in festivities, too, on ceremonial occasions in the zamindari households hardly justifies the

reference to zamindars as feudal lords, at any rate in the political sense.

Nehru's utterances are not only sometimes vague but reveal also a confused mind.

In his address to Congressmen in Madras, cautioning them not to turn themselves into a Liberal Party, he said that the Liberals were very intelligent and very good people, but ineffective and totally useless politically. That might be true of the Liberal Party while India was struggling for freedom and when constitutional means of achieving freedom were absent, but in a free democracy, although there is no Liberal Party functioning today, liberal traditions do have certainly a healthy political significance even for Congressmen. After all, liberalism is not so much a creed as an attitude, the emphasis being on principles than on programmes. It essentially stands for an unbiassed humanistic cum realistic approach to problems free from the influence of slogans, catchwords and doctrinalism. And that is why Gandhi even while contemplating or conducting intense political campaigns consulted and respected the opinions of persons like Gokhale, Srinivasa Sastri, Chintamani and Sapru, who all represented essentially liberal principles in the best traditions of Burke and Gladstone. Indeed, it would not be incorrect to say that several Congress veterans like Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das were essentially liberal in outlook. Has not Nehru himself been warning repeatedly against the baneful influence of slogans, catchwords and doctrinaire approach to problems? Has he not been deploring the sad decline in public decorum and exhorting students especially to cultivate a due sense of restraint and decency? Have not his earlier doctrinaire views on important issues like nationalisation, compensation, land redistribution and cottage industries undergone a welcome realistic transformation? Do not all these smack of liberal virtues?

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It appears that while Nehru's outlook is more and more influenced by humanistic liberalism, his old pet prejudices and fondness for doctrinaire phrases still haunt his subconscious mind as witness his hackneyed references to blackmarketers and occasional uncomplimentary remarks about lawyers and landholders which far from helping us understand or bringing us any nearer a solution of our problems merely give rise to confused and prejudiced patterns of thought and create sectional prejudice. Occasional lapses into vagueness in the numerous extempore speeches of so busily engaged a leader as Nehru are quite understandable, indeed, the wonder is that he could maintain so high a tenor and excellence uniformly in his numerous speeches, in a hurried tour. But, unfortunately, unscrupulous elements are not wanting in the country who quickly exploit the Prime Minister's vague phrases to suit their own ends and mislead public opinion with a view to bringing about confusion, sectional conflict and chaos. The apparent conflict between his old prejudices and growing humanism added to the glamorous illusion created by his indulgent admirers who depict him as a great thinker possibly explain the naive and confused nature of some of Nehru's public utterances.

In America and Western democracies, neither the Press nor the public irrationally extols a great political leader or statesman as necessarily a great thinker or authority on all subjects as strangely is the case with large sections in our country where it seems to be little understood that the respective roles of statesman, political leader, administrator, construc-

tive critic and thinker require distinct qualities and may not always be found in the same person. In a balanced and mature democracy all have their respective roles and are complimentary to one another. But, in our country, while constructive critics and thinkers, if they do not happen to be in the political arena, are largely ignored. The Press has built up the illusion of all wisdom and constructive thought being a monopoly of political leaders, with the result that the leaders themselves sometimes come to believe it. This indulgent attitude typically manifested itself in a recent contribution to *Swatantra* (of November 1) wherein Nehru is hailed as "the most intellectual patriot." The quotations from Nehru's speeches given in the article express, no doubt, beautiful sentiments as also a good deal of sentimentality and egocentric personal reactions which are somewhat out of place in a Prime Minister's public speeches which ought to embody, if anything, clear, precise and impersonal policy statements.

In our country where often sentimental adulation is mistaken for well merited tribute on the one hand, and on the other, scurrilous and veiled personal abuse for effective criticism, no wonder, indiscriminate hurling of both bouquets and brickbats at our leaders seems to have developed into a popular pastime.

Nehru's greatness and claims to wide popularity lie not in his qualities as a thinker or even administrator. Indeed, persons like the late Sardar Patel, Rajaji, Visweswarayya, C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Pant and Kher have impressive records either as administrators or clear thinkers and some of them as both.

The famous remark of Arthur Young in 1771 that 'everyone but an idiot knows that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious', can be read either as the epitaph engraved by the Enlightenment on the tomb of the mediaeval ethic, or as the signal for the recognition that the separation of economics from ethics had been finally achieved. It is possible to document decade by decade from the Reform the truth of that sweeping denunciation in the *Communist Manifesto* where Marx and Engels describe how 'the bourgeoisie, wherever it got the upper hand, put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations, pitilessly tore asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and left remaining no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest and callous cash-payment'.—*Herald J. Laski in The Dilemma of Our Times.*

THESE WRESTLERS

By M. S. SRINIVASAN

AFTER more than a decade, Madras had the rare privilege of witnessing the technique and skill of some of the best wrestlers of the world. The carnival at the Y.M.C.A. Royapettah, which was visited by thousands of wrestling enthusiasts, not only renewed the acquaintance with the unkingly King Kong and gracious Goldstein, but recalled to memory the rounded artistry of Harban Singh. Of all its new participants none was more popular than the winner of the Ajanta Cup and Indian champion in Malaya, Dara Singh, and none more apocryphal than the Russian bear, Sergi Orloff.

Dara Singh is tall, lithe and of athletic build. His muscles are of attractive mould. Every ligament of his stalwart limbs is a seasoned fibre. He uses his height to advantage, and prefers to exhibit every 'hold' of a master technician rather than violate the rules of the game, for he knows the wrestler's art to perfection. The Indian deadlock, full Nelson, aeroplane spin, body press, elbow jolt, all come to him as easily as every stroke in the book to a superlative cricketer, as was seen in his encounters with Baron von Heczey and Wong Buck Lee. He is at his best in defence when he attempts to wriggle out of his opponent's grapple, his whole body in strife against the canvas, like a king of beasts in combat. He is an ardent learner who is often seen to sit with the spectators and watch and appreciate the bout of other wrestlers. He is yet young, and with judgment, experience, and restraint, he can be expected to maintain the highest traditions of the art that have been the pride of India from the time of Bhilma to that of Gama. His challenge contests with King Kong will live in our memory not so much for their dexterity and finesse as for their dramatic turn and thrill.

In experience and skill, none of the combatants can match the Champion of the Orient, Emile Zaya, or King Kong as the Hungarian is known the world over. The claim that he is 'the Terror of the Ring' is no empty claim, more so now than ever before. With-

in the last ten years he has gained in weight what he has lost in agility. He weighs 367 lbs and measures around the chest 59½ inches. He is a mountain of flesh and does not seem to walk, but "lards the lean earth." Though forty-two, he has kept up the zest for the sport aggressively keen. If he does not lose his temper and plays the game as it should be played, he can knock-out any celebrity within the third round. He was a champion even in his teens for nothing. Yet from the moment of an arrogant handshake, which would have shocked even a supercilious Wharburton, he must lose his temper and exhibit his lack of sportsmanship. He frets and fumes, rocks the ring with barbaric might, tears the red stump to rags, makes violent gestures at the spectators and abuses and challenges them. To him as soon as the gong goes the referee should cease to exist, for he should pile up 'foul' upon 'foul' until the opponent is strangled. If the referee is indiscreet enough to exercise his untimely prerogative, King Kong should reckon with and man-handle him. The treatment to Referee Wong Buck Lee raises the point whether culprits should not be punished with life-long ostracism.

The first contest between King Kong and Dara Singh, the two leading matmen, was watched by a bumper house. It was full of action, with the latter always dictating terms. In the first round it was the bell which saved the Hungarian from Dara's full Nelson. In the second, the Indian was on the offensive and by relentless elbow jolts knocked his rival out of the ring four times, to the jubilation of the spectators. After an uneventful third round, the climax was reached in the fourth. A confident and self-willed Dara hit King Kong on the face with such violence and so many times that the latter was all gory. If he had not been impetuous fritting away his energy by shouting with the crowd and had been watchful, he could have become within a round a giant-killer, so exhausted and dizzy was King Kong. But when he rushed thirsting

for more blood, his skilled rival side-stepped, lifted and threw him on the canvas. Dara could not naturally get up and was counted out. The crowd did not know what happened, and the announcement that King Kong won the contest was received with surprise and was, on the run of the game, an anti-climax. The Champion of the Orient, bloody and crestfallen, tottered out of the ring.

Dara had not long to wait for a well-merited reward. The second contest was a fiasco rather than a bout. It might be said of it that it ended when it began. Early in its course after the Wong Buck Lee incident, the Indian was rightly declared the winner, even though King Kong entered the ring as the very personification of Nemesis wanting to play back several fold what he had received in the previous contest. Never was a Madras crowd more pleased with a verdict, for Dara "tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid."

Sergi Orloff's bear hug was the standing riddle of the tournament. With this secret weapon he knocked out Holden, Zibisco, Heczey and Goldstein, and all of them unconscious had to be carried out of the ring in a stretcher. How he employs it is a mystery even to the argus-eyed experts of the art. It seemed, however, that in the process of hugging he not only crushed the chest of the opponent but brought his own spacious chest and oversized belly in cruel impact upon those of his rival and struck violently at a vital nerve or heart or spinal chord, or all of them in one quick movement. Whatever its process, the fact is that it is such a death-grapple that a mighty and vigorous wrestler is reduced within a few seconds to a withering stalk and falls unconscious, and Orloff himself with an assured mien loosens his hold with a parting kick

So long as gentlemen walked out through their gate at Lord's, and the sun (more or less) shone, and Englishness mattered, and to every sport could be affixed the word "noble," what had the world to fear? Into this arena of lost causes barged the all-in wrestler—no respecter of persons; he grunted, he belaboured, he hugged, he gouged, he flung, he tied in knots, he unravelled, he all but murdered Shakespeare, not he. On so many stages Beauty had posed for us, that this late arrival of the Beast seemed a necessary completion.—G. W. STONIER in *The New Statesman and Nation*.

as if to say, "You are no longer useful; get away." We wonder whether it is American free style or that remarkable Japanese art, Ju-jitsu. When Larwood employed his leg theory, the 'high-brows' of sports raised the question, "Is it cricket or homicide?", and in extenuation of its utility it might be said that the batsman has an armour in his bat. There cannot be two opinions about the validity of the bear hug, for the ring is neither a guillotine nor a shambles.

It is a pleasure to meet a clean hand in any field of human activity, and Goldstein is popular, as on his previous visits, because he does not tamper with the rules even when in a tight squeeze. The Great Zibisco, the Polish angel, resembles in build Orloff with this difference that he is of a diminutive size. There is a touch of class in all that he does, and his shaven head and nose have been unkind targets of his rivals. Ali Raza Bey, the Turkish champion, has a well-proportioned body, and he executed several delightful 'holds' in his fight against King Kong. Heczey and Dara. Ray Holden of Australia has no doubt the 'tiger' look and poise, and that is all that need be said of him as a wrestler. At first sight Baron von Heczey gives the impression of an aristocrat who had entered the ring by mistake. This impression deepens when he has his ears anointed and his noble body droops in fight.

It was a private agency, not a national or international organisation, that conducted the bouts. Nevertheless, the wrestlers taking part in it should not have forgotten that they should adhere to the rules of the game and abide by the verdict of the umpire.

Wrestling was an ancient Indian art, and, according to our egotists, when one mighty wrestler met another, his advice was, "Be gentle as you are strong."

FEMALE CIRCUMCISION AND THE MAU MAU

By ANDREW ROTH

THE battle over female circumcision is a more fundamental aspect of the Kenya problem than the murders perpetrated by the Mau Mau, Labour M. P. Fenner Brockway convinced me in his snug study in the Highgate district of North London.

Sitting in his carpet slippers before an open fire, this slight and soft-spoken veteran socialist did not seem at all the bogeyman who threw many of the old settlers in Kenya into fits of hysterics before his arrival in Nairobi at the beginning of November. But while no fire eater in appearance or manner Mr. Brockway has shown himself a determined opponent of old-style colonialism and a friend of the colonial peoples.

His recently-concluded visit to Kenya was certainly momentous. On the eve of his departure with another M. P., Leslie Hale, the third M. P. invited by the Kenya African Union, James Dugdale, former Minister of State for Colonies, decided not to go. Perhaps he was influenced by the fact that most of the Kenya African Union leaders who invited them were already in prison.

During the Brockway-Hale visit to Kenya they were subjected to a barrage of attacks by diehard farmer-settlers and were constantly surrounded by police, despite their request that they wanted no "protection". Six persons who came to talk to them were arrested, one of them in the midst of conversation. One interpreter, a graduate of a British University, was arrested for translating some unpleasant facts about the housing of prisoners. They were denied permission to see Jomo Kenyatta, whom Mr. Brockway has known for 30 years. Despite this, Mr. Brockway was able to bring up to date the information gained in Kenya on his last visit two and a half years ago.

One of the most dramatic things he showed me was the official Kenya Government statement of crimes of

violence for the half year from April 15 to October 15. Despite all the newspaper headlines, this shows that only one European and some 24 Africans were killed during this period as a result of Mau Mau activity. In April none were killed, in May two Africans were killed, in June no one, in July one African, in August six Africans were killed, there was an attempt on another African and four Africans disappeared and are believed dead. In September one African was killed, there was an attempt on three, another four disappeared and were believed murdered. In the first half of October four Africans were killed, there was an attempt on another, another African disappeared; one European was killed and there were murder attempts by the Mau Mau on four other Europeans.

Many M. Ps. have been shocked by the photographs of the remains of the victims of the Mau Mau. But Emyr Hughes, a leftwing Pacifist who has been more shocked by wholesale killings in Korea tried to put the Kenya picture in focus by asking Colonial Secretary Lyttelton sarcastically: "Have they been using the napalm bomb?"

The attribution to the Mau Mau of other crimes committed by normal criminal elements, has a clearly political motive. (This effort, incidentally, parallels that of the diehard Malayan rubber planters who, during the months before the outbreak of the conflict there in June 1948, attributed all thefts and murders to the Communists.) In Kenya, too, the diehard farmer-settlers hoped, by exaggerating the menace, to secure the imposition of emergency regulations, the arrest of African leaders and the proscribing of the 100,000-strong Kenya African Union. They succeeded, in the interregnum between the retirement of the old Governor and the arrival of the new, in having the emergency regulations

passed and hundreds of African leaders arrested, including the vain but powerful leader, Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya African Union.

In the November 7 parliamentary debate which followed on Colonial Secretary Lyttelton's flying visit to Kenya, the former Colonial Secretary, Labourite James Griffiths, made a perceptive remark in questioning the arrest of "agitators." He cited advice given to him by his chief when he was started in the trade union movement: "My boy, if there is trouble, if there is a strike, do not be led astray by the fact that someone used the opportunity to exploit it. Find out why he was able to induce the men to do it. The main thing is not to find the agitator but why it was possible for him to agitate people. Always get to the underlying causes."

Female Circumcision

Female circumcision indicates these underlying causes because it is symptomatic of the primitive tribal rites which the British found when they started colonizing a half-century ago and their head-on attempts to break them. Like the circumcision of males in some tribes, sensation-destroying female circumcision is a tribal rite signifying the attainment of puberty. The Christian churches in Kenya decided in 1927, as a means of ending this brutal custom, to refuse to accept in communion any African who practiced or believed in female circumcision.

This peremptory challenge induced many Africans who wanted to become Christians without abandoning their old tribal customs to set up African Christian churches. These set up their own schools, in competition with the British missionary schools. Kenyatta "captured" this chain of schools, the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, by supplying teachers from his Kenya Teachers' College at Githunguri. These schools became the centre of nationalist agitation, the headquarters for local branches of Kenyatta's Kenya African Union.

According to *The Time's* special correspondent, "by the beginning of

this year they were winning children from the missions in droves. A present estimate is that more than 270,000 children are enrolled, and this takes no account of the numerous children won away from the missions who are receiving no education."

Clearly, this attracting of almost 300,000 African children to nationalist schools was more of a threat than some thirty killings. On November 14, the Kenya Government decided to absorb these independent schools into the general education system, firing those teachers deemed undesirable but not "subversive" enough to jail. There are not many alternate teachers because Kenya has been extremely backward in spending money on educating Africans, although it has improved these last two years.

While refusing to accept the barbaric tribal custom of female circumcision, the British have seen fit to impose on the Kikuyu, the 1,250,000-strong tribe which is the most active and awake of Kenya's 5,000,000 Africans, an imported system of chiefs. The Kikuyu did not have chiefs, but British district officers prefer governing through a native intermediary. Therefore they appoint certain men as chiefs who are considered to be little more than British stooges by their fellow tribesmen.

The amount of leeway given some of these chiefs was illustrated by a story told by Leslie Hale—Fenner Brockway's companion M. P. in Kenya—in Commons on November 14. They were introduced to a chief of about 100,000 tribesmen at the Wukamba Reserve and asked him how economic conditions were there. He answered "Have you seen the British district officer?" Since he would not speak without his permission, they drove to see him. When they told him the chief would not speak without his permission, the district officer commended: "Quite right, too." Leslie Hale continued: "In the whole of that interview the district officer conducted the conversation and only twice was the chief called upon to confirm a statement, when he stood to attention and said, 'Yes, sir.'"

"How are we to talk about representation and improving the agricultural amenities of the production of a great tribe of people, or restoring confidence, when we have a system in which the rulers are appointed like this—rulers in whom they have no confidence, rulers who are not allowed to speak and who have to refer to a rather brash young district officer?"

More cogent than either my rambling interview with Mr. Brockway, or Mr. Hale's oft-interrupted speech in the House of Commons is the statement they made when they returned:

We disagree profoundly with Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttelton when he says that social and economic grievances are not the cause of Mau Mau. Mau Mau is an ugly and brutal form of extreme nationalism. It is based on frustration. Frustration brings bitterness and bitterness brings viciousness. The fact that it attacked first Africans rather than Europeans is an indication of the depth of the bitterness. It struck murderously and tragically at those of its own race who are co-operating with the Administration.

These frustrations arise from, among other things, the humiliations of the colour bar; the destruction of the old tribal system without the substitution of a satisfactory new social system; land hunger; wages which do not in thousands of cases satisfy physical hunger; appalling housing conditions; and the fantastic rise in the price of *posho* (maize flour), the staple food of the people. It has increased 600

per cent since the beginning of the war.

We have been delighted and surprised by the extent of agreements among men and women of goodwill—Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Arabs—as to the measures necessary to meet the situation. Responsible opinion in all four races now accepts the need for the progressive elimination of the colour bar; the extension of co-operative farming in the African reserves, pending the consideration of the land problem by the Royal Commission; the reduction in the price of *posho* by a subsidy or other method; the advance in wage standards, particularly in the minimum wage; the rapid improvement in housing conditions; extension of free education; and the democratisation of the local administration.

We have heard it suggested that the Kenya African Union should be proscribed. This would be a disastrous mistake. It would intensify bitterness and spread a feeling among Africans that the Government is using the crimes of the Mau Mau to strike at legitimate African rights. We have met the new officers of the Kenya African Union... and know that they are devoted to constructive progress. If the Kenya African Union were dissolved by Government action the Africans would lose the right to express themselves through their own most representative organization, and the hope of their co-operation in working out the future patterns of Kenya would be gravely imperilled.

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'ENGLISH LANGUAGE': A REPLY TO KRIPALANI

By D. ANJANEYULU

ACHARYA KRIPALANI is nothing if not dialectical. He has the breath of battle in his nostrils. His sharp wit scintillates by constant use on the whetstone of controversy. In a recent article in *Swatantra* (of November 8), he has come down with all his sardonic fury and devastating sarcasm on the 'learned educationists' and 'eminent scientists'. Twenty-six of them had, in a joint letter to Prime Minister Nehru and Education Minister Azad, stressed the need for maintaining an "adequate standard" of English in the interests of higher education in this country even after the language had ceased to be the medium of instruction. The signatories, including such names as Dr. C. V. Raman, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, Mr. Justice H. N. Bhagavati and Sir Rustum P. Masani, expressed 'distress' at some of the State Governments "trying to reduce the quantum and quality of English taught in our high schools". This was evidently an offence serious enough to provoke the Acharya, who was himself an educationist before becoming a politician. After dismissing the complaint as 'nothing new' he observes with characteristic irony that the only method of setting matters right was to bring back our old English masters. He then asks rhetorically, to his satisfaction, presumably: "Can we regress to foreign rule? Will the English consent to come back? Can we guarantee that when they come back we shall never again raise an agitation against them or start a new Quit India Movement?"

Needless Questions

To raise hypothetical questions, which require no answers is, apparently, a popular strategy in demolishing the opponent's arguments. The ingenious ejaculations must be in the nature of inventions beyond the ken of the scientists and the educationists. Whatever be the prospects of an unnecessary 'Quit India' Movement against an imaginary intruder, the line of thinking that runs like a thread through all the questions is

redolent of an outmoded political phenomenon and is an unhappy hangover of the 'Quit India' mentality. Old habits die hard and it is quite understandable that those who had fought against the foreigner for a decade or two and suffered much in the struggle are not likely to draw too fine a distinction between the English master and the English language. If the Britisher was a foreigner, whose departure is a good riddance, his language is no less an alien intruder on our intellectual landscape, so it is argued. The sooner it is scrapped from the fair face of our abodes of learning, the better it is for our patriotic souls and the immaculate armour of intense nationalism.

Giving a practical tip to our educationists, Acharya Kripalani reminds them of the old adage that 'what cannot be cured must be endured.' But then, not willing to hold forth such a gloomy prospect before them, he tries to kindle a new hope in their hearts with a philosophical reflection not devoid of oriental optimism: "They can do even better and console themselves that what is at a particular time is the best. It is the unfolding of history through which God manifests Himself. On that 'best' they should try to build the future."

Timely Warning

If the eminent Acharya had the patience to read their request completely, he may not have felt the need to give the advice he did on 'how to build the future'. For, their letter had made it clear that it was the duty of us all as 'loyal children of India' to abide by "the considered decision of our Constitution, which had laid it down that Hindi shall be the national language of India and English should be replaced by Hindi within 15 years." What they humbly asked for was only that sufficient time should be left for the universities to "adjust themselves to the new requirements." A sudden transition to Hindi or the regional language as medium of instruction in the college and university stages, with-

out the necessary text-books, reference books, journals and teachers well versed in the language is, it is feared, fraught with new dangers to academic standards and ultimately to the whole intelligentsia. The warning that they issued against the disastrous effects of narrow and impatient nationalism is timely and necessary: "If the study of English is killed in our country with an almost indecent haste, the work of a century, perhaps on the whole rather good than bad, will be undone in a few years and this will seriously affect the quality of our education."

Lingua Jingo

On the place of English in future in the educational and cultural life of India, the politician seems to be at loggerheads with the educationist. The one is always promising a new heaven on earth if his pet nostrums are willingly swallowed, bait and all, by the unthinking masses. The other, with his feet on the firmament, counsels caution and advocates a slow and steady course, believing in the gradualness of inevitability and the inevitability of gradualness. The politician is sometimes described as one who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing (which must include the value of education). The price of his parochial policies has, of course, to be paid by others. But there are problems like the standards of education and media of instruction which have to be dealt with from an educational rather than a political angle. The Osmania University is a standing example of the doubtful advantages of adopting a local language as instruction medium, without the presence of essential prerequisites for it, as well as the disadvantages of relegating English to a negligible corner. The mischief of a decade and more was sought to be undone after the police action. Not even the most exuberant optimist would say with certainty that languages and literatures can be created by a mere executive fiat. Language, being an organic growth, requires years of careful tending for becoming a useful and effective vehicle of expression. It is, however, not so difficult to throw away rashly the advantages that we now have by destroying the heritage of a century and more in a fit of national hysteria. The

twin symptoms of the jingoistic delirium are an undue expansion of the ego and a corresponding contraction of the mental horizons. Reason is at a discount in a state of passion.

Acharya Kripalani and many other 'progressive' politicians seem to ask with an admirable self-assurance: "Why should anyone drop a tear over the dying language of a foreigner instead of rejoicing over the inevitable currents of history?" Falling standards in the knowledge of that language should cause little regret and no surprise. Is it not natural that English should be forced out of the shores, if Hindi were to grow to its full stature and fill the void left by English? Obviously, the protagonists of this *super-svadeshi* school of thought hate English more than they love any other language. For some reasons beyond our control English has long ceased to be the exclusive property of the occupants of the British Isles. It has well-nigh become a world language, having also taken the place of French, as the language of diplomacy. When people in Turkey, Japan, Soviet Russia and other countries are making special efforts to learn the English language, here in our sovereign Republic we are trying hard to proclaim our sense of independence by un-learning it as fast as we can. Further, it sounds a trifle paradoxical that heads of States and the high and mighty in matters cultural should make frantic appeals for the revival of dead languages (which may, otherwise, be a good idea in itself), while a living language like English is sought to be throttled by the homicidal tendencies of linguistic chauvinism.

The obvious advantages of a Roman script and Arabic numerals are being ignored as the richness, resilience and flexibility of a modern language are denied the recognition that is their due. Political reasons apart, the unity that exists, is not a little due to the presence of a common language for inter-State and inter-regional communication. English has become the language of the intelligentsia, though its impact on the rural masses is, in the nature of things, limited, but not unfavourable. It is curious to note that the common people have no feeling against English because it is foreign; the prejudice is the making

of interested parties like politicians, who divide more often than they unite.

It is also pointed out sometimes that in spite of years of concentration on the study of English, Indians are not able to master it and can attain only to the 'Babu' level. G.B.S. was fond of reminding the Englishmen that they do not *know* English and could never hope to *learn* it well, in writing or in speech. We would be less than just to ourselves if we proclaim that our knowledge of this language is less satisfactory than that of those in countries outside the U. K., where it is spoken e. g. Australia, Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, etc. It is no exaggeration to claim that educated Indians can use the language as an adequate and effective vehicle of thought. Is it enough for claiming the mastery of a language to be merely born into it? The King's English or the Queen's English (as it may now be called) is something of which few scholars can be sure, but expressive English can have its Indian variants (the rules of grammar and idiom duly observed) as it has its American and Australian forms. Pronunciation may vary from country to country or region to region; for what about our own languages and their dialectal changes of accent from district to district?

Need For Retention

College teachers and university professors, who can be expected to know the practical aspects of the problem, have more than once expressed themselves against official efforts to give the go-by to the English language. The Southern Universities' Conference which met in Madras last year had unanimously decided in favour of retention of English as the medium of instruction from the Intermediate stage upwards. The Madras University has envisaged a proposal to start a University Department of English and institute a diploma course in English, which are felt necessary to check the falling standards. The university teachers in Bombay, who met in June this year, in spite of a reported official direction, also favoured English as 'the medium of instruction at the university stage of education' and of the 15 professors who took part in the dis-

cussion, only one favoured replacement of English by Hindi. Many veteran professors and principals of colleges are frankly of the opinion that without English as the medium of instruction at this crucial stage when matters are in a state of flux and centrifugal forces are at work, there will be all diversity and no university. Mr. Chagla who inaugurated the conference stated in no muffled tones: "If we are scrapping English as the medium of instruction we are taking the dangerous step of creating confusion and consequently lowering the educational standards in the country." Calcutta University had recently complained of increasing failures among Intermediate students, which must partly be due to official neglect of the language and a general psychosis diligently and deliberately sought to be created by parochial politicians and pedlars of prejudice.

Hymn Of Hate

The first method to arrest the progressive fall in standards of English knowledge, if one is serious about it, is to cry a halt to the campaign of slander against "the alien tongue, the foreigner's property." Not the coming back of the English masters, as Acharya Kripalani would have it, but putting an end to this hymn of hate, will create the proper atmosphere for a careful study of the language and its literature. Another requirement is to encourage the study of other languages without crowding out English, which is sought to be painted as "the villain of the piece." It would definitely help matters if the politicians restrict their squabbles to the 'political' field and not project them into the avenues of education. Students should not be encouraged to go away with the impression that they can profitably neglect English in the examinations. Though our schools and colleges cannot afford to get teachers, who are English by birth, or Indians with Eton and Oxford training, efficient teachers are not wanting, provided the necessary encouragement is given. Cultural organisations like the British Council are only too ready to proffer guidance and provide training in this connection. At any rate, the powers that be will do well not to take elaborate measures to see that the English teacher is re-

gated to the same unenviable position as the Sanskrit Pandit of old and made another Cinderella of the school (while the old Cinderellas are yet to meet their Princes Charming.)

The late Dr. C. R. Reddi, who was an educationist of eminence and an accomplished litterateur in his mother-tongue (unlike many who are loud in their profession of love for the mother tongue) used to say that English had ceased to be foreign with the attainment of independence. For, we study it as of our free will and not by any outside imposition. Mr. Nehru himself, addressing a students' gathering in London sometime ago, remarked that English should remain "the basic language of India." Mr. Chagla described it as the "language of liberty"

which has been "a great unifying force ever since its introduction in the country." Those who are well-versed in a particular language and have enjoyed the beauties of its literature are not generally given to the hatred of another. Mr. K. M. Munshi, for instance, who is a prolific writer in Gujarati has more than once pointed out the dangers of giving a short shrift to English. But linguistic obscurantism and cultural isolationism seem to be in the ascendant, especially in the north and threaten to provoke rabid separatism in the South. 'Down with English' has become a popular slogan with the political philistines, masquerading as high-priests of culture and prophets of enlightenment.

TEACHERS IN A QUANDARY

By WAYFARER

RECENTLY I was present at a gathering of teachers of a district. The meeting was the annual Guild Conference and the teachers mainly came from secondary schools. Some of them must have taken advantage of the occasion to have a diversion from their routine humdrum daily life in the school. Some even took advantage of the lunch interval to visit a dam in the process of construction at a site about 8 miles from the place of the conference. It was an excursion, free from the worries and responsibilities a teacher has when he takes his students for an excursion as part of the 'extra-curricular' activity of the school.

As I sat through the proceedings of the conference and listened to the speeches the thing that struck me was the fact that the teachers were struggling to express their awareness of the malaise that characterises the present state of affairs in the secondary education of our land. Today every one is dissatisfied with the state of affairs and the teachers no less than the other and vaster sections of the public. It may be that this awareness has come about just because a Reorganisation Commission has been appointed or it may be—and this seems quite probable—the result of the very changes to which curricula had been

subjected in the recent past in this State.

English Or Mother Tongue?

Various views were expressed in the course of the speeches at the conference. Starting from an impassioned plea by the president for a clear definition and comprehension of the goal or the ideal of our present system of education and a demand for a permanent body to experiment with and arrive at a proper curriculum, the views expressed ranged from a demand for the retention of English in the curriculum to a demand for teaching through the mother tongue; from a plea for an education based on religion and ideals that would inculcate discipline among the pupils to one based on craft and the use of one's eyes and limbs. Strangely enough, the proceedings of the conference began in the regional language but ended in a symposium in English, showing how strong is the influence of thinking and expression of ideas in English even among those who have set before themselves the objective of enthroning the mother tongue. There were suggestions for restoring the older methods of schooling, and the examination system came in for a vigorous attack.

These varying and sometimes contradictory views expressed by those—

who teach our boys and girls, give us an idea of the quandary in which the teachers themselves are. But this matter of reform of the educational system has been talked of so much and the results achieved are so little that there seems to be a note of despair among the teachers. The president of the conference said: "what can these commissions do: commissions may come and go: ministers come and go, but do not expect anything or too much from them." As if to lessen the impression of despair it was added that it was they, the teachers, who have to do the things. In a spirit of bravado it was said they must experiment and evolve. While the growing spirit of assertion among the teachers has to be admired, the statement appeared to be rather Gilbertian. For too long the voice of the teachers has been muffled. It has hardly been heard at all. As the practical worker carrying out a design, the teacher feels that he has had so many designs put forward by the designers, each in its own way quite attractive and appealing, but none being implemented he has lost faith in the need for design and designers themselves. What happened to the Sadler Commission report, to the Sergeant report and to the Radhakrishnan report? one speaker asked. That is why there is so much of misgiving about the new Secondary Education Commission.

Growing Demand For Education

Yet another matter that should provoke the thought of the public today is the growing demand for education and the insufficient means to meet that demand. In the last thirty years there has been a phenomenal

growth in the number of pupils seeking admission to the secondary schools. The admission season in schools is a season of rush, of anxious parents hanging round the corridors of schools here, there and everywhere. To the headmasters and managements it is a problem of how many more could be accommodated and provided for. Many schools do not have trained teachers, and have only insufficient accommodation. The lack of accommodation, of personnel, and of finance is no doubt there and we have also before us the demand for education from an ever growing number and from a wider section of the people.

It is clear that not all those who seek admission to the secondary schools would continue their education and go to the university or will be fit enough to do so. Of the old secondary school system it is being said that it enabled the best students to pass out and step into the portals of the university. Of the now existing basic schools all that can be said is that it has kept going a vague talk of vocational bias in education. That there will be need for differentiation according to the capacity, aptitude and inclination of the boys is quite clear. The teachers themselves expressed such a need if we are to avoid wastage of public funds and effort. It is to these and other allied problems that public attention has to be turned and an intense and wide discussion of the many issues involved encouraged so that a more democratic and helpful solution may be found for the near, if not the ultimate future.

The attitude of society towards the unmarried woman has certainly changed a good deal for the better of late years, but it is still less civilised than it might be. The unmarried woman does not want to be pitied, heaven forbid, but she would be glad if people would remember her disabilities, in fact she would appreciate better manners. People who would not talk of investment before a poor man or picture galleries before a blind one will compare their views as spouses and parents endlessly, apparently forgetting that she is present. They will tacitly assume that life has but one design and that she, as it were, has less claim to her place in the universe than they. —Miss MARGERY FRY, one-time Principal of Somerville College, Oxford, and ex-Governor of the BBC, in a BBC broadcast.



By V. P. SATHE

THERE was a time when the Police Commissioner was the President of the Censor Board; that was under the British rule. When after the war popular ministries were formed, the Collector replaced the Commissioner and later the Director of Publicity became the chief of the censors, at least in Bombay. During all these transitions, the authority of the censor was limited to one province; and the Home Minister held supreme power. It is on record that many pictures certified by the censors were subjected to re-censorship and some of them were even banned by Mr. Morarji Desai in Bombay. The situation in other provinces was no better.

To end this state of affairs, the film industry clamoured for a Central Board which will have an all-India authority. This Board, it was hoped, would ensure a country-wide uniform censor policy, and it would not be possible for one State to ban a picture which has run in another State. Moreover, since the board would be an independent body with a proper chairman, its authority should be final.

So when the Central Board was formed with an eminent person like Sir Clifford Aggarwala, ex-Judge of Patna High Court, as the Chairman the industry heaved a sigh of relief. The working of this Board for the first few months was very satisfactory; and the producers got the impression that once a picture was passed by the Board, it was in no danger of being banned, unless, of course, it disturbed 'peace and order' in any State. True, at the very first press conference Sri Diwakar, the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, made it clear that if any producer was dissatisfied with the

decision of the Censor Board, he could apply to the Ministry which was the final authority. But, as a rule, the Ministry was not expected to interfere with the decisions of the Board. In fact, so far not one producer has applied to the Ministry for revision of any decision taken by the Board. And as long as Sri Diwakar was at the helm of the department his Ministry did not interfere with the censors' decisions which for all practical purposes appeared to be irrevocable.

But since Dr. Keskar assumed office, this has changed. After giving a warning to the producers and imposing a ban on broadcast of certain kind of film songs, his Ministry has deemed it fit to revise the Censor Board's decision in four cases at least. The first victim of Dr. Keskar's Ministry was "The Peking Express," an anti-Chinese Hollywood film; as the cause for the ban was purely political it did not create any stir. In fact, it was welcomed in certain quarters. But now Dr. Keskar and his department have thought it imperative to take action against three Indian pictures—*Shinshinaki Booblaboo*, *Anhonee* and *Shreemattiji*.

In the case of *Shinshinaki Booblaboo* one fine morning the producer received a notice from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting that the Ministry considered the film objectionable and that if it did not receive satisfactory explanation in so many days under section such and such of the Cinematograph Act it would declare the picture uncertified. As the producer of this picture had become 'insolvent,' the distributors—India Film Exchange—who controlled the world right rushed about to offer an explanation. But apparently all

their efforts failed and the picture is now banned. The picture has been released at least in all the key stations and fared miserably. According to all the reviews, the picture is poor, but so far as I remember no body has described it as 'vulgar' and obscene. But then the critics and Dr. Keskar belong to different planes on moral issues; hence perhaps Dr. Keskar who apparently holds dictatorial powers of censorship has gone against the decision of his Board and banned it not worrying about the repercussions that this act may have upon the industry.

In the case of *Anhonee* Dr. Keskar's department has thought it fit to declare it suitable for 'adults'; originally the censors had passed the picture without a single cut for unrestricted exhibition. And the fate of *Shinshinaki Booblaboo* is reported to be awaiting *Shreematiji*.

Once these pictures have been shown all over the key stations of the country where is the sense in banning them? If they were so harmful, they should not have been passed in the first place. Besides, does not this belated action by the Central Government undermine the faith of the industry in the Censor Board? In view of the aforementioned examples the industry will lose all faith in the censors, for no longer will it consider the decisions of the Censor Board final unless they are ratified by the Ministry. Any picture passed by the Censor Board can be banned at any moment by the Central Government. If that is so, then would it not be more advisable to show every picture to the Ministry and the Censor Board as well. Besides, the most important question is who is to share the loss incurred by such unexpected 'bans.' More often than not, by the time the Central Government takes action against a picture the original producer has nothing to do with the picture and the distributor who has had no say in the production is a sufferer. After the fate of *Shinshinaki Booblaboo* no distributor would take up the entire responsibility of a picture and as a consequence the producers will have one more hurdle to cross in getting finance and distribution rights. Aware of the implications of these unwarranted and fateful decisions of the Ministry of Information

and Broadcasting a stray delegation from Bombay and South is expected to meet Dr. Keskar and impress upon him all the facts with a hope that he will rescind the ban imposed on *Shinshinaki*. Mr. S. S. Vasan is expected to join the delegation.

Every well-wisher of the film industry will pray for the success of the delegation. Meanwhile, one would like to know what action Dr. Keskar and his Secretary propose to take against those members of the advisory panel who were originally responsible for passing the 'objectionable' picture. If their judgment was wrong as the later action of the Government indicates, will they be asked to quit the panel? These are some of the points which should also be discussed by the delegation, and every effort should be made to induce Dr. Keskar not to interfere with the decisions of the Censor Board except in cases where political or security issues are involved.

Picture Of The Week

Omar Khayyam's *Annadata* is another piece of romantic socialism. There was an era when fiction writers solved the labour-capital problem by making a labourer fall in love with a capitalist's daughter; this era is still not dead and *Annadata* provides the latest example of this kind of fiction on screen.

In *Annadata* we have two romantic couples. On one hand we have a 'socialist' son of a factory-owner falling in love with a poor working class girl; on the other hand we have a dainty daughter of the same factory-owner charmed by the physical prowess of a worker and falling for him. In the picture, both the romances run side by side, though the emphasis is on the latter. Besides, to make the story more dramatic, there is a murder mystery. The real factory-owner, a good man is murdered by his brother with the help of a professional assassin who finds refuge in underground gutters; and the poor *munim* is framed up and sent to jail. That this *munim* happens to be our hero's father is one of the many coincidences on which the story hangs.

The hero leaves his home in teen age and becomes a 'Faulad' (a steel man) whose only mission in life is to protect the poor workers; and when the capitalist finds his daughter

getting interested in such a worker he sacks him; and the workers go on strike.

The strike should have been the real climax; but apparently fearing censors, it has been relegated to background and the chase of the murderer through underground gutter forms the thrilling climax of the picture. Indeed, but for occasional sentimental outbursts on the plight and poverty of workers, there is hardly any socialistic touch to the entire picture which is essentially a murder mystery with the rich-girl-poor-boy romance interspersed in it.

The screenplay is rather crude; the direction is clumsy, while production values are average. It is the gusto with which Shaikh Mukhtar acts his part that invests the entirely unreal and fictitious story with life and vigour. To that extent, the picture is appealing; besides it is liberally strewn with dialogue of the type that appeals to the masses. The music is stale; the acting, barring that of Shaikh Mukhtar and Kanhayalal, dull and artificial. For a first appearance Nima Maker is not bad; Veena looks more lively than usual and Ajit is as artificial as ever.

Though it comes as an anti-climax to such realistic pictures as *Humlog* and *Nanhe Munhe*, its sympathetic espousal of the workers' cause is likely to elicit a good response from the masses.

Personality Of The Week

If quantity is a measure of success then Nanabhai Bhatt is perhaps the most successful director today. For, he has got more directorial assignments than any other director. Nanabhai Bhatt is associated with films for a long time through his brother Balwant Bhatt; he first joined films as a scenario writer and later 'graduated' himself as director. One of his first directorial assignments was *Sudhar* (originally entitled *Chalis Crore* which was banned by the censors); but it was as a director of *Veer Ghatolkach* and *Hamara Ghar* that Nanabhai got into prominence.

Nanabhai is a versatile director; he handles all kinds of subjects with equal care. The names of his pictures can be called a directorial achievement. He makes a picture regularly and within schedule, that is his

greatest achievement. There have been occasions when he has been called to direct three pictures in a day and thus work for twenty-four hours non-stop. He has been so busy that on occasions, it is said, that he instructs his assistant on telephone to arrange and even take a shot. Mythologicals, socials, Arabian Night fantasies—there is hardly any kind of subject that he has not tackled.

And even the present depression does not seem to have affected him or his market. At the moment he has three assignments. He is directing a social picture, *Mussoorie*, for Chander Studios; and he has launched *Watan* starring Suryakumari, Nirupa Roy and Munawar for Falcon Films and he is producing *Raj Darbar* for Deepak Pictures.

Even in these days of slump and depression Nanabhai Bhatt is as busy as ever. That in itself is a compliment to his ingenuity and value in the film market.

News Of The Week

—Pancholi has announced four pictures (1) *Chandi Thakur*, a film biography of Poet Chandidas with C. H. Atma in the role once immortalized by Saigal, to be directed by Hiren Bose; (2) *Mehfil* to be directed by R. S. Chowdhury; (3) *Nagmani* to be directed by Chandrashekar and (4) *Lootera* to be directed by Pancholi himself. *Chandi Thakur* will go on sets immediately.

—Shantaram has christened his new picture *Teen Batti, Char Rasta*. *Teen Batti* symbolize love, learning and loyalty while *Char Rasta* represents a house where people from all directions meet.

—Raja Paranjpe has started the shooting of the Hindi version of *Pedgaonche Shahane* at Kardar Studios. He leads the cast which includes Shashikala, Kuldip, S. N. Bannerji, Rajan and Kamal Mehra.

—On Thursday, November 20, S. Mukerjee performed the muhurat of Asha Deep's maiden venture *Shikast* produced and directed by Ramesh Saigal at M. & T. Studios. Dilip Kumar faced the camera for the muhurat shot. The cast includes Nalini Jaywant, Durga Khote, Om Prakash and K. N. Singh. Written by Wajahat Mirza *Shikast* will have a musical score from Shanker and Jai Kishen.

IS THE COLOUR LINE FADING IN THE WEST INDIES?

By ROSS HARKNESS

THE rising tide of colour nationalism that is sweeping Asia and Africa has its counter-part in the British West Indies, but with one significant difference. In old continents the aim is the exile of the white man and all his works; in the West Indies it is equality and co-operation with the white man remaining to make his contribution to the new West Indies culture provided he drops his pretensions to racial superiority.

The result on the one hand has been to increase racial tensions and heighten colour bars; on the other, virtually to eliminate the colour line. In Jamaica and Trinidad it is virtually non-existent except in the minds of a few die-hards of both races. In British Guiana tension is not between white and coloured but between two coloured races, Negro and Hindu, or East Indian, as it is more correctly called. In Barbados and the smaller islands the Negro has been "kept in his place" by the economic feudalism of the big sugar estates, but barriers are falling before a recently won political supremacy. Only in the Bahamas, which deny they are a part of the West Indies, is the large white minority striving to maintain its self-elected superiority, but there also the ramparts are crumbling, even in the capital city of Nassau.

No 'Malanism'

There is no "Malanism" in the West Indies. The white residents early recognised the futility of opposing the overwhelming black tide, and either compromised or quietly departed. Their decision either way was hastened by the grant of self-government and universal franchise to the colonies by the British Government. When the prime minister and his cabinet, the judges, magistrates and policemen, the mayors and chairmen of school boards are Negroes or Indians, the white man becomes just another "John Doe", as important as his talents, or his training entitle him to be, but no more so.

Jamaica has become the symbol of the resurgent African, and the beacon guiding him to what he can be. It is still a land of living, but much of the poverty of the people is traceable to the poverty of the soil and the hopeless overpopulation of an island trying to support 1,500,000 on a few square miles of mountain. With what he has, the Jamaican has done wonderfully well, and probably his standard of living, and most certainly his political and educational standards, are higher than those of many Latin American countries and even those of some countries of Europe. Nowhere else is race accepted in quite so casual a manner as on this island where only one per cent of the people has no Negro blood. This is not to say there are no "racists", as the militant, chip-on-the-shoulder sort are called, but they are a noisy minority.

Canadian Discrimination

Regarded as one of the leading "racists" is N. W. Manley, leader of the opposition, and a distinguished Kingston lawyer, who married an Englishwoman while a student in the old country. Head of the left-wing People's National Party, which recently purged its obstreperous Communist group, he is considered by political observers as the cleverest man in Jamaica, but was also described to me as "the most dangerous" because of his instability and the inferiority complex that makes him see a slight where none is intended. No one questions his ability, which would qualify him as an outstanding citizen in any country, but many suspect he would disturb the harmonious let-by-gones-be-by-gones spirit which makes Jamaica such a welcome haven in a spiteful world.

Quite different is his cousin, W. A. Bustamente, government leader, trade unionist, and one of the most flamboyant personalities in political life anywhere. One of the outstanding Negro leaders of his time, he was once jailed as a dangerous revolutionist, but is now called a relatively

harmless demagogue by the very people who a few years ago were screaming for his head. The world and Jamaica have progressed, and the Bolsheviks of yesteryear are the Conservatives of today. A demagogue Bustamente may be, but his demagoguery has aroused his people from their lethargy and gives them self-respect, self-confidence and a new sense of their own dignity. In tribute to the dynamic personality of this odd man even the whites claim him as one of themselves. "Busta is not a Negro," they will tell you, less because they would withhold credit from the Negro race than because of a secret pride in this fellow Jamaican. And, of course, on racial grounds the whites have as much right to claim him as the Negroes.

Fashion Hints

Typical of the casual attitude toward race are the fashion hints in the Jamaican newspapers. "The bright greens and reds that would shock the eye in association with a white skin and a gray sky look gay and delightful under the blazing blue tropical heaven, in contrast to the rich brown skin tones of the women who wear them," candidly comments the *West Indian Review*, which urges Jamaican women to discard the straw hat adopted from tourists, who had to protect their fair skins from burning, in favour of the red bandana of their ancestors.

In other words, a Jamaican is as casual about his complexion as a Canadian is of his, and properly so, but this was not always true. He is beginning to wear clothes that flatter him, no imitations of northern styles.

Coloured Jamaicans did not win their present respected position without struggle, and even yet the goal is not completely gained. It does not enhance the reputation of Canada in the islands that the holdouts are mostly Canadian corporations. Recently Councillor Cleveland Walker of Kingston moved in the city council that the four chartered banks, three of which are Canadian, be asked to employ more "dark skinned Jamaicans." He said that though "dark-skinned people form the overwhelming proportion," of the customers of the Canadian branch banks, he sees only "fair-skinned clerks" at work in the offices. Once upon a time, he

said, "dark-skinned people could be discriminated against on the grounds of lack of education, but this is no longer so."

The use of "dark-skinned" and "fair-skinned" by Councillor Walker is customary practice in the West Indies, where the word Negro is disliked by many as harking back to slavery days. Those with some white blood find it particularly objectionable, point out with some justice that though "dark-skinned" they may have as much white as Negro blood in their veins.

Negroes And Hotels

In Bahamian Nassau, which is 80 per cent. Negro but whose best hotels are barred to Negro guests, I was told stories of Jamaica hotels "now that they have been opened to Negroes." On the contrary, I found Jamaica hotels delightful and not an eyebrow was raised at the mingling of races in dining-rooms, swimming pools, ball-rooms and taverns.

"Nassau leaders thought only crackpots would go to Jamaica because there is no racial discrimination there," said Etienne Dupuch, one of Nassau's leading citizens and publisher of the *Tribune* colloquially known as "the dark paper". "That is an old bogey. People in the world today are learning to live together."

Flourishing Trinidad, most prosperous, most vital of all the West Indian islands, with its dream of being the England of South America, the shopkeeper for a continent, is a seething caldron of racial brew, a true melting pot. It is 60 per cent. Negro, a third Indian, and the rest a racial conglomeration as mysterious as boarding-house hash. There are Chinese, Syrians, Levantines, Portuguese, Spaniards, English and combinations of all.

When I asked a white Port-of-Spain businessman if there is any racial discrimination on the part of Europeans, he laughed in my face. "Discrimination against who?" he snorted. "We're just lucky they don't segregate us." Then in more serious vein he added, "Nobody in Trinidad ever gives a thought to race, it seems so unimportant."

A comparatively new factor in the West Indies is Indian racism. After the abolition of slavery the British brought in indentured labourers from India to work the sugar plantations.

Dr. Purcell has not referred to it publicly, but his friends disclose that he suspects that UMNO was encouraged to attack him by the pro-Malay traditionalists in the Administration. They apparently also got the ear of Gen. Templer because, these friends report, Dr. Purcell was given a very rude reception by Malaya's highly-strung politico-military chief. Gen. Templer accused him of disrupting the Malay-Chinese friendship he had built. He suggested that Dr. Purcell's 26 years of experience in Malaya were nothing compared to his own six months. And by mentioning Dr. Purcell's pension four times in the course of the interview, implied that it was in danger. During his tour Dr. Purcell was kept very largely under police observation and a number of his former colleagues in the civil service were warned to consider him an "enemy".

Facing Malayan Facts

Dr. Purcell told a London audience how indignant one official became when he referred to the communities where 500,000 squatters have been resettled as "camps." He explained: "I was misled by the presence of barbed wire."

Being able to speak with the predominantly Chinese-speaking inhabitants of these "new villages" in their own language, against the background a quarter-century of experience, he was able to assess their successes and failures very perceptively. He found a great deal of unevenness. The older, more settled "new villages" are more attractive than the rawer, new ones. Many of them reflect the personality of their Resettlement Officer. Where these are Chinese-speaking ex-missionaries from China, the villages usually progress rapidly. But occasionally these villages are administered by "indifferent" individuals whom Dr. Purcell has long known in Malaya as little better than beach-combers.

"These 'new villages' have many problems," he told the Royal Central Asian Society here recently. In the jungle the squatters had almost unlimited land. Now they have been resettled on lands to which title has to be obtained from reluctant Malay rulers. He found eleven people living in a one-roomed hut with a dirt floor. Some land is two to three miles

from the enforced dwelling place of the resettled squatters, requiring repeated passing through perimeter fences guarded by under-salaried Malay constables.

Dr. Purcell continually emphasizes the difficulty of administering a people when not even their language is known by the administrator. "Not more than one in 10,000 in the police or security forces can speak to the Chinese in their own language." He commends the school in the Cameron Highlands in which police officers are taught spoken Chinese but doubts whether it can make up for 30 years of neglect in this field.

"Barbed wire is just imbedded in everyone's mind," Dr. Purcell comments on the atmosphere in many of the new villages. He feels that although these ex-squatters are compelled to live within barbed wire and subjected to a curfew, too little is done to win them over. They have not had any self-rule, any participation in democracy nor any citizenship. These things are being extended now, but too slowly. General Templer clearly does not favour early elections above the village level, although the late Sir Henry Gurney did.

Although the squatters are subject to some unpleasantness from the British side, the unlimited brutality available to the Communists makes them more potent in moulding the ex-squatters to their will. This cannot be countered by the spasmodic application of punitive methods which frequently are a confession of a lack of contact with the villagers or their lack of confidence in the authorities.

Dr. Purcell is critical about the manner in which 66 men, women and children were evacuated from Permatang Tinggi during his stay in Malaya for not giving information about the murderer of the Chinese resettlement officer. According to the authorities, a dozen persons must have witnessed this murder. But, according to Dr. Purcell, most knowledgeable persons in the area were convinced this killing was an "inside job," with little relation to the Communist insurgents. The murdered man was hated by the villagers as a half-mad bully and they probably rejoiced in his death. An administration with sensitivity to villagers' feelings would never have kept him

in the village, much less make informing on his killer an issue between the administration and the whole of the village.

The "Steel Framework"

Dr. Purcell found that the present wave of optimism in Malaya is limited to the Europeans who are looking more at the statistics of Communists killed than at fundamental human relations. He found bitterness and frustration and communal tensions greater than his prior visit in 1950. The resettled squatters are "anti" every one. The Malayan Chinese business leaders, who feel their aspirations as Malaysians being thwarted, are now demanding their rights as Chinese. The Malays, fearing the industry and ability of the Chinese, are digging in their toes.

None of these communities appears to have the leadership requisite for the crisis. The younger Malays he met felt that UMNO was "washed up" as a political force and only represented the semi-fundamental elements anyhow. The Independence for Malaya Party had not "caught on" as a non-communal nationalist party, despite its early promise. Its supporters are now mostly Indian.

In order to convert Malaya's present communal-tainted politics into an argument between different politico-economic philosophies, Dr. Purcell feels the "steel framework" of the present emergency regulations must be set aside as soon as possible. If progress is made toward state-wide and Federation-wide elections as planned by the late Sir Henry Gurney, but put off by Gen. Templer, the

issues seem likely to shift to a clash between conservative-nationalists and socialist-nationalists. Dr. Purcell has pointed out that in Ceylon, once substantial advances toward self-government were made, economic and political policies and not communal jockeying came to dominate.

Dr. Purcell is still busy writing recommendations to the Malayan Chinese Association arising from his trip. His final recommendations, particularly on the subject of how much they should attempt to maintain their separate Chinese schools, are still uncertain. But two things are clear. Dr. Purcell feels the Malayan Chinese can have no claim to participate in Malayan life unless they are prepared to defend Malaya. Beyond that, he feels that they should utilize their recently widened citizenship to the fullest, preferably on a non-communal basis.

Dr. Purcell finds it difficult to make recommendations to the Malayan Chinese which will alter fundamentally the situation in Malaya. It is not in their power to educate the bulk of the Malayan Civil Service to the fundamental which he has grasped: that either Malaya must be enabled to stand on its own feet with the united and democratic support of its own people or it will not be able, in the long run, to resist Communist pressure. Dr. Purcell knows too much of recent Chinese history not to realize that a temporary weakening of Communist military forces is not decisive unless the policies followed by their opposition are politically and socially wholesome.

There's room for confusion over President-elect Eisenhower's choice of Charles E. Wilson for U. S. Secretary of Defence.

It's a coincidence, but there are three Charles E. Wilsons, all prominent industrialists in the United States.

The Secretary of Defence-to-be is Charles Erwin Wilson, president of General Motors Corporation.

Charles Edward Wilson, former president of General Electric Corporation, was also a former director of the Office of Defence Mobilisation.

And, adding to the confusion, Charles Even Wilson, former chairman of the board of the internationally-known Worthington Pump and Machinery Company, frequently gets into the press.

They are not related.

The prospective Secretary of Defence is a tall, slow-speaking man with a shock of white hair. The former Defence Mobiliser is also tall, but has greying black hair and wears thick silver-rimmed glasses.—U.S.I.S.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By P. KODANDA RAO

THE Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in South Africa, in its historic judgment of November 13, invalidated the High Court of Parliament Act, enacted by the South African Parliament as the final court of appeal over the Supreme Court in certain respects. The verdict was not unexpected. Indeed, it was implicit in the action of the South African Government itself when it submitted to the jurisdiction of the Cape Division of the Supreme Court when the Act was challenged. If the Government really believed that the High Court of Parliament was the final court, then it would have impeached the judges of the Cape Division at the bar of the High Court of Parliament for "contempt of court" inasmuch as an inferior court presumed jurisdiction over a superior court. Nor has the Government chosen to impeach the judges of the Appellate Court for challenging the authority of the High Court of Parliament. Instead, it chose to submit to its decision declaring the High Court of Parliament Act invalid! Whatever be the other repercussions, the constitutional deadlock between the judiciary and the legislature-cum-executive has been resolved finally. Thus ends one of the most intriguing constitutional deadlocks, which was unique as it was unexpected.

The deadlock turned on the status of South Africa after the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931 and the Status of the Union Act of 1934. The question was whether the South African Parliament was as sovereign and independent as the British Parliament, and whether, in consequence, it was competent to amend the South Africa Act by a bare majority of the two Houses of Parliament sitting separately even as the British Parliament was competent to amend any British Act, or whether the special procedure for the amendment of some clauses in the South Africa Act was still binding.

The South Africa Act of 1909 was enacted by the British Parliament, though it was practically drafted by the representatives of South Africa at the time. It was thus a *South African Act politically*, but a *British Act constitutionally*. The Act empowered the South African Parliament to amend it without reference to the British Parliament. It empowered it to amend most of the sections of the Act by the ordinary procedure, namely, a bare majority of both Houses, for amending section 35, which referred to the franchise rights in the Cape Colony, and section 137, which guaranteed the equal status to the English and the Africans languages, and section 152, which prescribed the procedure for the Amendment of the Act.

The Statute of Westminster was enacted by the British Parliament in 1931 which conferred "Dominion Status" on South Africa, giving her 'equality of status' with Great Britain and other Dominions. In order to confirm her sovereignty under the Statute, the South African Parliament enacted the Status of South Africa Act in 1934. The question was raised whether the latter two Acts automatically abrogated the special procedure for the amendment of the so-called "entrenched clauses" in the South Africa Act of 1909. In which case, the South African Parliament could amend by the ordinary process all sections of the South Africa Act, not excepting those which referred to the franchise rights in the Cape Province and the language rights of English and Africans.

Entrenched Clauses

The late Gen. J. C. Smuts shared the view that the Statute of Westminster eliminated the special procedure for the amendment of the "entrenched clauses." He was opposed to it. So, when the South African Parliament debated a resolution in 1931 requesting the British Parliament to enact the Statute, he suggested that the "entrenched clauses" should

be specifically safeguarded from being modified by the ordinary Parliamentary procedure. But Nationalist Government, under the late Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog, rejected it on the ground that it would limit the sovereignty of South Africa. Smuts thereupon secured an *understanding* that the "entrenched clauses" would not be amended by the ordinary procedure.

The view that the Statute had constitutionally eliminated the special procedure was shared not only by Gen. Smuts and Gen. Hertzog, but also by a number of very eminent constitutional authorities, as stated in the Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, (Vol. 33 p. 90). It received oblique support from the Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court in 1937 in *Ndlwans v. Hofmeyr*. The Court held that it was not competent for the South African courts to invalidate any law passed by the sovereign legislature of South Africa, even as no British court was competent to invalidate any Act of the British Parliament.

In accordance with this view, the Government of Dr. D. F. Malan enacted by the ordinary procedure the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, which amended section 35 of the South Africa Act, removed the Coloured Voters from common electoral roll in the Cape Province and put them on a separate racial roll. The Act was challenged on the ground that it was enacted by the ordinary procedure and not the special procedure. The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, in its now famous judgment of March 20, 1952, invalidated the Act on the ground that the special procedure was still binding, notwithstanding the Statute of Westminster and the Status of South Africa Act.

High Court Of Parliament

Unable to get the necessary two-thirds majority in a joint session for the re-enactment of the invalidated Act the Malan Government enacted by the ordinary procedure the High Court of Parliament Act to review the decisions of the Supreme Court. And the High Court of Parliament duly reversed the judgment of the Supreme Court and validated the invalidated Act. In the meanwhile, the High Court of Parliament Act was itself challenged in the Cape

Division of the Supreme Court by some private parties. The South African Government, surprisingly enough, admitted its jurisdiction to review the judgment of the High Court of Parliament, and lost its case. Even more surprising was the fact that it appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, and lost again! As has been stated already, if the High Court of Parliament took itself seriously as the final court of appeal, it would have found the Cape Division of the Supreme Court guilty of contempt of court, and convicted the judges. Instead, the Malan Government announced that it would abide by the judgment of the Supreme Court, and seek to eliminate the special procedure in the South African Act by adopting the special procedure.

Several intriguing constitutional questions were canvassed during the Parliamentary debates and the judicial proceedings. Was South Africa constitutionally sovereign and independent and democratic like Great Britain and America? If so, was the special procedure for the amendments of certain sections in the South Africa Act, which was a British Act, derogatory to South Africa's sovereignty? In its judgment of March 20, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court held that South Africa was sovereign and independent, but the special procedure was binding still. It cited the analogy of America which was sovereign but which could not on that account ignore the special procedure for the amendment of its Constitution. During the course of the Parliamentary debates, the status of India was also referred.

Political Status

It may be suggested that today South Africa, India, the USA and the UK are politically independent and equal in status, but their constitutional status is not on a par. The UK has been both politically independent and constitutionally sovereign right through. The USA was a dependency of the UK to start with, but subsequently achieved both political independence and constitutional sovereignty. South Africa and India were also dependencies of the UK; they have since achieved political independence but not constitutional sovereignty. The USA broke off con-

stitutional continuity with the UK by her revolution and attained constitutional sovereignty. But South Africa and India have not broken off constitutional continuity and have not attained constitutional sovereignty for the reason that they have no constitutional way to achieve constitutional sovereignty.

The Constitution of the USA was not an Act of the British Parliament, even, *pro forma* and derived no constitutional sanctions from it. The South Africa Act was an Act of the British Parliament. The Status of South Africa Act, declaring South Africa's sovereignty, was enacted by the South African Parliament which was itself created by the South Africa Act, a British Act. The British Parliament is constitutionally competent to amend the South Africa Act, though nothing is more politically improbable and impossible. The Statute of Westminster, which conferred equality of status on South Africa, is itself an Act of the British Parliament, and can be amended by it. The relations between constitutional sovereignty and political independence was thus brought out by Lord Sankey, sometime Lord Chancellor of England:

It is doubtless true that the power of the Imperial Parliament to pass on its own initiative any legislation it thought fit, extending to Canada remains unimpaired; indeed, the Imperial Parliament could, as a matter of abstract law, repeal or disregard section 4 of the Statute. But that is theory and has no relation to realities. (The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status, by K. C. Wheare, 1949).

Sovereignty is sovereign. The sovereignty of the British Parliament is indestructible by Parliament. The British Parliament, by a self-denying ordinance as it were, can refrain from exercising its sovereignty in a given case, but it cannot limit it.

K. C. Wheare took the view that, while no parliament could constitutionally destroy the sovereignty of the British Parliament, the courts could do so, but only for political reasons, as distinguished from constitutional ones. The Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court, in its judgment of March 20, declared that

it was bound only by the laws of South Africa and none else.

India And Britain

The case of India is substantially similar to that of South Africa. The Constitutions of both were drafted locally and not by British Parliament. Since the South African Constitution was drafted before the Statute of Westminster was enacted, it was formally enacted by the British Parliament. In the case of India the Indian Independence Act, which is also a British Act like the Statute of Westminster, preceded the Indian Constitution Act, and gave it previous constitutional sanction, as it were. The Supreme Court in India, by taking the oath to the Indian Constitution Act, has also declared like the South African Court, that it is bound by the laws of the Indian Parliament and no other. Notwithstanding the Preamble to the Indian Constitution, which resembles that of the American Constitution, the constitutional sovereignty over India is still vested in the British Parliament, though all the four, South Africa, America, Britain and India, are on a par with regards their political independence. And that should be enough.

There was much debate that the special procedure prescribed to amend certain section in the South Africa Act limited the sovereignty of South Africa. The South African Supreme Court pointed out that there was no conflict between the two, and quoted the example of America which was sovereign, though its Constitution could not be amended except by a special procedure. It should be noted however, that, while America is as sovereign as England, its Congress is not on a par with the British Parliament. Sovereignty rests with the electorate in both. In America the Constitution intervenes between the sovereign electorate and the Congress it created. To the extent that the electorates in South Africa and India are constitutionally sovereign, their Parliaments are limited by their constitutions, as in the case of America.

The Constitutions of India, South Africa and America are not as democratic as the Constitution of England, for their Constitutions are not amendable by the ordinary process of the

bare majority of members present and voting. The need for larger majorities for constitutional amendment means the veto of the minority, which is not exactly democratic. Democracy of the living present is operative only in the United Kingdom; in America, South Africa and India it is dictatorship of the dead past.

The provision for the amendment of the Constitution by a more-than-ordinary-majority opens the door to judicial review of Parliamentary legislation. Such review is an evil inasmuch as the executive, which is the

appointing authority, is irresistibly tempted to appoint judges not only for their judicial competence but also for their political sympathies. Nothing can be a greater evil than "political judges." To accept democracy and fight shy if its inescapable implications can only create deadlocks and aggravate political disharmony. Enlightened public opinion is the only sanction for political wisdom in a democracy, and not the dead hand of the past, or the dictatorship of a minority, or political-judiciary. —RPS.

THE BLESSINGS OF SOLITUDE

"WE ARE NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE"

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"O Solitude! If I must with thee dwell,
Let it not be among the jumbled heap
Of murky buildings: climb with me the
steep,—

Nature's observatory;....."—KEATS.

IF we but think about it seriously we shall have to admit that, at all critical points, solitude is the portion of man and that, as our universe is constituted, there is no other alternative. What other alternative can there be, indeed? Twins and triplets and quadruplets (and the Dionne Quinns) apart, it must be confessed that one is born into the world a solitary. When one quits the world, too, it is, normally, a solo performance. And even in the intermediate stage—that is, between birth and death—one cannot but be a solitary at the most crucial junctures of one's life. It is really wonderful (but nonetheless true) that, while a man's joys can be (and usually are) shared, his sorrows must be borne by himself. There is no division of labour as regards grief—real, heaven-appealing grief. At such times there is no help but to shut oneself up in one's ivory tower. I know that some misguided persons try to derive comfort by seeking the sympathy of their friends and acquaintances. I know, because I happen to be one of them myself. It is, however, forgotten that very few

people are, in the first place, gifted with sympathy, and that, in the second, even those who are so gifted do not generally care to ally themselves with one to the extent that one may desire. Sympathy, in these days especially, is hard to come by; and, when one does meet with it, it is not so lavish, so overwhelming, as one could wish it to be. When every man is wrapped up within himself, what part of him can be disengaged to give to the needy? It certainly stands to reason. Charity, as Bacon says, will scarcely water the ground if she must first fill a pool.

Sorrows Cannot Be Shared

But that apart, the greatest sorrows cannot be shared. One has to bear them in solitude—or not at all. Go to a mountain-top, if possible, and ease your heart of its burden, of its prodigy of ponderous misery. As I have already indicated, it is only a fool who tries to dispel his grief, or a part of it at least, by seeking the sympathy of his friends and acquaintances. Love, perhaps, may be won by spectacular methods: as was in Viola's mind when, asked by Olivia as to what she would do if she were in her master's place and loved her in his flame, she replied unhesitatingly:

Make me a willow cabin at your gate,
And call upon my soul within the house;

Write loyal cantons of condemned love
And sing them loud even in the dead
of night;

Halloo thy name to the reverberate hills
And make the babbling gossip of the air
Cry out 'Olivia! O, you should not rest
Between the elements of air and earth,
But you should pity me!'

Love, I repeat, may be won by such spectacular methods. But no one has, as yet, chosen to cleanse his bosom of the perilous stuff that weighs upon the heart by those means. Therein the patient must, indeed, minister to himself. Any "doctor of the soul" would then recommend solitude as the most efficacious remedy. When one is moved deeply one shuns society, as Falstaff fled the battle-field, instinctively and retires into oneself as into a sort of shell. There is nothing for it then but self-communion. Immure yourself in your room and, ten to one, you will feel immensely better. You will, I dare to say, feel immensely better if you immure yourself in your room, even otherwise. Herman Melville confessed that whenever his "hypos" got the upper hand of him he would quietly take to the sea. Clearly, it is not possible for all of us to follow in his illustrious footsteps: the four walls of one's own room are the next best substitute for it. Prostrate yourself on the floor and cry out for God's comfort. Nothing else will do in the circumstances. As Emerson says, wisely, in his essay on "Self-reliance;" "The relations of the soul to the divine spirit are so pure that it is profane to seek to interpose helps. . . . Nothing can bring you peace but yourself."

Wordsworth And Solitude

I have even been a lover of solitude,
of

The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

That is why among the English poets, I love Wordsworth so much. He it is who insists, with such manifestly sincere vehemence, on solitude and the simple life. Wordsworth was a seer, a prophet. He owed everything to the mountains amongst which he was bred: "the sleep that is among the lonely hills," as he puts it so beautifully. He, indeed, like his own Lucy, "dwelt among the untrodden ways"; and his story, like his own

Michael's was "unenriched with strange events." He always saw things with

.....that inward eye

Which is the bliss of solitude.

None but he could sing so well of the leech-gatherer "on the lonely moor." As he himself confessed:

The moving accident is not my trade;
To freeze the blood I have no ready
arts;

'Tis my delight, alone in summer shade,
To pipe a simple song for thinking
hearts. (My Roman.)

And who but he mourned:

The world is too much with us; late
and soon,

Getting and spending, we lay waste our
powers;

Little we see in Nature that is ours;
We have given our hearts away, a sordid
boon!

Who else but he could encompass
this grand orchestration?

.....For I have learned

To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing
oftentimes

The still sad music of humanity,
Not harsh nor grating, though of
ample power

To chaste and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the
joy

Of something far more deeply inter-
fused,

Whose dwelling is the light of setting
suns,

And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of
man:

A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all
thought,

And rolls through all things.

If solitude was good for Wordsworth
it ought to be good for us, too!

Have We Any "Private" Lives?

With the passing of days the claims of what is called "society" are increasing by a sort of geometrical progression. Where, then, is the time to live lives of our own? The wonder is that our important personages contrive to transact any business at all. Even our more puny selves are, more often than not, to be seen dashing hither

and thither at the slightest provocation and rarely are we alone—indulging in what Milton describes as "the Cherub Contemplation." Do we lead any "private" lives, really? Those in "cities pent" are perhaps the greatest offenders. Their days and nights are spent in one round of engagements after another. There is a lot to be said for Mr. Wodehouse's immortal Rockmeteller Todd. He preferred, as readers of the master's works will be remembering, living in a cottage all by himself, miles away from anywhere, and spending his time sitting on a stile and watching worms to visiting cabarets and dance-halls in New York and wearing evening clothes. As between two pitwits it is far better, in my considered opinion, to be a country lout than to be a city nuisance. Give me a thatched cottage in a lovely valley and I would ask for nothing more. I am of Yeats's way of thinking in this matter:

I will arise and go now, and go to
Innisfree,

And a small cabin build there, of clay
and wattles made:

Nine bean-rows will I have there, a
hive for the honey-bee,

And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

I have never loved crowds and processions and flag-salutations and the rest; and was never a part of them if I could help it. Who was it that said of someone: "He is never less alone than when alone?"

Self-Reliance

Then, again, there is such a thing as being alone even in the hectic whirl of society. Be in the multitude but be not of it. Manage to form an island of yourself amidst the surrounding ocean of humanity. Think your thoughts and not theirs. Any

man can swim *with* the current: the more praiseworthy thing is to swim *against* it. Why should we be so eager to toe the line to the multitude? Have we not our immortal souls to keep us company? And if we must worship, let us worship God and not "great" men. Their "greatness" may be only shoddy: they may be only so many saw-dust Caesars and pinch-beck Napoleons. As Emerson has it in the same essay from which I have already quoted:

Society everywhere is in a conspiracy against the manhood of everyone of its members. Society is a joint-stock company in which the members agree, for the better securing of his bread to each shareholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater. The virtue in most request is conformity. Self-reliance is its aversion. It loves not realities and creators but names and customs. Whoso would be a man must be a non-conformist. . . . Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind. (My Roman.)

Emerson proceeds:

But now we are a mob. Man does not stand in awe of man, nor is the soul admonished to stay at home, to put itself in communication with the internal ocean, but it goes abroad to beg a cup of water of the urns of men. We must go alone. Isolation must precede true society. I like the silent church before the service begins better than any preaching. How far off, how cool, how chaste the persons look, begit each one with a precinct or sanctuary! So let us always sit. . . . But your isolation must not be mechanical but spiritual—that is, must be elevation. . . . Do not spill thy soul; do not all descend; keep thy state; stay at home in thine own heaven.

What wise words, indeed! Let us listen to the sage of Concord and enjoy the inexpressible blessings of solitude.

Sir Henry Irving was at one time a witness in a case of street robbery. The thief's lawyer roared at the distinguished actor: "At what hour did this theft happen?"

"I—I think—," began Sir Henry.

The lawyer interrupted: "It isn't what you think that we want to know."

"Don't you want to know what I think?" the actor asked mildly.

"I do not!" the lawyer snapped.

"Well, then," Sir Henry replied, "I might as well leave the witness box. I cannot talk without thinking. I'm not a lawyer."

IN SEARCH OF A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

By K. SANYASIAH

THE Industrial Revolution which first came in England and later in some other Western countries brought about great changes in the technique and organisation of production. It gave rise to a new class of capitalists, financiers and entrepreneurs that owned and managed the productive undertakings. It also gave rise to a new class of industrial proletariat, with no property except its ability to produce. This divorce between ownership and production inaugurated an era of exploitation to which may be traced many of the extreme political ideologies of the present day. The action of the governments to remove the conflict of interests by passing measures designed to protect the weaker sections of the community proved of no great avail. The Industrial Revolution also generated the paradox of poverty amidst plenty. The concentration of economic power led to a concentration of political power which undermined the very basis of real democracy. Many attempts have been made to make democracy a living faith by mitigating the evils of unrestricted private capitalism and of unequal distribution of wealth, income, opportunity and power but with no conspicuous success. This has led to the undermining of the faith in democratic institutions as they exist at present. In the international sphere Industrial Revolution gave birth to a new era of colonialism and imperialism, which has been at the root of two global conflagrations in the course of a single generation. If the fundamental problems of the present day industrialism are not adequately tackled, there may be another war.

Various solutions have been offered for creating a new economic order with a view to putting an end to the evils of the present economic order. Some philosophers have attributed our misfortunes to the advent of the machine and advocated its total abolition. The solution, logical as it may

appear, ignores the complexity of the problem. For one thing the abolition of the machine will result in the lowering of the living standards of the inhabitants of the globe and would mean the condemnation of man to the unenviable plight of the people of the Middle Ages. Though it is true that man has become a slave to the machine, it must be admitted that machine is inanimate and amoral and the defect lies not so much with the machine as its user. The fact seems to be that while there have been spectacular advances in the scientific and technological fields, there have been no corresponding readjustments in the social structure and this disparity is responsible for the fruits of scientific knowledge not reaching all sections of the population. The solution, therefore, lies in amending the social structure rather than in abolishing machinery. Science and technology have placed in the hands of man mighty instruments for achieving material comfort and happiness and it would be suicidal if he were to be asked to deny himself the advantage of the development of his knowledge over external nature.

American Way Of Life

Another solution is offered by the advocates of the American way of life, with its high productivity and high standard of living. But America seems to have reached that comfortable position more on account of her vast economic resources and less by the structure of her economic organisation. It is doubtful whether any country less fortunately endowed will ever be able to reach the position America has reached for the simple reason that no other country is so favourably situated in the matter of resources. Above all, American economy with its tendency to concentration of power has not solved the contradictions of capitalism. And finally, America seems to be facing the problem of unstable if not precarious

prosperity unless the problem of full employment is adequately solved either through creation of spheres of influence or through rearmament, both of which must spell disaster in the long run.

Then there is the Russian solution with its centralised planning executed by the all-powerful state. It is a fact that Russia has been able to solve her economic problems very satisfactorily, and the Russian people seem to be enjoying quite a decent standard of life. But this has been achieved at a high social cost, for the success of the centralised planning could be ensured by suppressing the freedom of the individual, which is inevitable under any system of centralised planning. But a system of planning is indispensable for the proper functioning of any economic system for the reason that it is always better to take a comprehensive view of the economic situation instead of leaving it to the uncoordinated activities of individuals. Planning also is absolutely essential for eliminating the fluctuations of prosperity and for ensuring a regulated and orderly progress in the field of economic activity. This can be done by eliminating the most important cause of trade cycles, the maladjustment of savings and investment by concentrating both these functions in the hands of a single authority.

Mixed Economy

In the context, the policy of mixed economy adopted by the Government of India is not capable of delivering the goods. The policy of 'dynamic neutrality' in economic matters does not steer clear of the disadvantages of capitalism or centralised planning, but is likely to incorporate the disadvantages of both. The Five Year Plan drawn up by the Government of India on the basis of mixed economy does not avoid the contradictions of capitalism but on the other hand retains the disadvantages of centralised undemocratic planning. Moreover, the plan itself is nothing more than a blue-print of the intentions of the Government, unless the Government secures the machinery for implementing its plan by whatever

means, in which case it ceases to be democratic.

Decentralised Production

The only solution is to adopt the system of decentralised production which has proved so conspicuous a success in Switzerland, China and Japan. This system differs from the Gandhian way in that it does not involve the total abolition of machinery, but believes in utilising the latest developments of science and technology but not in the way in which modern capitalistic system with its giant factories and mammoth manufacturing concerns has done. Such a system avoids all the dangers of capitalism but yet retains all its self-regulating machinery. It avoids excessive concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few which has proved inimical to the growth of real democracy. With minimum planning confined to the most indispensable limits, it is possible to expand the sphere of individual enterprise and to achieve maximum production necessary and which is possible. This system also affords considerable scope for freedom of the individual. Above all, it solves more satisfactorily than any other system the problem of distribution of wealth, by allowing the largest number of people to engage themselves in productive occupations and reap the fruits of their exertion. Finally, it is the only way in which the vast human resources of our country can be put to effective and efficient use without allowing them to stagnate and waste.

It is true that a system of decentralised production is not practicable in every field. Where large-scale production is inevitable, it should be nationalised. There need be no doubts as to the practicability of a scheme of decentralised production, because we have not yet advanced up to a stage when it would be impossible to put the clock back. It is still possible to profit by the experience of others instead of by our own experience. We are at the cross-roads of history and on the way we make our choice will depend the future of the country.

The world abhors closeness, and all but admires extravagance; yet a slack hand shows weakness, and a tight hand strength.—BUXTON.

THOMAS MANN: A GREAT WRITER AND THINKER

By J. LESSER

IT is possible to look at Thomas Mann's achievement from various angles. One can admire his becoming bolder and bolder as an artist the older he gets; and one can, at the same time, see how he who, from the beginning, looked at the species of artists with doubts and irony, almost despaired of art's role in our days. Secondly, one can see him de-bourgeoisise himself by and by; and lastly, one can see him un-romanticise himself more and more radically. All these sides of his development mean the same thing; freeing himself from inherited valuations.

Artistically, he has once confessed that in his youth he liked to lean on inspiring masters. The older he grew, however, the more his artistic pride bade him leave the beaten track and search for new ways. There is only a surface resemblance between his highly artistic novels and those of other novelists who are still, with slight alterations, writing novels *a la* Thackeray, Flaubert, Tolstoi. They constitute a new literary form, something of which the conventional novel writers have never dreamt.

Role Of Art And Artists

Parallel with that development runs a growing doubt about the role of art and artists. Still very early he confessed that he "entertained the greatest possible mistrust against the artist, the poet." He painted various portraits of artists which are full of self-doubt and self-hatred; he pictured the life of the artist as being outside real life, as only a sham, like the life of the crook surreptitiously assuming one role after the other.

His moving further and further from the ways of his bourgeois forefathers, from bourgeois valuations, constitute a different development.

In the early days he was "a bourgeois gone astray" and sometimes felt a melancholy longing to go back to the simplicity of native people who felt secure within the confines of their conventionality. This, however, was a

longing made half unreal by irony, and he began to feel comparatively early that being a writer naturally meant questioning one's inherited ways of living and thinking. For a long time he had kept away from politics. When, however, he had realised that also an unpolitical attitude implied politics of some sort and that he could not possibly shut his eyes any longer, it took him not very long to realise that bourgeois democracy was outmoded and to propagate its transformation into a social democracy, which while retaining the idea of liberty in the intellectual sense of the word would bring about a juster distribution of wealth.

Opinion On Russia

It is, in this connection, interesting to follow Thomas Mann's opinion on Soviet Russia. Although he could never approve of the philosophical dogmatism of communism or of the suppression by Russian communists of all intellectual and personal liberty, he sees a difference between the Bolshevik and the National-Socialist revolutions. The Nazis, he argues, tried to make the world believe that their utterly retrograde ideas were something very new and utterly revolutionary. In reality, they were "without any love for humanity and had no relations whatever to the idea of a perfected society." As to the Russian Revolution, however, we shall in future have to forget its "atrocities," as we have decided to forget the atrocities of the French Revolution in order to do justice to the undeniable progress it introduced into European society. Nothing, however would be further from the truth than to call Thomas Mann a crypto-communist. He has denounced totalitarian ideology, the "holy terror" of communism more than twenty-five years ago. As to the Germans, he has shown in his *Doctor Faustus* that a real betterment of every German could only come from the realisation: "My sin is greater than it can be forgiven me," whether one understands this confession

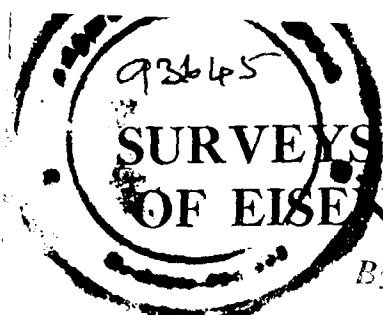
in a Christian or in a secular-humanistic sense. But the manner in which the West is now courting the German people makes them forget what they have done between 1933 and 1945.

Parallel to his freeing himself from bourgeois prejudices goes his freeing himself from all religious and philosophical dogmatism. In his biblical novel he treats religion with perfect detachment. He shows that religion has helped civilise humanity, but he shows at the same time that man has always created his gods in his own image, conceiving a more ethical idea of the godhead the more civilised he became. Thomas Mann shows that the various religions which grew up around the Mediterranean sprang from an identical idea—the conception of a Great Mother and her world-saving Child, an idea to be found with the old Sumerians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Egyptians as well as in Christianity. Thomas Mann emphasises that the ethics of Christianity is one of the two pillars of our European heritage, the other being Greek humanism, but about the Christian dogma he states that "one can easily understand that to civilised antiquity it must have seemed like a hideously atavistic relapse with its awful revival and reanimation of primordial religion, its primitive mentality, its blood-and-bond-meal of the flesh of the divine sacrifice." He cannot help being astonished at the career, among so many rival gods, of the god of a small Palestinian tribe with the peoples of Europe.

Thirdly, Thomas Mann's intellectual development includes his evergrowing de-romanticisation, and that means his un-Germanisation, as he sees it. Very important in this process was his relation to music, more especially to Wagner. *Tristan* and *The Ring of the Nibelung* were his deepest experiences in the world of art, and his critical utterances about Wagner have more passionate accents than his pronouncements on any other artist. By and by, however, and already very early, he began to doubt whatever that romantic music was at all salutary for the soul of its German hearers. It is no mere chance that, in *Doctor Faustus*, the artist-hero, being the conqueror of all romantic music, chooses just a piece of Wag-

ner's music in order to demonstrate how worn-out have become all the musical forms used for centuries by one generation of composers after another. But already twenty years before he wrote this novel he had said in full view of the growing danger of National Socialism, "Everybody who thinks it of importance to give the German soul clarity and shape in order to make it possible in the world, was forced to fight the equivocal mysticism of music in Germany, though he might thus do violence to his own nature." Romanticism and music are in Thomas Mann's view identical notions. What, however, is romanticism? "A certain dark richness and piety—I might say antiquarianism—of soul that feels very close to the irrational and demonic forces of life."

It was psycho-analysis that helped him decisively in his de-romanticisation. He applied the psycho-analytic theory in his early writings, at a time when he did not yet know anything about it. But when he came to know it, it impressed him so much that he paid homage to it in more and more admiring terms during the last three decades. In psycho-analysis Thomas Mann sees a variety of modern philosophical irrationalism. But, he adds, while the other forms of German irrationalism have given an ideological superstructure to National Socialism, Freud's teachings alone "do not allow themselves to be misused for reactionary purposes." Also Freud's scientific passion was devoted to the "nocturnal realm of the soul," but it never "degenerated into a glorification of its object at the expense of the intellect." Freud's "anti-rationalism" consists in seeing the actual superiority of instinct over intellect, but it does not mean a "derision of intellect." Psycho-analysis is anti-rational, "since it deals with the night, the dream, the instinct, the pre-rational," but it is out to serve enlightenment, to help the intellect conquer instinct. When Thomas Mann expressed his gratitude to Goethe for the help he has given him on his way of re-romanticisation, he may have done so remembering the famous statement of Goethe's that he belongs to those who "are striving from darkness to light.—NMF.



SURVEYS SHOW THE NATURE OF EISENHOWER'S MANDATE

By P. G. KRISHNAYYA

NEW YORK CITY: Gen. Eisenhower's widespread personal popularity has been cited in many quarters as a major key to his sweeping victory. There is no doubt that our President-elect has an enormous personal mandate from the electorate. It is comparable in modern times only with the position of Franklin Roosevelt after the 1936 election.

In such a situation, the power of the executive branch of government grows in magnitude. The initiative to assume leadership must come to a large extent from the new occupant of the White House, rather than from the Congress, as it has increasingly over the last years.

What, then, did the people mean by the overwhelming vote they gave to the new President? What is the nature of the mandate? Our surveys of public opinion during the election shed some light on what the people expect from the man they have elected. Gen. Eisenhower has a mandate to continue the internationalist policies of the last ten years. Survey results show that a majority of Americans are internationally minded and believe in such tools of internationalism as the Marshall Plan and Point Four. The majority by which Eisenhower ran ahead of isolationist-minded members of his own party substantiates this findings.

He has a mandate to try to end the war in Korea quickly. This may prove difficult but all during the campaign survey results showed that the "stalemated war" in Korea was rankling deep in the minds of people. It is perfectly clear that the people do not want any of the social gains of the New Deal repealed—but it is perfectly clear, too, that the new President has no mandate to extend them. He has a mandate to clean out any vestige there may be of communists or communist sympathisers in the Federal Government. In this connection it is worth pointing out that the American people are solidly convinced that the F. B. I. under the

direction of J. Edgar Hoover is one of the most competent groups to track down communists. There is a very clear mandate to end what may be regarded as widespread corruption in Washington. This may prove to be the easiest mandate to fulfil because there is also a general feeling among the public that it takes time for a political party to become corrupt in office.

As we reported many times during the campaign, the women's vote went heavily for Eisenhower. One of the chief factors in that decision was anger over high prices. People don't have very clear-cut ideas on how high prices should be curbed, but many do have a clear-cut idea that the party in power is responsible for preventing runaway inflation. The mandate Gen. Eisenhower has here is to halt the rise in prices—and, if possible, bring them down. There is a further implied mandate to prevent another depression. Rightly or wrongly, the Republican Party has become associated in the minds of many as the depression party, but in voting for Eisenhower in such overwhelming numbers, the people clearly said they thought that he would be able to build an administration under which no depression is inevitable.

There is still another mandate which finds confirmation not only in survey results but also in the actual state-by-state voting—and that is the mandate to reconstruct the Republican Party. It seems to me that the people made abundantly clear the fact that they trusted and believed in Eisenhower as a man. His support far outstrips any feeling of confidence in or affection for the Republican Party as it has previously been constituted. He has been given a clear mandate to reorganize the party along such lines as would reflect the public's image of Eisenhower himself; an honest, capable, internationally-minded man with a capacity for uniting people into an effective team which can get things done.

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